

# **Ethnic Mapping on the Balkans (1840–1925): a Brief Comparative Summary of Concepts and Methods of Visualization<sup>1</sup>**

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## *THE ROLE OF ETHNIC MAPS IN LEGITIMIZING THE NATIONAL IDEA*

The 19<sup>th</sup> century had brought about significant changes in minds and as a result of this in frontiers as well. It was the age of the national revival, culminating in the fight between the concept of state nation and nation state. As the latter was a brand new ideology, in order to legitimize its existence and aspirations linked to it, new argumentation was needed and thus new instruments to serve the arguments. Among these one can find ethnic mapping as a method of symbolic nation building. Together with the fabrication of historical past (a task left to historians) ethnic maps (a task designated to geographers) were also excellent instruments to advertise national goals and desires, as they were definitely cheaper than establishing schools, and the results of dissemination were nearly immediate. Furthermore ethnic maps could fulfill their triple function (as political advertisements, propaganda materials influencing decision-making and contributors to nation-building) without transferring extra burden on society in forms of new taxes. Ethnic maps together with books on

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[www.szamterkep.hu/palyazat/cikkek.zip](http://www.szamterkep.hu/palyazat/cikkek.zip)

history could target many people including decision-makers, who – especially in practice, when i.e. delimitation of borders was the assigned task – scarcely had time to read long essays with obscure argumentation on national question; thus maps could serve official propaganda purposes well. Ethnic maps contained political message and since the human mind is inclined to rely more and more on visualised data, these maps could be considered as ancestors of modern political advertisements. Compared to books or political pamphlets, ethnic maps were considerably practical: since many information were compressed on these maps and at the same time these were very illustrative, ethnic maps could reach both illiterate masses and experts as well.

Since ethnic maps cannot be considered impartial sources, but rather as political instruments serving political goals, they very often manipulated and distorted reality. The thorough comparative study of Wilkinson (in the 1950s) revealed how the spheres of influence and the drawn ethnic boundaries gradually extended and overlapped from the 1870s' in the Balkans, when the Balkan nations tried to exploit the possibilities of ethnic mapping and data interpretation in order to legitimize their territorial aspirations. Since the numerous maps showed contradictory results not only at the level of applied ethnic terminology, but this versatility is observed regarding the territorial extent of different patches representing the nations, it was worth sketching a general evolution of ethnic mapping on the peninsula using a comparative approach.

#### *THE PERCEPTION OF NATIONALITY IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA*

Contrary to the French example, where nationalism resulted the unification of the nation and the centralisation of the state *parallel* to the consolidation of liberal thought resulting collective rights, in the Balkans the awakening of nationalism meant the revival of some kind of new tribalism opposing to

the homogenization efforts of the imperial thought. Homogenisation and the wish for an ‘Ottoman nation’ was a new tendency in the empire invented by liberal reformers in state service, which relied on the liberal French experience. Earlier the empire tolerated diversity, but this versatility led to decreased competitiveness, although it should not have been necessary. Contrary to the French experience, nationalistic movements on the Balkans can be considered as the revolt of the exploited peripheries (and not simply of classes, so it has territorial pattern), demanding decentralization, thus enhancing separatistic tendencies.

One of the crucial points determining the outcome of the events was that the European parts of the empire were ethnically heterogeneous, and mixed. Furthermore, from the 19th century on religion was neither able to unify the masses of Slavs speaking similar dialects, nor to offer some kind of integration into the empire. The emerging competing nationalistic ideas were of regional and particular character and could mobilize only parts of the Slavdom and the region. The recognition of Christians as equal citizens of the Ottoman state (1856) happened too late, as it almost coincided with the birth of the modern nationalistic ideas in the region (based on language)<sup>3</sup> and in the neighboring small states. And finally, changes took place very quickly. The appearance of nationalism created new fault lines within the population, such as religion or social status did so earlier instead of unification. The several types and layers of identities were overprinting each other, creating a chaos in minds, appearing in arbitrarily alternating arguments when dreaming about the boundaries of the state (physical geographical, economic, historical and ethnic reasoning, balance of power in the Balkans), representing the political opportunism of the elite. This, the rivalry between the three notions (the conservative-religious, that denied the role of nations concerning both Moslems and

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<sup>3</sup> The map by Šafarik or Boué based on linguistic differences preceded this act.

Christians; the loyal–liberal, that tried to create some kind of supranational identity overprinting religious and regional differences by offering equal political rights, 'citizenship'; and the tribal–nationalistic–separatistic–revolutionary), and an upsurge for social changes which was exploited by national movements (IMRO) were key elements of the unrest. An outer threat, the appearance of the small states also occurred as these were carriers and transmitters of the competing nationalistic ideas, and the aspirations of the small states and nations certainly did overlap, that enhanced instability further.

Beyond territorial overlaps, the definitions of the nations did also overlap and both inclusive and exclusive character of the different nationalistic ideas meant threat to other movements. Greeks considered Greek a different set of people: their inclusive nation-definition was bound to orthodox religion (*orthodox* = *Greek*; later modified to *patriarchist* = *Greek* after the secession of exarchists and the de facto independence of Serbs), and not to language. Serbs also used inclusive terms when defining the Serbian nation (bound to linguistic terms overwriting religious differences, when they incorporated Bosniaks and Croats; or when they considered Patriarchist Slavs as Serbs – according to the alternating arguments and categories many people could be incorporated into the Serbian nation). Even the Bulgarians religious-exclusive (bound to the limits of the Exarchate) nation-definition was given up quickly, and turned into inclusive–linguistic one (patriarchist Slavs in Macedonia, Moslem Bulgarian-speaking Pomaks were included into the nation).

While the national identity of western nations is often confined to states and borders, considering citizens equal member of the society regardless of the religion, spoken language, etc. (at least officially), in Central-East-Europe and in the Balkans citizenship is not a synonym for nationality. Serb and Serbian are different terms, the former is bound to the ethnicity, the second to the state (citizenship). Here, the

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ideal state is a nation state that should incorporate the majority of those speaking the same language, contrary to the state-nation (citizenship nation) identity. Identity on the Balkans is a complex phenomenon and its elements cannot be described or substituted by the western term 'regional identities'. The deconstruction of identity to its elements is really challenging in the Balkans, and since many ethnic maps tend to illustrate only one dimension of the identity, these distort reality (*Tab. 1*).

*Tab. 1.* Correspondence-table of nations, languages and religions.

Nation	Catholics	Orthodox exarchist	Orthodox patriarchists	Moslems
Ottoman Turks			'Gagauz'	
Albanians				
Greek				
Serbs	'Croatsians'	'Macedo-Slavs'		'Bosniaks'
Bulgarians	'Chiprovci'	'Macedonian Bulgars'	'Macedonians'	'Pomaks'
Croatians				
Bosniaks				

Dark background indicates dominant feature, light-gray colour indicates subordinate feature. Columns represent the Ottoman and Greek point of view of 'nationality' based on religion, while rows represent the ideas of Young Turks, Prizren League, Bulgarians, etc. based on linguistic features. Such a correspondence table was used by the Austrian cartographers unifying the two views.

The primary identity-bearing dimension is often based on collective cultural experience, like the collective memory on medieval states, that were transformed to serve the new ideology, or the different language and religious denominations, ethnographic features (like celebrating the *Slava* or the abundance of *fis* as tribal category among Albanians and Montenegrins), that both could be cohesive, integrating forces

of a nation. Unfortunately these widespread phenomena do not coincide with languages and state borders, thus one feature is often not enough to circumscribe a nation. Language can serve as a distinctive feature in the case of the Albanian nation, but the latter is divided regarding religion, and Moslem Albanians had tight relations with other heterogeneous Moslem groups on the Balkans speaking Slavic or Turkish. Religion has distinctive character in the case of Croatians, Bosniaks and Serbians speaking almost the same language. Furthermore, most of the southern Slavs are part of a continuum of dialects, where the differences of the spoken language between neighboring groups are negligible (i.e. Serb-Bulgarian relation), and thus the delimitation of the nation is not simple. Sometimes differences in social status are also remarkable (Serbs – Bosniaks). The position of Hellenes was also special: although their language is remarkably different from that of the Slavs and Albanians: since the Greek Orthodox Church enjoyed special privileges as being the only Orthodox Church since 1767, they were able to exert influence on the surrounding non-Greek speaking territories. That's why in 1913 Greece wanted to draw the Albanian-Greek border in present day Central-Albania: a large group of orthodox Albanians were living in middle-Albania around Berat, together with Moslems. Religious minority groups speaking the language of the majority could also be mentioned (Pomaks, Torbesh, Gorans).

