

11th International Conference “Ohrid-Vodici 2023”

CHALLENGES OF IDENTITIES, CULTURAL HERITAGE, THE ENVIRONMENT, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OR TOURISM RELATED TO THE NEW CRISES

- Conferense Proseedings -



11-та Меѓународна конференција „Охрид- Водици 2023“

ПРЕДИЗВИЦИТЕ НА ИДЕНТИТЕТИТЕ, КУЛТУРНОТО НАСЛЕДСТВО, ЖИВОТНАТА СРЕДИНА, ОДРЖЛИВИОТ РАЗВОЈ ИЛИ ТУРИЗМОТ ПОВРЗАНИ СО НОВИТЕ КРИЗИ

- Зборник на трудови-

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Уредник

Рубин Земон

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-Conference Proceedings-

Editor

Rubin Zemon

Ohrid, 18-19 January, 2023

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Contents

Предговор/Preface 9

Поздравен говор на заменик претседателот на Владата на Република Северна Македонија, г-дин Фатмир Битиќи / Welcome speech by the Deputy President of the Government of the Republic of North Macedonia, Mr. Fatmir Bytyqi 11

Breda Mulec

CLIMATE CHANGE: HISTERYA VS REALITY 15

Jasminka Simić

“THE BALKAN ROUTE: DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS” 19

Milica Jokovic Pantelic

THREATENED IDENTITY UNDER THE ONSLAUGHT OF GLOBAL CRISES 33

Rubin Zemon & Amona Zemon

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN NORTH MACEDONIA AND BULGARIA: NEW CHALLENGES FOR NORTH MACEDONIA’S EU ACCESSION PROCESS 45

Božica Slavković Mirić

CHALLENGES OF IDENTITY IN KOSOVO AND METOHIJA IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO WARS 59

Milica Jovanovic

TOURISTIC PROMOTION OF SOUTH SERBIA AFTER COVID-19 CRISIS 68

Александар Манасиевски

Кристијан Манасиевски

ТУРИЗМОТ И ОДРЖЛИВИОТ РАЗВОЈ СООЧЕНИ СО НОВИТЕ БЕЗБЕДНОСНИ КРИЗИ 80

Nada Pesheva

PRESENTATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE DURING THE PERIOD OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC, INFLUENCE ON CULTURAL TOURISM 92

Damir Josipovič

THE PROTECTION OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: THE CASE OF ETHNIC MARKERS ALONG THE SLOVENIAN “SOUTHERN” BORDER AREA 100

Fariz Khalilli

**IDENTIFICATION OF WAR CRIMES IN THE KHOTAVANG
MONASTERY 112**

Mitko Trpkoski

Anis Sefidanoski

**METaverse: CLASH OF THE WORLDS AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW
HYBRID REALITY 123**

Marija Apostolova Nikolovska & Mirvet Ramadani

**„EDUCATIONAL IMMUNITY” - A CHALLENGE FOR THE
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE
WESTERN BALKANS 129**

Ahmet AYTAÇ

**KONYA-LADİK CARPET AND COLOR ANALYSIS FOUND IN
KOYUNOĞLU MUSEUM**

**KOYUNOĞLU MÜZESİ'NDE BULUNAN KONYA-LADİK HALISI VE
RENK ANALİZİ 138**

Salvatore Costanza

**CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SOUTHERN ITALY: LINGUISTIC
MINORITIES AND IDENTITIES TO BE PRESERVED 144**

Vabona Kalemi

**THE SURVIVAL OF CULTURAL HERITAGE THROUGH THE WORK OF
MUSINE KOKALARI 153**

Elvira Lumi

MOTHER THERESA THE SAINT OF CHRISTIANITY 162

Meleq Shopi, Denis Himçi & Heldi Kodra

**ONOMASTIC AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC FLOW IN THE *LEXICAL-
PHRASEOLOGIC AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC DICTIONARY OF MALËSIA E
MADHE* BY ACAD.PROF. GJOVALIN SHKURTAJ 168**

Florinka Gjevori & Dorina Daiu

**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ALBANIAN SCHOOL IN ELBASAN
REGION 173**

Mustafa Ibrahim

**“PRIVATE MUSEUMS OF ARBERES IN ITALIA AS A MODEL IN A
VILLAGES IN NORTH MACEDONIA” 180**

Gafar Jabiyev, Fariz Khalilli

CAUCASIAN ALBANIA – ANCIENT AZERBAIJAN STATE 188

Gunel Seyidahmadi

RESIDENTIAL HOUSES IN SHUSHA ARCHITECTURE HERITAGE 195

Taleh Aliyev

SETTLEMENTS AND CEMETERIES OF CAUCASIAN ALBANIAN PERIOD IN AGHYAZI PLAIN (GAKH / AZERBAIJAN) 203

Sadagat Ismayil gyzy Mammadli

EPIGRAPHY OF SALJUGIDS PERIOD (ON THE BASIS OF GANJA POTTERY) 213

Elmira Abbasova, Idris Gizi

WEAVING IN THE MIDDLE AGES IN SHIRVAN (based on archaeological materials and ethnoarchaeological research) 221

Nurana Alakbarova

THE LOVE LYRICS OF MAJRUH MUGHANI 230

Shola Bayramova

MEDIAEVAL AGSU CITY AS TOURISTIC COMPLEX 235

Aliyeca Kubra, Muxtar Kizi

TEMPLE SCULPTURES OF MANNA MAGUS AND THEIR PICTURING IN TABRIZ CARPETS OF XIX CENTURY 240

Dejan Metodijeski, Oliver Filiposki & Sanja Dzambazovska Zikova

ASPECTS OF MEDICAL TOURISM: ANALYSIS OF SPA OFFER IN NORTH MACEDONIA 260

Lendrit Qelli

“SOCIO-LEGAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE ROLE OF STATE MECHANISMS, INCLUDING COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR THE ROMA, ASHKALI AND EGYPTIAN COMMUNITIES (AS MARGINALIZED GROUPS)” 271

Burhanettin Senli

WOMEN’S MEETING IN KONYA IN THE TURKISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 285

Александра Кузман

КЛИМЕ САДИЛО – СИМБОЛОТ НА ОХРИДСКАТА ЧАЛГИЈА 293

Предговор

Ова е XI зборник на трудови, што произлегува од меѓународна конференција „Охрид-Водици 2023, која за прв пат се организираше во 2013 година, како меѓународна конференција за културното наследство, туризмот и медиумите, пред големиот христијански и народен празник „Водици“, кое одбележување овде во Охрид е туристичка и медиумска атракција.

Оваа година Конференцијата е посветена на „Глобалните трендови и закани на идентитетите, културното наследство, животната средина, одржливиот развој или туризмот поврзани со новите кризи“.

Светот што сè уште не е закрепнат од пандемијата на КОВИД 19 дополнително, војната во Украина предизвика многу поголема енергетска и економска криза. Овие нови кризи влијаат на нашите животи, особено на економската стабилност и одржливост на нашиот личен, познат, социјален, јавен, културен живот.

Новите кризи покрајот „Крајот на историјата“ или како последица на „Судирот на цивилизациите“ иницираат или враќаат во јавните дискусии некои од прашањата за кои мислевме дека се затворени или надминати со векови, особено во парадигмата на идентитетите. Некои од идентитетите се негираат, некои бараат подобра афирмација, а во јавниот живот се појавуваат и нови идентитети. Очигледно е дека прашањето на идентитетот е многу важно, особено ако се има предвид дека во современиот свет тој е еден од најмобилизирачките фактори.

Во текот на изминатите неколку години, забележан е значителен пораст во употребата на визуелни и дигитални техники за истражување, документирање, управување, презентација и комуникација на културното наследство. Печатените, видео и аудиомедиумите, како и „Новите медиуми“ добија улога на главна мерка за зачувување и афирмирање на културното наследство, но и како главни алатки за промоција на вредностите на културното наследство, особено како туристички производи. Ова драстично го трансформираше начинот на кој ги доловуваме, складираме, обработуваме, претставуваме и дистрибуираме информации.

Во текот на последните неколку децении, човечките активности, како што се климатските промени предизвикани од човекот и другите човечки влијанија врз еко системите, ги трансформираа природните системи на Земјата, надминувајќи ги нивните капацитети и нарушувајќи ги нивните механизми за саморегулација, со неповратни последици за глобалното човештво. Човештвото е веќе сериозно погодено од тековните системски еколошки промени, како што се климатските промени и промената на користењето на земјиштето (особено уништувањето на шумите).

Размислуваме и зборуваме за сценарија, организираме и планираме промени, но тешко е да се постават амбициозни и остварливи цели во исто време. Сето ова бара иновативна, креативна и континуирана соработка, и само ако оваа соработка е сама по себе одржлива, можеме да станеме навистина издржливи. Со таа цел, се надеваме дека оваа меѓународна конференција ќе даде мал придонес за тие достигнувања.

Preface

This is the XI Conference proceedings, resulting from the international conference "Ohrid-Vodici 2023", which was organized for the first time in 2013, as an international conference on cultural heritage, tourism and media, before the great Christian and folk holiday "Vodici", which here in Ohrid is a tourist and media attraction.

This Conference is dedicated to global trends and threats to identities, cultural heritage, environment, sustainable development or tourism related to new crises.

A world that has not yet recovered from the COVID-19 pandemic, in addition, the war in Ukraine has caused a much larger energy and economic crisis. These new crises affect our lives, especially the economic stability and sustainability of our personal, familiar, social, public, cultural life.

The new crises after the "End of History" or as a result of the "Clash of Civilizations" initiate or return to public discussions some of the issues that we thought were closed or overcome for centuries, especially in the paradigm of identities. Some of the identities are denied, some require better affirmation, and new identities appear in public life. It is obvious that the issue of identity is very important, especially considering that in the modern world it is one of the most mobilizing factors.

Over the past few years, there has been a significant increase in the use of visual and digital techniques for the research, documentation, management, presentation and communication of cultural heritage. The printed, video and audio media, as well as the "New Media" have been given the role of the main measure for the preservation and affirmation of the cultural heritage, but also as the main tools for the promotion of the values of the cultural heritage, especially as tourist products. This has dramatically transformed the way we capture, store, process, present and distribute information.

Over the last few decades, human activities, such as human-induced climate change and other human impacts on ecosystems, have transformed Earth's natural systems, exceeding their capacities and disrupting their self-regulatory mechanisms, with irreversible consequences for global humanity. . Humanity is already severely affected by ongoing systemic environmental changes, such as climate change and land-use change (especially deforestation).

We think and talk about scenarios, organize and plan changes, but it is difficult to set ambitious and achievable goals at the same time. All this requires innovative, creative and continuous cooperation, and only if this cooperation is itself sustainable, we can become truly sustainable. To this end, we hope that this international conference will make a small contribution to those achievements.

Поздравен говор на заменик претседателот на Владата на Република Северна Македонија, г-дин Фатмир Битиќи

Почитуван господине Кхалили, претседател на организацијата МИРАС од Азербејџан,

Почитуван господине Ајтач, член на програмскиот комитет од Универзитетот Ајдин Аднан Мендерес, Турција,

Почитуван господине Рубин Земон, претседател на Програмската комитет,

Почитуван господине Божиновски, заменик градоначалник на Охрид,

Почитувани присутни,

Ми представува голема чест да се обратам на 11-та научна меѓународна конференција на тема „Предизвиците на идентитетот, културното наследство, одржливиот развој и туризмот, поврзани со новите кризи“.

Подготвувајќи се за оваа конференција мислев што да кажам јас денеска додека стојам тука пред вас. Фатмир кој е Албанец во Македонија, студирал во Албанија, се вратил во својата татковина, работел долги години во граѓански сектор на важни општествени теми како помирување, кохезија, развој...

Фатмир кој сите овие важни општествени процеси ги препознал во политичка партија која не е од неговата националност, туку е доминантно македонска партија и кому оваа партија му ја дала довербата да може да служи. А кому, за која кауза? Зарем тоа не е прашање што постојано се поставува?

Одговорот за мене е лесен. Да им служам на луѓето, на моите сограѓани, на сите подеднакво.

Зарем немаме сите исти потреби, желби и соништа, стравови, среќа и тага? Зар е важно во кој храм ја кажуваш потребата на твојата душа, кога е искрена?

Низ сите мои години живот, борејќи се со сите предрасуди и поделби, а со некои од нив и сеуште, научив дека против нив не можеш. Затоа што против, еден спроти друг, значи конфликт.

Но научив како може... **МОЖЕ ПОКРАЈ!**

Покрај предизвиците да гледаме во можност, покрај минатото да се бориме за иднината, покрај различностите да градиме мозаик на заедништво. Верувам дека во ова време кое ќе го поминете заедно на оваа конференција ќе размените мислења и факти, но во сите нив ќе има и емоции, кои секогаш се врзани за идентитетот, вредностите, историјата и минатото кои не одбележуваат.

Но, историјата е добра основа за подобра сегашност и иднина. Историјата која не ја чуваме под стаклено своно и еднадвор ја набљудуваме, туку се обидеме да ја разбереме, ни помага да ги увидиме грешките кои сме ги направиле

и да ги запознаеме дури и најтемните кошиња на човечкиот дух и таму да запалиме светло.

Да, ова понекогаш може да биде непријатно и често и да не сакаме да го изговориме гласно, но точно во оваа nelaгодност учиме и растеме, точно во оваа nelaгодност можеме да ја најдеме колективната моќ за заедничката иднина.

Денешните модерни општества се соочуваат со многу комплексни предизвици кои бараат брза прилагодливост но и повеќе секторско или интер дисциплинарно делување.

Одржливиот економски развој, заштитата на животната средина, грижата за човековите права и многу други сегменти, не можат успешно да се адресираат само од една страна и еден актер, било да е тоа Владата, граѓанскиот сектор или бизнисите, туку бара здружено заедничко делување и партнерски однос.

Кон крајот на минатиот век, Светот за почна да зборува за нов феномен, оној на глобализацијата. Глобализацијата е третирана од различни перспективи и секој што зборува на оваа тема ја дефинира според сопствената перспектива и на тој начин дава идеи за можните предизвици кои ја придружуваат во културата, економијата и идентитетот. Но, она што јас го гледам во глобализацијата, не е закана од искоренување на јасното ЈАС, туку шанса за соработка меѓу народите, запознавање, толеранција и промоција на исклучителната единственост на секој еден, шанса да се запознаеме, а со тоа и да се почитуваме. Затоа, мораме да продолжиме да работиме за нашето едно општество, во чија основа е токму тоа, искрена намера да го запознаеме и цениме другиот и да создадеме безбеден простор, да е свој и да добие шанса каква што посакуваме и за себе.

Само така вистински ќе го креираме нашето – „Едно општество за сите“.

Да живееме, работиме, развиваме - блиску, едни покрај други. Поради тоа, денеска не дојдов со моите политички пораки за Охрид, Унеско, Старата Скопска Чаршија, Калето или Аквадуктот...

Дојдов како Фатмир, кој верува дека сето тоа ќе го вреднуваме, чуваме и пазиме сите, кога секој од нас ПОКРАЈ почитта која ја гати кон себе, ќе ја гати и кон секој спроти себе.

Како што верувам во себе, така верувам во сите вас тука, верувам во сите мои сограѓани.

Верувам, затоа што тоа е мојот идентитет. Верувам. Затоа што мојата историја тоа ми го потврдила. Верувам. Затоа што тоа го бара секој развој.

Ви благодарам.

Welcome speech by the Deputy President of the Government of the Republic of North Macedonia, Mr. Fatmir Bytyqi

Dear Mr. Khalili, President of the MIRAS Organization from Azerbaijan,
Dear Mr. Aytach, Member of the Program Committee from Aydin Adnan Mendres University, Turkey,

Dear Mr. Rubin Zemon, President of the Program Committee,

Dear Mr. Bozhinovski, Deputy Mayor of Ohrid,

Dear attendees,

It is a great honor for me to address the 11th scientific international conference on “Challenges of identity, cultural heritage, sustainable development and tourism, related to the new crises”.

While preparing for this conference, I was thinking about what to say today as I stand here in front of you. Fatmir, who is Albanian in Macedonia, studied in Albania, returned to his homeland, worked for many years in the civil sector on important social topics such as reconciliation, cohesion, development...

Fatmir who recognized all these important social processes in a political party that is not of his nationality, but is a predominantly Macedonian party and to whom this party gave him the confidence to be able to serve. And to whom, for what cause? Isn't that a question that gets asked all the time?

The answer for me is easy. To serve people, my fellow citizens, everyone equally.

Don't we all have the same needs, desires and dreams, fears, happiness and sadness? Does it matter in which temple you tell the need of your soul, when it is sincere?

Through all my years of life, fighting with all prejudices and divisions, and with some of them still, I learned that you can't fight against them. Because against, against each other, means conflict.

But I learned how it can... IT CAN!

In addition to challenges, let's look at opportunities, in addition to the past, to fight for the future, in addition to differences, to build a mosaic of togetherness. I believe that in the time you will spend together at this conference, you will exchange opinions and facts, but in all of them there will also be emotions, which are always tied to identity, values, history and the past that mark us.

But history is a good foundation for a better present and future. The history that we do not keep under a glass bell and observe from the outside, but try to understand, helps us to see the mistakes we have made and to get to know even the darkest corners of the human spirit and to light a light there.

Yes, this can be uncomfortable at times and often we don't want to say it out loud, but it is in this discomfort that we learn and grow, it is in this discomfort that we can find the collective power for a shared future.

Today's modern societies face many complex challenges that require quick adaptability but also more sectoral or interdisciplinary action.

Sustainable economic development, environmental protection, care for human rights and many other segments cannot be successfully addressed by only one party and one actor, be it the Government, civil society or businesses, but requires joint action and partnership relationship.

Towards the end of the last century, the world began to talk about a new phenomenon, that of globalization. Globalization is treated from different perspectives and everyone who talks about this topic defines it according to their own perspective and thus gives ideas about the possible challenges that accompany it in culture, economy and identity. But what I see in globalization is not a threat of eradicating the clear ME, but a chance for cooperation between peoples, acquaintance, tolerance and promotion of the exceptional uniqueness of each one, a chance to get to know each other, and thus to respect each other. Therefore, we must continue to work for our one society, whose basis is exactly that, a sincere intention to know and appreciate the other and to create a safe space, for him to be himself and to get the chance that we wish for ourselves.

Only in this way will we truly co-create ours - "One society for all".

Let's live, work, develop - close, next to each other. That's why I didn't come today with my political messages about Ohrid, UNESCO, the Old Skopje Bazaar, Kaleto or the Aqueduct...

I came as Fatmir, who believes that we will all value, keep and protect all that, when each of us, in addition to the respect he has for himself, will also have respect for everyone opposite him.

As I believe in myself, I believe in all of you here, I believe in all my fellow citizens.

I believe, because that is my identity. I believe. Because my history has confirmed it for me. I believe. Because that's what every development requires.

Thank you.

CLIMATE CHANGE: HISTERYA VS REALITY

Ahead of the UN COP25 Climate Change Conference in Madrid 2-13 December, the Parliament on 29 November 2019 approved a resolution declaring a climate and environmental emergency in Europe and globally. The Parliament wanted the Commission to ensure that all relevant legislative and budgetary proposals are fully aligned with the objective of limiting global warming to under 1.5 °C.² Combating climate change should be Parliament's top priority, reveals also Eurobarometer.³

*Climate change is one of the greatest threats of the 21st century and therefore national politicians argue the fighting climate change is urgent. Former Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia has required that Slovenia should proclaim the "climate and environmental crisis."*⁴

Climate change has been at the centre of several scientific debates. News media portrayals of climate change have strongly influenced personal and global efforts to mitigate it through news and film production. Young people have been engaged in environmental climate change issues. Young Greta Thunberg is a global phenomenon who is inspiring young people to protest climate change.

But some attention is paid furthermore to climate change skepticism. US President Donald Trump has accused climate change scientists of having a "political agenda" as he cast doubt on whether humans were responsible for the earth's rising temperatures.⁵ And his assertions and arguments were supported even by some scientists. Trump's statement should be understood in the context of announcing his decision to withdraw from the Paris Accord on climate change. As one of the biggest polluters of the environment, the USA has a dismissive attitude towards the accepted commitments.

1 Faculty of Governmental and European studies, European law school in Ljubljana, New University, Ljubljana & Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, Ljubljana,

2 European Parliament resolution of 28 November 2019 on the climate and environment emergency (2019/2930(RSP)), https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2019-0078_EN.html, See also Šifkovič Vrbica, 2020, p.p. 6–7.

3 »Podnebne spremembe bi morale biti prva prioriteta Parlamenta, menijo državljani. Evropski parlament (novice)«, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/sl/press-room/20191129IPR67710/podnebne-spremembe-bi-morale-biti-prva-prioriteta-parlamenta-menijo-drzavljan>.

4 »Bo tudi slovenska politika razglasila podnebno krizo. Siol.NET, <https://siol.net/novice/slovenija/v-dz-pozivi-k-razglasitvi-podnebne-krize-511879>.

5 »Trump znanstvenike obtožil, da imajo politično agendo glede podnebnih sprememb.«<http://novice.najdi.si/predogled/novica/3b5391b89e1dccb8f329226f7912c1/pOZNavalec/Svet/Trump-znanstvenike-obtozil-da-imajo-politico-agendo-glede-podnebnih-sprememb>.

In this paper, however I will not analyze the concerns of the skeptics in more detail. Regardless of that whether we believe in climate change or not, it is obvious that we are still facing mayor environmental health risks:

*Ninety-six percent of Europe's urban population is exposed to high levels of dust particles. Air pollution is a major cause of premature death and disease and is the single largest environmental health risk in Europe. Air pollution accounts for roughly ten-times more deaths than road accidents.*⁶ Every year, exposure to vehicular emissions air pollution is estimated to cause *40,000 to 130.00 premature deaths.*⁷ *Air pollution is still killing over 300,000 people in Europe each year.*⁸ Despite strong action and progress in addressing pollution related diseases in recent decades, air pollution remains a leading environmental health.

The statistics are alarming regarding the safe drinking water provision. UN General Assembly in a resolution underlined that almost 2.4 billion people still do not have access to improved sanitation facilities and almost 700,000 children under 5 years of age die every year, as a result of water and sanitation-related diseases. Therefore, the UN General Assembly once again called on countries to ensure the progressive realization of the human rights to safe drinking water and sanitation for all in a non-discriminatory manner.⁹

And finally waste management still deserve our special attention! Plastic waste poses a great environmental threat. In European Strategy for Plastics in a Circular Economy is written that *“around 25.8 million tons of plastic waste are generated in Europe every year.”*¹⁰ Plastic waste is a major threat, especially to the sea, as it has an extremely long lifespan. Many of these products, such as plastic bags have a lifespan of mere minutes to hours, yet they may persist in the environment, especially in the ocean, for hundreds of years. According to the European Environmental Agency, *“about 10 million tons of garbage”*¹¹ end up in the oceans every year. Among the waste, you can find bottles, bags, sanitary napkins, tampons, condoms, fishing nets and the like.

6 See the Web side of Ministry of environment and Spatial planning. »Zrak.« MOP, <https://www.gov.si/podrocja/okolje-in-prostor/okolje/zrak/> .

7 For more on this topic see: »POZOR: tukaj je dihanje nevarno! POROČILO MERITEV NO2 V LJUBLJANI,« <https://okolje-zdravje.si/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/POROČILO-MERITEV-NO2-V-LJUBLJANI.pdf> .

8 »Zdravje v središču pozornosti: prehod na ničelno onesnaževanje pomeni bolj zdravo življenje v Evropi.« Evropska agencija za okolje. <https://www.eea.europa.eu/sl/articles/zdravje-v-srediscu-pozornosti-prehod>.

9 Resolution 70/69 adopted by the general Assembly on 17 december 2015.

10 A European Strategy for Plastics in a Circular Economy, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, COM(2018) 28 final, <https://ec.europa.eu/environment/circular-economy/pdf/plastics-strategy.pdf>.

11 »Smeti v naših morjih. Evropska agencija za okolje,« <https://www.eea.europa.eu/sl/eea-signali/signali-2014/zakljucek/smeti-v-nasih-morjih>.

Media have generated debate on shocking issues related to the environment. According to some predictions, there will be “*more plastic in the sea than fish by 2050*”¹², unless the industry cleans up its act. It is understandable if the countries do not take timely action.

A lot of plastic waste remains uncollected, and *a lot of plastic has never been recycled at all*. Plastic processing does not bring profit. For some players is easier to burn plastic. Nevertheless, *burning of plastics* releases large amounts of toxic health and climate-damaging pollution including fine particles! Mystery fires are a series of unusual fires in Slovenia that have occurred in recent years and have not been formally explained.

But not only plastics, also other garbage!

Media reported on gravel pit in Kidričevo (Slovenia). The company Albin promotion, owned by entrepreneur Albin Brencl, dumped thousands of tires for processing in a gravel pit, even though the gravel pit should have been filled with recycled tires (granulate). But instead of granulate, tires and other waste were dumped in it. And shocking images of a *fire* burning across a landfill filled with old *tires* circulated widely in public. Following the inspection, in Kidričevo serious non-compliance with regulation and EU directive has been identified. The company completely ignored requirements imposed by inspectorate and did not react according to »*polluter pays principle*.« And during this time, when the company was making fun of the country, he was invited on national television to the show “The Right Idea,” where he presented his new business idea. After a failed business in Kidričevo, he was supposed to start exporting chicken paws to China!

The ‘polluter pays’ principle is the commonly accepted practice that those who produce pollution should bear the costs of managing it to prevent damage to human health or the environment. Slovenia was not efficient in eliminating pollution in this case. Therefore, the *Commission* opened own-initiative infringement *case* for non-compliance with the *Directive 2008/98/EC on Waste and Landfill Directive (1999/31/EC)*. Court of Justice of the EU in the judgment in the case C-153/16 ruled that the state was subsidiarily responsible for the remediation.

The state chose enterprise “Surovina” as the most favourable bidder in the public procurement who started the recovery of the gravel pit in Lovrenc na Dravskem polju. The aim was to remove waste from Kidričevo and for the state to avoid the financial penalties foreseen by the European Commission in case of delays in the recovery of the pit.¹³ According to official Ministry of environment and Spatial planning data, a total of 67,000 tons of waste was

12 More plastic than fish in the sea by 2050, says Ellen MacArthur. The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jan/19/more-plastic-than-fish-in-the-sea-by-2050-warns-ellen-macarthur>.

13 The Largest National Recovery of Irregularly disposed tires in Kidričevo is in the process of completion. Surovina. <https://www.surovina.si/en/news/the-largest-national-recovery-of-irregularly-disposed-tires-in-kidricevo-is-in-the-process-of-completion>.

removed from the pit in question.¹⁴ Removal costs amounted to just over € 9 million.¹⁵

Whether climate change is a reality or whether it may be considered global warming hysteria, nation states and the entire international community are facing big environmental challenges. Due to the seriousness of environmental challenges timely and effective implementation of international documents, European directives, and national rules is needed.

14 »*Uspešno zaključena odprava kršitve v zvezi z izvrševanjem sodbe Sodišča EU.*« IUS INFO, <https://www.iusinfo.si/medijsko-sredisce/dnevne-novice/292558>.

15 Ibid

“THE BALKAN ROUTE: DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS”

Abstract: The paper analyzes the values of Western liberal capitalism (democracy and the rule of law) and the concept of solidarity, on which the European Union is based, in the context of the Ukrainian conflict and the new wave of migrants in Europe. These are the key international problems in the three-year period of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Ukrainian conflict between two Christian countries in Eastern Europe has given birth to a “division of democracy” (a different understanding of democracy) and produced a new, “eastern” direction of migrants to Western and Southeastern Europe, as a new test solidarity in the European Union. The Balkan countries have already faced the cultural diversity of the migrant wave in 2015 from the Middle East and North Africa and the need to respect it and integrate the migrants into the new environment. Migrants are now also arriving via the old Silk Road, which is why the European Union controls attempts at human trafficking, arms and narcotics smuggling. Using the method of analyzing the documents adopted at the national, european and international level regarding the regulation of the multiple consequences of the Ukrainian conflict and the further legal regulation of migratory movements, with the use of the comparative method of statistical data and case studies, the author concludes that, due to various political-security, cultural and identity aspects of the Ukrainian and earlier conflicts in the Middle East and Africa, the Balkan route, as well as the old Silk Road, became a life-saving migratory connection, at the same time a problem for the European Union and the Balkan countries, which are on the path of European integration. That also puts the dominant Western cultural model vis-a-vis the traditional culture of the East in the broadest sense of the word.

Key words: cultural diversity, democracy, Ukrainian conflict, migration, Balkan route, Silk Road.

INTRODUCTION

In the last ten years, after the global economic crisis, the world began to change its political, economic and cultural features. The phenomenon of migration (2014), the crisis in Ukraine (2014), the COVID-19 pandemic (2020), and the Ukrainian war (2022), and their interconnection have caused the global consequences for the societies, also in the Balkans region, especially in the light of dominant philosophy of liberalism which places people and individuals at its center and set up some necessary conditions, such as freedom and equality, in order for people to be safe. The three visible processes have emerged from those developments, intellectually and empirically:

¹ Editor-Journalist of the Radio-television of Serbia, RTS, Belgrade

a) The first one, is skepticism towards european liberal values and reexamination the notion of democracy as a political form that has existed for thousands of years;

b) The second one, is rethinking of cultural diversity as a liberal democratic and european value, and multiculturalism as a type of individual freedom of free expression of distinct cultural or ethnic groups which is the basis of democracy and Western-style liberal democracy;

c) The third one, is the question of human security versus national security, having in mind the COVID-19 pandemic and migrant crisis on double track, the flow from Middle East and Africa through Balkans to Europe and the new one from Ukraine towards the Western European countries.

All of these processes are imbued by the concept of solidarity. European Union bases its dynamism on the concept of solidarity which “evolved through multiple crises in the past few decades before looking specifically at the solidarity mechanisms - and their limitations - set up during the COVID-19 crisis” (Pornschnegler 2021). The solidarity appeared explicitly in Article 2 Treaty on European Union stated that “The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail” (Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union 2020). The content of the principle of solidarity is developed extensively by articles 27 to 38 of Title IV of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union annexed to the treaty (Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union 2009). “Each big step in European integration includes a solidarity contract, intended to pool the risks or the efforts that are a result for some of the quest for joint progress” (Vignon 2011, 3). The spirit of solidarity is “threatened by the fears and anxieties that nationalisms and populism know how to exploit ... Major technological ambitions can only be addressed via a feeling of common belonging, of which solidarity is at the core (Vignon 2011, 3). Solidarity, respect for human dignity, equality, tolerance and personal commitment are the key value of the European Union that needs to be demonstrated towards all human beings across the world. Solidarity is the key common concept for the resolving the crisis and linking the civilizations.

The article proceeds as follows: chapter two, which provides the main characteristics of the fundamental Western liberal values and emerging new model of democracy advocated by so-called emerging countries, like China, and the “stabilocracy” as a state of democracy immanent to post-conflict societies including Western Balkan; chapter three about the stereotype of Huntington’s “clash of civilizations” in the conditions of the existence of conflicts between the same cultural environments like in Ukrainian conflict and internal and external migrations; chapter four, about the Balkan route as a synonym of the capability of Western Balkan countries to run the regional political and cultural ambience; and chapter five which offers a conclusion with the suggest how to overcome the challenges for democracy and human

security using theory and practice. The author, by the method of analyzing the content of documents relating on national, european and international level regarding the regulation of the multiple consequences of the Ukrainian conflict and the further legal regulation of migratory movements, and the comparative method of statistical data and case studies, concludes that, due to various political-security, cultural and identity aspects of those phenomena of Ukrainian war and migrations, the Balkan route, as well as the old Silk Road, became a life-saving migratory connection, at the same time a challenge on the path of European integration, facing to dominant Western cultural model to traditional culture of the East.

Available written literature was used in the work, domestic and international, as well as official documents from the United Nations, European Union and individual countries, including China and Serbia, concerning the legal regulation of migrant-linked issues and democracy.

”DIVIDED DEMOCRACY“: THE WESTERN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY VS. THE NEW MODEL OF DEMOCRACY

The complexity of the phenomena of migrations (the human rights of migrants), COVID-19 pandemic (the majority of the countries in the world imposed either full or partial lockdown to prevent the spread of the virus corona thus questioning the freedom of movement) and Ukrainian war (insecurity, migrations, sanctions) have been making a new political and security environment for the people to rethink the essence of democracy. Those developments have influenced the world to move between Western liberal democracy to the new model of democracy advocated by China and other countries politically close to it. Between that is so-called “stabilocracy“, as it has been marked in the Western Balkans.

The peace is the basis of the all mentioned models of democracy, but the spirit and instruments of achieving the democratic goals of these models are different in terms of the basic values of human rights and the market economy.

The state of democracy is the very current question since the crisis in Ukraine in 2014, and because of that the model of democracy is the key issue for the new reshaping the world and international order. What the model of democracy will be in the future, after the officially end of COVID-19 pandemic, or beyond the Ukraine war and mitigating the process of migration, should be the most important issue of theory and practice of international policy.

The Western liberal democracy

Some of the authors wrote that the creation of an international regime of human rights represented the triumph of liberalism over realism. „The human rights movement rejected the realist vision dating back to the 17th century and Thomas Hobbes, who presented world politics as a war of all

against all, and in that sense good and evil, justice and injustice have no place. International laws revised the traditional realistic protection of the state, redefined the relationship of the state to the people“ (Kegley, Witkoff 2004, 385). The main reason is the fact that „The state is necessary to preserve individual liberty from being destroyed or harmed by other individuals or by other states, always should be the servant of the collective will, not the master, as Realism advocated“ (Baylis, Smith 2001, 178).

In the core of Liberalism is the liberty of the individual, including civil rights and human rights, and “domestic and international institutions are to be judged according to whether they further this aim... This basis principle allows for significant variations for those who believe that freedom needs to be constrained for the greater good“ (Baylis, Smith 2001, 164). Liberalism support private property, market economies and liberal democracy which encompasses the separation of powers, an independent judiciary and a system of checks and balances between branches of government and multi-party systems as its main (at least two persistent and viable political parties) characteristic. Majority of the world countries are democratic with the electoral system and multi-party systems.

Individual liberty, free trade, prosperity, interdependence are determinants of the peace. Democratic peace is the central part of the liberal international thought, which means that war has become unthinkable between liberal states. Also, the contact between peoples of the world through trade or travel will facilitate a more pacific form of international relations.

The New Model of Democracy: Chinese experience

China did not follow the established path of Western countries in its modernization drive and did not duplicate Western models of democracy, but created its own. The foundation of People’s Republic of China on October 1, 1949, ”marked the ultimate transformation of the country from the rule of feudal autocracy, which had been in existence for several thousand years, to a people’s democracy. It ushered in a new era for democracy in China. It turned a dream into reality – the people running their own country“ (China: Democracy That Works 2021). Modern China was born in the era of Liberalism after the atrocity of World War II giving its contribution to developing the modern world society. In the years of reform, opening up and socialist modernization after 1978, the Party led the people in advancing socialist democracy and the rule of law, sticking to the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics.

COVID-19 pandemic which broken up in China in 2020, and very quickly, in the early phase, put under control helping to the other countries hitted by pandemic, at the same time maintaining the global economy, gave China and other similar countries, opportunity to reinvent the course of a new model of democracy, like Chinese model. This is a form of democracy in line with Chinese national conditions, they argue, with distinctive Chinese features which at the same time reflects humanity’s universal desire for democracy. It has contributed a new model to the international political spectrum, rejecting

to duplicate Western model of democracy (China: Democracy That Works 2021).

„The people’s status as masters of the country is the essence of people’s democracy underlines in China. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, with a deeper understanding of China’s path to democracy and the political system, the Party has developed whole-process people’s democracy as a key concept and striven to translate it and relevant democratic values into effective institutions and concrete actions“ (China: Democracy That Works 2021). This idea is very close to the previous mentioned conclusion about the state as a servant of collective will given by American authors Baylis and Smith.

The fact is that the Chinese model of democracy contains elements of Western liberalism, imbued with the characteristics of a long Chinese history, culture and traditional society that care about national interests and the building and consolidating state power during socialist revolution and reconstruction (1949-1978), which indicates on theory of Realism.

Since the Party’s 18th National Congress in 2012 when came into the power president Xi Jinping, socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era, especially to develop whole-process people’s democracy, beginning a new stage of democracy. Some of the the main aims are, ”advancing democratic elections, consultations, decision-making, management, and oversight, progressing electoral democracy and consultative democracy side by side, and expanding the people’s orderly political participation and the scope of democracy; consolidating the people’s principal position in the country’s political and social life; achieving a strategic success in the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic; ending absolute poverty, and completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects”(China: Democracy That Works 2021). This concept of democracy supposes a phenomenon that is constantly evolving and developing based on simultaneously, the tradition and different peoples’ exploration and innovation.

Having in mind that electoral system and multi-party systems are the main attributes of democratic countries in the teheory of liberalism, one-party system of Chine does not correspond to it. But, a primary view of Chinese-style democracy is through the formal processes of the people’s congresses, culminating with the National People’s Congress (NPC), China’s highest body of state power. “As of 2022, there were more than 2.6 million deputies to China’s five levels of people’s congress: state, provincial, municipal, county and township, with all deputies of congresses at the level of county and township elected directly by voters“ (Kuhn 2023). Deputies of people’s congresses are elected according to the Chinese system, which is always under the leadership of the Party.

As more and more countries in the course of the Ukrainian conflict are politically and economically grouped around China as the leading power, the question of the form of democracy can also be accepted in the way it is discussed in China. Or, to have the confidence in developing their own democracy.

The stabilocracy as a paradigm for post-conflict societies

The stabilocracy gives the priority to the stability of states and societies (maintaining peace) over the democratization (character of government and democratic freedom). Democracy vs. stabilocracy is a paradigm of post-conflict societies, especially in the Western Balkans (Simić 2019, 81). It means that stability, i.e. peace, is the priority in the region over democratic values, having in mind the hard recent history among the countries. Some scholars emphasize that “During the pandemic, incumbent governments have seized the opportunity to strengthen the executive while legislative and oversight functions of national parliaments were weakened“ (The EU as a promoter of democracy or ‘stabilocracy’ in the Western Balkans 2022, 9).

The fragile democratic institutions in the Western Balkan countries should be boosted by further democratic transformation in line with the values enshrined in Article 2 of the Lisbon Treaty in which states: „The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail (Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union, Article 2, 2009). Also, according to the Copenhagen Criteria, most notably those in the political area.

The Treaty on European Union sets out the conditions (Article 49) and principles (Article 6(1)) to which any country wishing to become a member of the European Union (EU) must conform. Certain criteria must be met for accession, known as the Copenhagen criteria, were established by the Copenhagen European Council in 1993 and strengthened by the Madrid European Council in 1995. They are: a) stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities; b) a functioning market economy and the ability to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the EU; c) the ability to take on the obligations of membership, including the capacity to effectively implement the rules, standards and policies that make up the body of EU law (the ‘*acquis*’), and adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union (Accession criteria Copenhagen criteria 1993).

The challenges facing the countries of the Western Balkans are, implementation of the principles of the rule of law and justice which is a condition for foreign investments that also require political stability, then the fight against corruption, border control and regional cooperation. Western Balkan countries need mutual good relations for reasons of trade and security, as they do by developing the Open Balkan project (2021). All of this can lead to overcoming the “stabilocracy“ and return to liberal democracy.

THE (NO) CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

The West has been the dominant civilization in the modern age, and all other civilizations have had to deal with its influence. During the Cold War

the differences were defined in ideological and economic terms and imposed upon world politics regardless of the cultural characteristics, stated American authors Baylis and Smith. The end of the Cold War heightened the significance of cultural identity and the liberal idea as a combination of liberal democracy and the free market, embraced a certain degree of multiculturalism.

It started a new period where "non-Westerners were no longer the helpless recipients of Western powers but now counted amongst the movers of history... The rise of civilizational politics intersected four long-run processes at play in the international system: the relative decline of the West; the rise of Asian economy and its associated cultural affirmation; a population explosion in the Muslim world, and the associated resurgence of Islam; the impact of globalization with the expansion of the transnational flows of commerce, information, and people" (Baylis, Smith 2001, 461-462).

The cultural diversity and multiculturalism have been emphasized during the migrant crisis in Europe 2014-2020, with the slightly distance towards the migrants belong to other cultures and religious from Middle East, Far East and Africa. In 2020 the Eastern Mediterranean route accounted for almost 16% of all illegal border-crossings in the European Union, with the next most common route being the Western Balkans with its highest rate in 2015. While the Eastern Mediterranean route consistently has a high share of illegal border crossings, the Central Mediterranean route into Italy experienced the majority of illegal border-crossings in 2017, before the Western Mediterranean saw increased focus in 2018 (Percentage of illegal border-crossings between border-crossing points to the European Union from 2014 to 2020, by main routes 2023).

Thus, it has been evoking the spirit of Samuel Huntington's essay edited in 1993, and than book "The Clash of Civilizations", with the main hypothesis "that the fundamental source of conflict in the new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural likewise, the conflicts between nations and groups of different civilizations" (Huntington 1993). "Huntington highlighted the tension that existed between Western and Islamic culture" (Baylis, Smith 2001, 463).

There was the confirmation of the Huntington's thesis in the case of Afghanistan (2001), Iraq (2003), or Arab Spring (2010) when Western countries interfered in it. Contrary to that, the Ukrainian war didn't break out between two countries religiously and culturally different, but very close with intertwined culture, history and religion, Christian countries. It means "no clash of civilizations" but clash inside the one civilization due to ideological, political and security reasons. The base of conflict is the position of the two countries in the world affairs. In this case, national states remained the most powerful actors in world affairs. Democratization, advocated by the Liberalism, has led to creation of international organizations and peaceful world, while the Realism indicates that governments in the same way have responded to similar security threats regardless of the form of government. Some of the authors do not agree with Huntington's thesis on the clash of

civilizations, claiming that “Huntington dangerously confused the general concept of culture, which includes social and religious beliefs and behaviors, with the concept of political culture... In the Asian world there are many adherents of the universal applicability of Western values and practices such as democracy“ (Mojsi 2009, 33). Political culture is a network of individual orientations and attitudes of members of society towards the political process, as claimed by the founder of the concept of political culture, Gabriel Almond. In support of this is the claim of the author, issued in the previous chapter, giving an example of the character of the new Chinese democracy.

The characteristics of one civilization or the political system become dominant in reshaping the world and have the influence in designing the democracy in a wider sense than it existed in the past. It means, reexamination of conceptual framework of cultural diversity as a liberal value and multiculturalism as a type of individual freedom for free expression, which is the basis of democracy and Western liberal democracy.

The role of emotions in the geopolitics

Culture can help to understand why people do a certain act and what similarities and differences exist between them. On that track, French author Dominique Moïsi introduced a new element in the comprehensive understanding the world and geopolitics – the emotions.

The world as a whole has never been so intertwined in the era of globalization, at the same time numerous, different and various in the terms of values, living conditions, or way of life. In order to avoid that complexity, one can choose to ignore them. Cultural and historical understanding of differences and similarities is the essential for the more tolerant world. In multicultural societies, the ”other“ will increasingly become a part of us, argued Moïsi.

Globalized world is an ideal ground for the flourishing of emotions, the fact that globalization causes insecurity and raises the question of identity. “Identity is linked to trust, and trust, or the lack of it, is expressed through emotions – especially through fear, hope and humiliation. Although geopolitics deals with rational things, such as borders, economic resources, military power, national interests, emotions may have come to the fore again on the international stage,” partly because the West can no longer rely on its values or its declining economic supremacy“ (Mojsi 2009, 26).

Some conflicts have emotional dimension (Yugoslav wars, Russia-Ukraine war, Israel-Palestine crisis). ”Emotions show how much a society believes in itself“. It is precisely this degree of trust that connects certain abilities of society to recover from the crisis, to respond to challenges and to adapt to constantly changing circumstances (Mojisi 2009, 44). The emotions have the impacts on people’s behavior, relations between the cultures and the behavior of the nation. Emotional boundaries in the world have become as significant as geographical ones.

The emotions are not much analyzed factor in international relations and the behavior of individuals, thus, formulating the emotional patterns of our world may be a dangerous task, but pretending these patterns don’t exist would be even more dangerous, claimed Moïsi.

HUMAN SECURITY

Liberalism as a discipline of international relations concentrates on broad normative visions aimed at ensuring that people will be safe, for example by adopting universal human rights. This led to the development of “the concept of human security with the view that threats to people, as well as to state entities, are changing and increasing. In addition to violence within the country, there are also non-military threats such as the destruction of the environment and the consequences of global warming, pandemics such as HIV/AIDS, SARS, bird flu, and the movement of people (refugees and displaced persons), as well as internal violence, and these transnational problems have serious local, regional and global consequences (Kerr 2010, 115). These threats encompass the COVID-19 pandemic and Ukrainian war.

The concepts of solidarity and human security are the core of European and liberal’s values helping to face with the currently challenges. In 2016, with unprecedented numbers of irregular migrants and asylum seekers arriving in the EU, the European Commission proposed a package of reforms for the common European asylum system. The reform stalled owing to persistent disagreements among the member states on how to apply the principle of solidarity in practice and share their responsibilities in the area of asylum in a fair manner. EU has still not managed to agree on the pact on asylum and migration presented in September 2020 by the European Commission, despite that European Parliament and European Council two years later agreed on a joint roadmap that would bring about the adoption of the legislative proposals on asylum and migration management before the end of the period 2019-2024 legislature (EU Pact on migration and asylum 2022). It is need that EU move forward on this sensitive file that the Ukrainian war had almost eclipsed.

After the absence observed during the COVID-19 pandemic (2020-2023), migratory pressure has started to rise at the end of 2022 from the Middle East due to economic problems and severe winter. At the same time, around 8.2 million Ukrainian refugees were registered across Europe and most of them fled the country by crossing the border with Poland from the beginning of the conflict on February 24, 2022. Nearly 2.9 million refugees from Ukraine were recorded in Russia as of October 2022. Furthermore, approximately 1.6 million were reported to have fled to Poland as of May 2023, and the lowest rate is in Turkey about 96.000 refugees (Estimated number of refugees from Ukraine recorded in Europe and Asia since February 2022 as of May 9, 2023, by selected country 2023). This poses a question of “human security versus national security“ (Kegli, Vitkof 2004, 367).

The concept of human security comes from the report on the political processes of the United Nations Development Program (1994). In that document, human security is described as a state in which people are freed from traumas that burden human development. “Human security means, security from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression; and, protection from sudden and harmful disruptions of everyday life, whether at homes, workplaces or communities“ (Kerr 2010, 115).

The security studies, as a sub-discipline of international relations places people at the center of their critique of state-centric and military security. The importance of state-centric attitudes is not contested to the extent that they deal with the protection of the state from external military forces of a real-politik nature. “The concept of human security shows that this state-centric realism is not a sufficient security argument insofar as it does not adequately respond to the security of people from political violence within states“ (Kerr 2010, 128).

The meaning of the Balkan route

The Ukraine war caused a wave of migration alongside the lines of Eastern and Western Europe. And those migrants are well received in neighboring countries and in Western Europe entering without visas and with the great level of solidarity. As of March 2023, 4 million people from Ukraine benefit from the temporary EU protection mechanism. (Refugees from Ukraine in the EU 2023).

The migrant wave escalated from the Far East in 2022 using the old Silk Road in moving towards the Balkan route and Europe. Drug traffickers still utilise the old Silk Road network of routes to bring heroin to the EU market, as it was in the previous time (Bril, Udalova Olcott 2000, pp. 4-6). Migrant smuggling activities are also intense in these areas. Balkans has become civilizationally and culturally on the central line of migratory movements and international relations in general.

Having that in mind, the Commission of EU adopted a recommendation to the Council of EU to authorise the opening of negotiations of upgraded European Border and Coast Guard Agency’s (Frontex) status agreements between the EU and Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, as well as with Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Commission adopted a new assistance package worth €39.2 million under the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA III) to strengthen border management in the Western Balkans (EU increases support for border and migration management in the Western Balkans 2022). According to the latest statistical data of the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration of the Republic of Serbia, 124.127 migrants were registered in reception and asylum centers in 2022 (Godišnji izveštaj Komesarijata o migracijama za 2022. godinu 2023).

The Action Plan sets out a series of measures to reinforce the EU’s support to member states facing increased migratory pressure along the Western Balkan routes. Irregular movements along the Western Balkans routes have significantly increased in 2022 due to several factors, including economic pressures and insecurity resulting from ongoing conflicts (Migration routes: Commission proposes Action Plan for cooperation with Western Balkans to address common challenges 2022).

The Action Plan on the Western Balkans presented by Commission in 2022 identifies 20 operational measures structured along 5 pillars: a) strengthening border management along the routes (the Frontex joint operations and deployments will be strengthened, and new status agreements will

be negotiated swiftly); b) swift asylum procedures and support reception capacity (continued support for the Western Balkans partners includes further strengthening their asylum and registration procedures as well as ensuring adequate reception conditions); c) fighting migrant smuggling (Commission launched an Anti-Smuggling Operational Partnership and continue strengthening actions along the whole route it is necessary to establish a Europol operational task force, enhance participation of all Western Balkan partners in the EMPACT cycle 2022-2025 and implement the adopted IPA programme on anti-smuggling.); d) enhancing readmission cooperation and returns (stepping up cooperation and coordination at operational level between the EU, the Western Balkans and countries of origin); e) achieving visa policy alignment (the report focuses on actions taken to address the recommendations made by the Commission). The measures are focused on support to or actions by Western Balkan partners, and action in the EU. It aims to strengthen the cooperation on migration and border management with partners in Western Balkans in light of their unique status with EU accession perspective and their continued efforts to align with EU rules (Migration routes: Commission proposes Action Plan for cooperation with Western Balkans to address common challenges 2022).

As criminal networks are highly international, their supply chain and markets affect multiple countries and pose a threat to the EU as a whole. Europol's EU SOCTA 2021 (Serious and Organized Crime Treat Assessment) outlines that 80% of the criminal networks active in the EU use legal structures to facilitate their criminal activities. The exchange of operational information and joint investigations during the operation contributed to more interceptions and the development of ongoing cases.

European Union intensified checks to detect trafficking along the old Silk Road. The EMPACT (European Multidisciplinary Platform Against Criminal Threats) Joint Action Days were made possible through the cooperation of border guards, customs authorities and national units of the Western Balkan countries in order to exchange of operational information. During the course of the operation, Montenegro, with the support of the Countering Serious Crime in the Western Balkans – IPA 2019 Project, hosted an operational centre to enable the swift exchange of operational information between the participants. A Europol analyst was deployed to the operational centre to provide live analytical support to field operatives. During the action week, Europol also deployed an expert to Bosnia and Herzegovina to facilitate the real-time exchange of communication between the participating authorities. Europol also deployed officers to support the Moldavian authorities. Further support has been provided in the context of the Ukrainian war to mitigate the threats of arms trafficking into the EU.

The Balkan route is between citizen/human security as a concept that refers to the level of protection and promotion of individual well-being, as opposed to national security that prioritizes the interests of the state, and the human and economic rights of migrants, between liberal democracy and cultural diversity. The human security is a factor of concern in the refugee crisis. The Balkan route, as well as the old Silk Road, became a life-saving

migratory connection, at the same time a problem for the European Union and the Balkan countries which are on the eurointegration path.

As such, the Western Balkan countries face the challenges not only to meet the Copenhagen criteria but of the burden of external developments like migrants and conflicts. Their geographically position on the periphery of Europe makes them suffer the most from the pressure of preserving liberal values and cultural diversity in these circumstances. All of this makes the Balkan route a specific concept that contains a cultural, civilizational, emotional and political aspect in the context of numerous challenges politically caused from the outside.

CONCLUSION

The new circumstances in international relations created by the war in Ukraine, along with migratory movements and the COVID- 19 pandemic have reoriented the focus on the issue of democracy, human rights and national interests, emphasizing the differences between the two schools of learning in the theory of international relations, Liberalism and Realism. It manifests itself in the phenomenon of a "divided democracy " or democracy of two poles, Western liberal values and values the others, or civilization like Chinese one. The hegemony of the West and of its liberal-capitalism challenged the culture and social order of most societies. The culture of the West was the dominant force in the process of globalization and globalization also fostered multicultural landscapes across the world.

The key question for Liberalism in the new century is weather can it re-invent itself as a non-universalising, non-westernising political ideas which preserves the traditional liberal value of human solidarity without undermining cultural diversity. Some of the authors like Held outlined "cosmopolitan model of democracy" with reforms of United Nations as a genuinely democratic and accountable global parliament. There is no clash of civilization, but the clash between the various conceptualization of the term of democracy and democratic values, as a fundamental base for further survival of humanity. It is decisive matter for countries on the Balkan route of civilization which share difficult history, but still have a common european perspectives and democratic future.

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THREATENED IDENTITY UNDER THE ONSLAUGHT OF GLOBAL CRISES

Abstract: The paper analyzes the causes, reasons and consequences of global crises in relation to identities. Globalization as a phenomenon has a twofold impact on identities: it brings them closer together and affirms them, but at the same time, it threatens identity differences through the processes of assimilation and identity uniformity. The aim of the work is to see how global crises, primarily political and economic ones, disintegrate identities. Such identity disintegration under the influence of global, political and economic crises has been manifested in migrations during the two decades of the 21st century. The paper also analyzes two migrant waves: the first, from 2015 to 2019, and the second, from 2022 to date. The first is a consequence of the political crisis caused by the wars in Syria, Afghanistan, Libya, Nigeria and Eritrea, and the second is a consequence of the war conflict in Ukraine. The migrations that are a consequence of those wars have moved millions of people, especially towards the countries of the European Union. This also includes economic migrations as a consequence of poverty and misery in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. These migrations open up and fuel major identity problems, both now and in the future.

Key words: identity, globalization, crisis, migration.

IDENTITY PARADOXES AND GLOBALIZATION PARADOXES

Globalization is a paradox as a phenomenon and process. On the one hand, it enables the spread and availability of everything taking place in the world by upgrading the lives of individuals, social groups and societies. In this meaning, globalization connects people, opens them, especially to novelties, and modernizes their traditional lives that are deeply under the layers of past conditions burdening their present. On the other hand, globalization has bad consequences as well, not only on personal identities, but also on those of groups and societies. In other words, globalization threatens identities, not in terms of their internal change, but in complete transformation, which can even end up with their disappearance.

Powerful world empires, including technologically superior societies, may be tragic for the identity diversity because, due to their advantages, they do not only prevent the adaptation processes, but, even more dangerously, complete assimilation, i.e., blending into the identity of the powerful and the

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developed. Identities pressurized by crises, particularly economic and political ones, become threatened, i.e., they feel uncertain, unstable and on the verge of survival. Political and economic crises encourage the movement of people, or migration processes from the underdeveloped societies and states to the developed ones. Escaping from conflicts, in particular wars, as well as from absolute poverty, millions of people in columns leave their native, centuries-old habitats and go to the developed world, hoping to secure existential survival.

Globalization of economy, just as globalization of communications and transport and the global spread of democracy, have encouraged yet another identity crisis. It is manifested, *inter alia*, in the question of belonging. Some Asian countries that have become modernized and fitted into globalization processes wonder whether they belong to Asia or the Western world. Those are, for example, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan and, to a lesser extent, some other countries. There are examples of this worldwide. Traditional identities are disintegrating while new and modernized ones are being formed.

With the emergence of globalization, another problem has arisen – some group identities are losing their importance and others are assuming weight, particularly the subnational as well as regional ones. In such conditions, people tend to identify more with regional problems and connections and supranational identity affiliations because it connects them more firmly, ensures more successful business operations and fulfils their wish for a better and quality life. That is at the same time the basis on which multiculturalism and identity tolerance are gaining priority.

What has been significantly affected by globalization is the spread and strengthening of human rights, women's rights, as well as the right to healthy environment, or the resolution of environmental problems encountered by today's world. Developed industries and the demographic boom in certain parts of the planet are exactly the consequence of global processes. Human rights and women's rights are assuming a global scale, which leads to a different treatment of identity issues. Therefore, globalist elites force supranational identities and suppress national ones. One of the consequences of globalization is also huge migration all over the world. Such migration substantially affects the view and experience of identities. Through it, bi-nationalism, multinationalism and/or cosmopolitanism are encouraged (Huntington, 2008, p. 22).

Globalization and the globalization process indisputably make individuals go beyond the frameworks of traditional identity landmarks and, within their own identity, they network a large number of different identities. Namely, the personal identity is also surrounded by and networked with a multitude of group identities. Every individual chooses those group identities that suit him or her most, i.e., networks part of for example those group identities enabling him or her to feel more secure and stable. In spatial changes, the process of twofold identity adaptation is created – of the newcomer ones, as well as of the natives. New contacts substantially and significantly affect these identities as well.

Great political and economic crises that have opened so far unprecedented migration movements in the world characterize the 21st century. Nowadays, humanity is exposed to a two-fold threat: small and poor states are under threat, but politically powerful states, and economically and technologically superior countries are also becoming threatened. The poor countries are threatened by emigration, while the developed ones are exposed to excessive immigration, which creates the feeling of endangerment among local population because of the arrival of undesired aliens. That is why these types of crises create huge identity disturbances.

As for the wealth of human content, it is neither good when different identities disappear nor for humanity to turn into a single identity, even if it is reduced only to the personal one, which may become impersonal due to uniformity. The threat to group and social identities also affects individual identities. Humanity is in a paradox caused by the struggle between identity uniformity and identity diversity. It is indisputable that the wealth of humanity is sustained by the wealth of various contents. Diversity is a value, but in modern societies, it is also a “fact of life”.

It transpires that “exposure to different ways of thinking and acting may often stimulate innovativeness, creativity and entrepreneurship. Diversity increases interest and excitement” (Fukuyama, 2022, p. 143). The arrival of the different to cities increases not only the population numbers, but also brings numerous different contents, particularly traditional and cultural ones. With the internationalization of cities, other forms of interest are encouraged, which “bring new music, art and technologies, and form whole neighbourhoods that did not exist before” (Fukuyama, 2022, p. 143).

Diversity is also relevant for biological survival. The consequence of not mixing with others is the emergence of illnesses, particularly mental ones. Populations deprived of genetic diversity have no future. Within the monocultural framework, they become older and degenerate and, with the passage of time, they disappear biologically. Life evolution is based on the mixtures of diversities, particularly genetic ones. Genetic diversities initiate evolution “which is based on genetic variations and adaptation. General concern due to the reduced biodiversity worldwide is based on the fact that it constitutes a threat to long-term biological sustainability” (Fukuyama, 2022, p. 144).

Globalization that homogenizes cultures often causes resistance among those who were not born in the country they came to. The aspirations of the people coming to new environments, regardless of the reasons, are to maintain their own characteristics, to call for their recognition and respect, and not to accept their being suppressed in the new cultural environment. The wish and need “to feel connection with their ancestors and to know where they come from” do not end among them, and although they are not encumbered by the culture they originate from, they “want to maintain rapidly disappearing small autochthonous languages as well as traditional customs that bear witness to their earlier way of life” (Fukuyama, 2022, p. 144). Francis Fukuyama points out that diversities do not always bring what belongs to general good. This is illustrated by Syria and Afghanistan, where diversities cause large conflicts and violence, and in which tolerance and

creativity are suppressed. An example of the failure of diversities to be kept is Austria-Hungary, which was liberal and enabled different nations to have everything that did not question their differences. However, those different nations did not accept the unique political structure of Austria-Hungary. At the beginning of the 20th century, “Vienna was the melting pot that gave rise to Gustav Mahler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Sigmund Freud. But, when smaller national identities in the Empire – Serbs, Czechs and Austrian Germans – proved themselves, the region fell into paroxysm and intolerances” (Fukuyama, 2022, p. 144).

When various contents are destroyed, the diversity of human opportunities and the search for different crisis exits are also destroyed. This threatens not only the immediate future, but also the content-based development of humanity. Despite the importance of the essence arising on the basis of connecting similarities, there is an equally important diversity giving a meaning and vitality to such essence so as to prevent life from becoming monotonous and withered. Similarities and differences make man’s life more complete both content-wise and essentially. That is how the completeness of life is maintained, i.e., life tends to rely on truth as the first among equal universal values. Only life on the whole is worthwhile, or meaningful, because it connects both similarities and differences.

MIGRANTS AND THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

Migrants of different identities may be seen in different ways, most frequently as foreigners. Experiences show that the arrival of foreigners affects the homogenization of the majority of native identity, which has the attitude of non-acceptance and rejection towards them. Those strangers in identity terms are seen as *pariahs* by the majority identity. There is an emotional and spiritual wall raised against them, which physically and territorially places them into ghettos. With right-wing ideologies of the majority population, violence against foreigners is encouraged that is tacitly accepted in institutional terms and, even worse, it is supported and allowed. Undesired identities in such circumstances are marked as hostile (Bielefeld, 1998, pp. 125–145). The rejection of foreigners and/or foreign identities is accompanied by their feeling of anxiety that they will lose identity in the new environment. Among local population, a foreigner is “seen as a threat, an ‘internal enemy’, a carrier of all evils, all social defects, and even of the most dangerous, most infectious and symbolically ‘most shameful’ diseases: syphilis yesterday, and AIDS today” (Milza, 2009, p. 316). What is even more characteristic and seen as a threat by natives is that the members of young nations come by the migrant road, who are additionally “endowed with strong demographic vitality, with all sexual connotations that are implies. From ‘common’ xenophobia, which is most often manifested in derogatory expressions, political or journalist speech that exposes ‘tramps’, it can sometimes turn into collective violence as well” (Milza, 2009, p. 316). Such intolerance towards foreigners ends in a type of racist behaviour that is used for political purposes by the extremely right wing.

Increasing migration under the influence of political and economic crises that cause both social and value crises was particularly intense at the beginning of the 21st century. That migration wave is particularly directed towards wealthy European countries. According to OECD data, in 2003 approximately 1.3 million migrants arrived in the European Union, which is an extremely large number in comparison to the developed countries on other continents. Although local population in wealthy countries of the European Union has a negative attitude towards migrants due to their group identity, they tend, because of their personal comfort, they tend to accept them as a necessary evil because they are a source of cheap labour for them, as well as the owners of deficit qualifications in those countries.

According to the Eurostat data, 47.3 million people living in the European Union in 2010 were not born in the European countries, which accounted for about 9.4 percent of the population. The country with the greatest inflow of migrants is Germany, with 4.6 million, or 7.8 percent of the population. It is followed by France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands. What characterizes these countries is that the majority population is closed towards migrants, not only in terms of seeing them as aliens, but also in the political and legislative frameworks. The indicator is that, regardless of the length of their stay, most often as economic migration, migrants rarely get the citizenship of those countries. Citizenship is difficult to get even for the children born in migrant families, particularly in Germany. As for granting citizenship, France and the United Kingdom are somewhat more open (Baronian, 2017, pp. 160–161).

In the countries where migrants arrive, there is the process of acculturation taking place at cultural and psychological levels. In other words, it is the encounter of different cultural groups that begin living with the adaptation process. Two acculturation processes are distinguished: assimilation and cultural pluralism (Baronian, 2017, p. 163). In the assimilation process, the dominant culture of the host country is fully accepted, and migrants are completely merged first at the cultural, and then at the identity level. The second process is the non-acceptance by the dominant majority culture, the consequence of which is closing migrants into ghettos. Life in a ghetto may create a hostile attitude towards the majority population in a country and, in specific crisis situations, even violent conflicts.

The cultural pluralism process implies the possibility of two attitudes occurring in the encounter of different cultural identities: according to the first attitude, migrants keep their dominant cultural identity, but also accept the identity of the population of the host country; the second process ensures equal relations of cultural identities, and in some of the developed countries they are legislatively and institutionally regulated and guaranteed (Baronian, 2017, p. 164). When migrants integrate successfully, particularly in economic, social and political life, they “change their relationship towards the country of origin and it becomes much more complex in comparison to earlier periods. They want to maintain the ethno-cultural identity of their ancestors and to maintain certain relations with the home country, but at the same time they want to create themselves the space for such type of affiliation at the

level of their personal identity, in the way and to the extent to which it suits them” (Vuković-Čalasan, 2021, p. 163).

Numerous studies show that the majority population has a large resistance towards cultural patterns of migrants. On that basis, there is prejudice, discrimination, but also verbal and physical violence spreading against them. That kind of intolerance entices fear among migrants and hatred among the majority population. Therefore, both migrants and the majority population live in the circumstances of increased, often unforeseeable tensions that may also turn into violent conflicts (Baronian, 2017, p. 168).

Violence most often derives from political reasons, i.e., political actors on the scene of the EU countries. Behind political actors there are hidden ultra-right ideologies and parties, as well as racist ideologies and parties. Concessions regarding political freedoms under the onslaught of ultranationalist ideologies and parties derive from the wrong understanding of the freedoms of thought, speech and association. The freedoms of thought and speech imply that they are not used in spreading hatred and fears in relation to anyone. The freedom of association should be more precisely regulated in legal terms, i.e., every form of free association and action should not be permitted, especially the form that may bring freedom into question. Freedom has a restriction – in the name of freedom, it is forbidden to deprive anyone of freedom, in this case the freedom of expressing the identity of migrants (Čupić, 2021, p. 217).

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND MIGRATION – DOUBLE IDENTITY STANDARDS

Modern Europe, in the period from Renaissance to date, has attracted and been magical to all others surrounding it. Inside it has identity differences, but they assume a great scale when the “others”, first from the closest environment, and then from two large continents, come and slowly enter the European social tissue. Iver Neumann is right to point out that different *others* were “and still are actively involved in the process of creating the European identity” (Neumann, 2011, p. 61). In the past few centuries, Europe has been attractive not only to those who lost hope and faith in life in their homeland, but also to those with conquering intentions, i.e., who tried to conquer and enslave Europe. With the formation of the European Union in the second half of the 20th century, an attempt was made to network different European identities in the states that accepted the formation of the EU, and to add another identity – the European one. Such identity networking did not mean that the European identity was a supra-identity, but that it was one in the series of identities accepted by people who become substantive and richer with it. In other words, the European identity is a meta-identity.

A number of the member-states of the EU, formerly the European Economic Community (EEC), needed new labour, and that need enabled economic migration that was originally related to the poorer European countries, and then expanded to the countries outside the European continent, primarily Turkey. Such migrations and the “others” were in the function of economic

growth and development that recovered Europe devastated during the Second World War, i.e., participated in its recovery and development. The conflicts taking place in the form of wars on the continents with which Europe is connected, i.e., Asia and Africa, initiated new migration waves.

Two large migrations towards the European Union countries took place in 2015 and 2022 respectively and were both the consequence of the political crises or wars waged primarily in Syria, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Ukraine. In 2015, about 6.7 million people emigrated from Syria, out of whom 1.3 million arrived as refugees in the EU. In the same year, the number of migrants from Afghanistan and Pakistan also increased. However, the number of migrants from Iraq increased due to internal religious conflicts between the Sunni and the Shia. Moreover, in 2015 a large number of migrants moved from Nigeria, Eritrea and Sub-Saharan Africa towards neighbouring African countries, but also toward Europe – from Nigeria and Eritrea due to wars, and from Sub-Saharan Africa due to poverty. Sub-Saharan migrants used to go to prosperous Libya as temporary economic migration until the fall of Muammar Gaddafi in 2011 and the beginning of the civil war.

The war conflict in the territory of Ukraine, which began in February 2022, initiated mass migration and, according to the Statista data², a total of 8.2 million people left Ukraine by May 2023 and they mainly went to the EU member-states. Most Ukrainians were received by Poland (1,593,860) and Germany (1,061,623). Then by the Czech Republic (516,100), followed by other EU member-states: Spain (175,962), Italy (175,107), the Netherlands (89,730) and Portugal (58,247). Outside the EU, about 203,700 people went to the UK, while the largest number went to Russia (2,852,395).

These two huge columns of migrants, one in 2015 and the other in 2022, were differently received in the host countries. There is a great difference in the way Ukrainians were received as culturally and also territorially close to Europe, and the way the migrants from the Middle East, Asia and Africa were received. Regarding the identity, double standards are manifested; migrants coming from other cultures and religions are in much more unfavourable position as compared to those from Ukraine. One of the indicators is that Ukrainians are allowed to use various kinds of benefits, particularly those in relation to getting work permits and quicker employment. These examples show the extent to distress occurring worldwide aggravate and destroy human integrities, both the personal (individual) and group ones, especially on ethnic and religious bases.

It was assumed that the processes would take place in the European Union leading towards the creation of large segments, i.e., that these processes will integrate different identities more strongly. However, it transpired even before the arrival of migrants, and then more intensely, that the processes of fragmentation took place, which were often the consequence of a type of resentment, as well as conflicts ending in violence, particularly towards migrants. At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries, in many

² <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1312584/ukrainian-refugees-by-country/#statisticContainer>

EU member-states, strong separatist movements appeared, e.g., in Catalonia in Spain, and in Scotland in the UK. Amin Maalouf is right to emphasize that “there is an increasing number of fragmenting factors, and a decreasing number of cementing factors. What further worsens this trend is the fact that today’s world is filled with ‘false cements’ which, just as in the case of religious affiliation, are claimed to unite people, while in reality they play a reverse role” (Maalouf, 2020, p. 202). What is happening in the European Union, partly caused by the strong external migration pressure, shows that identity differences are being increasingly homogenized, while they can be found on a smaller scale in the situation of pluralism of differences that is guaranteed and that does not question people’s equality. Such situation in the European Union is particularly encouraged by conservative and ultranationalist ideologies that are becoming more and more important among the inhabitants of the European states under the pressure of the migrant process, or the arrival of people who, due to various circumstances, from poverty and destitution to war conflicts, set out to be rescued, hoping that they will find peace in the well-organized European countries, but also avoid injustices and humiliations at the same time. Time will tell how capable the European Union is of resolving double distresses without initiating new conflicts encouraged by identity matters and issues.

CRISES AND IDENTITIES

The shaping of an identity, either personal or collective, requires the existence of certain conditions. The first condition is elementary social security guaranteeing normality, survival and development. The second condition refers to the stability of the social, economic and cultural system guaranteeing individuals and groups the reduction of both contradictions and conflicts potentially arising for various reasons within social life. The third condition is that the processes in society proceed through peaceful and gradual changes, i.e., that there is an evolutive development that will harmonize growing needs and the circumstances imposed by changes in the best possible manner. In that way, it is possible to avoid destabilization that may arise based on such change. In the process of changes, people become insecure. For that reason, people tend to show huge resistance to changes (Golubović, 2007, p. 547). Historical experience shows that when people live by established patterns of habits, they have difficulty accepting any change, even though such changes bring a better and quality life. Blaise Pascal emphasized that “habits are our nature”, while “our natural principles” are nothing but “the principles of our habits” (Pascal, 1965, p. 50). Identities, both individual and collective, are proved to be quite sensitive to changes. For the above-listed reasons, changes should be gradual, slow and not causing any abrupt processes. In other words, when an identity crisis begins, it derives from the feeling of insecurity, and it is also accompanied by a type of confusion and concert as to how to deal with it when there is insecurity in social relationships.

