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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Zaur Hasanov

Relationships between the Roman Empire, Caucasian Albania
and Sarmatians..... 9

Dragi Ćorgiev

Ottoman Heritage in Balkans and Nationalism..... 38

Srđan M Jovanović

Zakonik Danila Prvog and Religious Identity: Orthodox Christianity
in Montenegrin Legal Thought..... 48

Uğur Durmaz

Reading the Shaping Effects of Myths on Society Around
the Concept of Social Engineering: The Case of
Altai Creation Myth..... 69

Lenka J. Budilová, Marek Jakoubek

Geographies of Sharing and the East/West Divide in Europe.
The Case of HomeExchange..... 90

Antony Hoyte-West

Monuments and Landmarks in Decolonisation and
Decommunization Processes: A Comparison of Romania
and Bulgaria with Trinidad & Tobago..... 116

Ewelina Drzewiecka

What were the Origins of the Bulgarian Alphabet?
Cultural Patterns and the Question of the Socialist Heritage.....130

Andreana Eftimova

Linguistic Technologies in Branding: Artistic Variations at
the Biennale Arte in Venice 2024.....148

Natalia Surguladze, Irine Goshkhetliani, Sophio Kakhidze

French, English, and Georgian National and Cultural Heritage
Reflected in Idioms..... 169

Andrii Ozhohan, Viacheslav Kalinichenko, Petro Kostyuchok, Liubomyra Aizenbart, Liliia Shcherbin	
The Impact of Extralingual Factors on the Language Situation of Modern Ukraine.....	187
Magdalena Kostova-Panayotova	
The Imagined Memory/Invented History.....	207
Vladislav Milanov	
The Language of Archives in Landmark Court Cases Against Bulgarian Writers.....	218
Milena Angelova	
Soviet Directing, Bulgarian Plot: the Film "Bulgaria" (1946) between Propaganda and Documentary.....	234
Petya Vasileva – Grueva	
Renegotiation of the Inheritance between Generations – Traditions and Holidays in the Village of Ribnovo, Municipality of Garmen.....	263
Vjollca Dibra	
Challenging Social Norms: Women as Symbols of Prejudice and Stereotypes in World Literature (A Comparative Study).....	279
Plamena Popova	
Copyright on Architectural Works in the Context of Cultural Processes. Concept of Balance of Interests.....	292
Spasimir Domaradski, Hristo Berov	
The Three Seas Initiative in Bulgarian Public Discourse.....	306
BOOK REVIEW	
Nadezhda Stalyanova	
The Life and Work of Dr. Albert Long in the Context of the Bulgarian Revival.....	332
Boryan Yanev	
An Insightful Volume on Bulgarian Studies.....	336
Zlatka Gerginova	
Traum namens Hermann Hesse.....	341

СЪДЪРЖАНИЕ

СТАТИИ

Zaur Hasanov

Relationships between the Roman Empire, Caucasian Albania
and Sarmatians..... 9

Dragi Ćorgiev

Ottoman Heritage in Balkans and Nationalism.....38

Srdan M Jovanović

Zakonik Danila Prvog and Religious Identity: Orthodox Christianity
in Montenegrin Legal Thought..... 48

Uğur Durmaz

Reading the Shaping Effects of Myths on Society Around
the Concept of Social Engineering:
The Case of Altai Creation Myth..... 69

Lenka J. Budilová, Marek Jakoubek

Geographies of sharing and the East/West divide in Europe.
The case of HomeExchange..... 90

Antony Hoyte-West

Monuments and Landmarks in Decolonisation and Decommunization
Processes: A Comparison of Romania and Bulgaria
with Trinidad & Tobago.....116

Ewelina Drzewiecka

What were the Origins of the Bulgarian Alphabet?
Cultural Patterns and the Question of the Socialist Heritage..... 130

Andreana Eftimova

Linguistic Technologies in Branding: Artistic Variations
at the Biennale Arte in Venice 2024..... 148

Natalia Surguladze, Irine Goshkheteliani, Sophio Kakhidze

French, English, and Georgian National and Cultural Heritage
Reflected in Idioms..... 169

**Andrii Ozhohan, Viacheslav Kalinichenko, Petro Kostyuchok,
Liubomyra Aizenbart, Liliia Shcherbin**
The Impact of Extralingual Factors on the Language Situation
of Modern Ukraine..... 187