#### *CHANGES OF APPROACHES IN THE ETHNIC MAPPING OF THE BALKANS (1840–1925)*

As ideas on the determinants of national consciousness evolved and changed, so did mapping. The primarily composed religious maps were soon overshadowed by maps where linguistic categories became predominant (1). Nevertheless, as language is not the only determinative feature in the Balkans, the opponents of this theory created their counter-maps based on other features. Four of these are worth mentioning. (2)

Ethnic maps based on religion did not disappear. (3) Complex classifications, using two or more features (religion+language) appeared. (4) Abstract maps using the ambiguous-obscure categories of 'historical arguments' and 'cultural affiliation' (which are difficult to define or circumscribe) appeared. (5) Finally maps illustrating the differences and transitions of dialects complicated the situation further. Practically this meant, that very often mixed categories were used in the legend of maps (Greek orthodox vs. Serb; Muslim vs. Bulgarian), transition zones and cross-hatching appeared together with the punctual delimitation of patches, etc.

One of the first ethnic map *based on linguistic categories* was created by a Slav. Šafaryk was professor at the Servian Lyceum of Novi Sad (then in Hungary) for a period of 14 years. His map (1842) does not go into details; his merit, however, consists in his being the first who very exactly delimited the Bulgarians from their neighbours – the Servians, Rumanians, Greeks, and Albanians. According to Šafaryk nearly the whole of Macedonia, the region of Niš, the whole of Dobrudja, and even a part of Bessarabia are inhabited by Bulgarians. Kosovo is Serbian with the exception of the surrounding of Ipek. In the south it gave plenty of space to Greeks, and Muslims appear only as isolated patches.

Ami Boué, French of origin, was the first well-prepared man for scientific research who explored the Balkan Peninsula from 1836–1838.<sup>4</sup> His effort to separate Albanian tribes based on religion and dialects is remarkable, but this map contains major mistakes – the Albanian ethnos extends to the Bay of Arta in Greece, and the Ottomans are underrepresented in Macedonia, which has been challenged by scientists, who considered the whole map unreliable owing to these mistakes. Compared to Šafarik's view the map of Boué (1840) indicates less Greeks in Thrace and more Albanians in Kosovo and

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<sup>4</sup> Boué, A. *La Turquie d'Europe*. Paris, 1840 (4 volumes) and Boué, A. *Recueil d'Itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*. Vienna, 1854. Vol. 1–2.

indicates vlachs in the Pindos Mts. This map also underestimates Turkish/Muslim abundance in North-East-Bulgaria and in Thrace.

Both maps were very important for the Bulgarian revisionists (the maps of Ishirkov and Ivanov are based on this point of view). The same is true for the map of *Guillaume Lejean*,<sup>5</sup> although he indicated small Serbian patches around Ohrid, confirming their existence using historical arguments (in the 9<sup>th</sup> century the whole area was Slavic to Durazzo; a local saint (Jovan Vladislav of Duklja) was well-known for Serbs, and was executed by a Bulgarian ruler in the 11th c., the neighboring patriarchate of Ipek was a 'Serbian' one).<sup>6</sup> He committed a serious mistake: the southern limits of the Albanian nation were erroneous.

Compared to Boué, *Petermann*'s map of 1854<sup>7</sup> (created for officers participating in the Crimean War) limits the abundance of Albanians to present-day Albania, leaving most of Kosovo to Slavs, and accepts that Thrace is inhabited by Greeks.<sup>8</sup>

Although the Austrian doctor and mayor of Prague, *Josef Müller* published travel notes in 1844, where he regarded the Slavic population of Macedonia as Serbian (supported by Šafarik in his views), prior to 1878 (the occupation of Bosnia) Serbian foreign policy did not question the ethnic affinities of territories south of the Šar Planina, and even acknowledged

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<sup>5</sup> Guillaume Lejean (1828–1871) was one of the most studious French explorers. Twice he travelled in European Turkey (1857–1858 and 1867–1869), as appointed French Vice-Consul. The purpose of his enterprise, undertaken by order of the French Government, was to prepare a map of European Turkey; Lejean's early death prevented the completion of this work; he succeeded, however, to publish very important geographical and ethnological essays. Lejean, G. *Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe* par G. Lejean. Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1861.

<sup>6</sup> This rather meant Orthodox Slavic (not Greek) that time.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/collections/maps/ethnographic/>

<sup>8</sup> The later map of *Petermann* and *Habenicht* also underestimated the presence of Ottomans in Macedonia.



the fact that Bulgarian is spoken in Macedonia.<sup>9</sup> In the map of *Davidović* nor the Sanjak of Novipazar neither Kosovo was described as Serb. The fact that his work has been published *at the expense* of the Servian State and that it was translated in French means, that his work was bearing the full approval of the Servian Government of that time. Macedonia, but also the towns Niš, Leskovac, Vranja, Pirot were also situated outside the boundaries of the Serbian race.

The map of *Desjardins* (1853), professor in Serbia represents the realm of the Servian language just as the scientists, who had not been influenced by Pan-Serbianism, did think in the middle of the century. The map was based on *Davidović*'s work confining Serbians into the limited area north of Šar Planina.<sup>10</sup> The Serbian newspaper, *Srbske Narodne Novine* (Year IV, pp. 138 and 141-43, May 4 and 7, 1841), described the towns of Niš, Leskovac, Pirot, and Vranja as lying in Bulgaria, and styles their inhabitants Bulgarians. But it is questionable, whether the inhabitants were real ethnic Bulgarians or were classified as Bulgarians owing to the fact, that the above mentioned territory was located in Tuna vilaet together with other Bulgarian lands.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Müller was the western founder of the *arnautaši* thesis, that many Serbs were Islamized and later assimilated by Albanians in the Peć district. However his source was the Orthodox metropolitan in Prizren. Malcolm, N. Kosovo. A Short History. Papermac, 1998, 198–199.

<sup>10</sup> If this map had been published before 1833, the Timok river-basin would not have been added to the “by Servians inhabited districts” and “in which the Servian language is spoken”, because Turkey left this basin to the Servian Principality only in 1833 and still many Romanians lived there.

<sup>11</sup> According to the Serbian authors *Janković and Gruić*, the following districts were deemed Serbian: (i) The Voivodina (Banat, Syrmia, and Batchka); (2) Slavonia; (3) Dalmatia; (4) Istria; (5) Ragusa (Dubrovnik); (6) Cattaro; (7) Montenegro; (8) Metohia; (9) Bosnia; (10) Herzegovina; (11) Serbia (then a principality). (See “Slaves du Sud” by the above authors, published in Paris, 1853). About the middle of the nineteenth century the Serbian Government dispatched S. *Verković*, one of its officials, on a tour of

The map of *Hahn*, Greek consul is a sketch map from 1861, where settlements along the Bulgarian and Serbian language border are marked by letters A, B, S referring to the spoken language of the majority. According to the map the Bulgarian dwelling-places predominate in the Morava basin from the source of the stream to Niš, also appearing in the basins of the rivers Sitniza and Neredimka in Kosovo, and not a single Serbian dwelling-place is marked South of the Morava. The map has been perfected by his travel companion, *F. Zach*,<sup>12</sup> at that time director of the Serbian Military Academy, thus it shows the opinion of official Serbia that time, even satisfying Vuk Karadžić's ideas.<sup>13</sup> *Pypin and Spasović* (1879) assigned to the Serbs Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Dalmatia, part of Istria, Slavonia, Synnia, Batchka, Banat, but not Macedonia.<sup>14</sup> This attitude of Serbians is emphasized not only by contemporary Bulgarian scholars, or revisionists, who collected the evidence from travelogues,<sup>15</sup> but admitted by Wilkinson as well.<sup>16</sup>

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investigation through Macedonia and Old Serbia. In 1860, soon after his return, Verkovich published 335 national songs collected from various places throughout Macedonia under the title "National Songs of the Bulgarian Macedonians." The author was candid enough to fix the Shar Mountains as the ethnographic boundary between the Bulgarians and the Serbians. See: Misheff, D. *The Truth about Macedonia*. Berne, 1917.

<sup>12</sup> Zach was also of Czech origin and became a general of Serbian troops in 1876 in the war against the Ottoman Empire, but failed to capture the Sanjak of Novipazar and Kosovo.

<sup>13</sup> See: *The Correspondence of Wuk Karadjitsch*. Belgrad 1907–1912. 6 Vols. Vuk Karadjitch (1814) regarded the language of the Macedonians as Bulgarian. The wife of the later Serb minister to England, Mme. Mijatović, in her *History of Modern Serbia*, described the Niš revolt of 1842 as a "rebellion of Bulgarian peasants." See: Tsanoff, R. *Bulgaria's Case*. – *The Journal of Race Development*. Vol. 8, No. 3, January, 1918.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>15</sup> Misheff, D., *Op. cit.* See detailed:

*Ubicini*: Divided by the Balkans, the Bulgarians touch the Black Sea and the Archipelago through Burgas and Salonica; they extend on the west as far as Albania and reach the Danube on the north from Fet-Islam (Kladovo) to

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Silistra. L'Empire Ottoman par H. Ubicini. Paris, 1854, 634.