On the surface, the identity crisis is manifested as a reaction to the non-functioning of institutions in society, but its deeper roots are related to the events in culture, mostly related to the changes in the patterns of behaviour and communication in social life. These deeper turbulences taking place in culture as the man's other nature, are exactly manifested through the destruction of values and the value system, which is especially expressed at the time of the value crisis in the form of social anomy causing huge disturbances in social life. We can distinguish two "main sources of identity crisis: one is civilizational and socio-cultural, and the other is a crisis as ontological insecurity. In the former case, the crisis emerges as a result of changes and disturbances in broader frameworks of a certain civilization and culture, while in the latter it derives from existential contradictions as an integral part of 'human nature' of each individual, but also as a result of the reflection of civilizational/cultural changes in the personal situation" (Golubović, 2007, p. 548).

Crises often unbutton various suppressed conditions in individuals and groups, which are most frequently accumulated by injustice and humiliations in social life (Joković Pantelić, 2023, pp. 22–23). As far as group identities are concerned, particularly national, religious and social ones, a great role in their threatening is played by prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination which are also the consequence of group relationships. Underestimation and humiliation of certain groups leaves serious mental scars on the underestimated and the humiliated. Neither individuals nor groups can accept humiliation and injustice. Such non-acceptance is manifested either as resistance or helplessness. Speaking of resistance, the conditions of radicalism, extremism, fanaticism and fatalism emerge both among individuals and the threatened groups. All this may lead to conflicts that end in dangerous violent forms, from terrorist activities to war conflicts. Individuals and groups that cannot put up resistance are in the state of helplessness that takes them out from normal social life and makes them into the facts of biological vegetation. In other words, they withdraw from social life to solitude and, even worse, in some cases to loneliness.

Through prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination of group identities, personal identity is also brought into question. It is a two-fold strike against identity: individuals are underestimated and humiliated as members of a group and, at the same time, their personal identity is brought into question. Bringing personal identity into question is painful and unjust. Among persons, their consistence, predictability and physical peculiarity are brought into question (Čupić, Joković, 2015, p. 12). Prejudice towards others "makes us forget that there is sense in all regions and that there are thoughts wherever people live: we would definitely not like being called barbarians by those we call by that name; and if there is anything barbarian in us, it is exactly the outrage by the fact that other people also think like us, as pointed out by La Brière" (Todorov, 1994, pp. 22–23). Nationalists and ultranationalists believe that individuals from certain social groups do not have a character and that they possess no consistence when it comes to important values and matters. Moreover, in their opinion, they are unpredictable and thus potentially dangerous, i.e., a great hostile threat. Their physical peculiarity is labelled

and interpreted in racist terms. In this manner, they are discriminated and stereotypes are formed towards them like rigid judgments that are dogmatically transferred and accepted. What is tragic among nationalists and ultra-extremists is that they do not permit any relationship whatsoever in which the members of other identities, but also persons, could show and prove their virtues and values.

Two researchers, Thomas F. Pettigrew and Roel W. Meertens, explored prejudice in four European countries: the UK, France, Germany and the Netherlands. Based on their research, they concluded that two types of prejudice can be distinguished regarding others: obvious and subtle ones. According to them, “obvious prejudice consists of two components: the feeling of being threatened and rejected, and the factor of intimacy, while subtle prejudice consists of three components: the traditional value factor, the factor of the extreme cultural difference between ‘our’ and ‘the other’ group, and the factor of denying positive emotions (sympathy or respect) towards ‘the other’ group” (Baronian, 2017, p. 169).

In the same research, the authors find out that discrimination can be direct or indirect (Baronian, 2017, p. 170). Direct discrimination is manifested intentionally and shown through inequality or unequal conditions for different groups. Indirect discrimination is subtler and it is manifested through limiting the possibilities for migrants receiving the citizenship of the country they moved into and they are living in. The lack of citizenship discriminates them institutionally because they cannot fulfil their needs, which is also manifested in the inability to ensure employment, schooling, but also adequate accommodation. Migrants have the least attractive, or low-status jobs at their disposal, which is also proved by their lowered earnings. The European countries constitutionally forbid discrimination based on origin, race, language, religion, but the only thing that is not guaranteed is citizenship. It is citizenship that shows a form of subtle discrimination towards migrants and their identities.

Crises are huge challenges when it comes to identities and their differences, i.e., acceptance or rejection of identities in new environments. The identity crisis shows the lack of communication, i.e., that it is caused by the non-existence of communication between differences and the different in a community (Bauer, 2004, p. 61). In the identity crisis, people most often rely on blood, beliefs, faith and family (Huntington, 2000, p. 140). When relying on these, then various disturbances, conflicts and violence can be expected in society.

CONCLUSION – TECTONIC IDENTITY TREMORS

It may be concluded that the world is governed by tectonic identity upheavals that bring great uncertainty, often distress to those who are forced to leave their hearths and homelands and begin searching for a more secure and stable life. On that road they are awaited by often dangerous and unforeseeable challenges, sometimes with a lethal outcome. Migrations

erupting in 2015 and continuing until the COVID-19 outbreak took many lives. Particularly affected were the migrants who sailed to Europe across the Mediterranean.

Identity problems will take years and decades to be regulated in the way that will not question every individual human dignity, but also the identities deriving from someone's origin, gender, race, ethnicity, religion or class. On the way towards better reality concerning identities, it will also take plenty of sacrifice to make humanity come to its senses, make balance and sensibly resolves identity issues. The one who disputes identity questions as life content produces unfair relations and destroys universal values towards which humanity should be oriented.

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The Dispute between North Macedonia and Bulgaria: New Challenges for North Macedonia's EU Accession Process

Abstract: The Western Balkan countries' accession to the European Union has been long and difficult, in addition to being delayed in comparison to the rest of Europe's post-communist republics. The Republic of North Macedonia was the first country in the area to sign the Stabilization and Association Agreement and was granted candidate status as early as December 2005. Despite the Commission's suggestion to begin membership discussions with North Macedonia multiple years in a row, the European Council has continually declined to establish a date for EU accession talks with North Macedonia. As a result, in terms of development toward the European Union during the previous decade, North Macedonia has lagged behind as compared to a number of other Western Balkan countries. Last time, North Macedonia's accession to the European Union was blocked by Bulgaria due to disagreements over the origin of the Macedonian language and identity.

The main aim of this paper is to analyze what is the potential impact, and what are the possibilities for overcoming the current challenges posed by the Republic of Bulgaria in the process of the Republic of North Macedonia's accession to the European Union. More specifically, the paper will focus on the characteristics of the Macedonian- Bulgarian dispute, North Macedonia's path to the European Union, and the role of the European Union actors in the dispute.

Characteristics of the Macedonian- Bulgarian dispute

The Macedonian- Bulgarian argument spans a wide range of historical events, from the medieval period to the immediate post-World War II period. The contentious issues concern individuals like as philosophers, rulers, and political activists, as well as historical events and military units that are frequently claimed by both nations as part of their respective historical narratives, Bulgarian and Macedonian. The Bulgarian-Macedonian dispute, on the other hand, is concentrated on the definition of the Macedonian language, which Bulgarian mainstream academics still regards as a "illegitimate" standardized version of a "western Bulgarian dialect."² Moreover, the dispute is aggravated by the question of the existence of Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and also of the status and rights of people with Bulgarian national identity in North Macedonia.

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² Бугарската академија контра МАНУ: Македонскиот јазик не постои, тој е наречје на бугарскиот", МКД, December, 12, 2019 <https://www.mkd.mk/makedonija/politika/bugarskata-akademija-kontra-manu- makedonskiot-jazik-ne-postoi-toj-e-narechje-na>

Although it has received less attention in worldwide media than the Greek-Macedonian dispute, the Macedonian-Bulgarian quarrel has been ongoing for over sixty years. It started with socialism, more exactly after the dispute between the USSR and SFRJ in 1948. This indicates that, while it is not one of the Balkans' oldest nationalist quarrels, it is not entirely conjunctive; rather, it has a historical past, is anchored in politics, public views and attitudes, and is even part of some types of nationalism. This period in history is associated with the final establishment of a Macedonian state after World War II, which does not imply that Macedonian nationhood did not exist before World War II, as Bulgarian nationalists and, more recently, politicians would assert. This effect is connected to another typological feature of the Macedonian-Bulgarian disagreement, as well as other Balkan historical conflicts. At least initially in mainstream Bulgarian wishful thinking, the rejection of Macedonian national identity bore little resemblance to the types of antagonism and hatred that characterized prior Balkan conflicts surrounding Macedonia, particularly those between Bulgaria and Greece and Bulgaria and Serbia.

The characteristic of the Bulgarian-Macedonian debate is that hatred presupposes the idea of authority over otherness, while Bulgaria specifically opposes the idea of a unique Macedonian identity distinct from the Bulgarian. As a result, originally and currently, Bulgarian frustration with Macedonia is directed at the communist or pro-Yugoslav apparatchiks who, in the Bulgarian imagination, continue to rule the political landscape in North Macedonia. Bulgaria's stance toward North Macedonia was first arrogant and condescending as a result of this thinking. They anticipated and expected Macedonians to recognize their historical truth regarding their Bulgarian ethnic heritage one day. As a result of this failure, immediately after Bulgaria entered the European Union in 2007, Bulgarian policy became more confrontational, revolving around a pressure approach. Bulgaria was already in an advantageous position as one of the competent institutions participating in North Macedonia's entrance to the European Union. This shift in strategy occurred in 2011, on the eve of the release of a film. Namely, Bulgarian members of the European parliament mobilized against Macedonian film that among other things was presenting the fate of the Macedonian Jewish population during the World War II under Bulgarian occupation and its deportation in the extermination camps. This is significant because it demonstrates how unwilling Bulgarian politicians and academicians, who today dominate the debate on historical truth, are to confront painful events in Bulgarian history. What followed was a clear attempt by Boyko Borisov's right-wing government to impose traditional Bulgarian interpretations of Macedonian history, language, and

identity, as well as an offer to the government in North Macedonia to accept Bulgarian interpretations and Bulgarian historical truths, or face a Bulgarian veto, which would mean blocking North Macedonia's European Union accession. The Bulgarian ministers for foreign affairs and defense, other state officials and Bulgarian members of the European parliament, started attacks against Macedonian national identity and insisted that

the Macedonian political elite should acknowledge the Bulgarian roots of Macedonians.

European Union integration of North Macedonia

The enlargement policy is one of the European Union's most successful policies, with which by expanding the peace and development zone, the Union has expanded its presence and influence to the borders of the former Eastern Bloc. Enlargement to the south remains an unfinished business for the European Union. For the few remaining Balkan candidate countries, including the Republic of North Macedonia, entry into the democratic club of developed countries and the single European market is still a major foreign policy goal.

Dyson's defined Europeanisation as "a process of unfolding over time and through complex interactive variables it provides contradictory, divergent and contingent effects" (Dyson & others, 2003). Sandholtz (Sandholtz W. 1996: 34(3)) defined Europeanisation as a chance for transformation. As a result, the whole approach is centered on employing every instrument available to promote change and accomplish changes. According to Krzysztof Wach (Wach K. 2016) Europeanisation is an evolutionary multi-level transformational concept that results in the removal of borders between the public and private spheres. Flockhart and Borzel, for example, focused on connecting this notion to Europe itself. According to Flockhart, Europeanisation is the spread of European ideas and practices over some territory over a period of time. Borzel emphasized the European Union's effect on this specific procedure. It is a "process by which domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy-making," he defines it (Borzel T. 1999). Authors like Lawton, on the other hand, think of

Europeanisation as being far from the process of some change or adapting to EU policy but more of giving up sovereignty and allowing a supranational body to run a European Union member state.⁶

One of the oldest theories of European integration is neofunctionalism. This theory was developed in the 1960s to explain the development of the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community.⁷ Theorists seek to explain how the retention of economic activity for a particular economic sector, which takes place across state borders, could spill over to other sectors, causing wider economic integration in the other sector. Neofunctionalists believe that economic integration will lead to political integration and the creation of common, integrated, supranational institutions that would accelerate this process (Lawton T.1996). The arguments of the non-functionalists were challenged by neo-realist (Keohane R. 1986) and neo-rationalist views, among which the theory of liberal inter-governmentalism stands out.

The liberal theory of intergovernmental cooperation relies on the writings of former theorists of international relations, who rejected the view that national governments might not be the supreme authority or that nations would

consciously relinquish their sovereignty. Liberal intergovernmentalists argue that historic decision-making is an expression of what national governments have preferred over supranational organizations. In short, national governments are the ones who have the dominant control and are the actors in shaping integration (Georgievski S. 2006: 17). Basically, this theory wants to pursue its own interests and protect its sphere of power.

The new institutionalism emphasizes the importance of institutions in building and even in setting government priorities. In the context of the European Union, the new institutionalism shows how the institutions of the Union play the role of something more than a neutral arbiter in the policy-making process. They are key actors, with their own agenda and priorities. In fact, for new institutionalists, the word “institutions” refers not only to traditionally defined institutions (executive, parliament, courts), but also to values, norms, and the informal conventions governing the social exchange between actors (Craig & De Burca. 2020)

North Macedonia’s aspirations for EU integration were enthroned as a top state priority in 1998, when the Assembly adopted the “Declaration on relations between the Republic of Macedonia and the European Union,” which expressly declares that EU membership is a strategic aim of the state³. With the signing of the Stabilization and Association Agreement in 2001, North Macedonia became the first country in the Western Balkans to join the Stabilization and Association Process, which was established at the time as the basic framework of the European Union for cooperation with Western Balkan countries while also promoting them as potential candidates for European Union membership. During that time, the core administrative infrastructure responsible for coordinating and executing the policies, norms, and standards resulting from the European integration process was already in place. This process of political and administrative consolidation contributed to the country obtaining candidate status for European Union membership in 2005, which formalized the European Union accession process by further framing domestic reforms in the EU conditionality policy and opening up significantly more opportunities for enhancing cooperation with the European Union. In that period, North Macedonia was only the second country in the region (after Croatia) to gain candidate status. Progress in the accession process culminated in 2009 when the European Commission first recommended the start of membership negotiations. However, in 2009 a new stage of European Union accession began, which brought a lot of frustration and painful compromises that caused numerous divisions in Macedonian society and compromised public support for EU membership. After 13 years later, North Macedonia is still waiting for the membership recommendation to materialize. Namely, immediately after the first recommendation to start membership negotiations, the entire accession process became a victim of the growing veto culture in decision-making in the EU enlargement policy. Greece, like any other European Union member, is able to stop any process

³ Декларација за Развој на Односите на Република Македонија со Европската Унија, (Службен весник на Република Македонија – бр.7/1998) https://www.sobranie.mk/WBStorage/Files/Rezolucija%2004_02_2008%202.pdf

within the candidate countries' accession to the European Union. Greece conditioned the progress of North Macedonia in the accession process and the decision to start membership negotiations by resolving the long-standing dispute over the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia. This procedure marks the beginning of a decade-long blockade of the accession process that will cause a decline in enthusiasm for pro-European reforms, democratic setbacks, and implicit intensification of political conflicts in the country. Finally, resolving the dispute with Greece through the signing of the Prespa Agreement in 2018 brought strong assurances that the accession process will be unblocked and North Macedonia will start the long-awaited negotiations for European Union membership. However, the start of negotiations did not take effect again as a result of the reluctance of individual European Union member-states to support this decision. The decision was ignored at several European Council summits (in 2018 and 2019) due to France's dissatisfaction with the current European Union enlargement policy framework and its alleged ineffectiveness. After the French objections were implemented in February 2020 through the adoption of a new revised Methodology of European Union enlargement which was prepared by the European Commission, already in March 2020 the European Council decided on the start of European Union membership negotiations with North Macedonia and Albania⁴. After the European Commission prepared the Negotiating Framework for the negotiations with North Macedonia, which is a document that defines the positions of the European Union and its members regarding the negotiations with the candidate country, its adoption within the European Council was blocked by the Republic of Bulgaria due to disagreements over the origin of the Macedonian language and identity. This position of Bulgaria, puts North Macedonia in a new spiral of difficult-to-solve identity problems that can hardly be linked to any criteria for European Union membership and that have serious potential to delegitimize and neutralize the effectiveness of the European Union conditionality policy and the overall European Union accession process.

During the French presidency with the EC in 2022, its diplomacy undertook serious negotiations activities between the Bulgaria, North Macedonia and EU-member states to overcome the situation with the blockade of the EU-integration path of the Republic of North Macedonia. The process ended with a so-called "French proposal" that contain measures and activities that should be taken by the all stakeholders in a process: Under the plan, North Macedonia must commit to changing its constitution in order to mention in a Preamble all national minorities, as are Bulgarians, and introduce other new measures to protect minority rights and banish hate speech on the basis of Bulgarian demands.

With accepting of the French proposal by the two countries, on 22 July 2022 EU Council brought a decision to start the Negotiation process with North Macedonia, but they will be continuing after the end of the screening

⁴ European Commission, European Commission welcomes the green light to opening of accession talks with Albania and North Macedonia https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/pt/ip_20_519

process and changing of the Constitution of the Republic North Macedonia. The Government of North Macedonia on 18 July 2023 proposed to the Parliament to adopt the constitutional changes where Bulgarian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Slovenian, Jews and Egyptian communities will be included in the Constitution. But, for changing of the Constitution are need 2/3 of votes in Parliament and the opposition party VMRO-DPMNE said that they will not support the constitutional changes “under the Bulgarian dictate”, so this condition is not fulfilled, yet.

The European Council on its decisions from 15 December 2023 said that “*The European Union is ready to complete the opening phase of the accession negotiations with North Macedonia as soon as it has implemented its commitment to complete the constitutional changes as referred to in the Council conclusions of 18 July 2022, in line with its internal procedures. The European Council calls on North Macedonia to accelerate the completion of these changes.*”

Explanation of the current relations between North Macedonia and Bulgaria

In August 2017, the governments of Bulgaria and North Macedonia signed the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighborliness and Cooperation⁵ between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Bulgaria. The agreement envisages development and cooperation with the countries of Southeast Europe, strengthening the peace and stability of the region and the implementation of regional projects as part of creating a single Europe.

Ahead of the EU Council meeting in October 2019, the Bulgarian government adopted a Framework Position⁶, which was confirmed by a Declaration of the Bulgarian Parliament⁷. The Framework Position contains new conditions for the Republic of North Macedonia, which allegedly stem

from the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighborliness and Cooperation between the two countries. The Framework Positions consists of detailed conditions relating the accession in general and particular for the first and second intergovernmental conferences as well Chapters 35 and 10. This was followed by a Statement by the Bulgarian Government in support of the Council conclusions held in March 2020, which focuses on the General Conditions, the conditions for the First Intergovernmental Conference, and Chapter 35.

5 Republic of North Macedonia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighborliness and Cooperation <https://mfa.gov.mk/en/document/1712>

6 Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria, РАМКОВА ПОЗИЦИЯ ОТНОСНО РАЗШИРЯВАНЕ НА ЕС И ПРОЦЕСА НА СТАБИЛИЗИРАНЕ И АСОЦИИРАНЕ: РЕПУБЛИКА СЕВЕРНА МАКЕДОНИЯ И АЛБАНИЯ <https://www.gov.bg/bg/prestentar/novini/ramkova-pozitsia>

7 Декларация на Четиридесет и четвъртото Народно събрание на Република България във връзка с разширяването на Европейския съюз и Процеса на стабилизиране и асоцииране на Република Северна Македония и Република Албания <https://www.parliament.bg/bg/news/ID/4920>

More specifically, Bulgarian conditions include: efficient implementation of the 2017 Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighborliness, and Cooperation; objective scientific interpretation of historical events as set out in historical sources; a renunciation of claims for the recognition of a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria; the rehabilitation of persons killed or subjected to repression for their Bulgarian national consciousness; adherence to the bilaterally agreed clause on the official language of the Republic of North Macedonia; an affirmation that the shorthand name “North Macedonia” refers solely to the political entity of the Republic of North Macedonia as opposed to the geographical region of Northern Macedonia; adapting school curricula so that they reflect history objectively; terminating “hate speech” towards Bulgaria; and removing North Macedonian signage and inscriptions which show hatred towards Bulgaria and Bulgarians⁸.

The majority of Bulgarian demands are connected to Article 8⁹ 18 of the Treaty and the work of the Joint Multidisciplinary Expert Commission on Historical and Educational Issues established under the Treaty MK-BG, formed “with a view to strengthening their mutual trust”, and “aiming to contribute to objective, scientific interpretation of historical events, founded on authentic and evidence-based historical sources”^{10,19}

Bulgaria solidified its position on major historic issues by political decisions of the Government and the Assembly, seeking a quick confirmation by the EU of its interpretation of the Treaty by constraining North Macedonia’s accession process. This has really jeopardized the Commission’s work and damaged the principles of the MK-BG Friendship Treaty¹¹.

In North Macedonia and Bulgaria there is a normal cliché, saying: “Leave history to the historians”- meaning not the politicians. However, historians may be rather effective in fomenting nationalist tensions. This is of particular significance to Bulgarian historians working on the history of Macedonia and the Macedonian question, such as several members of the

8 Декларация на Четиридесет и четвъртото Народно събрание на Република България във връзка с разширяването на Европейския съюз и Процеса на стабилизиране и асоцииране на Република Северна Македония и Република Албания <https://www.parliament.bg/bg/news/ID/4920>

9 According to the Treaty: 1. The two Contracting Parties shall encourage their active and unimpeded cooperation in areas of culture, education, health care, social policy and sports. 2. With a view to strengthening their mutual trust, within three months at the latest from the entry into force of this Treaty, the two Contracting Parties shall establish, on parity basis, a Joint Multidisciplinary Expert Commission for Historical and Education Issues, aiming to contribute to objective, scientific interpretation of historical events, founded on authentic and evidence-based historical sources. The Commission shall submit an annual report about its work to the Governments of the two Contracting Parties. 3. Upon mutual agreement, the two Contracting Parties shall organize joint celebrations of shared historical events and personalities, with the aim of strengthening their good-neighborly relations, in the spirit of European values.

10 Закон за ратификација на договорот за пријателство, добрососедство и соработка меѓу Република Македонија и Република Бугарија („Службен весник на Република Македонија –меѓународни договори” бр. 12/2018)

11 European Policy Institute- Skopje, Пристапни преговори меѓу ЕУ и Северна Македонија, 7, 2020, Skopje,

Joint Multidisciplinary Expert Commission on Historical and Educational Issues. The Commission operates as a single entity comprised of two working teams, one from the Macedonian side and one from the Bulgarian side. Both teams are operating under the auspices of their respective Foreign Ministries. It primarily operates in two areas: memory politics and education politics. However, the commission's work is not available to the public, and the recommendations reached thus far are not made public.

The scandals and failure of this commission were to be expected, as the former Bulgarian government attempted to use it as a leverage for imposing the mainstream Bulgarian interpretations, but arriving at consensual interpretations and historiographical formulas is a different task for Bulgarian and Macedonian historians, with or without this commission. Even more liberal and methodologically advanced views presented by a Bulgarian professional may be unpalatable to Macedonians, and vice versa. It is natural for historians to have conflicting and incompatible readings of the past, and expecting a version of the past that is conclusive and acceptable to all sides is simply unrealistic. At the same time, critical scrutiny of one's own national historical narrative is still not a popular feature of most Bulgarian and Macedonian the historians' professional ethics and culture.

The historical disagreement between Bulgaria and Macedonia began as a political quarrel and could only be resolved on political grounds. Although this appears to be tough as well, there are a number of similar situations in modern Balkan history. As a result, more faith should be placed in the power of political speculation than in the dispute settlement capacity of academic experts. Because the solutions being worked on by the Commission cannot be addressed in a short amount of time, especially during vigorous procedures. The topics on which they are discussing, should be worked on for many years and maybe decades in order to reach solutions that will be long-lasting and stable, because any rush to conclusions and recommendations can only be only be a positive effect on a very short term, and then can ever cause bigger problems in the future.

The Statement urges North Macedonia to state that there are “no historical or demographic grounds for seeking minority status for any group of citizens on the territory of the Republic of Bulgaria” and to discontinue “any support to organizations claiming the existence of a so-called “Macedonian minority” in the Republic of Bulgaria, including international organizations such as the Council of Europe and in multilateral formats and monitoring mechanisms,” citing Article 11 of the Charter of the United Nations^{12,21}

Neither Article 11 of the Treaty nor any other section of the Treaty alludes to “minorities.” The preamble, on the other hand, states that it is based on the values of the UN Charter, the OSCE documents, and the “democratic principles contained in the CoE acts. Minority rights are unalienable and belong to those who have them. Furthermore, these rights are one of the Union's

12 European Policy Institute- Skopje, Пристапни преговори меѓу ЕУ и Северна Македонија,7, 2020, Skopje, https://epi.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/EU-North-Macedonia-accession-negotiations_MK_2.pdf

values¹³, and discrimination based on ethnic background is illegal¹⁴.²⁴ States have a duty to protect the rights of minorities in their own countries.

The condition relating to intelligence and security services reform – “unveiling of collaborators from the modern-day Republic of North Macedonia who worked for the security and intelligence services of former Yugoslavia” – as well as requests that North Macedonia initiate a “rehabilitation process of the victims of the Yugoslav communist regime, repressed because of their Bulgarian self-identification” have no basis in the Treaty. It is unclear if Bulgaria expects the Commission to address these matters as a historical matter or in another way¹⁵.

Bulgaria insists on using the “language clause” used in bilateral agreements between Sofia and Skopje in the EU - “the official language of the Republic of North Macedonia,” including the future negotiation framework, because Bulgaria does not recognize the Macedonian language. The Statement and Framework stance go beyond the Treaty, which mentions the “Macedonian language” but adds, “in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia” (the comparable phrase is used for the Bulgarian language). This is also in conflict with the Prespa Agreement, which clearly mentions the Macedonian language. In the Prespa Agreement, the acknowledgement of the Macedonian language, as well as the distinct Macedonian history, culture, and legacy of North Macedonia, are viewed as the primary victories for Macedonians from the resolution of the name issue¹⁶.

The Bulgarian requirement that the Prespa agreement be implemented “in parallel and with strict adherence to the Treaty” creates a form of hierarchy between the two agreements, giving priority to the Treaty between North Macedonia and Bulgaria, which has no legal foundation in international law¹⁷. Both are bilateral agreements between two sovereign nations, with the exception that the Prespa Agreement is witnessed by a UN delegate, bringing an end to a dispute mediated by the UN and its outcomes recorded by the UN.

13 Treaty on European Union, article. 2; European Policy Institute- Skopje, Пристапни преговори меѓу ЕУ и Северна Македонија, 7, 2020, Skopje, https://epi.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/EU_North-Macedonia-accession-negotiations_MK_2.pdf

14 Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union, article 21.; European Policy Institute- Skopje, Пристапни преговори меѓу ЕУ и Северна Македонија, 7, 2020, Skopje https://epi.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/EU_North-Macedonia-accession-negotiations_MK_2.pdf

15 European Policy Institute- Skopje, Пристапни преговори меѓу ЕУ и Северна Македонија, 7, 2020, Скопје

16 The Prespa Agreement, article 7.; European Policy Institute- Skopje, Пристапни преговори меѓу ЕУ и Северна Македонија, 7, 2020, Skopje https://epi.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/EU_North-Macedonia-accession-negotiations_MK_2.pdf

17 European Policy Institute- Skopje, Пристапни преговори меѓу ЕУ и Северна Македонија, 7, 2020, Skopje, https://epi.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/EU_North-Macedonia-accession-negotiations_MK_2.pdf

The role of different actors in the European Union

It was disappointing that, at the time of the Bulgarian veto, numerous member-states, including the German presidency, urged for the prompt start of discussions talks but were extremely silent towards Bulgaria, denouncing its position and remaining silence on that matter. This is not very encouraging, as it creates a loophole for Bulgarian lawmakers to continue with their demands, and there is no pressure on the government to modify its attitude. This is significant because it sends a political message to the Macedonian people by remaining silent on the Bulgarian veto that it accepts the existing gridlock. We can all see that the European Union's legitimacy is therefore seriously endangered in North Macedonia's society¹⁸³⁰, and this started before with the Greek demand for changing the country's name and France's demand for the enlargement strategy, both of which were completely outside of the Copenhagen criteria, which is very important for European Union actors to be very firm and tough in distinguishing and what criteria North Macedonia has to meet in order to start the accession talks, and what other issues that emerge on the basis of other national interests are going to be interacted with.

Fortunately, Macedonian political parties remain enthusiastic about the accession process, indicating a desire to cooperate toward a solution. If trust in the European Union declines, we can expect the emergence of a variety of other movements, such as Kosovo and Albania banding together, Croatia and Serbia attempting to exert more influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria disputing the Macedonian identity, as well as the rise of foreign powers such as Russia, China, and Turkey. The European Union is creating a gap by not providing a realistic vision for the accession process, therefore the intervention of other powers is logical.

European leaders, should openly reaffirm their entire commitment to the Copenhagen criteria and put additional pressure on the Bulgarian government to rescind its veto. The entrance of the Republic of North Macedonia to the European Union should be isolated from the work of the historical commission, since it is illogical to approve or reject this disagreement based on interpretations of the past, and it would open the Pandora box for the entire area.

The European Union is not a complete symphony without the Balkans. The western Balkans its Europe's Achilles' heel, a vulnerability to which it must attend¹⁹.

18 DW, EY го губи кредибилитетот, а С. Македонија волјата и надежта, <https://www.dw.com/mk/%D0%B5%D1%83-%D0%B3%D0%BE-%D0%B3%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%B8-%D0%BA%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%B8%D0%B1%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B E%D1%82-%D0%B0-%D1%81-%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%BA%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%98%D0%B0-%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%98%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B8-%D0%B8-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%B5%D0%B6%D1%82%D0%B0/a-49274035>

19 Glenny Misha, Knaus Gerald, Thessaloniki and Beyond: Europe's Challenge in the Western Balkans, https://esiweb.org/pdf/esi_news_id_15_b.pdf

The ties among European Union member states are complicated, and it is incredibly difficult to wield power inside that circle since everyone is treated equally. The group of experts by the Henrich Böll Stiftung has come up with some recommendations on how to find a possible way out of this situation. European Union member states and the European Commission should openly reject and condemn the Bulgarian government's revisionist stance, as well as urge experts to analyze the past without ideological, political, or other constraints. In addition, the European Commission may make a signal by beginning membership discussions with North Macedonia, which has been stalled in that process for far too long without any reason. Member states and the European Commission should be consistent in their devotion to basic principles and values, and they should condemn any attempt to undermine the fundamental human right to self-determination, not just from outside, but also from inside the European Union (Gacanica and others. 2020).

Finally, to prevent and halt member-states from abusing their authority in the integration of the Western Balkans, since this, once again, opens their Pandora box. Furthermore, Bulgarian and Macedonian political leaders should respect and implement the Treaty friendship, good neighborliness, and cooperation with mutual respect and recognition, as well as create positive and favorable conditions for experts to discuss the past within their profession and without pressures, as well as request the assistance of the Council of Europe, UNESCO, and other relevant organizations expertise.

This situation jeopardizes the European Union's enlargement process because North Macedonia is a hostage to the power of one European Union member-state, which is using its position to impose its own political stance on history and memory, potentially opening the door for other member-states to try to impose something similar or linked to the other.

Instead of Conclusion

The failure to get a date for the start of negotiations with the European Union was not only a betrayal of the Macedonian citizens, but also of the founding values of the EU, as well as its main strategic interests. The Bulgarian demands in the Framework Position of October 2019, as well as the statements that followed, are based on a distorted interpretation of the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation signed between the two countries in "good will". The Bulgarian side uses the position of an EU member state to impose its own interpretation of the Agreement. It imposes its version of history on North Macedonia and denies the Macedonian identity, including the Macedonian language, violating the right to self-determination. In addition, Bulgaria is trying, through the accession process, to gain approval from other European Union member states for its (distorted) interpretation of a significant part of European history. Furthermore, the Bulgarian position is contrary to the Prespa Agreement between North Macedonia and Greece, which the European Union praised as an example for resolving bilateral issues in the region and thus practically delegitimizes this agreement. The Prespa Agreement, on the other hand, clearly shows the

readiness of North Macedonia not only to find compromises, but also to respect the agreements and their implementation, thus ending the almost three-decade dispute within the United Nations.

This situation destroys credibility of the EU in international relations, and as a partner in the Western Balkans, will destabilize the EU's external borders, euthanize the enlargement process in general, and destroy the policy of conditionality. In addition, open bilateral issues will persist and increase, causing major negative consequences for the stability of the Balkans, which remains in Europe. This will seriously undermine the EU's capacity-building efforts to resist its alliances.

The Bulgarian veto on North Macedonia's accession to the European Union makes the accession negotiation methodology, initiated by France in 2020, irrelevant and ineffective from the very beginning. This confirms the fears of the real will of the member states to complete the unification of Europe and to achieve continental integrity with the Western Balkans. Bulgaria's request to include bilateral issues in the negotiating framework is contrary to the principle set out in the methodology. In addition, the Bulgarian demands compromise the accession criteria for democratic institutions and the rule of law, which rely heavily on standards set by the Council of Europe, its bodies and other international organizations. Respecting the obligations of membership and the established standards is a duty, not a matter of choice for the countries that join the EU, as well as for any member of these organizations, including all EU member states.

Finally, The Macedonian accession process and added conditions is a question of a trust to the credibility of the whole process. The European Union has promoted itself as a community of values that looks forward, embraces historical differences and transforms hostilities into potential for development, focusing on how its nations can better co-operate and integrate, rather than oppose each other. Article 4 of the EU Treaty states: "The Union shall respect the equality of the member states before the Treaties, as well as their national identities." If a member state blocks the already delayed accession negotiations, while denying the identity of the candidate, the Union will lose credibility in the region, but also the status of a normative actor with a common foreign and security policy on the international stage. All other European Union member states have a responsibility to protect the enlargement process, the EU's values and its ability to make important decisions.

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CHALLENGES OF IDENTITY IN KOSOVO AND METOHİJA IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO WARS²

Abstract: Crises affect our lives, research and work. In times like these, the question of identity is always considered, so I wanted to look into the past and return to the important topic of the population of Kosovo and Metohija. Wars often affect identities, and in my article I will deal with the period between two important wars in history. Archival sources, professional literature and the press will help me in this. Kosovo and Metohija had and still have a favorable geographical position, but also a very good geopolitical importance and foreign policy position. The identity of the people in this area was marked by the way of life, because all communities lived in economic and social units within which each member had a specific role. Members of the Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic religious communities dominated, and Muslims made up almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population. The customs and traditions that form the backbone of the identity of each nation were especially preserved in this area. They represented a feature of the overall situation in Southern Serbia, where modernization proceeded slowly. Education, healthcare, industrialization were lagging behind the rest of the country. Nevertheless, the traditional way of life that largely shapes the identity of the population continued to be respected, and they represent the backbone of many ethnographic and historiographical studies. Even today, customs and beliefs are applied that are significant as characteristics of the people they belong to.

Key words: Challenges, Identity, Kosovo and Metohija, The period between the two wars, Tradition.

Geographical and geopolitical significance of Kosovo and Metohija

Kosovo and Metohija were located in the south of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and represented part of the province of South Serbia within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and then part of the Banovina of Vardar, Morava and Zeta within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Natural wealth in the form of mountains, forests, rivers, gorges, as well as fertile land for cultivation in the Kosovo basin, determined the geographical importance of this

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part of the country. Forests covered 35% of Kosovo and Metohija primarily in the form of low forests (Slavković, 2013: pp. 75-93; Vojna enciklopedija IV: p. 653) The expanses of coniferous forests were reduced, mostly due to unorganized felling and grazing, and only those that were difficult to access and far away remained. In relation to the area of the region, the highest forest cover was in the region of Lab (68%), while the lowest was in Gračanica county (37.1%) (Slavković Mirić, 2018: p. 39). The mountains in the west, south and north rose steeply from the basin with deeply cut gorges (Rugovo, Dečane, etc.) (Beriša, 1973: pp. 13-16). The gorges were naturally suitable for robbery and bandit attacks, due to the huge rocks and forest cover, thus marking inaccessible passages (Urošević, 2009: p. 21).

The hydrographic node of Yugoslavia was located in Kosovo and Metohija, i.e. at the Drmanska Glava on the Nerodim mountain, the basins of the Black, Adriatic and Aegean seas met (Radovanović, 1937: p. 108). The rivers that came from Prokletije, Šar planina and other high mountains in the summer months were abundant with water, while in the plains of Kosovo and Metohija they flowed slowly through shallow and wide valleys, and during the summer many were dry (Beriša, 1973: pp. 33-42). The climate is moderately continental with a Mediterranean influence that permeates the Drim and Beli Drim valleys, so that Metohija has a milder climate than neighboring areas. Kosovo is more exposed to the influence of continental air masses and is located at a higher altitude. The climate and abundant rivers determined agricultural production, i.e. the cultivation of cereals to the greatest extent, and therefore the economic market (Beriša, 1973: p. 29).

This arrangement of mountains, rivers, valleys, gorges made it difficult for Serbs and Albanians to communicate, given the ethnic division of some villages and towns, given that the peasant was conservative and closed in his environment, and therefore slowed down is cultural and educational progress. Nevertheless, the most important Balkan traffic routes passed through the Kosovo basin, since Turkish times, as well as natural communications via rivers.

Also, during the ancient and medieval past, the significant historical role of Kosovo and Metohija contributed to this area being strategically held alongside Serbia. Until liberation from Turkish rule, the geopolitical framework was determined by the relationship of the great powers, which caused and encouraged inter-ethnic conflicts, primarily among Serbs and Albanians. Likewise, the beginning of the Great Albanian idea and its later expansion, as well as the proximity of the Albanian border, influenced the insecurity of the population. By joining the three banovinas (Vardar, Zeta, Morava), Kosovo and Metohija were divided, with which the Yugoslavian state wanted to calm the unstable region by dividing responsibilities between three administrations, while insisting on state and national unitarism, but also to solve the economic crisis, cultural and industrial backwardness.

Religious occasions

In the Kosovo vilayet under Turkish rule, the Serbian population was mixed with Albanian and Turkish. There were areas with a completely Serbian population, as was the case in the mountain villages on Šar planina - in Sirinić and Sredska parishes and Stari Kolašin. During the period of Turkish rule, Albanians from central and northern Albania gradually settled, which went hand in hand with the Islamization of the Serbs, and then with urbanization. Many Serbs who did not want to accept Islam moved to the cities. Serbs made up the majority of the population in Peć and especially Prizren, but with the strengthening of the Islamization process, that number decreased. According to the 1910 census, there were 23,800 Muslims, 4,350 Orthodox Serbs, 950 Catholics, 725 Cincars and 460 Gypsies in Prizren. In Priština, which during the Turkish rule was the center of the Muslim beys, according to the 1910 census, there were 4,000 houses, of which 3,200 were Muslims, 561 Serbian, 65 Jewish, and the rest of the population was Gypsies and others. The Serbian population was constantly decreasing in the 19th century, of the 8,600 Serbian houses in Metohija, 1,876 remained, and in 1912, only 1,830 homes. The most drastic was in Đakovica and its surroundings, where Jovan Cvijić recorded that there were 4,000 Muslims and 70-130 Serbian houses in the city. During the period of Turkish rule, Islam was the ruling religion and the Albanians were privileged in relation to the Serbs and other Orthodox religions (Bataković, 1991; Bovan, 1983; Ivanić, 1903; Jagodić, 2009; Peruničić, 1988; Popović, 1987; Stanković, 1910; Stojančević, 1994).

After the Balkan Wars and the First World War, the dominant religions were Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic. In Kosovo and Metohija, according to the 1921 census, the majority were Muslims. According to the 1921 census, there were 349,028 (74.4%) Muslims in Kosovo and Metohija, 92,951 (21.7%) Orthodox Christians, 15,783 (3.7%) Catholics, 510 (1%) others, of which only 427 were Moses (Filipović, 1937: pp. 427-431). This was also shown by the census from 1931. According to the this state census, there were 552,259 inhabitants in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. Members of the Islamic religious nationality were 379,891 (68.9%), Orthodox 150,745 (27.3%), Roman Catholic 20,568 (3.7%), 114 Evangelical and 656 others (*Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva*, 1938: pp. 8-12). Muslims made up almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population. Most of the Orthodox were Serbs, while the rest were in smaller numbers Cincars (401) and Russians (30) (Slavković Mirić, 2018: p. 86). There were only Latins in Janjevo (mainly from Dubrovnik), their mother tongue was Serbian, but they were under the influence of Roman Catholic priests. There were Albanian Catholics in the vicinity of Prizren and in Metohija and they made up about 10% of the Muslim population (Urošević, 2009: pp. 164-165). Jews lived almost exclusively in urban areas, in larger towns (Urošević, 2009: p. 277).

The legal position of confessions in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was regulated by laws: the Law on the Serbian Orthodox Church was passed on 9 November 1929, the Law on the Jewish Religious Community on 14

December 1929, the Law on the Islamic Religious Community on 5 February 1930, the Law on Evangelical - Christian churches on April 16, 1930 (Dimić, 1996: p. 465).

At the beginning of 1931, there were 126 Orthodox churches in the territory of Old Serbia. With 21 churches each, Gnjilane and Šar planina counties led the way, followed by Nerodimlje, which had 20 churches. Gora county was without an Orthodox church, while Kačanik and Podgora counties had one church each. Before the beginning of the Second World War, 2,004 inhabitants attended one church in the Raška-Prizren diocese. Considering the total number of population, Šar planina county had the most churches, one per 488 inhabitants, then Nerodimlje, where there was one church for every 654 Orthodox, and Kačanik county, where there was one church, but only 699 Orthodox. In 1932, the organization of church municipalities was carried out in the Raška-Prizren diocese (Isić, 2009: p. 415).

Albanians were Islamized in the 17th century, due to which they had a privileged position in the Ottoman state, and were treated the same as Muslim Turks (Jevtić, 1997: p. 574). After the Balkan wars, the Serbian state passed decrees related to Muslims, and each region got its mufti, who was paid by the state. With the Treaty of Saint-Germain, the Yugoslav state undertook to take care of mosques, cemeteries and other religious institutions of Muslims, to provide them with Sharia law and to appoint a reis-ul-ulema as the supreme leader of all Muslims in the country (Gligorijević, 1997: p. 443). During the personal regime of King Alexander, the law on the Islamic Religious Community of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was passed on January 30, 1930. According to that law, the Islamic Religious Community could publicly profess its faith and independently manage and regulate its religious, religious-educational and endowment affairs (Gligorijević, 1997: p. 447).

After the end of the First World War, the Muslim population was faced with a large number of demolished and destroyed mosques, so in the territory of Old Serbia at the end of 1930, there were 185 mosques in rural municipalities, and 114 in town municipalities. In Šar planina County, not a single rural municipality had a mosque, in which a total of 20,245 Muslims lived, but that is why in Prizren there were 45 mosques per 12,184 inhabitants (Isić, 2009: p. 498).

Catholics were not ethnically homogeneous in Kosovo and Metohija, even though they were few in number. On the eve of the First World War, there were most of them in the Đakovica and Peć parishes, in Janjevo and Prizren. Their number increased with the immigration of officials and businessmen from the Catholic regions of Yugoslavia and Catholic families from Dalmatia, Croatia and the Slovenian Banovina (Slavković Mirić, 2018: p. 417). With the increase in the number of Catholics, Roman Catholic churches and monasteries were built. The Monastery of the Sisters of Mercy was built in Prizren. The Monastery of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Prizren had five sisters and ran a school with the Albanian teaching language. Roman Catholic churches were also built in Đakovica, Zlokućani, Mitrovica, Janjevo, Uroševac (Žutić, 2000: p. 15). Thanks to the action of Catholics before the Second World War, the number of Catholics increased compared

to the situation before the First World War. Nikola Žutić cites data that in the diocese of Skopje there were 30,236 Roman Catholics, 963,288 Orthodox, and 790,810 Muslims. At most, there were about 15,000 Albanians, and there were also about 10,000 Albanian hypocrites (Žutić, 1999: pp.105-113).

Customs and tradition as one of the guardians of identity

The patriarchal regime prevailed in Kosovo and Metohija, which showed that the population had its own moral concepts, an original way of understanding life, social and economic organization and artistic feeling expressed in poetry and ornamentation. The most obvious feature of the patriarchal regime was the social and economic organization in the form of tribes, brotherhoods and cooperatives (Cvijić, 1931: p. 122).

The opportunities in the society between the two world wars did not favor the maintenance of customs as they were during the Turkish rule, because the new civil society had no regard for the old patriarchal relations. The school, through its teachers and professors, as well as the church, through its clergy, acted in the direction of changing customs (Bovan, 2004: pp. 172-173). However, the people of Kosovo and Metohija lived conservatively, primarily in rural areas, they were slow to change and difficult to accept new things, and they were preoccupied with various customs and beliefs that were maintained until the Second World War. Social life in Kosovo and Metohija attracted the attention of ethnologists who collected valuable material about it, and the folk rules attracted attention - hospitality, family organization and life in it, family cooperative, family tribal life, artificial kinship (godfatherism, fraternity, stepparenthood), the village community and its role in life (Vlahović, 2004: pp. 220-228; Vlahović, 1988: p. 134).³

Folk customs and beliefs were almost always accompanied by many mysterious and mystical actions that the people did on various occasions and for various reasons, so they are considered as one concept (Darmanović, 2004: pp. 167-179). The production cycle (plowing, digging, sowing, harvesting, beekeeping, sheep shearing, etc.) was accompanied by many customs whose goal was to ensure economic existence (Vlahović, 2004: pp. 220-228). They believed in the divine value of nature (Nikolić-Stojančević, 2003: pp. 83-102). Both Serbs and Albanians believed in supernatural beings, angels, witches, fairies, devils and more, and all of this had elements of pagan religion (Nikolić-Stojančević, 2003: p. 138).

In the house and family, it was the woman who kept the customs, religion and tradition. A woman should host, be moral, respect tradition, all religious holidays and rituals (Vukanović, 1986: p. 133). Almost exclusively women's jobs were fortune-telling, witchcraft and care of the sick, as well as taking care of the dead (Filipović, 1937: pp. 460-462).

The celebration of „slava“ (the Saint day) was of great importance in

³ An extensive bibliography is published in the book „Kosovo i Metohija u svetlu etnologije. Prilog bibliografiji“ which lists journals and books older than 150 years to the latest editions related to this field. (Jovanović 2004).

Kosovo and Metohija. *Slava* was one of the most characteristic Serbian customs when friends and relatives gathered, «then those who quarreled were reconciled and the poor were remembered.» (Nušić, 2021: pp. 170-176). Each house had two *slavas*, one in spring (*preslava*) and the other in autumn or winter (*slava*). Those who celebrated the same *slava* were considered as kindred. At the celebration, folk songs about Serbian heroes and historical figures were sung and fiddles were played. During the feast, the host and the men served bareheaded and never sat down (Vlahović, 1930: pp. 574-577).

Family *slava* was a custom followed by Catholic Serbs and Catholic Albanians, and there were traces of it among post-Muslim Serbs as well, not taking into account that Albanians originating from the tribes of northern Albania had traditions that they celebrated glory while they ancestors were Christians. Albanian Catholics celebrated the feast in the same way, except that they did not cut the *slava* bread (Filipović, 1937: pp. 462-475). Also, Muslims went to celebrate with their neighbors and acquaintances who are Orthodox Serbs (Vlahović, 1931: pp. 48-51).

The celebration of certain holidays during the year was accompanied by various rituals. Christmas was celebrated as the biggest holiday and was celebrated most solemnly. Serbs of the Muslim faith, as well as Albanians and Turks, celebrated Christmas (Filipović, 1937: pp. 462-475). The cult of saints was very developed. The holiday Mladenci were celebrated, who were also celebrated by Muslims under the name «Sultan Nevrus» (Vlahović, 2004: pp. 220-228). Easter was especially celebrated, as was St. George's Day, which was the biggest public holiday in the spring. If the drought lasts in the summer days, then the «dodols», girls who went around the village and called for rain, would gather (Filipović, 1967: p. 71). Mitrovdan was celebrated not only by all Serbs, but also by Albanians and Turks, since that holiday was considered the beginning of the winter half of the year and many deadlines were attached to it. Muslim Serbs, in addition to the holidays they celebrated like the Orthodox, also celebrated Ramadan and Kurban Bayram (Filipović, 1937: pp. 462-475).

Among the Serbs in Kosovo, the name day was celebrated on the holiday that coincided with the name. They didn't celebrate birthdays because there were many of them in the family, so they thought that then «we wouldn't have bread to eat». After the war, birthday celebrations began in the urban areas of Kosovo, which were received by immigrants from various parts of Yugoslavia, both officials and workers and colonists (Filipović, 1967: pp. 182-183).

The traditional folk costume from Kosovo and Metohija stood out for its beauty and diversity.⁴ The costume fit into the geographical and climatic environment, indicating the economic activity and well-being of the community. The forcing of traditional clothing was in the service of building national consciousness and integration at the national level. Settlers abandoned their costumes and behaved almost identically to the natives. The costume emphasized

4 The Museum of Kosovo and Metohija had a collection of folk costumes from different regions in its ethnographic collection (Kozarac, Vukanović, Halimi, 1956).

strict regional and group endogamy, indirectly indicated the social status of individuals, age, religious affiliation, and the regional and ethnic characteristics of the national costume remained until the Second World War when a kind of unification of it began (Jovanović, 2011: pp. 563-564). In areas where Serbs and Albanians lived mixed, as well as in areas that were in contact with Albanians, the so-called ethnic mimicry, primarily in men's costumes (trousers made of white cloth -chakshires, red belt, waistcoat worn over a shirt (jamadan or talagan), instead of the jurdin (short sleeve jacket) worn by Albanians and white *qeleshe*) (Vlahović, 2004: pp. 220-228). In the Sredska parish, the old Serbian costume has been preserved, which was particularly studied.

In the period between the two wars, sewing and knitting machines penetrated many villages. The courses were held in town settlements, among which the ones in Peć stood out, which were attended by girls from all over Kosovo. Tailors („terzias“) in the villages accepted machine sewing (Vukanović, 1986: pp. 95-111). In Sredska parish, the costume began to disappear under the influence of the city of Prizren, because the city began to replace the national costume with its own products. The cultural influence of the city penetrated not only from the immediate surroundings but also together with *pečalbari* (workers abroad) and from various distant cities. Pečalbari returned to their homeland and opened shops that did not exist in this area until then. However, the broad masses of Muslims were reluctant to abandon their traditional clothing (Jovanović, 2011: pp. 564-565).

Conclusion

The identity of the population in Kosovo and Metohija is determined by the daily life of Serbs and Albanians as the two most important peoples in this area. The geographical and geopolitical importance of this area determined and still determines the importance of this area. Kosovo and Metohija are characterized by mountain, forest, river and lake wealth, as well as a favorable climate. However, the arrangement of mountains, rivers, valleys, and gorges made it difficult for Serbs and Albanians to communicate, given the ethnic division of some settlements. Then, considering that the peasant was conservative and closed in his environment, cultural and educational progress was also slowed down. Three dominant faiths, Orthodox, Muslim and Catholic, determined the life of the inhabitants of this area. Churches, mosques and Catholic churches could be seen in one city, so the population of all three faiths lived in the same conditions. Customs and traditions were jealously guarded, and even when the modern way of life began to penetrate the cities. Folk costumes were preserved for a long time in everyday clothing, especially in the countryside, but they also began to fall out of fashion under the onslaught of industrial products. Nevertheless, the traditional way of life that largely shapes the identity of the population continues to be respected, and they represent the backbone of many ethnographic and historiographical studies. Even today, customs and beliefs are applied that are significant as characteristics of the people they belong to.

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Touristic promotion of South Serbia after Covid-19 Crisis

Abstract: In the past years many changes in every day's life were imposed due to pandemic of Covid-19. Since then and up until now, we still learn how to live and succeed in the new- established values, fears, attitudes and problems. The question is - how can we assimilate existing business modules to the new situation and how can we find the way to differentiate in the market, but still recognize global needs? North Serbia in terms of touristic promotion is not a new destination. It is area of Balkan Peninsula that has many similarities with areas nearby: Bulgaria, North Macedonia and North Greece. It is somewhat logical since, not so long ago, these countries shared historical and political moments that largely influenced the development. But what are the differences that can help promote this area in the best way in touristic purposes? After global COVID-19 crises, some touristic epicenters have decided to limit the number of tourists that visit each year- such as Barcelona, Venice, or Amsterdam. These cities were flooded by tourists every year, and the crowd was such, that it started changing quality of life for the local citizens. Is this the new opportunity for other, not so visited parts of Europe, to grow? Could Balkans become new destination on touristic map with its offer?

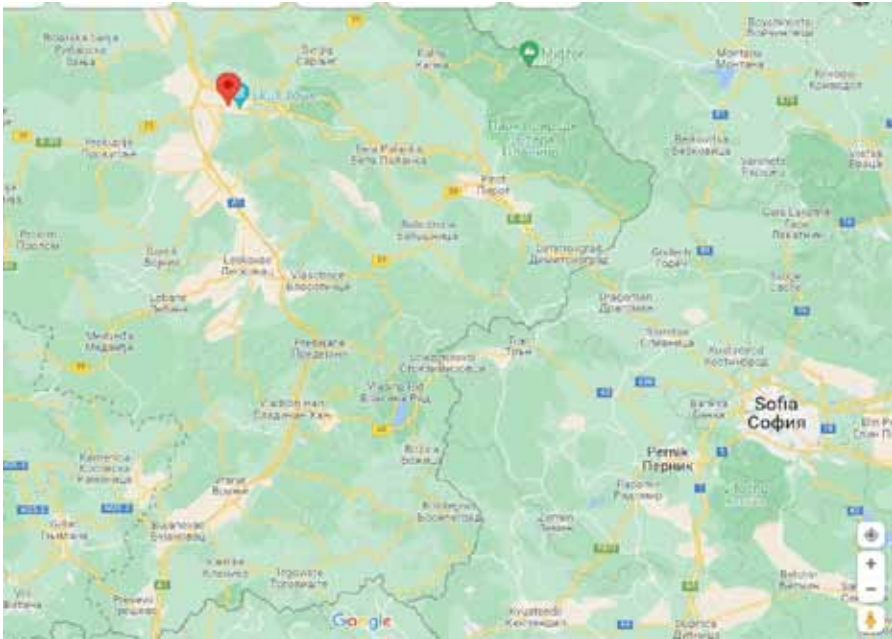
This research will give proposals to better promote North Serbia and help touristic development. Tourism will boost other economical branches and like that will improve general quality of life, simultaneously providing leisure to the tourists.

Keywords: tourism, promotion, history, culture, development

South Serbia as touristic region

In the touristic market and according to websites this region is known for tradition and gastronomy as well as its Monasteries and pilgrimage. Although the already positioned touristic place better boosting is possible if there is more promotion of natural beauty and interesting customs of the local population.

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Nis:

1. Mediana archaeological site from the reign of Roman emperor Konstantin the Great dating from third century bc..



Εικόνα 1 Wikipedia

Geographical Significance: Nais and Mediana were situated in a spacious basin, surrounded by high mountain ranges. This geographic location made them strategically important, as they were crossed by two significant rivers, the Nišava and South Morava.

Junction of Traffic Routes: Their strategic location at the junction of trans-Balkan traffic routes made Nais and Mediana crucial in antiquity and continues to be so today. The valleys of larger and smaller rivers passing through this region have historically served as key communication links, connecting Western European countries with the Orient and the Danube region with the

Adriatic and Ionian seas.

Roman Province: In the Roman Empire, Nais and Mediana occupied a central position in the Roman province of Dardania and later in Upper Moesia

Via Militaris: The via militaris was a main route connecting Singidunum (Belgrade) and Viminacium to Serdika (modern Sofia) and Constantinople (modern Istanbul).

2. Cele-kula (Skull Tower) is a macabre historical monument located in Niš, Serbia. Its history is closely tied to the First Serbian Uprising and the conflict between the Serbian rebels and the Ottoman Empire.

Background:

The Skull Tower was constructed by the Ottoman Empire following the Battle of Čegar, which occurred in May 1809 during the First Serbian Uprising. Serbian rebels, led by Stevan Sinđelić, were fighting against the Ottomans on Čegar Hill, near Niš.

Knowing that they faced capture and likely torture if they were defeated, Stevan Sinđelić made a fateful decision. He ignited a powder magazine within the rebel entrenchment, resulting in a massive explosion that killed himself, his fellow fighters, and numerous Ottoman soldiers who were closing in on them.

The tower was built from the skulls of the fallen Serbian rebels and served as a grim reminder of the Ottoman victory.

Originally, it contained 952 skulls embedded on its four sides in 14 rows.

In 1861, Midhat Pasha, the last Ottoman governor of Niš, ordered the dismantling of the Skull Tower. Following the Ottoman withdrawal from Niš in 1878, the structure was partially restored. It was roofed over with a baldachin, and some of the skulls that had been removed were returned.

In 1948, Skull Tower and the chapel were declared Cultural Monuments of Exceptional Importance and came under the protection of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Further renovation of the chapel took place in 1989.

3. Nis fortress: The Niš Fortress, known as “Niška tvrđava” in Serbian, is a historic fortress located in the city of Niš, Serbia. This fortress has great cultural and historical significance and has stood for more than two millennia.

Historical Significance:

The Niš Fortress is situated on the right bank of the Nišava River and has been a prominent site of habitation for over 2,000 years.

Legal Protection:

Recognizing its cultural and historical importance, the Niš Fortress was legally protected in May 1948 when it was declared a cultural site of great significance.

Architectural and Historical Features:

The fortress features a combination of architectural styles and structures that have been added and modified over centuries. Its historical importance stems from the fact that it has witnessed various historical periods, including Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and more.

4. Kazandžijsko Sokace, also known as Kazandžijsko Sokače (Serbian Cyrillic: Казанджијско сокаче), is a well-known historic street located in the city of Niš, Serbia.

Historical Significance: Kazandžijsko Sokace has a rich history dating back to the Ottoman period. It was named after the artisans and craftsmen who used to produce and repair various metal items, especially cauldrons (kazan in Turkish).

Architecture: The architecture of the buildings and shops along the street reflects the style of the Ottoman era. Visitors can see traditional facades, wooden bay windows, and other architectural elements that transport them back in time.

Cultural and Tourist Attraction: The street is not just a shopping destination but also a cultural attraction. It often hosts cultural events, art exhibitions, and live performances, adding to its vibrant atmosphere.

5. Christian basilica with a martyrium in Jagodin-mala, dating back to the 4th century. This historical site likely represents an ancient Christian religious building with particular significance.

Basilica: A basilica is a type of Christian church building. It's characterized by a rectangular shape with a central nave and aisles, often separated by columns or piers. The design allows for the congregation to gather, and the altar area at the front of the nave is significant for religious ceremonies.

Martyrium: A martyrium is a type of structure or chapel built to commemorate Christian martyrs. These were individuals who died for their faith, and their sacrifices were highly regarded in early Christianity.

6. Bujanj is an archaeological site in the city of Niš, which has a rich history dating back to ancient times. The site is characterized by large stone formations that are believed to have served various purposes throughout history.

Historical Significance: The historical significance of the Bujanj archaeological site lies in the fact that it represents the ancient history of Niš and the surrounding region. It is a testament to the city's long and varied history, having been a significant center during the Roman period and beyond.

Research and Study: Archaeologists and historians have likely conducted research and excavations at the Bujanj site to understand its historical context and significance.

Leskovac:

1. The Monastery of John the Baptist, also known as Manastir Svetog Jovana Krstitelja (Манастир Светог Јована Крститеља) in Serbian, is a Serbian Orthodox monastery located near the town of Leskovac in southern Serbia.

Historical Significance: The Monastery of John the Baptist is a historically and culturally significant religious site in the Leskovac region. It holds religious and spiritual importance for the local community and visitors alike.

Architecture: Like many Serbian Orthodox monasteries, it features distinctive architectural elements, including a church, living quarters for monks, and often a defensive wall. The design and architecture may reflect the period in which it was built or renovated.

Religious Activities: The monastery is an active place of worship and monastic life. Visitors may have the opportunity to attend religious services, observe monastic rituals, and learn about the spiritual life of the monks.

2. The Monastery of the Presentation of the Holy Mother of God, known as Manastir Rođenje Presvete Bogorodice (Манастир Рођење Пресвете Богородице) in Serbian, is a Serbian Orthodox monastery located in the vicinity of Leskovac, a town in southern Serbia.

Historical and Religious Significance: The Monastery of the Presentation of the Holy Mother of God holds religious and historical significance in the region of Leskovac. Monasteries like this one are vital components of Serbian Orthodox Christianity and serve as places of worship, reflection, and spiritual guidance.

Architectural Features: Serbian Orthodox monasteries typically feature distinct architectural elements, including a church, living quarters for monks or nuns, and sometimes protective walls. The architectural style can reflect the period in which the monastery was constructed or renovated.

3. The Odžaklija Church, also known as the Church of St. Archangel Gabriel (Црква Светог Архангела Гаврила - Crkva Svetog Arhangela Gavrila) is a Serbian Orthodox church located in Niš, Serbia.

History: The Odžaklija Church is a significant historical and religious monument in Niš. The church dates back to the 18th century and holds cultural and religious importance for the local Serbian Orthodox community.

Architecture: The architecture of the Odžaklija Church reflects the traditional style of Serbian Orthodox churches. These churches typically feature elements such as a central nave, a dome, and an iconostasis. The exterior may be adorned with decorative details, and the interior often contains religious frescoes and icons.

Religious Significance: As a Serbian Orthodox church, the Odžaklija Church serves as a place of worship, prayer, and religious ceremonies. It is

dedicated to St. Archangel Gabriel, an important figure in Orthodox Christian theology.

4. Justiniana Prima near Leskovac - Justiniana Prima was an ancient Byzantine city located near modern-day Lebane in southern Serbia. It was founded by the Roman Emperor Justinian I in 535 AD and served as an important administrative, cultural, and ecclesiastical center during the Byzantine Empire. This city was part of Justinian's efforts to restore the Western Roman Empire. Justiniana Prima is known for its well-preserved archaeological remains and its historical significance. Some of the notable features of the city include basilicas, a palace, fortifications, and various structures.

Vranje:

1. The National Museum in Vranje, Serbia, is a cultural institution dedicated to preserving and presenting the heritage and history of the Vranje region and its surroundings.

History: The National Museum in Vranje, like many national museums in Serbia, has a rich history. It was established to collect, preserve, and display artifacts and artworks that reflect the cultural, historical, and artistic heritage of the Vranje region.

Collections: The museum's collections cover a wide range of topics, including archaeology, history, ethnology, art, and more. Some of the artifacts and artworks may date back to ancient times, while others represent more recent periods in the region's history.

Artistic Treasures: Art enthusiasts can explore a collection of paintings, sculptures, and other artistic works. These artworks may represent local or national artists and showcase various styles and periods.

Ethnological Displays: Museums like the National Museum in Vranje often feature exhibitions related to the local culture and traditions of the region. This could include traditional clothing, folk art, and objects related to daily life.

Historical Artifacts: Visitors can expect to see historical artifacts that shed light on the history of Vranje and its surroundings. This might include documents, tools, weaponry, and more.

Educational and Cultural Programs: The museum typically offers educational programs, workshops, and cultural events for visitors of all ages. These activities aim to enhance the public's understanding of the region's history and culture.

2. White bridge

The "White Bridge" (Beli Most) in Vranje, Serbia, is an iconic architectural structure that serves as a landmark and a symbol of the city.

Architecture: The White Bridge is a beautiful and distinctive architectural

feature in Vranje. It is known for its elegant and classic design, featuring white stone or concrete material. The bridge has a traditional and timeless appearance.

Historical Significance: The bridge is not only a functional infrastructure but also holds historical significance for the city. It is often associated with the city's history, culture, and identity.

3. Museum house of Bora Stankovic

The Museum-House of Bora Stanković is a cultural and historical institution located in Vranje, Serbia. It is dedicated to preserving and showcasing the life and work of the renowned Serbian writer Bora Stanković (1876-1927) a Serbian writer, novelist, and playwright. He is considered one of the most important figures in Serbian literature of the early 20th century.

Historical Significance: The museum-house is located in a building where Bora Stanković lived and worked during his lifetime. The house is of historical significance as it provides insights into the life and creative process of the writer.

Exhibits: The museum features exhibit related to Bora Stanković's life and literary legacy. Visitors can explore personal belongings, manuscripts, first editions of his works, and other artifacts associated with the writer.

Interior: The interior of the house has been preserved to reflect the period when Bora Stanković lived there. It offers a glimpse into the domestic and work environment of the writer.

Cultural Events: The museum occasionally hosts cultural events, exhibitions, and literary gatherings. These events promote Serbian literature and celebrate the legacy of Bora Stanković.

Educational Destination: The museum serves as an educational destination for students, scholars, and anyone interested in the literary and cultural history of Serbia.

4. Hamam baths

The "Hamam" in Vranje, Serbia, refers to a historical Turkish bathhouse. This type of structure is common in regions with Ottoman influence, and Vranje, like many other towns in the Balkans, has its own hamam with historical and architectural significance.

Historical Significance: The Vranje Hamam is a historical monument that reflects the Ottoman heritage in the region. It's a reminder of the Ottoman period when these bathhouses played an essential role in daily life, serving as places for bathing, socializing, and relaxation.

Architecture: Ottoman-style hamams are known for their unique architecture, with elements like domed roofs, ornate decorations, and distinctive interior layouts designed for specific bathing rituals.

Preservation: Efforts to preserve the Vranje Hamam have likely been made to protect this historical and architectural treasure. Restoration and

conservation work are about to be carried out to maintain its cultural value. Nowadays it is still much neglected.

Festivities and manifestations in the area for touristic purposes

The “**Leskovačka Rostiljiada**” is a well-known annual festival in Leskovac, Serbia, dedicated to the celebration of grilled and barbecued food, particularly the local specialty known as “**Leskovački roštilj.**” Here’s an overview of the Leskovacka Rostiljiada festivities:

Culinary Celebration: Leskovacka Rostiljiada is a celebration of barbecue and grilled food. It is one of the most famous culinary festivals in Serbia.

Competitions: Leskovacka Rostiljiada often includes barbecue competitions where local chefs and visitors can showcase their grilling skills. Awards are given for the best barbecued dishes.

Cultural Exhibitions: The festival is also an opportunity to experience Serbian culture and heritage. You may find exhibitions related to local traditions, crafts, and art.

Vendors: Numerous food stalls and vendors participate in the festival, offering a variety of grilled and barbecued dishes. This includes kebabs, sausages, pljeskavica (grilled minced meat patties), and other delicious options. The Leskovacka Rostiljiada typically takes place in late August or early September, depending on the year. Be sure to check the exact dates for the year you plan to attend.

Nishville - international jazz festival (second half of August) - in the past years, the audience from this part of the Balkans had the opportunity to listen every summer to the greats of jazz music, but also to those who nurture the fusion of jazz music with other musical styles.

Film Encounters - a festival of Serbian acting (second half of August) - every summer since 1966, Niš symbolically hands over the keys to the city to actors and becomes “the city of actors”. As the most visited festival of this type in Serbia, which is held in an open-air cinema in the amphitheater of the Niš Fortress, it has always attracted attention throughout its history, so even today there is talk of a visit by the “famous” acting couple Richard Barton and Elizabeth Taylor.

NIMUS (end of October, beginning of November) – a classical music festival that has traditionally been held in Niš for 35 years and includes performances by domestic and foreign symphony and chamber orchestras, as well as performances by instrumental soloists and opera singers.

Bora’s theater days is a cultural event in Vranje, dedicated to Borisav Stanković, a Serbian storyteller, novelist and playwright who was born in the town of the same name. It represents the oldest theater festival in the south of Serbia.

It has traditionally been held since 1979 in the last week of October, organized by the “Bora Stanković” Theater. This event is held every year for five days. Lovers of theater art have the opportunity to see the best theater performances from the past season and those that premiered in the current year. At the end of the festival, the audience and expert jury choose the best performance for the past year.

Vranje music festival – protected by Unesco as Urban songs from Vranje, The Festival, organized by the Cultural Educational Center of Vranje with the support of the local government, is held at the “Bora Stankovic” Theater and comprises a number of activities, such as presentations on the history of Vranje’s songs and traditional instruments, various music concerts with vocal soloists, group performances from the National Orchestra and clarinet and kaval representations. The event is an occasion for the audience to discover or develop their interest in the city’s urban traditional music, as well as an opportunity for professionals of the sector to share good practices and extend their knowledge and techniques.

Through this Festival, Vranje contributes to the UNESCO Creative Cities Network’s mission and objectives by fostering communication between musicians and by encouraging them to transmit their passion to a large audience.

The tourism sector in Serbia and coronavirus

Although Serbia has a favorable geographical position and beautiful landscape, the market possibilities of the tourism sector within it never were fully realized.

The changes in this sector started in 2014, with the introduction of different Government measures in four strategic regions, which eventually led to many positive changes. The tourism sector was recovering, and its contribution to the Serbian GDP was rising. In 2001, the tourism sector contributed to the Serbian GDP by 0.8%, and in 2018, it was 2.4%.

Tourism in Serbia is officially recognized as a primary area for economic and social growth. The hotel and catering sector accounted for approximately 2.2% of GDP in 2015. Tourism in Serbia employs some 75,000 people, about 3% of the country’s workforce. In recent years the number of tourists is increasing, especially foreign ones for about hundred thousand arrivals more each year. In 2019, tourism generated an income of nearly \$1.698 billion, hosting 3.7 million tourists, half of whom were foreigners. Chinese tourists were the most numerous foreign visitors, followed by tourists from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Germany. In 2022, tourism earnings surged to \$2.71 billion and almost 2 million foreign tourists visited the country. Major destinations for foreign tourists are Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš, while domestic tourists prefer spas and mountain resorts. Eco-friendly and sustainable tourism has also become very popular among domestic tourists, with many visiting various nature reserves and parks in the western and southern part of the country. Serbia is also known for gastronomic tourism, with Belgrade being the central meeting point with over 2000 restaurants, coffee shops, bars and nightlife venues.