Magdalena Kostova-Panayotova
The Imagined Memory/Invented History.....207

Владислав Миланов
Езикът на архивите в знакови съдебни дела
срещу български писатели..... 218

Милена Ангелова
Съветска режисура, български сюжет: филмът
„България“ (1946) между пропагандата
и документалистиката..... 234

Петя Василева – Груева
Предоговаряне на наследството между поколенията –
традиции и празници в с. Рибново, общ. Гърмен.....263

Vjollca Dibra
Challenging Social Norms: Women as Symbols of Prejudice and
Stereotypes in World Literature (A Comparative Study).....279

Пламена Попова
Авторски права върху Архитектурни произведения в
контекста на културните процеси. Концепция за
баланс на интересите..... 292

Спасимир Домарадски, Христо Беров
Инициативата „Три морета“ в българския публичен дискурс.....306

РЕЦЕНЗИИ

Nadezhda Stalyanova
Животът и дейността на д-р Албърт Лонг в контекста
на Българското възрождане..... 332

Boryan Yanev
An Insightful Volume on Bulgarian Studies.....336

Zlatka Gerginova
Traum namens Hermann Hesse..... 341

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Relationships between the Roman Empire, Caucasian Albania and Sarmatians

Abstract: *Classical written sources describe the trade relations between Caucasian Albania and other regions of the South Caucasus with Black Sea region, as well as Latin epigraphic monument found in Gobustan (Azerbaijan), pointing to the military campaigns of the Roman Empire in this region. Some researchers believe that the legion was sent here to campaign against the Sarmatians. Greek epigraphy devoted to a man named Eunon on a stone slab dated to the 2nd century AD was found in Sheki, Azerbaijan. Below it there are depiction of three Sarmatian tamgas, which have parallels in the Lower Don River region. During the same time there is some archaeological evidence of the Roman type findings in the region of Albania – fibulae, phials, silver denarius of Emperor Augustus. Some of these items are found in the graves with items of the Sarmatian type – paste beads, iron swords and daggers with ring-shaped pommels, tanged tri-lobate arrowheads and knives. During this period there was an active infiltration of the Sarmatian tribes into the South Caucasus from the North, recorded in the Classical written sources and registered by archaeological findings of Azerbaijan. Archaeological evidence points to the existence of some connections between the Sarmatian and Roman type findings in the region. Sarmatians could have played an important role of mediation between South Caucasus and Roman provinces of the Near East and Black Sea Region. Another route of contacts between these regions could be through the water channels which connected the the Black Sea region with Central Asia. According to some researchers there was a water road starting from Amu Darya River through Uzboy to the Caspian Sea, then to the Kura River and from there to the Roman provinces of the Black Sea region.*

Keywords: *Sarmatians; Caucasian Albania; Mingachevir archaeology; Water Silk Road; Legion XII Fulminata; Sarmatian tamga; Uzboy River.*

Written sources originating from the territory of Caucasian Albania¹ and belonging to the Hellenistic period and Early Middle Ages are

¹ The term Caucasian Albania is used as a geographical and state definition. As can be judged from the classical written sources (Strabo), Albania was a multi-ethnic state. As will be shown below, the diversity of funeral rites also testifies in favor of the multi-ethnicity of the Albanians

a comparative rarity. Archaeological data, as well as classical written sources found outside of Albania continue to be our main source for the period under study.

In this paper, we will study two inscriptions in ancient Greek and Latin languages found in Azerbaijan. They will be compared with the well-known ancient Greek written sources and archaeological sites of Mingachevir containing local ceramics, Sarmatian weapons and finds from the area of the Roman Empire. Information of Strabo about the existence of a water route from Central Asia to Albania and further to the Black Sea will be examined. The mentioned archaeological sites of Mingachevir located on this waterway will be considered in the context of the interaction of cultures. It is the comparative research of written sources and their comparison with archaeological data that shed light on the problem of interaction between different cultures in the South Caucasus during the period under study.

Greek votive inscription from the village of Boyuk-Dehne, Sheki.