*V. Grigorovitch*: The villages between Salonica and Enidje-Vardar are inhabited chiefly by Bulgarians. The villages in the districts of Enidje-Vardar, Voden, Lerin, Bitolia, as well as those between Bitolia and Ochrida, are inhabited exclusively by Bulgarians, intermingled here and there with Koutzo-Wallachs and Turks. *Esquisse de voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe*, par V. Grigorovitch, Moscou, 1840, 107–109.

*Hilferding*: Shar Mountain stops the further movement of the Serbian element and serves as a frontier line between Serbians and Bulgarians. The latter have crossed the South–Eastern mountains and occupied Macedonia and part of Albania. *Oeuvres completes Hilferding*. Vol. III, 141.

*Pouqueville*: In the valley of Prespa there are about 46 Bulgarian villages. In the district of Ressen are 26 Bulgarian villages. The river Drin with its right bank, forms at this distance the dividing line between the Bulgarian language and that of the Shkipetari-Gheghi Albanians. I entered the country of the Bulgarians, and I was obliged to use the few Slavic words I had picked up during my sejour in Ragusa. Pouqueville, T. *Voyage de la Grece*. Paris, 1826, Vol. II, 517, Vol. III, 59, 71, and 73.

*Boué*: The Bulgarians compose the main kernel of the population of Macedonia, with the exception of the south-western part, from Costour (Castoria) and Bistritza. The mountains between the basin of Lerin (Florin) and Costour (Castoria), between Cagliari and Satishta, between Ostrovo and Ber (Berea) and between Voden and Niegoush, separate the country where only Bulgarian is spoken, from that in the south, where the Greek is the language of the peasants. Boué, A., *La Turquie d'Europe*. Paris, 1840, Vol. 11, 5.

*Cyprien Robert*: This people in reality constitutes the main kernel of the population of Macedonia – from the mountain lines between Cagliari, Satishta, Ostrovo, and Ber (Berea) as far as the valleys of Niegoush and Voden; only south of this line is to be found the Greek peasant. *Les Slaves de Turquie*, par Cyprien Robert. Paris, 1844, Vol. II, 230.

*Lejean*: To-day the Bulgarian people is almost bounded by the Danube, the river Timok, with a line passing by the towns of Nish, Prizren, Ochrida, Niegoush, Salonica, Adrianople and Sozopol, the Black Sea and Burgas. The Bulgarians occupy almost the whole of Macedonia and their compact mass gradually pushes the Greeks to the sea, where the latter hold their ground in a narrow strip of land between Platamona and Kolakia... From the Struma to the Maritza the Greek territory forms a very narrow zone inhabited by seamen and fishermen, while the Bulgarian, pre-eminently agriculturist, occupies the heights that dominate the sea coast. Lejean, G. *Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe*. 1861, 12–29.

However, later Cvijić and Belić argued, that Boué, Lejean and Desjardins had not known Slavic languages enough to make distinctions correctly.<sup>17</sup> From this critique evolved a new branch of ethnic mapping that used dialects and grammatical phenomena instead of languages (the Serbian *Belić*, the Czech *Niederle*, the French *Chataigneau* in 1924), and another branch that focussed on ethnographic features. The Serbian *Verković* was among the first, who classified nations based on folklore and considered Slavs as Bulgarians in Macedonia, the result of which was challenged later by Cvijić using the same method (focusing on folkloristic elements). The preponderance of ethnic maps based on language as distinctive feature forced even *Kiepert*, a master of language-based ethnic mapping and the expert of Berlin Congress to revise his former ideas, and he turned to cultural traditions and historical affinity when created a completely new map. This looked similar to the map of *Synvet* and *Stanford* and confirmed the Greek stance over the peninsula (North Macedonia was still indicated as Bulgarian). Overexaggeration of language as the sole determinative factor made the Austrian cartographers elaborate the complex method (re-introducing religion as a factor again) that will dominate Austrian cartography for 30 years, as a counterstep to the domination of purist approach. This resulted in the multiplication of categories, thus formerly transparent maps became more and more fragmented.

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<sup>16</sup> Wilkinson, H. R. Maps and Politics. A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia. Liverpool Univ. Press, 1951.

<sup>17</sup> Incompetent according to Cvijić are Ami Boué, Johann von Hahn, Mackenzie and Irby and others who define the extent of the Bulgarian population in Bulgaria and in Moravia — because they themselves were not acquainted with a single Slavic language. Ethnographical maps by Lejean, Kiepert and others lack value. Victor Grigorovich, who declared in his journal “Outline of Journey through European Turkey.” Kazan, 1847, that in Macedonia he met always Bulgarian, is also incompetent according to Serbs. Misheff, D., Op. cit.

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The Bulgarophile map of *Irby and Mackenzie* (1867) did not differ from the earlier ones in its content.<sup>18</sup> Their book was translated into Serbian by the well-known Serbian statesman and academician Ćedomil Mijatović who also served several times as Serbian minister and as Serbian ambassador in London. Mijatović did not object that Macedonia and the district of Niš are shown as Bulgarian. But this map is only a reproduction of Lejean's and *Fröhlich's* map, and not based on separate studies.<sup>19</sup> However, it is much more reliable regarding Albanians in Kosovo and Turks in Dobrudja compared to the previously mentioned maps. Their merit is that they drew the attention of Gladstone and the British on the Balkan Peninsula, while earlier maps served as basis for Count Ignatiev to argue for the necessity of Greater Bulgaria. However, it is not evident, that the Powers of Europe were based on the principle of nationality: both England and Germany had national minorities. Ignatiev simply wanted to create a great and Russophile state (unlike Serbia that time), under cover of promoting national goals. It was merely a good pretext that maps indicated a more or less homogeneous Slavic territory that could be used as a springboard for Russian presence on the Balkans. For Austria (which was also not a homogeneous nation state) not only the principle of nationality was dangerous, but the Russian orientation of a large state. Therefore their interest was to create many competing small states, and the task of Austrian ethnic mapping was to support this idea. The British reaction to Greater Bulgaria was the

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<sup>18</sup> Almost the whole of Macedonia (to the west reaching the river Černi Drin and to the South-west – the mountain Gramos), the whole district of Niš, Dobrudja and a part of southern Bessarabia are included in the boundaries of the Bulgarian people

<sup>19</sup> The map of *Eliséé Reclus* is also a compilation of Lejean, Felix Kanitz and Karl Czoernig, probably with scientific impartiality. It shows the southern boundary of the Albanian nation more or less precisely, but supposes many Greeks in Thrace.

propagation of Greek standpoint, while Austria-Hungary elaborated the complex ethnic maps to prove the heterogeneity of Macedonia, and later accepted that Macedonia was inhabited by Serbs (as Gopčević claimed). This effort was supported by scientific instruments: the map of Gopčević had the greatest resolution of all maps created up to then. The British solved the problem by giving up the purely linguistic approach, which then seemed to favour the Bulgarian cause.

Many maps were merely compilations from previous works. The map of the Bohemian *Erben* in 1868 was based on Šafarik, Czoernigg, Lejean and Mirković thus was quite conventional, and definitely not genuine.<sup>20</sup> However, at one point it defied the tradition of the lineation Boué-Lejean-Irby and described the situation in Kosovo in favour of the Serbs. (Although even the map based on the Serbian census in 1924 admitted that Albanians constituted the majority of the region). The last map did so was published 15 years before by Petermann. Erben also drew the ethnic boundary of Albanians erroneously in in Epiros.

His predecessor, *Mirkovich* had one innovation: the Muslim zone in NE-Bulgaria, which was formerly indicated as a homogeneous patch was dismembered and depicted as a mixed region, furthermore he expanded the boundaries of the Bulgarian nation in Thrace over Adrianople. This was another Bulgarophile map serving as the basis of the Slavic Congress in 1867.<sup>21</sup> Of course this map later was sharply criticised by

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<sup>20</sup> Jaromir Erben (1811–1870), was a good authority on Slavic language, history and mythology, but his map “Mapa Slovanského Světa” is not original.