The order of events in this sector in Serbia due to a pandemic was the same as the rest of the world. After the Government officially proclaimed a pandemic, the cancelations from foreign tourists started to come, and after that, many domestic tourists canceled their vacations as well. In addition, the schools were banned to take their students on already planned excursions, so that also affected the tourist sector. Tourist agencies, tourist guides, hotels,

spas, Airbnb's all faced terrifying prospects – losing business and jobs.

There were two periods with a low number of registered corona cases in Serbia since the pandemic started. Those were a total of 4 months, in which we saw an increase in domestic tourism. Since Serbia is a small country, with an average salary of 470 euros, and since many people lost their jobs, the level of income from domestic tourists cannot be enough to cover the total loss. They are barely enough to cover basic costs and taxes. Everything else needs to be on hold – including the return of loans.

According to official statements from the Serbian Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Telecommunications (MTTT), the predicted loss of the tourism sector in 2020 will be around 1 billion euros. The income in this sector dropped by 90%. The number of employees who are losing their job is increasing every day, and this number will only go up. According to the National Association of Touristic Agencies of Serbia, if some drastic measures are not introduced, half of the people that are working within the tourism sector will lose their job.

Help from the Government:

As a financial aid, the state provided funds regarding salaries in SME in the private sector in the form of the minimum wage. Large private companies also received part of the funds – the state provided 50% of the minimum wage for those who were working and those that were on temporary leave. It should be emphasized, that workers in the tourist sector received minimum wage only in the case that they had a contract with some company or agency. Those that had a time-to-time contract (for example tourist guides) did not receive financial help. Unfortunately, there are thousands of workers with this kind of situation in this sector. SME had two options to choose to improve their liquidity – either to use a loan from the Serbian Development Fund or to use a loan from commercial banks under favorable conditions.

The European Union will send as part of the #EUforYou Project – 'EU for Cultural Heritage and Tourism' one million euros for projects to help the Serbian tourism industry due to the coronavirus pandemic. The money will be distributed to small, micro and family enterprises, farms and companies in 12 places in the east and southeast of Serbia. This is part of 93 million euros of total aid that the EU sent to Serbia as a pandemic started. Since Serbia is an aspiring EU country, financial help is significantly smaller than the amount of money that the EU dedicated to its member countries.

SWOT analysis regarding the tourism of South Serbia.

Strengths:

- Location-strategic geographical location provides perfect position for many trade roads and many roads in general. Between North Serbia and European Union and close to the borders with Ex-Yu countries, close to the border with Greece, this area can have easy access to many touristic markets
- Already positioned in the domestic market as Special interest tourism

area – music festivals, gastronomy, enotourism etc.

- Very well known in domestic tourism
- Historical monuments of great importance – Justiniana archaeological site in Leskovac and Džavolja varos natural phenomenon under the protection of UNESCO
- Ongoing project of UNESCO - This is part of the pilot implementation in South - East Europe, overseen by the UNESCO Regional Bureau for Science and Culture in Europe in collaboration with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in Paris.

Weaknesses:

- Lack of touristic promotion and attraction of foreign tourists
- Lack of infrastructure
- Lack of cultural and touristic education of inhabitants
- Lack of collaborations that can be useful and constructive
- Lack of collaboration with cities of North Serbia between them

Opportunities:

- Better collaboration with cities nearby
- Better promotion in domestic tourism fairs as well as international
- Online promotion and webinars
- Education of the inhabitants and students
- Student exchange
- Good location for foreign companies, attracting them (school and work tourism is often the best way of promotion)

Treats:

- Always instable economic situation
- Not enough foreign investments
- Low interest of domestic tourists
- Instable political situation
- Migration

Proposals for touristic promotion after covid 19 crisis:

- Strengthening co-operation within and between countries
- Building more resilient, sustainable tourism
- Structural change in tourism supply -ecosystems
- Digitalization
- Webinars with lessons and online workshops
- Education and involvement of the citizens
- Collaboration of the cities between them
- Government program for tourism enhancement
- New tourism job openings and education of touristic workers

Conclusion

Tourism is developing fast and it is influenced by every social change. That is why the approach on the promotion must always change and be in harmony with the development of IT sector, economy sector, and politics. In order to be always in synchronization with the new technologies is to always research we need to educate and promote.

The best way for touristic promotion and boosting is to put accent on gastronomy and festivals since these are assets that are authentic and rich in culture and tradition, that support so well the mentality and features of its people. The promotion of these characteristics can lead to expansion of visitors from all around. Not only monuments but also experiences of each region can be the best material to promote and attract.

By starting today, from ourselves, by supporting tourism of our region, we support better life and future within.

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ТУРИЗМОТ И ОДРЖЛИВИОТ РАЗВОЈ СООЧЕНИ СО НОВИТЕ БЕЗБЕДНОСНИ КРИЗИ

Апстракт: Одржлив економски раст може да се постигне преку туризмот по пат на заштита на животната средина, одржување на природните ресурси, создавање вработувања, подобрување на културната разновидност и препознавање на вредностите на културното наследство. Концептот на одржливост на туризмот постепено расте на глобално ниво и станува доминантен аспект во модерниот бизнис, бидејќи компаниите треба да ги исполнат барањата на засегнатите страни во однос на управувањето со животната средина. Одржливиот туризам ги вклучува еколошките, социјалните, економските и културните прашања во работењето. Се очекува да се зголеми побарувачката за зелен туризам, етичка потрошувачка, заштита на природните ресурси и живеење блиску до природата. Конкретно, второто добива сè поголема популарност поради стресот предизвикан од глобалната пандемија и поради тоа што вредностите се превреднувани на секое ниво на општеството. Во овој труд, се истражува одржливоста во туристичката индустрија во меѓународниот контекст за време на пандемијата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна, со специфичен фокус на туризмот во 35 европски земји за периодот помеѓу јануари 2020 и октомври 2022 година. Трудот има за цел да го проучи влијанието на туризмот за одржливост врз основа на базата на податоци на Еуростат, користејќи кластерска анализа и описна статистика. Резултатите покажуваат дека туризмот малку ќе закрепне, иако пандемијата и војната ќе продолжат, забележувајќи различни ефекти во европските земји. Понатаму, се истакнува врската помеѓу приходот и туризмот, при што кластерите за туризам се значително различни според приходите. Резултатите, исто така, ги идентификуваат потенцијалните опции за обновување за усогласување на оваа деловна област со глобалните цели за одржлив развој, генерирање ефективни трансформациски промени и сугерираат како да се создаде одржлив процес на раст поттикнат од глобална перспектива.

Клучни зборови: одржлив туризам; одржливост; пандемиска криза; Украинско-Руската војна, цели за одржлив развој; локален туризам; глокален туризам

Вовед

Глобалната пандемија и Украинско-Руската војна предизвикаа економски кризи ширум светот, а туристичкиот сектор е сериозно оштетен.

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Угостителството и туристичката индустрија претрпеа тотални забрани за патување, строги ограничувања, заклучувања и нови здравствени и безбедносни прописи насочени кон спречување на ширењето на новиот коронавирус и управување со пандемиската криза и недостигот на енергетски ресурси поради Украинско-Руската војна. Студиите укажуваат на влијанието на согледаните ризици врз однесувањето на патувањето и донесувањето одлуки за туризмот за време и по пандемијата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна.

Во последно време, вниманието е свртено кон одржливоста, бидејќи новите генерации се повеќе загрижени за одржливото општество, прашањата за животната средина; оттука, однесувањето на потрошувачката стана сè поодржливо. Одржливоста се однесува на трошење ресурси на таков начин што остава доволно ресурси за идните генерации. Одржливиот развој значи задоволување на потребите на сегашната генерација „без да се загрози способноста на идните генерации да ги задоволат сопствените потреби“. Концептот вклучува социјални, економски и природни ресурси кои се достапни за да се обезбедат извори на егзистенција. Седумнаесет цели за одржлив развој (вклучувајќи 169 конкретни цели и 232 индикатори) усвоени од сите земји-членки на Обединетите нации имаат за цел да постигнат одржлива иднина преку заштита на планетата, ставање крај на сиромаштијата и обезбедување просперитет. Затоа, сегашниот предизвик е да се трошат и управуваат постоечките ресурси на планетата, не само на краток рок, туку и земајќи ги предвид долгорочните ефекти и имајќи ги предвид потенцијалните потреби на идните генерации. Според Светската туристичка организација, одржливиот развој на туризмот е релевантен за сите видови туризам, вклучувајќи го масовниот туризам и нишаниот туризам. Одржливиот туризам оптимално ги користи еколошките ресурси, ги одржува еколошките процеси и помага да се зачува природното наследство и биодиверзитетот. Ја почитува социокултурната автентичност и традиционалните вредности на заедниците домаќини, како и обезбедува долгорочни операции, обезбедува социо-економски придобивки за сите засегнати страни, создавајќи можности за заработка и придонесува за ублажување на сиромаштијата.

Концептот на одржливост на туризмот

Концептот на одржливост на туризмот станува доминантен аспект во модерниот бизнис бидејќи компаниите треба да ги исполнат барањата на засегнатите страни во однос на управувањето со животната средина. Поточно, туристичкиот сектор се префрла кон зелен, етички и туризам поврзан со каузата; оттука, одговорноста за туризмот постепено расте на глобално ниво. Одржливиот туризам ги вклучува еколошките, социјалните, економските и културните прашања во работењето (Fletcher, R., et al, 2020). Исто така, подигната е свеста за природната средина, водата, дивниот свет, климатските промени и загадувањето предизвикано

од туристичките активности. Следствено, се очекува да се зголеми побарувачката за зелен туризам, етичката потрошувачка, заштитата на природните ресурси и живеењето блиску до природата, особено затоа што таа добива сè поголема популарност поради стресот предизвикан од глобалната пандемија, а исто така и поради тоа што вредностите се преоценета на секое ниво на општеството.

Одржливиот развој во туризмот се однесува на економските, еколошките и социјалните аспекти преку политики и стратегии. Ангажирањето на засегнатите страни е важна алатка за да се води дијалог со локалните заедници, домородните луѓе, посетителите и владата. Нивното вклучување обезбедува етичко и одговорно однесување во туристичкиот сектор. Одржлив економски раст може да се постигне преку туризмот преку заштита на животната средина, одржување на природните ресурси, создавање вработувања, намалување на сиромаштијата, одржување на културната разновидност и препознавање на вредностите на културното наследство. Кризата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна го сврте вниманието на засегнатите страни за големиот придонес што туризмот може да го има во човечката раса за одржлив развој (Gössling, S., et al 2020). Затворањето на границите и прекинот на економската активност ги покренува прашањата за потребата и можностите за национални и меѓународни туристички текови. Дополнително, и специјалистите и компаниите од областа се обидоа да најдат алтернативи за традиционалниот туризам што ќе ја задоволат потребата на луѓето да истражуваат нови места и да искушат други култури, истовремено почитувајќи ги ограничувањата наметнати од кризата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна и заштита на животната средина.

Влијанието на пандемската криза и Украинско-Руската војна врз туризмот

COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна има значително влијание врз бизнисот, глобално, почнувајќи од нарушени синџири на вредност до намалена меѓународна трговија; сепак, тој исто така стимулира иновации. Туризмот се сметаше за важна алатка за развој на економиите и намалување на сиромаштијата. Пред избувнувањето на пандемијата, туристичкиот сектор беше одговорен за 10% од глобалниот БДП и создаде околу 320 милиони работни места ширум светот (Romagosa, F. 2020). Секторот за патување и туризам растеше, а економијата на многу земји беше исклучиво зависна од него. Туризмот генерира низа позитивни ефекти врз регионалниот развој и, имплицитно, врз развојот на националната економија преку локално вработување, развој на локалните заедници, обука на компании во сродни области и развој на транспортната инфраструктура во светот. Во некои земји туризмот се смета за стратешко поле, па дури и за национален приоритет, при што се спроведуваат посебни економски политики за да се засилат позитивните ефекти што оваа гранка ги има врз развојот на националната економија или да се намалат негативните

надворешни ефекти генерирани од околината. Негативните ефекти од пандемијската криза и Украинско-Руската војна врз тие земји ќе траат многу подолго по пандемијата и војната додека луѓето не се чувствуваат безбедно да патуваат повторно (Baum, T. and Hai, N.T.T. 2020).

Пандемијата и војната, исто така, го променија однесувањето на потрошувачите во корист на поетички одлуки и бавен процес на донесување одлуки пред купувањето, како и очекување од компаниите да придонесат за решавање на проблемите со кои се соочува општеството. Пандемијата и војната сериозно влијаат на туристичките бизниси ширум светот, поради глобалните мерки воведени за да се спречи ширењето на вирусот, економските санкции и енергетски рестрикции поради војната, а секторот се чини дека е еден од последните што се обнови бидејќи продолжуваат ограничувањата за патување и глобалната рецесија.

Се очекува туризмот да закрепне до 2023 година. Меѓународниот туризам се намали за 74%, патувањето со авион за 60%, а поради тоа, CO₂ исто така падна за 6% во 2020 година. UNWTO (UNWTO, 2020) процени дека меѓународните туристички пристигнувања се намалени за околу 85% во 2021 година, во споредба со 2019 година. Според Канцеларијата за национална статистика, месечните пристигнувања на патници во Обединетото Кралство се намалиле за 98% (World Bank 2020a). Понатаму, деловните субјекти за сместување и туристички агенции забележаа пад на прометот на 9,3%, а вработеноста во сместувањето е намалена за 21,5% (WTTC 2020).

Туризмот како важен двигател на економските активности придонесува за БДП на многу европски земји, на пример (UNCTAD 2020): Грција, околу 7%; Франција, повеќе од 7%; Португалија, 8%; и Шпанија, околу 12%. Треба да се напомене дека услугите за сместување и храна обезбедија вработување за 144 милиони луѓе, вклучувајќи 44 милиони работници на сопствена сметка и 7 милиони работодавци. Дополнително, туристичкиот сектор во земјите на Г20 учествува со 10% од вработеноста и околу 9,5% од БДП, а 6-месечното нарушување го намали 2,5% на 3,5% од БПД во земјите на Г20 (OECD 2020).

Грузија, како земја зависна од туризмот, генерирала 11% од БДП од туризмот. Во август 2019 година, околу 1,1 милион туристи ја посетија Грузија, додека нивниот број драматично се намали на 44 000 во истиот период во 2020 година (UNEP 2020). Генерално, меѓународните посети се намалија за 90% (World Bank 2020b). Така, туристичката индустрија се влошува. Сепак, земјите, вклучително и Грузија одлучија да понудат долгорочни дозволи на странските работници од далечина доколку ги донесат своите виртуелни канцеларии, надевајќи се дека ќе имаат корист од нивното трошење во локалните економии. Покрај тоа, владината политика во Грузија во однос на користењето на хотелите како карантински зони и таканаречените хотели COVID делумно им помогна да преживеат. За таа цел, повеќе од 100 милиони GEL беа платени од владата на хотелите во Грузија (Euronews 2020).

Драматичен пад во туристичкиот сектор беше забележан и во Полска, додека стапката на пополнетост на сместувачките капацитети се намали

за 70%, а меѓународните летови за 80-90% во 2020 година (UNDP 2020). Годишниот придонес на нив во економијата на земјата беше помеѓу 4% и 5% пред пандемијата и војната (UNEP 2020).

Бидејќи меѓународниот туризам падна за околу 80%, домашниот туризам го олесни омекнувањето на проблемот (OECD 2020). Поради оваа причина, туристичката економија треба да ја преиспита својата иднина, да премине кон дигитална транзиција и да користи зелени, еластични и одржливи стратегии за закрепнување. OECD (OECD 2020) препорачува владината поддршка за подобрување на туризмот, враќање на довербата на патниците, поттикнување на секторот да се прилагоди, промовира домашно патување, зајакнување на меѓународната соработка и изградба на одржлив туризам. Понатаму, домашниот туризам може да мотивира опстанок и закрепнување кога меѓународното патување е ограничено, бидејќи им овозможува на компаниите да одржуваат некои туристички дестинации. Неодамнешните студии (Jamal, T. and Budke, C. 2020) нагласуваат радикална промена од глобализација кон регионализација како карактеристична карактеристика на тековниот и постпандемскиот период што ја менува природата на бизнисот на меѓународно ниво.

Одржливост на туризмот

Иако терминот одржливост е широко користен и распространет во политички, деловни и непрофитни контексти, уништувањето на животната средина продолжува да достигнува невидени нивоа. Одржливиот туризам води кон постигнување позитивно економско влијание без негативните ефекти на човековите активности врз природните ресурси. Иако тоа е доброволно вклучување, како членови на нашето општество, компаниите се повикани да одговорат на глобалните предизвици и да придонесат за зголемување на општествената благосостојба во поширока смисла, наместо исклучиво „произведуваат економски профит за само неколку привилегирани“. Научниците ја нагласуваат потребата да се фокусираме на прашањата за одржливост додека се развиваат стратегии во туризмот, што вклучува заштита на животната средина, ангажирање на засегнатите страни и интегриран пристап што ги поврзува природните, еколошките и историските ресурси. Врз основа на целите на одржливиот развој (World Bank 2020a), компаниите можат јасно да видат каде се потребни активности и промени за да се придвижи кон одржлива перспектива. Целите на одржливиот развој се меѓусебно поврзани и влијаат едни на други, така што постигнувањето на целта придонесува за постигнување други цели.

Од една страна, туризмот придонесува за економијата, особено кога една земја зависи од секторот; од друга страна, врши притисок врз животната средина и природните ресурси на одреден регион. Бидејќи побарувачката за свежа храна, слатка вода, хотелски градини, угостителство, тушеви, перални, итн., расте и стоките треба да се обезбедат преку глобалните синџири на снабдување, се зголемуваат емисиите од

товарот, а да не се зборува за еколошката штета од крстарењетоци отпадот. На пример (Sigala, M. 2020), депонијата во Малта има височина од 60 m, а на вештачкиот остров Тилафуши на Малдивите секој ден се носи околу 500 тони ѓубре, поврзано со туристички активности. Во Грузија, тони отпад се акумулираат секоја година во планините Казбеги кои се наоѓаат на 3653 m надморска височина, нејзините околни територии, патеката што води до неа и националниот парк кој се наоѓа на 1400 m надморска височина, како резултат на масовниот туризам. За да се ублажи овој проблем, хотелот Алтихут е основан во оваа област за да се исчисти територијата, да бидат домаќини туристи и да се зголеми нивната еколошка свест за да се намали производството или складирањето на отпад таму.

Дополнително, научниците ги потврдуваат негативните ефекти на загадувачите на животната средина врз здравјето на екосистемот. Масовниот туризам може (Thomas, R., 2020): (1) да ја зголеми побарувачката за вода во регион со дефицитарни водни ресурси; (2) генерира големи количини отпад; (3) зголемување на загадувањето со користење на различни транспортни средства, особено кога патишта не се изградени и секој автомобил крева прашина; (4) произведуваат визуелно загадување бидејќи градежните компании градат високи згради, хотели и куќи несоодветно лоцирани за пејзажот и животната средина; (5) ја оштетуваат екологијата бидејќи туристите и патувањето со автомобил или велосипед може да ги нарушат птиците, цицачите и растенијата, предизвикувајќи губење на биолошката разновидност; и (6) негативно влијае на дивниот свет за кој туристите го посетуваат регионот поради повеќе нови хидроцентрали кои се градат, бидејќи развојот на туристичката индустрија бара повеќе електрична енергија и подобрена инфраструктура.

Истражувачите (Baum, T. and Hai, N.T.T. 2020) сугерираат дека одржливиот туризам може да биде создаден од локалните заедници додека ја штитат животната средина и управуваат со социјален проект за подобрување на екосистемот и привлекување туристи. Покрај тоа, туристичкиот сектор треба да ја земе предвид релативно новата парадигма, правата на природата. Ова значи да се признае и почитува дека природата и нејзините екосистеми, вклучувајќи ги животните, дрвјата, океаните, реките и планините, имаат права како што имаат правата на луѓето. Овој холистички поглед сугерира да се признае дека „природата во сите нејзини облици има право да постои, да опстојува, да ги одржува и да ги регенерира своите витални циклуси“, наместо да се третира како сопственост според законот. Во овој поглед, одржливиот туризам презема одговорност за заштита на екосистемите додека генерира приход преку производство на услуги за туристите. Во врска со одржливоста, парадигмата за правата на природата има за цел да ги забрани ублажувањата за финансиска добивка, ја попречува прекумерната потрошувачка и создава одржливо ниво на човечка употреба, ги намалува човечките стапала на Земјата за да напредува во согласност со развојот на населението и технологиите и ја зачувува природата и покрај динамичките

промени во еколошките процеси. Друг концепт (EU 2020) усогласен со одржливиот туризам е Сината зона (БЗ), односно географска област во која живеат голем број постари луѓе. Тие се изолирана популација „која дели хомогено генетско потекло, традиционален начин на живот и навики во исхраната“. Во моментот, постојат четири такви региони идентификувани во Окинава, Сардинија, Костарика и Грција. Научната заедница (Fletcher, R., et al, 2020) ги смета за ефективни модели на здраво стареење што може да се пренесе. Како резултат на тоа, туризмот за благосостојба се шири кон концептот Сина зона за да им обезбеди на гостите здрав живот на поодржлив начин.

Закрепнување на туризмот по пандеиската криза

Со оглед на придонесот на туристичката индустрија во економијата, неопходно е да се врати индустријата, особено во оние земји кои силно зависат од туризмот како главен, па дури и единствен извор на приход. Покрај тоа, пократките растојанија на патување доведуваат до помало влијание врз животната средина; регионалната или локалната дестинација може да доведе до стимулирачко обновување на секторот. Покрај тоа, за време на пандемијата, луѓето имаат тенденција да останат локални и да патуваат во нивните земји, што е ефтино и достапно во споредба со меѓународните посети (Gössling, S., et al, 2020).

Понатаму, дигитализацијата е уште еден тренд кон закрепнување со бесконтактни плаќања, услуги, автоматизација и виртуелни искуства. Со оглед на тоа што услужниот сектор сериозно претрпе за време на заклучувањето на пандемијата, дигиталната трансформација се смета за ветувачко средство, врз основа на кое може да се создаде рамка за одржливост за модификација на деловниот модел. Резултатите од истражувањето покажуваат дека стратегиите за обновување треба да се засноваат на технолошки напредок и дигитализација со фокус на развивање одржливи деловни модели во согласност со целите за одржлив развој (IATA 2020).

Вреди да се напомене дека концептот на сопственост на одржливост, може да создаде брз развој на компанијата кон поодржлив бизнис. Одржливиот туризам треба да обезбеди рамнотежа помеѓу економските, еколошките и социјалните димензии во дестинацијата, што е можно преку спречување на „вишокот туристи, деградацијата на природните и културните ресурси и незадоволството на граѓаните“ (Jamal, T. and Budke, C. 2020).

Резултатите од истражувањата (OECD 2020) покажуваат дека турбулентните времиња, како што е кризата со COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна, се исто така можности за развој на нови однесувања со преиспитување на вредностите на потрошувачката, перцепциите и изборот на потрошувачка, бидејќи потрошувачите претрпеле промени во речиси секој аспект од нивниот живот, од професионални на финансиските области. Покрај тоа, туристите го преиспитуваат своето

однесување како резултат на тековната пандемија, менувајќи ги нивните преференции кон одржлив туризам, избирајќи кратки дестинации за да го избегнат воздушниот сообраќај и масовниот туризам. Неодамнешните студии покажуваат дека туристите собираат информации за прашањата за животната средина и одржливиот туризам и тие се свесни за нивното потенцијално влијание врз економскиот, социјалниот и еколошки одржливиот туризам. Во однос на туристичките атракции, фестивалите, музеите и настаните, научниците предлагаат да се преиспитаат пристапите на управување и да се бараат нови модели на учество додека се фокусираат на дигитални или помали формати на туризам. Трендовите на академските студии (Romagosa, F. 2020) за дигиталните технологии во туризмот се фокусираат на виртуелната средина, насочена кон мотивирање на потрошувачите да посетат дестинација, а проширената реалност главно се однесува на туризмот на културата и наследството. Технологиите за дигитална и виртуелна реалност се обидуваат да ја променат поставеноста на туристичката индустрија, бидејќи дигиталниот туризам овозможува соработка меѓу нациите и може да се прошири преку границите. Овие тенденции се очекува дополнително да се развиваат особено по пандемијата.

Ефекти на безбедносните кризи врз туризмот и одржливиот развој

Кризата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна имаше разорно влијание врз туристичката индустрија ширум светот, а негативните ефекти ги чувствуваат компаниите во областа и нивните добавувачи и вработени. Туристичката активност беше под влијание на ограничувањата наметнати од физичкото растојание, здравствените проблеми кои имаат влијание врз се повеќе луѓе, падот на приходите поради забавувањето на економската активност и енормниот раст на трошоците поради недостигот на енергетски ресурси поради Украинско-Руската војна (Sigala, M. 2020).

Ефектите се ограничени на локално и регионално ниво бидејќи многу национални економии се во голема мера зависни од туристичката активност. Во Европа, влијанието на кризата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна врз туризмот е драматично со оглед на зависноста на Европа од европските туристички економии. Европа е најважната туристичка дестинација во светот, а во некои земји туризмот е клучен сектор и во однос на генерираните работни места и во однос на собраните приходи. Земјите како Грција, Хрватска, Кипар и Малта имаат висок степен на зависност и ранливост во туризмот.

Намалувањето на бројот на странски туристи поради затворањето на границите и потребата да се одржува физичка дистанца, генерира огромни загуби за туристичките и транспортните компании, некои од нив имаат големи финансиски тешкотии или дури и банкротираат. Туристичката индустрија е високо чувствителна на значителни шокови,

поради карактеристиките на туристичките услуги, кои не се основни услуги и кои вклучуваат мобилност на потрошувачите. Дополнително, актуелната криза COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна, и мерките преземени од јавните власти ја покажаа директната врска меѓу туризмот и меѓународните односи, во смисла дека туризмот го унапредува ширењето на вирусите и ја претвора локалната епидемија во пандемска криза, а енергетската криза ја турка локалната економија во инфлација и сиромаштија (Thomas, R. 2020). Може да се каже дека туризмот ја генерираше глобализацијата на здравствената криза и стекнувањето на пандемија како што е COVID-19, како и енергетската криза поради Украинско-Руската војна. Во овој контекст, туристичкиот сектор забележа огромни штети во 2020 година, при што 2021 година се гледа како подобрување, според спроведените мерки и степенот на развој (UNDP 2020). Земајќи ги предвид целите за одржлив развој, туризмот може да даде значителен придонес во постигнувањето на целта 1 — пад на сиромаштијата, цел 8 — одржлив економски раст, цел 12 — Одржлива потрошувачка и производство и цел 14 — Одржливо користење на океаните и морињата (UNEP, 2020). Може да се смета дека кризата COVID-19 и војната има позитивно влијание врз туризмот бидејќи се забрзаа трендовите кон поодржливи деловни стратегии.

Еден од методите што ќе се земат предвид за развој на одржлив туризам и зголемување на отпорноста на овој сектор кога ќе се соочи со настани од црн лебед е туризмот во заедницата и руралниот туризам. Овој вид туризам ќе добие на терен бидејќи се заснова на вклучување на заедниците кои ќе го обезбедат потребниот придонес и развој кој ги зема предвид локалните карактеристики. На овој начин може да се управува со интензитетот на развојот на туризмот за да се обезбеди рамнотежа помеѓу економските, социјалните и еколошките аспекти што ги повлекува оваа активност (UNWTO 2020). Затоа, туризмот може да биде и алатка за намалување на сиромаштијата, преку зголемување на благосостојбата во локалните заедници. Пандемијата и војната може да се гледа како можност за напредување кон одржлив туризам. Кризата ја покажува ранливоста на туристичкиот систем и потребата од издржливост на туристичката економија. Затоа, стимулирањето на дигитализацијата и трансформацијата кон одржливи модели се од суштинско значење за понатамошниот развој на туристичкиот сектор широм светот. Моделите предложени од истражувачите се многу различни. Постојат мислења според кои кризата COVID-19 и војната треба да генерираат ресетирање на меѓународната туристичка активност и реструктурирање на туристичката индустрија на макроекономско ниво, во смисла на намалување на туризмот и (воздухопловниот) масовен транспорт, со цел се заштита на околината (World Bank 2020a). Сите потрошувачи треба да бидат поодговорни и свесни за влијанието на нивната туристичка активност и да можат да се фокусираат на локалните дестинации.

Промоцијата на локализмот во туризмот може да биде нова димензија за промовирање на одржливиот развој. Дополнително, виртуелниот туризам може да одговори на потребата за запознавање луѓе, имајќи

предвид дека некои специјалисти сметаат дека потребата за патување е во голема мера вештачка потреба што е создадена од супермодерниот живот, влошена од медиумите и стимулирана од туристички агенции и тур-оператори, и мора да се ревидира надолу. Затоа, дигитализацијата може да обезбеди остварливи решенија не само за финансискиот сектор туку и за туризмот. Кризата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна создадоа можност да се разгледа потребата за намалување на туризмот (WTTC 2020). Има и специјалисти кои го привлекуваат вниманието на негативното влијание што COVID-19 и војната го имаат врз одржливиот туризам од перспектива на компаниите во областа кои ги пренасочуваат средствата од програмите за одржливост кон процесот на природно закрепнување генериран од драматичното намалување на приходите и профитот. Овие кризи COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна ја открија чувствителноста на туристичкиот сектор на пандемиските и воените кризи. Досега, повеќето научни студии се фокусираа на ранливоста на туризмот од тероризам, природни катастрофи или економски кризи.

Заклучок

Економската анализа ја покажа сложената природа на туризмот. Може да се споменат многу влијателни фактори, како што се нивото на развој на земјата, односот на потрошувачите кон ризиците поврзани со националните и меѓународните патувања, мерките за социјална дистанца наметнати од властите, постоењето на вакцинацијата и отпорноста на националните економиите соочени со настани од црн лебед како што е кризата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна.

Во овој труд, се тврди дека разгледувањето на глобализацијата, дигитализацијата и локализацијата како спротивставени концепти не ги одразува тековните околности кои влијаат на современиот туризам. Постои потреба да се преиспитаат локалните и регионалните перспективи како дел од процесот на глобализација; всушност, може да се применат и двата пристапа (глобален и локален) со цел да се поддржи одржливиот развој на туристичките технологии. Кризата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна генерираа повеќекратни директни ефекти на економско, социјално и еколошко ниво, а секако ќе има промени во однесувањето на граѓаните и локалните компании кон странците со оглед на ризиците од прекумерната мобилност на населението генерирана од интензивирањето на меѓународните туризмот. Локалните жители мора да се обидат да ги контролираат своите фобии предизвикани од обновувањето на меѓународните туристички активности, со оглед на позитивните екстернали вклучени во спроведувањето на таквите активности.

За потрошувачите на туристички услуги ќе има промена во однесувањето во смисла дека барем во првата фаза по пандемијата ќе се претпочитаат локални дестинации на штета на меѓународните. Туристичките и авиокомпаниите мора да ја вратат довербата на потрошувачите преку промовирање мерки за здравствена и животната безбедност во периодот

по COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна, со претпоставка за трошоците генерирани од нивното спроведување.

Погледот на глокализација не се користеше до сега за да се одржи туризмот за време ниту по кризата COVID-19 и Украинско-Руската војна. Сепак, денес, концептот на глокализација се чини дека е корисен за разбирање на динамиката на туризмот, бидејќи може да им помогне на менаџерите и креаторите на политиките да сфатат дека е можно да се постигнат различни цели кои се чини дека се несокриени, како што се:

- Спречување на луѓето да бидат на преполни места;
- Да се ревитализираат и да се преиспитаат локациите кои се чини дека се помалку ценети од туристите;
- Одржување на локалните и регионалните перспективи со цел да се најде можност за интеграција помеѓу овие две туристички гледишта во заедничката цел на посетителите;
- Обнова на употребата на допирни точки за патување на клиентите (нудејќи содржина поврзана не само со местото каде што се инсталирани, туку и со ставки кои објаснуваат карактеристики на други меѓународни локации тематски слични на местото каде што се развива локалниот туризам);
- Одржување на одржливиот развој.

Од оваа перспектива, ова истражување се истакнува поради неговиот степен на оригиналност, како и неговото тековно разгледување на фокусот на научните истражувања за влијанието на кризата COVID-19 и војната во одредени економски сектори, земји или региони.

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PRESENTATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE DURING THE PERIOD OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC, INFLUENCE ON CULTURAL TOURISM

Abstract: The presentation of cultural heritage and works of art in the museums, arts galleries and other spaces managed by cultural institutions, was almost impossible in the time of COVID-19 crises, even for those institutions in the field of visual art/cultural heritage that do not necessarily require live performance in front of an audience.

Museums, galleries, cultural centers were closed to the public. At the same time, the museum collections and works of contemporary visual arts and new media, despite the material and static nature of most of them (museum paintings, sculptures, photographs, objects, graphics, installations, etc.), became unavailable to the audience. Faced with the impossibility of realizing their planned program in the physical space, but also to achieve their primary goal - the presentation of works of art/cultural heritage to the audience, despite their physical closure, some of the museums, galleries and other institutions in the Republic of North Macedonia continued communication with the audience on social networks and the virtual space offered by the Internet and communication information platforms for audio and video connection. At the same time, the COVID pandemic influenced the number of touristic visits in the cultural institutions that were faced with the lack of visitors in the pandemic period 2020/2021 and post-pandemic period 2022. At the same time the use of internet/virtual presentation in the majority of the institutions before pandemic was at very low/unsatisfactory level, undeveloped in the using potential of IT/ web technology. Faced with challenges not to have visitors and audience, and with necessity of promotion of cultural heritage/arts as their primary goal/obligation /occupation, some institutions have turned towards social media and IT/web solutions and channels they did not often use before, and became available more widely, not only to the audience limited by the place of residence virtual offering versus a physical presentation become choice that must be done.

Key words: presentation of cultural heritage, COVID pandemic, cultural tourism

Introduction

The aim of this paper and research obtained within its preparation, is to present influence of the pandemic toward the work of the cultural institution and an effect on the number of visits and cultural tourism in the Republic

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of North Macedonia through the available data received from museum and cultural institution. Second part of the paper is focused on the influence of Covid-19 pandemic toward modules of presentation of cultural heritage and work of arts on-line through the social media and web site.

As a key study within this paper are presented program activities of National institution National gallery of the Republic of North Macedonia in the year of 2020 for which this institution received an award from ICOM Macedonia in 2021 the Award for Museum of the year 2020 in for gallery activity during the Covid-19 pandemic² as an example of an successful adaptation of program activities and presentation of cultural heritage during the pandemic period from physical toward virtual presentation.

The research methodology include collecting and received information upon demand about number of visitors for the years 2019 to 2022 from national and local public museum institutions. For this purpose 34 institutions (museums and galleries additionally and Youth cultural center-Skopje) were contacted by the Agency for promotion and support of tourism during December 2022, upon which request 21 institution responded and requested data were received.³

Cultural heritage in the Republic of North Macedonia

In the Republic of North Macedonia there are 11,200 registered cultural monuments (immovable cultural heritage). Among them, the most prevalent are archaeological sites with 4,260, while there are also 1,726 churches and monasteries with over 150,000 m² of fresco paintings, then 1,213 objects from old urban and rural architecture, 47 towers, fortresses, and bridges, 1,026 monuments and memorials, 126 buildings of Islamic architecture, 24 Bazaars and other historical, urban-architectural estates and objects⁴ In the National registry of cultural heritage, there are 1329 items of immovable cultural heritage last update on February 2023 (Directorate for protection of cultural heritage, 2023)⁵

According the available data on the web site of the Ministry of culture there are 64 National institutions in the field of culture⁶. Within this network

2 Национална Галерија - National Gallery - Galeria (2021), Facebook, 18 May, viewed on 15 January 2023, (https://m.facebook.com/Nacionalna.galerija.na.Makedonija/posts/4029970230413048/?_se_imp=0yELBmHL4F4OsVFIP)

3 Agency of promotion and support of tourism (2022), Document addressed to cultural institution no 08-571/1 of 02.12.2022

4 Source: Parliament of the Republic of North Macedonia (2004) Spatial plan of the Republic of Macedonia. viewed on 20 December 2023 (<http://app.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/%D0%9030104-PP-na-RM-2002-2020.pdf>)

5 Directorate for protection of cultural heritage, (Управа за заштита на културно наследство, регистри на културно наследство) 2023 viewed on 15 January 2023 (<http://uzkn.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/registirano-nedvizno-kultur-no-nasledstvo.pdf>)

6 Ministry of culture (2023), National institutions, viewed on 02 December 2022 (/ <https://kultura.gov.mk/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Adresar-na-NU.pdf>)

of national institutions there are 31 institutions responsible for protection of cultural heritage tangible and intangible, of which there are 21 national museum institution, 1 national institution responsible for cinematographic work, also 5 nationals; libraries, and 9 institutions for protection and conservation of immovable cultural heritage. Additionally (according to the information received by Department for protection of cultural heritage, Ministry of culture on 28.11.2022) there are total 60 national and local institution responsible for protection of cultural heritage, within this network there are 5 legal entities (educational and cultural institution) responsible for protection of intangible cultural heritage, 11 local/municipal museums and 13 local/ libraries.

As it is mention in the Report on the impact of COVID-19 on the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) in North Macedonia (Simjanovska, Mojanchevska 2022) in which Report all sectors and subsectors within culture and creative and cultural industries were listed, and according the conducted research and surveys „most affected by the COVID-19-crisis have been the performing arts, music, museums, and historical sites, film, visual arts, crafts and libraries. The reason for the endangering of these sector during the COVID-19 were the strict measures taken by the state, such as complete closure, quarantine, not being able to use venues“⁷

Museums, libraries and heritage as well as music, visual and performing are listed also within the Classification of the Creative and Cultural Industries – sectors and activities in North Macedonia at the Report on the impact of COVID-19 on the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) in North Macedonia (Simjanovska, Mojanchevska, 2022)

Activities during COVID-19 pandemic

Affected by the appearance of the Covid 19 Pandemic announced as a new and unknown infection and disease, in the Republic of North Macedonia, as well as in the other countries worldwide, a state of emergency was declared in our country by the Government with the *Decision on establishing the existence of a state of emergency* on 18th of March 2020 (“Official Gazette of RSM” No. 68/2020)⁸ This decision was followed by a series of extraordinary activities, namely restriction of movement and use of the public spaces. Cultural institutions were not spared from the decisions related to the state of emergency and were forced to modify their activities and transfer some

7 Simjanovska, V & Mojancevska, K 2022, REPORT ON THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON THE CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES (CCIS) IN NORTH MACEDONIA, Cultural relation platform, viewed 15 January 2023, ([yhttps://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/2022/12/20/download-our-report-impact-of-covid-19-on-the-cultural-and-creative-industries-ccis-in-north-macedonia/](https://www.cultureinexternalrelations.eu/2022/12/20/download-our-report-impact-of-covid-19-on-the-cultural-and-creative-industries-ccis-in-north-macedonia/))

8 Decision on establishing the existence of a state of emergency |No. 02-17/5 of 18 of March 2020 is available on <https://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/4049500a3fc544da898402bee6a65758.pdf> (retrieved on 25.05.2023)

of them and release them through their websites and- profiles on social networks (Pesheva, 2023)

Because the impact of the COVID-19 influenced on physical work of the museum institution, many of them were restricted and disabled for physical presentation of the exhibited items of the cultural heritage and other forms of presentation of the heritage. Unfortunately before the pandemic the on-line and virtual presentation of museum collection of domestic museums was on unsatisfactory level, thus following institutions Institute and Museum-Strumica, Institute and Museum-Prilep, Archeological site Stobi, the Archaeological Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia can boast of their virtual display on the internet pages of all or part of the collection, while some of the museum institutions such as the Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia, the Museum of the City of Negotino, the Museum of Contemporary Art and others, have shown the exhibition through photographs. NU Institute and Museum - Bitola, on the other hand, has uploaded educational videos about the setting, in which sign language is used (Pesheva, 2023).

Some of the institutions as National gallery of the Republic of North Macedonia and Museum of contemporary art adjust their program activities through the social media (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) (Pesheva, 2023)

At the same time the web portal worldwide as well as domestic ones begun to promote best virtual museums available on line. For example, at web portal Porta3.mk within the published article from 17.03.2020 „A list of museums you can visit virtually while in isolation“⁹, („Листа на музеи кои можете да ги погледнете виртуелно додека сте во изолација“) following museum were listed as available for on line visits: British Museum, London, Guggenheim Museum, New York, Musée d’Orsay, Paris, National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Seoul, Pergamon Museum, Berlin, . Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam , The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles and National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City.

Key study -Activity during Covid-19 period of the NI National gallery of the Republic of North Macedonia

The activities of the National Institution National Gallery of the Republic of North Macedonia for 2020, according to the conditions imposed by the pandemic, can be divided into several segments: Internet (online) activities, Exhibitions in physical space and educational program.

During 2020, The National Gallery worked on several significant projects that related to the current artistic practice, but also to the promotion and different presentation of the extremely rich collection of the National Gallery.¹⁰

⁹ Porta 3 (2022) „Листа на музеи кои можете да ги погледнете виртуелно додека сте во изолација“ viewed on 15 January 2023. (<https://www.porta3.mk/lista-na-muzei-koi-mozhete-da-gi-poglednete-virtuelno-dodeka-ste-vo-izolacija/>)

¹⁰ The team of NU National Gallery of the Republic of North Macedonia., 2021. Application for the Annual Award Competition May 18 – International Day of

These activities as mentioned before were awarded by ICOM Macedonia in 2021 with the Award for Museum of the year 2020 in for gallery activity during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Thus, using the possibilities of the Internet space, the activities were divided into the following subprojects: “*Isolation Diaries*”, “*From the Treasury of the National Gallery*” and “*On This Day*”.

„*Isolation Diaries*” is conceived as a kind of artistic achievement in the pandemic period, within which new video art works were produced by 24 contemporary Macedonian visual art artists, including 14 female authors. Artist that was invited by the National Gallery, created video works expressing their feelings and perspectives as a testament to the time spent in isolation. The 20-video works are available on the National Gallery’s YouTube channel, with the latest update mentioned as of May 26, 2021.

“*From the Treasury of the National Gallery*” presents a showcase of works from the rich collection of artistic pieces owned by the National Gallery. This activity was realized through the National Gallery’s YouTube channel, featuring a series of short videos ranging from 1 to 2 minutes. These videos provide a narrative biography of the artist and a detailed stylistic and aesthetic analysis of the artwork. The focus is on the most significant artists who have had a major influence on modern and contemporary Macedonian art, such as Dimitar Andonov Papradishki, Ana Temkova, Nove Frangovski, Gligor Chemerski, Petar Mazev, Petar Hadji-Boshkov, Stefan Manevski, Tanas Lulovski, Nikola Martinoski, Lazar Lichenoski, Vangel Kodzoman, Dimo Todorovski, Gjorgji Zografski, Rodoljub Anastasov, Shemov, Risto Kalchevski, Veljo Tashovski, Vangel Naumovski, Vasko Tashkovski, Omer Kaleshi, Janeta Vangeli, and others. The video recordings are presented on social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube channel, and the National Gallery’s website.

“*On This Day*” is an activity presenting works from the collection owned by the National Gallery during the pandemic. Initially initiated through random selection of works, in 2020, significant international and national dates, as well as the birth/death dates of Macedonian and foreign authors, were systematized. These dates are marked by the publication of their works from the National Gallery’s collection. The posts include information about the authors’ works, including those rarely exhibited from the National Gallery’s archives.

Cultural tourism

Cultural tourism as one of the subsectors of the Creative and Cultural industries is linked with the number of travelers and visitors within the country. In the context of “Convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions adopted” by UNESCO in 2005, “cultural

Museums for special achievements in museum activity for 2020, Category: Museum Project of the Year for 2020, Submitter: NU National Gallery of the Republic of North Macedonia (submitted on 9.05 2021 by email to ICOM Macedonia)

industries' refers to industries producing and distributing cultural goods and services.(Pesheva,2023) For the supporting and developing of alternative and cultural tourism (wine tourism, village tourism, eco-tourism, monastery tourism, heritage routes) and a supporting of alternative tourism, of critical importance is revitalization of existing and active cultural infrastructure, intangible cultural heritage and archaeological sites in the country on national and local level (Pesheva, 2023)

The number of travelers in the Republic of North Macedonia has grown exponentially in the last decade and now tourism plays an important role in North Macedonia's economy (Simjanovska, Mojanchevska, 2022). Furthermore, as mentioned in the Report on the impact of COVID-19 on the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) in North Macedonia, „the concept of Cultural Tourism in the country is understood only as the visitation of heritage sites and monuments, but also includes the consumption of cultural products. (Simjanovska, Mojanchevska, 2022) Therefore the influence of the Covid-19 measures announced in 2020 directly influence at the work of cultural institution and the number of visitors. As mention in the preface of the text, the following data displayed in the Table 2, about the number of visitors within museums and cultural institutions linked with heritage sites and museum collections were submitted by the cultural institution in the demand of the Agency of promotion and support of tourism, while the Table 1 is statistical data about total number of foreign and domestic tourist from 2019 to 2023

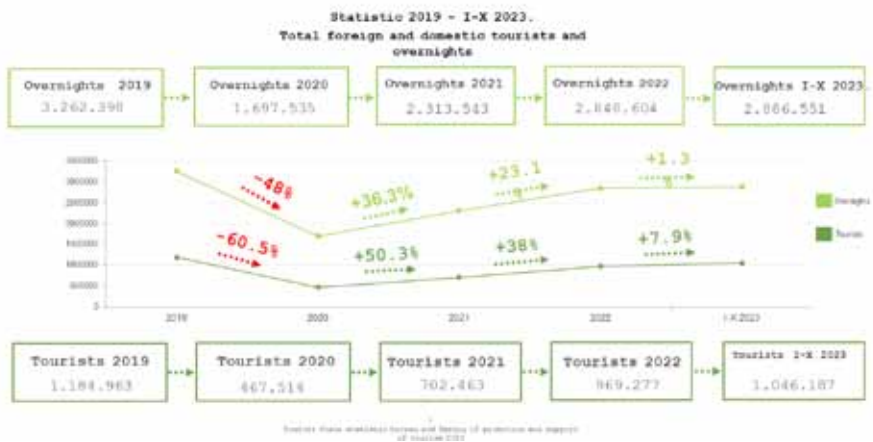


Table 1 is statistical data about total number of foreign and domestic tourist from 2019 to 2023

Institution	2019	2020	2021	2022	visitors
NI Archaeological site Struc	18.602	2.004	4.331	7	Foreign tourist, school visits
NI Institute for the Protection of Monuments and Museums - Bitumica	2.700	500	500	3.200	Student and school visits
NI Archaeological Museum - Skopje	28.310	2.734	7.131	14.048	Foreign tourist
NI Institute for the Protection of Monuments and Museums - Ohrid	207.241	44.807	98.820	139.802	Foreign tourist
NI Memorial Home of Mother Teresa-Skopje	100.000	5.000	1.000	50.000	Foreign tourist
Museum of Contemporary Art-Skopje	3.400	2.700	3.900	4.200	Foreign tourist, audience, school
NI Institute for the Protection of Monuments and Museums - Skopje	1.000	7	7	1.000	Student and school visits
LI Wine Museum-Dimitar Kappie (founded 2010)	7	7	7	200	Domestic visitors
NI Museum "Dr. Nikola Mladjenovic" - Struga	5.808	83	328	841	Foreign tourist
NI Museum-Gostivar	200	7	7	170	Student and school visits
Municipal institution Museum of the city of Negotino	3.000	700	1.200	2.500	Student and school visits
NI Museum of Tetovo - Tetovo	1000	1000	1000	1000	Mainly students school visits
NI Institute for the Protection of Monuments and Museums - Prilep	847	332	220	4000	Mainly students school visits
NI Museum of Western Macedonia in NOV Kichevo	1.400	240	240	1.300	Mainly students school visits
NI LI Natural History Museum-Skopje	8.330	300	2379	7120	Mainly students school visits
NI Centre for conservation -Skopje	10.208	408	2.249	3.083	Foreign tourist, school visits
LI Museum of city of Kumanovo	3.000	2.000	2.900	4.800	Foreign tourist, school visits
LI Youth cultural center-Skopje	113.285	25.410	28.992	40.764	Audience international festivals
NI Art gallery - Tetovo	Total of 10.300 for all 4 years				Audience and school visits
LI Wine museum-Kaplanov (founded 2020)	7	7	7	4000	Foreign tourist, domestic, school visits

Table 2 Number of registered visitors/tourists in cultural institutions museums/ galleries (2019-2022)

The methodology of calculation of the number of visitors within the cultural institution is according to the methodology of each institution; therefore, the numbers that are submitted in the table are used as submitted. The two tables show direct connection and analogy between the numbers of visitors and tourists, and it clearly shows the extreme fall of the number of visitors during the first pandemic year.

Conclusions and remarks

As the end of the paper following conclusion and remarks regarding the subject matter of the paper, the influence of the COVID-19 pandemic toward the work of cultural institutions and cultural tourism in the country (Republic of North Macedonia) of the text can be finalized:

- Cultural heritage sites as part of the public institutions network and museums in North Macedonia were completely closed from March 2020, some of them were open to a very limited number of visitors, afterwards during the COVID-19 crisis.
 - Many museums around the world turned to virtual tours, digital exhibitions, special podcasts, and video games as alternative solutions, while this subsector in North Macedonia, with very few exceptions, remained closed without many activities or new ideas.
 - Lack of young staff equipped with digital skills within cultural institution and understanding the new global trends in the field,
 - Lack of active web sites (mainly Facebook and/or Instagram profile)
 - Rare content of Virtual Tours was available on the web sites of museum and other cultural institution in North Macedonia (Museum of Sveti

Nicole, Institute and Museum-Strumica, Archeological site Stobi, Institute and Museum-Prilep, Wine museum-Demir Kapija, Institute and Museum-Bitola) while Archeological site Stobi, was one of the very few to emerge with new digital content, trying to develop further activities related to digital content.

- The economic impact on the cultural institutions as a part of the creative and cultural sectors and industries was significant in the negative terms due to a lack of tourists and visitors (Simjanovska, Mojancevska, 2022)

**THE PROTECTION OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: THE CASE OF
ETHNIC MARKERS ALONG THE SLOVENIAN “SOUTHERN”
BORDER AREA²**

Abstract: Europe has a long tradition of minorities' protection. The main bulk of national and ethnic minority issues emerged with the end of WWI and drastic reshaping of the political map of Europe. Though the mainstream of the western European thought on nations and ethnicity only partially changed from the end of 19th century, it was first challenged by the eastern European developments and the creation of the former USSR. The aftermath of WWII has brought another significant rearrangement of boundaries, though the major change was geopolitical in which countries east of the Iron curtain adopted the state socialism. With the collapse of the Soviet Bloc around 1990 all three federal socialist states broke up along the internal federal divides. This brings us to the situation in Yugoslavia where Slovenia for the first time got its officially recognized minority in Croatia. This was its fourth officially recognized minority together with the other three in bordering countries (Italy, Austria, Hungary). What was the most striking at the break-up of Yugoslavia was the fact that Slovenia refused to reciprocally recognize at least the Croatian minority traditionally living along the border. Instead, it maintained that apart of ethnic Roma only two national minorities reside in Slovenia (Hungarians and Italians). Twenty years later the National assembly adopted the resolution on recognizing several more minorities, but the pertinent Act was never ratified in the Parliament. This contribution looks at territorial principles of minority protection in Slovenia. Apart of the geographical principle of the so-called ethnically mixed areas it proposes the protection of a specific cultural landscape marked by lasting presence with visible traces of specific ethnicities. Instead of actual subpopulations within the protected areas, the regions with specific ethnic-cultural markers would become an object of protection. A tentative case is presented along the Slovenian southern border.

Keywords: Minority protection in Slovenia, nationally mixed area, Croats in Slovenia, Slovenian-Croatian boundary

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Introduction

Europe has a long tradition of minorities' protection. The main bulk of national and ethnic minority issues emerged with the end of the first World War and drastic reshaping of the political map of Europe. The main geopolitical change was centred to the Danubian space with the dissolution of the Hapsburg empire. This arena hosted the most interesting struggle for redefinition of concepts of belonging and ascribed ethnicities centred to gain as much contiguous territory as possible. The territorial rounding off was clearly the most prominent feature of remaking boundaries across post-war Europe. The Paris Peace Conference rendered only one major exception – the East Prussia – where Germany lost eastern part of West Prussia along the Baltic Sea and, conversely, Poland gained the access to the sea at Gdynia, whereby Gdańsk / Danzig was proclaimed an independent city state. Similarly, Rijeka / Fiume got its city-state status as well, but it lasted only until the recognition of D'Annunzio's Italian fascist encroachment in 1924. Hungary, as a contrary example, territorially severed from all sides, was not awarded by an exclave despite the homogenous and large ethnic enclave of Szeklers who were attributed to France-supported Romania.

Such a vast and profound shift of boundaries was in its essence possible by Woodrow Wilson's dismay with hegemonic empires and fear of the possible union between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Through the procurement of his maxima on the 'national self-determination' the new "Czecho-Slovak" and "Jugo-Slav" states were made possible. Wilson, driven by Lansing's reasoning on sufficient degree of the national self-awareness, manage to impose ethnic instead of civic nationalism to the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference (Lynch, 2002). At that time, the mainstream of the western European thought on nations and ethnicities followed the tracks from the end of 19th century, so the decisive character of Wilson's idea was only possible by persuading the French that containment of Germans is possible only through the dissolution of the core Mittel-Europa monarchy without interfering into the territorial constitution of France (ibid.). Hence, the first challenges to the liberal views on the civic nationalism unexpectedly came to be exerted by the eastern European developments. The post-war reconstituted Russia adopted the form of the USSR and Lenin's version of solving the 'national question'.

The aftermath of WWII was seen as quite different compared to the post WWI period. Although it has brought another significant rearrangement of boundaries, the territorial constitutions of nations remained the same. In its controversy, the major change was geopolitical where countries east of the Iron curtain adopted the system of state socialism and the concept of planned economy. New contingencies prevented fundamental changes of concepts of ethnicity and the appropriated territories. Ambivalence of the two polarized state-systems prevented major changes in ethnically based remapping since it introduced the new and rearranged power relations where for the first time in history a geostrategy of newly appeared coalitions played a pivotal and truly global role. The number of nation-states slightly reduced but the

territorial changes were huge yet all in the eastern hemisphere of Europe: the circumcission and split of Germany and Poland's shift to the west up to Oder / Odra River with subsequent retreat from Galicia, Western Ukraine and Belarus; the abolition of Baltic states' statehood; Soviet incursion in the eastern Central Europe, including former Poland's territories, Baltic states and Bessarabia; the western extension of Yugoslavia beyond the Rapallo Treaty boundary to Istria and the Littoral up to the Free Territory of Trieste.

With the collapse of the Soviet Bloc in 1990 all three federal socialist states of the eastern European hemisphere broke up along the internal federal divides whereby the Soviet Union introduced newly established internal boundaries based on radical ethnic principle, while Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia split mostly along the re-established historical boundaries.

The Czech and Slovak republics split along the former internal Habsburg–Ugrian delimitation on the Morava River and White Carpathians. The situation in the former Yugoslavia was much more complicated given the six federal republics though the internal division heavily relied on the historical boundaries. Failing to deal with the national question in the late Kingdom, the retreat to historical boundaries in the post WWII Yugoslavia seemed logical but it also revived the fragility of the historical junction between the Germanic, Ugrian, Venetian (Romance), and Ottoman spheres of interest. Henceforth the break-up of Yugoslavia, along with the intense internal migration mobility of many decades, resulted in bountiful minorities scattered all over the new states.

This brings us to the situation in Slovenia. The major disruption in dealing with the minority protection came when Croatia officially recognized the Slovenian minority along with 21 other national minorities. Thus, Slovenia gained its fourth officially recognized minority together with the other three Slovenian minorities residing in bordering countries of Italy, Austria, and Hungary. Unexpectedly and contrary to the Celje agreement between the presidents Kučan and Tuđman in 1993, Slovenia refused to reciprocally recognize the Croatian minority. In fact, it refused to recognize any of the former Yugoslav nations and nationalities, probably from the fear of opening the Pandora's box of special rights for numerous ex-Yugoslav minorities residing in Slovenia (Komac, 2014). Inasmuch as the position of some 120,000 strong ex-Yugoslav nations differed from the two constitutionally protected minorities with some 10,000 members (Hungarians and Italians), the geographical distribution was entirely incomparable.

When it comes to the Croatian minority in Slovenia, its historical presence was well documented. Beside the modern censuses from the mid-19th century its historical status was acknowledged by the UN experts back in the 1950's (Dami, 1959). The Croatian minority in Slovenia although traditionally living in several concentrations along the border with Croatia was described as dispersed (*ibid.*).

Slovenia had an interesting development of national minorities protection. Owing to the Trianon Treaty it first inherited a relatively small but compactly settled Hungarian minority along the Hungarian border (Josipovič, 2014). The second constitutionally recognized national minority, Italians,

was the result of the Paris Peace Accord and London memorandum, while the third, the Roma community, was introduced into the Slovenian constitution seconds before the break-up of the late Federation in 1990 (ibid.). Up to date Slovenia still recognizes only two “national minorities” (Hungarians and Italians) and one “community” (Roma). To establish the difference between the three, it labelled the Italians and Hungarians as “autochthonous”. The trouble is that not only these two minorities are the so-called “autochthonous” in Slovenia. Applying the provisions of European council’s charter on minority protection where it is stated that the minority protection should be applied without regard to the numerical representation and type of settlement, the need to recognise the “autochthonous” minorities should include foremostly Jews, Germans, and Croats, to name only the few.

Nevertheless, twenty years after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, in 2011, the National assembly unanimously adopted the declaration on recognizing several more minorities. The Declaration explicitly named five former Yugoslav nations (Bosniaks, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Serbs), and one nationality (Albanians). The so-called ABČHMS was the abbreviation made from the first letters of their ethnic denominations in Slovene language, but the proposed act on their protection prepared in 2018 failed to be ratified by the Slovenian parliament. The main obstacle appeared to be the generalized set of special rights for very different population groups and again the fear of disturbing the position of the two minorities deemed to be the only with the so-called autochthonous status (Komac, 2014); and only the autochthony grants the permission to a privileged status of protected minority.

While there is no legally binding definition of autochthony in Slovenia (Šumi and Josipovič, 2008; Žitnik Serafin, 2008; Josipovič 2014) one needs to retreat to proximate determinants to understand its underlying meaning. Apart of the set of legally binding special rights as defined in the constitution and special acts there exists, however, a specific territory built up from settlements designated as bilingual or nationally mixed. Applying the deductive analytical framework, this research digs into the principles for constituting of such areas in order to understand the exclusivity of territorial principle for defining the eligibility of minority protection in Slovenia. Henceforth the main research question asks if there is a possibility of a special minority protection outside the scope of the so-called ethnically mixed areas. It is hypothesised that it is, so apart of the geographical principle of the so-called ethnically mixed areas it proposes the protection of a specific cultural landscape marked by lasting presence with visible traces of specific ethnicities. Instead of actual subpopulations within the protected areas, the regions with specific ethnic-cultural markers would become an object of protection. A tentative case is presented along the Slovenian southern border.

Modern censuses as sources of data on ethnicity

The last football championship has once again served us with an array of markings of alleged ethnic or even “racial” homo- and heterogeneity of

national teams. The French team was especially on the wave of normalized public speech on “colour” of their nationals. Let alone the simple genetic explanation that skin colour is a mere replacement of *guanine* with *adenine* in one of the three billion base pairs of the human genome at a certain position, a mutation that occurred somewhere in the Middle East some 8,000 years ago (i.e., 6,000 BCE), and yet we face misjudgements of such complex processes as ethnicity. Ethnicity is often seen as an unchanging phenomenon or even a trait, although such conceptions were demonstrably declined back in the 1960s. Namely, the ethnicity is a relational process in its own right. It is the process of continuous distinction and demarcation of the perceived difference in relation with the other. It was first demonstrated by Nahirny and Fishman (1965) in the case of immigration to the United States and later conceptualized by Barth (1969). Further studies in the 1970s not only confirmed the processual nature of ethnicity (Lewins, 1975) but also ascertain that the process itself aims at demarking the difference and constitutes a basis for boundary formation (Wallman, 1978). Therefore, census data, which are often the basis for the recognition and implementation of various rights of ethnic groups, should also be addressed through the prism of a continuous and permanent demarcation process between individuals, groups, and communities.

After WWII, the Slovenian censuses followed the common Yugoslav methodology as a key source of data on ethnic structure. As early as in 1948, the Federal Bureau of Statistics instructed that ethnic (national, national) affiliation is a matter of subjective judgment and individual decision (source: Census methodology, Census 1948). Despite such and similar instructions on the subjectivity of an individual’s decision, the belief of the masses remained rooted in the “timelessness” and immutability of ethnic affiliation. Field research shows us that most people still believe that ethnicity is a biological category into which they are born; they do not have neither a choice of belonging, nor a choice to withdraw from such an imagined community (Cohen, 1978).

If we try to explain or define ethnicity, most of the time we talk about a generally multifaceted but self-attributed statement of the individual, which manifests itself in the process of constructing a relationship to imagined but realistically persisted groupings. This position rests on the theoretical assumption that views ethnicity as a social, political, cultural, and psychological instead of a biological phenomenon (Anderson 1991). Ethnicity, taken through individual (self-) attribution in different situations and environments (e.g. in censuses, surveys, electoral directories, etc.) must be distinguished from the dynamic process of ethnicity as presented before, since the latter is established and formed through different motivations and has different purposes. For different individuals, both individual and group affiliations change over time, as well as the content and meaning of such affiliations. It is therefore logical that attributing ethnicity a priori “from the outside” to individuals and groups becomes meaningless. However, it is true that ethnic demarcations also play outwards, but in times after the land absolutism (generally after 1848 in Europe) the will of the individual is determined in

whether or not he/she wants to belong to ‘such’ a group or community and can usually be successful in his/her choice. In other words, the individuals are free in their decisions to opt in or out from a group or community and to exercise their “daily plebiscite” (after Renan, 1889).

The classical method of population censuses is historically one of the first mass perceptions of social pluralism and the emanation of later nationalisms. It is precisely the organised and systemic census data collection from the mid-19th century in the Danuban monarchy that can be regarded as the main socially divisive practice that triggered and uphold the later pertaining to ethnicity. In fact, the vertical class relations between aristocracy, bourgeoisie, craftsmanship, and peasantry, were horizontally split into contiguous patterns to form the later basis for expansionist goals of the ruling class. Thus, the systematic translation of various colloquial language uses, speeches, and repertoires, became the clay of early linguistic artists producing the recorded linguistic affiliations which further developed into ethnic imaginaries were subsequently translated into national belongings as known today.

This to a greater extent categorical and exclusionary procedures have had a precursor in the mercantilist type of growing eclectic trade that pushed for reorganization of the craftsmanship into varied specialized manufactures scattered around predominantly according to the map of resources. The new type of production subsumed the unified language of command. However, despite the widespread belief that nations, nationalities, and nation-states emerged as a result of the rise of capitalism in Europe, account should be taken of the fact that the first nationalisms had Creole “roots” and its basis in the colonial regime of the world’s domination (cf. Anderson, 1991). Though the disintegration of colonial superpowers, with the loss of most colonies, indeed represented the material basis for the rise of nationalism in Europe. In this context, the development of capitalist socio-economic relations basically coincides but not correlate with the new type of exploitation after the loss of overseas resources for the accumulation of surplus value. The European revolt and the revolutions of the 19th century thus constituted a rebellion against exploitation, which was often translated into the thesis that the exploitation of “non-native” or “foreign speaking” constituted the ethnic boundary between the exploited and exploiters (cf. Sumi, 2000).

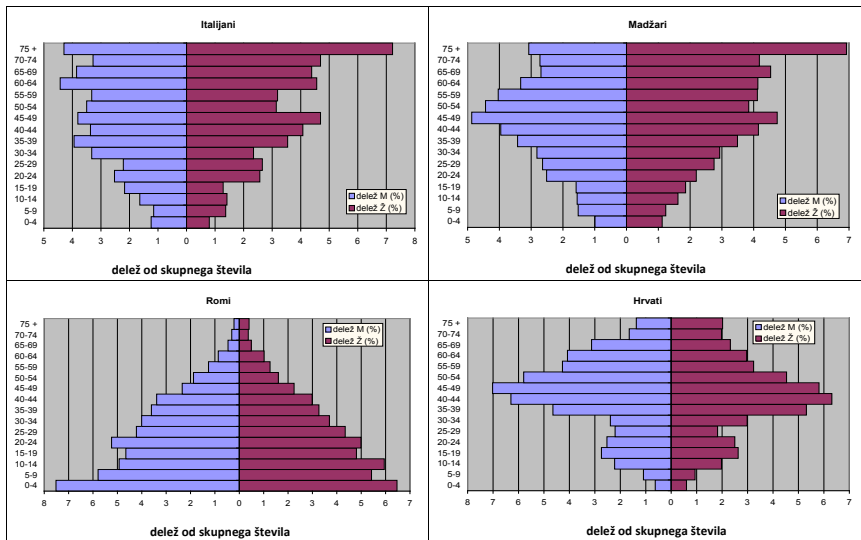
Territorial aspect of the protection of national minorities in Slovenia

The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (2001) contains two articles relating to the rights of the Italian and Hungarian national communities in Slovenia, the Slovenian national minority in neighbouring countries (Art. 5) and the special rights of the Italian and Hungarian national communities (Art. 64); the latter two are designated as “autochthonous national communities”. In addition to the Constitution, a whole range of laws, regulations and judgments of the Constitutional Court speaks of “autochthonous settlement areas”, and even about areas where such communities “live autochthonously” (Ustava, 2001). However, the question arises as to how to spatially define

such an autochthonous space and how to ensure such spaces remain autochthonous. In other words, the question is how the state manages and protects the entitled communities and their main space of living and interaction.

Before the onslaught of the register-based censuses the last classical census was carried out in 2002. It was at the same time the last to collect the data on ethnic affiliation. It listed 2258 Italians, 6243 Hungarians, and 3246 Roma. The Roma community was added into the Constitution just before the Slovenian independence, though the special act on their rights was adopted only in 2007 (Šumi and Josipovič, 2008). Only the Roma community appears in the Constitution as “community”, while the Hungarians and Italians were designated as “autochthonous national community”. So, the semantic dualism already exists in the Constitution and thus leaves space for differential dealing with the minority statuses of further minorities. Before addressing the issue of their spatial distribution, let us look at their age structure (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Age and sex composition of self-identified as Italians, Hungarians, Roma, and Croats in Slovenia (source: 2002 census, SORS)



We have two very different age compositions: an old (Italians and Hungarians) and a young one (Roma). It is not just dramatically different demographic structure with low fertility of Hungarians and Italians, but it is significantly harder to identify as such in Slovenia. On the other hand, the Roma identification is emancipating and increasing in younger age groups, although the fertility rate for Roma is not that high – 2.4 children per woman (Josipovič and Repolusk, 2003).

With this age composition one must pay attention to the geographical distribution and the type of settlement with possible local concentrations. While the areas of more concentrated settlements of Italians pertain mainly

to the coastal conurbation of Slovenian Istria, the Hungarian settlement area is partially urbanised and mostly rural in NE Slovenia. But both Hungarian and Italian areas are already highly interspaced and perforated due to (1) ethnically inhomogeneous settlements and (2) an extensively present approach among the young not to be overexposed and rather opting for a majority or metroethnic affiliation. Both are only partly attributable to the decline of in-group marriages and the rise of hetero-ethnic marriages (especially those with the dominant ethnicity), but we do not have enough space to enter this subject more deeply. Suffice it to say that Palčič and Klemenčič noted that as early as 1964, with Italians in Slovenian Istria “there was a sense of national belonging in the population who immigrated from the interior of Croatian Istria in the post-war period. The analysis found that children of mixed marriages were enrolled into the Slovene nationality schools” (Piry and Repolusk, 1985, p. 51). For Roma the occasions of hetero-ethnic marriages do not pose a decline in the in-group affiliation, which is relatively easy to explain with a high degree of spatial segregation, and a unique affirmation of Roma affiliation over the last decade and a half (Josipovič, 2004; 2006).

So, there is a strong correlation between the type of minority settlement and the degree of constitutional minority protection (Table 1).

Table 1: Comparative table on the type of minority settlement, geographical location, and degree of Constitutional protection in Slovenia (source: author’s analysis)

<i>Minority</i>	<i>Type of settlement</i>	<i>Borderland location</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Binding international peace treaty</i>	<i>Degree of protection</i>
Hungarian	Predominantly homogeneous	Yes	8000 / not applicable	Yes / Trianon Peace Treaty 1920	Constitutional, autochthonous
Italian	Predominantly homogeneous	Yes	3000 / not applicable	Yes / London Memorandum 1954 / Osimo Treaty 1975	Constitutional, autochthonous
Roma	Dispersed	No	12,000 / not applicable	None	Constitutional
Croatian	Dispersed / partly homogeneous	Yes and No	55,000 / not applicable	None	None

As we hypothesised, it is precisely the correlation between spatial distribution and the constitutional protection that is being implemented as a key distinction for differential organization of constitutional minority protection. Due to the limited length of the contribution, only the case of Italian minority will be closely presented. Based on the constitutional principle of autochthony, we see that the special protection of a minority member ceases with the emigration from the area of “autochthonous” settlement. So, the protection is aimed at evermore shrinking population, since the nationally mixed areas (NMA) are narrow stripes of land. After decades of its application, the Italian NMA today represents perhaps no more than two percent of total

NMA population and less than 50 percent of all Italians in Slovenia. It was NMA that was a geographical concept that best describes the concentration of initial settlement (Repolusk 1991), but it cannot define autochthony on its own, which is a prerequisite for constitutional protection for Italians or Hungarians.

The ethnically (or nationally) mixed area (NMA), where members of the Italian national community live “autochthonously” and where the official language is Italian in addition to Slovene, comprises parts of four coastal municipalities and represents a territory of 24 settlements and one hamlet (Map 1).

Map 1: Settlements of ethnically mixed area in Slovenian Istria (source: Piry in Repolusk, 1985; Josipovič and Repolusk, 2007)

Zemljevid 1: Naselja narodnostno mešanega območja v Slovenski Istri (vir: Piry in Repolusk 1985; Josipovič in Repolusk 2007)



In the mid-1980s, Repolusk and Piry found that Italians in Slovenia had a high level of spatial mobility, and that almost half the immigrants were in the NMA (1985). By the 1991 census this already high share had increased and exceeded 60 percent (Josipovič 2014). The 1991 census was as the last census carried out according to the Yugoslav census methodology. Of the 3064 declared as Italians in Slovenia, 2751 lived in Slovenian Istria, which at that time comprised three municipalities (Koper, Izola, and Piran). As many as 313 or 10.2 percent lived in other parts of Slovenia. In NMA there were 2570 persons declared as Italians, of which 1157 (45 percent of all Italians in NMA) lived in the Piran municipality NMA, 898 (35 percent) in the Koper municipality NMA and 515 (20 percent) in the Izola municipality NMA. Thus, the additional 181 (6 percent) declared as Italians living in the small region of the Slovenian Istria are lacking the minority protection. Combined with other Italians outside Istria, there is as much as 16 percent of an already small community out of minority protection area and left to their own devices. This is clearly an alarming sign of obsolete principle of constitutional protection which threatens the minority itself.