<sup>21</sup> The “Slavic Exhibition” had been arranged at the instigation of the Russian Slavophiles in Moscow and a Russian ethnographic map of all the Slavic races, entitled “Ethnological Map of the Slavic Peoples” was created. This map was approved by all delegates present, and up to 1877 it appeared in three editions. Unfortunately, he accepted Boué’s idea, that Albanians are abundant west of the Pindos Mts. down to the Gulf of Arta, for which the map was labelled unreliable regarding other contents, ethnic boundaries as well. (He indicated too many Bulgarians in Thrace as well). The map of

Cvijić because of the unfavourable situation for the Serbs. The predominance of Slavs in these maps was owing to the activity of the Croatian professor, *Bradaška*, who drew the attention to the fact that Ottoman censuses count Muslim Slavs and Muslim Albanians together with Turks, and without them the Muslim supremacy of numbers and patches was illusory. His approach was adopted in the maps of Petermann, then followed by *Kiepert*<sup>22</sup> (and *Sax*), who illustrated mixed Bulgarian-Turkish and Bulgarian-Albanian contact zones rough-and-ready with cross-hatching instead of patches: this resulted in the predominance of Bulgarians over other nationalities. Another specific feature of this map is that it also coloured sparsely inhabited and uninhabited areas, enlarging the territorial extent of patches. Up to Sax (1877/78) everybody indicated Macedonia relatively homogeneous, without significant Muslim settling (even the map created by *Ravenstein* after 1878 did so).<sup>23</sup>

Kiepert's work was based on the data of Sax, Jireček, Kanitz, Bradaška, Jakšić and the map of Lejean and Hahn. Although his map became famous as the one used at Berlin it received serious criticism by the Hungarian geographer Béla Erődi early in 1876 (in *Földrajzi Közlemények* – Geographical Bulletin). Erődi claimed that there were many mistakes in the map. According to Erődi's thesis in the case of Muslims

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prince *Cherkassky* from 1877 used the above mentioned sources beside the map of Hahn, Dejardin, Erben, etc. when proposing the creation of Greater Bulgaria that was even bigger than Bulgaria proposed at San Stefano.

<sup>22</sup> Heinrich Kiepert (1818–1899) became famous as a youngster after his “Atlas von Hellas” (1846), he afterwards published the maps of Asia Minor and Palestine working on the spot. His map of the Balkans corrects many mistakes of former ethnological maps by indicating Turkish and Albanese dwelling-places.

<sup>23</sup> Ernst Georg Ravenstein (30 December 1834 – 13 March 1913) was a German-English geographer-cartographer and promoter of physical exercise. As a geographer he was less of a traveller than a researcher; his studies led mainly in the direction of cartography and the history of geography. He was in the service of the Topographical Department of the British War Office for 20 years (1855–75).

religion is still a stronger tie than ethnicity defined by spoken language: a Bosniak or Pomak would rather choose the Ottoman Empire and Turks (considering them as their real compatriots) instead of their Slavic speaking brothers. Thus, the over-emphasis of language as the main determinant of ethnicity in Kiepert's map leads to the diminishing of the Muslim character of the Empire. In his opinion the map on Crete in Petermanns Mitteilungen from 1866 is a good example of creating ethnic maps, as it indicates religious differences as well. Cross-hatching, applied by Kiepert also fell under criticism as it does not illustrate ethnic proportions in the applied way, not to mention, that Kiepert forgot to indicate 309 thousand Muslim Bosniaks, 250 thousand Circassians between Niš and Kosova (not even indicating them by hatching), 485 thousand Muslims of Macedonia (many were incorporated into a Slavic ethnic group based on their spoken language), 124 thousand Moslems in the Vilayet of Selanik and the same amount in Yanya, as separate sub-groups in his map.<sup>24</sup> Thus, Kiepert's map was too pro-Slavic according to the Hungarian scholar.

The first reaction of the British to the map of Kiepert (used at the Berlin Congress) was a map published by the British *Stanford* based on the work of *Joannis Gennadios*, which redrew the ethnic pattern of the peninsula according to Greek interests in order to hinder the justification of Greater Bulgaria (nevertheless it was still anti-Turkish confirming Greek claims over Ottoman territories). This attitude was repeated later at *Nikolaidis* (1899), *Phokas Cosmetatos* and *Colocotronis* (1919), and even Kiepert revised his views. The basic thesis of these maps was that Bulgarophone patriarchists and orthodox Albanians are Greek indeed (in contradiction to Boué's map, where the territory to the Gulf of Arta was

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<sup>24</sup> He even mentions, that a part of Hungary in the map (Torda county) was indicated as homogeneous Romanian not mentioning the Hungarians of Aranyosszék (Rimetea-Torockó).



considered Albanian in Epirus). *Stanford* maintained the statement, that the urban population of Macedonia was entirely Greek, whereas the peasantry was of mixed, Bulgarian-Greek origin and had Greek consciousness, but had not yet mastered the Greek language. The map of the French *Bianconi* (1877) was also pro-Greek, therefore they are worth comparing with our pie-chart maps created from the British and French data from that very year, which emphasized the predominance of Slavic element. These two maps contradict to the standpoint of *Stanford* and *Bianconi* (they even considered Bitola-Monastir Greek).

Greeks claimed that Macedonia had always been inhabited by Greeks, but Bulgarian barbarians, after invading the country, have enforced their language upon them,<sup>25</sup> but the theory of Bulgarian-speaking Greeks was challenged by the Bulgarian compilation of maps created by *Zlatarski* and *Ishirkov* for Kaiser Wilhelm in 1917, later used as argument at the Neuilly Peace Treaty.<sup>26</sup> From methodological aspect one

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<sup>25</sup> *“Is it possible, asked the Bulgarians, that uncultivated people impose a barbarian language upon a cultured nation speaking the language of Socrates and Demosthenes? ‘In the course of five centuries the Turks have not succeeded to enforce their language on those nations that have been subjugated by them in Europe, not even on those Christians that have gone over to the Mohamedan faith; and all the world knows that the Mohamedan Greeks of Epirus speak Greek, the Mohamedan Servians of Bosnia and Herzegovina speak Servian’.”* Die Bulgaren in ihren historischen, ethnographischen und politischen Grenzen by *Ishirkoff & Zlatarski*. Preface by *D. Rizoff*.

<sup>26</sup> It is the so-called *Rizov Atlas* in *Wilkinson’s* work. [http://www.promacedonia.org/en/dr/index\\_en.html](http://www.promacedonia.org/en/dr/index_en.html); The Bulgarians replied with citing statistics, that prove Bulgarian preponderance over Greeks (however forgot to mention the numbers of Muslims). In 1877 *Teploff* published a comparative table of the Christian population of Macedonia. In 26 of the 46 Macedonian kazas *Teploff* found 940.000 Bulgars and 2616 Greeks. *Rittich’s* statistics published in St. Petersburg in 1885, pointed out that Macedonia had 59.833 Greeks against 1.121.288 Bulgars. *Gaston Routier* in 1903 estimated the Greeks in Macedonia to be 322.000 as compared with 1.136.000 Bulgars. According to Turkish statistics, published in *Le Temps* in

should mention the pro-Greek map of *Synvet* (a French professor of the Ottoman Lyceum of Constantinople) from 1877, where the Greek-Bulgarian language boundary is veiled by the hatch symbolising the (underestimated) Muslims. The southern, orthodox Albanian territories are indicated as Greek, such as the coast of the Black Sea. Nevertheless, the map of Gennadios and Stanford is in contradiction with the estimation of the Pro-Bulgarian *Laveleye* (La Peninsule de Balkans).

If these maps are compared to the other two pie-chart maps created from the data of the Patriarchate the similarity to the patch maps published by Bianconi and Stanford is evident.

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1905, there are in Macedonia 270.000 Greeks against 1.210.000 Bulgars. Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon* finds, on the basis of Peucker's statistics, 240.000 Greeks in Macedonia against 1.355.000 Slavs. La Grande Encyclopédie states that the Greeks in Macedonia number 266.000, against 1.000.000 Slavs. According to Brancoff's statistics, Macedonia has 190.047, Greeks against 1.172.136 Bulgars, of whom 897.160 recognized the religious authority of the Bulgarian Exarch.

Further works stating Bulgarian predominance: Brancoff, D. *La Macédoine et sa population chrétienne* (Paris, 1905); Brailsford, H. N. *Macedonia, Its Races and Their Future*. London, 1906. Three kazas (Karaferia, Nasselitch, and Athos) are mainly Greek: 34.194 Greeks, 9924 Bulgars. One, Salonica has 33.120 Bulgars against 37.265 Greeks. But, in fifteen kazas the Bulgars predominate (Ochrida, Monastir, Fiorina, Kailiari, Kastoria, Dolna-Reka, Petrich, Demir-Hissar, Vodena, Melnik, Ghevgheli, Lagadina, Serres, Zihna, and Drama), with 76.668 Greeks against 512.426 Bulgars. The remaining twenty-two kapas of Macedonia are purely Bulgar (Kukush, Doiran, Enidje-Vardar, Tikvesh, Strumitsa, Razlog, Gorna-Djumaia, Nevrokop, Uskub, Veles, Tetovo, Kumanovo, Kratovo, Kotchana, Shtip, Radovich, Prechovo, Egri-Palanka, Prilep, Pechtchevo, Dibra, Kitchevo): 390 Greeks, 616,046 Bulgars. Other works: Ubinini, Hilferding, Leake, Kanitz, Tozer, Lamouche, Edmund Spencer, Schafarik, and Leon Dominian's recent book on *Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*. Brancoff refers to Hahn, Griesebach, Heuschling, Mackenzie and Irby, Roberts, Petermann, Muller, Dumont, Florinsky, Golubintzki, Obroutcheff, Makoucheff, Boudilovitch, Stein, Kolb, Circou, Bouch, Weigand, Milukoff, Bérard, Choublier, Bashmakoff. Not one of these authorities is a Bulgar. So likewise testify Edmund Spencer, Evans, Jagitch, Niederle, René Pinon, Laveleye (1888).