When we look at mobility of Italians, until 1991 as many as 641 or 20.9 per cent of them migrated within the three coastal municipalities but left NMA, additional 1010 (39.3 percent) immigrated to NMA from abroad (610 or 19.9 percent from Croatia, 332 or 10.8 percent from Italy and 68 or 2.2 percent from other countries). In addition, 88 or 2.9 percent of Italians were born in other parts of Slovenia outside the three coastal municipalities. As many as 517 or 16.9 percent were born in individual settlements within NMO, but in 1991 they no longer lived in these settlements. Only 1018 or 39.6 percent of people who declared themselves as Italians in 1991 lived within the NMO since birth (source: author's analysis of 1991 census data). For comparison, in 1991, the respective share at Hungarians in NMA was 57.9 percent (cf. Komac and Vizi, 2019, p. 95). Today, after three decades and intensified mobility trends it is justifiable to expect less than one third of the so-called "autochthonous" Italians in NMA. The census data from 2002 confirm that trend. In 2002 only 1840 persons declared as Italians lived in the three coastal municipalities, or 33.1 percent less than in 1991.

Conclusion

The results of the analysis show that in such a mobile population as Italians, the nationally mixed areas (NMA) are factually protected as mere spaces, regardless of their residents and their migration experiences within their families. Partial analysis carried out for the Hungarians in NMA of NE Slovenia confirmed the trends identified at Italian NMA in the Littoral. In view of the hypothetical implementation of the same type of constitutional protection for Croats in Slovenia, the NMA principle is less useful. Given that the Croatian minority is bigger in number, it is formed from two distinct groups: (1) the border area within the contact zone with Croatia reaching higher local concentration (35–40 per cent of all Croats in Slovenia), and (2) dispersed urban, suburban, and rural population intertwined mostly with the majority ethnic group. Another possibility of protection is following local concentrations above certain threshold and granting the right of constituting local or municipal minority legal bodies, but such a solution depends on the individuals' propensity for pertaining to the minority group status and thus fluctuating numbers of minority members. The trend of hybridized and creolized ethnic identifications will expectedly continue, with the increasing penetration of the so-called multiple ethnic identities into the protected areas, so the question of how to proceed with territorial minority protection arises in its own right. Hence the protection of geographically bigger regions is more suitable to embrace as much of the minority population as possible. Another possibility is the concept of protecting the cultural landscape of regions containing the ethnic markers produced through a conundrum of historical circumstances. By that approach we protect the specific cultural landscape created by one or more ethnically distinct populations that marked the area (cf. Šumi and Josipovič, 2008; Josipovič, 2014). Simultaneously, this raises the legitimate question of criteria upon which these regions can

be regarded as a specific cultural landscape (and thus worth protecting under the concept presented), and the question of geographical span of protection, since the administrative and socio-economic factor should play a role to achieve a vivid local or regional community being able to sustain itself environmentally, socially, and economically.

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IDENTIFICATION OF WAR CRIMES IN THE KHOTAVANG MONASTERY

ABSTRACT: One of the ancient cultural heritage monuments of Azerbaijan is the Khotavang monastery, located in the territory of Vang village, Kalbajar region. The monastery is better known as Khudavang among Azerbaijanis and Dadivang among Armenians.

Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery is state registered as a world important architectural monument. Gulchokra Mammadova, a prominent researcher of the architecture of Caucasian Albania, notes that although the monastery complex was built in the 13th century, it also included a 6th-century basilica and residential buildings of the 17th-18th centuries.

More has been written about Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery than other monasteries in the scientific and popular direction. The reason for this is factors such as the fact that the main monuments of the monastery were built by the well-known Khachin Maliks, the inclusion of more architecturally significant monuments in the complex, the conduct of archaeological research there, and the “restoration” of the monastery during the Armenian occupation.

Court documents “On the dispute between the Cherektarvang and Khotavang monasteries, and Khan’s Daughter Khurshidbanu Beyim over Farahganli and other lands” preserved in the Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Azerbaijan were also included in this article.

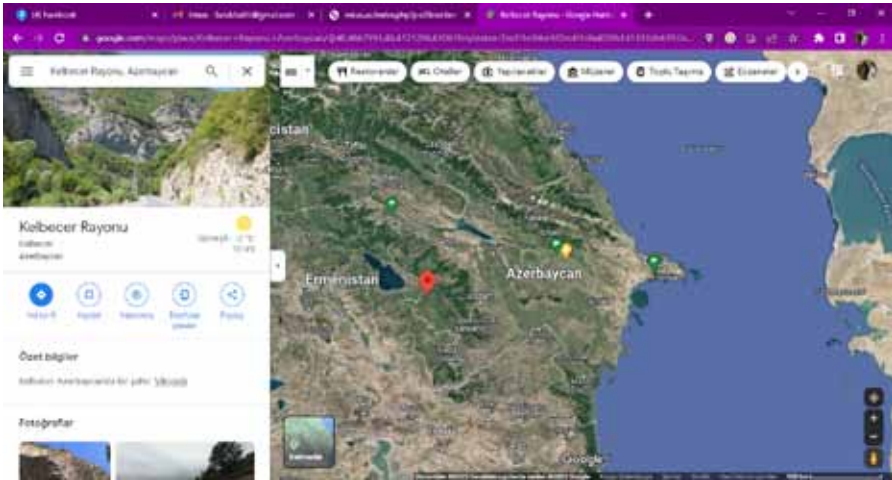
After the liberation of Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery, as a specialist, I was closely involved in the work of personal identification, thus, it is especially relevant for me to uncover the war crimes committed to this world-important architectural monument.

Key Words: Khotavang, monastery, Natavan, court, dispute

The name “Vang” means “voice” in the ancient Pahlavi (Persian) language, and it refers to a monastery, a collection of Christian mystics living an ascetic life. The name “darvish” of Muslim mystics has the same origin as that word. Among Muslim mystics, the equivalent of the name “Vang” in the meaning of monastery is “Khanqah”. There are many Christian monuments in the Caucasus, Iran and Anatolia where the name “Vang” is used.

Kalbajar district is an administrative district located in the Lesser Caucasus mountains, in the historical Karabakh region. Currently, it is in East Zangezur economic district.

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Kalbajar

Kalbajar district has two world-important historical-architectural monuments: Agvang/Gengesar/Gandzasar (Vangli village) and Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang (Vang village). Apparently, both monuments were monasteries and are known as Christian Vangs.

The right name of the first monastery is Agvang. Etymologically, the name Agvan is derived from the name Agvang precisely because Karabakh was the center of Christianity. Armenians called the monastery Gandzasar, and Azerbaijanis called it Ganjasar. “Agh” means “white” in Turkic. Agvang means “white monastery”. The name Agvang is a relic of the 13th century Kipchak/Uyghur mystical Christianity.



Agvang Monastery in Vangli village

The right name of the second monastery is Khotavang. Our main official sources call the monastery by this name. Later, due to special reasons, Armenians called this monastery Dadivang, and Azerbaijanis called it Khudavang. The name Khotavang is a relic of 13th century Mongolian/Uyghur mystical Christianity. “Khota” means “city” in Mongolian. Khotavang means “city-like monastery”.

Azerbaijani archaeologist Rashid Goyushov studied Karabakh vang/monasteries from an archaeological point of view during the Soviet period. Gulchohra Mammadova, a prominent researcher of Caucasian Albanian architecture in Azerbaijan, and Shagen Mkirtchyan in Armenia studied Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery from an architectural point of view. Gulchohra Mammadova notes that although the monastery complex was built in the 13th century, it also included the 6th century basilica and residential buildings of the 17th-18th centuries.



Khotavang Monastery in Vang village

Azerbaijani population has always lived in and around the village of Vang, where Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery is located. In 1993 Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery was occupied by Armenian armed forces. In 2020, the Azerbaijani army liberated the monastery. At the request of the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, Russian peacekeepers are stationed in Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery, too.

In January 2021, I was sent to identify Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery. I could hardly enter the monastery. The only condition was that

I would not take photos of the peacekeepers' military facilities and belongings. Daniyal Nazarov, the representative of the peacekeeping group in Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery, personally accompanied me and answered all my questions.



First, I paid attention to the entrance gate to the monastery, I took a photo of it from both sides. The entrance gate was in the form of an arch and was recently restored. It is in good condition.



Gate

After the gate, I visited the Bell Tower. Although the bell tower has been recently “restored”, it seems that unsuitable construction materials were used and it needs to be restored again.



Bell Tower of Khotavang Monastery

I could not enter inside as some of the peacekeepers’ items were located in the Bishop Gregory’s Church and the Ancient Basilica on the north side of the tower. I took photos of its outside wall. Bishop Gregory’s church also needs conservation. When comparing the old photos and videos with the plan, it can be seen that additions have been made in this part of the monastery, walls have been increased, rough restoration work has been carried out, and new doors with Armenian church elements have been installed.



Bishop Gregory's Church



On the south side of the monastery there are many remains of auxiliary buildings. Here, in the future, there is a need to carry out cleaning works and archaeological research. Most of the buildings are in half-destroyed condition.

Then I visited the Great Hassan Church. The church was small in size, made of rough rock and river stones, and the dome and upper part of the walls were built of baked bricks. Since the recent restoration work is not up to standards, it harms both the appearance (especially the interior) and the strength of the building. It is understood that there are six graves in front of the church. Their cross stones are attached to the wall. Inside the Great Hassan Church, the walls are plastered without matching the original. It is possible that there are traces of previous periods under the covered walls, which can be identified by future restoration works.



**Great
Hassan
Church**

The Small Basilica, located between the ancient basilica and the colonnaded corridor of Arzu Khatun Church, are also not in a good condition. Cosmetic restoration works carried out in that building using cement solution does not protect the building, on the contrary, it leads to its corrosion. Since the colonnaded corridor of the Arzu Khatun Church was conserved with cement mortar and unsuitable construction materials like the small basilica, problems of preservation of both the columns and the walls arose.

**Colonnaded corridor of
Arzu Khatun Church**



Small Basilica



The entrance gate of the church, built with the order of Arzu Khatun, the daughter of Gurd and the wife of Vakhtang, Prince of Upper Khachin and named after herself is very magnificent. The patterns and inscriptions there give a special beauty to the entrance door. It was difficult to distinguish what

intrusions there were at the front door. True, it seems that new patterned stones have been placed in the missing places. However, this part needs to be studied separately. I observed six Armenian monks praying inside Arzu Khatun Church. Inside, there were many inscriptions in the Armenian alphabet on the walls. Some of them were well distinguished, and some gave a partial effect. The building gave the impression of a building with a chapel on all four sides that we find in Shirvan mosque architecture. It can be compared with Shah Mosque in Baku and Sundi Mosque in Gobustan. Even so, the function of both Christian and Muslim khanqahs is the same: a refuge for the unworldly people.



Arzu Khatun Church



Armenia stole world-important frescoes from Arzu Khatun church. The fresco on the eastern wall of the Arzu Khatun Church, which is considered the pearl of the Khotavang Monastery, was removed by cutting with special methods. I do not believe that there are any specialists in the Republic of Armenia who can cut and remove these frescoes. This is an international war crime. Smuggling of cultural heritage is unacceptable. Armenia must return stolen 13th century frescoes.



Frescoes from Arzu Khatun church



The buildings included in the monastery complex were built from different construction materials in different architectural styles, decorated with religious and secular reliefs, carved patterns and examples of epigraphy. The complex is divided into two parts: the main buildings are surrounded by a stone fence, and the auxiliary buildings are located outside the fence - on the south side. Bas-reliefs of Prince Vakhtang and his sons are placed above the windows on the eastern and southern facades of Arzu Khatun Church. Although I took a photo of the eastern facade, the peacekeepers asked to delete that photo because military facilities were visible.

Daniyal Nazarov reported that they discovered animal bones and coal remains while widening the road on the north side of Arzu Khatun Church. They made it possible for me to visit that place. It turned out that there is a cultural layer in that place. It is true that this cultural layer yields mixed materials, but it is important to carry out archaeological research in the area. I collected and sampled pottery, animal bones, and charcoal remains while I was getting familiar with that cultural layer. Pottery belongs to the late Middle Ages - XIV-XVIII centuries.



Court documents preserved in the Central State Historical Archive of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the dispute between Cheraktarvang and Khotavang monasteries and the daughter of the Khan Khurshidbanu Bayim over Farahganli and other lands” also clarified the ownership issues of the monastery and its surroundings. Khurshidbanu Bayim was the daughter of Karabakh Khan Mehdigulu Khan. After Mehdigulu Khan emigrated to Iran,

In conclusion, it is important to give legal consideration to the following elements of war crimes:

1. It is unacceptable for Russian peacekeepers to stay in the Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery and store military equipment there. Militarization of a cultural heritage monument cannot be accepted for any reason.

2. During the occupation, the historical-architectural heritage of Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery was allegedly preserved and restored. Chemical, physical and biological abrasion occurs because «recovery» is not carried out according to the standards. A large number of Armenian interventions, additions and theft incidents harm the scientific and cultural importance of the monument. The monument should be closed for restoration and conservation without delay.

3. Frescoes and objects were professionally stolen from Khotavang/Khudavang/Dadivang monastery. UNESCO and other international organizations should interfere for the return of those frescoes and other items.

4. Spontaneous construction and excavation works around the monument lead to the destruction of the cultural layer of the monument. Therefore, it will be correct to attract an expedition for archaeological exploration both to study the monument and to clarify the results of independent excavations.

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METaverse: CLASH OF THE WORLDS AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW HYBRID REALITY

Abstract: Metaverse is a hypothesis that can hardly be defined. There is no blueprint according which reality develops and reveals itself as the next human experience. The concept of virtual reality is rich and complex with a purpose to simulate a real environment through the use of electronic technologies. The aim is to make the user feel to be entirely immersed on another plane of existence. Virtual reality and augmented reality among the various multimedia technologies available today, are the closest to forms of art and creativity. Palmer Lucky the Founder of Oculus will say that “VR is a way to escape the real world into something more fantastic. It has the potential to be the most social technology of all time”.

Keywords—metaverse, virtual reality, computer simulations, augmented reality, ICT systems

INTRODUCTION - KRUEGER’S DREAM

Myron Krueger, is considered one of the first generation researchers in Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality due to his PhD entirely dedicated to the novel subject in the late 70’s. Of particular interest is his vision of what would be then called artificial or synthetic reality, a concept rooted to the sociological and technological implications, as well as to the multiple modes of use. Krueger put in focus the immersion which consisted in involving the body into the virtual worlds, where images produced by a computer were projected on physical walls, while facial expressions and gestures were tracked by cameras and sensors placed over the body of the user. [1-5]

For Krueger, the interactive element made possible by the multiple virtual realities assumed a fundamental role through his system called a videoplace. Krueger’s dream was to create a VR that was ecological, in the sense that it was possible to experience it without wearing any hardware equipment. The videoplace is considered environmental as the digital system perceives the actions of the users and everything is distributed in the environment without a piece of hardware being worn. [9]

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There is a perennial connection between human creativity and virtual reality. The reasons for this bond are to be found in the nature of the technologies applied for computer simulations, where VR operates in three-dimensional interactive environments. This is natural evolution of computer graphics, which traditionally are delivered in a two-dimensional environment. It is possible to argue that the common thread of both technologies are the images that represent the raw and primal material of art. [11]

METAVERSE AS A MEDIUM

“This is a new medium. It’s an unwritten canvas. People can figure out what a story looks like and an audience can see if they like it. It’s a really unique time” Chris Milk, Founder of VRSE

Virtual environments are increasingly seen and considered as a sort of alternative to the common static computer-generated images, not so much as a form/type of communication but as a means/medium of communication. An alternative is therefore provided by virtual reality, which allows art to have more ways to be delivered and shared. Metaverse can be defined as a juxtaposition of the classic form of digital art with the static images and the novel one with the representation of a virtual 3D environment, that involves “dynamic” or “stochastic” simulated elements.

What makes elements active actually is the user’s immersion, through the aesthetic means of the virtual environments. It is dynamic because there are the perception, visualization and control systems that receive information on the participants and responds to them so that users can recognize reactions of the virtual environment to their own behavior. The relationship between IOs, or cause and effects is linked directly to user actions, and is changing over time with experience. [8]

This above implies that the artist can intervene between user input and system response. For example, a movement of an individual can generate sounds or it can be the user’s voice itself that is used to navigate within the virtual environment. Artificial reality is very interesting as means for art and education, because it represents an entity that implies a dialogue for the participants, it is a personal amplifier and a space in the same time, where participants have the possibility to explore and interact with what is generated by the computer. These virtual environments, unlike the static images, can lose a little from the concept of a work of art, so it is more accurate to define it as digital art, or some form of experimental art that makes use of technology. [12]

TYOLOGIES OF THE REALITY

“The incredible thing about the technology is that you feel like you’re actually present in another place with other people. People who try it say

it's different from anything they've ever experienced in their lives" Mark Zuckerberg, Founder of META

Metaverse is a combination of the so-called virtual environment, commonly known as virtual reality, a multilayer system of imaginary environments where the human subject has the possibility to interact with both virtual and physical world in the same time. The immersion would almost never be complete as only some of the human senses are involved. A first tangible difference between virtual reality and the augmented reality is the possibility of using the surrounding environment, more precisely, in the first case the subject who is exploiting VR doesn't have the possibility to know what surrounds her or him in the real world, while AR is a virtual reality technique, through which information is added as a second layer to the real scene. [6]

Metaverse amplifies reality by enriching it with more data, without replacing it completely. Virtual objects and real objects coexist at the same time and in the same place. The figure shows the virtual-reality continuum where AR is one of the parts that make up the mixed reality. The portion of the graph between virtual environments (or virtual reality) and augmented virtuality, consists of an area of the figure where real objects are associated with virtual objects, completely replacing the surrounding (real) environment with an imaginery one. [1] [5]

STATE OF THE ART TECHNOLOGIES

In 2014 Facebook bought Oculus and this seems to have prompted entrepreneurs and companies to produce and develop AR / VR in a phase considered 1.0 In 2018 in the field of smartglasses, Microsoft with the HoloLens won a contract worth approximately half billion dollars to equip soldiers with its AR technology. According to data from the analysis platform Digi-Capital in 2018 Sony's became leader in the gaming market with the Playstation VR, surpassing direct competitors such as HTC Vive, Oculus Rift and Samsung's Gear VR. As an alternative to the AR / VR devices mentioned before, one platform that has been very successful is mobile AR. In this field, Apple and Facebook have landed with proprietary applications, ARKit and Spark AR respectively, while Google has relied on outsourcing debuting with the ARCore platform. For some years now, many brands have been reverberating in the VR and AR markets. Well-known names like Ferrari, Ford, Marvel, NBC, Paramount, HBO, Red

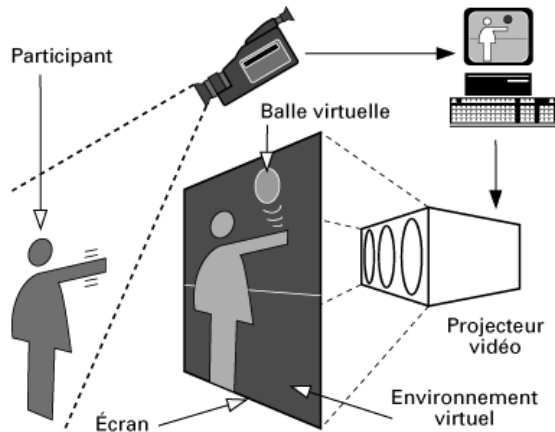


Fig. 1. Videoplace architecture by Krueger

Bull and many others are trying to find an audience through AR and VR “experiences” [9]

THE (RE)RENAISSANCE OF VR

“If you just look at the medium and what it’s doing, we are basically broadcasting human senses to your conciseness. We are duplicating perception” Chris Milk, Founder of VRSE

We live in the era of renaissance of virtual reality. Metaverse is finally an awakening reality thanks to new headsets and improved software, but also because of the pandemic. The pandemic in the previous years had a strong impact on the use and implementation of digital technologies and tools in all work and personal environments. Already existing immersive technologies that struggled to find adequate usability and public acceptance have finally found fertile ground. [4]

Today, when we work from the living room or stay all day long in the bedroom in order to protect our self, the greatest limitation of VR is very clear: we simply didn’t need it before. Our life was already satisfying in the real, why would we have to create another, virtual one?

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE WORK

“There are as many applications for VR as you can think of, it’s restricted by your imagination” John Goddard, HTC Vive

Artificial realities as Krueger defined them, but more in general virtual reality and augmented reality, will find application in many fields of human activity under various typologies of wearable and non-wearable devices, but

also systems that do not necessarily imply any movement on the part of the user. Krueger in this regard makes an interesting reflection on the presence in school age of two types of children of which the educator is well aware; the child considered hyperactive who needs to give vent to all his vitality in a constructive way and the passive child who needs to be actively involved in the learning process. Virtual reality in this case would not serve to explain facts or concepts, but rather to give a personalized package of useful experiences to the student, in such a way that the she or he discovers the rules, but that these are not finite but changeable in a way that in certain moment first they are correct but a moment later they may not be true anymore. All this based on the teaching of the fact that learning is a continuous process. It is certain that even the theoretical concepts and notions would have an easier transfer between teacher and student through a simulated reality. The goal is to significantly contribute to improving teaching-learning processes by making them actors more connected with the environment, more engaging and more collaborative through the creation of realistic interactive spaces capable of encouraging greater immersion on the part of students and therefore more effective learning. We live today in an age where technology has transformed many human activities. This could assume that even art may have undergone changes, but no, art continues to remain the only strong point against innovations, Metaverse can be considered as a digital magnifying glass that allows its users to benefit in a different way from the works on display, very often using a device such as a smartphone or tablet. Including tools already adopted on a daily basis in the visit makes the visitor more inclined to use them. [10]

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„EDUCATIONAL IMMUNITY” - A CHALLENGE FOR THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN BALKANS

Abstract: Sustainable development is imposed as a concept that determines the future of modern human society and its strongest point is the principle of integrality. In this paper, the emphasis is on the “educational immunity” of the countries of the Western Balkans, especially for our country and it is important to emphasize that a large number of factors influence what the “educational immunity” will be and also how ready it is for response to certain influences. The pandemic represented one of the biggest tests the world has faced, especially on educational systems that have negative short-term and long-term impacts. Human capital growth is likely to slow or stop and existing gaps in learning equity could widen.

The paper also encourages questions about improving and expanding the scope of policies to respond to the Covid crisis, the energy crisis, the security crisis - cyber attacks, including reducing the digital divide and building digital skills, training for teachers, students would build the resilience of the system of “future shocks”. Also, the paper theoretically elaborates the access to quality education in the countries of the Western Balkans according to the voluntary national reviews, as well as analyzes the education strategies and other strategic documents.

It is necessary to point out that the only essential and long-term defense against all the current challenges faced by the countries of the Western Balkans is precisely the commitment to quality education, through investments in the production of human capital, through lifelong learning, as well as investments in preschool education, especially for the most vulnerable and to promote tolerance and respect for differences as values, as well as to enable the acquisition of knowledge and skills to understand and respect others. Advancing critical thinking skills, talent and innovation will be essential for an unpredictable future.

Keywords: educational immunity, sustainable development, quality education

1. Предизвиците на образованието и одржливиот развој – Што понатаму?

Сите земји се стремат кон поголем економски раст и развој, и се во постојана конкуренција што им овозможува на луѓето да конзумираат повеќе добра и услуги што водат и до благосостојба на населението и

1 Ph.D. on Pedagogy, works at the Government of the Republic North Macedonia

2 Ph.D. on Political Science, works at the Government of the Republic of North Macedonia

до економски раст. Секоја држава развива свои стратегии за економски раст и развој, каде што инвестициите во образованието се национален, стратешки-инвестициски приоритет, што не може да се постигне само преку финансиска и теоретска поддршка, туку и со доделување значителен процент на бруто домашниот производ за поддршка на образованието. Економскиот раст на една земја зависи од човечкиот развој преку подобрување на нивото на образование, намалување на сиромаштијата и подобрување на социјалната положба, прашања што можат да се постигнат преку инвестирање во образование. Секој економски раст е условен од развој на човечки капитал, што претставува највредното наследство на една земја.

Одржливиот развој значи подобрување на квалитетот на животот во рамки на капацитетот на постоечките системи³.

Во овој труд акцентот е ставен на „образовен имунитет“ на земјите од Западен Балкан, посебно за нашата земја, а значајно е да се нагласи дека голем број фактори влијаат на тоа каков ќе биде „образовниот имунитет“ и воедно колку е подготвен за одговор на одредени влијанија. Имуитетот се создава и почнува да се гради од најмала возраст, како и образованието.

Глобалните нееднакости во пристапот до образование можеби ќе се прошират и глобалната криза за учење ќе го наруши напредокот кон целта за одржлив развој, што повикува на универзален пристап до квалитетно образование. Промената бара нова педагошка организираност на субјектите во училиштето, нови знаења и вештини со конструктивистички приод кон проблемите.

Промената ја зголемува личната партиципативност и на наставникот, кој ја координира наставата и на ученикот, кој треба да дојде до нови извори на сознанија.

Образовниот систем треба да е подготвен за сите деца. Децата во училиштата треба бидат безбедни и заштитени. Време е конечно да изградиме образовен систем кој ќе гарантира заштита на сите деца. Дали нашиот образовен систем е имун и знае како сам да се одбрани? Ако ослабне активноста на образовниот систем и опадне и неговиот имунитет, тогаш за жал тој ќе има влијание и на целото наше општество. Затоа крајно време е веќе и неопходен е систем кој во иднина ќе биде имун на сите фактори кои би можеле негативно да влијаат.

Значајно за нашата држава е воведувањето и спроведување на Концепцијата за деветгодишно основно воспитание и образование каде се наведени повеќе принципи на кои треба да се базира образованието, меѓу другото и принципите на демократија, недискриминација, почитување на индивидуалните разлики меѓу учениците, како и принципот на разбирање на „другите“ и мултикултурност.

Авторите Флахерди и Лиди во нивниот труд истакнуваат дека целите за одржлив развој поставени од Обединетите нации се залагаат дека

³ Дефиниција од 1991 на World Wildlife Found, водечка организација за заштита и зачувување на природата.

сите ученици ќе ги имаат знаењата и вештините потребни за промовирање на одржливиот развој⁴

Современите тенденции во образованието наложуваат секојдневно следење на достигнувањата на сите полиња со цел нивно доследно имплементирање во процесот на обезбедување здрави, модерни и атрактивни училишта како посакувана средина за учење. Тоа претставува редовно следење на современите тенденции и нивен правилен избор.

За да може да одговори на својата нова улога, училиштето мора да помине низ повеќе оперативни процеси, да поседува стратегија за постигнување на целите и постојано да гради нови капацитети.

Промените во организацијата се состојат во: промени во целите – природата на работата претставена преку мисијата и стратегијата на конкретната организација, промените кај луѓето – промени во ставовите и компетенциите на вработените; промени во културата – систем на вредности на организацијата во целина

Потребно е обезбедување на непречен пристап до правото на образование на секое дете, дури и во услови на учење од далечина, што пак подразбира зајакнување на капацитетот на образовниот систем во целина, со цел да допре до сите ученици, целосно и ефективно учество, пристапност, присуство и успех на сите ученици, особено оние кои, поради различни причини, се исклучени или се во ризик да бидат маргинализирани.

Одржливиот развој му нуди на човештвото квалитетен развој, развој во кој се урамнотезени човечките со природните вредности, развој кој е модел за праведен и напреден свет. Тоа подразбира урамнотежување на економските, социјалните и еколошките цели и нивно интегрирање секогаш кога тоа е можно преку креирање на политики и практики кои взаемно се поддржуваат и изнаоѓање компромиси кога не е возможна интеграција на различните цели.

2. Пристап до квалитетно образование во земјите од Западен Балкан

Во одржливиот развој, човекот има централна улога. Во сегашен контекст, одржливоста која ја бараме всушност е одржливост на човековото општество кое е потполно зависно и временски нераскинливо поврзано со природните системи.

Според Артур, во динамички систем како што е човековото општество, одржливоста е прашање на рамнотежа, баланс одржан низ времето.

Во извештајот за Србија за 2019 година, образованието на децата е предуслов за развој заснован на подобрени човечки ресурси, знаење и потенцијал за иновации. Се посочува дека опфатот на раното детско образование и грижа на децата (на возраст од 3 до 5 години) во земјава е

⁴ Flaherty, J., Liddy, M. (2018) *The impact of development education and education for sustainable development interventions: a synthesis of the research. Environmental Education Research*. Volume 24. Issue 7. p.1031-1049

50%, што значи дека половина од децата ја пропуштаат можноста да се развијат до полн потенцијал. Стратегијата за развој на образованието во Србија до 2020 година ја обликува реформата на образовниот систем на сите нивоа. Стратегијата за млади (Министерство за образование, наука и технолошки развој на Република Србија, 2020 година) предвидува и развој на отворен, ефективен, ефикасен и правичен систем на формално и неформално образование, достапен за сите млади и во согласност со меѓународните трендови во образованието.

Во Албанскиот доброволен национален преглед за цели за одржлив развој 2018 година, нагласени се постепени подобрувања во пристапот на децата во Албанија до основното образование (возраст од 6-10 години) и, особено, предучилишното (возраст од 3-5 години) образование во последните години: 96 % и 81% соодветно, во споредба со 90 % и 58% во 2008 година, а детските градинки во Албанија се речиси двојно зголемени. Се посочува дека албанската влада е посветена на зголемување на регистрацијата на децата со пречки во развојот и децата од сиромашните семејства.

Во доброволниот преглед за имплементација на Агендата 2030 и Целите за одржлив развој во Босна и Херцеговина 2019 година, се посочува дека образованието му овозможува на секој поединец да се вклучи на пазарот на трудот и тоа пак ја овозможува неговата финансиска и економска независност. Основното образование е бесплатно и обезбедено за сите деца во Босна и Херцеговина.

Во доброволниот национален преглед за Црна Гора, се посочува дека во Црна Гора сите имаат еднаков пристап до квалитетно и инклузивно образование на сите нивоа и во текот на целиот животен циклус, додека здравствениот систем е со висок квалитет и ефикасност и обезбедува здрав живот на граѓаните од сите возрасти, особено ранливите, со намалени нееднакости во здравствениот сектор. Исто така, се истакнува дека е постигнато значително зголемување на стапката на запишување во предучилишно образование (од околу 23% во 2003 година на речиси 38% во 2015 година) заедно со континуираното зголемување на стапките на запишување и завршување на основното образование, кое е многу блиску да се постигне целта на универзално основно образование.

Во извештајот за Македонија се посочува дека македонската влада смета дека образованието, обуката, истражувањето и иновациите се клучни детерминанти на здравјето на националната економија и благосостојбата на граѓаните и дека сите деца имаат можност да пристапат до основно и средно образование кои се задолжителни и бесплатни за секого.

Сите земји од Западен Балкан воведоа разни модалитети за учење на далечина како одговор на нарушениот образовен процес.

Стратешкиот план за образование на Албанија 2014-2020 година ги пополнува неисполнетите аспекти на стратегијата⁵ 2009-2013 и го поддржува понатамошното подобрување на образовниот систем кој се

⁵ Стратегијата за развој на предуниверзитетското образование 2014-2020 на Република Албанија МОА.

смета за еден од промоторите на развојот на земјата. Стратешкиот документ ги утврдува националните образовни приоритети за определениот период и на тој начин претставува сеопфатна платформа во која институционалните актери и заинтересираните групи можат да придонесат.

Документот интегрира пет делови, а во првиот дел се елаборирани моменталните состојби во предуниверзитетскиот образовен систем (неговата организација и функционирање) и е претставена синтеза на силните страни и тешкотиите поврзани со лидерските и менаџерските капацитети на системот, квалитетот и нивото на условите за учење. Во вториот дел се прикажани визијата, политиките и стратешките цели. Во третиот дел, целите на политиката и главните резултати се елаборирани. Како цели на политиката, во оваа Стратегија се дефинирани следниве: подобрување на управувањето, лидерството и капацитетите за управување со ресурсите на СПУО; инклузивно квалитетно учење; обезбедување на квалитетот на постигнувањата врз основа на стандарди споредливи со земјите на ЕУ; современа професионална подготовка и развој на наставниците и лидерите. Во четвртиот дел се претставени финансиските ресурси - финансиските импликации на економската рамка, а во петтиот дел се претставени елементите на извештајот, системот за мониторинг и евалуација на напредокот на Стратегијата.

Во Косово, стратегијата⁶ има четири различни компоненти, претставени преку стратешки цели и мерки поврзани со нив: градење ефективни механизми за обезбедување квалитет, унапредување на развојното планирање на ниво на училиште и општина, градење на капацитети за обезбедување квалитет на сите нивоа, подигнување на свеста на засегнатите страни.

Стратегијата⁷ за образованието на Република Македонија за 2018-2025 година претставува основа за активностите на институциите во Република Македонија во полето на образованието во периодот до 2025 година. Таа тргнува од постојните состојби во образовниот систем и има за цел кон тоа постепено да ги подобри истите, во согласност со утврдените приоритети.

Целите и задачите дефинирани во Стратегијата произлегуваат од најзначајните предизвици на образовниот систем коишто се идентификувани преку темелна анализа на состојбите. Според визијата, Стратегијата е насочена главно кон унапредување на:

- Квалитетот на образованието и неговата релевантност за развојните приоритети на македонското општество (особено кога се работи за формирање продуктивни и ангажирани граѓани) и за потребите на пазарот на трудот ти насочено кон остварување на очекуваните резултати од учењето, како и за прифаќањето на мултикултурализмот, меѓуетничката интеграција, почитувањето на различностите и демократските вредности;

6 Стратегијата за развој на предуниверзитетското образование 2014-2020 на Република Косово МОНТ.2016-2020 година

7 Стратегија за образованието 2018-2025 со акциски план. МОН, 2017

- Развојот на генеричките и клучните компетенции кај учениците (и сите лица кои учат), со цел тие да се развијат во критички субјекти, активни и релевантни учесници во општествениот живот;

- Инфраструктурата на образовниот систем, вклучително градбите, опремата, наставните и асистивните технологии, со цел обезбедување соодветна средина за учење во целина и вклучување на лицата со посебни образовни потреби;

- Капацитетите на човечките ресурси, вклучувајќи ги раководните лица, кадарот и стручните служ

- Квалитетот и резултатите на образовниот процес преку подобрување на системот за оценување/евалуација на сите образовни нивоа: ученик, наставник, училиште и систем;

- Автономијата на институциите во образованието, особено на универзитетот, како и автономија на субјектите во образовниот процес;

- Законодавството, управувањето и финансирањето.

Како стратешки документи потребно е да се истакнат уште и Студијата на УНИЦЕФ за мултикултурализмот и меѓуетничките односи, како и Стратегијата - Едно општество за сите и интеркултурализмот.

Во наредниот период, потребно е институциите континуирано да инвестираат и да ги зголемуваат образовните стандарди. Дел од препораките и насоките се опремување и инвестирање во нов, млад и талентиран кадар, како и континуирано надградување на оној што веќе е дел од високото образование, и авторките нагласуваат дека ова треба да биде суштинска цел на образовните институции. Следејќи го новите технологии, фокусирајќи се на сложени и значајни реформи се само дел од компетенциите со кои учениците треба да се надградат како идни креатори на продуктивни промени треба да бидат според авторите дел од содржината и целите на високо-образовните институции.

3. Човечкиот капитал - двигател на образованието и одржливиот развој

Човечкиот капитал во секоја смисла е еден од основните фактори на економскиот раст и развој. Ниту една земја не може да постигне одржлив економски развој без значителни инвестиции во човечки капитал.

Човечкиот капитал е централен фактор на производство, а истовремено помага да се подобри долговечноста и продуктивноста на идните генерации. За возврат, поединците ги донесуваат своите одлуки во врска со стекнувањето човечки капитал земајќи го предвид нивниот очекуван животен век, како и економското опкружување.

Од особено значење е дека човечкиот капитал како двигател на образованието, одржливиот развој, конкурентност и просперитет и затоа инвестициите во образованието се најважниот вид инвестиции во човечки капитал. Човечкиот капитал е еден од клучните двигатели на одржлив, инклузивен економски раст на земјите. Неизбежно да се подобри кохерентноста на системот, како и дека водството и одлучувањето во

случајот на криза е клучен момент без оглед на видот на кризата. раководството во случај на криза значи прецизно дефинирање на идејата за кризна политика, потоа зајакнување на одговорност на институциите и конечно практична примена и имплементација на воспоставена политика. Ова е единствениот начин за успешно справување со кризата и намалување на штетните ефекти врз образованието и човечкиот капитал.

На глобално ниво, индексот на човечки капитал - HCI 2020 покажува дека, пред да се појави пандемијата, детето може да очекува да постигне просечно 56 проценти од нејзината потенцијална продуктивност како иден работник. Оваа глобална просечна маска ја разгледува можната варијација помеѓу регионите и економиите. На пример, дете родено во економија со ниски примања би можело да се очекува да биде 37 проценти продуктивно како да има целосно образование и целосно здравје. За дете родено во земја со висока економија, оваа бројка е 70 проценти (HCI Report, 2020). Дете родено денес во Северна Македонија кога ќе порасне ќе биде продуктивно 56 проценти од она што би можело да биде кога би имало целосно образование и полно здравје. Тоа е пониско од просекот за регионот Европа и Централна Азија и од земјите со високи средни приходи. Помеѓу 2010 и 2020 година, вредноста на ИЧК за Северна Македонија порана од 0,54 на 0,56.

Ако се анализираат само земјите на Западен Балкан може да се каже дека истите постигнаа добри резултати во одредени компоненти на индексот за човечки капитал, особено во компонентите за преживување и физичкиот раст на децата. Секако дека сеуште има простор за подобрување во останатите компоненти, како на пример во квалитетот на учењето.

Шесте земји од Западен Балкан - Албанија, Босна и Херцеговина, Косово, Северна Македонија, Црна Гора и Србија –се обидуваат да ги направат сите потребни реформи зошто се што прават денес, сите нивни вложувања во човечки капитал, ќе им помогнат за моделирање на иднината. Секако дека постои простор за трансформација – од регион каде граѓаните бараат можности надвор од регионот, во регион кој привлекува инвестиции од ширум светот (Miler, 2018).

Според Ехренберг и Смит[□] кога станува збор за инвестирање во човечки капитал, кога поединците прават избори за образование, истите настојуваат да ја максимизираат корисноста од перспектива на цел живот .

Квалитетното образование има клучна улога кај наставниците во обликувањето на вредности на идните генерации. Анализирајќи ги релевантните истражувања за дигиталните компетенции на наставниците за време на пандемијата Ковид 19 се истакнува дека тие имаат огромно влијание за да се осигури дека следната генерација е подготвена да стане проактивен агент за промена во нашето општество и затоа надлежните институции мора да инвестираат во квалитетно образование.

Надлежните институции - Владите во соработка со министерствата за образование и наука, министерствата за финансии треба да воспостават политики што гарантираат дека училиштата што им служат

на учениците се заштитени што е можно повеќе од ефектите на отпуштањата на наставен кадар.

Важноста на задржување успешни наставници кои се незаменливи во нивната работа и ќе останат такви во догледна иднина треба да биде поддржан на повеќе начини за да бидат ефективни во непредвидливи околности. Единствено политиките што влијаат во креирањето на услови за поголема плата и надоместок во образовниот сектор треба да бидат составен дел од сеопфатните стратегии за подобрување на привлечноста на наставничката професија, како за сите наставници, така и за потенцијалните кандидати.

Заклучни согледувања

Да се инвестира во продуцирање на човечки капитал, преку доживотно учење, почнувајќи со инвестиции во предучилишно образование, особено за најранливите. Унапредувањето на вештините за критичко размислување, талентот и иновацијата ќе бидат од суштинска важност за непредвидливата иднина. Затоа, образовните системи треба да бидат флексибилни и да реагираат на трендовите и иновацијата. Водењето политика на одржливост на развојот е од особено значење за сите земји.

Образованието и обуката се клучни двигатели за развој коишто нудат поддршка за напредување на вработливоста, ефикасноста, развојот и конкурентноста. Владите мора да бидат насочени и кон стручно образование и обука и да преземаат чекори за доживотно учење и мора да се фокусира на следните цели: зголемување на можностите за запишување во предучилишните установи, како и да се обезбеди висококвалитетна обука за наставниците и воспитувачите посебно за интеркултурализмот која во иднина е многу значајна за соживотот во нашата држава.

Надлежните институции треба да имаат макро и микро пристап за да обезбедат безбедна средина за учење. Во исто време, неопходно е да се обезбеди програма за безбедност на правата на децата на Интернет, да се посочат можните ризици и да се подигне свеста за можните ефекти од дигиталната изложеност. Можноста за скриена криза ќе се намали, доколку има размена на вештини, знаења и искуства во областа на сајбер -безбедноста на национално ниво и тоа ќе се постигне преку создавање тимови составени од експерти од јавниот сектор, приватниот сектор и академската заедница. Здравјето, безбедноста и благосостојбата на кадарот, студентите во образовните институции треба да бидат највисок приоритет за владите. Неопходно е да се промовира свесноста за сајбер заканите и да се фокусираат чинителите на градење капацитети за сајбер безбедност кај засегнатите страни, да се зголеми свесноста и основните знаења во областа на сајбер безбедноста на учениците во основните и средните училишта, факултетите да се подобрат постојните наставни програми во основните и средните училишта и вклучување на елементи во областа на сајбер безбедноста во новите студиски

програми на универзитетите со цел да се произведе подобар кадар во областа на сајбер безбедноста.

За да се изгради подобар, „пост-КОВИД систем” ќе треба да се посвети поголемо внимание на финансирањето на образованието потребно за зацврстување на македонскиот образовен систем.

Исто така, фокусот врз спречувањето на осипувањето, подобрувањето на раното образование и услугите за грижа со фокус на обесправените деца, зајакнувањето на обуката на наставниците, подобрувањето на финансирањето на образованието и на следењето на успешноста, на среден рок, ќе доведат до подобрување на квалитетот и еднаквоста на образованието. Земјите од Западен Балкан треба да ја искористат и можноста образованието да го направат поефективно, поинклузивно и поотпорно со цел одржлив развој.

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**KONYA-LADİK CARPET AND COLOR ANALYSIS FOUND IN
KOYUNOĞLU MUSEUM
KOYUNOĞLU MÜZESİ'NDE BULUNAN KONYA-LADİK HALISI
VE RENK ANALİZİ**

ABSTRACT: Weaving has a special place in traditional Turkish arts. Rugs, which are more durable than carpets, are privileged among plain weaves.

Konya Ladik District is generally known for its carpet weaving from past to present. In the past, prayer rugs made entirely of wool with a very interesting pattern structure existed in the region.

Ladik region carpets, which are out of production today, are generally prayer rug-style weavings with a mihrab pattern scheme.

In the paper, one Ladik prayer rug registered in the inventory of Koyunoğlu Museum will be tried to be introduced, and information will be given about the technical and pattern features and the color analysis study of the rug.

Keywords: Weaving, carpet, rug, analysis, color, pattern, wool.

ÖZET: Gelenekli Türk sanatları içerisinde dokumaların özel bir yeri vardır. Halılara göre daha dayanıklı olan kilimler ise düz dokumalar içerisinde ayrıcalığıdır.

Konya Ladik İlçesi genellikle geçmişten günümüze halı dokumalarıyla bilinir. Yörede oldukça ilgi çekici desen yapısıyla tamamen yünden mamül seccade halıları geçmişte var olmuştur.

Günümüzde üretimi kalmamış olan Ladik yöresi halıları mihraplı desen şeması ile genellikle seccade tarzı dokumalardır.

Bildiride Koyunoğlu Müzesi envanterine kayıtlı bulunan bir adet Ladik seccade halısı tanıtılmaya çalışılacak, teknik ve desen özellikleri hakkında ve kilime ait renk analiz çalışması ile alakalı bilgi verilecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Dokuma, halı, kilim, analiz, renk, desen, yün.

INTRODUCTION

Textile has an important place in traditional Turkish arts. Throughout history, Turks have produced valuable works in the field of textiles for the world civilization.

Hand weavings, which show a distinct change and development within the

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traditional Turkish handicrafts, are the most important visual documents of the historical, cultural, artistic and economic accumulation of the Turkmens living in a wide geography and time period from Central Asia to Anatolia. In Anatolia, Konya and its surroundings have maintained their feature of being an important center in terms of weaving art from the Seljuks to the present, and the beginning of Konya carpets is the Seljuk carpets².

The Seljuk capital, Konya and its vicinity, has had a privileged position in textile arts such as carpets and rugs for centuries. Carpet weaving in and around Konya continued with local features with its pattern structure, colors and burnings.

Many museums in the city center of Konya also have examples of this rich textile. Especially Konya Ethnography, Mevlana and İ. There are textile samples from different centuries in the Koyunoğlu museums.

Ladik carpets near Konya Sarayönü also have an important place in history. Ladik is 40 km east of Konya. Ladik has a reputation for carpet and rug weaving.

Although there is not much information about the history of Ladik carpet prayer rugs, weaving in Ladik has a history of approximately 400 years, as can be seen from the 17-18 century prayer rugs exhibited in the General Directorate of Foundations Carpet Museum in Istanbul and the Mevlana and Ethnography Museums in Konya³.

Textile colors also appeal to people's aesthetic value judgments. Color is a subjective concept.

By making use of the determination and measurement of the properties of colors, tasks such as recipe calculation, whiteness measurement, concentration determination and color difference calculation, which have an important place in textile dyeing, can be counted as the main tasks of color measurement⁴.

The measurement of the colors of objects is possible thanks to the physical properties of the colors. When the rays in the field that can be seen by the human eye are transmitted to the brain, they cause different perceptions according to their wavelengths. These different perceptions (yellow, blue, green, etc.) are called colors⁵.

I. Koyunoğlu Museum houses various manuscripts, finds from different archaeological periods and some textiles that are ethnographic works. There are highly qualified works in the carpet and rug section. One of these works is the XVIII. It is a carpet prayer rug with inventory number 11376 belonging to the end of the century. It measures 113x163 cm.

2 AYTAÇ, Ahmet ve AKPINARLI, H. Feriha, "Konya Koyunoğlu Müzesi'nde Bulunan Bir Grup Konya-Ladik Halısında Kırmızı Renk Analizi", *V. International Turkic Art, History and Folklore Congress / Art Activities, Komrat/Moldova*, 13-16 April 2016, s. 71-76. s. 72. Ehrenberg, Smith, 2012

3 AYTAÇ, Ahmet, "Ladik Halıları", Türk Halıcılığı, AKM Yayını, Ankara, 2020, s. 1326. s. 1324-1331.

4 DURAN, Kerim, Ege Üniversitesi, Mühendislik Fakültesi, "Renk Ölçümü" Bornova, 1983, s. 1.

5 DURAN, Kerim, a.g.m, s. 3.



Photograph: 1.

There are geometric flowers on the outer border. There are motifs called “five stones” on the large border, in Döşemealtı. On the other borders, there are curved branches, flowers and leaves. The middle composition area is divided into three parts. There is a stepped, hooked mihrab niche in the red colored middle area. There are three geometric tulip motifs and a scorpion figure in the sections on the sides.

The colors of the carpet with these features were read using the Konica Minolta brand Croma Meter CR-400 model color measuring device according to the Hunter Lab method.

In this method, the L value read is defined by the brightness of the color from black to white (from 0 to 100). On the coordinate, the value a determines the location of the color green, which is determined by a negative value from red as a positive value. The b value determines the location of the color blue, which is determined by a negative value from yellow as a positive value⁶.

Chroma value, which defines the clarity and brightness of the color by using these reading values; $C = \sqrt{(a^2 + b^2)}$ is obtained by the equation.

Hue angle value, which defines the type of color and its tone; $H = \frac{1}{\tan^{-1} \frac{b}{a}}$ obtained by the formula.

6 AYTAÇ, Ahmet; DOĞAN, Tuna, “Koyunoğlu Müzesi’nden Bir Karapınar Halısında Renk Ölçümüne Dair”, *II. Uluslararası Türk Sanatları, Tarihi ve Folkloru Kongresi/ Sanat Etkinlikleri*, 05/10.04.2014-Bosna, s. 43.

COLOR ANALYSIS

1.red	L	A	b	HUE	CHROMA
1.2	32,22	10,65	9,11	0,868957	14,0148
1.3	34,36	10,15	9,6	0,721459	13,97077
1.4	34,13	11,32	11,41	0,630921	16,07266
1.5	30,15	10,94	10,15	0,74923	14,92334
1.6	32,85	10,32	11,07	0,543866	15,13431
average	32,742	10,676	10,268	0,702887	14,82318
Standard deviation	1,69905	0,471307	0,96805	0,123023	0,872943

Chart: 1.

It seems that the brightness of the red color is variable. The a value proves that there is little lightening in the color or that it is dyed very homogeneously. The HUE value indicates that there is very little variation in the hue of the color, while the CHORAMA does not show a high variability in brightness.

2.green	L	A	b	HUE	CHROMA
2.1	38,03	0,15	9,14	0,339983	9,141231
2.2	41,32	0,39	9,46	-0,83287	9,468036
2.3	42,33	0,51	9,47	-3,46549	9,483723
2.4	42,67	0,66	10,13	-2,66094	10,15148
2.5	41,24	0,6	9,81	1,337409	9,828331
average	41,118	0,462	9,602	-1,05638	9,61456
Standard deviation	1,835012	0,201916	0,37851	2,006764	0,386202

Chart: 2.

The brightness of the green appears to be variable. The a value proves that there is very little lightening in the color or homogeneous dyeing. The HUE value indicates a significant deviation in the hue of the color, while the CHORAMA results in no high variability in brightness.

3. flowers (pink)	L	A	b	HUE	CHROMA
3.1	38,18	8,98	5,84	1,314524	10,71196
3.2	45,78	8,65	7,64	0,821241	11,54089
3.3	43,09	9,89	5,71	1,535182	11,41999
average	42,35	9,173333	6,396667	1,223649	11,22428
Standard deviation	3,853661	0,64221	1,078718	0,365543	0,447783

Chart: 3.

There is serious variability in the brightness of pink. The a value indicates that there is little lightening in the color or that it is dyed homogeneously. The HUE value gives the result that there is very little variation in the hue of the color, while the CHORAMA results that there is little variation in the brightness.

4.grey	L	A	b	HUE	CHROMA
4.1	38,53	1,42	3,93	-2,54805	4,178672
4.2	39,93	1,34	3,63	-2,16536	3,869431
4.3	38,26	1,66	4,75	-3,47568	5,031709
4.4	36,91	1,99	4,06	-0,50722	4,521471
average	38,4075	1,6025	4,0925	-2,17408	4,400321
Standard deviation	1,237912	0,291933	0,473876	1,239963	0,498097

Chart: 4.

There appears to be a variation in the brightness of the gray. The a value indicates that there is very little lightening in the color or homogeneous dyeing. There is a partial deviation in the HUE value, i.e. the type and hue of the color, while CHORAMA gives very little variability in brightness.

5. dark brown	L	A	b	HUE	CHROMA
5.1	21,14	1,3	1,82	0,172477	2,236605
5.2	19,35	1,37	2,63	-0,3638	2,965434
5.3	25,5	2,23	4	-0,22669	4,579618
5.4	19,13	0,97	1,48	0,045054	1,769548
5.5	17,29	0,86	2,06	-1,08154	2,232308
average	20,482	1,346	2,398	-0,2909	2,756703
Standard deviation	3,118953	0,538916	0,988848	0,490443	1,105278

Chart: 5.

There is a high variability in the brightness of the dark brown color. The value a proves that there is very little opening or homogeneous dyeing. The CHORAMA results show a variability in brightness, while there is a slight deviation in the HUE value, i.e. the type and hue of the color.

6. yellow flowers	L	A	b	HUE	CHROMA
6.1	37,27	1,41	18,59	1,4066	18,6434
6.2	43,68	1,57	20,16	3,552471	20,22104
6.3	40,13	1,62	15,84	2,714207	15,92263
6.4	45,12	1,99	26,22	1,432279	26,29541
average	41,55	1,6475	20,2025	2,276389	20,27062
Standard deviation	3,541026	0,245272	4,391039	1,047079	4,39141

Chart: 6.

It is seen that there is a high variability in the brightness of the yellow color. The deviation in a value gives the result that there is very little opening or homogeneous dyeing as much as possible. HUE indicates some deviation in hue, while CHORAMA results in a significant variation in brightness.

CONCLUSION

Carpet weaving belonging to the traditional culture is important in Ladik, which is connected to Konya, the capital of the Seljuks. Ladik carpets draw attention with their prayer rugs, especially in terms of functional area of use. A Ladik prayer rug from the Ottoman period has been examined in terms of its colors in this paper.

As a result, variability in red, green and gray colors was normal and fairly homogeneous. In pink, dark brown and yellow colors, the amount of variability is high and homogeneous dyeing is achieved. Within the scope of cultural heritage, these textile products are important and this culture should be transferred to future generations.

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CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SOUTHERN ITALY: LINGUISTIC MINORITIES AND IDENTITIES TO BE PRESERVED

Abstract: The crisis of the present days present dangers of unmanageable threads against shared identities. In Southern Italy, we observe a remarkable wealth of memory, several cultural patterns of different origins are still vital. As the result of historical experiences and multifarious influences, local identities must be preserved in the realm of the Mediterranean space. South of Italy and Sicily are opened to different suggestions coming from Western Balkans (Albania, Greece, Macedonia), as well as from North Africa and Near East. We may emphasize Grico minorities in Apulia (Salento, Lecce) and Calabria (Aspromonte near Reggio Calabria) as well as Arberesh communities in Northern Calabria (near Cosenza) and Sicily (Piana degli Albanesi). We focus on a unique and dynamic immaterial heritage, as local festivals such as Pleariza held every year in Calabrian Griko villages attest. Traditional singers, storytellers, theatre performers such as *Mana Chuma*, *Astragali* theatre and many others are highly representatives of local identities to be heightened. Intangible heritage comprising songs, dances, folktales is extremely valuable. Oral tradition may not be dismissed, as performative studies have largely shown. We must also take in account lullabies, popular proverbs and tales.

Keywords: Minority language, local identity, cultural tourism, folk festival, peace education, Griko, Arbëreshë.

Introduction: cultural tourism as a chance

The enhancement of cultural heritage will surely improve tourist attractiveness of territories which are often neglected. It is the case of Ionian or Northern Calabria, that is Aspromonte (Reggio Calabria) or Sila valley (Cosenza). Mountain areas remain outside of traditional itinerary for main stream tourists. Italian and foreign visitors usually go to the beach, especially in Tyrrhenian coastal towns such as Scylla, Tropea, Vatican Cape, so to recall the most renowned holiday destinations in summer time. Apart from few towns on the seaside, international tourism is undervalued in this region of Southern Italy despite of its prominent cultural and archaeological patrimony. We may quote the case of Reggio Calabria, where the Archaeological Museum has a small number of visitors per year (around 200.000), although it houses masterpieces of Ancient Classical Greek art such as the the

¹ PhD in Classical Philology, National and Capodistrian University of Athens

Dioskouroi of Lokroi Epizephiri or the Riace Bronzes, an exceptional discovery of underwater archaeology who took place in the waters of Ionian sea by Riace Marina in 1972, just to quote two examples of primary value.² Even if we have some signs of recovery last years (so around 227.000 visitors in 2019 against 131.000 in 2008), this Museum in Reggio Calabria is quite distant from standards of average attendance seen in other national museums of Vatican State and Italy, to stay in the realm of Italian peninsula.³

As a consequence of little interest for the inner side of Calabria, which also suffers from lack of infrastructures, we should develop a new tourist proposal aimed to favour discovery of local identities.⁴ Some destinations are not conceivable for mass tourism. It is better to think of more sustainable proposals, in order to really put visitors in contact with local cultures. A living dialogue between different cultures is granted by mutual understanding without partialities.

Minority languages in Calabria

Minorities languages are worthy of fuller consideration, especially within broader context of European Union. At this respect, significant minorities are still flourishing in Calabria, where Griko and Arbëreshë communities are present since a long time. The tradition of these groups is linked with rural world, the exponents of the lively Greek or Albanian speaking communities animate specific cultures that are endangered. In fact, Griko people are the last heirs of Byzantine Empire. Last Byzantine troops departed from Croton area around 1066, once the *limes castrorum* built by the Eastern Romans around the gulf of Taranto, especially between coastal cities such as Croton and Gallipolis (Greek Καλλιπόλις) collapsed.⁵ Indeed, the end of political Byzantine rule in Italy did not correspond to the end of Byzantium in former Imperial dominions. Greek language was still used during many centuries in South Italy and Sicily in despite of Westernization, that is, forced assimilation in Latin orbit by adopting Italian dialect and Roman Catholic instead of Byzantine liturgy.⁶ Today, a Modern Greek dialect is still spoken as mother

2 See Solima – Bollo 2002, 86. Stella – Rizza 2011, 84 remarked that the Archaeological Museum of Reggio Calabria did not get to the top of 30 most visited museums in Italy since 1996. In 2008, even the zoo of Pistoia (Tuscany) gets more visitors!

3 Vatican Museums have around 6 million visitors every year, Uffizi Gallery in Florence, which tops the Italian classification, just under two millions. For marketing strategy and cultural politics applied to museums, see Granato – Picilli 2023.

4 On infrastructural problem with respect to tourism issues, see Vasileva, Tsolov & Botseva 2022.

5 Finally, last Italian dominions of Eastern Roman Empire in Apulia fell just few years later, Brindisi in 1070 and Bari, the capital of Catapanate, in 1071 after a three years Norman siege, see von Falkenhausen 1982, 14-16; Macris 1994, 125; Id. 2000: 49-50.

6 On trend of Westernization in ecclesiastical politics adopted by early Norman conquerors by founding Latin cloisters and assigning political pre-eminence to Latin

language in Grecia of Salento (Apulia, prov. Lecce), in Bovesia, near Bova (Griko *Vua* or *Hora*) near Reggio Calabria and in Sicily around Messina.⁷

Conversely, Albanian immigrants reached South Italy and Sicily because they escaped from Turkish conquest after the death of their national hero George Skanderbeg (Albanian Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu, 1405 - 1468), who fought against Ottoman expansionism in Western Balkans. Subsequent streams of refugees from Albania found refuge in the either side of Otranto Channel. They founded many villages especially in North Calabria and Sicily since the 15th until the 18th century. In most of these centres, Albanian language is still spoken today currently. In some villages such as Biancavilla (Catania), inhabitants are not more Albanophone, even if they are still proud of their Albanian roots. Undeniably, Albanian refugees proudly transmitted the culture of their motherland to next generations. After being established in Italy, Albanian language was a key element of common identity for Albanians of Italy. At the same time, their descendants are, generally, attached to Byzantine liturgy, even if they are in contact with Italian and local dialect and Catholic priests usually frequent Albanian villages, as well as Arbëreshë people also visit Catholic pilgrimage destinations in this area such as Madonna del Pollino (Our Lady of Mount Pollino); located in the mountains: Common religious celebrations and local pilgrimages are also occasion for intense musical performance mixed with devotional form, prayers and spontaneous music exchanges among the participants.⁸

Today, many initiatives are held to valorise cultural heritage drawn from Western Balkans embodied by Griko and Arbëreshë minorities. We must examine some significant examples in order to better understand how cultural tourism may actively promote territories which are generally neglected by visitors. It is a great chance for economic subjects involved in these projects, beyond being ecologically sustainable.

Griko folk festivals

In the realm of Griko area in Southern Calabria, it is worth to mention folk festival *Paleariza* (“Ancient root”) held in the Hellenophone villages of Bovesia (*Vua*) such as Galliciano, Roghudi, Condofuri in Amendolea valley. Since 1999, this Griko festival is associated to the European Forum of Worldwide Music Festivals (FWMF: <https://www.fwmf.world>) and Worldwide Music Expo (Womex: <https://www.womex.com>). It hosts a traditional music session every night, food and wine tastings were also meant to discover local culture. Readings of Griko poets and singers such as

clergy, see Décarreaux 1974.

7 On Griko, which is still spoken in Southern Italy and Sicily, see Martino 1980, 315-331; Falcone 1973; Id. 1991, 257-260.

8 On the peculiar hybrid use of Greek sung, but not understood, liturgical/literary Albanian and even Latin in religious Arbëreshë repertoires, see Scaldaferrì 2013, 92; Id. 2022, 75-77, with examples from various Albanian villages in Calabria.

Mastr'Angelo Maesano (1915 - 2000) were also destined to visitors.⁹

However, Greek heritage is also a crucial defy out of the actual boundaries of the “Griko Area” near Reggio Calabria. In fact, Greek monasteries played a pivotal role in preserving Hellenic culture and transmitting its legacy to next generations within a broader geographic context, even outside of Greeks speaking elites. This interactionist process involved all Southern and Central Italia in Medieval times. A Greek Abbey such as St. Mary in Grottaferrata near Rome is still active nowadays. This cloister was founded by Saint Nilus of Rossano (910 – 1004). If we wish to develop sustainable tourism connected to Greek Byzantine origins, we must also consider Northern Calabria (Prov. Cosenza), where Griko dialects are not more spoken. However, a vital cultural heritage cannot be neglected. Greek monasticism was always a trait d'union between Roman Catholic and Orthodox Church. Since Norman times, Latins and Greeks appealed to contribute to cultural, politic and strategic advancement of their kingdom based on Naples and Sicily.¹⁰ Cultural heritage was, thus, a matter of a complex political discourse focused on religious, spiritual, and literary legacy by Greek monks originating and/or acting in peripheral regions of Byzantine *oikoumene*.¹¹ In particular, it is noteworthy to mention the Greek monastery of the Theotokos Hodēgētria (Greek Θεοτόκος Ὁδηγήτρια, that is, the Mother of God, She “who shows our way”), near Rossano Calabro, which is known today as “Santa Maria del Patir”. Patir’s relevant architectonic complex is still a vital centre for multifarious initiatives held by local associations. Among them, last festival *Patir 2023 – Patrimonio, Visioni, Comunità* (“Patrimony, Views, Community”), an initiative held at the Monastic complex of Patir in Corigliano-Rossano in North-Eastern Calabria, is especially noteworthy. The edition of this meeting took place from the 26th until the 28th May 2023 with the organization of the association *Rossano Purpurea* chaired by Alessandra Mazzei who wished that Patir may be steadily enhanced as a symbolic place of identity for the environment.¹² This event was officially sponsored by the Municipality of Corigliano-Rossano (Cosenza) and Italian Ministry of Culture, as well as by the *Raggruppamento dei Carabinieri Biodiversità Calabria* (“Group of Italian police specialized in biodiversity in the Region Calabria”). Special issue of this year’s meeting was *Le Strade del Monachesimo* (“The ways of Monasticism”), with particular focus on religious interaction, peaceful coexistence and dialogue between Latin and Greek communities. This initiative was planned as a program of scientific, cultural and memorial disclosure and it was open to specialists of Byzantine civilization as well as to anyone which was interested in historical past. Runners were also involved to organize a final panel under the title: “Sport Green for the valorisation of our

9 On this Griko folk festival of South Calabria, see Costanza 2023, 14-18.

10 On these peaceful coexistence bypassing problems of jurisdiction, see Herde 1972-1973, 233-245.

11 See Špidlík 1972-1973, 1201-1204; Morini 2013, 69-102.

12 See [Torna Patir, tre giorni dedicati alla creazione di consapevolezza - Corriere della Calabria](#).

territory”, where sport activities are showed to live the routes of monastic centres in Northern Calabria. All these tourist projects are focused on discovering cultural heritage of Italic-Greek monasticism.¹³ This trend plays a key role in the realm of sustainable tourism in order to develop awareness of Byzantine historical past among visitors from Italy and beyond.¹⁴ In the same area, the Orthodox Eparchy of Mercourion is flourishing. In turn, this diocese actively promotes the memory of Ancient Greek roots in the same area. This cooperation may also favour useful links for religious tourism destined to Greece, Macedonia, and other Orthodox countries in the Balkans.¹⁵

Apart from Griko folk festivals, it is noteworthy to mention theatre and performative activities aimed to valorise Griko music heritage such as *Mana Chuma*, a theatrical production company which is recognised and funded by the Calabria Region. It is based in Reggio Calabria, directed by Massimo Barilla, playwright, poet, screenwriter and codirected by Salvatore Arena, playwright and actor. Both directors chose to emphasize the romance dialect of Reggio Calabria and Griko dialect of Bovesia as main part of their repertoire who is clearly linked with the peculiarity of local culture, in order to discover historical truth that was since a long time eradicated. Social theatre and new dramaturgy are pursued by this company who is engaged in a vital dialogue with a particular attention to address the territory between Scylla and Charibdis on the Strait of Messina, its history and peculiarity.¹⁶ *Astragali* theatre was founded in Lecce in 1981 and hosts Italian Centre of International Theatre Institute/UNESCO. *Astragali*'s production chaired by playwright and screenwriter Fabio Tolledi devotes great attention to local Griko dialect of Salento (Lecce prov.) in Southern Apulia.¹⁷ Griko popular music, liturgical as well as traditional choirs, is steadily included in *Astragali*'s repertoire performed by singers and actors who are active in this independent theatrical company, which is also present in war scenarios, in order to educate to peace through dramaturgic catharsis.¹⁸ Minority languages such as Griko also expresses peripheral cultures that were eradicated and suffocated for a long time.

Arbëreshë festivals

Conversely, Cosenza's province in Northern Calabria hosts relevant Albanian minorities. Albanian language is taught in high school and

13 See [PATIR 23 PARTE ALLA RISCOPERTA DEL MONACHESIMO ITALO-GRECO - \(rossanocalabro.it\)](https://www.rossanocalabro.it)

14 On sustainable tourism aimed to discovery of Greek roots in the history of Calabria, see Costanza 2023, 11-20.

15 See Russo 2023. On further information on this eparchy in Cosenza province, see: <https://eparchiamercurion.com>.

16 On peculiar proposal of *Mana Chuma* theatre, see Gallina-Ponte di Pino 2016, 87; Tomasello 2021, 124-125; <https://manachumateatro.it/>.

17 On local theatres such as *Astragali* active in Apulia, which are present in national and international festivals, see Palmi 2013, 135-136.

18 See self-reports of this therapeutic experience given by Tolledi 2016; Id. 2020.

University of Calabria according to recent Italian and European laws which encourage the teaching of the written form of minority languages. Different initiatives are held by local groups to safeguard specific culture of Arbëreshë community,¹⁹ which faces large-scale emigration and the diaspora in Northern Italy or Western European countries. A festival of Arbëreshë song is held every summer in San Demetrio Corone (Arbëreshë: Shën Mitri), under the patronage of the local municipality and the Region Calabria.²⁰ It started in 1980 and is still organized annually every August. Great success with the public is clearly visible in all music events connected with Arbëreshë tradition, which is largely mediatized by using websites, blogs, and social networks. The 41th edition of this meeting is planned for August 2023, from the 10th to the 12th, under the title: *Na jemi... Shpirt, Kulture dhe Paqe!* (“We are ... Spirit, Culture and Peace!”).²¹ Folk festivals are necessarily meant to propose a responsible tourism oriented to peace education. As far as concerns the above-named Griko folk festival *Paleariza*, it is important to recall a show held in the fourth edition in the year 2000, on 7th August, in Bova (*Chora tu Vùà*). It was entitled: *Serbia, Albania, Kosovo... la pace prima di tutto* (“Serbia, Albania, Kosovo... first of all, peace”) and was performed by charismatic Serbian singer Nikola Diklić and legendary Albanian ensemble *Bilbili* (“Nightingale”), whose members came from South Albania and Kosovo. This performance had a high meaning in the wake of Kosovo War and NATO aggression against Yugoslavia (1999), in order to foster reconciliation between Serbian and Albanian, and more generally among European peoples.²²

Arbëreshë singers use to stress the link with common Balkan heritage, when they perform in public festivals, especially in vocal polyphony. The pride of Balkan roots as a key identity issue has been remarked for Anna Stratigò’s jazz project *Luleborë* (“Flower of Snow”) which is connected with song tradition from Shkodra or still for Silvana Licursi, who displays a *lahuta* in her official photos, an instrument of epic songs very similar to the *gusle* of Slavic tradition: Folk music was linked with the pastoral world of Western Balkans.²³

Little to the north of Calabria’s boundaries, another festival linked with Arbëreshë culture is held in Ginestra (Arbëreshë: Zhura), near Potenza, Basilicata Region, in Vulture valley. Last edition was organized in December 2022 under the title *Liakre et bare. Il borgo dei sapori Arbëreshë. Festival Appennino Mediterraneo* (“The Village of Flavors. Mediterranean and Apennine Festival”). This meeting was aimed to discover an amazing cultural and gastronomic heritage by making experience in Arbëreshë culinary

19 On ethnological research, see Gjergji 2005.

20 On threads against preserving Arbëreshë identity and mediatized events such as folk festival in San Demetrio Corone, see Scaldaferrì 2013, 93-94; Koço 2015: 91.

21 See <https://www.festivaldellacanzonearbereshe.com/>.

22 See *Paleariza* 2000, 4; Costanza 2023, 17-18.

23 On these elements that bypass Arbëreshë identity by enhancing Balkan otherness, see Scaldaferrì 2013, 95, Id. 2022, 87.

field. It also comprises performative proposals, such as a historical re-enactment organized by the association *I cavalieri di Bianca Lancia* (“Bianca Lancia’s Knights”). They put on a historical commemoration linked with the past of Ginestra, figures are dressed in ancient clothes, flag-waters, jousting, everybody and everyone strictly in medieval style.²⁴ Visitors had also the chance of enjoying music entertainment, dance and various challenges.²⁵

In the same area, religious festival of Madonna del Pollino, as we have seen, is a moment of intense prayer and music performance which gathers many Arbëreshë musicians, who propose their popular repertoire. It is an important occasion for music and liturgical exchange between Arbëreshë and other Calabrian people of different ethnic background.²⁶ Musicians coming from the villages of Alessandria del Carretto and Farneta di Castoregio (Kastërnexhi) in Calabria or S. Paolo Albanese (Shën Pali Arbëreshë), Terranova di Pollino and S. Costantino Albanese (Shën Kostandini Arbëreshë) in Basilicata traditionally play at local festivals and pilgrimages, they are the major exponents of Arbëreshë musical culture.²⁷

Conclusions

All this considered, cultural heritage should be seen as an inexhaustible source of resources that improve our present. Folk festivals meant to discover minority languages may build a peaceful cooperation in the future. Responsible tourism is, thus, meant to develop true and effective education to peace which is necessary in all times, but especially in critical political situations. Modules of education to peace are meant to responsible citizenship between communities and beyond borders. In view of on-going reconciliation in Balkans, Griko and Arbëreshë folk festivals held in Southern Italy offer occasions for fruitful dialogue at the individual, social, economic, ecological, cultural and political levels. Cultural tourism is oriented to responsible use of the territory, through personalized indication and suggestions. Given the multicultural nature of EU societies, literary, music and theatre creativity fosters peaceful coexistence in the future.