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It is also clear why the Muslims were indicated by cross-hatching on these maps instead of patches with real territorial extent – the conscription of the Greek Patriarchate simply neglected the Muslims and their numbers were given only at sanjak level, instead of kaza level; Greeks focussed on the Greek-Bulgarian rivalry and proportions instead.

*Tab. 2.* The population (in thousands) of Macedonia according to Laveleye and Rittich cca. 1868.

<b>vilaet</b>	<b>Bulgarian</b>	<b>Greek</b>	<b>Ottoman</b>
Saloniki, 11 kazas	302	30	96
Seres, 8 kazas	232	29	107
Skopje, 7 kazas	209	0	77
Bitola, 7 kazas	381	1	80
altogether	1124	60	360

This counteroffensive of pro-Greeks against ethnic mapping based on language forced Kiepert to change his mind and create his 'ethnocratic' new map for the peninsula based on several factors that play role in the formation of national consciousness like historical past, religion, physical geographical boundaries and economic sphere of interests (1878). Eastern Rumelia became the part of the Greek sphere of influence together with South Macedonia, while North Macedonia remained Bulgarian.

The Austrian *Sax* (diplomat, consul in Ruse and Adrianople) was also driven not only by scientific approach, when he turned against the biased linguistic approach and decided to indicate the combination of religion and language at the same time as determinative features of national identity.<sup>27</sup> Based on the works of Boué, Lejean, von Hahn, Kanitz and Kiepert his goal (beyond elaborating a new method) was to undermine the

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<sup>27</sup> Together with Baron Karl von Kraus they applied a new method to illustrate the complexity of Balkan identities by using terminology referring to religion and language at the same time.

legitimacy of efforts pursuing the creation of Greater Bulgaria, which was against the interest of Austria-Hungary (and Serbia). His categorization created 7 other Slavic groups beyond Bulgarians and Serbs. By creating the group of Muslim Slavs, he successfully isolated Bosnian Serbs from Kossowar Serbs and Montenegrins from Serbia, furthermore his hatching applied for Turks proved the ethnic diversity of Macedonia, although he still acknowledged Macedonian Slavs as Bulgars.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, the first Austrian ethnic map of the Balkans available for publicity was of excellent quality (the geographer Kanitz published ethnic data at settlement level, and Elek Fényes<sup>29</sup> on vilayet level in 1854, their ethnic map itself was not prepared), but definitely not impartial.

Prior to the activity Cvijić western maps did not tend to indicate Slavs living in Macedonia as Serbs or Macedonian Slavs: *Brailsford* in 1906 acknowledged Bulgarian character of Macedonian Slavs,<sup>30</sup> the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1911 did too. Even early Serbian official maps (Davidović, Dejardin, 1853, Hahn-Zach, 1861)<sup>31</sup> did not question the Bulgarian character of Macedonian Slavs. The only exception was – surprisingly – another Austrian subject (although Serbian of origin): Spiridon Gopčević in 1889.

The reason of the gradual change in the qualification of Macedonian Slavs on Austrian maps is mainly of political character. Prior to 1878 Austria-Hungary accepted Macedonian Slavs as ‘Bulgarians’, but the threat of San Stefano that a Greater Bulgaria might cut Austria from the Aegean forced

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<sup>28</sup> Ethnographische Karte der europäischen Türkei und ihrer Dependenzien zur Zeit des Beginns des Krieges von 1877 von Karl Sax, K. und K. Österreich-ungarischer Konsul in Adrianopel.

<sup>29</sup> Fényes E. A Török Birodalom leírása statistikai és geographiai tekintetben. Pest, 1854.

<sup>30</sup> Brailsford, H. N. Macedonia. Its Races and Their Future. London, 1906.

<sup>31</sup> See: Die Bulgaren in ihren historischen, ethnographischen und politischen Grenzen... Op. cit.

politicians to change their mind. Furthermore, Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia in 1878 redirected Serbia's ambitions towards Macedonia. The secret Austrian–Serbian treaty of 1881 gave free hand for Serbia regarding propagandistic activity in Macedonia in order to compensate the disillusioned ally. Soon Serbian episcopates were established with Ottoman consent to weaken Bulgarian propaganda. The map of Sax was a prelude to this change with its “ethnic salad”, culminating in the activity of Gopčević (1889). But even prior to that, Serbian pretensions started to grow. The map of *Miloš Milojević* from the period of Ottoman–Serbian war in 1877<sup>32</sup> illustrates the Serbian dreams about a Greater Serbia in case of victory, that included not only Bulgarian territories (where Serbian was spoken according to the legend), but Albania and Macedonia as well. This plan is a direct descendant of *Garašanin's* dream of the first Balkan League, in which a Yugoslavian state including Bulgaria was proposed, at first based on the principle of parity and equality,<sup>33</sup> but later all Bulgarians were considered Serbs.

Yet the greatest contribution to the Serbian cause (prior to

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<sup>32</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milo%C5%A1\\_Milojevi%C4%87](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Milo%C5%A1_Milojevi%C4%87). Milojević was a teacher in Belgrade, who organized a school for Kosovo Serbs and refugees, whom later he led in fight against Ottomans. In 1872 he claimed that all Geg Albanians were Albanized Serbs, but this theory was challenged by Stojan Novaković. Even Cvijić called him a propagandist, but later he used his theory in some of his maps.

<sup>33</sup> In 1867 negotiations were initiated between the Serbian Government and Bulgarian patriots of Bucharest, where a memorandum was drawn up and dispatched to the Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Garašanin, advocating a close union with Serbia. An agreement between the Bulgarians and the Serbian Government was finally reached according to which a federal Yugoslav State was to be created, incorporating all Bulgaria and Serbia. The term Bulgaria was explicitly explained as designating Bulgaria proper, Thrace, and Macedonia. Garašanin replied on May 22, 1867, that he fully agreed to the Bulgarian propositions. According to the Serbian paper, Vidov Dan (No. 38, March 29, 1862), the Bulgarian national frontiers extended from the Danube to the Aegean, and from the Black Sea to the lower Morava and the Black Drin.

Cvijić) was made by the Serbian-Austrian astronomer and historian *Spiridon Gopčević* (also known as Leo Brenner).<sup>34</sup> Both his argumentation and map was admirable: (1) in his opinion maps of non-Slavic cartographers are not authentic, since they are unable to feel the difference between dialects (this argumentation reappears at Cvijić); (2) the resolution of their maps is bad (under 1:500 000), they did not use settlement-level approach, but if they had done so, this would have resulted the same errors, since their topographic basemaps were full of mistakes (he corrected the Austrian topographic maps at 2000 sites). Since this map was printed in German as well, it could influence not only Serbian nationalists, but western politicians and scientists.<sup>35</sup> If we add to this, that the creation of this map coincided with the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first battle of Kosovo Polje (1389) and was in strong correlation with the renewal of the Austrian alliance treaty of 1881 with Serbia, it became clear why it considered the Slavs of Macedonia and Kosovo as Serbs. Gopčević further argued that the name *Bugari* (Bulgarians) used by the Slavic population of Macedonia to refer to themselves actually meant only ‘reayah’ – peasant Christians – and in no case had affiliations to the Bulgarian ethnicity.

When Austria-Hungary had once again established good relations with Bulgaria during the Stambolov government after the Russian–Bulgarian debate and the Serb–Bulgarian war of 1885, it again accepted the idea, that Macedonian Slavs are Bulgarians, and maps were created taking this into consideration (see the map of *Meinhard*, Geographische

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<sup>34</sup> <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/collections/maps/ethnographic/>

<sup>35</sup> Beyond the scientific merit of correcting the location of many places one should not forget, that Gopčević’s book was translated to German on the cost of Belgrade (and definitely served as an instrument for Serbian claims over Macedonia, related to the secret treaty concluded with Austria-Hungary in 1881), and he considered Albanians of Kosovo and even Gags as Albanized Serbs. Thus under the mask of accuracy, he was able to hint the ideas of Milojević.