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25 On Arbëreshë music tradition and performativity in Basilicata, see Scaldaferrì 1994.

26 On this religious festival, see Scaldaferrì 2005; Id. 2022, 74.

27 See Scaldaferrì 1994; Id. 2013, 95; Id. 2022, 75-77 with example of leading musician and zampogna player Quirino Valvano from S. Costantino Albanese. In Arbëreshë villages zampogna is called *karramunxa*.

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THE SURVIVAL OF CULTURAL HERITAGE THROUGH THE WORK OF MUSINE KOKALARI

Abstract: Nowadays, where the cultural heritage of peoples is at risk more than ever, we take our point of view from the rich creativity of writers and ethnographers, who through their work, in addition to the literary artistic side, find a lot of data with ethnographic value. Our aim through this paper is to convey concretely the paper is to convey connections of Musine Kokalari's work with Albanian ethno culture in general and to better understand her contribution as a dedicated researcher in the field of Albanian ethno culture. In her work, she finds realizations and quotes from folkloric creativity and ethnographic traditions mainly after reading her work "Ad my old grandmother tells me". In this book we find 10 stories that have proverbs or phraseological expressions as titles, such as: "For the mustache of Celos", "Man's friend" etc., which we will reflect during our treatment. We also find phrases such as: "The sun is not covered with a sieve", "God delays but does not forget", etc. regarding ethno cultural equations in different stories, I bring fragments from folk songs, "kurbet" songs, oil songs or certain popular beliefs. M.Kokalari's connection with ethno culture can be found in the publication "Sa u tunt jeta", reflecting the true ethnographic phenomena of Gjirokastra. Through her work, she has "photographed" a certain reality with the relevant practices at a certain time, the engagement to the marriage. Her work stands out as a genuine work of study for ethnographers and folklorists. Her work by M. Kokalari not only as a talented writer, but has educational value for the Albanian contemporaneity. Direct behaviors from Gyrocastrite wedding ceremony practices and norms. She conveys the ethnographic-folkloric practices through a connection of found artistic subjects located in an individualized and concrete family. The entirety of her work can serve not only as a literary creativity, but as a raw material to know the folklore history of Gyrokastra in the framework of Albanian ethnographic historiography. This value of her work makes her important also as a researcher of Albanian ethnography. An added value nowadays where people's cultures are endangered by the modernization processes that have involved nations.

Keywords: cultural heritage, work of Musine Kokalari, Albanian ethno culture, Gjirokastra environment, ethnographic traditions, folklore creativity

Nowadays, more than ever, attention should be paid to the cultural wealth inherited from generation to generation. Every now and then researchers find valuable subjects. Albanian ethno culture has been reflected in various ethnographic subjects, but also in the volume of literary creativity. The presentation of genuine ethnographic phenomena in literary works is of great interest in our approach. Seeing that the changes are

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rapid, we are returning to the early works woven so skillfully by our writers. One of Musine Kokalari.

The method of special treatment is the combination of many ethnocultural evidences in a work with creative artistic and literary values of the researcher M. Kokalari.² In her work we find reflected the Albanian ethnoculture, mainly the culture of the city of Gjirokastra, which the author knows well as a citizen, but also as a connoisseur of Albanian ethnoculture in general. The work of this author is an encyclopedia of life, mentality and customs of the city of Gjirokastra. Her prose is classified as short stories, even sketches, although they contain entirely original values. During the analysis of this work. We see that the author is a master of direct information and its combination and the creation of interesting figures. The work of Musine Kokalari was published in the first half of the 40s of the 20th century or in the period before the Second World War. The ideas and problems that he brought, the way of handling the topics, but also the greatness of the expression and the creation of interesting figures attracted the reader quite a bit. She created an event in literature with her work even.

Seeing her dimension as a creator and lady and the values that her creativity carries, she deserves attention to be examined in all dimensions and real values of her capacity as a researcher of ethnoculture

1. Stylization of various folklore creations

2. In the reflection and "photographing of the main moral-customary norms in the ethno-cultural plan in the Gjirokastrite environments.

Reading her work, Musineja attracts attention with the lexical and phraseological wealth, the multitude of popular expressions that bring the local colors of the southern regions and mainly that of the city of Gjirokastra. The lexical and phraseological wealth is one of the most valuable aspects of the language of the work and its style. The reflections and realistic characterizations, imaginary shapes, emotional and psychological distortions are realized with an admirable and special artistic language. It gives depth to the thoughts, with a selected language, but also with an everyday language. With its colors and charges seem to reveal a rare beauty with the mentality of the stone city and its inhabitants. It reflects the family and social environment, joys, sorrows, quarrels, mortals has typified characters. In her prose we have many popular expressions such as greetings, congratulations, curses, phraseology that come in an original way through the language of the characters. It not only expresses feelings, but also reflects the city from the ethnographic, sociolinguistic and historical side, etc. They are part of our national culture, because the researcher Gj. Shkurtaj³ says: "Albanians and the Albanian language can be characterized as one of the richest communities with beautiful greetings and congratulations. They are stuck in a lexical-semantic axis that shows the high qualities and nobility of the Albanian spirit" e see this connection with ethnoculture:

We have a lot of phraseological expressions in the work. We have expressed synonymous, antonymic relationships, with verbal adverbial value,

2 Kokalari. M., acts the first volume, Geer, Tirane 2009

3 Shkurtaj. Gj., Onomastic and ethnolinguistic, Tirane, 2001 p.234

motivated and non-motivated units, etc. In contrast to greetings and congratulations, the phraseological unit is a unit with a separate meaning, composed of two or more marker words with limbs and stable construction, historically formed for a long time, having the value of a single word and reproduced in discourse as ready and functioning in language as an indivisible unit.⁴

Through the paper, we also highlight the fact that her work as a passionate researcher and assistant to give in the field of Albanian ethnoculture. From the examination of her work we notice. First, realizations and quotes from folkloric creativity and ethnographic traditions in her work “As my old mother used to say”⁵ In the stories, which are 10, we see.

a) selection of proverbs and phraseological expressions as the title: As my old mother tells me, For Celos” mustache, The man is a dog’s friend, It is deep, The fate of the wicked, Drained the room, A dog that does not eat hamuli, Don’t be the black widows, the howl of the dog,⁶ In the story “As my old mother tells me”, we find the expressions: In the stories, we have many verses, don’t take my mind, don’t rock me, you don’t know the big one from the little one, they all became like the legs of the goat and their mind is on the fig tree we haven’t told you how this world turned upside down , I don’t know the first day, the mountain of the cardhaks, they are angry, they don’t do well (curse), they are left on the road, their heads are on the ceiling, you went to the house of the world and you still haven’t paid attention, don’t fill my stomach with gall (curse), the fly is proud of its sieves, you haven’t raised a hair from the ground, put it to work, grace in the way of God, the hands of You are dry, the drop to the man who will take you, the river to the house that will wait for you, it is better to be swallowed up by the living earth, the sieves are crying to me, get out of your mind, that’s how I make the tooth, jump on the beam,^s Can anyone get ahead of you, take your soul, cut you off your feet, do as God has commanded, say as I please, their necks are cracked, are these the right ones? They don’t do manual labor, they don’t kill people at all, they don’t pull the hair out of the porridge, the leave the house on the day of the dog, they don’t move from their place, they took that little thing away from them, damn whoever opened it for the first time, they ruined our house, it seems, that you reached the sky with your hand, your neck was chiseled (curse), you plastered your forehead, we were left for disaster, as if you had a man, who lives and does not rejoice, for god’s honey clay, when neck and when pumpkin, run away from evil and don’t fall on my neck because I didn’t miss it, it doesn’t bother you,⁷ see p 206-208

In the story “For his Mustache e Celos” we find the expressions: More in dalca outside, I want to take you for you, and why don’t you hang up, Why don’t I pull it inside, don’t throw salt in the world’s dish, I won’t even turn your head, let’s turn my arms, don’t make me hot for head, because I

4 J.Thomai, Lexicology of language Tirane,1999, p 210-211

5 M.Kokalari , Story “As my old grandmother tells me” p.248

6 That’s it, p.248

7 M. Kokalari, M., p.206-208

haven't missed it, oh, drop on the head, damn me) no one hangs the torva, I know how many roads there are, you fell on my neck, you wiped us off the face of the earth, it makes me feel bad to march me, that the girls stay inside, it makes me feel bad for my leg, to catch my daughters in the open, a man can't open the door wait from the hands of the grandchildren, they kill the stomach, I know teeth and molars, look at the open, bad for the brain, drops on the head (curse, May God bless your day, may the murtala eat you and crush your lungs, the evil kola is busy and Tuesday, I don't want a burden on my head, we have nothing to share, because I don't have a head, how can I leave anything undone until you invited the boy and you did it alone, until he broke up and let's see how you will go with this other one, I took the evil, fled and left the feathers, the beauty is like a goat, it makes me sick of girls, I am naked, I am sick, five hundred tails are put from behind, they rub your stomach, the sun is not covered with a sieve, so that shook the world, may God bless you, for the mustache of Celos, break your neck, there is no shade, take away our minds, may god burn his heart, (curse), may his mother be extinguished, may those hands be crushed to the ground, they blow our minds, about Celos' mustache, p. 209-212,

The story "The man is the dog's friend" is reflected: (the deserts were burnt, the evil Wines/ the guard us the affairs of the world, accustomed to the good fish, his heart was pierced in his old age, he had it like sieves on his forehead, points, for a boy's head, don't pacify the brothers, (it's superstition), I heard it, I lost my mind, I don't know how to throw my legs, I took it with me, like night with day, I threw it on my mother's head, I put it in her throat once, when it's said that you don't have what can you say, you're a fool, you stood your ground, you threw it on your head, when you're told you don't have anything to say, don't fall down, the wood was put down, the dramatized, it's removed and dragged, it was done on the day of doomsday, I can't throw away the sieves, there's not a drop of blood left, the word comes out with sadness, your stomach rots, what good did he find he didn't leave anything undone, until you return their arms, their ears are full, the black women are the drops that fall on them, don't spend a day without them, even if the men are lonely, how much do you believe in the snake, get up from your mind, how much you don't turn your wings, without being sown and you forgot, the man is the dog's friend, p 213-215

In the story "it's deep" You got on the horse, you felt the work, you feel it in your belly, you feel the saddle, the frog falls on me, tears and my eyes are jumping, I'll find the bridge, where did you find those remaining fortunes inside, the god is killing me, I eat you like you are hiding, she cried heart-brokenly, she was sad and out, as it fell on my head, they took the desert girl by the neck, left her to their work, I will rock and reign, that you have enough money for dogs to eat you, you don't take your mouth, you don't know how to say words, you don't take your mouth, it's covered coal. Like a cheek, it pierces the earth, it has no friends, nothing disturbs it, it doesn't leave without putting the mugs in, it doesn't leave a hole open without mending, with my sisters, I'm alone, like a cat with mine go, don't be angry, don't be lucky, let that pilaf be left and take the soul. Damn it, the house is full, I have a knot

in my stomach, boil it inside, put it to work, cross it aside, remove the thorn, why I put the fire in your seat, it spits on the face of the earth, rips off your head, takes your living soul, I will collect your mind, I came and stayed. Because I opened my mouth, my blood turned to water, how did I not make a sound, ki in the mind, there are aunts upon aunts, that boy is washed, who marries without his sisters, God is sorry but he does not forget, these words come out of my throat and ring in God's ears, don't be afraid of the child, let them take it away, it is deep because it holds everything in its skin, I am proud of my nose, I took his hand , p. 216-219.

The story "Unfortunately for the wicked" stayed in his mind, he fell black, as if he lost his brains, his mind became crazy, where are the men of zez, that the wood river doesn't always fall, it came to the middle of his cheek, as if lost the bargain for breasts, siri has taken it, for God's sake, for the child's head, (swear), don't paca sin on the forehead, you know fists one on one, a dry dead untampered, how to dance, the neck as one hope was cut off, his soul did not come out, they unraveled the magic, he his soul, that one mile and one, he put his lip on the gas, they are with half a man, the tips of the kondak have come out, they give up and run away, a whole bunch of people, they feck them, they want to kill us with their shoudres, they didn't have it for five, their tongue is like a shovel, torn from their mouths head, pick your nose, don't lift your chin, don't clean your hair in the house, don't step on your feet, don't touch the mud, (curse) if you crack your lip and it bleeds, if you find it, don't stop it, (curse) no more sleep in the way, save the fate of the wicked, p.220-221.

The story "Good road to the past", p.222-You didn't plant a lid with a lid, it became a cup for me, you didn't hang it, over the door and the door, in Gazae he said, good luck, congratulations, he talked with his hands and feet, I fell in love, he didn't leave us a stomach, it's to make them a strainer, he put bread behind our arms, so he wouldn't have gas, Good luck to you. The sun is not covered with a sieve, When it's said, s'there is nothing to say, God mourns but does not forget, My cup became empty, The priest jumps out of trouble, Better a loaf of bread and still, As much as we have guarded, we will not guard anymore. There are also verses. In different stories there are also verses brought in different fragments from the texts of popular songs, wedding songs, emigration songs: here are of them, The girls got up in the middle of , the room hand in hand started the songs: Go where you want/ O dove, take a dove. There lark e in emigration / My partridge store on stone. Come and I/ With you/ O dove, take dove. A feature among the stories is introduction of verses xpresim in addition to expressions, phrasal and popular bridge words. One cut from the goal, u!ul drop on the head a row of cows, don't open their face, let the beams finish :I'll come with you too/O pigeon , take a dove/ My partridges stone on stone/ I become a bird and ashes in my breast...

There is no lack of expressions: I watched you, I missed everyone's wedding, you have halal bread, they didn't mean the word know, Folk verses:Monsieur, who will you leave me with/ Shut up, dear, don't cry for me, /That I leave you mother and father, mother and father as I want/Stay

here with me, monsieur.../ they are not finished/ Since the day of exenity. My belly and my heart are wet/ my houses became haram,(for nothing) cry night and crt day...

He trembled and twitched his lips, he ate himself with his teeth, we gave him gas, look at the brides, we have fallen for them, what did theydo, he kept to himself, he has no friends, he kept the house outside and inside, In the room they sang / ... they rarely take it, o Servet/ They take the expats to go/ o Servet/ the mothers o they don't let them go/ o Servet...

There are no shortage of expressions: I threw myself into Greece, I couldn't hold back my tears, I wish you a good trip, I wish you good health, I listen to you well, no matter how much you miss me, send me a good mile home, have a mind, don't wake us up everyone's mind, don't judge us, In the above story there are no shortage of verses as well as proverbs, statements and phraseological expressions. Here's the crisis of the song: Servet set off on his way/

e tij To the rock the foot of the horse, let it become gold and gold. In the story "Drained the room" we find reflected the word: it hurt me, one by one, where you throw the needle, I have no priorities, there was no one left without coming, the door and father died, they looked at him like, of the head, he was pierced by the drop that fell, I couldn't throw the strainer, it was broken, he hadn't put anything in the goal, mint, what good did he find, like he got a bag, drained the room, song **Vaji**:(crying in death) When the boy was separated from his mother, the boy was left to his mother the father fell without an arm/Son, father, why did you think of his old age, he left it desolate/ he broke his right arm/ Son, didn't you feel sorry for us? It fell on his head, he came and stayed, how without grace in his goal, they did not become neither for the living, nor for the dead, she wauted for him, the mother cried: praise the son with bells, God chose you with a hand, how will I go to old age, son, when I remember you ...son, you did not destroy my house, one occupied and one left, no I have a heart, our stomachs rotted, we were fed up, they had become meit, the roomdrained, the fire burned from the four sides, to put our hands on our heads, p.228-231.

A dog that Hamuli did not haka (revenge) ordered by God , we were made to kiss, God wanted, to take the hand, we removed the lameness, then good leg, long life and with other sons (congratulations, good, for a good head, mile (be)

It touched me, it blew my mind. You hadhung your lips, I borrowed it, you kill us with your nose, you were left on the road, house-broken, week seven and eight, it fell on my neck, I don't understand, It fell p.232-234.on my neck, the prest jumps from the battle, who shook his head, enter profits from there, make a lot of words, no one hangs on him, he is left on the roads, a dog that does not eat you, p

In the story "Let there be no black mothers –in-law" we see usages: The birbil never rested, he can't stand it, I haven't seen a white day, he took my soul, he devoured me, he looks for it like a turtle in a barn, They eat my nose, I fell on the island, you cracked my lip, you took my soul, I know words, I broke my neck, don't turn back, God bless. Courses, with frozen blood, don't

cut it's theirs, ripe hangar (place of reflection, to tell it like it is, to divide te cabbages once and for all, the blood rushes to my head, the tongue does not dry, I endure the vickles, we became friends, he ate his shame with bread, may God burn his heart, just like me you burned my bride, curse / you krus-pullofci (to become half-man! the bgefc from God! Collect sit down , collect the mind in your head, open the sieves, hands and feet are cut off, they planted sieves, the bride's black hairs are overgrown, they sleep behind the sun, their hands are dry until the end, arguments with you, curses, Relationships a piece of family life those bellies are sick, it spoiled my blood. My mother –in –law's relations became a mess, damn it, God bless, she was busy in the corner on Tuesday. she cursed her daughter-in –law and cursed her mother in law, don't let her mother in law be black! Cenger cenger cfakat-o U asdisn (they went crazy plakat-o Plakat –o habit and busy house. Chimney and fire-place p 236-239

The story “ Howl of a dog” is epressed I didn't plant cover by , his mind wws left, he gave his heart to himself, his soul cracked, his anger was at the tip of his nose, his lips hung four o 'clock, I cut his fingers! Damn it, the adults are starting, my flesh is frozen, black boy, guard me and I, haw much we have guard me and. I threw him back, hevcouldn't hold my baru, and you had gathered youself, here is dinner, let them cheer you up, they are on the road, with a carvan of children, they have caught us clearly, they have no ribs, belly and heart meit from the muzzle, laugh ing nuri , the food that was eaten. The scraps of life p.240-244.

We will not guard, my blood is broken, my stomach is open, I turned black

We find the ethnocultural quatations in differentbstories, she brings different fragments from the lyrics of popular songs, as in the story ⁸“the auspicious road to the past that has kurbet songs; Kulloi odaja) shume lot many tears- room⁹ which has lament fragments; be it mother in law there are lines of a song .In some stories there are norms customs and certain folk beliefs, folk games such as the story: Howl of the dog. Adog's barking brings misfortune. The fairy tale “kulshedra” including the children's game where. M. Kokalari brings it under the name “bezen” ¹⁰p.331. Stylizations of some folk tales. Placing folk tales in the context of everyday life and practice. She realizes an organic connection to pass from one narrative to another in the 12 tales as in” the beauty of the earth” p.11

In the body of the fairy tales, the author finds the middleman has folk verses as an attempt by the author to have an organic connection between the literal folk creation and what will express the conversational context, for a greater attraction on the part of the reader.

At the highest level where it reaches its peak is the reflection in her work where it is related to ethoculture, we find them expressed in the publication entitled “ Sa u tunt jeta”- (How life shook) p.650 njo In terms of the way of

8 Work cited acts the first volume,emigration song, p.223-224-225

9 Work acts the first volume,f.228-231

10 Kokalari, M., acts the second volume, Publishing house Geer, Tirane p.331

conducting authentic ethnographic and folkloric phenomena, the finding and the practice of the Gyrocastrite wedding ceremony rites. The reality photographed, the relevant practices, the skillfully recreated ritual make it possible for her work to be not only in the center of researchers, but a work with a companion. Her work is as interesting as it is valuable for the generations and the beautiful Albanian ethnoculture.

In the publication titled "How life shook"¹¹ p.15/ The titles also talk about the rites that take place in the practices of the ceremony. Arranged according to the rites of wedding ceremony is the most consecutive arrangement by the author, best revealing the local culture and tradition of the rites at the Gyrocastrite wedding through titles and verses on all days of the ceremony. "you can't find the pair..." "Let's sing our songs to the ears of God", Uh! Oh! And when like that?, "Nishan Day ..." p. 31 Take the song What did they say about me, about them, Trundelin oj trundelin/ they want to destroy the krushki/trendeli oj trendeli/ Dhan gives it and they can destroy it..., we have verses that say "The mole was made, but the words of the world did not come, As long as it comes... "Nigjahu...", "We have a wedding soon!" The coming week..., Take the song: *Thelleza kafas (houses). Kafas, / Come, Nexip, accept me pleasure / si si te taks to wait with toys and the happy one).* ("Dita e vetullave" "face beautification day", a song of the house took the song: *The nightingale sings/sings, on a lemon branch, we started the wedding/ don't sing /don't sing, we all shouted; the tribe don't sing/ don't sing... What do they look like, / My mother. The Nexipito's trees/ my son come to see you/ my son/ come to see you my son...* "

"Dough night" Thursday night, dough night at Mirteza Agaj. They sang the song: M'u te kroi stanero / manaj, manaj/ on an oak, a fanero, manaj, manaj come..., you brides and ra manaj, manaj, to sum up the butterflies..." Henna day..." song: happy father happy/ happy father happy Now that we cut the urat pine pac moj bile I grew pld, I inherited/ became a big lady. "Henna night..." song: It's time for henna/ Xhemile fat madhija (great luck)/ I didn't stop dancing / Xhemile, very sweetly. / I put Xemile on the henna that the young nana was next to. Bey left for the gurbet, /Hanko mother, why don't you talk? P 129, Let's marry you/ oh my pomegranate flower, how come we fall oh my pomegranate flower...p 136, "In the middle" of the night Party" and Fifth" Wedding... how life shook p 221-229. It went away and on the fifth day, on the sixth morning, the girl's people came, the father with sons, etc. And so on the author reflects all the wedding rites completely in the work, even through verses. At the end of "Wedding...how life was shaken" how beautifully the life of a woman sitting head down at her husband's house, as a member of the harsh customs in the Albanian tradition, that a woman should be humble and speechless, is expressed.

Musine Kokalari's work as a whole serves not only as a literary creation, but a special ethnocultural subject. Its comprehensive reflection is worth studying and reflecting in later forms. This work remains a reference point for young researchers.

¹¹ Kokalari M.,, acts the second volume, Publishing house Geer, Tirane 2009, f.331

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MOTHER THERESA THE SAINT OF CHRISTIANITY

“Peace starts with one smile...

..We can't do great things, but we can do small things with great love.”

Mother Theresa

Abstract: Mother Theresa is named by the Vatican Synod, Rome, Italy the Saint of Christianity. She was canonized on September 4, 2016 as Saint Teresa of Calcutta. Sacred and the holy or the blessed have clear derivation links to each other and at the root is the term saint and next to it the sacred surname accepted by all etymologists since Kamarda, Mayer and later as developments of the Latin word sanctus developed with two values as sacred and the holy. In Italian we have the word santo from sanctus which is used both as a name and as an adjective, except that the surname of the Albanian language is morphologically marked (the so-called anterior nodes), as required by the Albanian canons. From this morpho-real source of the word Saint, we find that Mother Theresa has been blessed as a saint by the services she has rendered to the cause of Christianity, by the sacred of her Illyrian blood, but also as an athlete and ardent defender of peace and humanity, universal service that she performed since her birth and Catholic education in Skopje, later in London, and in a relatively long time developing for people in need in Calcutta, India. At the end of her life in a Vatican speech she declared that “I am of Albanian blood, of Indian citizenship and of Christian religion.” The purpose of this study is to search for facts and artifacts related to the sanctity of this Albanian woman who dedicated her life and mission to world Christianity. She gave her youth and sacrificed her long life for all humanity in the world and for this mission Mother Theresa Blessed from God and Humanity. Mother Theresa is Mother Theresa is the first woman in the world to be blessed and enter the Synod of Popes in the Vatican. How is this possible? We will try to answer this question in our study. Did Mother Theresa perform miracles, of whose nature are these miracles? What is her relation to the universal human world and the Theresa Sisters? All of these questions we will try to explain in our work. The methodology of the paper is the objectivity of facts and artifacts on historical principles and concepts. theological and canonical legal. The working method is descriptive and deductive. At the end of the paper, we aim to prove that Mother Teresa's Sanctification is as real, and true and lasting for the Christian world in general and forth Albanian world in particular. The Mother Theresa is Mother of Albanians all over the world. This hypothesis is our object of our research in common with sacred and holy in common with the holy pilgrim....

Keywords: Mother Theresa, holy woman, Albanian, Christian, world human

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Introduction

Mother Theresa is designated by the Vatican Synod, Rome, Italy, the saint of Christianity. She was canonized on September 4, 2016 as Saint Teresa of Calcuta. The sacred and the saint are a final phase after the blessed, have clear derivation relation to each other and at the root is the term saint and next to it the sacred surname accepted by all etymologists, from Kamarda, Mayer and later as developments. The Latin word *sanctus* developed with two values as sacred and the saint. In Italian we have the word *Santo* from *sanctus* which is used both as a name and as an adjective, except that the adjective of the Albanian language is morphologically marked (so called anterior nodes), as required by the Albanian canons. From this morpho-real source of the word *Saint*, we find that Mother Theresa has been blessed as a saint by the services she has rendered to the cause of Christianity, by the sanctification of her Illyrian blood, but also as an athlete and ardent defender of peace and humanity, universal service that she performed since her birth and Catholic education in Skopje, later in London, and in a relatively long time developing for needy people in Calcutta, India. At the end of her life in a Vatican speech she declared that "I am of Albanian blood, of Indian citizenship and of Christian faith." The purpose of this study is to search for facts and artifacts related to the sanctity of this Albanian woman who dedicated her life and her mission to world Christianity. She served not only poor but and rich people, not only illness but and healthy people that believe in God or no. Mother Theresa is the first woman in the world to rejoice and enter the Synod of Popes in the Vatican world without precedent, simply by holy procedure. Unlike Jean d'Arc who was too late in the papacy to be preceded. How is this possible? Mother Therese exercised soft power like Bible wrote, different than d'Arc that was with strong power. What makes Mother Teresa so unique?

This question will we try to answer in our study. Did Mother Theresa perform miracles, of whose nature are these miracles? What is the relation of these miracles to the universal human world and the Theresa Sisters of Charity? All of these questions we will try to explain in our work. The methodology of the paper is the objectivity of facts and artefacts based on historical principles and concepts, theological and canonical laws. At the end of the paper, we aim to prove that Mother Teresa's Sanctification is as real, and true and eternal for the Christian world in general and for the Albanian world in particular.

Baptism, Lent and First Confession

Birth is the separation from nothingness, baptism is the separation from death, surrender to Jesus crucified and resurrected. Freedom comes into play in the resurrection. The life of Gonxhe Bojaxhi (Birth name of Mather Theresa) is a life chosen for God. Chaos or fate, they seem to be opposites, they actually seem enemies, but they are actually allies, and they annihilate

our freedom which is a series of random events set in a celestial mechanism. God needs people who are bound to love Him. Let us even go to hell, which is not the Catholic dogma of God's horror, but the proof that we are free, and God wants more freedom than our salvation. salvation without freedom is not a salvation worthy of those who resemble God and who are men.

Gonxhe, though female, and according to the Koran and Albanian tradition was undervalued, was welcomed. She was baptized a week later at the Sacred Heart Cathedral in Skopje. It was a big celebration and we got this phrase from her mother Drane written in letters; "It will be as God wills and wills as He chooses. It's mine, but it's more of God, like all of us and our families." Gonxhe was a little introverted, healthy as a child like many others, but born with the mark, the sign of the spirit bestowed on God. She made his first Lent and confession at the age of six. It is a small episode that tells of the faithful character of Gonxhe. When preparing for the first confession, her mother told her not to tell lies at all, otherwise her tongue would be blackened. Once she said a little, but it was all a terrible lie. Then she ran to look in the mirror and - Mother Teresa recalls - maybe it was suggestion, but I saw my tongue black. I ran to my mother and told her. "As Brother Lazri points out, Mother Teresa was a girl who wrote poetry, had confidence with a friend of her heart and was shy with boys, an auspicious child. She spent four elementary years in Albania, in a church school. Then in the state gymnasium where she was taught in Serbo-Croatian. The Jesuit priests of the "governing mission" of the province of Venice had a decisive role in her formation. They came in 1921. It was originally run by an isolated priest named Gasper Zadrima. Catholics were 10% of the population of Skopje (about three thousand in total). Many were spread throughout Macedonia and on the border with Bulgaria. Another priest assigned to serve as youth pastor, Father Stjepan Cepetic led the group where Mother Teresa was. She had a beautiful voice, was a soprano, sang in duet with Sister Agen. Brother Lazri has remembered an episode until old age: 'It was a Sunday. Gonxhe and Aga invited us to go with them to the choir. They would sing as soloists. They sang in a duet, miraculously, and the believers and priests called them "church whistles." That was the time of the first call.

The first call. You spread the fog because you fall in love. She sings like a whistle in the choir. Mother Teresa is the soul of the youth of the church. Mother Teresa fights abortion. Abortion is absurd, a real murder. A minister of the Italian Republic needed some comfort, maybe not for comfort but for a photo with Mother Teresa, her sisters, Theresa, along with a priest who could celebrate communion. She arrives at six o'clock in the morning in front of Mother Teresa's central home. Finally, still dawn, in the dark Mother Teresa comes out and has a stern look. Directs the finger from the minister. Here is the dialogue shown by the minister himself. Mother Teresa with her index finger raised: "You wanted me meet ". Minister: "Yes, very humble mother." Mother Teresa: 'Tell me, have you killed?' The Minister: "What do you say, mother. I never killed. " Mother Teresa: "tell me are you sure? You killed! The frightened minister: 'No I never killed anyone.' Mother Teresa lost her temper: "You killed. You forced any woman with your ruls to have

an abortion. Minister: "Yes, but what does this have to do with it?" Mother Teresa: "Get away." She knows, the light for the aborted child coincides with annihilation. The fight against abortion was a life-long protection for Mother Teresa. As was the call and voice of Jesus to serve Mother Teresa. It was September 10th. For Mother Teresa a sun was born. She was happy. She had a very unprecedented vision. Sun of God... He was talking. Talked to her. Asked her. Just her. It was wonderful. He was on the train. Third class, from Calcutta to Darjeeling, to reach the Himalayan monastery, a place of rest and rest for the nuns of Loreto. Six hundred kilometers of sighs and sobs of people talking between the locomotive's breathing and she prays, even asleep - with a surprisingly disturbed awakening, she prays. It is not that it employs the machine of thought and reflection to highlight the project of going among the poorest. It is not the fabrication of an inspired mind. But it is a fact. One time. Time, place, people. The mysteries are these. They are facts. The first mystery of joy says: The Angel gives the news to Mary. The second of the light is Jesus Christ turned water into wine at Cana's wedding. The fifth painful mystery tells 'Jesus Christ dies on the cross'. Until the first glorious mystery: "Jesus rises from the dead" and finally this is the only time out in the space of eternity: "Mary is proclaimed Queen of Heaven, of Angels, and of the Saints." Yet even this voice that comes as an outward call to Mother Teresa is a fact, invisible but claimed reality.

Something strong, direct, that tested her inner and outer sense, happened to Mother Teresa that night and the following days. It was not a mystical experience it was a call to her conceived faith in God, a spiritual, religious though not normal event for a devout believer. Mother Teresa is enligned but has no time to be surprised. It's a call within the call. It is extraordinary that it allows us to remove the banality of the days. The extraordinary gives light to the cast when a nun like Mother Teresa, an assemblywoman, comes in direct contact with the voice of the Lord. Theresa prays during those days.

Is Mother Teresa a political person or just a person of God? This enigmatic question is worth exploring perhaps in another quest. Her statements are clear. She also serves God in the language of politics. To be mentioned here is a midnight call to the American president Bill Clinton. "My son, do something for my Albanians. The Lord will thank you for protecting children of his history." The researcher himself, who seemed to stand aside and be impartial in everything, was suddenly hurried to break away from this epic end of events and to emerge (I. Kadare, *Accident*, p. 40., Acts XVII, p. 40, Tirana, Onufri, 2009) in the ordinary language of unconditional love to protect every vulnerable child of human history. Bill Clinton for this conversation with Mother Teresa would state: Mother Teresa was the first One that made me love the Albanian nation. And now I feel very proud to fulfill a moral duty to her and to the values of freedom. But dream of God and freedom continey...

The work "Illyricum Sacrum" (Ecclesiastical Illyria or Holy Illyria 1751-1819, 8 volumes, the ninth volume was published in 1909 by Danjel Farlati & Jakob Koletić - translated from Latin by Dom Frano Ilijaj) helps us to understand historical who is really Mother Teresa today. The work lists the ecclesiastical history associated with the civil one of the Metropolises of

Croatia, Bar, Shkodra, Durres and Sirimi that depend on them, intertwining with the ecclesiastical civil history of the countries. Various documents, historians and geographers make good use of the historical landmark until the early 18th century, when it is published. According to a quote we make in the text of volume 7 we find that Mother Teresa served Christianity with the devotion of a believer who undoubtedly respected the contract in legal or treaty terms with the Pope of Rome. Here's the quote: But Roman's practical mind gives this connection a legal twist: ius sacrum, which regulates people's relationships with divine powers, which is an integral part of ius publicum, the body of civil law, and various acts of worship, prayer and thanksgiving that were conceived under the legal aspect of a contract organized by the Pope of Rome. Mother Teresa certainly knew these documents and was aware of the mission she had undertaken to perform. Her mission was a sacred task of Christian religion.

Mother Teresa had creative power. She created poetry with religious spirit but also poetry of universal character. In the following poetry she sees faith as a force that does not change. He sees the soul as the most beautiful gift God has given. Life for her is a challenge to overcome for a fresh start.

Here are the verses:

Don't expect to finish 10 universities,
to fall in love,
getting a job
to get married, to have children,
to see yourself organized,
to lose those ten pounds,
for Friday dinner or Saturday morning to come.
There is no better moment than this to be happy.
Happiness is a journey, not a destination.
Work as if you don't need money,
love as if they never hurt you,
and dance, as if no one saw you.
Remember that the skin gets wrinkled,
hair becomes white and days become years.
But the main thing does not change:

Your strength and conviction are of no age.

Your soul is the one that removes any confusion that may have been created in it.

There is a new beginning after each end.

After each achievement there is another challenge to overcome.

As long as you are alive, feel free

Go ahead even when everyone is waiting for your crash !!

Mother Teresa

Religion Within Mother Teresa, friendship and service to one another becomes her religious and moral code. Mother Teresa became a saint with an

aura of light on her head. This aura is an expression of light, the illumination that comes from the knowledge of the world and the power of a double light that has to do from one side with the sun, and from the other side with the illuminative power that the saints have towards others. She was like a child woman but iron world woman.

It is said that in Exodus of the Bible, when the Lord spoke to Moses, his face shone. This glow was so strong that Moses put a veil in front of his face. In the Apocalypse, illumination is a vision, in Revelation this vision we believe has a source of light like the sun. I am the light of the world, I am the creation of men. And as we mentioned at the beginning of this work Mother Teresa had these visions and direct connections to God. For 3-4 years she was blessed and then sanctified. In 2002, the Vatican recognizes as miraculous the healing of the tumor in the womb of an Indian woman, Monica Besra, after placing a medallion that had a Mother's picture inside it on the tumor affected area. The second miracle dates back to October 2007, a Salehian priest from Gueat, in northeast India VM Thomas after giving the mass and praying to Mother Teresa healed from a stone in the ureter, which for three months gave her severe kidney pain and "terrible crises" Mother Teresa was a humanitarian benefactor. Her spirit was moved by a spirit that moves the universe and is the spirit of God.

Conclusion

Mother Teresa with her services fulfilled the purpose before Christianity, Albanians and Indians. She didn't need any promise, for eternity, to be blessed, to be holy. Her eternity is now. Her interest is to fulfill her divine mission where she is. This mission was not given to her by her parents or circumstances. It is embedded in several unknown factors, but the long life of Mother Teresa's testimonies her soft supernatural holy power These factors make Mother Teresa a part of eternity and holy to the Christian world of humanity.

ONOMASTIC AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC FLOW IN THE *LEXICAL-PHRASEOLOGIC AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC DICTIONARY OF MALËSIA E MADHE* BY ACAD.PROF. GJOVALIN SHKURTAJ

Professor Gjovalin Shkurtaj, one of the prominent linguists of our country and Albanian linguistics, does not stop working to give the culture of the Albanian language what it deserves to be enriched, purified and always the same and as a means of expression of the Albanian language of all Albanians and Arbëresh people, as the researcher himself points out².

After numerous publications, articles, texts, in the field of dialectology, sociolinguistics, language culture and ethnolinguistics, the professor would not be separated from the collection of the dictionary and the popular lexicon of the area of Malësia e Madhe (Honour of the Nation) to rank it in among the great dictionaries of the Albanian language published by the Academy of Sciences. The drafting of the lexical and phraseological dictionary, a new glossary, compiled of 1016 pages, with ethnolinguistic values will bring that lexical wealth, perhaps hidden somewhere, undiscovered, and unknown to Albanians over the years. And today we have it in our hands, where through browsing and underlining the examples of this lexicon and this phraseology, we will convey through this article some of the unique ethnolinguistic words of the folk stone proverbs, wishes, oaths, curses that are closely related to the Albanian life and mentality of the highlanders from the beginning of the time of the area of the Malësia e Madhe.

This lexical and phraseological dictionary was conceived and started to be drawn up at the beginning of my work as a dialectologist at the Institute of History and Linguistics, precisely in January 1969³...in the dictionary there is a lot of effort and fatigue, there are many words and ways of say that I believe they will enrich the knowledge of the Albanian lexicon and phraseology and, above all, there is a lot of love and adoration for the Malësia e Madhe, the "Honor of the Nation", the researcher continues.

And what is the province of the Great Highlands? Geographically, it is the northernmost part of Albania. Studies in the field of dialectology have brought a good knowledge of the state and general dialectal phenomena of this area. Her speeches have a great affinity, and this is proven by the publications made by prof. Mr. Shkurtaj since 1967 and beyond. And the

1 University Alexander Xhuvani, Elbasan, Albania

2 Gj.Shkurtaj, The Albanian language and today's social and cultural pressure, Tiranë, 1988)

3 Gj.Shkurtaj, *Lexico-phraseological and ethnolinguistic dictionary of Malësia e Madhe*, Tiranë 2021.

conclusion of these studies is that one can talk about a single speech with some internal fluctuations⁴. As a researcher, as well as being a scholar of the speech and phraseology of the part of the Malësia e Madhe, the academician has introduced the linguistic source of these regions as a treasure where both the beautiful and the ugly, the negative and the positive, the evil and the noble are noticed. The statements and examples brought through the word have weight in determining their meanings together with the syntagm of the units. They are often explanations based on examples taken from Albanian literature, more specifically from “Lahuta e Malcis” by Fishta, K. Berishaj, Vepra1, etc. The entire work is distinguished by the multitude of words and phraseological units, proverbs, etc., which show the enormous linguistic asset added to the standard Albanian lexicon. Based on the analysis made by other researchers such as prof. Q. Murati⁵, V. Memishaj⁶, T. Topalli⁷ dictionary, we must distinguish that the lexicon selected by him can be grouped into three groups of large units:⁸

1. Word, phraseological unit (direct object of linguistics).
2. Units belonging to the ethnographic wealth of speech.
3. Proverbs, greetings, congratulations, oaths, curses (as an object of ethnolinguistics)⁹.

Thus, in their continuity, words, either as lexemes or in syntagmas, find their place in the dictionary where they convey that piece of history, culture, tradition or custom that continues to be inherited between generations as a reality lived without disturbances or influences that damage the mindset or spirit of the mountaineer in the slightest. Each and every one of us will understand that these words, in addition to the phonetic analysis, distinguishing the features and variations of changes as phonetic and phonological processes related to the morphological analysis, stand out and in a clear way that we are dealing with the spoken languages of Northwest Geg. Also, this entire lexicon is not a simple overview where the words are listed in alphabetical order and the corresponding simple explanation is given, but through comparisons in their field of use in linguistics, literature or ethnolinguistics, the semantic meaning is explained, adding linguistic value to communication and relationships between people. Our article is oriented to the reflection and ethnolinguistic analysis of the part of the lexicon that is related to the names and syntagmatic units of words related to the material field and social relations of the community of the Malësia

4 IBID

5 Q. Murati, *Dictionary with very large ethnolinguistic values*. (Assessment of the work of Prof.dr.Gj. Shkurtaj, Tiranë 2021.

6 V. Memishaj, Recension of the work” *Lexico-phraseological and ethnolinguistic dictionary of Malësia e Madhe*, Tiranë 2021.

7 T.Topalli, Recension of the work” *Lexico-phraseological and ethnolinguistic dictionary of Malësia e Madhe*, Tiranë 2021.f. 1011

8 V. Memishaj, IBID, pg.1002.

9 V. Memishaj, IBID

e Madhe. One of the sources of ethnolinguistic value in the Dictionary is ambiguity, which has remained until today as a feature that has characterized not only the inhabitants of the Malësia e Madhe, but in every province of Albania. In different circumstances or environments, also influenced by factors other non-linguistic people will find themselves within the designation characterized by the official name and the other name that is used for discovery or caress, sometimes to laugh or to mock, sometimes for other motives as diverse and different, as the author emphasizes. Endearing is a phenomenon with a linguistic and social character, as well as an important ethnolinguistic element. To discover and understand this phenomenon, we can start from a simple question: **Where, when, and why** do we shorten (or lengthen) someone's name? **By what right?** This happens only in family setting and, in some rare cases, also in wider social settings, but in any case, the disclosure is carried out supported and supported by some circumstances that originate from the discourse strategy. Endearing cannot always be made, but only in certain ethnolinguistic circumstances. For example, we cannot endear a person who is not very close, when he is in a bad mood. Likewise, in official reports and in serious and formal situations.¹⁰

The dictionary is permeated by this peculiarity, where throughout Malësia e Madhe the second forms of personal names formed with suffixes show that they are characteristic of this area of Albanian: Rroçaç (Rrok);: Rroçaç (Rrok); Pjetraç (Pjetër); Murrash (Murro); Mirash (Miro); Franush (Fran); Hajrush (Hajro); While for women we will find such designations: Norush (Norë); Mandush (Manda); Suffix with which nouns with diminutive or endearing meaning are formed, such as **Bardhoc** (Bardh), **Prëloc** (Prël), **Noc** (Ndua/o). Names with a diminutive or endearing meaning, such as: **Malo:t** (Mal), **Miro:t** (Miro/Mirash), **Prêko:t** (Prêk), **Prêçot** (Preç); **Prêlot** (Prel), **Zefot, -a** (Zef), **Bishot, -a** (Bish). Of ethnolinguistic importance in the dialects of Malësia e Madhe are a large number of old local names based on the general names of animals and trees, etc., also dense in other regions of the North, such as: **Pu:l-a** (<pulë), **Ro:s-a** (<rosë), **Bieshk-a** (< bjeshkë), **Bo:r-a** (<borë), **Bori:ka** (< borigë), **Lu:l-a** (because in the Malësia e Madhe, until modern times, even the word lule (flower) was said: **lu:l, -a**) and not lule (flower) (as in Tosk), **Sokoli** (North and South), nga sokol "skifter", **Zok-gu e Zo:g-a** (Veri) nga zog, **Pllum-I**. Even the names, generally early, which were introduced through the influence of different faiths (respectively Catholic, Orthodox and Islam, also have second, unofficial forms, which, compared to the first form, appear or are expanded with diminutive and endearing suffixes, **Alush** (<Ali), **Demush** (<Dem <Adem), **Hajrush** (<Hajri) etc.) or with various abbreviations or truncations (p. sh. **Beko** from Bjeshk (Malësia e Madhe), **Ko:l** nga Nikoll, **Gole-jawoman's** name in Kastrat (from Tringole), **Din** (Abedin), **Ha:mz** (Hamza)).¹¹

Since Malësia e Madhe has been distinguished over time for a rich lexical

10 Gj. Shkurtaj, *i Lexico-phraseological and ethnolinguistic dictionary of Malësia e Madhe*, Tiranë 2021.

11 IBID

gem of diverse and very beautiful Albanian words and expressions and greetings, we are bringing a part of them that are typical of the mountains such as: **Çpejtimi e gabimi ja:n vllazën, nuk ka çpejtim pa gabim.** *ff. u. Haste often results in mistakes. Kush ka mujt me i:k, n'at çpejtim, ka ik e tiert i kan ka:p tetân e I kan shti n'biru:c.* **Çepi qet çka ka fuçija, thmija kallxon çka ka shpija.** *ff. u. the child confesses everything he sees in the house, just as lip of the barrel pours out what is inside.* **Fatziut nimoji, por ortak me tâ mos u bân!** *ff. u. T'paça! T'paça e t' daça! T' paça e t' daça me j krah kaça! iron.* **Tçiri me u pa:jt pi tjert t'verbon e t'ërrzon.** *ff. u. The desire to hold on to others blinds you and brings you down.* **Thmî:n çij kjan pajtoje, t' ligun foshkoje, djaloçin e ri: trimonje, plakun hatroje.** *ff. u. Conciliate the crying child, treat the sick, encourage the boy, respect the old man.* **Mos u pshtet ën t'pakênunin.** *ff. u. do not rely on that which has no value, which is unstable. d. Patronymy, onomastics, toponomastics.* **Pa:ll mushk se del dushk, kur duol dushku, cofi mushku.** *iron. Dysor i prit gomar se do të dalë bar.* **Mos ia sha:j ku:j gomarin se t' pa:ll te dera jote.** *iron. Don't laugh at others, when inappropriate things happen to them, because they can happen to you too as well.* **Betime: Pasha Zotën. Pasha Zotin çin na nig-jon. Pasha atâ çin âsht jâ ez'bâhen dy. Pasha Krishtin. Pasha Zo:jin e Bekuome. Pasha Pejgamerin. Pasha t'Shënkollin. Pasha Kishën shëjte. Pasha Kishn e Laçit. Pasha Pereni:n! Pasha Pejgamerin! Pasha kyt na:t Bajrâmit. Pasha bukën. Pasha besën. Pasha t'drejtën. Pasha Jâta çin ma ka: fa:l shpirtin. Pasha Jatâ çin vrâ: e kthiell. Pasha jâtsylan diellit. Pasha mua! Pasha Ty! Pasha atë që na ka fa:l e jareti:s** with euphemistic paraphrasing of the word God.

Malësia e Madhe, being the hearth of various and very beautiful Albanian expressions and greetings, occupy an important place, and become one with the highlanders in daily life and there was no way it would happen otherwise where we would find them in the country other than in the Dictionary of Prof. Shkurtaj such as: when someone is eating bread he is told: **T' bâft mi:r!** And the answer is: **Mi:r paç e by:rm!** Congratulations to him (or those) who is working: **Pûna e ma:r!** Ose **T' lûmt!** And the answer is definite. **Ma:r paç e t' mira!** Ose: **Lûm kjosh e i ba:rdh kjosh!** In Malësi, the congratulation with a cup of coffee is not done at the beginning, but after drinking the coffee, because, according to the relevant situation, if the coffee is bitter, the congratulation should be done in a comforting way, while if the coffee is sweet, this means that in that home are safe and sound and the greeting is the usual: **Amël e mi:r kjoshi, mirse u gjieme!** The celebration with brandy or wine (or other alcoholic drink), in Malësia Madhe, which, for the most part, has been of the Catholic faith, begins by praising Christ: **Kjoft luvduo Krishti eme ne:r e mir se u gjieme!** After this introductory greeting, it continues with other greetings according to the specific case, for the birth of the child: **Djali kjo:ft me jiet t' g-ja:t e u rritt me ba:b e nâ:n.** For engagement and marriage, as the case may be: if it is for the boy, it is said: **Nusja u pa:st a:rll me baft e me nafa:k e jau gzo:ft djali!** If it is for the daughter's marriage, it is said: **Vajzën jau ço:ft Zoti n' baft e n' nafa:k!** Blessing sent after eating. When you finish eating, before unsetting

the table, the blessing is: **Zoti u dha: sht beriçet e u rritt nera!** The hosts answer is: **U pa: st bâ: mi: r çka hagërt, por pak hagërt, besa!** When the table is unset, the blessing is **Për t' mi: r e shtroshi!** The hosts answer is: **T' mira paçi e mirse u ka: prû: Zoti.** (Ose: **Hoshgjedën u kjoft!**). Blessings sent on death occasions. In cases of death, it is according to the clichés above, but starting with "Also": **Edhe për t' mi: r mas sodit!** The hosts answer is: **T' mira prej Zotit. N'e mira jau ktheshim! Etj.**

This article is not enough to give that great wealth of the lexicon of the area of Malësia e Madhe, skillfully reflected and analyzed by our honorable academic, prof. dr. Gjovalin Shkurtaj. But we have tried to bring only one aspect of those ethnolinguistic values of the words related to life, in the powerful discourse of the speakers without which they cannot live.

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ALBANIAN SCHOOL IN ELBASAN REGION

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, Elbasan was considered an important place for social, political and cultural emancipation. The cultural and educational movement in Elbasan on the eve of the Declaration of Independence found its expression in the existence of a number of clubs and political-cultural societies, in the opening of a number of Albanian schools, as well as the organization of all-Albanian forums. The Albanian Congress of Elbasan took place in Elbasan on 1908 and also in this city, on December 1, 1909, was open the Normal School for the preparation of teachers in the country, the first of its kind and made history in Albanian education.

With the initiative of the Bashkimi club, an Albanian school will be opened in the “Kala” neighborhood by the Elbasan patriot Hysen Ceka, specifically on the day after the proclamation of the Constitution by the Young Turks, in 1908. He will take the key of a Turkish school and open it. as an Albanian school, inviting all the children of the city, regardless of religion, to come and learn to write and read. In the memories of the veterans of the beginning of the 20th century, it is proven that many other patriots followed this example, and even in the school of the Kala neighborhood, a night school will be opened with the aim of teaching writing and self-discipline for adults as well. The teachers came from the Christian community and were almost all young patriots who taught their language culture to their brothers or parents. From this time until the declaration of Independence, the condition of these schools went parallel to the political situation of the country, which was characterized by great fluctuations. The Young Turks considered these schools dangerous, so they quickly closed them, using violence against the Albanian patriots, such as imprisonment and elimination, a policy that greatly angered the Albanians, but did not diminish their desire for the Albanian language. In 1911, until the declaration of Independence, schools were reopened sometimes with permission and sometimes without permission, again as foreign schools but where the Albanian language was also taught.

ed, the first of its kind in Albania.²

¹ “Aleksander Xhuvani” University, Elbasan, Albania

² Shoqata kombëtare e veteranëve të arsimit Normalisti, *Gjuha dhe shkolla shqipe ndër vite, Elbasan, Silver, 2002, f 86-88*

In the first years of Independence, the struggle for the development of national education took off, with all the difficult economic and financial conditions, difficulties and major obstacles that the Government of Vlora was encountering in the realization of its tasks. The patriotic intellectuals tried with all the possibilities to bring to life the great dream of the Renaissance and their educational aspiration. The movement for national liberation in Albania aimed at the spread and strengthening of national schools in the Albanian language. With all the obstacles of the foreign invasion and the chauvinist policies of our neighbors, in the direction of creating an independent Albanian state, as well as a national education, the efforts of the patriots inside and outside the country never stop.³

The Ministry of Education in the first Government created by the declaration of National Independence was headed by Luigj Gurakuqi, one of the most prominent patriots and educators in Albania. But this Ministry did not inherit anything from the past and the balance of education development until the declaration of Independence was simple: after the Turkish constitution of 1908, around 80 elementary schools in the Albanian language and one school that prepared teachers in Elbasan. The government of Vlora promoted the opening of schools in Vlora and its surroundings, even in the occupied areas. On the other hand, the Minister of Education tried to organize education according to the experience of developed European countries. On the eve of the new school year, commissions were set up near the centers of the prefectures with the aim of following the organization of the new school year 1913-1914, but also the problems of education. It was decided that in each prefecture, normal preparatory schools for teachers would be established, which would include those who had graduated from city schools in a foreign language, after passing an exam. The government would help with monthly scholarships young people who came from different villages or provinces of Albania and had obvious economic disabilities and poverty.⁴

Primary education in Albania will become compulsory from its very first steps. Necessary conditions such as buildings, financial means, teachers, experience were missing, but the desire of the people and especially of the Albanian patriots for this powerful aspiration of education and patriotism never stopped. The newspaper “Përlindja e Shqipërisë” would be an official organ of the Government and its editorial “Education in Shqiperi” authored by Mihal Gramenon would address and make known these problems.⁵

Until the eve of the First World War, the state of education in Albania for schools within the range of action of the government of Vlora was presented as follows:

- schools for boys predominate in relation to schools for girls
- the teaching staff is dominated by men, only 9 teachers appear in the statistics of the time

3 Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë , *Histori e Popullit Shqiptar*, vol III, Toena, Tiranë , 2007, f 407

4 S. Shapllo, *Nga historiku i zhvillimit të arsimit në Shqipëri*. Tiranë , 2000, f 64

5 B. Kola, *Arsimi në Tiranë* , Tirane, 2010, f 35

- the teacher-student ratio shows that there was 1 teacher for 41 students.

The program of the government of Vlora in the field of education ceased to operate in January 1914, with the resignation of the government of Ismail Qemali. In the directorate of education created by the International Control Commission, which replaced the Government of Vlora, Luigj Gurakuqi was again in charge, but the powers of this directorate were too limited. Now the representatives of foreign governments in the country, with the activation of the KNK, could open schools in foreign languages, but the Albanian patriots never stopped the fight against Turkish, Greek or Italian language schools.⁶

The first Albanian schools in Elbasan until the declaration of Independence

The first Albanian school in the city of Elbasan dates back to August 2, 1908, after persistent efforts and repeated requests by teachers and intellectuals from Elbasan.⁷ This school initially had 50 students and 4 teachers, but soon the number of students reached 100. After that, evening courses were opened for adults to learn writing and singing in Albanian.⁸ In December 1908, there were two Albanian schools for boys in Elbasan and were being efforts for an Albanian school for girls.⁹

After the city, the efforts were intensified to open Albanian schools in the villages, and such schools were established in the villages of Zavaline, Gjinar, Selte, Shelcan, etc. As a result of the difficulties in securing teachers, often in these schools, fellow villagers who knew how to write and read in Albanian language, had agreed to take over this task and now would serve as teachers.¹⁰

But the Ottoman invaders closed these schools and only after the declaration of Independence, the elementary school in the city of Elbasan will be reopened, and will be known by different names such as Plotore School, Central School, Tebo School, etc. Regardless of this fact, it is important to emphasize that several generations of native teachers served in this school.¹¹ The first Albanian school in the city of Elbasan, was named "Naim Frasheri" school, in 1935. In the events of the Second World War, we mention the burning of this school by the invaders, but also the help of the teachers and students of this school in the war for the liberation of the country.¹²

In 1913 and officially in 1915, the primary school named "Qoshe" was opened in the premises of the madrasah of the city, a school which changed its name several times, such as Agimi, Muc Shqiptari, etc. (today Sul Misiri

6 B. Kola, *Arsimi në*, vep e cit. f 38

7 *Gazeta Lirija*, Selanik, nr 4, dt 4 gusht, 1908

8 H. Myzyri, *Arsimi kombëtar shqiptar*, 1908 – 1912, Prishtine, 1996, f 62

9 H. Myzyri, *Arsimi kombëtar.....*, vep e cit. f 104

10 M. Gecaj, *Nëpër udhët e shkollës shqipe*, Tirane, 2001, f 51

11 A. Caushi, *Fletë nga historiku i shkollës sonë*, Tirane, 1963, f 70

12 M. Gecaj, *Nëpër udhët e shkollës shqipe*, f 53

school) Next to this school in the 1930s, there was also a kindergarten preparatory school with an educator.¹³

An important event in our educational and cultural history was the opening of the first Albanian national secondary school, the Normal School, on December 1, 1909, a school that would serve for the preparation of new teachers, as well as the qualification of existing teachers. This school was placed at the head of efforts for an Albanian school, for national education, for a free and independent Albania, but also at the head of the war against Turkish and Greek schools. There were students from different regions of the country but also from Kosovo, who generally brought the compatriots Hasan Prishtina and Bajram Curri. They were boarding or external students, scholarship or paid students. Its first director was Luigj Gurakuqi, who together with Aleksandër Xhuvani and other patriots laid the foundations of this school and contributed to its success. While as teachers of this school we mention; Sotir Pecin, Petër Dodbiba, Simon Shuteriq, Hasan Mezja and Hafiz Ibrahim Dalli from Tirana.¹⁴

Albanian schools in Elbasan after the Declaration of Independence

After the declaration of independence, 11 primary schools were opened in the province of Elbasan, of which 3 in the city and the others in the villages of Godolesh, Baltez, Polis, Shushice, Mirake, Bixelle, Bishqem and Qukes. As in the first Albanian school in the city, even at this time of the opening of these new schools, the whole community of teachers, students and parents faced many difficulties and obstacles, to find premises, furniture, tools and textbooks and made many attempts for survival.¹⁵

In the years 1916-1917, when Elbasan (as well as a good part of Albania's territories) was part of the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the organization of education and the opening of schools in this region took a new turn. Now, in addition to primary schools, three-grade city schools with a special program were also opened. In this school year, the prefecture of Elbasan had 49 schools, 61 teachers and 1750 students. In the following school year, two courses were opened in Elbasan, a summer course (also in the cities of Shkodra, Tirana, Berat) and a general course in the Albanian language for the improvement of teaching staff.¹⁶

In the 20s-30s of the 20th century, after the recovery of the Albanian state, the struggle for the development of national education intensified further and patriotic teachers tried to advance the process of expansion, modernization and nationalization of education. In order for the schools to be centers of

13 *Elbasani Enciklopedi*, Elbasan 2003, f 544

14 A. Caushi, *Fletë nga historiku i shkollës sonë*, Tirane, 1963, f 148

15 M. Gecaj, *Nëpër udhët e shkollës shqipe*, Tirane, 2001, f 52

16 *Shqipëria në vitin 1937, Veprimi shtetëror gjatë njëzet e pesë vjetëve të parë të vetqeverimit*, Vëllimi I, Botimet e Komisionit të Krenimeve të 25 vjetorit të Vet-Qeverimit 1912 -1937, Tiranë, 1937, f 159-160

patriotic education for the new generation, to be permeated by the secular spirit and to apply modern western methods in teaching, as well as to meet a number of other requirements in the field of education, the patriotic educators called in the 1920s - 1924, three educational congresses. More and more, the schools in Albania, especially the secondary schools, became important centers for the spread of education and the patriotic and democratic education of the new generation. These schools created associations and clubs as well as published magazines and newspapers, in which they elaborated progressive ideas and views in education and culture.

The first complete statistical records on the number of schools and students are from the year 1927. Specifically, these records for the Elbasan region showed a significant backwardness in the educational field, about 85% of the population was illiterate and only 15% were educated (the figures are at the prefecture level, ie Elbasan, Peqin, Gramsh) Elbasan in this time period had 19 primary schools, 1 Plotore school and 1 Normal school. Some other indicators for Elbasan in the context of educational developments in this period were as follows:¹⁷

➤ The number of educated residents who had completed various levels of education up to this period of time was 463 individuals, of which 426 individuals had completed primary school; 31 of them had graduated from high school and only 6 people had graduated from university, of course abroad. In this period, 34 individuals were studying abroad, in Italy, Austria and Yugoslavia.

➤ The distribution of students according to schools during 1927 was as follows: 275 males and 191 females attended primary school; 350 males attended the comprehensive school and 196 individuals attended the Normal School. If we compare such figures with the number of students forced to study, which was 8 900, we rightly say that the educational situation in this region was not satisfactory.

➤ At the prefecture level, as for the other sub-prefectures, Peqin and Gramsci, the figures of the above indicator are even more worrying. 350 Beijing had 4 primary schools and a full school, and counted 200 individuals who had finished primary school, as well as 370 students who were currently attending (130 in full and 240 in Primary) As far as Gramsci is concerned, only 20 people had finished primary school currently 118 individuals attended the 3 primary schools of this sub-prefecture, out of 800 which was the number of students required for education.¹⁸

The measures and initiatives that were undertaken in the field of education during the years of the Republic, were seen as insufficient to solve the problems that the time required in terms of the development of national education, so in the period of the Monarchy an educational reform would be implemented, which would aim improvement of content and teaching programs, as well as their unification.

In the records of 1937 for education in the city of Elbasan and its villages,

17 T.Selenica, " *Shqipëria në vitin 1927*", Tiranë, 1928, f 251-252

18 T.Selenica, " *Shqipëria në vitin 1927*", Tiranë, 1928, f 251-252

there are a total of 51 schools, of which in Elbasan there were 5 primary schools, 2 secondary schools, the “Normalja” and the ‘Civic’ (school of the city), as well as a female school named “Light”. or as it was otherwise known “School of oysters”. There were also 43 primary schools in the villages.

In the year 1938-1939, a high school called Shkolla e Punës was opened in Elbasan, which operated until 1943. It had the nature and character of the technical school of Tirana and that of Kavaja. The historical path through the national school has walked has been long, difficult and full of sacrifices. This analyzed stage constitutes a period of triumph for Albanian education in general as well as for that of Elbasan. The national educational and cultural movement undergoes a further increase in its organization, through the increase in the number of schools but also the increase in publications, of various texts in the service of the Albanian school.

Conclusions

The city of Elbasan and its provinces became an important center of Albanian education and of the national movement, which at the beginning of the 20th century rose to a higher level of its organization, finding concrete expression in the opening of a number of schools and the establishment of a whole network of patriotic and national clubs and societies.

Elbasan would produce a whole constellation of activists and teachers such as Aleksander Xhuvani, Lef Nosi, Aqif Pashe Elbasani, Feze Guranjaku, Simon Shuteriqi, Peter Dodbiba, etc.

In this prosperous environment, the first Albanian school would be opened, with truly democratic dimensions, which would gather in its bosom many participants, without religious, cultural or ethnic differences. Very soon after that, the first high school in Albania would be opened, the Normal school, which would have the great historical mission of training teachers. Such developments together with the previous ones would reach their peak with the declaration of Albania’s Independence. From this moment on in Elbasan, the efforts for the school and the Albanian language will be expanded, but again their journey will encounter new developments and many obstacles that in any case speak of a positive progress, making this region distinct from all other regions. of the place in the history of Albanian School and Albanian Pedagogical Thought.

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“PRIVATE MUSEUMS OF ARBERES IN ITALIA AS A MODEL IN A VILLAGES IN NORTH MACEDONIA”

The Arberes colonies that settled in South Italy in the 15th century and after, after the Ottoman conquest, according to the estimates of the Arberian scholar Francesco Altimar, based on a survey made by the scholar Klaus Rother, it is about 90,000 Italian citizens who speak Arberer-Italian as their mother tongue. (Rother: 1-20). If we add to these the Albanians who immigrated to the industrial and metropolitan areas of the North as well as the citizens of the Center and the South, we reach the approximate figure of 200,000 Albanian speakers who live in Italy today. (Altimari 2002:43). They are located in the provinces: Sicily, Calabria, Basilicata, Kapitanat, Pulje, Molise, etc. Although distributed in different regions of the Italian state, for more than 500 years the Arberes as an elite community have successfully preserved not only the language, but have created all the institutions they need to preserve and resist their identity and cultural heritage ; endless books and magazines in Albanian and Arabic where centuries-old oral poems and proverbs are preserved and developed, museums where the tradition of folk and artisanal costumes is preserved, memory photographs, national and religious holidays with Byzantine rites, having a Catholic Italy all around. During our walks through the villages of Arberes, seven times in a row we found very beautiful traditions, festivals and manifestations, popular traditions, museums such as the one of women’s costumes in Vakarici and Čivëti; the “Filomena faraco”, “Bellushi” libraries, etc., which to this day keep alive the traditions of being Arbers, language and identity. But not only that, through museums, they have also developed rural tourism development.

1. In Saint Miter Korona, we found the Hivzi Nuhiut “museum” from Presheva open, which includes several hundred works, among which Mother Teresa and the Albanian leader Gjergj Kastrioti - Skënderbeu occupy the most meritorious place.

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2.1. Antonio Bellushi's library and museum in Frasnitë village among many books, there was an edition of 1600, which is a book in Greek, a manuscript for the Arbëresh priests, who came from Himara, Peloponnese, who knew only Albanian. The library has old books such as "Flamuri i Arbri" by De Rada, in the original, it has all Arberian magazines from 1957 until now. There are also two looms (veke), like the ancient art of weaving.



2.2. In Frasnitë village there is also the Museum of Arberian clothing in miniature. The museum, both from the outside and inside, offers a panoramic view of Arberian women's clothing among the entire community of Italy and among the different typologies.



3. Rosario's private museum in Mbuzat town. It was an old house in the village square itself with an outside entrance. In addition to the paintings where he showed his childhood past and those with Arbëresh motifs, postage stamps with Albanian motifs, etc.



4. In the village of Saint Sofi there is the private Museum of Mr. Mario Mirako, who in a small lodge, had voluntarily collected everything related to his family and the cultural treasure of the village. In one room of the museum there were authentically the furnishings of a house from the past centuries, In the middle of the museum there was a big cart from 1928, around there were many buxunjeti (kusia), jizz spoons, kakkadaria (swing) etc.



4.2. The “Angel Mashî” city library in Saint Sofia opened on March 24, 1981, with more than 7,000 books.



5. The Arbëresh Dress and Gold Museum in Vakarica is a special ethnographic museum, opened in 1984. Its wide halls include a permanent exhibition of various costumes, such as bridal, work, etc. Within this museum, there are also exhibitions of photographs with different Arbëresh ornaments, in fact, they are necklaces and earrings that were used in various solemn and everyday occasions.



6. The ethnic museum in Çift village was inaugurated on May 25, 1989. The museum, although not very large, has managed to collect many agricultural tools and tools, old photographs and other items from the cultural heritage of the village.



7. The Museum of Folk Traditions and the Collection Institute of Garrafa. This museum was directed by the teacher Maria Luisa Pignoli, who had managed to collect many agricultural, livestock, kitchen tools, etc.



8. Ethnographic Museum “Pallati Fazio” in the town of Saint Japk, it was previously the House of the doctor Oreste Fazio. A lot of old work tools, arborist clothing, photographs, books, etc. were collected there.



9. The Arbëresh Culture Museum and the “Sparta” Plant Museum can be found in the village of Saint Pal. An original museum that stands out from almost all the other museums we visited. Many photographs have been exhibited that describe all the work activities in the village with the fibers of the plant called *Spartium junceum*, since the arboretums of Saint Paul are called Sparta, with which they created various products, which they then sold.



10. Two municipal libraries in Spixana village are “Giuseppe Angelo Nociti” from 1977 with a book fund of 15,000 books. The most interesting was the “Arbëresh Cultural Union” Library, founded in 1984. The book collection consists of more than 15,000 volumes. Since February 2004, the Library has been recognized with the status of “Library of Local Interest” by the Province of Calabria. In conclusion, I want to emphasize that, as characteristic of the Arbëresh residents of Cosenza and Palermo, I have seen the most wonderful museums in their villages. They were more inclined to embroidery, to music, and we have seen no weapons, only work tools and embroidery tools. These people were really born in Italy, but they fanatically preserve their mother tongue, which for them is the language of the soul.



11. The towns jealously guarded churches, castles, libraries, museums, etc. in this way they contributed to the development of this region as an attractive place for rural tourism. In North Macedonia, even though the

villages have double the population, especially the villages with Albanian population, there is no library or private ethnographic museum. Perhaps the exception is 3 such museums, one in Livadi in Struga, one in Raskhe in Skopje and one in the village of Cernilishte in Prilep. But this does not even come close to meeting the conditions for visits, because there are no employees and they do not have a status supported by the state that would contribute to the development of rural and regional tourism.



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CAUCASIAN ALBANIA – ANCIENT AZERBAIJAN STATE

ABSTRACT: On the historical map of the world, two states with the name “Albania” existed. The first of them is Caucasian Albania, which was on the stage of history from the 4th century BC to the 8th century AD, and the other is modern Albania, i.e. Balkan Albania. During the Hellenistic period, the influence of the Romans in the South Caucasus, including Albania, was growing. The military operations of 66-65 years BC, the peace treaties concluded between the Albanian ruler Oroiz and Pompey, and the presence of an inscription on the Gobustan rock carvings about the 12th Roman legion towards the Caspian Sea are part of this shared history. In written sources, the first information about Gabala, the capital city of Albania, was found in the work “Natural History” of the Roman author Pliny the Elder (23-79 years). In that source, the name of Gabala is mentioned as “Cabalaca” and it is stated that it is the “chief city” of Albania. The second century Greek author Claudius Ptolemy (100-170 AD) mentions Chabala among the 26 settlements of Albania in his “Geography”. Since 1926, archaeological research has been continuously conducted there. Important remains of public buildings discovered during archaeological research. The first of these is the remains of a public building with an area of 587 square meters and covered with large ceramic tiles. The three huge oval-shaped constructions discovered there are reminiscent of ancient Greek hippodromes and Roman amphitheatres. In 1977, Gabala was declared a State reserve by the decision of the government of Azerbaijan.

Key words: Caucasus, Albania, Azerbaijan, history, archaeology, state

Introduction. Caucasian Albania, one of the ancient states of the South Caucasus, was a powerful state with a large territory covering the present Republic of Azerbaijan, Zangazur part of the present Republic of Armenia, the southern part of the Republic of Dagestan in the Russian Federation, and an eastern part of the present Republic of Georgia [1-2].

Written information about Caucasian Albania appeared for the first time in ancient Greek and Latin sources [3]. The perfect written source on Albanian history is the work of the Albanian historian Moisey Kalankatuklu, who probably served in the court of the Albanian rulers in the 7th century, called “History of Albania” [4]. The name of Gabala is also often mentioned in medieval sources [2] (p. 7-8).