Rundschau). After the deterioration of Austrian–Bulgarian relations owing to the Russian–Bulgarian appeasement after the fall of the Stambolov-government in the mid-1890s, and the secret Serb-Bulgarian agreement on Macedonia in 1897, Austria-Hungary once again tried to decrease the Bulgarian influence over Macedonia by denying its Bulgarian character, in order to secure the way to the Aegean. This implicitly meant that Austria-Hungary once again refused to consider Slavs of Macedonia as ‘Bulgarians’ on ethnic maps. This point of view was also adopted by Hungarian general and school maps at the turn of the century (1897).

Since Serbia also became untrustworthy by that period (1903 – coup d’état), Austrian military circles wanted to reach Saloniki through the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, thus the concept of the autonomous Macedonia of Count Andrassy (1876–1877) reappeared in 1896–1897. This Macedonia would have been an Austrian satellite-state, as indicated in the map of Calice, ambassador at Constantinople, or by Beck, then chief of staff. That’s the reason why ethnic maps created to support the Mürzsteg process (1903) indicated again Macedonian Slavs beyond Struma river and not Bulgarians.

The work of Gopčević was further developed by the linguist *Aleksandar Belić*. Belić labeled the local dialects of Macedonia and the Šop dialect along the periphery of Serbia as Serbian, claiming that the Serbian nation extends to W-Bulgaria as well. These linguistic researches later served as basis for Cvijić to redraw his map according to the growing Serbian aspirations. Less extreme than Gopčević, Cvijić and Belić claimed that ‘only’ the Slavs in northern Macedonia were Serbian, whereas those of southern Macedonia were identified as “Macedonian Slavs”, an amorphous Slavic mass that was neither Bulgarian, nor Serbian, but could turn out either Bulgarian or Serbian, if the respective people were to rule the region.

“Bulgaromania” still prevailed after 1878: Bulgarian pre-

ponderance is observable in the maps of the Serbian(!) *Verković* (1889) and of the Russian *Zarjanko* (1890).<sup>36</sup> Contrary to this the map provided by the Serbian High School at Belgrade in 1891 claimed that Macedonia was Serb and homogeneous. Albanians in Kosovo and even N-Albania were indicated only by hatching revealing the Serbian aspirations towards the Adriatic. Another interesting change is observable in the map of *Zarjanko*: contrary to the previous maps (like *Sax*), the boundary of the Bulgarian nation coincides with the state border towards Serbia (Niš and Pirot are considered as Serbs), while in the map of the Serbian High School, people in Sofia and its surroundings speaks Serbian!

The German *Weigand* (1895) gave more space to Greeks compared to Kiepert in Epirus around Delvino and Konica, but shrinks their territory in the region of Vodena-Edessa in favour of Bulgar-Slavs (this modification is accepted later by everyone except Greek cartographers). As a response to this map the Greek *Nikolaidis* created another one in which the Greek settlement area reaches Bitola, and Bulgarians are limited to

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<sup>36</sup> The Map of the "Slavic Peoples" edited by *N. C. Zarjanko* and published by *V. V. Komarov*, is the work of the Slavic beneficent Society of Petrograd. It was designed under the control of the professors of slavistic who were members of the society. The authors used the researches of well-known scientists, like *Grigorovich*, *Hilferding* and *Teplov* (who for a long time was an official of the Russian Embassy at Constantinople), and the rich material found in the Russian Foreign Office, in the Russian Embassies at Constantinople and at Vienna, and at the Russian General-Staff. This map contains important corrections compared to the former Russian map of 1867, chiefly relating to the expansion of the Bulgarians in South-Thracia, Deli-Orman, and in the Dobrudja; it is similar to Russian map by *A. F. Rittich* "Map of the West- and Southern Slavs" published in Petrograd. On the appearance of the map, *G. Simić*, at that time Serbian Ambassador at Petrograd, protested against the designation of Macedonia as a Bulgarian country in the map. The Slavic beneficent Society was forced to publish a second edition on which the Bulgarian colouring of Macedonia had been removed and substituted by "Macedonic-Slavs", but forgot to indicate them with a different colour. See: *Die Bulgaren ... Op. cit.*



the eastern confines of Macedonia (to the present border of Bulgaria). All the other Slavs were considered Serbs regardless of religion. This was the greatest cession to Serbs ever by a non-Slav. Another “merit” of this map that it limits the area of Macedonia, which makes it easier for cartographers to ‘prove’ the domination of Slavs or Greeks, as Moslems of Thrace and Albanians do not spoil the picture. In this case it meant that Nikolaidis successfully proved the dominance of Greeks over the Slavdom divided into 4 sub-groups (Serbs, Bulgars, mixed Albanian-Slav zone, hellenized Slavs around Bitola).

In that very year (1899) a map was created for the same territory by the Austrian *Meinhard* (director of the Bulgarian railway in Sofia), which showed Bulgarian preponderance in Macedonia defying Nikolaides’s statement. Serbs were indicated by hatching with uncertain territorial extent. The repudiation of Gopčević’s heritage was not only the result of the author’s pro-Bulgarian sentiments, but also owing to the deterioration of Austrian–Serbian relations. This map is very similar to that of the Bulgarian *Kančov* released in 1900, which became widespread after the Bulgarophile Russian politician Pavel Miliukov had published it in his atlas. Both maps were relying on the material of the Exarchate and the settlement level dot-map of the commercial agencies (1901).

Similar methods to ours (diagrams) were used by *Brankov* in 1905 who used kaza-level data to illustrate not only the ethnic proportions in Macedonia (of course with Bulgarian dominance) but their absolute numbers as well. The ethnic distribution of students in elementary schools was also illustrated in maps using the same method. The main differences between our method and his standpoint were that he used only 4 categories (while we relied on the double classification of Sax), Brankov did not indicate the Moslems (constituting 33-50% of the population according to different estimations) at all, resulting in a more homogeneous map. *Brailsford*’s map from 1906 was even more favourable for the

Bulgarian cause, since a foreigner MP, member of the Bulgarophile pressure group of the Balkan Committee acknowledged the Bulgarian ethnic character of Macedonia (and significantly decreased the territories inhabited by Turks, compared even to Kančov's map.<sup>37</sup> This was the high-tide of pro-Bulgarian sentiments (owing to the Macedonian reform movement, 1903–1908, which encouraged the Powers to elaborate several plans).

The technique of visualisation applied by *Sax* (the double criteria of ethnicity) prevailed after the Mürzsteg agreement (1903) in Austrian cartography. In order to promote the practical realisation of this agreement and to enhance knowledge on the coexistence of different nations, a huge work was carried out by Austrian agents at the turn of the century, who collected and sorted data on religion, ethnicity and finally once again put them on maps. Numeric data can be found at HHStA, Wien in Nachlass Szapáry and among the reports of Consul *August Kral*,<sup>38</sup> and several patch maps created based on settlement level maps of Bulgarian origin (like the map of Bitola vilayet, from the turn of the century)<sup>39</sup> are deposited at the Kartensammlung (without detailed description).<sup>40</sup> The latter were fit to the same projection system and redrawn in order to create a GIS-aided database<sup>41</sup> to make data comparable, while

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<sup>37</sup> Wilkinson, Op. cit., 140.

<sup>38</sup> ÖStA, HHStA, AB XIX/84. Nachlass Kral, K2. and ÖStA HHStA, Nachlass Szapáry, Kt. 3 b.

<sup>39</sup> Nationalitätenkarte der Europäischen Türkei cca. 1900  
Etnographische Karte Vilajet Bitola (Monastir, 1901)  
Religionskarte: Kosovo, Saloniki, Scutari, Janina, Monastir vilajeten.  
Christliche Schulen in Makedonien um 1900

<sup>40</sup> Some of the maps were published by Teodora Toleva in her book in 2012. (Толева, Т. Влиянието на Австро-Унгария за създаването на албанската нация, 1896–1908. С., 2012, 540–544), but in such a bad resolution, that neither the legend, nor settlement names can be read.

<sup>41</sup> This process included the georeferencing of data (fitting map-parts together, eliminating distortion, creating a common projection system,

based on the data of consul *Kral* a new pie-chart map was created, taking population number into consideration as well as indicating the proportion of different ethnicities. One difference is evident compared to Sax: Austrians decided to use the category of Macedonian Slavs (beyond Bulgarians and Serbians). They constituted the majority of Macedonia. This was not the first case that Austria-Hungary refused to acknowledge Macedonia as Bulgarian (or Serbian). A school atlas from 1897 also indicated Macedonian Slavs separately from Bulgarian and Serbian nations.