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During the Antique Period and Early Middle Ages, the Albanian society achieved great success in the economic, political, military and cultural spheres. In this way, Albania has become an influential state that occupies decisive positions not only in the South Caucasus, but also in the whole East and West. Even the Byzantine Empire, the Sassanid Empire, the Arab Caliphate and the Khazar Khaganate, which had strong influence on the world politics, needed to ally with Albania at different times. Of course, all this was possible as a result of the wise and correct foreign policy, tactical and strategic military doctrine, and most importantly, intense and subtle diplomatic efforts of the Albanian rulers. In this regard, we can especially mention that the Albanian ruler Javanshir (637-680) preferred diplomatic relations with the Byzantine emperor Constans II (641-668). According to the Albanian historian, when he got acquainted with the letter written by Javanshir in order to establish alliance relations, Emperor Constans II was sincerely happy and gave a big party that day. Without wasting time, he ordered to write a reply letter and prepare a mutual alliance agreement. He sent very valuable gifts to Javanshir. Among the gifts were a silver throne with a gilded backrest, clothes embroidered with gold threads, and his own personal sword with a pearlstudded scabbard. The emperor raised Javanshir to the rank of first patriarch and ordered to send decrees to give the ranks of patricians, consuls, ex-prefects, generals and elites for 1200 Albanians, and these ranks were given to Javanshir share it with whoever he wanted [4] (p. 126).

The Byzantine emperor's letter, gifts and titles greatly pleased the Albanian ruler. However, what pleased him more than all this was that he found a strong and reliable ally in the face of Byzantine in the likely future military clashes with the armies of the Arab Caliphate.

This is how Moisey Kalankatuklu wrote down those pleasant moments in the palace of the Mihranids: "Javanshir retired and spent the whole night thinking about the happiness of his country. He issued fair judgments and gave his people reliable rights. He was busy taking care of his country instead of having fun. With his wisdom, who could also go along with those who lived a wild life in the Caucasus Mountains. He ruled his country - the lands from the Iberian borders to Derbend and the Araz River - as an absolute ruler" [4] (p. 127).



Figure 1. South Gate of Gabala. Photo by Mammad Rahimov.

Materials and Methods. The city of Gabala, which was mentioned in written sources from the 1st century AD and played a very important role in the country's economic and cultural life starting from the 5th-4th centuries BC, and later in its political life, was the first capital city of Albania. The main residence of the Albanian rulers was located there [5] (p. 29-37).

The first information about Gabala in written sources was found in the work «Natural History» of the ancient Roman author Pliny the Elder (23-79 years). In that source, the name of Gabala is mentioned as «Cabalaca» and it is stated that it is the «oppidum» of Albania [3] (p. 181). This can be explained in the sense that it is the capital city of the country.

The second century Greek author Claudius Ptolemy (100-170 years) mentions Chabala among the 26 settlements of Albania in his «Geography». According to the unanimous opinion of the researchers, all three of these names - i.e. «Cabalaca», «Chabala», and «Gabala» should be explained simply as an expression of the relatively different pronunciation of the name of the same city in different periods of time and by different authors. It should be noted that in some medieval sources the name of Gabala is presented in a different form according to the current historical conditions.

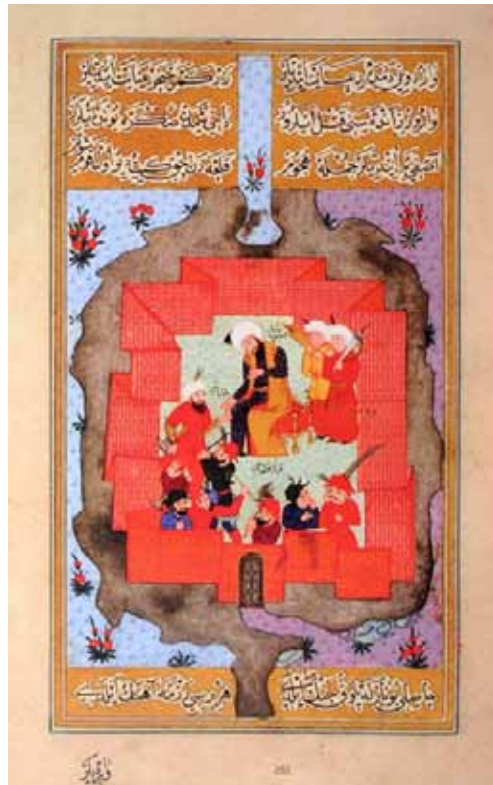


Figure 2. Gabala Walled City. Miniature from book of “Shejaatname” of Asafi.

The ruins of the ancient city of Gabala, which is known as Gullutala, Salbir and Gala consists of three main parts, covers an area of more than 70 hectares. Since 1926, archaeological research has been carried out continuously there. Since 2009, along with Azerbaijani archaeologists, South Korean scholars have also been directly involved in the archaeological investigation of the history of Gabala [6-7]. As a result of multiyear and large-scale research, a number of very important aspects of the history of the ancient capital city have been obtained, including rich evidence confirming the existence of Gabala as a city since at least the 5th century BC. These findings are extremely important in terms of the deep and comprehensive study of Azerbaijan's ancient state history and urban culture traditions.



Figure 3. Archaeological excavation in Gala settlement of Gabala city.
Photo by Mammad Rahimov.

In order to determine the age of Gabala and its place in Albanian history, we would like to mention several very important social buildings that were discovered during archaeological research in Gullutala, known as Antique Gabala. The first of them is the remains of a public building that was discovered in the 60s of the last century and has an area of 587 square meters. The foundation of this building is made of river stone, the walls are made of mud bricks, and the roof of this building is covered with large-sized ceramic tiles [8] (p.217-227).

It should be recalled that such a huge public building covered with large-sized ceramic tiles was considered a rare construction not only for the South Caucasus, but also for Eurasia as a whole. Also of great interest are the three giant oval-shaped structures discovered there during recent research, reminiscent of ancient Greek hippodromes, Roman amphitheaters, and school buildings in Alexandria, Egypt [7] (p. 90-91). The research that has been conducted in this area since 2005, in the III and IV excavation sites of the

Ancient city showed that there was a settlement there in the end of the 2nd millennium BC - the first half of the 1st millennium BC, which had become a large city covering a large area in the middle of the 1st millennium BC [9] (p. 26). While the research was being continued, the remains of a very huge food warehouse dating back to the IV-III centuries B.C. were discovered there. In this storehouse, consisting of more than 200 large-sized agricultural jars, at first wheat, then walnuts, hazelnuts and grain were stored [7] (p. 118-119). Thus, it can be concluded that, 2500 years ago the people of Gabala were mainly engaged in grain farming, animal husbandry, horticulture, viticulture and winemaking just like now. It is natural that the existence of such a huge food storage in Gabala indicated that it was one of the big cities of the region in the IV century BC.

During the archaeological excavations in Gabala, silver coins minted in Rome, Parthia and Albania, gold coins minted in Georgia, and rare items brought through trade and cultural relations were also found. More than 700 silver coins were recorded in one of the hoards found near the city. The oldest coins in the hoard are the drachmas of Alexander the Great and the tetradrachms of the Thracian king Lysimachus. Of the local Albanian coins in the hoard, 3 were minted in imitation of Seleucid tetradrachms, and more than 500 were minted in imitation of Alexander the Great's drachmas [10] (p. 131-132). Those findings proved that what some ancient authors wrote about Albanians not knowing money and living only through natural exchange is not true [11]. In other words, Albanians not only recognized money, but even the money they minted was enough. All this indicates that in ancient times, Gabala had a crowded city life characterized by a high level of development.

Gabala suffered serious damage many times during the destructive attacks and raids of the Sassanid Empire and the Byzantine Empire, the Arab Caliphate and the Khazar Khaganate armies, as well as the nomads from the north to the Albanian territories in different historical periods. During the marches of the Mongols, Timurids and the Golden Horde units to Azerbaijan and the military clashes that took place in the area, Gabala was repeatedly seriously damaged. However, despite all these destructions, the city revived and continued to play an important role in the country's economic, political, military, religious and cultural life until the beginning of the 18th century.

Unfortunately, during the years when Azerbaijan was a part of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union, Gabala was subjected to serious destruction many times. In the first years of the Soviet rule, several towers of the city's southern fortress walls were blown up by the Soviet military in order to destroy the traces of cultural heritage. In 1977, during the construction of the Gabala radar station, one of the important military facilities of the Soviet Union towards the East, it was planned that the high-voltage power line would pass directly through the ancient city. Thus, the ancient city was once again faced with serious destruction [12].

In 1977, Gabala was declared a state reserve by the decision of the government. In order to save the city from the destructive effects of flood waters, a concrete embankment was built and a new phase of archaeological research began there.

Results. Restoration and conservation works were carried out in Gabala in two stages. The first of these was the strengthening of the foundation part of the two towers of the southern fortress walls of the city in the 50s of the last century. Unfortunately, when the specialists saved the monument, they seriously damaged its original appearance.

In 2010-2018, the non-governmental organization SEBA (Korea-Azerbaijan Cultural Exchange Association) carried out necessary conservation works on the site of the ancient city and archaeologically studied areas in the Salbir area, and thus Gabala became an exemplary tourist destination that meets modern international standards.



Figure 4. Covering of archaeological site of Selbir part of Gabala city.
Photo by SEBA.

In recent years, Gabala, has become the largest and most modern archaeological research laboratory in the South Caucasus. The Gabala Archaeological Center, which was opened on September 22, 2014 with the blessing of the President Ilham Aliyev, is successfully operating today. The scientific community of Azerbaijan is looking forward to the day when UNESCO will finally take certain steps to perpetuate this glorious history and investigate it more deeply and comprehensively. This would be a successful step towards demonstrating Azerbaijan's ancient history, rich cultural heritage and today's dynamic development to the whole world in the example of Gabala.

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RESIDENTIAL HOUSES IN SHUSHA ARCHITECTURE HERITAGE

Abstract: Garabagh, with its capital first in Barda and then Shusha, has always been the cultural, political and economical centre of Azerbaijan. When Panah Ali Khan constructed the Shusha fortress in 1750, its eastern part-Old Shusha started to be built up too. Here Shusha had 17 quarters inhabited by Azerbaijanis. For convenience, they were divided into upper and lower ones. Inhabitants of these quarters used to call themselves proudly galali (living in fortress). The western part of the city, constructed later, was inhabited, basically, by Christians-Armenians, Russian and Georgians.

In Shusha and its surroundings, a considerable quantity of defensive constructions has preserved. These majestic stone monuments of history represent a huge value for researchers. Looking at them, one can understand, at what cost our ancestors always tried to keep their independence. Palaces, caravanserais, bath and apartment houses of Shusha, which have preserved up to the present, bear even more information on history and material culture of the city.

As it is seen, Shusha houses used to be constructed, basically, from stone, with gabled roofs. White and thick stone, which decorated entire Shusha, was extracted in the surroundings of the city and was dressed by local masons. Houses had mostly two or three floors with big windows and beautiful entrances. Most of the houses had also cellars for storage of products and a stable. Many-roomed houses of Garabagh princes, beys and Shusha traders (imaret, malikana), which were quite numerous in Shusha, had luxury and richness. Such houses had big halls for receptions of guests and family celebrations.

Key words: Shusha, Garabagh, apartment houses, architecture, heritage

Introduction

Karabakh, the bearer of Azerbaijan's tangible and intangible heritage, and its center, Shusha, are the most important value for our culture. "The city of Shusha is one of the most important examples of the post-medieval cities of Azerbaijan. The founding of the city of Shusha coincides with the emergence of independent khanates separated from the Afshar dynasty (F. Khalili, 2022). The history of Old Shusha (before the Soviet rule) can be divided into two main stages, before and after it joined the Russian Empire.

Panahali aga Javanshir, the founder of the Karabakh Khanate, of which capital was first in Barda, then in Shusha, a famous general and statesman, was born in Karabakh in a well-known family of the Javanshir lineage, served under Nadir Shah Afshar, passed the school of battle strategy and tactics, and

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learned the basics of public administration here. Nadir Shah accepted him as one of his closest people and gave him the title of “bey”. After the murder of Nadir Shah in 1747, independent khanates such as Ganja, Shirvan, Shaki, Guba, Baku and others were formed in Azerbaijan. In Karabakh, Panahali Bey established the Karabakh Khanate by persistently fighting local emirs and maliks who opposed the centralized power. “The Karabakh Baylarbeyliyi, which was founded in 1551, was divided into the Karabakh and Ganja khanates, and the power in the Karabakh khanate passed from the Gajars to the Javanshirs (the Ziyadoglu Qajars continue to rule in the Ganja khanate)” (Chingiz Gajar; 2014)

Panahali Khan turns Bayat Castle, which he built and completed in a short time, into the capital of the Khanate. Later, Panahali Khan built a new capital near present-day Aghdam in a place called Shahbulag and continued to expand the territory of the Karabakh Khanate at the expense of the lands of the neighboring Khanates. The increasingly influential Panahali Khan and Sheki, Ganja, Irvan, Tabriz, Garadag khans were looking for a way to become allies and maintain friendly relations. In order to be sure of the security of his family and treasure, Panahali Khan decided to build a third, this time completely impregnable fortress and move the capital there. It was founded in 1750 in a dense forest surrounded by steep cliffs. “The fortress was initially called “Panahabad” in honor of Panahali Khan, then “Shusha”. Architects and builders from all over Azerbaijan were invited to build the walls of the fortress and the city. Residents of the surrounding villages were moved to the new capital. Khan’s palaces, mosques, baths were being built. In particular, intensive constructions increased more during the period of Ibrahimkhalil Khan. The construction was led by the prime minister of the Khan, Molla Panah Vagif, who was familiar with construction works very well and performed this work with great love (Chingiz Gajar; 2014).

On May 14, 1805, Karabakh khan Ibrahimkhalil signed a humiliating treaty with prince Sisianov in the place called Kurakchay, the results of which are still visible today for the people of Karabakh and Azerbaijan. “According to the Kurakchay Treaty, Ibrahimkhalil Khan recognized the authority of the Russian emperor, undertook to pay a tax of eight thousand chervons every year and became a part of Russia. Armenians brought from Iran and Turkey were being settled in Karabakh. As it is known, while the Russians were in the Caucasus, approximately 1.5 million Armenians from different countries of the world were moved to the territory of the former Irvan Khanate alone, and as many Azerbaijanis were forcibly removed from there (Chingiz Gajar; 2014). Thus, with the Kurakchay agreement, the process of rapid Armenianization in Karabakh was started.

The fighting for Karabakh continued without interruption until 1813, when a peace treaty was signed between Iran and Russia in the village of Gulustan. According to this agreement, the Karabakh Khanate, of which capital is Shusha, fell under the rule of the Russian Empire.

In the order of the commander-in-chief of the Russian troops in the Caucasus, A. Yennolov it was mentioned that, “According to the description of the Karabakh province, in 1823, about 16,000 Azerbaijani and

5,000 Armenian families lived in Karabakh. At the same time, there were 450 Azerbaijani and 150 Armenian villages in Karabakh. There were 5033 Azerbaijani nobles, while there were only 1987 Armenian nobles. Mostly poor Armenians were moved to Karabakh.

Considering that Azerbaijani families are always larger, it turns out that only a quarter of the population in Karabakh and Shusha are Armenians. This is after many Azerbaijani tribes were removed from Karabakh by Nadir Shah Afshar and exiled to Iran.

The social composition of the population of old Shusha was the same as in ordinary Azerbaijani cities. Representatives of the Khan dynasty, gentlemen, clergy, officials, craftsmen, merchants, medical workers (doctors, midwives, chiropractors) and pharmacists of the old, medieval and new formations, teachers of the old and new generation, cultural figures lived in the city.

“According to Russian sources, in terms of the census in Shusha in 1830, the number of artisans increased 10 times, and the number of merchants increased 7.5 times. During that period, the number of bey families (nobles) increased by 40 times. This can be explained by the fact that the landowners in the lower regions of Karabakh had properties in Shusha, where their families lived and which they visited in the summer” (Chingiz Gajar; 2014).

The tradition of Shusha architecture as a unique style in the architectural history of Azerbaijan

“Shusha is a museum-city. It is enough to show just one of the ideas about its architectural monuments - the idea of calling it “Little Paris”. The streets, residential houses, caravansaries, mosques, mausoleums and palaces of Shusha have been described by many travelers (Chingiz Gajar; 2014).

Elturan Avalov, the leading expert on architecture of Shusha, divides the construction of the city into three stages. The first stage is the period of laying the foundation of Shusha, building the fortress walls and castles, starting the construction of the lower area of the eastern part and forming the lower quarters. The construction of the upper part of the eastern part of the city and the formation of the upper quarters during Ibrahimkhalil Khan’s administration is the second stage (1763-1806). And finally, after the arrival of the Russians in 1805, the third stage resulted in the construction of the upper western part of the city and its intensive development.

In the first stage of the construction of Shusha, Panahali Khan moved the inhabitants of the former capital Shahbulag and surrounding villages to Shusha. The security of the fortress, beautiful natural conditions, and the location of the city at the intersection of major trade routes attracted artisans and merchants from all over Azerbaijan.

Plots of land were distributed to newcomers, and according to Karabakh historian Muhammedali bey Baharli, settlement in Shusha began from the Chukhur quarter located in the lower part of the eastern part of the city. In the initial stages, the construction was carried out in a disorganized manner, without any plan. At that time, black roofs, which were widespread in the

lower part of Karabakh and in Ganja were built here. They were cramped and uncomfortable. According to some plan, palaces, mosques and caravansary were built among these houses. After the first people moved to the new place got used to it, the black roofs were replaced by residential houses with their own architecture characteristic of Shusha. There were enough materials and craftsmen for their construction. The massive construction of Shusha began during the reign of Panahali Khan's son Ibrahimkhalil Khan.

Already at the beginning of the 19th century, in Shusha, "*the houses were almost all built of stone, most of them were covered with thin, narrow boards, and a kind of planning structure of the city is defined. One of the first fundamental buildings of Shusha, adjacent to the fortress walls and towers, was the palace of Panahali Khan. Its construction began with the laying of the foundation of the castle walls on top of the rock in the region that was later named "Chukhur". Its facade, decorated with an arched alagap, faced Topkhana. To the right of it were stables and farm buildings. Later, Panahali Khan built palaces for his sons with the same materials and in the same style next to his own palace (Chingiz Gajar; 2014).*

Despite the outward irregularity of Shusha's initial buildings, it was later divided into distinct neighborhoods like other Azerbaijani cities. Representatives of certain compatriot societies or related professions and one generation settled in these neighborhoods, which differed in size and terrain. In the old (eastern) part of Shusha, as written by Karabakh historian M. Baharly, seventeen neighborhoods were formed. Nine of them were lower neighborhoods, which were Gurdlar, Seyidli, Chukhur (more ancient), Dordlargurdu, Haji Yusifli, Dordchinar, Cholgala, Juhudlar, and eight were upper neighborhoods that can be identified as Merdinli, Saatli, Kocherli, Mamayi, Khojamirjanli, Damirchi, Hamamgabaghi, and Taza. The foundations of urban planning principles of the future city were laid in the old part of Shusha. After the occupation of Shusha by the Russians, the western part of the city, where Christians lived, began to be intensively populated with Russians, Georgians, and especially Armenians.

Streets of Shusha

The famous Russian artist V. Vereshagin, who visited Shusha in 1865, writes about the streets of the city in his travel notes: *It is the capital of the Karabakh Khanate, it is a very well-fortified place. It is protected on two sides by bare rocks and on the other two sides by buildings, walls and towers.*

The city of Shusha is completely different from other cities of Transcaucasia where I have been. Iravan, Nakhchivan and Yelizavetpol, which I visited only shortly, have characteristic features of the East. The houses in these towns are few and low, mostly built of soil and brick, and are distinguished by their rare windows and low timbers, lost among the greenery of the surrounding gardens. The streets are narrow, littered, crooked, paved with stone or hardly any at all. Shusha is in stark contrast to these cities. The houses of this city are straight, beautiful, high, lit by many windows. It was built from

the stones of the steep rocks on which Shusha is located. Big cobblestones are everywhere on the streets. The roofs of the houses are made of thin wood - European style”

At the intersection of the streets, the walls of the fences or houses were built from cut and hewn stones for the convenience of pedestrians and traffic. The streets were very winding, steep, up and down, concave and convex, very winding. As the study of medieval cities surrounded by castle walls shows, such planning of streets that often change their direction and a lot of cul-de-sacs was justified during the defense of the city from the enemy crossing the castle walls.

The pavements of the shopping streets, like most of the other streets of Shusha, were covered with large, rectangular stones and paved with river stones. The outlying streets were in stark contrast to the central streets.

A cobbled arch sewer was laid under the main streets. Shusha is one of the few cities of Azerbaijan with a sewage system. The streets of Shusha were lit by lanterns, and by the end of the 19th century, there were 30 such street lamps in the city.

In the middle of the 19th century, there were 1856 houses, 476 shops, 11 streets, 4 caravansaries, 2 markets, 7 baths, 979 wells, 6 squares, 4 stone and two cobble bridges, 9 mosques and 4 churches in Shusha. Within half a century, the population of Shusha increased dramatically. “Caucazskiy Calendar” (Caucasian Calendar) wrote at the beginning of the 20th century that there were 2,983 houses in Shusha. 2,742 of them were built of stone, 1,191 were covered with iron, 139 with tiles, and 363 with soil. There were 17 mosques, 5 churches, 52 streets, 116 alleys, a city park, 3 hotels, 36 snack bars, 879 craft workshops, and nearly 2,000 merchant shops.

As can be seen from the above-mentioned information, the houses in Shusha were mostly built of stone and covered with inflatable roofs. The white, solid stone that adorns Shusha was quarried on the outskirts of the city and carved by local carpenters. Most of the houses were two or three stories with large windows and very large street doors. Most of them had cellars and barns to store food. There were quite a lot of houses of Karabakh princes, beys and Shusha merchants in the city. The multi-room mansions were distinguished by their splendor and wealth. Such houses had large halls for receiving guests and holding family parties. The walls were decorated with flower ornaments or battle and hunting scenes by skilled craftsmen, as is customary in Azerbaijan. Under the ceiling, alcoves were built around the perimeter of the rooms to store beautiful dishes. There were large niches in the walls where blankets, chests, and carpets were stored. Small shelves were used to store books, a Koran case, pens and writing materials. Large niches were covered with beautiful curtains decorated with patterns, ornaments, or beads. The upper part of the curtains was decorated with a fringe and a strip of the same material as the decorations on the fabric of the curtain.

Due to the harsh winter season and heavy rainfall in Shusha, the angle of the roofs of the houses was very sharp so that the snow falling on the roof would not weigh down too much. Houses were built according to the approved master plan of the city. The courtyards did not face the street, they

were necessarily located behind the house, and from the streets, elegantly built houses could be seen, rather than the courtyards. The windows and doors of all the houses in Shusha faced the street directly. Local marble stones were laid on the streets, and sidewalks were made of large cobblestones for pedestrians. Thus, carriages could move comfortably.

Mansions in the architecture of Shusha and their layout

After the foundation of Shusha was laid as the capital of the fortress city and khanate, as well as a cultural center, architects, nobles, intellectuals, artists, scientists, musicians, teachers and other artists were invited here. As a result of their efforts and love, the intelligentsia gathered here created a new Azerbaijani city, a different society, in an area located in a difficult terrain, which could be compared with European cities. A sufficient number of schools and madrasahs were opened and the city developed a lot in a short period of time. Thus, a large army of intellectuals was formed in Shusha. Young people from Shusha went to Europe to study and ensured the recognition of Azerbaijan there. For this reason, along with national values, European style and values prevailed in the city, from clothing to cuisine. These names did not ignore the architecture of the city.

“As we know, 17 neighborhoods have been built in the city. Each neighborhood had its own square, mosque, spring and hammam. The houses in the city were two and three-story, large-sized, with many large windows and balconies, and were built of local marble. The windows were made in grid style, the distance between the floors was decorated with stone ornaments, and the roof of the house was covered with tiles. Each house had a stone inscription with information on it. This epitaph necessarily contained the Qur’anic verse and, in many cases, the date of construction of the house, the name of the architect and the owner” (Chingiz Gajar; 2014). The houses of old Shusha were mostly of mansion type. All of them had orchards and were surrounded by stone fences. Houses form a kind of street-corridor, their whole walls often faced the street.

German traveler Baron Von Gatshausen wrote about the artistic layout of Shusha residential houses in Shusha in 1843 in the house of Major-General Jafargulu Khan Javanshir, the grandson of the Khan of Karabakh Ibrahimkhalil Khan: “...*My companion, Mr. Aderkas, was introduced to him (Jafargulu Khan) in Shusha and was invited to tea by him. He saw here a strange mixture of Eastern and European customs and ways of life. The appearance of the house was no different from the houses of rich Tatars (Azerbaijani) in Shusha. But inside, there was a hall arranged according to European comfort, mirrors on the walls, chandeliers on the ceiling, furniture made of expensive red wood in front of the walls, sofas, armchairs, tables, chairs... The walls were wallpapered, decorated with paintings, all the things were European neatness and luxury. The servants were dressed in Tatar clothes and Circassian chokha.*”

Mansions

Since the number of wealthy people in Shusha was large, houses were built more luxuriously than others. All of these factors made Shusha a very beautiful city.

The architectural style of a number of houses has been relevant at all times. For example, the entrance door of Jahangir Khan's house (the building where the Shusha District Police Department is located) has a block system. After entering through the gabled front door from the street, one can go up the stairs and enter the rooms. The windows of the house are very close to the floor, they are placed higher than 20 cm from the floor. There is a large gate in the building itself for the entrance of the carriage to the yard. In such houses, even in the 19th century, there was a bathroom in the second and third stages. In order to drain the dirty water, siphon-shaped channels were made in the raft marble stones, which prevented the unpleasant smell from coming from the pipe.

The same words can be said about the palace complexes of Haji Gulu, Khan's daughter Natavan, Bahman Mirza Gajar, Asad Bey, Mehmandarovs and others, as well as the mansions of Haji Dadash, Zohrabbayov and many other houses.

Conclusion

Some researches believe that, the main purpose of the construction of the five-story buildings built in Shusha during the Soviet era was not to accommodate people, but to demolish historical properties and to lose traces of Azerbaijan in Shusha. As at that time, this policy manifested itself in different forms in all parts of Azerbaijan. Historical-architectural monuments of Shusha city have a unique and irreplaceable place in the history of Azerbaijan. Although it is said that the houses of Shusha are not different from the houses of other regions of Azerbaijan, we think that in Shusha, mainly two-story properties built from local rock stones are quite different. It is possible to differentiate them from residential houses in other regions with their unique construction style and architectural elements. The solution of the entrance portal, which is made of wooden lattice window, glazed balcony, columns, railings and carved stone elements can be the example of this. Unfortunately, most of these buildings have not survived to our time.

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SETTLEMENTS AND CEMETERIES OF CAUCASIAN ALBANIAN PERIOD IN AGHYAZI PLAIN (GAKH / AZERBAIJAN)

Abstract: The north-western lands of Caucasian Albania cover the territories located in the Ganikh-Ayrichay valley. These places, mainly in the province of Cambysena, are rich with antique and early medieval archaeological monuments. Monuments belonging to the Yaloylutepe archaeological culture and as a continuation of its material cultural heritage, the early medieval archaeological monuments are represented by both settlements and necropolises along the Ganikh-Gabirri-Ayrichay basins. The Aghyazi plain is located in the lands that are considered to be the eastern end of Cambysena. In this area, there are settlements such as Torpaggala, Aghyazi, Garabulag, and Galasheher, and near them, there are antique - early medieval necropolises. The monuments of the Albanian period of the Aghyazi plain are represented by settlements and grave monuments of antiquity and the early Middle Ages. As a result of archaeological research, materials belonging to the Early Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and Early Middle Ages were obtained from those monuments, and pottery samples and other material culture samples were found. The cultural layers of the settlements are defined. The researches show that the settlements were connected, and the burial rites were performed in the jar coffins and earthen graves, which reflects the belief of the Albanian population in the afterlife. The materials found in the graves belonging to the early and late stages of antiquity. At a distance of 0.5 km from Torpaggala, in the area called Saqqizliq, in addition to the jar coffins and earthen graves of antiquity, Christian earthen graves of the early Middle Ages were also found. Those graves belong to the period when Christianity spread in Caucasian Albania. It should be noted that the jar coffind and earthen graves found in Qipchagtepe are also similar to the graves of Garabulag and Torpaggala.

Key words: Gakh, Aghyazi, Caucasian Albania, archaeology

Introduction

Aghyazi plain is located in the southern part of the Gakh district, between Mingachevir reservoir and Ganikh-Ayrichay rivers. The area has plain steppe lands. The western part is surrounded by the Akhar-Bakhar range and the eastern part by the Ajinohur plain. There, the main settlements are built on the banks of the river. According to some early medieval sources, the area is referred to as the province of Getaru (Geitara for antiquity), which was included in the province of Cambysena, including Mingachevir, at its eastern

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end. In the ancient and early Middle Ages, settlements and grave monuments existed on the Aghyazi plain. There are Albanian period settlements such as Torpagala, Galasheher (Cambysena 1), Aghyazi 1 (Cambysena 2), Garabulag (or Aghyazi 2) and antique - early medieval necropolises near them.

Discussion. In the Agyazi plain area of the Gakh region, there are settlements and necropolises of the Albanian period along the left bank of Ganikh river, and on both banks of Ayrichay, as well as in the part where Ayrichay flows into the Ganikh river, (Figure 2).

Torpagala settlement is located in the south of Almali village of Gakh district, on the left bank of Ganikh river, 25 km south-west of Gakh city. The length of the oblong hill in the north-east and south-west direction is 500-510 m, and the width is 150-160 m (Figure 3). The total area is 1.5 hectares. As a result of R.M.Vahidov's research, the building remains, oven and hearth places, production hearths, household jars, various samples of pottery and glass products, and bone remains were unearthed in Torpagala (Figure 4). The walls of the five rooms (all of the rooms burned) discovered in the VII excavation area of the earthworks were made of clay bricks, and the ceiling was made of wood (Figure 5). Interestingly that a lot of gorses were found in the hearth places. R.B.Goyushov mentions that it seems that it was used to tan the bark and whiten the walls of the houses.

Studies have shown that there was a special handicraft quarter in Torpagala. Two pottery and brick spheres, as well as a glass production furnace, were discovered here. Pottery spheres are elliptical and have two tiers. Unglazed pottery was produced in both spheres. The brick-baking sphere is the only building material furnace found in the South Caucasus archaeological excavations [Vahidov, 1965, p. 201-202].

The rarest relic in Torpagala is the discovery of a glass production furnace. A lot of glass remains were found inside this hearth, which was built in a square shape and was very neat.

Jar coffins and earthen graves were found under the residence, and Christian graves were found in the nearby area called Saqqizlig. There is no doubt that those graves belong to Caucasian Albanians [Vahidov, 1965, p. 202-203].

Torpagala has a 2-4-meter-thick cultural layer covering the 3rd-15th centuries. The discovery of a 1.5-2-meter-high defensive wall around the hill, along with household items from the cultural layer, pottery spheres, and a glass production furnace allowed scientists to call this place an urban settlement. It is believed that there was early medieval city belonging to the Caucasian Albanians in the territory of Torpagala.

26 meters of the 30-meter-long remnant of the wall stretches from northwest to southeast in Torpagala. The remains of that building go to the lower part of the 8-meter wall in the upper part. A 15-meter wall crosses that section and runs from northeast to southwest. At 10 meters from the previous wall, a 7-meter-long parallel wall is directed perpendicularly to the current wall. The remains of this building are the remains of a residential building dating back to the V-VII centuries. In its southern part, the broken parts of 4 agricultural jars were identified. Relatively in the south, traces of another

building 7 meters long were recorded. The remains of buildings from the end of the early Middle Ages located in the area are accompanied by pottery [Aliyev, 2022, p. 17-18].

Galasheher (Cambysena 1). In 2013, an expedition led by N.M.Mukhtarov recorded a naturally fortified, urban-type settlement in the eastern part of the Cambysena province of Caucasian Albania. In 2015-2016, archaeological exploration was carried out in the area [Mukhtarov, et al., 2017, p. 181]. The settlement of Galasheher is located on the left bank of the Ganikh river, in area that is defended from all sides and has only one access road to the central part. The settlement consists of two parts: the part that starts directly from the left bank of the river and continues to the breast of the mountain, and the plain part of the road, which continues along the mountain breast for 300-400 meters, surrounded by mountains and cliffs. During the construction of the earthen embankment along the coast, the cultural layer was disturbed and it is currently recorded that it has accumulated to a thickness of 0.5-0.9 m. Ceramic pieces belong to the III-II B.C. and to the II-III centuries A.D. In Late Antiquity, the settlement included the upper natural fortified part. The comparison of the archaeological materials obtained during the exploratory excavation and the surface materials shows that life in Galasheher started in the 3rd century B.C. and was interrupted as a result of the Arab occupation in the 8th century A.D. In the coastal part, the existing cultural layer is 25-30 cm, and in the other part, the cultural layer continues up to 90 cm. The total area of the settlement is about 3 ha, and it is assumed that it covered a larger area in the early times [Mukhtarov, et al., 2017, p. 181-182]. The place of residence was located along Ganikh on the highways connecting the Kura Basin Samukh territories on one side, the Caucasus Mountains on the other, and the Ajinohur territories on the East, and was recorded at the confluence of the Kura and Ganikh river basins of the ancient Cambysena province. In 2021, we prepared an archaeological plan for the remains of the building located in that area (Figure 1). The area is administratively included in the northern part of the Samukh district.

The Aghyazi 1 settlement (Cambysena 2) is located on the left bank of the Ganikh River, towards the center of the Torpaggala and Galasheher settlements. The Torpaggala monument is easily visible from its north. In 2021, it was determined that there is an antique period layer in the monument [Aliyev, 2021, p. 18-19]. Our observations in 2022 at the Aghyazi settlement, located on the left bank of the Ganikh (Alazan) river, at the western end of the Agyazi plain, give us reason to say that the settlement belongs to the antique period. The remains of the building were unearthed by us in the upper layer. The first construction layer is 22 meters long and stretches from northwest to southeast. On both sides of it, the remnant of a perpendicular wall turns to the southwest at an angle of 90°. The length of the remains of the first is 8 meters, and the length of the second is 3 meters. The construction layer in its lower part extends 12 meters from the northeast to the southwest. In its southern part, the remains of a 2-meter building to the west are adjacent to that wall. The remains of the first-floor wall perpendicular to the northeast direction extend 5 meters. The remnant of a perpendicular wall, parallel

to the previous long wall, extends 3 meters to the north-west. It should be noted that the remains of the building are the remains of Late Antiquity. The first building remains belong to the III-IV centuries, and the second building remains belong to the I-II centuries. Contemporary pottery accompanies the remains of the building.

Garabulag (Aghyazi 2) settlement is located on the left bank of Ayrichay, about 1 km east of Torpagala. The height of the hill is 30 m above the ground. However, as a result of water washing, a certain part of the monument was washed away and eroded. The cultural layer is 1 m thick in the remaining 200x25 m residential area. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, R.M.Vahidov, G.M.Aslanov, and F.R.Mahmudov conducted archaeological exploration. Pottery samples belonging to the Yaloylutepe culture were unearthed [Mahmudov, 1965, p. 131-132]. Jar coffins and earthen graves were studied in the part of the settlement that reaches the raw soil and it was determined that they belong to the antique period [Mahmudov, 1965, p. 133-134]. The *Gipchagtepe* monument, located east of that area on the opposite side of Ayrichay [Aliyev, 2018, p. 25-26; Aliyev, 2021, p. 22-23] (Figure 6-7). In the western part of Gipchagtepe, III excavation site was opened by us and an earthen grave was studied. As a result, 6 skeletons were unearthed in the study of the grave where the deceased was buried. During the burial, the persons were placed on their right side and facing north. In the grave where 4 people were adults and 2 people were babies, the babies were buried in the arms and shoulders of the adults we consider to be their parents. We think adults are women. Because the unearthed ornaments give us reason to say so. Pottery, copper, and bronze bracelets, rings, and earrings were found in the grave. Parts of cutting tools made of iron material were also unearthed. Also found copper buckles, buttons, and parts of an ornament attached to the upper part of the arm as an ornament. Earthenware refers to three-legged vases, jugs, pitchers, and other pottery samples. One of the interesting finds is a small ceramic female idol. According to the material culture examples, the earthen grave was buried in the I century B.C. – I century A.D. Those who buried in the antique earthen graves were pagan people of Caucasian Albania. One of the interesting things for us is that those buried in the grave could have died for two reasons: the deceased was either murdered or died of some disease. Otherwise, the burial of babies, and adults in the same grave, and at the same time would be illogical. We believe that the analysis of samples taken from the teeth of the buried will help clarify our point. The tomb, which has a very interesting feature, is important for the study of ancient Albanian worldview, faith and belief in the afterlife, burial customs, and rites.

Conclusion. The monuments of the Albanian period of the Aghyazi plain are represented by settlements and grave monuments of antiquity and the early Middle Ages. As a result of archaeological research, materials belonging to the Early Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and Early Middle Ages were obtained from those monuments, pottery samples and other material culture samples were found. The cultural layers of the settlements are defined. The researches show that the settlements were connected, and the burial rites were performed in jar coffins and earthen graves, which reflects the belief

of the Albanian population in the afterlife. The materials found in the graves belonging to the early and late stages of antiquity. At a distance of 0.5 km from Torpaggala, in the area called Saqqizlig, in addition to the jar coffins and earthen graves of antiquity, Christian earthen graves of the early Middle Ages were also found. Those graves belong to the period when Christianity spread in Caucasian Albania. It should be noted that the jar coffins and earthen graves found in Gipchagtepe are also similar to the graves of Garabulag and Torpaggala. The Torpaggala monument, located near the village of Leleli, has examples of material culture similar to the materials of the monuments mentioned as a place of residence of the ancient period. It is possible to say the same about the Torpaggala residence located near Muganli village in Zagatala. Another similar settlement is located in the historical Cambysena province of Caucasian Albania (modern territory of the Republic of Georgia) near the mouth of the Gabirri River. In a word, these monuments have an important role in the historical-archaeological research of Cambysena province today as archaeological monuments that reflect the material culture of the antique and early medieval period of Caucasian Albania.

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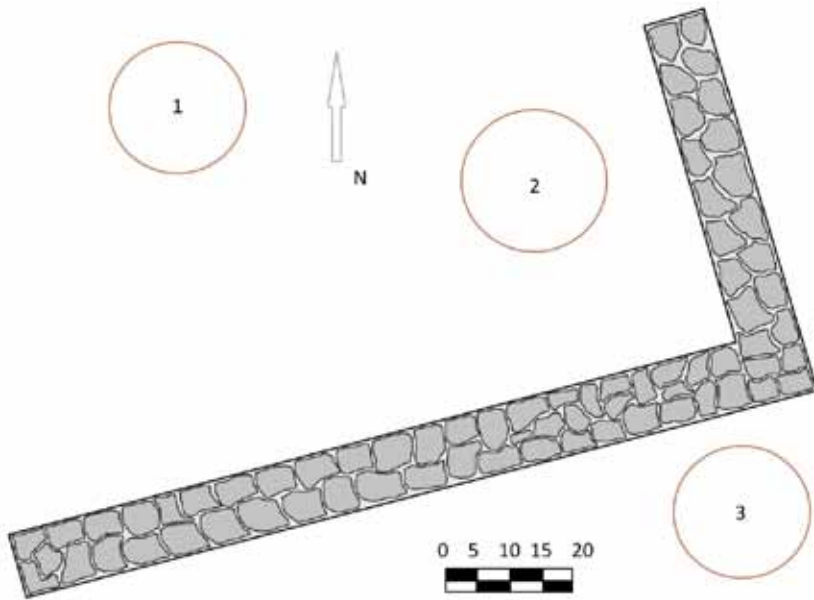


Figure 1. The plan of wall remains in Galasheher settlement (Taleh Aliyev)



Figure 2. Albanian period monuments' places of Aghyazi plain (Google Earth Sattalite)



Figure 3. The plan of Torpaggala settlement and the parts of archaeological excavation (Rahim Vahidov)



Figure 4. Wall remains in Torpaggala settlement (Rahim Vahidov)



Figure 5. Wall remains in Torpaggala settlement (Rahim Vahidov)



Figure 6. Relief part of Gipchagtepe (Taleh Aliyev)

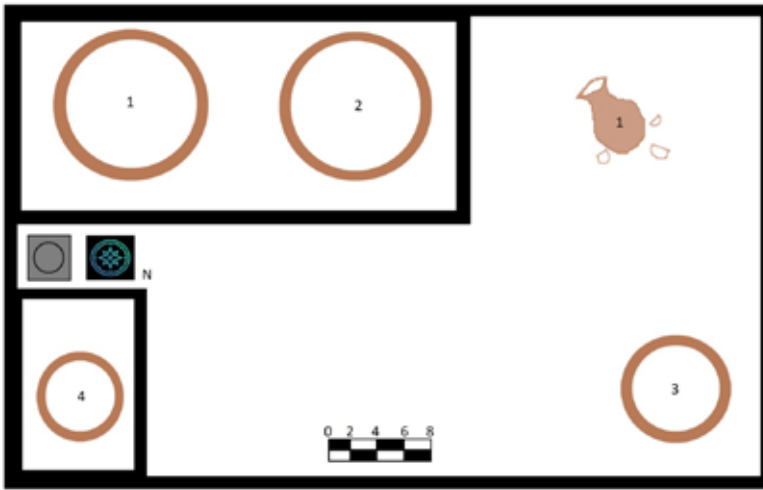


Figure 7. The plan of the II archaeological excavation area in Gipchagtepe settlement (Taleh Aliyev)

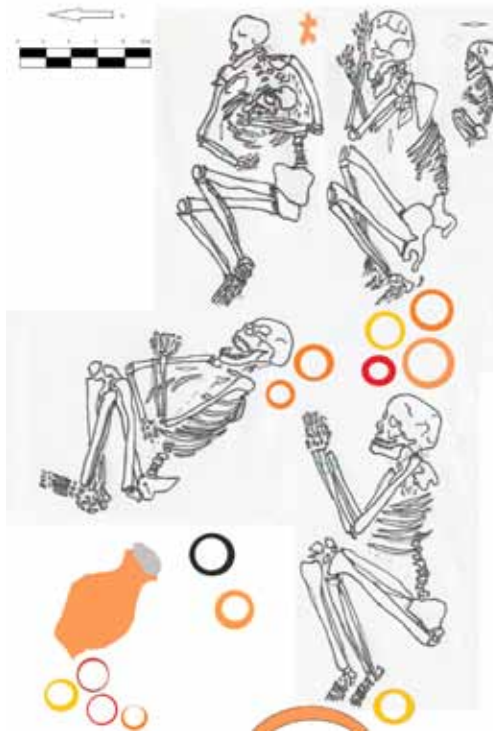


Figure 8. Antique period earthen grave in the III archaeological excavation area in Gipchagtepe (Taleh Aliyev)

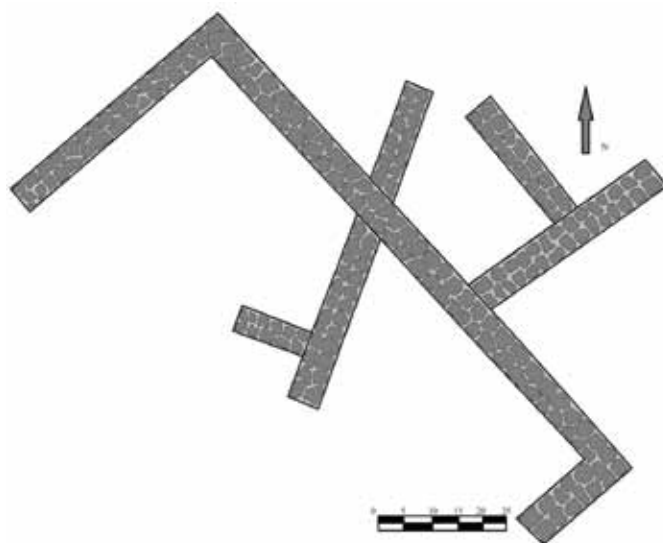


Figure 9. The plan of the wall remains in Aghyazi 1 (Cambysena 2) settlement (Taleh Aliyev)

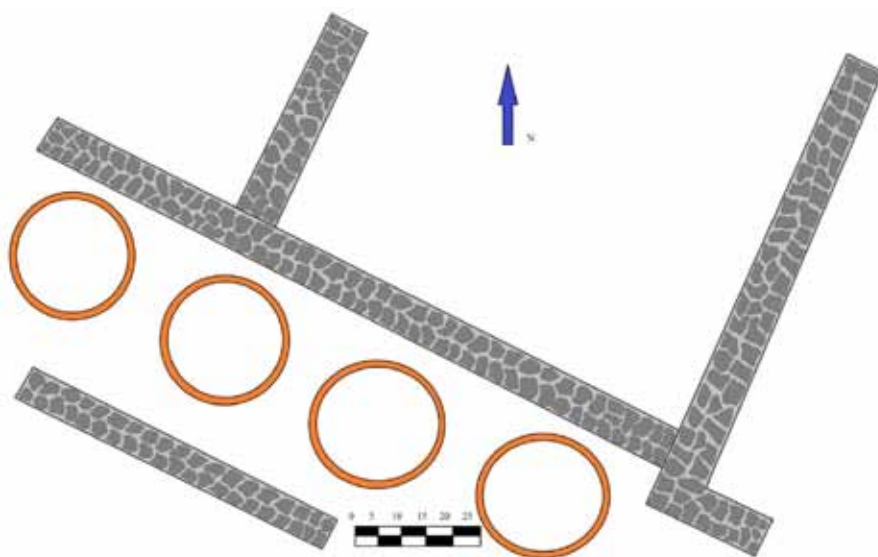


Figure 10. The plan of the wall remains in Torpaggala settlement (Taleh Aliyev)

EPIGRAPHY OF SALJUGIDS PERIOD (ON THE BASIS OF GANJA POTTERY)

Abstract: One of the periods of development of epigraphic art in the territory of Azerbaijan is the renaissance period, which includes the reign of the Seljuks and Atabays. As a result of the strengthening of the representations that arose after the establishment of the Seljuk state in a number of places on the territory of Azerbaijan, as well as in Ganja in the 11th century, important improvements were noticeable in those regions. After the conquest of the political and economic centers of the Caliphate by the Seljuk state, there was a need to master the state correspondence and literature in the Arabic language. Writing commemorative and construction inscriptions in Arabic, Turkish and Persian with Arabic letters became a tradition of the Seljuk state. The Seljuk state covered the territories from Central Asia to the Mediterranean Sea. With this, conditions have been created for the creation of uniform examples of epigraphy in the regions. It is in this context that epigraphic examples were developed in Ganja during the Seljuk period. One of the main centers of the renaissance culture observed in the XI-XII centuries was the city of Ganja. (2, p. 104) This was the reason for the beginning of cultural, political and economic rise in the city of Ganja. Renaissance culture had its influence on a number of areas - urban culture, crafts, trade, architecture. The exquisite examples of pottery found in settlements and graves during archaeological excavations can be considered the main indicator of the influence of Renaissance culture. In the article, the Arabic-Persian epigraphic inscriptions on ceramic samples from the XI-XIII centuries are examined for the first time, the analyzed epigraphic inscriptions are analyzed with reference to the literature, the religious and spiritual excellence and perfection of the Azerbaijani people in the calligraphic inscriptions on ceramics of different periods are explained and conveyed to a wide audience. information about the development of religious-philosophical vision and craftsmanship is reflected.

Key words: Seljugids, archaeology, Ganja, pottery, epigraphy

Indroduction. The science of epigraphy, which studies the inscriptions created in different periods of history, has a great role in illuminating a number of problems of our history and culture, and in conveying them to future generations in the correct form. Thus, thanks to the science of epigraphy, the names, patronymics, titles, dates of birth and death of state representatives, religious figures, artists, artists, poets and writers who existed in certain

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periods, their activities, as well as the lifestyle of ordinary citizens, a number of settlements their names, geographical location, and the period to which they belong have been researched, examined and revealed based on the facts. certain epigraphic inscriptions engraved on it have been recorded. Discovered epigraphic samples have been the focus of attention of local scientists as well as foreign scientists throughout history. V.Krachkovskaya, X.M.Fren, N.V.Khanikov, B.A.Dorn, M.I.Brosse, A.A.Kunik, I.A.Bortolomey, P.I.Petrov and others have always shown an interest in Azerbaijani epigraphy, starting from the second half of the 19th century, mainly Muslim monuments. have devoted an important place to its research. Also, the researches of M. Nematova, A. Alasgarzade and S. Karimzade played an exceptional role in the study of Azerbaijani epigraphy. Thus, important work has been done and rich materials have been collected in the direction of more in-depth and accurate investigation of the inscriptions engraved on solid materials by the mentioned scientists. However, it should also be noted that the examples of epigraphic works on ceramics found in different regions of Azerbaijan in certain periods have not yet been read and studied. For this reason, the main topic of the article is to study epigraphy on ceramics during the Seljuk period. As a whole, the development of pottery in the XI-XIII centuries was closely related to the Seljuk and Atabay period. Thus, the pottery belonging to these periods included the main characteristics of the craftsmanship of the Seljuk and Atabay eras, and led to important advances in pottery as well as in other art fields. Thus, development was noticeable in the main nuances such as the cooking technique, engobing, polishing, composition of clay, sweet drawing on the engobe, and the inclusion of a number of exquisite images on the glazed vessels, both monochrome and polychrome. features are noticeable. According to the classification of Renaissance period glazed earthenware, plates, glasses, cups, jugs, jugs, bowls, cups, etc. divided into types. (3, p. 165) On many of them, on the body, seat and throat parts, along with various images, calligraphic inscriptions can be found. Pottery products of this type are found during archaeological excavations in Ganja, Gabala, Shamkir, Beylagan, Mingachevir, Shabran, Nakhchivan and other regions.

Main part. As we know, as a result of the strengthening of the representations that arose after the establishment of the Seljuk state in a number of places in Azerbaijan, as well as in Ganja in the 11th century, important developments were noticeable in those regions. It was during this renaissance culture that the main center of the Atabays of Arran was the city of Ganja. This, in turn, was the reason for the rise in the city of Ganja. Also, this renaissance culture was manifested in all areas of the region. Thus, the main influence of the renaissance culture manifested itself in urban culture, crafts, and trade. Thus, the exquisite examples of Ganja pottery found in residences and graves during archaeological excavations conducted in different periods in Ganja and its surrounding areas can be considered as the main indicator of the influence of the renaissance culture. (4, p. 67) During this period, more polychrome vessels were produced in Ganja. So, masters used green, brown, yellow and turquoise colors on glazed and unglazed vessels. In terms

of appearance and quality, Ganja pottery was distinguished by its elegance. That is why Ganja was considered one of the main centers of the Arran pottery school at the beginning of the 11th-13th centuries. In general, the city of Ganja developed radically during this period as a part of the Atabays of Azerbaijan, as the center of Arran. (5, p. 228)

The ornaments of the samples of Ganja pottery belonging to the Seljuk period were mainly kufic and naskh script, anthropomorphic (with human images), zoomorphic (with animal and bird images), and botanical (with plant images). It was decorated by the master himself. This is proved by the name of the craftsman who worked on the pottery products found during archaeological excavations, spontaneously written religious words or verses of the poets of the time. The seal engraved on the bottom of the seat of some pottery indicates that it was made in some workshop or belongs to the same master. In particular, the muhaqq line, which is considered the writing line of the Qur'an and is similar to the kufic line in terms of its structure, was known as the main line used during the Seljuk period. In general, in some sources, it is also mentioned that the muhaqq line, which was used most often on ceramics during the Seljuk period, actually declined during this period and gave place to the suls, i.e., erasure line. (6, p. 48)

If we pay attention to the material and cultural samples discovered in Ganja and its surrounding regions during the archaeological excavations, we will see that they differ from others due to their diversity. As a result of the study of these materials belonging to the Seljuk period preserved in the Archaeological Fund of the National Museum of Azerbaijan History, it became clear that although a number of foreign and local scientists made certain notes about the material and cultural samples in their works, the inscriptions on them were not read, and a detailed study of their descriptions was not carried out. If we pay attention to the ceramic fragments preserved in the Archaeological Fund of the National Museum of Azerbaijan History, we will clearly see the inscriptions of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, kufic and naskh script on them. (f/n- 313, size: mouth diameter 6.07cm. X 7.05cm. ; height 2cm, seat diameter 8cm. X8cm.) On the outer surface of the seat part of the ceramic bowl, a ceramic fragment, which is believed to contain the image of Bahramgur, is noteworthy. The blue upper garment of the commander on horseback is finely made. As a symbol of martyrdom, on the horse with a knotted tail, there is a saddle painted with a turquoise color typical of the Seljuk glazed pottery samples. (Fig. 1.)

The images of animals and birds reflected on the inner surface of another shallow tray, of which only eighteen fragments are available, are interesting (f/n- 502, Af.inv/n 15026, 1542, 2802, 25086, 2245.). The inner surface of the bowl near the mouth is bordered by two lines in bright brown color towards the inside of the bowl, after a pattern similar to small hills painted in light blue. Between these two lines are light blue patterns similar to the Kufic line, with brown dots following each other and spontaneously drawn patterns on them. Toward the center, drawings of various wild animals, birds and plants drawn in pink, blue, and turquoise colors attract attention. There

are inscriptions in Kufic script on these vessel fragments, which mostly reflect the “Khamasa” of Nizami Ganjavi. These fragments, found as a result of archaeological excavations in 1939, once again prove that the genius Nizami was one of the outstanding writers of his time. (Fig. 2.)

These ceramic samples made by special order of the high class, with high quality and noble handwork, are also an indicator of the craftsmanship and artistic skills of the Azerbaijani people. Another ceramic fragment (Af/n 2547, size - 4 cm. X 4 cm.) with turquoise colored inner and outer surface, found in Ganja area, is a part of a small vessel. On the inner surface of the wall connected to the seat, an inscription is written in blue Kufic script (-ul indezul) on vegetable patterns inside a black thin border. Kufic script (كوفى) is written in black color on the wall connected to the seat on the outer surface. (Fig. 3.)

Three fragments of a small ceramic vessel found in Ganja in 1938 should be mentioned in particular. On the first fragment, the image of a branch is drawn in green. At the same time, it can be guessed that the master's name (محمّد محمد - work of Muhammad-Muhammad) was written with the erasure line. (a. Af/n 2124, f/n 402, size- 3.03cm. X 6.05cm.) On the second fragment, a picture of a human face with a pointed nose and elongated squinting eyes, reminiscent of the features of a Turkish person, was painted on the second fragment. (b. Af/n 25077, f/n 501.15221, size- 5cm. X 5cm.) The third fragment is the mouth part of the vessel. As it can be seen, the edge of the bowl is bordered with two black lines, and in the third black border towards the center, an inscription is written with an unclear (تحریر) line. (c. unnumbered, size- 2.05cm. X 2cm). An unnumbered vessel fragment - turquoise, white and khaki colors were used. There is an inscription in khaki color (tadmi). The vessel fragment with the inventory number 2308, desert registration number 346 preserved in the Archaeological Fund of the National Museum of Azerbaijan History is noteworthy. On it, one or two Arabic letters are written in brown color on a white border, with a naskh line. (Fig. 4.)

In general, the pottery art, which is considered one of the main types of medieval urban culture and craftsmanship, the preparation, description and use of pottery products, we find not only in scientific publications, but also in our artistic works. we can see data with scientific value. (11)

Sagi, stay with dreamy wine,

Fill this amber pot.

This is a gem that seeps out of the black earth

Make my heart happy, let there be no sadness.

As can be seen from the verse, wine was drunk in amber-colored pottery at the gatherings of that time. It is clear from this that a large part of glazed and unglazed, colored ceramic samples obtained during archaeological excavations in medieval urban areas were used in household and household purposes. In Nizami Ganjavi's poem «Iskandarnama», we find another verse that testifies to the more refined and elegant preparation of this type of tableware according to the request of the customer in the Middle Ages. (1, p. 67)

He opened the mouth of the empty, dry pot.

He hit the stone basin with the idea of filling it,
That pot broke in his hand..

Conclusion. After the Seljuks settled in different regions of Azerbaijan, cultural, political and economic growth took place in the city of Ganja, which is considered one of the main centers of the renaissance culture observed in the XI-XII centuries, which in turn had an impact on a number of areas - urban culture, crafts, trade, architecture. (7, p. 48) The exquisite examples of pottery found in settlements and graves during archaeological excavations are considered to be the main indicator of the influence of Renaissance culture. As a result of the research, it became clear that Arabic-Persian epigraphic inscriptions with various content on ceramic samples from the XI-XIII centuries are a substantial proof of the religious and spiritual excellence, perfection, religious-philosophical vision, and craftsmanship of the Azerbaijani people. It is clear that more glazed vessels were produced in Ganja. (8, p. 46) Masters used green, brown, yellow and turquoise colors on polychrome glazed vessels. (9, p. 15) The muhaqqaq line, which is considered the writing line of the Holy Quran, similar to the kufic line in terms of its structure, was known as the main line used in the Seljuk period. (10, p. 320)

In general, in some sources, it is also mentioned that the muhaqqaq line, which was used most often on ceramics during the Seljuq era, actually declined during this period and gave place to the suls, i.e. erasure line.

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12.



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4

WEAVING IN THE MIDDLE AGES IN SHIRVAN

(based on archaeological materials and ethnoarchaeological research)

Abstract: The article is dedicated to the weaving art of Shirvan, which has been an important part of the medieval craft in Azerbaijan. As it is known, artifacts discovered during archaeological research in various regions of Azerbaijan, including Shirvan and the surrounding areas, have been the object of research on the basis of numerous material culture samples and are being studied today. The article explores the findings of various areas of weaving art found in Shirvan and surrounding areas and compares them with the material culture patterns found in the monuments of Azerbaijan belonging to the same era. The tools used in carpet making, overall, in weaving and their process of development as well as their purpose of usage are analyzed. Furthermore, the precious examples of Azerbaijani carpet schools exhibited and preserved in different museums of the world are also mentioned. At the same time, general information about Azerbaijani carpet making, such as the schools of carpet making and their distinctive characteristics is provided. The fact that certain regions of Azerbaijan rich with necessary resources turned into favorable place for weaving and laid the foundation for further development of the carpet making is mentioned in the article. This information is verified on the basis of deductive reasoning based on the archeological findings and local and foreign literature. While working on the article, the author relied on the written sources, the works of our medieval classics, and the archeological material, and combined the ornaments used in the weaving art with the archaeological material and provided a comparative analysis.

Key words: weaving, rug, Shirvan, medieval, archeological excavations.

The unique cultural heritage of each nation is its national wealth, and intensively reflects the national-spiritual values, history and culture of the nation that it represents.

In Azerbaijan, the art of weaving occupies a special place among the ancient arts. Examples of this include mats, hemp, various (cotton, wool, linen, silk, etc.) woven fabrics, as well as piled and pileless carpets. Over time, each field of weaving has developed in its own way and reached its highest stage. Among these areas that have developed, carpet making has gained more popularity. Carpet art developed in the Middle Ages and reached a high level in the XV-XVI centuries. In this period, along with many fields of folk crafts (pottery, architecture, carving, woodworking, coppersmithing,

¹ ANAS Archaeology, Ethnography and Anthropology Institute “Scientific Center for Albanian Studies”. Aparıcı elmi işçi

jewelry, etc.), almost all fields of weaving, especially carpet weaving, were in the Renaissance period in terms of both technical and artistic aspects. In this period, looms, knitting tool and etc. were perfected and adjusted to the working principle (10).

Most of the diverse material culture samples discovered during archaeological excavations are ceramic vessels and their numerous parts. Despite this, household and decorative items made of stone, metal, glass, wood and other materials were found among the discovered archaeological remains. The discovered examples of material culture confirm that many branches of craftsmanship were active at the same time and were sold not only in local markets, but also in large central markets. In the Middle Ages, in many cities of Azerbaijan - Baku, Ganja, Gabala, Beylagan, Shamakhi, Nakhchivan, Guba, Barda, Tabriz, Ardabil and other developed cities, as well as villages, in small workshops and homes, various products were woven.

The Shirvan school also had a special place in the development of carpet art. Carpets belonging to the Shirvan group have many individual characteristics as well as similarities in the background of general carpet craftsmanship. These features differ in composition, pattern, elements and choice of paint.

In the works of our medieval classics, we come across a number of points related to the art of weaving. Khagani compared himself with his grandfather and that his grandfather was a great artist of his time, and he himself was a wordsmith:

“My grandfather mastered in the art of weaving,
I am also weaving words humbly,
I am the master who is loved today,
I am the poet Khagani, weaver of the words”

The grandfather of loved poet Khagani Shirvani was engaged in many fields of crafts, including weaving. The poet also gave information about the weaving tools used by his grandfather. These tools included drum-comb, wheel, nail, tanab-rope, lokh-spa-footboard, pachakh-footwell, gargara, makuk, hoop-circle, tarnud-asas, yarn, kalave-yumag, masure-trubka and etc. In addition to labor tools, he named many of the fabrics used by the population of Shirvan for clothing: He notes that kharaft, gerbas, diba (patterned), khara woven of high-quality silk, ebra, zarkesh, etc were among them[7].

As it can be seen, the local population's use of various fabrics indicates the abundance of local raw materials, the export of Azerbaijani, especially Shamakhi silk, to the world markets in the 12th-13th centuries..

Sara Ashurbeyli wrote that in the 12th-13th centuries, in the territory of Shirvan, especially Shamakhi and Sheki, raw silk and silk fabrics were exported to the markets of Eastern countries as well as domestic markets [8, 275].

Ethnographer Arif Mustafayev, a researcher of Shirvan's material culture, writes about Shirvan's clothing that not only sheep's wool, but also camel's

wool and goat's hair called "ghazil" were used to weave cloth. An excellent type of mahud was woven in Shamakhi. In the 90s of the 18th century, there were 1500 weavers' manufactories weaving darayi, tafta and ganovuz in the city of Shamakhi, and in 1865, 19 mahud quarries. At the same time, Shirvan manufactories were active, the main centers of which were the city of Shamakhi, the villages of Basgal and Muchu. Artisans engaged in silk production brought raw material mainly from Shaki, Garamaryam, Bigir, Vandam, Gabala, Ismayilli, Ordubad, Kutaisi and Samarkand. Due to the quality of the thread, skilled artisans preferred Gabala and Garamaryam silk (9,64). At the beginning of the 19th century, 74 silk manufactories operated in Shirvan, 13 in Shamakhi, and 11 in Basgal. Although centuries have passed, there are still silk manufactories in Basgal today. With their woven silk scarves, they satisfy the needs not only of people living in the local and surrounding areas, but also of local and foreign tourists who come to the region.

The presence of favorable natural conditions and raw materials are important factors for the sustainability and development of any field of craftsmanship. Namely, the settlements located along the Kura River and its surrounding areas are also of this type. In addition, the areas located along the Kura River are among the settlements where people have historically been densely and intensively settled. On the one hand, the watery Kura River, which is necessary for watering pastures and orchards, and on the other hand, the natural climatic conditions and large areas of land suitable for agriculture mean the development of various fields of agriculture, animal husbandry, and handicrafts in these areas, which leads to the intensive settlement of the population. and created a foundation for living a sedentary life.

Numerous examples of material culture discovered during archaeological excavations in medieval settlements, their investigation and research as a result of written sources provide detailed information about the emergence and development of various fields of craftsmanship. In this period, woodworking, pottery, metalworking, transportation, glass production and other fields of craftsmanship were widespread.

Weaving is also important among the widespread ancient arts. Archaeological materials confirm the rapid and wide spread of this field of craftsmanship, having evolved from a simple form. Among the finds, there are also a large number of tool heads made of stone, clay, bone and wood. Researchers report that these items were continuously used in the textile industry [1.265-269].

The variety of tools used in carpet weaving shows how important a role they play during the work process. These tools have matured over time and allow the work process to be carried out quickly and qualitatively. For example, the pile is cleaned with a polishing comb, cut and normalized with a knife, and polished with scissors. Comb was used to prepare weaved loops for shaving. In addition to these, there is also a hook knife, which, as the main tool, performs both the task of hooking and cutting.

Hava is a tool for beating wefts and setting loops in place and regulating the density of bedding. Kirkit tool is used to set the weft in place and

prepare it for beating. As both hava and kirkit did not meet all the requirements of weaving, they were gradually phased out, and more sophisticated metal wheels with wooden bundles began to be used (Image 7, Author of the image Farhad Farmanov –Scientific worker).

During the archaeological excavations conducted in the III-VIII century residences of Mingachevir, the discovery of bone and clay piles and various types of fabric remains shows that the sedentary population was engaged in various fields of weaving. The ancient fabrics known from the Mingachevir excavation were made of linen, the samples taken from the jar graves (2nd-1st and 1st-2nd centuries AD) of rope, and in the early Middle Ages, of wool and silk. [2. 84-85]. The discovery of a variety of fabrics from the settlement of different periods confirms the abundance of local raw materials for the development of textiles and suggests that the art of weaving was one of the leading industries. During the excavations of Mingachevir, the discovery of wool, yarn, and threads used in weaving from settlement No. III and in catacomb graves confirms that they are of local production.

Textile dyes and dye pots were also discovered in 2010-2011 from the archaeological excavations in Agsu region. On the walls of paint pots found in a ruined urban settlement, pink, yellowish paint, remains of a washing thread, as well as parts of an iron wool comb and spindle were discovered (Board 1. Image 1-5).

Excavated dwellings, along with semi-finished products, except for numerous clay heads used in weaving, made of metal weaving tools were either completely useless or some parts were obtained. Descriptions of weaving samples (weaving tools, weaving looms) obtained from residences and grave monuments can also be found on inscriptions [3. 83-89].

One of the main branches of weaving art is carpet making, which occupies a special place in the history of the culture of our people. Written sources provide detailed information about the history of the development of this art field. During the reign of the Sassanids (III-VII centuries), there is information about the weaving of different types of carpets in Azerbaijan - exquisite carpets made of silk, gold and silver thread. Musa Kalankatli, an Albanian historian who lived in the 7th century, also provides information about silk fabrics woven in Azerbaijan and carpets elegantly decorated with jewelry.

Carpet production, woven with gold and silver threads and decorated with precious stones, became traditional in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the Middle Ages, the cities of Tabriz, Shamakhi and Barda were the centers of production of pileless carpets woven from precious silk threads. Since these carpets were expensive to weave, they were mainly intended for large feudal lords and were called “zarbaf”.

Anthony Jenkinson, an English traveler who visited Azerbaijan in the 16th century, mentioned the carpets woven with gold and silver threads in the summer house of Abdulla Khan in Shamakhi, the central city of Shirvan, as well as the Dutch traveler Jan Straits, who was in Shamakhi in the 17th century, reports that the sack placed on the horse and cart of the judge of Shamakhi was woven with gold threads and decorated with pearls and

precious stones. Foreign travelers who have visited Azerbaijan at different times point out that the Khazars keep many goats and camels in Caucasian Albania, they inform about the good and fine wool of the camel, and emphasize that the fine clothes woven from the wool of the camel belong to the rich.

The art of carpet making, which stands out from other fields of craftsmanship with its unique creative values is especially emphasized in the story of «Kitab-i Dada Gorgud», our worldly saga. In ninety places, precious carpets woven from silk are shown laying on the floor. The patterns and images on the carpets indicate the various symbols of the Oghuz khans and are indicative of the inscription of the symbols of the Oghuz culture in general (www-6). The wealth of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs (E.A. human and animal images) that preserves itself in the mythical worldviews of Azerbaijanis in the epic, and related to their roots, occupies a special place in the ornament collection of carpet art. These ornaments used in carpets enter our mythological world in a clear or coded way. In the patterns of our carpets, which are described in Dada Gorgud, the sun, moon, star, horse, ram, dog, ox, snake, wolf, dragon, bird, goat, fire, pot, etc. are among the countless motifs are widespread in Azerbaijani carpets with various motifs.

As it can be seen, patterns and pattern elements used in most types of decorative and applied arts of Azerbaijan do not change their shape but forms, according to the structure of the materials. Namely, any element (for example, buta) is applied on stone in a way adapted to the composition or structure of the materials they belong to such as metal, wood, pottery and textiles. Carving and engraving on stone, wood, forging, scratching on metal, pressing, making, cutting, patterning on fabrics, embroidery, twisting, braiding, looping on carpet products, winding, winding, braiding, etc. technical methods are used. When processing all these pattern elements, rhythmic repetition and symmetry usually play an important role in considering the composition. Depending on the composition, sometimes asymmetric, mixed elements are also used. Patterns consist of geometric, vegetable, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic elements. Simple and complex elements can be used separately and together. Along with pattern elements, dyes also play an important role in the successful solution of composition in carpet weaving. It is possible to get a perfect result by using at most 3-4 colors.

Azerbaijani decorative arts are successfully represented in world museums. The works of Shirvan artists, especially carpets belonging to the Shirvan group, have a special place in this regard [11].

In various regions of Shirvan, including in the village of Bijo of Agsu district, the art of carpet weaving continues traditionally today (Image 6).

Azerbaijani carpets are the main part of the collection of the Russian Museum of Ethnography. Various types of carpets woven in different regions of Azerbaijan are exhibited and preserved in Berlin's Pergamon, Paris' Museum of Decorative Arts, Istanbul's Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works, Tehran's Farsh, St. Petersburg's Hermitage and other museums today. Art critic Rasim Afandi gave the first information about preservation of Azerbaijani carpets in world museums [4.77]. It turns out that the carpets stored in the museums of which names have been listed were transported by

foreign archaeologists and amateurs who conducted expeditions in Shusha, Shamakhi, Guba, Baku, Gadabey, Jabrayil and Başag regions of Azerbaijan. In addition to the classical carpets stored in foreign museums, prayer rugs, silk garments, jewelry and fine pottery samples, which are examples of material culture that reflect various fields of craftsmanship, are among the rich collections. Also, a Shirvan-Bijo rug woven in Guba from 1856 is kept at the Brookings Museum in New York. The patterns on the carpet are the ancient carpet patterns of Bijo (Agsu region) (Image 6). It is a pity that the rich cultural examples bought from Azerbaijani families at a low price and adorning foreign museums (mostly Russian museums) are claimed to be handiwork belonging to Armenians and are mentioned by their name in the inventory books [5]. Among them are carpet sets woven in Shusha, the ring-brow of Karabakh, palaz woven in Kazakh, khurcun, salt bags woven in Ganja and etc.

Experts divide Azerbaijani carpets into Guba, Absheron (Baku), Shirvan, Ganja, Gazakh, Karabakh, and Tabriz types according to their geographic location, pattern, color, composition, and technical characteristics as a fine art field.