The term “Macedonian Slavs” was used by scholars and publicists in three general meanings: (1) as a politically convenient term to define the Slavs of Macedonia without offending Serbian and Bulgarian nationalism; (2) as a distinct group of Slavs different from both Serbs and Bulgarians, yet closer to the Bulgarians and having predominantly Bulgarian ethnical and political affinities (Austrian point of view); (3) as a distinct group of Slavs different from both Serbs and Bulgarians having no developed national consciousness and no fast ethnical and political affinities (according to the definition of Cvijić).<sup>42</sup>

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legend and reference unit /kazas/ for the maps) in order to obtain good resolution. This was followed by digitising (redrawing entities in Arc View 8.0) and database building (assigning qualitative and quantitative data to patches/kazas as entities), enabling us to carry out an analysis of the map-series from 1877–1903 regarding ethnic changes.

<sup>42</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic\\_history\\_of\\_Macedonia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Macedonia). In 1888 Kuzman Šapkarev in a letter to the Bulgarian Marin Drinov sharply criticized the word ‘Makedonci’, as it was imposed to his nation by outsiders instead of the used Bugari. But other ideologists in Macedonia, like Misirkov or Čupovski in St. Petersburg between 1912–1918 advocated that the Slavs of Macedonia should take a separate way from the Bulgarians and the Bulgarian language. Misirkov considered that the term “Macedonian” should be used to define the whole Slavic population of Macedonia. He used the dialect of Bitola just to emphasize the distance to the official Bulgarian language which was based on the Varna dialect, and argued, that the label Bulgarian was given by foreigners to his nation. But soon he became a supporter of Bulgarian propaganda, and again became the propagator of the

Independent sources in Europe between 1878 and 1918 generally tended to view the Slavic population of Macedonia in two ways: as Bulgarians and as Macedonian Slavs, but never as Serbians. The German scholar Gustav Weigand was one of the most prominent representatives of the first trend with the books *Ethnography of Macedonia* (1924, written in 1919) and partially with *The Aromanians* (1905). Brailsford in 1906 defined the dialect of Macedonia as neither Serbian nor Bulgarian, yet closer to the second one and used synonymously the terms “Macedonian Slavs” and “Bulgarians”, the “Slavic language” and the “Bulgarian language.” Practically all western scholars (with the exception of the mentioned Austro-Hungarians) before 1915 admitted, that the affinities of the majority tied Macedonians to the Bulgarian cause. In 1914 the Carnegie Commission report states that the Serbs and Greeks classified the Slavs of Macedonia as a distinct group, “Slav–Macedonians” for political purposes and this term is “political euphemism” designed to conceal the existence of Bulgarians in Macedonia.<sup>43</sup>

The Czech *Niederle* (1910) tried to solve uncertainties of mapping ethnic boundaries by indicating the distribution of dialects (šop, kaj, je, e) and other grammatic phenomena (but he refrained from classifying dialects into languages, he used the same colour for all Slavs as Cvijić did in his first map in 1906). The same method was used by *Belić*, who – contrary to *Niederle* – decided to classify the dialects regarding their distance from Serbian. He considered Macedonia and Bulgaria to River Isker as the home of Serbian-speaking dialects. Their late epigon, the French *Chateigneau* used *e*, *je*, *šop*, West-Bulgarian and Macedonian as categories in his map in 1924.

The Italian *Amadori-Virgilli* (1908) described only South-Macedonia (settlement level map). Muslim territories reached their greatest extent in his map (later the Romanian

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Macedonian nation after 1920.

<sup>43</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic\\_history\\_of\\_Macedonia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Macedonia)

*Atanasiiu* produced a similar one), because the Italian grouped together Pomaks, Albanians and Ottomans. He also considered Greek orthodoxy as one category integrating numerous part-archist Slavs and Albanians into this category. The remainder of Slavs was grouped into schismatic exarchists and Serbo-mans just to weaken the representation of Slavic element in the map. He considered religion as determinative element of ethnicity. So he used mixed categories (mixing religious categories with linguistic), and in doing this, his map was similar to that of the Greek Nikolaidis. Another Italian, *Barbarich* produced an ethnic map of Albania in 1905, with very realistic language borders in the north, but very rough in the south.

The cartography of the most influential Serbian geographer, *Cvijić* went through several stages. In his first map from 1906 he refrained from classifying Slavs further (he used one colour), but he indicated the preponderance of Slavs in Kosovo and even in North Albania. This could not be acceptable trustworthy, because in this region the dominant religion was Catholic, and Catholic Serbs were very rare. The reason of this misinterpretation could be that he (as Rezső Milleker or Rezső Havass in Hungary) wanted to create a propagator of Serbian geopolitical goals from geography. The area in question coincided with the Serbian railway plans (never realized) to reach the Adriatic, binding Russia, Romania and Serbia together in order to mitigate the pressure of the customs war with Austria-Hungary and to increase the independence of the state by finding new markets for Serbian products expelled from the Austrian markets (the date of the map coincided with the year of the “pig war”). The reaction of Austria-Hungary was the elaboration of the so-called Sanjak-railway plan in 1908. Surprisingly *Cvijić* did not indicate any Muslim Slavs in the Sanjak of Novipazar, which is a great intrepidity after the map of Sax.

His second map from 1909 separates Macedonian Slavs from Bulgarians, leaving the surrounding of Skopje to Serbs.

In Kosovo Albanians are indicated only by hatching,<sup>44</sup> similarly to the transition zone between Macedonian Slavs and Albanians or Bulgarians towards Greeks (Vlora–Monastir line). In his map from 1912 he reveals the aspirations of Serbia towards Albania and the Adriatic coast by indicating the proposed Pristina-Prizren-Durazzo and Dibra-Durazzo railway lines and delimiting the sphere of influence of Adriatic trade on the Priština-Skopje-Veles-Monastir line. These areas create an economic unit, therefore should be incorporated into the same state. As the result of this, his third ethnic map created in 1913 did not consider Albanian as dominant nation even in North Albania. While he used patches in the periphery (Kosovo), the core areas of the Albanian nation are indicated by hatching. So, from methodical aspects this map is untenable (the category of Albanian-speaking Orthodox Serbs also illustrates this). This ethnic map reveals the geopolitical aims of Serbia, and reflects the secret convention with the Greeks on the dismemberment of Macedonia in 1913 against Bulgarian desires. The supposed boundaries of the Bulgarian nation not surprisingly coincided with the demarcation line between forces (Vardar–line), which was proposed as preliminary border for Bulgaria. The map of the Greek *Soteriadis* (1918) even refused to offer this small territorial compensation for Bulgaria, for him everybody living in Macedonia (beyond the Bulgarian border in 1912) is Macedonian Slav. The map of *Nikolaidis* (1899) went through a similar modification (1914), since Greek claims on southern Albania had to be justified too. So the orthodox population was indicated as Greek up to the Devoli river and Lake Ohrid (316 thousand Greeks and only

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<sup>44</sup> The reason probably might be that Cvijić recognised the mimicry of local people which resulted dual identity in order to respond the challenges (oppression) of the central government and local landlords. Therefore he often use category of ‘Albanized Serb’ reflecting this fluid and quickly changing identity (orthodox Slavs dressed as Muslims, wearing the Albanian white hat to avoid harassment of tax-collectors, etc.). This might deceive travellers.

154 thousand Turks – the entente soon offered these territories for Greece if it activates itself in WWI). Thrace was indicated as Turkish–Greek mixed territory, indicating 500 thousand Turks, 400 thousand Greeks and only 100 thousand Bulgarians.<sup>45</sup> The last map of Cvijić in 1918 was similar to the one published in 1913 showing further Serbian aspirations on Vidin, which is indicated as Serb, while Vraca and Kjustendil are mixed, and the Macedonian-Bulgarian language boundary shifted from the Vardar-Struma watershed towards the Struma river.

When disseminating his new theory on Macedonian Slavs Cvijić could rely on the previous results of the Austrian mapping – as we mentioned. Scientific correctness was not characteristic for Cvijić's opportunistic mapping. Although in the English magazine "Review of Reviews" in October 1912 Cvijić claimed only the northern burroughs of the Skopje district (the towns Skopje, Kumanovo and Tetovo) with a small part of Northwest-Macedonia (the towns Debar and Struga), coinciding with the demarcation line drawn in the secret treaty of 1912 between Serbs and Bulgarians, within few months he changed his mind. After the victorious invasion of Serbian troops against Ottomans, in March 1913 he published another ethnographic map in the German journal "Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen" in which nearly one half of Macedonia was marked by the blue Serbian colour; and the rest of the Slavs (excepting the inhabitants of the east-frontier identified as Bulgarians) was proclaimed as "Macedonian Slavs".