“Gobustan”, “Salyan”, “Meraza” and other carpets are better known among Shirvan carpets. If the inner and outer edges of the arched images in “Maraza” carpets are combined with geometric and botanical images, the edges of “Gobustan” carpets are bordered with four rows of lines. The remaining part, which is smaller than the coverage, is filled with rhombic images, and the background of one row is dark, and the background of the second row is given with a light color. Finally, the images worked on the carpet are complemented by striped images.

Karabakh carpets occupy one of the important places in the art of carpet weaving, and there is a certain difference in their weaving. For example, the “Chalabi” carpet woven in Karabakh and belonging to the 14th-16th centuries is decorated with a 15-petal medallion [11].

According to Khudu Mammadov, a crystallographer and connoisseur of carpet art, “Our carpets are a collection of unread - undeciphered letters sent from the past to the future” that are one of the main attributes of the textile art, which occupies an important place in the everyday lives of Azerbaijanis.

As well as in various types of glazed vessels, in carpet weaving, ornaments with various plots were widely used, and these ornaments are found on epigraphic monuments, especially on tombstones. They are known from Lachin region, Urud village of Sisyan region and Absheron.

Most of the images worked on numerous ceramic vessels found in the medieval settlements of different periods of Azerbaijan were almost also used on carpets (geometric, wavy, straight line, zoomorphic, plant images and ornaments).

Thus, archaeological researches and ethnographic observations conducted in the settlements of different periods of Shirvan region confirm the intensive activity of many branches of craftsmanship. Among the existing art fields, the art of weaving is distinguished by its uniqueness. At the same time, in the years of independence, the examples of material culture found

in the residences of Agsu region from different periods also confirmed the intensive occupation of the local population in the weaving art and separate professions that satisfied their needs for carpets.

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Image 1-2 (Ashsu-Kharaba city, III excavation site)



Image 5 (paint residue Gabala-Gala)



Image 6. Agsu district –Bijo village

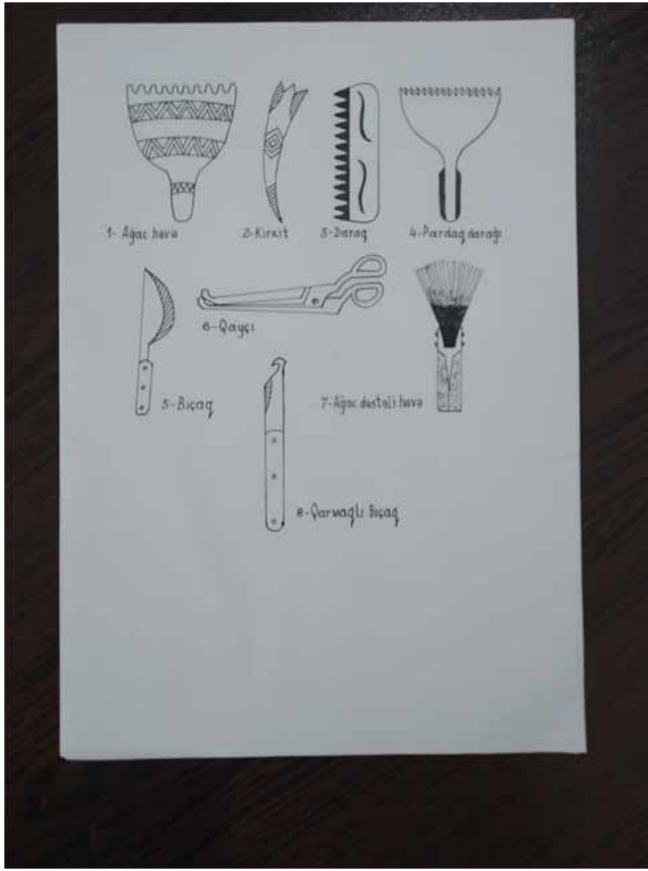


Image 7

THE LOVE LYRICS OF MAJRUH MUGHANI

ABSTRACT: The love lyrics is one of the main topics in the process of multi-stage evolution of the world poetry. Poems about love are understandable for everyone, regardless of the age of the author and whom the works talk about. As in the literature of other peoples, the love lyrics is the most widespread theme in the Azerbaijani literature, as well. Writers who wrote and created in the 19th century continued the traditions of the traditional Eastern classical romantic literature along with satirical poems. The poems written about love by our classical poets are always relevant. Mahammadali bey Majruh Mughani, who lived and created in the 19th century, is the author of the Divan manuscript. Some of the poems in his Divan, preserved under the code B-756 at the Institute of Manuscripts named after Muhammad Fuzuli of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences are dedicated to the theme of love. Majruh's works are colourful in terms of content and form. The article discusses his love poems and analyzes the love lyrics.

Keywords: Majruh Mughani, Azerbaijani literature, manuscript, poetry, love lyrics

The love lyrics is one of the main topics in the process of multi-stage evolution of the world poetry. Love is the most beautiful feeling that every person has in life. Although love may seem like a positive feeling, it is actually a sublime feeling, imbued with sorrow, emotionally powerful, and forcing one to confront emotions. Human thought develops rapidly, adapts to time and place, but emotional feelings remain unchanged.

Ancient sages claimed that each of us becomes human only through true love. We are incomplete beings without love, our lives lack a higher meaning. A sincere loving person is capable of doing beautiful and noble things, understands others so far as he or she understands himself.

Poems about love are understandable for everyone, regardless of the age of the author and whom the works talk about. Some artists compare love with spiritual pain that haunts a person and makes him constantly think about itself. To partially soothe this pain, poets put all their emotions into paper and create their most memorable masterpieces. Sometimes the points that cannot be conveyed in thick novels can be understood in small poems with more effective and colourful verses.

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Noteworthy that the love lyrics has been the focus of all classics in Eastern poetry without exception. As in the literature of other peoples, the love lyrics is the most widespread theme in the Azerbaijani literature, as well.

Literary and cultural life of Azerbaijan cannot be imagined without poetry. Lyric, which is the first form of manifestation of Azerbaijani poetry, which has a rich and ancient history, reflects human emotions and excitement, fluctuations in the inner world, feelings of joy and sadness, hatred and love, and his attitude towards positive and negative events in society. Every word that passes through the inner and spiritual vortex of the poet and infects his pen is the embodiment of his lyrical identity. In the literature of all peoples, lyrics, first of all, reflect the poet's thoughts and emotions about life events. (Guluzade 1965: 167)

Academician M.M. Jafarov in his work "Literary Thoughts" states that in the classical poetry of Azerbaijan, as a rule, he spoke like a contemplative and a lover:

"It is not a rare and surprising event that the language of love interprets great truths. We find it in all nations. However, for some reason, the interpretation of high ideologies in the language of love has become more typical in the East, particularly in Azerbaijan in particular." (Jafarov 1958: 98)

In their satirical poems, writers of the 19th century exposed the hypocritical clergy and unjust tsar officials, who oppressed the people, and continued the heritage of the traditional Eastern classical romantic literature and the Fuzuli poetry school. It is worth mentioning that even modern Azerbaijani poets, almost 400 years after Fuzuli, still show a strong tendency to interpret their thoughts in the form of romantic lyrics and ghazals. The poems written about love by our classical poets are always relevant.

In the Azerbaijani literature, which has an ancient and rich history, the creativity of any poet is like a drop in a river, however it cannot be forgotten that there is no river without small drops.

The 19th century was a period in the history of the Azerbaijani people distinguished by its rich literary and cultural environment. Over hundred poets wrote and created in this difficult and equally interesting period. If we look at the famous literary geniuses of Azerbaijani literature who lived in this period, we can see Seyid Azim Shirvani, Khurshidbanu Natavan, Molla Panah Vagif, Gasim bey Zakir, Mirza Shafi Vazef and many other famous figures. In addition to the famous literary geniuses, there are many other writers who could not become famous enough to write their name in the history of literature despite living in the same period.

Although the name and works of Mahammadali bey Majruh Mughani, who lived and created in the 19th century, are not known to a wide readership, he can be included among the artists with a powerful poetic pen. In the article will be analyzed the Majruh's poems from his Divan manuscript preserved under the code B-756 at the Institute of Manuscripts named after Muhammad Fuzuli of the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. The manuscript is written in shikasta script, the beginning and end are incomplete. (Catalogue 1963: 398) Earlier the manuscript was in a loose form being bounded later. The edges of many pages were torn due to carelessness. The poems in

the manuscript are in the form of lyrical poems such as gasida, masnavi, mukhammas, goshma and gerayly. (Alakbarova 2019: 424)

The poems in the book are written in Azerbaijani. Although Majruh writes in his native language, there are titles written in Persian at the beginning of the poems. In these titles, the content of the poems is briefly explained, and there is information about who and what event they are dedicated to. If you look at the titles that explain the reason for writing the poems and whom they are dedicated to, you can understand that the Divan is autobiographical in nature. Some of the poems in the manuscript are dedicated to the theme of love.

Majruh's works are colourful in terms of content and form. It is impossible to analyze and evaluate his poetry in a small article, therefore, in the research work, we will talk about his poems and look at his love lyrics.

Majruh devoted a special place to the praise of love in his work. The soul of Majruh's lyrical poems is the love that changes his inner world and educates him as a lover. In his poems dedicated to the theme of love, Majruh appears as a character who is in love with his soulmate and admires her. The feelings and emotions of a person in love are expressed in meaningful and beautiful poems that caress the reader's soul.

Majruh's love lyric is also somewhat autobiographical in nature. Meantime, in the poems reflecting his relationship with the women he loved, there are moments about his personal love life. As the singer of love, Majruh describes a concrete beautiful person, not an abstract image. Through the mediation of a person, Majruh arranges a meeting with a woman he falls in love with but whom he has not previously seen. Majruh, who suddenly comes face-to-face with the lady while walking near her house, describes this meeting as follows in his poem "Eyes":

هنس اش امت کنل امج می دش مت
کنر لزوک هراق همی زوک یدش ات اس

I had gone to see the beauty,
My eyes came across you.

(Manuscript B-756:40a)

The first love poem in the manuscript is dedicated to a lady named Malak, who was the poet's lover.

In his poem «Malak», the poet puts his lover above all else, says that he is madly in love with her, burning with the fire of love.

It is known from the title of the poems that Malak leaves the poet and goes to Shamakhi. The poet's sufferings are obvious. The poet who wrote that the fire of separation burned his heart, could not get used to this and wrote a letter to her.

If you follow the relationship between Majruh and Malak in the poems until the end, you can understand that Malak shortly dies after leaving the poet. Majruh writes that he could not bear her death and reached the point of dying of grief:

ندکمتی دایرف و هآ زودنوک هچک
رودبوشود متسخ ممتسج متسکش وب

For crying day and night,
My body is sick with this injury.

(Manuscript B-756:39b)

Being concerned about the poet's health conditions, his friends suggest him to meet another woman and get married. While searching for a lover, the poet meets many women and falls in love with them. The manuscript contains many poems about his relationships with these women and the stories that happened to him.

The poet compares his favorite women with Leyli and Shirin, the famous lovers of the East. In his poems, Majruh also remembers heroes of love and eternal lovers who sacrificed themselves for their lovers, and whose names have become familiar in languages.

Majruh, who shares their pain and understands the love, considers himself one of these lovers and joins their ranks.

The love-struck Majruh is a stubborn lover who endures suffering on the path of his lover in the poems. Majruh's lyrical hero was a real character in love. The second lyrical hero in the poems are the women he loves. All his lyrical feelings revolve around the beauty he loves. The poet's mistress has made him lose mind, driven him crazy, and now she is tempted to take his life.

The beauties described by Majruh in his poems are not the product of his artistic imagination. Malak, Pyusta, and Sakina mentioned in the poems are real, typical Azerbaijani ladies whom he loved with all his heart and pure intentions.

The lyrics of Mahammadali bey Majruh Mughani deserves to occupy an important place in the history of poetry both in terms of idea content and artistic aesthetics. Introducing the beautiful lyrical works created by Majruh to a wide audience and studying his poetic treasure in detail is one of the most important issues.

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MEDIEVAL AGSU CITY AS TOURISTIC COMPLEX

Abstract: “Medieval Agsu City” State Historical-Cultural Reserve of State Service of Cultural Heritage Conservation, Development and Rehabilitation under the Ministry of Culture of Republic of Azerbaijan is located in Ulguj Village of Agsu region. The Reserve is created on the basis of Medieval Agsu City Archaeological Tourism Complex due to the decree of the president of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated 22 October 2019.

Agsu Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of ANAS had been conducting excavations in Agsu City under the leadership of Professor Gafar Jabiyev and PhD of History Fariz Khalilli under the support of MIRAS Social Organization in Support of Study of Cultural Heritage since March 2010.

There are “Ancient Bath Complex”, “Juma Mosque”, “Main Square”, “Buzkhana (ice house)” and “Handicrafts Quarter” in the area. The reserve has 19 historical monuments. All of them are of local importance. Three of them are architectural, 16 - archaeological monuments. Tourists visiting Agsu Reserve also get familiarized with historical exhibits displayed in the monuments of the Reserve (handicraft quarter, Juma mosque, ice house, Shikhmazid khangah, Sheikh Dursun Tomb, etc.), a collection of books on the history, culture, ethnography of medieval Agsu city, as well as the corner, where the reminds and artifacts which reflect the history of the city are collected.

“Medieval Agsu City” Reserve has a great role in the development of historical and cultural heritage of the country, its archaeological tourism potential, prospects for multilateral cooperation, etc. Thus, “Medieval Agsu City” State Historical-Cultural Reserve organizes info-tours, local and international symposiums, online seminars and exhibitions. Recently created ethnographic environment in the territory of the Agsu reserve, which plays an important role in the preservation of the history, cultural heritage and traditions of our people, further increased importance of this touristic facility and tourism development plans of the area were worked out.

Keywords: tourism, archaeology, archaeological tourism, Middle Ages, Agsu city

Preface. Archaeology is recognized as one of prime assets within today’s tourist industry. Archaeological remains are the signs of the past society. Archaeological relicts are symbols and add of the past. Archaeological heritage constitutes main record of past human activities and comprises the part of living traditions of local peoples and the latter participate actively in its protection and preservation. “Archaeological heritage” is that part of the

¹ “Medieval Agsu city” State Historical -Cultural Reserve

material heritage and comprises the places like abandoned structures, the remains of all kinds (including subterranean and underwater sites), together with cultural material associated.

Tourism is considered the world's largest industry and heritage tourism is one of its growing components. The most popular form of tourism and a large part of heritage tourism is archaeotourism that focuses on visiting and experiencing archaeological sites. There exist practices that will allow for proper and sustainable archaeological tourism, giving visitors the opportunity to fully experience ancient sites. Tour operators who wish to incorporate archaeological sites in their tour packages and tourists who want to see these sites first hand can benefit from these practices. Most of the destinations are often interested to increase the tourism flows. Tour guides also should provide tourists with an insightful interpretation and provoke their emotional thoughts in order to help them to achieve a high level of tourist experience with the visited heritage site and arouse their interest in visiting other relevant heritage sites. Variety was found to be the key communication factor for exhibits, while interactivity is the key communication factor for guided tours. Lucrative potential of tourism makes sustainability a major concern for archaeologists, site managers, local communities and tourism officials.

Most heritage and tourism studies showed that the relation between tourism industry and archaeological site management is very complicated.

Archaeological sites represent the nation's identity. The excavated item and the remains of historical monuments found are part of rich heritage of the country's people. The archaeological area represents cultural values of different ages and civilizations from prehistory. Archaeological sites and historical places are major tourist attractions throughout the world. Archaeological sites are in-between presence and absence, at the same time visible and invisible. There exist a number of specific directions for archaeological site preservation to identify the most effective communication factors. Heritage sites are places of archaeological or historical importance preserved which are open to the public for visit. They often include museums or interpretive centers with exhibits and the staff who provide interpretative tours. Archaeological sites and historic places are major tourist attractions worldwide.

Active participation of general public must form policy for the protection of archaeological heritage, i.e. cultural, environmental and educational policies. The establishment of archaeological reserves can be their part. "Medieval Agsu City" State Historical-Cultural Reserve is created on the basis of Medieval Agsu City Archaeological Tourism Complex and located in Ulguj Village of Agsu region. Thus, Agsu Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of ANAS had been conducting excavations in Agsu City under the leadership of Professor Gafar Jabiyev and PhD of History Fariz Khalilli under the support of MIRAS Social Organization in Support of Study of Cultural Heritage since March 2010. Medieval Agsu city built by Nader Shah in 1735 covered 40-hectare area. Almost 8000 exhibits of copper, iron, wood were found during the excavations.

Architecture plays a role in the preservation of archaeological sites. Protection roofs, and archaeological parks are primary interventions in the protected areas.

There is correlation between archaeological tourism and professional archaeology. Scholars treated them as distinct fields with no connection, while histories of archaeology, in particular, focused on the history of archaeological discoveries and archaeological thought. Moreover, just as histories of archaeology largely ignored the connection between archaeology and tourism.

The role of tourism providers in facilitating creative tourism experiences can help capture the tourism potential of intangible archaeological heritage. Touristic value of both tangible and intangible archaeological heritage is better realized and can be further applied to study aspect of providers' ingenuity.

Most people visiting Agsu Reserve experience heritage sites in the role of tourists. The excavation sites of Agsu Reserve are attractive as tourist destination and often visited by tourists. The number of people that visit Agsu Reserve rises every year. Site development, community relations and other on-the-ground examples of heritage work are examined within Agsu Reserve. The site is closed to the public to prevent further damage in extreme cases.

Summary

The relations between archaeology and tourism are important from both tourism and archaeological perspectives and are thematically examined in the area of archaeology-based tourism. Contributors from both tourism studies and archaeology raise fundamental dialogue between tourism and archaeology making it an important for scholars, practitioners and communities. Those people interested in the role of tourism in protecting and promoting archaeological heritage assets are main factor.



Bath complex-4th excavation site



Handicraft quarter-3rd excavation site



Mosque complex-5th
excavation site



“Medieval Agsu City”
State Historical-Cultural Reserve



Shikhmazid Khangah



Storage (ice house)

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TEMPLE SCULPTURES OF MANNA MAGUS AND THEIR PICTURING IN TABRIZ CARPETS OF XIX CENTURY

Abstract: In the article one unique carpet from personal collection kept in Goris (Southern Azerbaijan) is studied. That carpet is known by the name “Seven planets”. The carpet was woven in 1880 and according character of figures, pictured on it, its author was amateur carpet-maker. Uniqueness of that carpet is explained by its content aspect. It should be also pointed, that in special literature such samples aren't mentioned. In the centre of carpet rectangular medallion is placed, and its border isn't very wide, it consists of three stripes. In that medallion warm, light-brown colour transforms into dark-brown one (here **abrash** is seen). In the medallion pictures of seven planets are placed. These planets are symbols of heavenly stars. In the centre of medallion, the Sun is pictured. (Arabian inscriptions with names of planets are connected with different anthropomorphous figures. These inscriptions are placed side by side, on the background of four paddle medallions of yellow colour. These medallions are outlined by yellow contour line).

All other figures are placed around the Sun. Two of them are placed in upper part, two of them are placed in bottom of medallion, and the rest four stars are on the right and on the left side of Sun. So, the placing of figures – symbols of planets- repeats the scheme of planets placing in the sky. Basing on this fact, we can say with confidence, that ancient inhabitant of Azerbaijan, studied the sky and had own, may be primitive imaginations about planets. Zoroaster himself was considered a Zoroastrian prophet and was scientist- astrologer, knew the stars and sky.

That's the reason, that for ancient Greeks the name Zoroaster was associated with notion “astron”- star. So, in ancient sources Zoroaster is described as wise astrologer, the doctrine, founded by him is named Zoroastrism. The analyses of that carpet and some ceramics, architectural buildings and sculptures prove that the inhabitant of Manna state worshipped celestial planets and later Zoroastrism and other religions, existed in this territory was based on the most ancient religious imaginations of ancient Azerbaijanis.

Key words: sculpture, temple, Manna, Magus, seven planets, Nizami Ganjevi.

While conducting investigations connected with Azerbaijani carpets, the author of this article found very interesting work of art. This unique carpet has been found in Goris (Southern Azerbaijan), in one personal collection and is known by the name “Seven planets” (it's published in book by R.

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Tagiyeva “Carpet types of Nizami”, picture 40.). The carpet was woven in 1880, and judging by character of types, pictured on that carpet, its author was amateur carpet-maker. The uniqueness of that carpet is explained by its “content”, “textual” aspect. The carpets of such kind are not mentioned in special or popular literature, in the same time this exemplar attracts attention by the images, pictured in it.

What is pictured on that carpet? In the centre of carpet rectangular medallion is placed, and its border isn't very wide, it consists of three stripes. In that medallion warm, light-brown color transforms into dark-brown one (here abrash is seen clearly). In the medallion pictures of seven planets are placed. These planets are symbols of heavenly stars. In the centre of medallion, the Sun is pictured. (Arabian inscriptions with names of planets are connected with different anthropomorphous figures. These inscriptions are placed side by side, on the background of four paddle medallions of yellow color. The medallions are outlined by yellow contour line). All other figures are placed around the Sun. Two of them are placed in upper part, two of them are placed in bottom of medallion, and the rest four stars are on the right and on the left side of Sun. So, the placing of figures – symbols of planets- repeats the conditional scheme of planets placing in the sky. In upper left part of medallion, the idol- symbol of Moon is placed. It's pictured as man, sitting on the back of white horse. The back of the horse is covered by horse-cloth. The man is dressed in blue caftan and black trousers; on his head the crown is pictured. In right upper part Mercury is pictured. It's figure of water nymph with head of animal. (Maybe it's head of swine). The scaly tail of water nymph is of red color, the upper part of feminine body is dressed in red caftan with decoration of golden color. In right hand the nymph has the pen, in the left hand- ink-stand. Here, very interesting moment should be pointed- in Islamic culture Mercury is considered to be patron of calligraphers.

The central figure- the Sun is two-headed figure, sitting on prancing horse. The horse is of ochre color, as a matter of fact, that color merges with background of medallion. On the back of horse the carpet of horse-cloth is pictured. The idol is dressed in cloth of yellow color, on his head crowns with seven cogs, on the neck-golden necklace is pictured. In right hand idol has golden ball. Behind his back two white wings are pictured. On the left from the Sun the idol-symbol of Venus planet is placed. It's half-naked man-like figure, dressed in short trousers of red color. On the hands and legs of idol bracelets are put on, on the neck the necklace with big medallion is put on, on the head – crown with seven cogs is put on. In his right hand, bended upwards idol has a cup.

On the right side of Sun – the idol- symbol of planet Mars is pictured. It's menacing, bearded man of war like look. In his right-hand Mars has bent sword, in left hand, raised above head- iron knout. The figure is dressed in cloth of red color. The cloth is decorated by belt and bracelets on forearms, on the head crown is put on. On the left of medallion bottom the figure- symbol of planet Mars is placed. It's also manlike figure, but it has bird head. The half-naked body of that figure is dressed in short trousers of red color, on ankles- golden bracelets are put on. In his right hand he has a towel; in

downcast hand he has Water Bearer. The bird head of idol is pictured in profile, another, second bird is pictured sitting on his neck.

The last, seventh idol is pictured in lower part of carpet medallion. It's symbol of planet Saturn. It's humanoid figure with legs of wild boar and hoofs. The idol has monkey head, turned to left in profile. The idol is dressed in tight-fitting garment of light- brown color. In his right hand we can see round shield, in left hand- snake. On head the crown with trident is put on.

Between last two figures in lower part of medallion graceful jug on delicate tray is pictured. Among figures on free background of medallion big spirals of plant sprouts are twined round. These sprouts are decorated by leaves, buds and flowers. Simplified half- geometrized manner of plant motives drawing is characteristic for this Gorus carpets. On four corners of carpet medallion – triangular insets (“lechaks”) with light background are placed. These insets are filled by interlacing plant motives. The colors of those motives are the repetition of medallion colors. The main motives of border line consist of stylized pictures of flowers. The background of main border is of light-grey color, the colors of pattern repeat the main colors of medallion.

General composition of carpet is harmonious and balanced. The background is filled evenly by plant and ornamental motives. The design of graphic and figure motives is simplified, it's made in traditions of folk prints. It stresses the connection of theme of seven heavenly bodies with folk cultural traditions.

In placing of flowers color accents definite logic is seen also. On the left three figures of warm yellow color are placed one above another. They are woven in light tones. The same three figures but in dark tones are placed on the right side.

But where from did these mysterious figures- symbols of celestial stars- appear? What is theme of seven stars connected with? What was the reason of addressing to that theme and its original embodiment in Goris carpet?

While investigating that problem, we should address first of all o history and to religious-magic imaginations of our far ancestors. Sometimes, it's quite impossible to understand the sense of art works without knowing religious imaginations. Idea-character system of art, including art of carpet-making, is very often connected directly with culture of more ancient epochs. It's quite logic, because, since most archaic times the works of art and works of decorative-applied art traditionally contained ancient symbols. So, in order to understand them, it seems necessary to make a retrospective journey into the history. As its known from ancient history, at the end of the third millennium BC in the territory of present-day Azerbaijan an ancient state called Manna existed. In Manna seven tribes, including Kuti, Subhi, Magh, Turukk, Lullubeys, and others lived. Professor G. Geybullayev notes that Manna was the first state in the history of ancient Turkic peoples. **(Qeybullayev G.130)** The history of Azerbaijan statehood tradition also begins with Manna. The Magi tribes were priestly ones and spread their religion- Zoroastrism. In Manna, the people confessed Zoroastrism, and here sanctuary with seven temples reflecting the planets in the sky was erected. The origin and purpose of each of these temples can be found in the tractate “Dabestani al-Mazahib”

of midcentury author Mohsen Fani. (It is known that Mohsen Fani was born in Iran in 1615 and later moved to India. Here his philosophical works were rejected because the content of his works didn't consort to the Indian cost of mind.)

Thus, the mode of life in Manna, it's culture, and economic structure were described even in the Assyrian arrow-headed writings. In this country cattle-breeding, agriculture and crafts developed very highly. In Manna territory rich gold deposits were found, and the craftsmen made various articles from gold, including vessels with magic sense and decorative items on which ornaments and various images, religious plots were pictured. The same theme was also studied by outstanding Russian scientist of soviet period **V.G. Lukonin**. **V.G. Lukonin** wrote, that in IX-VI centuries BC in the territory of present-day Iran several state structures existed and Manna state (present –day Southern Azerbaijan) distinguished itself particularly. The governors of Manna state conducted active policy and meddled in affairs of Assyria, Urartu and Elam. Midia state formed some later. According to Herodotus in the middle or at the end of VII BC Scythian tribes strengthened so much that they became the rulers of all Asia for 28 years. Thus, the art, created in states of that territory (**Manna, K.A.**) became the basis, on which the art of Scythians, Midians and Persians developed. (**В.Г. Луконин, с. 11. Искусство Древнего Ирана. Москва. Искусство, 1977**)

Midia state existed between 728 and 549 BC. In period between 613 and 615 AD Manna united with Midia state. Albania state was established in the northern part of the Midia. In the excavations carried out in Hasanlu and Zeviye in 1958 (territory of present-day Southern Azerbaijan) unique items dating back to the VIII and VII centuries were revealed. On these golden objects numerous illustrations are made and they are very close to the subject we will discuss below. Besides, the drawings on ceramics got in excavations in Ganja-Chay region of Azerbaijan are connected with religious imaginations of Manna state, and Zoroastrism religion especially.

Астролябные изображения небесным свет



Рисунок 1: Астролябический сюжет, отражающий день равноденствия – начала весны и праздник Новруз.

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Рисунок 2: Образы небесных светил и планет, обнаруженные в Лангане в середине VIII века до н.э. в Ganja-Chay Искусство Азербайджана

Plots of ceramic vessels, found in the territory of Azerbaijan, prove that the matter of Zoroastrianism is connected with the celestial bodies and is archetypal belief system of Azerbaijanis.

Ceramic vessels we'll tell later have an interesting story, they were found by an archaeologist E. A. Resler in the XIX c. in burial mounds of Kiligdag, Cilicga, ridge Sarial, placed 2 km to the south-east of Goy-Gol district (former Khanlar region).

In mentioned burials the excavations were continued almost 40 years after by archeologist Y. I. Hummel by line of Institute of History in 1936-1939. Three of these vessels were found by Y.I. Hummel in burial mound № 79, another one was found by E.A.Resler in neighboring burial. It is also known about the finding of 2 vessels from the burial mound №2 near Khanlar. There six vessels with the same plot image were found, but they differ by form. Three of them have a bowl shape, and two vessels have the shape of a jug with a straight high neck, they are made without handles. Vessels are mainly made of two types of clay - black-brown and yellow-brown.

Patterns (images of birds and animals) placed on the body of vessels, are made in a stylized manner. They are repeated in rhythmic alternation. It is known, that even in the Eneolithic era, an ornament got a stylized character, and also had a certain semantic and religious magical meaning. These peculiarities give reason to compare the ornament with pictography.

In the Eneolithic era, a stable group of motifs characteristic for decorating ceramics surfaces was determined. The ceramics of the Goy-Tepe (Southern Azerbaijan, V-beginning of IV millennium BC) are the samples of this phenomenon. Ceramics of Kilikdag continues this tradition both in terms of interpretation and of plot.

Professor Y. I. Hummel, touching upon the plot of the ceramics we are interested in, put forward the idea that it reflects the hunting scene (**Hummel Y. I. p.39**). The Azerbaijani scientist-researcher M. A. Huseynova in her monograph also pointed out that these plots are reflection of the hunting scene (**Huseynova M. A. p. 77**).

The plot of the ceramic vessels consists of stylized drawing of a man standing in front with outstretched arms, his body is made up of two triangles, and the head is made in form of a round luminous element. In his left hand he has a special space instrument in the form of a bow, its aimed at a stylized horned ram; above the instrument the sun is shown.

The image of human figures on the vessels practically does not change, only their head part changes. Here either a round element with spirals ascending from it, filled with dotted lines, or a swastika is pictured. In composition also the element of the tree of life, triangles, and rhombuses is included. To our mind these plots are far from the hunting scene, they are purely of astral nature and are associated with the ancient representations of our ancestors. The human figure reflects the astrologer, who points to the figure of a mountain sheep with a special instrument. The fact that the instrument is astronomical one is proved by the image of a stylized sun reflected under it.

The mountain sheep is also celestial one. Its interpretation suggests that it is not earthly, but cosmic body, because a dotted spiral line above the head

and under the legs is its main feature. In other words, these vessels are religious and magical ones, they were used by our ancient ancestors in the spring ceremonies of Novruz.

It is known, the ancestors of the ancient Azerbaijanis, as well as the nomads of Central Asia, knew astronomy very well and observed the movement of the celestial bodies and first of all - the visible movement of the Sun in the celestial sphere. Alike astronomers of various countries of ancient world, the ancient Azerbaijanis divided the starry sky into four parts. Each of them had seven constellations that had their own symbolism, pictured by a certain animal, color, and season.

Once a year, the sun, crossing the celestial equator, enters the point of the celestial equinox, i.e. in the constellation Aries. This moment when the sun crosses the sky equator coincides with March 20 or 21 in Azerbaijan. As you know, this day is the first day of the Novruz holiday. So, the plots and images on these vessels are connected with the beginning of the Novruz holiday (**Aliyeva K. 168, 171**).

According to L. Karimov, people worshipped the stars in the sky at that time, and the color of each temple was in the color of the definite stars. M. Fani, took the issues of his famous scientific work, mentioned above, from another source called "Astronomy" – "Ahtaristan". ("Ahtaristan" means a world of stars in Persian language). In ancient Manna the inhabitants worshipped celestial bodies, stars, mainly seven planets. Each planet had its own temple, so here seven temples were erected. The sculptures set in these temples were decorated by precious metals and stones. These sculptures included the signs of human animals and trees.

Outstanding Azerbaijani scientist, Latif Karimov, in second volume of his book "Azerbaijani carpet" (**Karimov L. pp. 110-111**) also mentioned these temples: "Between Maragha and Zanjan very ancient city is placed. The city is famous for its temples, and by assumption these are temple of the fire-worshippers. According to the author's words these temples were built by Yezdegird, the governor of the Sasanids state, who lived in the V century. However, in another dictionary, "Qamus al-Alem" author states that Shiz is the name of the province, but the city itself is Urmia. As it is known today, Urmia is one of the two cities in Azerbaijan divided into two parts in time. As a matter of fact, ancestral territory of Azerbaijan was divided into two parts by Russian Empire and Iran. According the Treaty of Gulistan (1813, October 12), signed by Russian Empire and Gajar government, the Southern part of Azerbaijan became the part of Iran, Northern Azerbaijan was included in Russian Empire. So, all these political events became the reason of transformation in cultural, historical and political development of Azerbaijani nation.

The great art expert Latif Karimov, in his work mentioned above, based on several Persian sources, but he always stressed the Azerbaijani genesis of many memorials placed now in territory of Iran. L. Karimov confirmed that these temples were actually fire-worshippers temples. The information provided by M. Fani and the material we have also proves that there were statues belonging to every planet in the medieval temples in ancient

Manna. So, we believe that these temples were later transformed into a fire-worshipper temples during the Sasanian dynasty and Parfian times. In relation with these historical facts, we have to make a retrospective journey into the history again. It is well known from history that the ancient states of Azerbaijan (Manna, Aratta, Midia) had contacts with many states, including the ancient Babylon, Assyria and Urartu. Indo-Persian tribes who moved into the Caucasus in the IX century BC and settled here, called the this territory "Parsua". Their initial language was "Sanskrit", the alphabet of which is still used in India. It is known from the world history that in the IX century BC, a number of Indian tribes after crossing the Caucasus and entering the Midia settled in Parsua, According to E.A. Grantowski's investigations, at the end of the II millennium-early I millennium (according to some other sources in the IX century BC), the Indo-Iranian tribes, the Persian and the Midian tribes came from southern Russia heathes crossing the Caucasus and spread over Southern Azerbaijan. Thus, in V century BC, the magnificent Midia state united with Manna and a new state was created. In the V century, the governor by name Astiag stood at the head of that state. The tribes which came to this area and settled in Parsua adopted the traditions and lifestyle of the Midianites, who gradually took over all Midian state . The fact of capture by these tribes all Midia is noted in book by "father of history" Herodotus. According to Herodotus, the governor of the Midia Astiag, after seeing a bad dream, gave his daughter Mandana in marriage to a rich Persian by the name Kombis who kived in Parsua, (Herodot, p.58).

In a short time, after conquering of Midia completely these tribes ruled here. At the same time, they adopted from Manna nad Midia magicians Zoroastrism religion, interpreted it as their own religion, and copied its religious texts on the leather. However, Indian fire-worshippers in the Midia teritory gradually changed most of those texts and turned them into fire-worship.

In 328 BC, Alexander the Great, executed the magicians, who drunk and celebrated feast with virgins in high day of fire-worshippers. The book "Avesta" in which the main points of fire-worship were fixed was burned (except the "Layers"). Great Nizami Ganjavi, a classical Azerbaijani poet (XII century), wrote about those events in his poem "Iskender –name" ("Alexander the Great").

Since then, Zoroastrism has been united by the outlook of Indian tribes and has become a syncretic religion. Except the layers, talking about the stars, in new texts of Avesta the fire worship religion theseses were included. Theseses widespread mainly in Sasanian and Parfia states after the Achaemenid dynasty. The author of this article has seen the remains of brick fireplace temples in territory of modern Turkmenistan and visited the temple of fire-worship in India.

However, the ancient Azerbaijanis who lived in Manna and Atropatena preserved genetically unforgettable Avesta rituals, inherited from their ancestors. It is known that the holidays fixed in Avesta are connected with division of year into four seasons, based on the solar movement of the planets. Real historical person Zoroaster, who lived BC, explained the importance of that division in human life. The name of Zoroaster was known to the ancient

Greeks and it was considered to be one of the seven Hellenic scientists. The name “Zoroaster” was given him by Greek scientists. (“Zoro” means “studying”, “Astr” –means star.) Thus, Zoroaster means a scientist who counts or studies the stars. As it is known, today there are two copies of “Avesta” in the world, and these copies are connected with fire-worship. English scientist M. Boys who studied for many years the life of Zoroaster and published a number of books about him, itemized the date of Zoroaster’s birth and life. To M.Boys’ mind, Zoroaster lived **1700** years ago. (**Boys M. p.26**).

M.Boys also repeated the idea that Zoroaster lived at a time when the Stone Age was replaced by the Bronze Age in **1500-1200 BC**. (**Boys M. p.5**) According the legend Zoroaster got his prophecy from seven planets. So, the texts of Avesta of Sasanian or Achaemenian time have been completely transformed and lost their initial meaning.

The investigator M. Boys, basing on Book by Herodotus (section 101), repeatedly affirmed that there were seven tribes in the Midia, and one of them - Magi tribe was priests and formed the Midian people. (**Herodotus 101, p. 55**). The word “magician” itself was of Greek origin and it is taken from word “magus”. These magicians spread Zoroastrism not only among Midians, but later among the Persians also. (**M. Boys p.61**).

In 549 BC, the Persians under the leadership of the Cyrus the Great, King of Persia conquered Midia and formed the first Persian state, in which the Midians always played a key role.

So, as it’s seen from history, in ancient Azerbaijan worship to heavenly bodies was the most ancient religion. It was characteristic even for pre-class, tribal society already. Zoroastrism religion also engendered on the same basis. Both religions confirm that ancient Azerbaijanis studied planets and had definite cosmological imaginations even before Christmas.

Mohsen Fani in his book “Dabistani al-Mazahib” referring on book “Ahteristan”, written in earlier period, pointed out, that ancient sabi tribes considered the stars and dome of sky to be the sacred souls of their ancestors and worshipped to seven stars.

(**2, p. 121-122**). To our mind, sabies, mentioned in book by Mohsen Fani are ancient subies, lived in territory of Southern Azerbaijan in III millennium b.c.

Each of seven planets had its own talisman, kept in every home. To ancient people’s mind, those talismans had magic meaning and had strong influence on human life and fortune. Thus, for all of seven stars special temples erected. Each temple was visited in definite day and in definite time. Inside temples sculptures of corresponding planet were placed.

It’s also interesting, that sacred meaning of number “7” existed since Sumer period. E.g. pantheon of Sumer gods was something, alike meeting of gods under the presidency of supreme ruler. Next seven gods, followed him according the rank were gods, “passing judgment of world”. The other fifty gods were called “great gods”. (**3, p. 93**).

Basing on authoritative sources, S. Cramer wrote, that Gods live on Celestial Mountain of Heavens and Earth, where the Sun rises. God of Moon travelled in boat, God of Sun goes in chariot, (by other version- he walks),

God of storm lives on clouds. So, Sumerian priests were sure, that all sculptures were the sculptures of Gods and related to them with care and respect. (3, p. 101)

Later, ancient scheme with elements of seven-gods polytheist religion, engendered in Sumer culture, was kept for many centuries and transited into Zoroastrism.

In book by Mohsen Fani, mentioned above, the description of each sculpture, which is symbol of definite planet, is given. We present those descriptions literally.

1. Saturn /Lat/ -Keyvan /Pers/- Zuhel /Arab/- Chinil /anc. Babyl/. The sculpture of that God was made of black stone. The body of that god is human one, the head is monkey, from back it looks like swine. On his head the crown is put on. In right hand of figure, a sieve, in left hand a snake is seen. The temple of Saturn was of black colour, and its priesthood also was dressed in black clothes. That temple could be visited on Saturdays only.

2. Jupiter /Lat/-Hormuzd /Pers/- Mushteri /Arab/- Marduck/ancient Babyl/. The colors of this planet repeat the colors of Earth. The sculpture is made as human figure with head of kite, decorated by crown. Jupiter was accompanied by pictures of cock and snake. In right hand of Jupiter, we can see the towel, in left hand- aquamanalis (jug). Jupiter's temples were of grey color. The priesthood of that temple as a rule put on clothes of grey, light-brown, yellow, white color. That temple could be visited on Thursday only.

3. Mars /Lat/-Bahram /Pers/-Mirrikh /Arab./- Nerkal /ancient Babyl/. The temples of that planet were of red color. The sculpture of Mars was made alike human figure with crown on his head. In lowered right-hand Mars has blood-stained sword, in raised left hand Mars has iron knout. The priesthood of that temple was dressed in clothes of red color. The temple could be visited on Tuesday.

4. Sun- Helios / Greek/- Khor, Khorshed /Pers./- Shams /Arab./ -Samas /ancient Babyl./ In honor of his planet big temples of yellow color were built. The sculptures were made of gold, in form of two-headed man. On each head seven horns were placed.

All sculptures had human faces, but their back was a snake. In right hand Helios had golden reed, his neck was decorated by golden necklace, covered by precious stones. Helios temple could be visited on Sunday. The priests were dressed in clothes of yellow color.

5. Venus /Lat./- Nahid /Pers./ - Zohra /Arab./ - Ishtar /ancient Babyl./ Temple of Venus was built of white marble. The sculpture in that temple reminds human figure. On the head of sculpture, the crown with seven cogs is put on. In right hand of sculpture, we can see the jug with oil, in left hand- comb.

In temple of Venus the cult ceremonies were conducted by women and girls. All of them were very beautiful and dressed in white and red clothes. That temple could be visited on Friday, only by artists, the persons, who were busy by art – jewelers, musicians, dancers, and experts of exact sciences, e.g., mathematicians.

6. Mercury /Lat./ - Tir-debir / Pers./ - Utarid /Arab./ The color of that planet was blue. Idols in Mercury temple were sculptured in fish form with face of swine, one hand of idol was white, another hand was black. On the head of idol crown is put on, in his right hand a pen, in left hand- ink-stand is put. In this temple always incenses arised.

7. Moon- Diana /Lat./ - Selena /Greek/ - Makh /Pers./ - Gemer /Arab./ - Ay /Azerb./ The Moon was associated with green color. The sculpture- symbol of that planet was made in form of white bull, climbed on another similar white bull. On the head of bull crown with three horns is put on, on bull neck a collar is put. In left of that sculpture the ruby reed, in left hand- basil is put. The priests of temple were dressed in clothes of white color. The Moon temple could be visited on Monday.

As it's seen from information, given by Mohsen Fani, the description of ancient idols, set in temples of seven planets long before Islam, coincides almost completely with pictures of planets, given on Goris carpet, woven at the end of XIX century. The motifs, connected with beliefs of ancient Azerbaijanis were reflected not only in carpets, but also in ceramic, plastic art and architecture.

Are there any other evidences, that in Azerbaijan people also worshipped to seven planets or not? Which phenomenon became the basis of that religion? To our mind, it would be quite logic to connect worship to planets and their embodiment as anthropomorphic idols with Sumer culture. Sumer civilization had highly developed imaginations about stars and heavens. Sumerians knew the myth about Moon, they erected grand temples-ziggurats in honor of Moon. The pictures of Crescent appeared in Sumer culture for a first time. Later that picture became traditional for Azerbaijani art, in Islamic epoch especially. According Sumer imaginations anthropomorphic stone sculptures of immortal gods had superhuman power. Every god was "responsible" for definite big heavenly body.

It's known, that both in Northern and Southern Azerbaijan there were many temples, in which people worshipped to planets. Our suppositions are confirmed by antique sources also. E.g. Strabo, while talking about stars, pointed out, that ancient Albans worshipped to Moon and Sun, their religious ceremonies were accompanied by sacrifice, made in special temples.

One of temples, built in honor of Moon, was placed in North-West of Azerbaijan. Strabo wrote that sanctuary was big and populous priestly town. (4, p. 57) There are also other, indirect evidences: e.g. Assyrian cuneiform texts mentioned the theft of Manna idols by Assyrians. To our mind, it's also connected with idols, placed in temples of seven planets. Besides, we have very serious factual material, confirming the existence of those temples. Azerbaijani archeologist Furuza Muradova under the leadership of Jafargulu Rustamov carried out excavations in Gazakh region of Azerbaijan. As a result several such temples were discovered. One of most ancient and best preserved temple was placed on Avey-dag Mountain. To archeologists' mind, it's the temple, mentioned by Strabo. F. Muradova supposed that the name of mountain- Avey-dag is also connected with temple of Moon. "Ay evi" in Azerbaijani means "the home of Moon".

So, modern scientists found out very interesting fact- ancient cult complexes were not only the place of worship, but also centers of stars watching and study. So, we can say, that ancient inhabitant of Azerbaijan studied the sky and had their own, may be primitive imaginations about planets. Zoroastr himself was known as Zoroastrian prophet and was one of famous astrologer scientist. That's the reason, that in antique sources Zoroastr is pictured as wise astrologer and the doctrine, founded by him is named Zoroastrism. (4, p. 57)

It should be also pointed out, that in the middle of VI century B.C. in last Midian governor Astiag's ruling (584-550 B.C.) Cyrus from Achaemenids (earlier he obeyed Astiag) conquered Midia and took it's capital Ecbatana. In 550 b.c. Midia declined, Cyrus conquered Babylon and the state of Achaemenids engendered. (4, p. 51). While talking about traditions and dispositions of Persians, Herodotus wrote that

“they (Persians) don't let erect temples and altars, and those, who act against their rules, are called “fool” by them. It seems to me, that they don't imagine Gods humanlike, as Hellenes do. The sacrifices are also made to Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water and Winds.” (6,p.71). Xenophon wrote, that having conquered Midia, Persians perceived from Midians the kinds of clothes and habit of carpet using. In Persian palace on carpet only governor could walk. (7, p.52). So, Achaemenians and Parthians captured Midian temples of seven stars with sculptures, made by Midians, but changed their names and purpose. Those temples were announced Zoroastrian ones and here the sacred fire was kept. That fire was brought from their motherland India.

Professor I.M. Steblen-Kamenski wrote about that historical fact: “Having become the official religion of tremendous state of Parfian kings (Arshakid dynasty) and mighty Sassanid empire, Zoroasrism got also grand temples, magnificent sculptures and numerous priesthood.” (5, p.4) So, Persian Empire also perceived Avesta- sacred book of Zoroastrians and transformed it's content.

We can also say, that all following religions, existed in Azerbaijan, e.g. Zoroastrism, Islam- were also created on basis of doctrine and religion of seven planets (together with the influence of other religions). The temples, erected both in Northern and Southern Azerbaijan and called by names of seven planets also confirm that fact. It's evident, that those temples, Christian churches of Caucasus Albania and mosques were built later on the place of seven temples, destructed in war or by time.

Basing on numerous authoritative sources, outstanding Azerbaijani expert of carpets Latif Karimov wrote, that in Southern Azerbaijan many temples were erected, but the temples of seven planets were the main ones. These were temples “Azermehr” (symbol of Saturn), “Azerbahram” (symbol of Jupiter), “Azernush” (symbol of Mars), “Azerain” (temple of Sun), “Azerhazin” (temple of Venus), “Azerbarzin” (temple of Mercury), “Azerzerdusht”- temple of Moon.

These facts were given by Latif Karimov in his monographic investigation “Azerbaijani carpet” (v.II). Latif Karimov pointed out also, that at that time in Tabriz there were a number of temples. Most famous of them was temple

“Azerbadigah”. Main building of Sheikh Safi complex in Ardebil (Southern Azerbaijan) was initially the temple of fire-worshippers. (**Zoroastrian temple, K.A.**). In ancient time that temple was called “Azerkavus”. (**2, p.211**)

The words of Yakut al-Hamavi (XIII century) can also confirm the engendering of Zoroastrianism on basis of religion of seven planets. While visiting Azerbaijani town Shiz, Yakut al-Amavi wrote: “there is a house of fire in this town. Here for all fire-worshippers from East to West the fire is burning. On the dome of temple the silver Moon is placed. That Moon is talisman of building..” To Latif Karimov’s mind, that temple was the seventh temple of fire-worshippers and was called “Azerzerdusht”

(or “Makkada” , “Mazahar”- the other names of Moon temple. (**2, p.111**). (**8, p.8**).

Achaemenids changed ancient Zoroastrian traditions, and this fact is also confirmed by Mary Boys. Scientist wrote: “Persians perceived Zoroastrianism from East and obeyed The Great Prophet’s revelation, but it was imperial people, that why they changed that religion seriously. The earliest of those changes was placing of sacred fire on the stand. In Persepolis, in period of first representatives of Achaemenid dynasty, such stands for fire were in palaces only. From other side, we have not any facts, could be evidence of special sacred buildings- Fire Temples- existence. Greek sources confirm that Persians despised temples. Later, Cicero wrote, that to Persians’ mind, “locking of gods inside temples is mistaken, because their dwelling place is whole world. (8, p.75).

Theme of seven planets is originated in Sumerian culture. As for Azerbaijan territory, that belief is connected with culture of ancient sabies, magicians and later was reflected in different spheres of creativity. It’s also met in classical Azerbaijani literature, e.g. poem of Nizami Ganjevi “Seven Beauties” (“Haft Paykar”, Pers.). That poem of greatest Azerbaijani poet is also connected with theme of seven planets. Each of seven beauties represents definite country, and each of these planets is patron, protecting that country.

Each of beauties lives in her own temple –palace of corresponding colour.
“Bahram saw seven temples as seven planets,

The color of those palaces corresponded to planets.....”

The external story-line of genius work by Nizami is known very well. As for its deep meaning we can say, that it’s based on mystic contact of Human being and God, Earth and Heavens.

In conclusion, we can say that religious-mystic imaginations about seven planets and their reflection in art are one brightest and most interesting spheres of Azerbaijani culture. The further study of that theme let discover new and interesting things.

Collected material and the content of poem “Seven Beauties” by Nizami let form the following table of seven planets. That table gives wide imagination about each of mentioned planet. (the table added). The Azerbaijani origin of these imaginations must be pointed especially.

TABLE

Sun	Saturn	Venus	Jupiter	Mercury	Mars	Moon	Symbol	
							Picture	Names.
Gelious	Caryph	Venus	Jupiter	Mercury	Mars	Diana	Lat.	
Shams	Zukel	Zohra	Mushteri	Utairid	Marrikh	Gemer	Arab.	
Khurshid	Bei'jis	Nahid	Keyvan	Debir	Bahram	Makh	Pers.	
Sunday	Saturday	Friday	Thursday	Wednesday	Tuesday	Monday	Week days Connected with	
An- gold	Pb-tin	Sn-lead.	Cu, copper	Hg- quicksilver	Fe – iron	Silver	Metal	
Yellow	Black	White	Grey	Turquoise	Red	Ag	Color	
Hope, happiness, inheritance, profits	Science, misfortune, bad luck.	Love, beauty.	Richness, dream, friendship.	Commerce, , secretary, inspiration	Wars, matrimony, prison, hatred	Sleep, wound, child birth	Symbols	
Arabia, heart	India, eyes, lachrymal gland	Rome, kidneys	China, liver	Khorezm	Slavic peoples, gall bladder.	Iran, lungs	Area of Earth sphere	
Good character, gold, money	Cruel	Good character, dance	Good character	Good for good, bad for bad, science.	Cruel, brave	Very pleasant	Character	
Flute	Ud	Dancer	Setar	Un	Tar	Percussion	Musical instrument .	

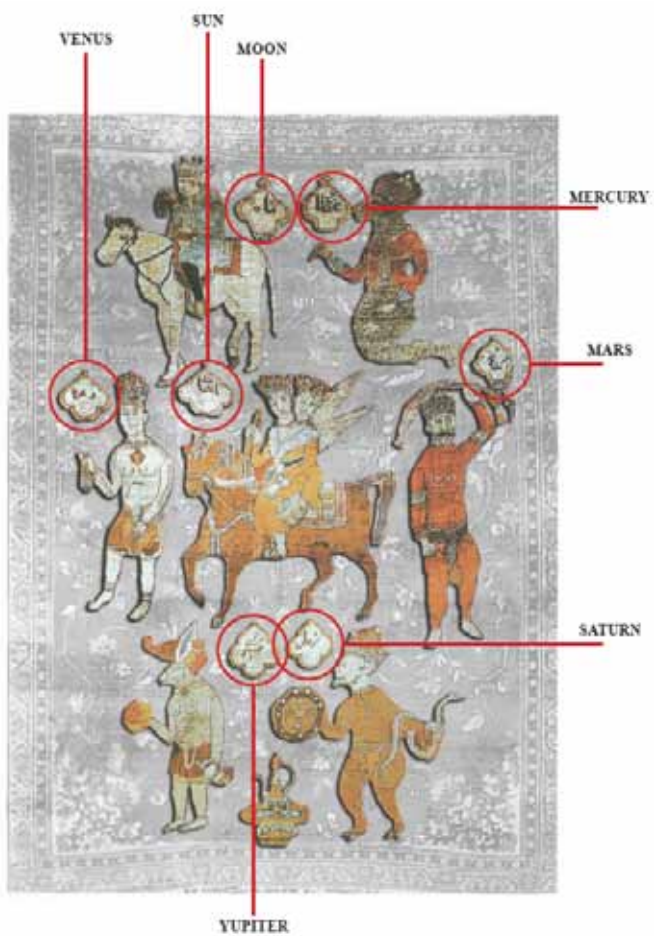
So, as it's seen from information, given in article, ancient Azerbaijanis worshipped celestial bodies and erected temples in their honor. All transformations, which their religious imaginations passed through, were reflected in different works of art, and in carpet-making also. The carpet, found in Goris, remains of architecture and ceramics, found in territory of Manna state confirms this fact.

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1



2



3. MOON



4. MERCURY



5. SUN



6. VENUS



7. MARS



8. SATURN



9. JUPITER

ASPECTS OF MEDICAL TOURISM: ANALYSIS OF SPA OFFER IN NORTH MACEDONIA

Abstract: Spa tourism is a specific type of medical tourism which is constantly growing and represents a significant part of the tourist offer of many countries worldwide, most of them countries with a tradition of using thermal waters. The rich tradition of using spas for healing purposes in North Macedonia started back in ancient times, and today, there are eighth spa centers located in the five planning regions. For the purpose of the paper, a research methodology and secondary data sources have been used by consulting literature, studies, statistical data and official web pages of the spa centers in North Macedonia. An analysis and review of spa tourism in North Macedonia has been made, based on a systematic evaluation of the current content of spa tourism offer using methodology of content analysis. In the paper, eighth spa centers are analyzed and beside thermal water, other aspects of spa tourism are covered in the research as restaurant services, accommodation and medical facilities. Data presentation in tables and analysis has shown that, in addition to three spa centers, the capacity of the thermal water for spa tourism development in the remaining part of the country is insufficiently used.

Keywords: health, thermal water, spa, wellness, tourism services.

Introduction

Tourism as activity of people traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for leisure, business or other purposes is successful story of present time and has shown constant economic grown in past decades. Tourism is characterized by its own specifics and various forms, such as rural tourism, adventure tourism, urban tourism, medical tourism, spa & wellness tourism etc. Medical tourism can be defined as travel for the purposes of gaining health, medical or wellness services, and this term has been explored by various authors and organizations, defining it from different perspectives

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(Botterill & Pennings & Mainil, 2013; Todd, 2012; Connell, 2011; OECD, 2011; UNWTO, 2008; Bookman & Bookman, 2007). Spa tourism implies visit and stay into specialized facilities offering opportunities for healing and relaxation, by using thermal water⁴. Spa tourism is one type of tourism that has significant impact in the modern global trends⁵. The abbreviation “spa” comes from the first letters of the Latin phrase “Sanitas Per Aquam”, meaning “health through water”⁶. Also, in English, the word “spa” implies thermal spring, bathhouse, a place where people use thermal mineral spring to heal by taking a bath or drinking such water. The types of utilisations of thermal springs are most diverse, starting from spas, construction of aquaparks, arranging thermal lakes for tourism purposes, tourist attractions and conserved Roman Spas, thermal water products and cosmetics, etc.

Relevant research worldwide shows that thermal springs started to be used for healthcare purposes as of VI century BCE (Before Common Era)⁷. The discoveries of the Asian archaeologists point to the data that thermal springs were used for bathing 5000 years ago⁸. Similar is the situation with other continents, such as North and South America (Indians), Africa (Egyptians), Near East, Australia, and Europe (Greeks and Romans). In Eastern Europe, people would use thermal springs for bathing and other purposes for several thousands of years⁹. In Europe, the Romans have left behind the greatest heritage of spas in the territories that used to be part of their Empire¹⁰. Visitors staying in the baths of that time, not only enjoyed the water benefits, but they would have distinct types of party and therefore various theatre plays, athletic competitions and festivals would be organised and held in the places where spas were located. In 1553 in Venice (today Italy), the first guide book was published on European spas, listing more than 200 hot springs¹¹. In the Belgian city Spa, the thermal tourism started its development as of XVIII century, and its rise it denotes in the mid of XIX century, when the touristic infrastructure was built, lasting even nowadays. Similar is the situation in other European countries, such as Italy, Germany, etc. Historically, the thermal tourism shall experience its greatest development in the second half of the XIX century, whose influence is testified by many factors, such as industrialisation, traffic com-

4 Jovanović, V. (2022) *Tematski turizam*. Beograd: Singidunum.

5 Robotić, B. (2013) *Selektivni oblici turizma*. Beograd: Visoka turistička škola strukovnih studija.

6 Jafari, J., Xiao, H. (2016) *Encyclopedia of tourism*. Cham: Springer.

7 Oğuz, D., Küleki, Ö, Akpınar, N. (2010) The contribution of thermal sources to tourism development: A case study from Çankiri Çavundur, Turkey. *Scientific Research and Essays*, 5(8), pp. 819-825.

8 Lund, W.J. (1996) *Balneological use of thermal and mineral waters in the U.S.A.* *Geothermics*, 4(1), pp. 103-147.

9 Lawrence, L.R., Stoyanov, B. (1996) *Geothermal opportunities in Eastern Europe, a survey*. Alexandria: Bob Lawrence & Associates.

10 Smith, M., Puczko, L. (2009) *Health and wellness tourism*. Oxford: Elsevier.

11 Taskov, N., Metodijeski, D., Mitreva, E. (2015) *Thermal tourism in Macedonia*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing.

munication development, economic condition, etc. In Spain, for instance, in 1816 the Spanish King Fernando VII, adopted a Decree obliging the spa resorts in this country to hire medical and administrative staff, to serve the visitors¹². The royal elite in England, during the XVIII and XIX centuries was regularly visiting spa resorts in Cheltenham and Lamington, and these resorts were important places for communication and meetings, discussing political, economic, and social topics¹³. One of the first guide book to describe the baths in England was published in 1841¹⁴. The spa resorts in Serbia were places where royal families would spend their vacations, and in the beginning of the XX century the first Law on Hot Springs was adopted¹⁵. This only attests the view that in this part of the historic development, it was mostly about tourists from the rich social elite that would take part in spa tourism, and in smaller portion was part of poorer classes and local population. In this period, to assert the medicinal features of spa resorts and medical procedures conducted in those, doctors, and professors from leading universities of that time would conduct researches and would publish works, listing the medical benefits of using thermo-mineral water.

After the Second World War, spa tourism, as well as the conventional tourism, started to do its increasing development, both in raising the number of tourists and overnights and in increasing the number and quality of spa services offered in spa resorts, improving the material base and tourism infrastructure, introduce animation of tourists, new products, etc.

The international spa tourism experiences that we may take as positive examples and practices are higher in number. The association of spa centres into national, regional, continental associations contributes to the development of spa tourism. According to the European Spas Association¹⁶, there are more than 1,400 spa centres in Europe, with 10,000 facilities employing around 750,000 workers. The European Spas Association (ESA) was established in 1995 in Brussels, with 21 members from 20 European countries. To accomplish cooperation and exercise the interests of the European spa resorts, the Association has set the following objectives:

- Monitor and analyse the state of spa resorts and health facilities in individual European member states;
- Encourage the Exchange of experiences, best practices, and know-how;
- Produce and develop health and welfare products and programmes, as well as prevention and rehabilitation strategies for all citizens of Europe;

12 Alonso-Álvarez, L. (2012) The value of water: the origins and expansion of thermal tourism in Spain, 1750–2010. *Journal of Tourism History*, 4(1), pp. 15-34.

13 Long, P., Palmer, N. (2008) *Royal Tourism: Excursions Around Monarchy*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

14 Granville, A. (1841) *The spas of England*. London: Henry Colburn Publisher.

15 Perić, G., Stojiljković, M., Gašić, M., Ivanović, V. (2017) Perspectives of development of spa tourism in Serbia. *Journal of Awareness*, 2(2). pp 597-614.

16 European Spas Association (2014) *Balneotherapy care in spas and health resorts in Europe*. Brussels: European Spas Association.

- Establish, promote, and improve standards in all spa resorts and health facilities within Europe;
- Encourage research in spa resorts;
- Define and harmonise joint training course programmes and establish the professional structure of the European spa industry;
- Establish a framework for cooperation and marketing opportunities for its members, etc.

ESA has developed and adopted its own standards of service quality in European spa resorts and it has been issuing certifications recognised by tour-operators and health insurance in Europe. These standards are developed on the basis of more than 1000 quality and safety criteria for the medical use of springs, swimming pools, saunas, diagnostics, types of treatments, quality management, human resources, preparation and types of food, accommodation, environment, and other supplementary facilities in the spa centres.

Table 1. Number of spa resorts and revenue earned per world regions (2017)

Region	Number of facilities	Revenue (in billion USD)
Asia-Pacific	25,916	31,60
Europe	5,967	21,73
Latin America and Caribbean	1,406	1,60
North America	302	0,73
Middle East and North Africa	416	0,41
Sub-Saharan Africa	50	0,08
Total	34,057	56,16

Source: Global Wellness Institute (2018) Global Wellness Economy Monitor. Miami: Global Wellness Institute.

The Global Wellness Institute (GWI), defines the industry of spa resorts (thermal mineral springs) as entirety of establishments making revenue from wellness, recreative and therapeutic utilisation of waters that have particular curing properties. In accordance with this definition, the estimate is that globally there are 34,057 facilities (spa resorts) disposing of thermal mineral springs in 127 countries. The estimate is that these facilities have generated revenue of USD 56,2 billion in 2017, hence employing around 1,8 million staff members. GWI makes a distinction into several regions for spa resorts and spa tourism worldwide, as follows¹⁷:

- Europe: USD 21,7 billion – revenue, 5,967 facilities;
- North America: USD 0,7 billion – revenue, 302 facilities;
- Asia-Pacific: USD 31,6 billion – revenue, 25,916 facilities;
- Latin America-Caribbean: USD 1,6 billion – revenue, 1,406 facilities;
- Sub-Saharan Africa: USD 0,08 billion – revenue, 50 facilities;
- Middle East-North Africa: USD 0,4 billion – revenue, 416 facilities.

¹⁷ Global Wellness Institute (2018) Global Wellness Economy Monitor. Miami: Global Wellness Institute.

The regional deployment of spa resorts (Table 1) is strongly concentrated in Asia-Pacific and Europe, reflecting the centuries-old history of water-based healing and relaxation in these two regions. Together, Asia-Pacific and Europe account for 95% of revenue in the spa industry and for 94% of revenue earned. These two regions are followed by Latin America-Caribbean, then Middle East-North Africa, North America, and lowest percentage of participation globally as per number of facilities and revenues is owned by Sub-Saharan Africa. GWI predicts projected average annual growth rate, for the period 2020-2025 as follows: Wellness tourism 20,9%; Thermal/mineral springs 18,1%; Spas 17,2%; Wellness real estate 16,1%; Physical activity 10,2%; Mental wellness 9,8%; Personal care & beauty 8,1%; Traditional & complementary medicine 7,1%; Healthy eating, nutrition & weight loss 5,1%; Public health, prevention & personalized medicine 5%; Workplace wellness 3,8%¹⁸.

The management of spa centers with the modern conditions of spa tourism development is of immense importance for the development of this type of tourism. The work process in spa resorts is very heterogeneous¹⁹. It combines processes of healthcare, accommodation (hotel services), restaurant services (preparing and serving food to guests), additional services. The healthcare part of the spa is performed by doctors with specialisations in the field of medicine. The spa also has medical support staff needed to perform the job successfully, as well as appropriate infrastructure and equipment. This includes the use of additional spa services. The accommodation part of the spa resorts is of immense importance, as it has to meet modern standards and should take into account the guests who may have diverse needs, that is, requirements for accommodation and movement from the hotel to the healthcare area. The restaurant part of the spa resorts is a very important element. It refers to the successful and efficient execution of works in the preparation of quality and healthy nutrition according to the needs of the guests and proper and quality serving of guests. Additional services and animation programmes and supplementary activities designed to meet the tourists' leisure time vary depending on the tourist infrastructure and human potential of the spa centers.

Thermal spas represent a developing market segment, as globally continuous growth is noted of consumers requesting to connect to nature, get to know culture traditions and follow alternative manners of improvement and restauration of health, rehabilitation, and prevention. Following these trends, arising from accelerated tempo of modern life, private investors, as well as governments of many countries have been investing in this sector. The governments in the countries with long-year traditions of using bathing facilities, promote this type of service as a key spa tourist offer. They have been investing in renovation and reopening of obsolete and previously closed-up bath resorts, as well as advancement of service standards and staff trainings, so as to meet the expectations of international tourists.

18 Global Wellness Institute (2021) *The Global Wellness Economy: Looking Beyond COVID*. Miami: Global Wellness Institute.

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1. Material and methods

1.1. Development of spa tourism in North Macedonia

In the Republic of North Macedonia, archeologic researches show that the thermal springs for bathing purposes were initially used by the Romans, and later by the Turks, who were famous spa appreciators²⁰. It was not until the early 1920s when a more systematic approach to the problem has been undertaken (chemical analysis, medical investigations, etc.), however without actually building modern spa centers. The currently existing spas have been built during the period between 1960 and 1980 and after that, a new period of stagnation began, as a consequence of the economical and other influencing factors in the country and the whole region²¹. In the Republic of North Macedonia, according to the Law on Mineral Resources²², thermal mineral hot springs are groundwaters characterized by increased temperature (above 20 °C) and mineralization (larger than 0.5 grams per liter)². The number of thermal mineral springs in the country is over sixty, and for tourist and healthcare needs, that is, spa centers, only 8 are in use. Of them, 5 offer spa services (Debar Spas, Katlanovska Spa, Negorska Spa and Bansko Spa), and 3 do not offer any spa services (Kumanovska Spa, Kezovica Spa and Kocanska Spa). The second group includes the spa in the village of Banje (Kocanska Spa), which is currently not in function. The Kumanovska Spa works only seasonally, and Kezovica Spa works year-round.

Table 2. Review of the spa centers in North Macedonia

	Spa name	Location	Region	Water flow	Water temperature
1	Bansko	v. Bansko	South-East	40 l/sec	72°
2	Negorska	v. Negorci	South-East	1,1 l/sec	40°
3	Debar Spas	v. Banjishte	South-West	51 l/sec	38,8°
4	Kocanska	v. Kosovrasti	South-West	68,8 l/sec	48°
		v. Banje	East	65 l/sec	64°
5	Kezovica	v. Novo Selo	East	36 l/sec	64°
6	Katlanovska	v. Katlanovo	Skopje	1,5-2 l/sec	41°
7	Kumanovska	v. Proevci	North-East	2,5 l/sec	30,4°

Source: Taskov, N., Metodijeski, D., Mitreva, E. (2015) Thermal tourism in Macedonia. Saarbrucken: Lambert Academic Publishing.

20 Marinovski, N., Nestoroska, I. (2016) Balneological values in function of tourism development in the Republic of Macedonia. Tourism International Scientific Conference Vrnjačka Banja - TISC, 1(1), pp.241-257.

21 Taleska, M., Gorin, S., Radevski, I., Dimitrovska, O. (2015) Assessment of the conditions for the development of spa tourism in the Republic of Macedonia. Proceedings book: International Scientific Conference Geobalcanica, pp.487-494.

22 Law on Mineral Resources (2012) Official Gazette of RNM, No. 136.

It may be seen from the table 2, that most of the spa centers (5) in the Republic of North Macedonia, are located in the eastern part of the country, two are located in the western part and one in the central part. The regional distribution of hotels offering spa services in the Republic of North Macedonia is as follows²³: Skopje Region 11, South-West Region 6, East Region 4, Polog Region 3, Pelagonija, South-East and Vardar Region 2 each, and North-East 1 hotel offering spa services. In total, there are 31 hotels in the country offering spa services. In addition to hotels offering spa services, there are specialised facilities in the country with built-in infrastructure and purpose-built spa services such as: Endomak, Silhouette, Aseana Royal Spa, Babor Beauty Spa, Bliss Beauty Centre & Spa, Dior Spa, Aura Spa & Beauty Centre, Sky Wellness as part of Cevahir Sky City, Synergy Fitness & Spa and others.

Table 3. Illness which are healed by waters in the spa centers in North Macedonia

	Bansko	Katlanovska	Kezovica	Negorska	Kumanovska	Kocanska	Debar Spas
Nerve illnesses	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Rheumatism	√	√	√	√		√	
Diabetes			√		√		√
Allergies and skin infections		√	√				√
Kidney and urinary tract illnesses		√			√	√	√
Breathing tract illnesses		√		√		√	√
Inflammation of gallbladder				√	√	√	√
Gynecological illnesses	√	√	√	√		√	√
Bronchitis	√		√	√			
Cardiovascular illnesses		√		√			
Digestion tract illnesses	√	√		√	√	√	√

Source: Taskov, N., Metodijeski, D., Mitreva, E. (2015) Thermal tourism in Macedonia. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing.

One of the primary motives for visiting the spa centers by tourists is the healing effect of the water. Thermal water is used to treat in several ways: by bathing, drinking, inhalation and mud coating. Researches has shown, that spas in Republic of North Macedonia, treat various diseases due to higher

²³ Metodijeski, D., Filiposki, O., Todorovic, E., Taleska, M., Michev, G., Dimovski, C., Taskov, N., Dzambazovski, K., Cuculeski, N., Micevski, M. (2019) Study on spa tourism in the Republic of North Macedonia. Skopje: Ministry of Economy.

levels of minerals. Table 3 is listing some of the diseases that can be treated in most spas in the country.

1.2. Methodology

The subject of this paper is the analysis of spa tourism offer in North Macedonia. The paper presents review of relevant literature concerning spa tourism and spa tourism offer in the country. For the purpose of the paper, a research methodology and secondary data sources have been used by consulting literature, studies, statistical data and official web pages of the spa centers in North Macedonia. An analysis and review of spa tourism in North Macedonia has been made, based on a systematic evaluation of the current content of spa tourism offer using methodology of content analysis²⁴. The main source of secondary information and data used in this research is Study on spa tourism in Republic of North Macedonia²⁵. Also, the data collected from the State statistical office (MakStat database, Tourism and catering trade), are used to prepare tables showing: accommodation capacities in the spa centers, arrivals of tourists and overnight stays in the spa centers in North Macedonia for the period 2017-2021. Primary sources of information for the purposes of this paper were collected by conducting non-formal and non-structured interviews with managers of spa centers in the country.