The map of the Bulgarian Ishirkov and Ivanov reflected the same old Bulgarian views indicating Macedonia and Niš as Bulgarian regions. But at least the distribution of Muslims was

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<sup>45</sup> As the entente offered S–Albania to Italy and Thrace to Bulgaria as well, Greeks hesitated. Venizelos himself offered Kavala for the Bulgarians and the entente offered the Enos–Midia line to Bulgaria, but Serbia refrained from handing over Macedonia to Bulgaria even if the acquired Bosnia (only the 1912 division plan was approved by Pašić). The deal thus failed.

correct. The sources were those foreigners, whom Cvijić indicated untrustworthy: Griesebach, Pouqueville, Kanitz, Boué and von Hahn from among the travellers. Eneholm and Obruchev from the Russians and Lejean, Irby-Mackenzie, Mirkovic and Petermann from the cartographers (the same maps appeared in the so-called “Rizov Atlas”). Their main advantage was their impartiality, as most of them were not influenced by national rivalries. Even the opinion of the cartographer of the United Nations, the Lithuanian *Gabrys* agreed with the above mentioned views. The map of the Italian *Dardano* from 1916 accepted the Bulgarian stance, although the two nations were enemies in WWI. Many of the British historians J. A. R. Marriott, Arnold Toynbee and the map of *Neville Forbes* from 1915 considered even Skopje as Bulgarian. In order to defend Serbian interests (as the ally of Britain) the ethnic pattern of Kosovo was indicated only roughly, and the category of “Albanophone Greeks” was also used. Even plans compensating Albania with Ipek did exist (*Barnes*). Contrary to all these, the Serbian *Županić* indicated all Macedonian Slavs as Serbs (as did Gopčević a generation ago). The map of the *French Ministry of War* from 1915 refused the Serbian and Greek aspirations in Albania, but indicated Macedonian Slavs in Macedonia, like the map of the Englishman Stanford did so in 1917 (south from Skopje indicated as Serbian to the Vardar river, where it changed to Bulgarian). Taylor also recognized 3 nations in Macedonia. Seton–Watson finally accepted the arguments of Cvijić and described Macedonian Slavs as ethnically neutral people. The gradual shift of standpoints and the military superiority of the entente were indicated by the map of *Gross*<sup>46</sup> and of the *headquarters* that both claimed Skopje to be Serbian contrary to Neville Forbes. The French argued that Niš was the part of the exarchate when it was attached to Serbia in 1878 and noone (including the local

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<sup>46</sup> Races of Eastern Europe by Alexander Gross, published in The Daily Telegraph, 1918.

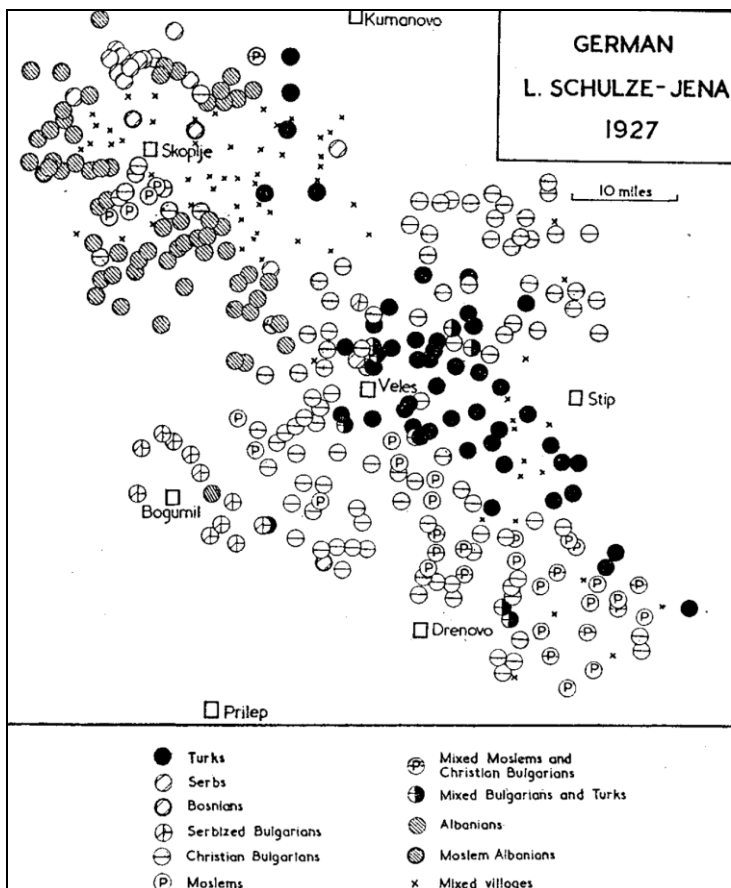


people) objected against this decision (Gallois).

After WWI even the German maps published in Leipzig 1924 (referring to the situation in 1912–1918) recognised the existence of Macedonian nation, such as that of the Albanians in Greece, and indicated the šop dialect separately. Another German map from that period coloured the area of Macedonia and Eastern Serbia as Bulgarian. By 1933 their standpoint became a bit sophisticated, indicating Macedonia as mixed area, and the territorial extent of other national minorities was decreasing in Greece. The last German map from 1940 used hatching combined with percentage values (line width) – this method was inefficient to delimit ethnic areas. The French map from 1918, *Carte ethnographique de l'Europe centrale et des états Balkaniques* used transient colours and cross-hatch instead of patches with explicit borders on the Balkans, while in the case of Hungarians and Romanians this method veiling the uncertainty of statistics and interpretation of identities was not used. The overestimation of Pindos Vlachs can be seen in the map of the two Romanians *Densusianu* and *Atanasiu* in 1919, the latter extremely exaggerated the territorial distribution of Turks.

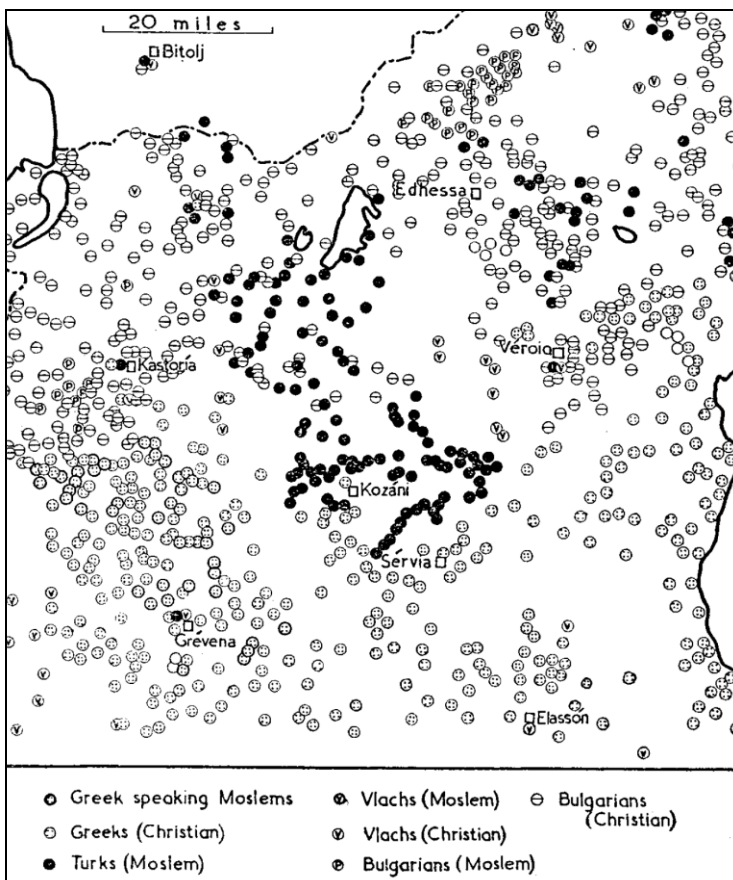
Significant ethnic changes took place in Greece after 1923 and that once again created a revival of ethnic mapping. According to A. Angelopoulos, published in the Journal of Balkan Studies, Greek Macedonia's national makeup in 1913 was 44.2% Greek, 38.9% Muslim, 8.7% Bulgarian and 8.2% others, which is definitely small proportion for Bulgarians, probably equaling only with the number exarchists. But two decades later this percentage value became reality. Although hundreds of thousand Greek refugees from Asia Minor settled down in Macedonia and Thrace, the northern part of Greek-Macedonia was then characterized by population decrease, which meant that hundreds of thousand 'Macedonians' were expatriated. According to Greek statistical data only the district of Florina showed Slavic majority in 1925 (34/59 thousand)

and their proportion was high only around Granitsa (22/48).



Schulze-Jena's map from the last years of Ottoman rule, published in 1927 cited by Wilkinson, *Op. cit.*, 251.

*Ethnic Mapping on the Balkans (1840–1925): a Brief  
Comparative Summary of Concepts and Methods...*



Hasluck's map from 1930 showing the situation in 1923, cited by Wilkinson, *Op. cit.*, 253.