2. Results and discussion

2.1. Statistical data related to tourism in spa centers

Statistical data related to tourism in spa centers will be presented through the arrivals and overnight stays of tourists in spa resorts. The volume and structure of tourism frequency best reflect the developmental dimension of spa tourism in the country. For the purpose of the paper, accommodation capacities in the spa centers in North Macedonia are also significant part of the research.

Table 4. Accommodation capacities in the spa centers in North Macedonia (2017-2021)

	Rooms	Beds
2017	529	1,267
2018	242	518
2019	242	518
2020	242	518
2021	244	518

Source: MakStat database, Tourism and catering trade.

24 Ritchie, B., Burns, P., Palmer, C. (2005) *Tourism research methods: Integrating theory with practice*. Oxfordshire: CAB International.

25 Metodijeski, D., Filiposki, O., Todorovic, E., Taleska, M., Micev, G., Dimovski, C., Taskov, N., Dzambazovski, K., Cuculeski, N., Micevski, M. (2019) *Study on spa tourism in the Republic of North Macedonia*. Skopje: Ministry of Economy.

Table 4 shows the accommodation capacity of the spa centers in the country. It can be noticed that in the period 2018-2021 there is no change in the number of rooms and beds in spa centers. In the period 2017-2018, there is a decrease in accommodation capacity of the spa centers by more than 50%, due to the closure of part of the spa centers.

Table 5. Arrivals of tourists in spa resorts in the spa centers in North Macedonia (2017-2021)

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Total for spa resorts	32,189	31,244	11,254	5,513	7,524
Domestic tourists	28,227	26,778	10,165	4,701	6,791
International tourists	3,962	4,466	1,089	812	733

Source: MakStat database, Tourism and catering trade.

Table 5 shows that in the analyzed period from 2017 to 2021, the number of tourists in the spa centers in the country is steadily decreasing. Factors leading to this condition in the period 2020-2021 is COVOD-19 pandemic, and other factors are the lack of long-term strategy for development of spa tourism, insignificant investments in spa resorts, poor promotion and so on. It can also be seen from the table 5, that biggest number of tourists who visit spa centers are domestic, and only small amount are international tourists, which means that steps should be taken in the future to improve the quality of services in the spa resorts and expand their assortment, as well as devise a promotional strategy to attract international tourists.

Table 6. Overnight stays in the spa centers in North Macedonia (2017-2021)

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Total for spa resorts	245,074	237,551	98,435	49,113	75,482
Domestic tourists	217,064	206,804	86,515	36,798	66,086
International tourists	28,010	30,747	11,920	12,315	9,396

Source: MakStat database, Tourism and catering trade.

Table 6 shows the number of overnight stays in the spa centers. Data shows that the number of overnight stays in the spa centers in the country is steadily decreasing. Factors leading to this condition in the period 2020-2021 is COVOD-19 pandemic, and other factors are mentioned concerning number of tourists. As we mentioned earlier, spa centers and tourism policy makers in the country need to take serious steps to improve the tourist offer in the spa resorts and promote it both, in the domestic and international tourism markets.

Conclusion

Spa tourism implies visit and stay into specialized facilities offering opportunities for healing and relaxation, by using thermal water. The number

of thermal mineral springs in the North Macedonia is over sixty, and for tourist and healthcare needs, that is, spa centers, only 8 are in use. For the needs of this paper, considering the global methodologies, the spa centers in North Macedonia are divided into two basic groups: spa centers offering spa services, and spa centers not offering spa services. The first group includes the spa centers: Bansko spa, Debar Spas, Katlanovska spa and Negorska spa. The second group includes the following spas: Kezovica, Kumanovska and Kocanska spa.

Within the National Strategy on Tourism Development, the following analyses on the spa centers was made²⁶:

- At the moment, the spa destinations around the mineral hot springs consist of accommodation facilities, such as hospitals with medical treatment space.

- The visitors of such resorts are mainly Macedonians, or Macedonians living abroad, with a specific disease, who wish to improve their health condition.

- The several hot springs used at the moment in the Republic of North Macedonia due to health purposes – are mainly located in the North-East and South-East region.

- In the majority cases, several accommodation units were constructed around the hot springs for medical treatments.

- Same as many other European spa destinations in the 1980s, the focus of the North Macedonian spa destinations is exclusively intended for medical treatments of people with specific diseases.

- There is a limited number of spa and wellness products offered in the majority of these spa destinations (excluding Debar spas).

Taking into consideration the natural potentials of the country for development of spa tourism, it is necessary that the state, as well as all interested parties undertake urgent measures for creation of quality development strategy for spa tourism, on the basis of which they would attract capital and other investments and would create a spa tourist product that would present the country in the international tourism market.

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“SOCIO-LEGAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE ROLE OF STATE MECHANISMS, INCLUDING COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR THE ROMA, ASHKALI AND EGYPTIAN COMMUNITIES (AS MARGINALIZED GROUPS)”

Abstract: Inclusion is the basic principle in the education system, which translates into the respect of the norms of internationally approved education for all, with a focus on providing equal opportunities for groups sensitive in society. Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are one of the vulnerable groups and for their education, special measures are needed in order to ensure their inclusion and proper quality of education. The inclusion of these communities in the education system in Kosovo is regulated through legislative inclusive education policies.

Such policies that address the inclusion of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in education is a 5-year strategy that is already at the beginning of the implementation period. The strategy for the inclusion of Roma and Ashkali communities in Kosovar society was approved in 2022 and is organized in four strategic areas of action, one of which is education components. In the framework of this research, the information from the various parties involved in the activities aimed at the education of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, as well as data from secondary sources to understand the scale and the quality of implementation of educational policies focused on the education of members of Roma communities, Ashkali and Egyptian. More precisely, this research reflects the work that has been done in recent years, good practices, difficulties and setbacks. The purpose of this study was to analyze the situation with the education of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, both in terms of the implementation of educational policies and in terms of the concrete experiences of providers and beneficiaries of educational services. In more depth, through this research it has been learned to understand the developments in the various aspects of education of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Inclusiveness is the fundamental principle in the education system, which translates into adhering to internationally approved standards for education

¹ Municipality of Rahovec, Kosovo

for all, with a focus on providing equal opportunities for sensitive groups in society. The Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities are among these vulnerable groups, requiring special measures to ensure their inclusion and the proper quality of education. The inclusion of these communities in the education system in Kosovo is regulated through comprehensive legislation and inclusive education policies. Such policies addressing the inclusion of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities in education encompass two 5-year strategies, one of which is already nearing the end of its implementation period. The strategy for advancing Roma and Ashkali communities in Kosovar society was approved in 2022 for the period 2022-2025, and it is organized into five strategic action fields, one of which is education. Within this field, a number of activities are planned for the period up to 2025. The 2022-2026 Education Strategy has also been approved and contains measures to increase the inclusion and quality of education for members of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities.

This report utilizes information from various stakeholders involved in activities aimed at the education of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, as well as data from secondary sources to understand the extent and quality of the implementation of educational policies focused on these communities. More precisely, the report reflects the work that has been done in recent years, best practices, challenges, and setbacks. The study aimed to analyze the situation with the education of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, both in terms of implementing educational policies and the concrete experiences of educational service providers and beneficiaries. In-depth analysis aimed to understand developments in various aspects of education for these communities.

GENERAL INFORMATION

According to the report “Impact of Educational Centers on the Inclusion of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian Children in Education,”² conducted by the KOSINT network in Kosovo in 2018, there are 83 educational centers operating either based in schools or community-based. According to the information available to our organization for the licensing application, 60 educational centers have applied, with 22 of them being community-based and 38 school-based (we do not have information on the total number of licensed centers, we suggest obtaining this data from the Ministry of Education).

Based on the OSCE analysis “General Overview of Educational Centers in Kosovo and the Implementation of Administrative Instruction No. 19/2018,”³ out of the 37 registered Educational Centers (EC), only 13 have obtained full five-year licenses, while the majority have conditional licenses ranging from two to three years. The duration of these licenses depends on

2 https://kec-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Ndikimi-i-QMve-ne-Kosove_alb.pdf

3 <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/3/2/539426.pdf>

the improvements made in the functioning of the EC and requires significant funds. They are not being improved to meet the standard. Additionally, 41 have applied for registration, and 23 active ECs have not done so.

Educational centers are funded by three (3) sources of funding, mainly from donors, municipalities, and subsidies from the Ministry of Education. Each year, the Ministry of Education issues a public call for the subsidy of educational centers with a total value of 200,000 euros. During the year 2022/2023, five (5) NGOs or 14 educational centers were supported, while during the year 2023/2024, seven NGOs were supported.



Based on data for centers supported by the non-government organization “Voice of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians” The non-governmental organization “Voice of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians” in Kosovo, to reduce the educational gap, school dropouts, and inequalities in education, established 19 educational centers in 10 municipalities in 2011. With the approval of Administrative Instruction 19/2018,⁴ aiming for sustainability and institutionalization, all educational centers were transferred under the management of the municipalities in which these centers operate. This was achieved through the signing of cooperation agreements for the three-year period in 2019/2020 between non-governmental organizations and municipalities.

According to AI 19/2018, under the Responsibilities of Parties, point 3 emphasizes that the municipality is responsible for monitoring and providing support for the functioning of educational centers by offering support for providing space and covering the operational expenses of the educational center. Furthermore, under the Financing and Budget section, point 3 highlights the main sources of funding for educational centers, mainly from public budget

⁴ Udhezimi Administrativë për Themelimin dhe Funksonimin e qendrave mësimore <https://masht.rks-gov.net/ep-content/uploads/2022/05/ua-nr-19-masht-per-themelimin-dhe-funksionimin-e-qendrave-mesimore-x.pdf>

organizations at the local and central levels. It also states that the municipality's role and responsibility in financing educational centers are:

3.1 To include support for the work of educational centers in the annual education budget planning based on the educational centers' needs.

3.2 The municipality, through the specific education grant, plans the basic/initial budget for the establishment and operation of school-based educational centers.

Administrative Instruction No. 19/2018 clearly specifies the financing of educational centers, with a particular emphasis on local institutions. However, municipalities have faced continuous challenges in contracting tutors (teachers) for educational centers, as contracts based on work or service categories have not been acceptable and legally binding according to auditors. Furthermore, despite being specified in AI 19/2018, even from the specific education grant, it has been unfeasible and impossible for municipalities to contract educational center staff.

Municipalities, as per the guidelines of AI 19/2018, have applied for the registration of educational centers with the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology, and Innovation, and as the carriers of the educational centers, they have been registered for a five-year period, fulfilling all required criteria. However, despite the licensing of educational centers and their staff, this has had no impact on facilitating the approval of tutor (teacher) payments at all.

While the Ministry of Education issues a public call every year for the support of non-governmental organizations for educational centers worth 200,000.00 € (two hundred thousand euros), municipalities are not entitled to benefit from this call. This is because, according to the regulations of the Government of Kosovo, institutions do not have the right to apply, only non-governmental organizations can. In this way, educational centers, as a result of the legal gap regarding tutor payment coverage, are facing challenges in their operation, which is causing several centers to close.

It is worth noting that out of the 19 educational centers we had, two (2) centers have been transferred to the non-governmental organization Romani Initiative HAK, one (1) educational center to Idea Partnership, and one (1) center is not operational at all in Janjeva, Lipjan. Therefore, 15 other centers have been transferred to municipalities, and as of now, in October, they are all operational, except for 2 educational centers in the municipality of Shtime, which are expected to be operational very soon with the support of the municipality of Shtime. Out of these centers, four (4) received support from the Ministry of Education this year, and we, as an organization, applied for a separate agreement with the municipality of Lipjan since they did not have the right to apply. Currently, regulations have been drafted for the procedures of selection and appointment of directors, deputy directors, teachers, professional collaborators, assistants, instructors, and special services personnel in pre-university educational public institutions. This regulation also includes the position of the tutor, which will be recognized since it has not been recognized until now. This regulation has gone through all public

discussions and is expected to be signed by Prime Minister Kurti.

Based on these excerpts from these strategies, specific themes have been identified that are part of this study. Therefore, the study is structured around specific themes, and qualitative data has been sought for these themes, supported by quantitative data wherever possible. At the same time, sources that can serve as information sources have been identified.

Short questionnaires with open-ended questions were used to collect data, asking parties to provide their contributions through firsthand information. Depending on the need, the questionnaires were supplemented with interviews with the parties to clarify certain aspects of the study and obtain deeper insights. In some cases, questionnaires were sent to some parties for orientation, and based on them, interviews were conducted immediately with those parties. This was done depending on how the parties themselves found it more suitable. Research instruments were prepared specifically for different parties, including the topics for which information was expected from those parties.

METHODOLOGY

While quantitative data was utilized for the purposes of this study, the core of the study is qualitative in nature. A combined methodology was used.

Initially, secondary data was collected through desk research, reviewing international human rights instruments, education legislation in Kosovo, strategies related to the education of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, local strategies and action plans for the education of these communities, educational statistics reports from the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology, and Innovation (MASHTI) for the years 2015/16 to 2020/2021, the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) for Kosovo, and various reports related to the education of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities.

To further develop the study, two strategic documents that have outlined the path taken in the last five years in the education of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities were selected. These two strategic documents are “The Strategy for Advancing Roma and Ashkali Communities in Kosovar Society for the Period 2022-2025” and the “2022-2026 Education Strategy”. The Education Strategy contains seven strategic objectives. For the purposes of this study, the first objective has been highlighted, which focuses on increasing inclusion and equal opportunities for the development, empowerment, and education of every individual in pre-university education. Within this objective, the focus is placed on activities with expected results 4, 5, 6, and 8, which are related to the education of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities. The methodology used to analyze the situation regarding the education of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities is a combined approach. While quantitative data have been used to support this study, the core of the study is qualitative. Initial data collection involved desk research to gather secondary data, reviewing legislation, policies, reports, and other

documents related to the education of these communities and related fields. Further, two strategic documents that indicate the path that our society should have taken regarding the education of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities over the last five years were selected to identify specific themes to include in this study. The study is structured into specific themes for which qualitative data were sought, wherever possible, complemented by quantitative data.

THE PROCESS OF DATA COLLECTION

For data collection, short questionnaires with open-ended questions were used, where parties were asked to provide their contributions through first-hand information. Depending on the needs, the questionnaires were supplemented with interviews with these parties to clarify specific aspects of the study and obtain deeper insights. In some cases, interviews were conducted with multiple parties, as questionnaires were sent to orient them about the interview. Ultimately, the data collected were discussed in a workshop with representatives from 6 municipalities and CSOs from these municipalities, as a part of the study.

The study has concluded that there has been noticeable progress in the field of education for Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities in recent years, while much work remains to be done. MASHTI has taken a leading role in some aspects of the education of these communities, while other aspects show efforts and challenges. Municipalities, which bear significant responsibility for the education of these communities, have increased their engagement, although they have not yet taken the lead in related activities. Often, the approach of municipalities is reactive, depending on the initiatives and requests coming from CSOs. Concerning institutions, there is a lack of reliable data, and reporting and monitoring are insufficient. Information does not flow as it should vertically. Many activities that should have been carried out at the municipal level have been missing, especially those related to regulations and plans at the local level, and there has been insufficient monitoring at the central level.

Support from donor community through projects for the education of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities has continued. At the same time, it has been clearly articulated that institutions should take on the coordination of actions for increasing inclusion and improving the quality of education for these communities, including taking over the funding of these activities. Institutions have reacted positively. Additionally, there has been an increased activity from members of these communities, activists, and CSOs working on their education. In most cases, CSOs are at the forefront of addressing all the educational needs of these communities and beyond.

In accordance with PSAK and the strategy for the inclusion of Roma and Ashkali communities, most measures to stimulate and facilitate the enrollment and retention of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian students at various levels of education have been implemented. These measures include: implementing quotas for the enrollment (at least 5 students per school) of students from

Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities at the upper secondary level; supporting students from these communities with scholarships and mentoring in a joint process coordinated by MASHTI; and facilitating the enrollment of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian students through reserved slots at the university level. However, in terms of scholarships for higher education students, the process has not been facilitated due to the lack of a legal basis.

Teaching centers have improved their operational standards by aligning their programs with the pre-university education curriculum, as well as through professional development of staff and encouraging staff to pursue formal education towards teaching qualifications. Additionally, there has been a coordinated process of institutionalizing teaching centers. The adoption of UA 19/2018 on the establishment and operation of teaching centers and the development of guidelines for its implementation have paved the way for this process. The licensing process of QCs has also begun, allowing them to be financed from public funds.

Dropping out of school and non-registration remain significant factors that disproportionately affect children from Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities. Educational Resource Centers (EPRBM) are established at the school and municipal levels but are often non-functional or ineffective. When it comes to students from Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, a more prominent role is played by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and community mediators. Reporting of cases in the early warning module is minimal. Only 6 municipalities and 14 schools from these municipalities have reported cases of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian students in the School Performance and Monitoring System (SPH).

Unfortunately, MASHTI does not possess data categorized by ethnicity regarding returnees. Therefore, the reintegration of education is done uniformly for all returning children. At the local level, immediate reintegration of returned children into schools occurs, with further actions based on an assessment of their learning level, rectification of documentation, and language courses as needed. For children from Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, CSOs assist in identifying needs, rectifying documentation, and enrolling children in schools.

Regarding adult education and empowerment, the SMIA has data on 8 municipalities where, in the last 5 years, members of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities have benefited from AARr programs. However, at least three municipalities with a large population from these communities are not included in these statistics, raising questions in this regard.

Although the PSAK had planned to develop a strategy for promoting interethnic dialogue and contacts between communities, as well as to develop a policy for organizing teaching for diversity and human rights for all students, these documents have not been developed. Additionally, specific educational modules for communities have not been reported. This gap has been filled by projects implemented by international agencies and organizations, which have built the capacity of school leaders and teachers while providing practical guidelines for democratic culture competencies in schools, promoting diversity, tolerance, and coexistence.

The pandemic had a severe impact on the education of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, reducing their access to education, lowering the level of learning, and limiting social interactions. Educational Resource Centers and schools did not have specific plans for addressing the needs of these communities but responded as best as they could.

While the option of offering the Romani language as an elective subject was available in some municipalities like Gjakova and Ferizaj years ago, it has not been maintained. Only in Prizren has a more sustainable solution been implemented, as a Romani language teacher has been employed to teach Romani in four schools in the municipality. Albanian students also attend Romani language classes in these schools, as well as students from other communities.

The number of students from Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities pursuing studies in educational faculties is increasing year by year, consequently increasing the number of graduates from these communities. However, there is no increase in the number of teachers from these communities employed in public schools in Kosovo. Thus far, institutions have not taken measures to increase the number of employees from these communities and have instead chosen an approach of equal treatment, regardless of ethnicity.

The study provides recommendations based on identified challenges and best practices. Some recommendations are related to policies and legislation and are primarily directed at MASHTI. These include creating clear monitoring mechanisms within the upcoming strategic cycle, revising certain UA (administrative instructions) to facilitate measures for children and students from Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, and developing policies for democratic culture promotion, social inclusion, and intercultural understanding for all students, among others.

Other recommendations focus on further stimulating measures for the education of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities and are directed at MASHTI and municipalities. These include exempting returnees from document nostrification fees, promoting the teaching of the Romani language, employing Romani language teachers, and hiring teachers from these communities in public schools through priority in recruitment competitions, and more.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

The major limitation of this study is the significant lack of necessary data. Out of the 11 municipalities with a higher population of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, only 3 municipalities have completed the open-ended questionnaires prepared as part of the study. The fact that data collection took place during the month of October, the time of the election campaign, in no way justifies this behavior of the majority of municipal education directorates, on the contrary. Some other institutional and non-institutional parties have also not responded to the information requests for the study's needs.

There are significant data gaps for various aspects of the education of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, especially regarding ethnic segregation. In addition, during the review of education statistics, many errors in the data were found. These data gaps and anomalies in the statistics have reduced their reliability, which is another limitation of this study.

STUDY CONTEXT -HUMAN RIGHTS BASED APPROACH

The right to education is a fundamental human right. As such, it is universal. It means that all people, without distinction on any basis, are holders of this right. Moreover, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as the most fundamental instrument of human rights, proclaims the right of everyone to basic free education ⁵.

In the spirit of this Declaration, Article 28 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child obliges member states, inter alia, to:

make primary education compulsory and freely available for all;

- Encourage the development of various forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child and take appropriate measures, such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need;

- Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by all appropriate means;

- Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and reduction of drop-out rates.⁶

Article 29 of the Convention, meanwhile, instructs that the aim of the education should be, inter alia, to:

- The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;

- The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin .

- The right to education is fulfilled only if the education offered is qualitative.

- Thus, as proclaimed by the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, quality inclusive and equitable education and the promotion of life-long learning opportunities for all must be ensured.⁷

5 <https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/udhr.pdf>

6 <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/crc.pdf>

7 https://www.undp.org/sustainable-development-goals?utm_source=EN&utm_medium=GSR&utm_content=US_UNDP_PaidSearch_Brand-English&utm_campaign=CENTRAL&c_src=CENTRAL&c_BhCxARIsAIIDDKNVUBucU4mGGEuej0c97RlrupLMNWgEMSBg9eY7_vozYrL253E0LtTQaAkzIEALw_wcB .

From here, one can observe that it is extremely important to provide quality education to all equally, taking into account the specific needs of individuals and groups to which they belong, in order to enable the maximum development of personal and social potential.

Equal provision of educational services does not, however, ensure justice. Equal treatment is not necessarily fair treatment. Considering vulnerable social groups, international human rights instruments have gone one step further in addressing the specific needs of these groups in order to provide fair treatment.

Thus, according to the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe on the protection of national minorities, states must ensure full and effective equality between persons belonging to a national minority and those belonging to the majority in all spheres of economic, social, political and cultural life.

This is ensured through the necessary and appropriate measures, which have as their starting point the special conditions of persons belonging to national minorities⁸.

Kosovo is defined as a multi-ethnic and democratically governed society, based on the principles of equality before the law of all individuals and full respect of fundamental human rights and freedoms, as well as the protection of rights and participation of all communities and their members⁹.

Chapter II of the Constitution

- *Fundamental Rights and Freedoms*, clarifies that “The principles of equal legal protection do not prevent the imposition of necessary measures for the protection and advancement of the rights of individuals and groups who are in an unequal position. Such measures shall be implemented only until the goal for which they were set is achieved.”¹⁰

Whereas in *Chapter III - The Rights of Communities and Their Members*, the state, depending

on the need, assumes the responsibility to “adopt adequate measures to promote full and effective equality between members of communities in all areas of economic, social, political and cultural life...”¹¹

- The results reveal that the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities face significant challenges within the education system, including disparities in educational levels and access to educational resources.
- A detailed analysis indicates that socio-economic and cultural factors play a significant role in their educational outcomes.

8 Article 4 of the Convention <https://rm.coe.int/16800c131a>

9 Article 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702>

10 Article 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo

11 Article 58 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo

RAISING AWARENESS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF TIMELY ENROLLMENT AND ATTENDANCE

The awareness of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities about the importance of timely enrollment of their children and regular school attendance has increased significantly compared to many years ago.

However, awareness-raising activities and campaigns are still measures that stimulate and facilitate the enrollment and attendance of these children in school.

Awareness campaigns are organized regularly at the local level. In some municipalities, these campaigns are planned and organized in cooperation between municipalities and NGOs working in the education of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, but in most municipalities the NGOs are the providers of these campaigns, while municipalities sometimes offer some support (e.g., with information from the birth register, etc.), and sometimes do not participate in them in any way. NGOs have been very effective in organizing these campaigns.

Between May and June of every year, they begin the process of identification of all children from

these communities who should be enrolled in school, alongside information campaigns. These campaigns target the families, and they are organized through information sessions, distribution of leaflets, production and publication of awareness video spots, organization of public events, and even door-to-door visits to families.

A big role is played by community mediators, who know their community well and have the knowledge and skills to mediate between the community and institutions.

THE WORK OF LEARNING CENTERS AN OVERVIEW

The European Commission in its annual reports on Kosovo has regularly acknowledged the role of learning centers in reducing the significant number of school dropouts and enabling further integration of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities into the education system¹².

A study on the impact and sustainability of learning centers conducted in 2015¹³ by UBO

Consulting, for the needs of UNICEF, EU and CoE, shows that the impact of learning centers has been positive in: social inclusion of children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities; improved school performance of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children; reducing school dropout

¹² European Commission Kosovo*2016 Report: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/system/files/2018-12/20161109_report_kosovo.pdf

¹³ http://uboconsulting.com/PDF/al/Study_on_Impact_and_Sustainability_of_the_Learning_Centers-ALB.PDF

and returning to school children of street conditions; and reducing segregation and exclusion.

Recommendations for Enhancing Education Accessibility and Inclusivity for Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian Communities.

Enhancing Accessibility to Education

Early Childhood Education: Implement early childhood education programs specifically tailored to the needs of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian children. These programs should focus on language development, social skills, and cultural sensitivity.

Community-Based Learning Centers: Establish community-based learning centers within or in close proximity to these communities. These centers can provide a safe and familiar environment for children to learn, reducing barriers related to transportation and discrimination.

Transportation Support: National and local Government should provide transportation assistance to students living in remote or marginalized areas to ensure they can access educational facilities more easily.

Flexible Scheduling: Introduce flexible schooling schedules to accommodate the specific needs of the community, such as allowing students to attend school in the afternoon or evening.

Empowerment Programs for Youth and Parents

Cultural Sensitivity Training: Offer cultural sensitivity training to teachers and school staff to foster a more inclusive and respectful educational environment.

Mentorship Programs: Create mentorship programs connecting students from these communities with successful individuals who can serve as role models, motivating them to pursue their educational aspirations.

Parental Education Workshops: Organize workshops and information sessions for parents to help them understand the importance of education, become more involved in their children's education, and navigate the school system effectively.

Scholarships and Financial Aid: Establish scholarship programs and financial aid options to incentivize and support students from these communities to pursue higher education.

Development of Specific Policies

Anti-Discrimination Policies: Develop and enforce anti-discrimination policies within educational institutions, with a focus on preventing any form of discrimination based on ethnicity, culture, or socioeconomic status.

Culturally Inclusive Curriculum: Adapt the curriculum to include diverse cultural perspectives and histories, including the contributions of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, to foster a sense of belonging and relevance for these students.

Community Involvement in Decision-Making: Encourage the active participation of community members in shaping education policies and decision-making processes. This ensures that policies are more aligned with the specific needs and expectations of these communities.

Data Collection and Monitoring: Implement a robust system for collecting and analyzing data related to the educational progress of students from these communities. Regularly monitor the impact of policies and interventions to assess their effectiveness.

Partnerships and Outreach

NGO and Civil Society Collaboration: Collaborate with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society groups that have expertise in working with marginalized communities. They can provide valuable insights and resources to support educational initiatives.

Media and Awareness Campaigns: Launch media campaigns and public awareness initiatives to promote inclusivity, challenge stereotypes, and encourage support for the education of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian children.

International Partnerships: Seek support and partnership from international organizations and agencies to bolster funding, technical assistance, and best practices in improving education for these communities.

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WOMEN'S MEETING IN KONYA IN THE TURKISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Abstract: The Ottoman Empire, which participated in the First World War, lost the war together with its ally Germany. At the end of World War I, the Armistice of Mudros was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Allied Powers for a ceasefire.

With the signing of the Armistice of Mudros, the weapons of the Ottoman Empire were confiscated and Anatolia began to be occupied. Various reactions began to emerge in Anatolia against this occupation.

Rallies were held under the leadership of prominent patriots of Konya and with the broad participation of the people of Konya, and the occupation was protested. What stands out among these rallies is the Konya women's rally. Konya Women's Rally is the second Women's Rally in Turkey during the National Struggle Period and is one of the most important.

More than five thousand women attended the rally held on January 8, 1920, under the leadership of the Konya Branch of the Anatolian Women's Defense of the Homeland Society.

The declaration prepared at the end of the rally unanimously accepted the protest declaration and was given to the Allied Powers Representatives in Konya to be sent to the Paris Peace Conference through the Allied Powers Representatives in Istanbul.

INTRODUCTION:

The Ottoman Empire, which participated in the First World War, lost the war together with its ally Germany. At the end of World War I, the Armistice of Mudros was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Allied Powers for a ceasefire. It was signed on behalf of the Ottoman Empire by the Minister of Naval Affairs, Rauf Bey, on the evening of 30 October 1918, on the battleship Agamemnon anchored in the Port of Mudros on the island of Lemnos. With this treaty, the Ottoman Empire effectively ended.

With the signing of the Armistice of Mudros, the weapons of the Ottoman Empire were confiscated and Anatolia began to be occupied. Various reactions began to emerge in Anatolia against this occupation. Among these reactions, the Konya women's rally is also very striking. In our research, we will try to examine the Konya women's rally during the Turkish War of Independence.

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KONYA WOMEN'S RALLY:

Occupations and injustices were vehemently protested in the rallies held under the leadership of prominent patriots of Konya and with the wide participation of the people of Konya. With the protest declaration sent to all relevant authorities, especially the Allied Powers, it was declared that a nation that has been living free and independent for centuries would never accept the occupations, an immediate end to the occupations was requested, a just peace treaty was requested, the injustices and oppressions were strongly condemned, and the Allied Powers supported the right and justice. and was invited to mercy, otherwise it was declared that there would be resistance (Güven, 2002) (Güven 2019).

Thanks to these rallies, the national feelings of the people of Konya were kept awake and alive, they were organized against the occupations, and their national unity and solidarity was strengthened.

Konya Women's Rally, which is the subject of this research, is the second Women's Rally in Turkey during the National Struggle Period. The ladies of Konya showed the magnificent place of Turkish women in the National Struggle in the best way with their rally.

At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Konya Branch of the Anatolian Women's Defense of the Homeland Society on January 4, 1920, it was decided to recite Mevlit (Prayer) in Serafeddin Mosque. The invitation was announced through the written press. (Baykal, 1986, p.68)

Anatolian Women's Defense of the Homeland Society Konya Branch had a Mawlid (Prayer) read for the martyrs of Izmir at Serafeddin Mosque after the noon prayer on Thursday, January 8, 1920. More than five thousand women from Konya gathered in the Serafeddin Mosque and listened to the Mawlid (Prayer), and then they protested strongly about the projects that Europe had prepared for Turkey and demanded an independent and free Turkey. This meeting was chaired by Kevser Hanım, wife of Konya Deputy Abdulhalim Celebi Efendi (İfham, 1920, 14 January, p. 4; İstiklal Harbi Newspaper, 1920, 16 January, p. 1; Kaplan, 1998, p. 129).

In the news reported by İfham newspaper from Oğud newspaper, information about the Mawlid (Prayer) Reading in Serafeddin Mosque and the meeting afterwards was given in detail. According to this; Konya ladies started to come to Serafeddin Mosque from all over early on Thursday, January 8, 1920, and after a while the mosque was filled to the brim. At eight o'clock, the Mevlid (Prayer) started to be read by the Imam of Mevlana Dervish Lodge on the podium adorned with banners and shawls. The ladies listened to the Mevlid (Prayer) with their heads bowed and their tearful eyes, filled with sadness and pain, fixed on a fixed point (İfham, 1920, January 14, p.4). The mosque seemed empty due to silence and inactivity. While the ladies of the Women's Teacher Training School and a few junior secondary school students were reciting prayers, members of the Konya Branch of the Anatolian Women's Defense of the Homeland Society and the ladies of the Women's Teacher Training School attended with incense burners that spread a pleasant scent around. (İfham newspaper, 1920, January 14, p. 4)

After a while, as the Mevlit (Prayer) ended, the ladies distributed candies in colorful cones with crescents and stars and the words “Fatiha (Pray) for the Martyrs of Izmir” written on them. After the Mevlit (Prayer Ceremony) ended, all Turkish and Muslim mothers and nurses opened their hands, begged for the salvation of Turks and Islam, commemorated the martyrs by shedding tears, and dedicated Fatihas (Prayers) to their souls (İfham, 1920, January 14, p.4).).

Meanwhile, the Director of the Teachers’ School, in his speech to the community on the occasion of the martyrs to whose souls he dedicated Fatiha (Prayer) said; He talked about the sufferings of the Turks and Muslims since the signing of the Armistice of Mudros, especially the atrocities committed and continued openly in Izmir and Adana, the places that were unjustly occupied, and said that it was no longer possible to tolerate these situations any longer, and he described the pathetic situation of the poor people who managed to escape from the enemy’s atrocities. Although the ladies who could not tolerate these sad truths wanted to help and collect aid, it was deemed appropriate to postpone this work to another day by the members of the Konya Branch of the Anatolian Women’s Defense of the Homeland Society (İfham, 1920, 14 January, p. 4). .9

The outraged women demanded that these tragedies be protested and, like every nation, we appeal to civilized states for a just peace that will ensure our independence and freedom as soon as possible.

They unanimously accepted the protest declaration given below and decided to give it to the Allied Powers Representatives in Konya to be sent to the Paris Peace Conference through the Allied Powers Representatives in Istanbul. A delegation of five people was selected to send this declaration of protest to the European Representatives and other necessary places. Then, Havva Hanım, daughter of the late Tahir Pasha, son of Mecidiye, explained the purpose of establishing the Konya Branch of the Anatolian Women’s Defense of the Homeland Society, and after thanking those who accepted their invitation on behalf of the Society, the community left the mosque, followed Government Square and Saray Street, and stood in front of Kapu Mosque. dispersed (İfham, 1920, 14 January, p.4).

The protest declaration, prepared in printed form, was signed by the elected delegation and delivered to the Commands of the Allied Powers in Konya through the Vice President Serife Emin, Member Zehra Aliye and Secretary Havva Hanım. “Although the British Commander received it a little coldly, as was appropriate for their nature” (Baykal, 1986, p.68-69), the American Commander Koshman complimented and declared that he would personally send this declaration to his own Government, as he was going to Istanbul on Friday, and the Italian Commander invited the ladies’ delegation. He promised that they would greet him with respect and courtesy and inform him of the response they would receive regarding this matter. Since the French Commander was not at their offices, it was given to him on Friday, and the French Commander in particular showed him extraordinary respect and compliment, as did the American Koshman and the Italian Commander, and even said that they had officially accepted our rights and confirmed our rights, and

that he would notify them of the response they would receive. In addition, this protest declaration, a copy of which was sent to Konya Governorship and Corps Command, was also sent by mail to the local and foreign press and provincial newspapers published in Istanbul (Ifham, 1920, 14 January, p. 4; Baykal, 1986, p. 68-69).).

Fahrettin Altay Pasha, who was the 12th Corps Commander in Konya at that time, records the following in his memoirs (Altay, 1970, p.212):

“During this time, it was decided to convene the Parliament in Istanbul, and national excitement increased considerably.”

Intellectual women of Konya also gathered in the Serafeddin Mosque, recited the Mevlid (Prayer) for the souls of the martyrs, and published a declaration they had prepared for the Allied Governments to save the country.

A delegation consisting of Tahir Pasha’s daughter Serife, Kara Hafiz Mustafa Efendi’s wife Aliye, and Major Rustu Bey’s wife Zehra, from the old respected families of Konya, came to the Corps Office and gave a copy of the declaration. “This was a promising innovation for the future, as our women were veiled and did not interfere in political and administrative affairs at that time.”

The declaration prepared at the meeting in Serafeddin Mosque and a copy of which was given to Fahrettin (Altay) Pasha is as follows (War History Documents Magazine, Document 1115):11

“Anatolian Women Defense of the Homeland Society Konya Center”

“To the Twelfth Corps Command”

We request that the declaration prepared by more than five thousand Konya ladies gathered in Serafeddin Mosque today be sent to the peace conference through you.

We are saddened by the rapes and tragedies our nation has been subjected to in the parts of the homeland that have been occupied since the signing of the Armistice of Mudros, especially in Adana and Izmir, and while sending Fatihas (Prayers) to the souls of our heroes who were martyred there, we shed tears again and express our gratitude for the misery and misery suffered by Turks and Muslims in these two beloved provinces. We, as a nation that has lived free and independent for centuries, demand that civilized Europe not remain silent against the atrocities, and that we demand the following from the justice of Europe.

While many small nations are given their long-standing rights, we request that any decision that would offend the dignity of a great nation that has lived free and independent for more than six and a half centuries be avoided, under the pretext of the law of minorities, as we consider the rights of the non-Muslims among us as honorable and valid as our own law. We will not accept provisions that will violate our national sovereignty and dignity, and we will not impose on our nation any peace that does not ensure the survival of an independent and free Turkey, with Istanbul as the caliphate and capital city, within the pre-World War borders that were inhabited by Turks and Muslims, and the exact implementation of Wilson’s principles. We would like to make sure that those who strive for the freedom and well-being of the world will be

instrumental in the victory of right and justice by protecting and protecting an oppressed and noble nation).

[January 8, 1920]

“In the Name of Five Thousand Ladies, Kevser, the Chairman of the Delegation, the Wife of Celebi Efendi, and the Second Chairman, the Daughter of Tahir Pasha, Serife.

Member Major Rusdu Bey’s wife Zehra

Member Said Celebi’s wife Zahide

Member Bahaddin Celebi’s wife Suzide

Member Tahir Pasha’s Daughter Havva

Member Tahir Pasha’s Daughter Naciye

Member son of Karahafiz Mustafa Efendi’s wife Aliye

Member Sidika

Member Kazım Bey’s wife Nazmiye

Member Former Deputy Mehmet Emin Bey’s Wife Lutfiye

Member Safiye

Member Pharmacist Husameddin Bey’s wife Seibe

Member Merchant Yusuf Efendi’s Wife Emine

Member Merchant Mehmed Ali Bey’s wife Hatice

Member Faik Bey’s wife Vicdan

Member Retired Sevki Bey’s wife Firdevs

Member Merchant Ali Bey’s wife Feime

“French and Piano teacher Emine Ferhunde on behalf of the Member Women’s Teacher Training School Representative Committee”

When the content of the declaration and the signatures are examined, it is understood that the women of Konya were on the side of the National Struggle and that they were aware of the content of the Erzurum and Sivas Congress decisions and served their implementation. It is seen that the names of the ladies, except Muallime Emine Ferhunde Hanım, who had a profession, were given in reference to their husbands or fathers. Although it is noteworthy that there are no wives or daughters of farmers, laborers or laborers, it can be said that other status and business groups are represented in some way.

In the Istiklal Harbi Newspaper, published as a supplement to the Yeni İstanbul newspaper dated 16 January 1920, the above-mentioned subject was given with the following content (Istiklal Harbi Newspaper, 1920, 16 January, p.1):

“Turkish Women Came to Anger

“At the rally held in Konya with the participation of five thousand women, European decisions were protested and it was declared that they could not be accepted by Turkey.”

“More than five thousand ladies gathered in Serafettin and vehemently protested the rumored projects that Europe was preparing for Turkey.

The meeting was chaired by Kevser Hanım, the companion of His Excellency Celebi Efendi.

“Our ladies, who also founded the Konya branch of the Anatolian Women’s Defense Homeland Society, prepared a strong declaration in these

meetings to be sent to the high commissioners of the Allied Powers, and they unanimously accepted it. It is stated in the declaration of Konya ladies as follows.”

“While many nations are being given their old rights, we request that you refrain from making decisions that would harm the dignity and dignity of a great nation that has lived freely and independently for more than six and a half centuries.”

“Since we consider the rights of non-Muslims among us to be as honorable and respected as our own rights, we declare that we cannot accept provisions that will violate our sovereignty and national dignity under the pretext of protecting the rights of minorities.”

“It is impossible for the Turkish nation, which centuries have not been able to defeat, to accept any peace that does not ensure the survival of an ‘Independent and Free Turkey’, with the caliphate and capital Istanbul within the borders before the war with Turks and Muslims, and the strict implementation of Wilson’s principles.”

It is seen that the historical incident in Serafeddin Mosque came to the agenda again with the articles in Yeni Konya newspaper in January 1970, immediately after the publication of this information in the *Istiklal Harbi Newspaper*.

Celalettin Kashmir gives the following information in his column titled “Karinca Kararinca” (As much as you can) in Yeni Konya newspaper, titled “Yesterday’s Konya was like this” (Kesmir, 1970, p. 2): “... In the second week of January 1920, women from Konya also held a rally. 5 thousand women attended this rally and a declaration was prepared.

I give this declaration of the true patriotic, true nationalist women of Konya in summary:

While many nations are being given their old rights, we request that you refrain from making decisions that would harm the dignity of a great nation that has lived freely and independently for more than six and a half centuries.

Since we consider the rights of non-Muslims among us to be as honorable and respected as our own rights, we declare that we cannot accept provisions that will violate our sovereignty and national dignity under the pretext of protecting the rights of minorities.

Establishment of an ‘Independent and Free Turkey’ within the pre-war borders inhabited by Turks and Muslims, with Istanbul as the caliphate and capital. “It is impossible to impose any peace that does not fully comply with Wilson’s Principles on the Turkish nation, which has not been defeated for centuries.”

Selcuk Es stated that he remembered the events of his childhood very well and wanted to convey his memories as a person who personally lived those days. He gave the following detailed information in his article titled “A Bitter Memory” in his column titled “Sohbetler” (Chats) in Yeni Konya newspaper (Es, 1970, p.2):

“In the ‘Independence War Newspaper’ section published in three pages of the Yeni Istanbul newspaper dated January 16, 1970, a meeting held in Konya in January 1919 and attended by only women is mentioned.

I remember the protest meeting held by nearly five thousand women from Konya in the Municipality Cinema Hall on Alaeddin Hill, which is gone today.

It was a partly cold and overcast day. In the afternoon, I came to our house in Kurkcu neighborhood from school and was playing in the room after lunch when I saw my mother getting ready to go out. I asked where he was going. She said that the women's union had a meeting at the Alaeddin Hill theater and that she would go there and give a speech since she was a member of the board of directors of the union. I also stated that I wanted to go. He didn't mind, we left the house together. When we arrived at the theater building, we entered the building by finding a passage to the left in the face of the massive crowd outside. He showed me the box at the top right of the stage and said go and sit there. He prepared for the stage and went to the table where the Ladies' Union board members were sitting around him and sat in the reserved chair.

I entered the shown box. Three girls, aged between 14 and 16, dressed in white dresses, their heads covered with black tulle, their shoulders and waists surrounded by a red ribbon belt, were sitting. When I entered, they showed me a chair a little further away and told me to sit. I sat down.

People could not understand what was being said next to them because of the noise that had turned into a humming noise in the hall. Meanwhile, a somewhat elderly lady sitting in the middle of the table stood up, slammed her hand on the table, and asked for the noise to stop. I later learned that this lady was Celebi Efendi's wife. After this speech, which lasted about five minutes, my late mother came to the end and middle part of the stage with a long white paper in her hand and said loudly, "Ladies, I kindly ask you to stop talking, let's read and talk, nothing can be understood." The humming slowly stopped and my mother started reading the article in her hand. This article, which lasted about fifteen minutes, was the protest response of the Konya Ladies Association against the wishes of the European states. At the end of the article, some women took the floor one by one and were making passionate speeches. Meanwhile, sobs could be heard in the hall and tissues were being thrown to and from the eyes. When a middle-aged woman, I cannot remember exactly who he was, gave a speech mixed with poems, there was almost no one in the hall who did not shed a tear.

After the middle-aged lady's speech, three girls sitting in the seats next to me in the box came on stage. They read various heroic poems by Namik Kemal, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, Tevfik Fikret and Ziya Gokalp and sang the anthem together. The women, who had gathered inside and outside the theater hall to save the country from the enemy, ended the protest rally amid the chants of amen as a result of the prayer of an old female teacher who came to the stage.

The weather was also joining our tears by raining lightly, as if it matched the gathered congregation. On my way home, I passed through the Greek quarter. There was nothing to say about the joy of the Greeks. It seemed bad to me, partly due to childhood motivation. As I was passing by with my mother, Greek women passing us on the street were looking at us with

a slight smile, as if they were saying, “What did you do or what can you do when you gathered together?” I didn’t want to look around with the feeling of hatred and resentment coming from the depths of my soul.

Thank God Almighty, I left these painful days behind by achieving victory with the efforts of the glorious army and its heroic commanders. “I pray for the souls of those who died for this cause, and I end my article by wishing healthy days to those who survived.”

CONCLUSION:

The historical meeting of the Anatolian Women’s Defense of the Homeland Society Konya Center at the Serafeddin Mosque and the subsequent march were an important reaction against the occupation of Anatolia. It showed that Konya women were against the occupation.

The reaction resulting from the declaration prepared at the end of the rally was announced to the public and the occupying states by the women of Konya.

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КЛИМЕ САДИЛО – СИМБОЛОТ НА ОХРИДСКАТА ЧАЛГИЈА²

Abstract: The word “chalgia” is not strictly connected with specific music style and musical tradition only, but it incorporates and synthetize various meanings. In today’s sense, in the meaning of the word “chalgia”, we can recognize urban vocal-instrumental music, i.e., specific musical style and repertoire, which was nurtured with the specific musical “chalgia” instruments. This kind of old-urban music was highly respected and wide nurtured musical tradition in Macedonian cities, especially at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Violin player Klime Sadilo was the main representer, bearer and symbol of “chalgia” tradition in Ohrid. This paper aims to present this specific kind of musical tradition in Ohrid over several “chalgia” generations, including and emphasizing the most popular and well-known “chalgia tajfa” – The tajfa of Klime Sadilo (the previously mentioned violin player). This paper mostly is based on interviews and records from earlier field researches available in the Archive of the Institute of folklore “Marko Cepenkov” – Skopje, personal field researches, a written literature and video documentaries related with this topic.

Key words: Ohrid, chalgia, Klime Sadilo

Зборот „чалгија“ не се однесува само на одреден вид музика, туку во себе вклучува и синтетизира повеќе значења. Според Абдулах Шкалиќ, зборот „чалгија“ е турски збор, што значи свирка или музички инструмент; чалгација – свирач; чалгацилук – свирачки занает (Škaljić, 1966: 161). Тоа што денес се подразбира под поимот „чалгија“ е градски вокално-инструментален состав што содржи специфични чалгиски инструменти (ут, лаута, виолина, кларинет, канон, дајре, тарабука или деф), а дел од нив, како што објаснува етномузикологот Боривоје Џимревски, потекнуваат од персиско-арапската музичка култура (Џимревски, 1985: 7-8). Кога ќе се спомне зборот „чалгија“ се мисли и на специфичен стил на музицирање со специфичен музички репертоар, а исто така, се мисли и на широко негувана и високо почитувана музичка традиција во македонските градски средини, најинтензивно присутна во втората половина на XIX и почетокот на XX век.

Како еден вид дефиниција во поширок контекст, може да се додаде и описот на Соња Симан, каде се вели дека „чалгија“ е комбинација од

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² Трудот е презентирани на конференцијата „Охрид- Водици“ 2021 година, но поради технички грешки во графичката обработка, истиот се повторно се реобјавува во оваа издание.

следните елементи: градски професионален ансамбл составен од инструменти со отоманско потекло; изведба со вокално-инструментален репертоар; музичка изведба произлезена од отоманскиот музички стил базиран на макамите, со акцент на импровизацијата како составен дел (Seeman, 1990: 17-18).

Како производ на чалгискиот музички стил се бројните староградски песни и ора, создавани во период од речиси два века, каде песните се главно со љубовна тематика. Никола Бошале во својата книга посветена на охридските трубадури, дава интересна забелешка каде вели дека, во песните се пее за својата сакана во стилот на оние молитви што се упатувале кон великодостојници и светци (Бошале, 2004: 14-15). Додека пак, Џимревски, чалгијата ја опишува како музика што во себе носела непосредна емотивност и темпераментна топлина, елементи што го задоволувале менталитетот на градскиот човек (Џимревски, 1985: 59).

Според податоците на информаторите од магнетофонските ленти од архивскиот фонд што го поседува ЈНУ Институт за фолклор „Марко Цепенков“ – Скопје, своите почетоци чалгијата ги бележи некаде кон крајот на XVIII век. Тоа се потврдува и во еден значаен труд посветен на оваа тема, каде се вели дека „чалгиските состави се плод на градската музичко-фолклорна традиција, која најверојатно се појавува кон крајот на XVIII век, а својот потполн творечки подем го доживува во XIX и XX век“ (Џимревски, 1985: 12), така што, преродбенскиот период се смета за временска рамка каде што најмногу е присутна чалгиската музика, достигнувајќи го својот најголем развој, популарност и актуелност во македонските градски средини.

Чалгациите биле организирани во чалгиски **тајфи** (терминот тајфа е најшироко употребуван помеѓу чалгациите), или **компани** како што се нарекувале во Битола; **трубадурски музички состави** или **таками** како што се нарекувале во Охрид; во Кавадарци се нарекувале **дузени**, а во солунско **зенгии**.

Она што се нарекува чалгија во Охрид, ја негувале трубадурските состави, а како најстар чалгиски состав се смета тајфата предводена од еден од најпознатите чалгации Ангеле Караѓуле. Според податоците наведени кај Џимревски (а нема многу пишувани материјали поврзани со овој чалгација), Караѓуле припаѓа на првата генерација охридски чалгации, „и се смета за основоположник на оригиналното стилско охридско трубадурско (вокално-инструментално) музицирање“ (Џимревски, 2005: 217).

Димче Маленко, во неговиот текст „Охридската песна и садиловската чалгија“ објавен во Билтенот произлезен од фестивалот „Охридски староградски средби“, за охридските чалгации прави груба поделба по генерации: тајфата на Ангеле Караѓуле е во првата генерација чалгации, тајфата на Климе Курте се смета за втора генерација, а тајфата на Садило е третата генерација чалгации (Маленко, 1977: 90). Кон оваа поделба по генерации во чалгациството во Охрид, може да се додаде и музичкиот состав „Охридски трубадури“, предводен од виолинистот Стојан Златаноски, како четврта генерација што ја продолжила

чалгиската традиција после Садило (но делумно автентично, бидејќи подоцна во својот инструментариум воведуваат инструменти што не биле типични за чалгискиот звук и израз, како што се на пример хармониката, гитарата и сл., и со тоа може да се проследат одредени звучни трансформации на чалгијата).

Ако се земе предвид податокот наведен од Димче Маленко во неговата книга „Охридската народна песна и приказна“, дека една од најстарите охридски трубадурски песни – „Песна за Деспина“, била создадена непосредно по 1850 година од познатиот прв трубадур/чалгација – Караѓуле (Маленко, 1989: 8), не може прецизно да се одреди периодот на неговото дејствување како чалгација, а единствено што може да се заклучи е тоа дека тој создавал и музицирал кон средината и втората половина на XIX век. Она што се знае за Ангеле Караѓуле е дека по занает бил чалгација – виолинист (кеманеџија) и дека е создавач на повеќе најпознати чалгиски песни.

Во книгата од Ленка Татаровска, посветена на староградската песна, како членови во тајфата на Караѓуле се спомнуваат Коста Карче на лаута и Ленар³ на дајре (Татаровска, 2001: 86), а според податоците што ги кажува ќерката на Климе Садило, во документарната емисија „Печат“, дека нејзиниот дедо (значи таткото на Климе – Глигор Садило) се дружел со тајфата на Караѓуле,⁴ тоа би можело да значи дека извесен период и Глигор Садило бил член на спомнатата тајфа.

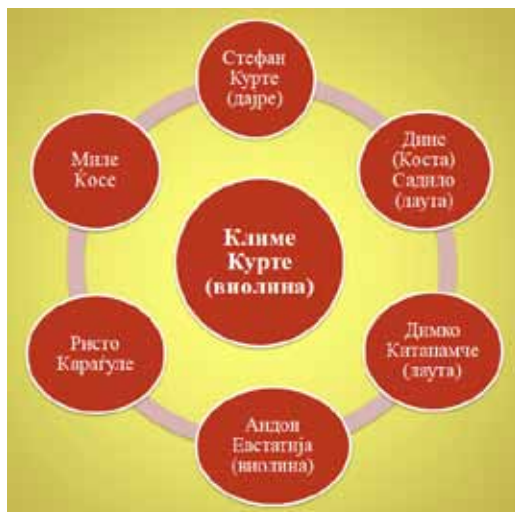


Слика број 1: Прва генерација охридски чалгаци (не е потврдено дека сите биле членови на тајфата во ист временски период)

3 Според податокот во книгата на Маленко на страна 27, каде се вели дека „стариот Ленар, умрел пред 20 години, на 80 годишна возраст“ и сметајќи дека текстот е обработен кога Катил имал 55 години, а бил роден 1901, тогаш животниот век на чалгацијата Ленар би бил (1856 – 1936).

4 Милка Садило (ќерка на Климе Садило), во дискусија со водителот: Валентина Неловска, *Печат* (документарна емисија на телевизија ТВМ), 25.02.2015.

Како што беше претходно спомнато, припадници на втората генерација чалгации се сметаат чалгациите од тајфата на Климе Курте (виолина), во која на дајре тропал неговиот брат Стефан Курте, на лаута свиреле Дине (Коста) Садило и Димко Китанамче, а Андон Евстатија (Копанот) свирел на виолина (Маленко, 1989: 22-27). Според податоците од документарната емисија „Охридските трубадури и Ор. Климе Садило“, покрај веќе спомнатите членови на Куртевата тајфа, се наведуваат и Миле Косе и Ристо Карагуле,⁵ без да се каже на кој инструмент свиреле во тајфата.



Слика број 2: Втора генерација охридски чалгации (не е потврдено дека сите биле членови на тајфата во ист временски период)

Како трета генерација се смета една од најпознатите охридски тајфи – составот на веќе спомнатиот Климе Садило (1881-1965) кој свирел на виолина. Останатите членови на овој такам биле: Наум Курте (1886-1967) на виолина,⁶ Паско Пепелко (1885-?) на лаута, Кирил Кузманов-Катил (1901-1988) кој повремено свирел виолина во тајфата, Димче Карче (кој во 1959 година веќе не бил жив, според: Маленко, 1977: 96) на лаута⁷ и Ѓорѓи Чочег/овски (1905-?) на дајре.

5 Податоци преземени од кратката документарна емисија „Охридските трубадури и Ор. Климе Садило“, емитувана на битолската телевизија „Орбис“, а како видео содржина објавена на интернет сервисот YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUEZBsbj_8o. [Дата на пристап: 16.09.2021].

6 Наум Курте ја наследил виолината (кемането) од неговиот стрико Климе Курте, кој всушност бил вујко на Кирил Кузманов-Катил (Маленко, 1989: 27).

7 Според Димче Маленко, Димче Карче лаутата ја наследил од Дине (Коста) Садило (Маленко, 1989: 27), а денес таа лаута се наоѓа и припаѓа на малата колекција музички инструменти што ја поседува НУ Завод и музеј за заштита на спомениците од културата – Охрид.

Според кажувањата на дајрецијата Ѓорѓи Чочег/овски (меѓу локалното население познат како Ѓоре Чочег, А. К.), Димче Карче, Кирил Кузманов-Катилот и самиот Ѓоре Чочег, малку подоцна се приклучиле кон тајфата,⁸ а според кажувањата на Милка Садило, покрај Македонците, подоцна во оваа тајфа, на лаута свирел и турчинот Ме(х) мед Исмаил (Утчи). Понатаму Милка објаснува дека не постоеле верски разлики и се живеело во хармонија со сите луѓе.⁹



Фотографија број 1: Климе Садило со тајфата, од лево кон десно: Наум Курте (виолина), Климе Садило (виолина), Паско Пепелко (лаута), Кирил Кузманов-Катил (виолина) и Димче Карче (лаута) (преземено од личната архива на информаторот Владо Жура)

Ѓоре Чочег кажува дека го наследил местото на својот татко Спасител Чочег/овски, кој извесно време тропал на дајре или свирел на кларинет во Садиловската тајфа до својата смрт. Од снимениот материјал на магнетофонската лента бр. 2149, дознаваме дека тајфата прво се нарекувала „Тајфата на Климе Садило“, а подоцна се нарекувале „Охридски трубадури“.¹⁰ Кај Џимревски е објаснето поврзувањето на охридските трубадури со трубадурите од Јужна Франција кои најмногу биле актуелни од XI до XIII век. Тој ги опишува како поети, а во исто време и инструменталисти и пејачи што се придружувале на стари жичени инструменти (виела, лаута, гитара) додека настапувале во дворовите на

8 Ѓорѓи Чочег/овски (дајреција) во дискусија со Боривоје Џимревски, 15.02.1979, Охрид (интервју снимено на магнетофонска лента бр. 2704, во сопственост на Архивата на ИФМЦ).

9 Милка Садило (ќерка на Климе Садило), во дискусија со водителот: Валентина Неловска, Печат (документарна емисија на телевизија ТВМ), 25.02.2015.

10 Ѓорѓи Чочег/овски (дајреција) во дискусија со Душко Димитровски, 10.06.1972, Охрид (интервју снимено на магнетофонска лента бр. 2149, во сопственост на Архивата на ИФМЦ).

француските великодостојници, и ги нарекува музичко-поетски хроничари кои со своето пеење го забавувале и културно го воздигнувале народот (Цимревски, 1985: 23). Во тој поглед, иста е и функцијата и улогата што ја имале македонските чалгаици, кои пак, исто така, настапувале и во дворовите на турските великодостојници.



Фотографија број 2: Климе Садило со тајфата, од лево кон десно: Кирил Кузманов-Кагиљ (виолина), Наум Курте (виолина), Климе Садило (виолина), Паско Пепелко (лаута), Спасител Чочег/овски (кларинет) (фотографирана во 1920 година, пред црквата „Св. Петка“ во Охрид; преземено од Архив на Институт за фолклор „Марко Цепенков“ – Скопје)

Климе Садило (1881-1965, Охрид) потекнува од семејство каде што чалгијата заземала значаен дел од нивното секојдневие. Според кажувањата на овој чалгаица, неговиот татко Глигор свирел на лаута, а дедото свирел на виолина. Исто така дознаваме дека Климе од својата 17 годишна возраст се занимавал со чалгискиот занает, учел кај некој мајстор од семејството Лозанчеви во Битола од каде што ја купил првата виолина, а на својата деветнаесетгодишна возраст започнал да свири во тајфата на својот татко.¹¹ Димче Маленко кажува за напис објавен во списанието „Јужен бран“ од 1960 година, напишан од страна на ученицката Марика Ѓеорѓиева, каде се вели дека: „... Во 1900 година за првпат со своите раце го развлече гудалото низ виолинските жици, а имаше само 19 години. Меракот за да ја продолжи музичката таткова традиција, која во оваа кука има своја историја, кај младиот Климе беше голем... Се случувало на свадбите да свири и по два дена и по две ноќи без престанок, а на свадбата на Цемаљ-бег во Мат, Садило свирел 20 ноќи.“ (Маленко, 1977: 95). Интересно е дека Садило бил левучар, односно „лејчар“ (како што бил нарекуван во Охрид), што значи дека гудалото го држел во лева рака. Според податоците во веќе спомнатата кратка

¹¹ Климе Садило (виолинист) во дискусија со Ганчо Пајтончиев, 07.04.1954, Охрид (интервју снимено на магнетофонската лента бр. 367, во сопственост на Архивата на ИФМЦ).

документарна емисија што зборува за трубадурите во Охрид, Климе Садило заедно со неговиот татко и со некој дајреџија, во 1905 година свиреле на свадба, каде ја испеале песната „Надеваш ли се султানে, на пролет комити да дојдат“, песна што била причина овој кеманеџија да биде уапсен од турските заптии и да биде една година во затворот во Битола. Попрецизно за оваа ситуација, кажува самиот Климе Садило во претходно спомнатиот напис од ученичката Мариќа, што е наведен кај Маленко. Таму тој вели: „Тоа беше првата песна што ја отсвири на кемењето... Јануарска ноќ 1905 година. Се одржуваше свадбата на Крстан Момир. Во 11 часот пред полноќ кај „Горна порта“ имаше турско дрвие – полициска патрола. Кога нè чуја дека ја пееме оваа песна, утредента нè викнаа во затворот „Катилана“ во Битола. Овде нè задржаа една година и тоа само заради оваа песна.“ (Маленко, 1977: 95). По излегувањето од зандана (затворот), Климе Садило ја оформил својата тајфа – Такамот на Садиловци, што од 1906 година почнала поинтензивно да свири во Охрид, но и во другите градови: Кичево, Ресен, Струга, Дебар итн.¹² Милка Садило, раскажува дека освен во Македонија, чалгациите од овој такамот биле повикувани да свират и во Србија, Албанија и Бугарија. За одбележување е дека снимиле лонг-плоча во Америка, а потоа снимиле плочи и за дискографската куќа „Југотон“ од Загреб.¹³

Од досегашните истражувања произлезе уште еден податок поврзан со Климе Садило, а тоа е, дека неговата музичка дарба била видлива и преку тоа што, освен на виолина, тој свирел и на уг, а со свирењето како чалгација го издржувал и прехранувал семејството. Чалгацискиот занает се обидел да го наследи и неговиот најстар син Димче (1911-1939), кој за жал починал на своите 28 години. Дајреџијата Ѓоре Чочег кажува дека Садило често одел сам со својот син (без останатиот дел од тајфата) да свири на некои прослави, а во тие прилики, Садило свирел на утот, а синот на виолина, додека на свадбите одела целата тајфа. Понатаму Чочег вели дека „Садило знаел секој што сака да игра и тоа го свирел, знаел да погоди на секој... никој како Садило не може. Дарба си е. Виолината негова пишчеше. Прстот благ. Тој тргаше на слабата жица, а Ном на кабите, на втора жица, акорд му држеше и то идеше мелодично“.¹⁴

12 Податоци преземени од кратката документарна емисија „Охридските трубадури и Ор. Климе Садило“, емитувана на битолската телевизија „Орбис“, а како видеосоджина поставена на интернет-сервисот „YouTube“: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUEZBsbj_8o. [Дата на пристап: 16.09.2021].

13 Милка Садило (ќерка на Климе Садило), во дискусија со водителот: Валентина Неловска, Печат (документарна емисија на телевизија ТВМ), 25.02.2015.

14 Ѓорѓи Чочег/овски (дајреџија) во дискусија со Боривоје Цимревски, 15.02.1979, Охрид (интервју снимено на магнетофонска лента бр. 2704, во сопственост на Архивата на ИФМЦ).



Фотографија број 3: Клите Садило со тајфата, од лево кон десно, долу: Клите Садило (виолина), Паско Пепелко (лаута), Ме(х)мет Исмаил-Утчи (лаута), горе: Димче Садило (виолина) и Наум Курте (виолина) (фотографирана во 1938 година; преземено од Архив на Институт за фолклор „Марко Цепенков“ – Скопје)

Иако поголемиот број од чалгациите биле самоуки, односно не биле музички образовани, Владимир Тунтев раскажува дека на Садило му било познато нотното писмо, но никогаш не свирел по ноти.¹⁵ Опишувајќи го свирењето на Садило, Џимревски вели дека тонот му бил продорен и полн, мекамлиски трпелив и на моменти недоволно интонативно чист, но тоа го опишува како специфичен белег на некои чалгации – ќеманеции (Џимревски, 1985: 25).



Слика број 3: Трета генерација охридски чалгации (не е потврдено дека сите биле членови на тајфата во ист временски период)

¹⁵ Владимир Тунтев (професионален фотограф) во дискусија со авторот, 09.03.2010, Охрид (личен запис).

Паралелно со Садиловската тајфа, постоеле и други, меѓу кои, според информаторот Александар Патчев, е тајфата на Кркулевци (Тоде Кркуљ) од маалото Кошишта,¹⁶ но Кркулевската тајфа не била толку позната како останатите и досега нема пишувани податоци за неа. Во оваа тајфа, според Ѓоре Чочег, во прво време свирел Кирил Кузманов-Катиљ, кој подоцна се приклучил кон Садиловската тајфа.¹⁷ Според Сотир Димитровски-Сингал, во Кркулевската тајфа, покрај спомнатите членови, свиреле и Мемед на ут (веројатно се мисли на Ме(х)мед Исмаил-Утчи којшто прво свирел во оваа тајфа, а потоа продолжил со Садиловската) и некое ѓупче на дајре.¹⁸ Како што може да се забележи, членовите често преминувале од една во друга тајфа, постојано се преплетувале, а тоа можеби се случувало во зависност од околностите и приликите за свирење на чалгиските тајфи.

Според Џимревски, паралелно со Садиловската тајфа постоел и чалгиски состав при Културно-уметничкото друштво „Кардашлик Бирлик“, кој свирел турски румелиски песни од Охрид (Џимревски, 1985: 26), но нема податоци за членовите на составот.

На магнетофонската лента бр. 3264, има сведоштво за постоењето и на тајфата на Демиралџи Бајрам, што исто така, постоела паралелно со овие неколку спомнати тајфи. Тоа се дознава од интервјуто со виолинистот Адем Бајрам (роден 1936, Охрид), кој бил (најмал) син на спомнатиот чалгаџија Демиралџи Бајрам и кој свирел во тајфата на својот татко, а подоцна се приклучил кон познатиот охридски Ансамбл „Билјана“. Адем потекнува од семејство на музичари, каде неговата баба (по мајка) – Фатиме (1860-?) и неговата тетка Камиле, тропале на дајре на турски свадби и веселби (што наведува на мисла дека станува збор за женска чалгија, А. К.).

Таткото на Адем – Демиралџи Бајрам (1900-1966), свирел на лаута, а останатите членови од тајфата биле: Џељо (виолина) кој по неговата смрт бил заменет со најстариот син на Демиралџи (на кого не му е познато името, А. К., а бил роден 1923 година),¹⁹ па се приклучил (Бенир?) на дајре, кој подоцна бил заменет од другиот син на Адем – Муса Бајрам (роден 1931 година), а турчинот Садик свирел на кларинет. Подоцна, во 1951 година кон тајфата се приклучил и Адем Бајрам (најмалиот син на Демиралџи), кој исто како и Садило, свирел со лева рака. Во ваков состав свиреле во периодот од 1951 до 1959 година со мали прекини.

16 Александар Патчев (наставник по ликовно образование и воспитание) во дискусија со авторот, 19.12.2009, Охрид (личен запис).

17 Ѓорѓи Чочег/овски (дајреџија) во дискусија со Боривоје Џимревски, 15.02.1979, Охрид (интервју снимено на магнетофонска лента бр. 2704, во сопственост на Архивата на ИФМЦ).

18 Сотир Димитровски-Сингал (познат пејач и инструменталист) во дискусија со Боривоје Џимревски, 10.08.2001, Охрид (интервју снимено на магнетофонска лента бр. 3772, во сопственост на Архивата на ИФМЦ).

19 Адем Бајрам раскажува дека неговиот најстар брат свирел со лева рака иако не бил левучар, бидејќи учел по примерот на свирењето на Садило, мислејќи дека така е правилно да се свири.

Понекогаш, во зависност од потребите, со нив бил и кларинетистот Сабри, како и братучедот на Адем кој бил утџија. Тајфата свирела по седенки и свадби каде што не можел да свири Садило.²⁰



Слика број 4: Тајфата на Демиралѝ Бајрам што постоела паралелно со Садиловската тајфа (не е потврдено дека сите биле членови на тајфата во ист временски период)

По смртта на Садило, како чалгиски состав што ја продолжува чалгиската традиција, Џимревски ги наведува „Охридските трубадури“ (тогаш младата група) под раководство на виолинистот Стојан Златаноски (Џимревски, 1985: 23-25). Според податоците на магнетофонската лента бр. 2704, во оваа музичка група свиреле: Стојан Златаноски (роден 1944 година) и неговиот син Зоран (роден 1964 година) на виолина, Вретовски Наум (роден 1929 година) на ут, неговиот син Мирко (роден 1962 година) на лаута, Стефан Банџо (роден 1919 година) на ут, Горѓи Чочег/овски (роден 1905 година) на дајре. Се кажува дека групата била формирана во 1965 година од страна на Стојан Златаноски, Горѝ Чочег и Стефан Банџо. Во 1970 година се приклучил Наум Вретовски, а малку подоцна се приклучиле: Мирко Вретовски и Зоран Златаноски.

²⁰ Адем Бајрам (виолинист) во дискусија со Боривоје Џимревски, 07.06.1987, Охрид (интервју снимено на магнетофонска лента бр. 3264, во сопственост на Архивата на ИФМЦ).



Фотографија број 4: Охридскиот музички состав „Охридски трубадури“, од лево кон десно: Стефан Банцо (ут), Ѓоре Чочег (дајре), Наум Вретовски (ут), Стојан Златаноски (виолина); долу: Зоран Златаноски (виолина) и Вретовски Мирко (лаута) (фотографирана во 1979 година; преземено од Архив на Институт за фолклор „Марко Цепенков“ – Скопје)

Се спомнуваат и други трубадури како некогашни членови, како на пример: Спростран Стефан со нив свирел 7 или 8 години, Бакалов Ристе свирел три години, 11 години свирел Рушан Далиб на ут, но и Хусеин Зејнула (кој бил бербер што подоцна ја формирал турската чалгиска група во Охрид).²¹ Како некогашен член на оваа музичка група, во кратката документарна емисија „Охридски трубадури – Стојан Златаноски“ достапна на интернет-сервисот „YouTube“, се спомнува и Павел Ковачески, но не се кажува на кој инструмент свирел.²²

21 „Охридски трубадури“ (младата група) во дискусија со Боривоје Џимревски, 15.02.1979, Охрид (снимено на магнетофонска лента бр. 2704, во сопственост на Архивата на ИФМЦ).

22 Податоци преземени од кратката документарна емисија „Охридски трубадури – Стојан Златаноски“, што како видеосоджина е поставена на интернет-сервисот „YouTube“: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_gBej2YYMJY. [Дата на пристап: 02.02.2021].



Слика број 5: Четврта генерација охридски чалгасии (не е потврдено дека сите биле членови на тајфата во ист временски период)

Како што може да се забележи, низ овие неколку чалгасиски генерации, чалгиската музичка традиција во Охрид живеела, постоела и се негувала на најавтентичен начин внимавајќи на задржувањето на специфичните чалгиски инструменти (иако во овој случај, во инструментариумот не биле вклучени канонот и кларинетот). Што значи, звукот на охридската трубадурска чалгиска музика бил обликуван само од жичените инструменти, како што се: лаутата, утот и виолините, и единствениот ударен инструмент – дајрето, а бидејќи после наведените „Охридски трубадури“, нема чалгиски тајфи што ја продолжиле прекрасната музичка традиција со овој специфичен чалгиски инструментариум, може да се заклучи дека охридската градска средина е носител на четири генерации чалгасии, меѓу кои најпозната и ненадмината по своето свирење останала Садиловската тајфа.

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