In the village of Boyuk-Dehne, Sheki region, an ancient building was discovered in 1902, which, according to researchers, was a bath-house. Inside this building, a Greek votive inscription to Ailius Jason was found. According to K. V. Trever, the inscription was discovered by E. A. Resler (Trever 1959: 340). The hard limestone stone was hewn on both sides – from the front and the right side, which gave Latyshev reason to come to the conclusion that it was a corner stone in the wall. The dimensions of the stone – 142 cm high, 53 cm wide and 26 cm thick. The weight of the stone is more than 160 kg. Based on the large size and weight of the stone, Latyshev comes to the conclusion that it was made locally (Latyshev 1904: 103-105). K. V. Trever agrees with this opinion (Trever 1959: 340-341).

The stone bears the following Greek inscription:

Αἴλιος Ἰάσων
Εὐνώνηη τῷ ε(ο)ὐερ-
γέτη μνήμης χάριν.

"Elius Jason to Evnon, his Benefactor, for the sake of memory"
(Fig. 1: 2).

By the nature of the inscription V.V. Latyshev dated it to the 2nd century. AD He draws attention to the fact that the name Eunon (Εὐνόνης) belonged the king of the Sarmatian tribe of Aorsi, who lived in the middle of the 1st century AD in the Sea of Azov region and mentioned in the work of Tacitus (Tac. Ann. XII: 15, 18-20) (Latyshev 1904: 104).

Latyshev notes that “under the inscription and on the lateral side, several more mysterious signs are carved. They are also found on the Panticapaeum and Tanaid lapidary monuments” (Latyshev 1904: 104). K. V. Trever also writes about the signs depicted on this stone, but does not interpret their origin correctly (Trever 1959: 341).

S. A. Yatsenko quite rightly came to the conclusion that these signs are *tamgas* – “three tamgas are neatly and symmetrically depicted in a row under the inscription” (Yatsenko 2001: 76, fig. 26a). He notes that they have the following analogies in the Sarmatian world. The *tamga* depicted on the left is known in the Lower Don and “as a royal *tamga* – on the coins of Khorezm” (Yatsenko 2001: 76; Wainberg 1977: tabl. XI). The largest *tamga*, depicted in the middle, has an exact analogy on a series of gold plaques of a costume originating from the Lower Don and belonging to the period from the middle of the 1st to the middle of the 2nd century. AD (Yatsenko 2001: 76, fig. 5: 41). The *tamga* depicted on the right has an exact analogy on a clay amulet belonging to the period between 1st and 11th centuries AD from the Syrskoye settlement on the Upper Don, as well as on the bricks of Tok-kala in Khorezm (Yatsenko 2001: 76, fig. 24: 1V; Gudkova: 1964, fig. 8). In the final conclusion on this issue, Yatsenko notes that this stone slab from Boyuk-Dehne is evidence of the presence of the Sarmatians in Albania, from where they often were raiding the territory of Parthia (Yatsenko 2001: 76).

Latin inscription by the Beyuk-dash mountain.

In 1948 I. M. Jafarzade discovered a Latin inscription in Gobustan, Azerbaijan (Jafarzade 1948). The inscription was carved on a small flat rock located in a plain area at the foot of Mount Boyuk-dash, at a distance of about 4 km west of the coastline of the Caspian Sea. The inscription was carved on the lowest inclined surface of the rock facing south (Yampolsky 1950, 178). The inscription was first published in 1948 by Jafarzadeh (Jafarzadeh 1948). After this publication, I. M. Jafarzade, E. A. Pakhomov and Z. I. Yampolsky once again examined the inscription and Yampolsky published the exact extampage

and translation of the inscription in the second publication. They are given below.

IMP DOMITIANO
CAESARE AVG
GERMANIC
L. IVLIVS
MAXIMVS >
LEG XII FVL

Imp(eratore) Domitiano
Caesare Aug(usto)
Germanic(o)
L(ucius) Julius
Maximus centurio
leg(ionis) XII Ful(minatae) (Yampolsky 1950: 177-178).

"The time of Emperor Domitian Caesar Augustus Germanicus. Lucius Julius Maximus, centurion of the XII Lightning Legion" (see: Fig. 1:1).

Legion XII Fulminata since the 70-th of the 1st century AD had a permanent base in Militene in Cappadocia (Yelnitsky 1950: 193; Trever 1959: 344). During the period when this inscription was found, it attracted the interest of researchers from all over the world, primarily because it was the most eastern of all known Roman inscriptions (Yampolsky 1950: 179). The studied inscription is dated on the basis of the chronology of the years of the reign of Domitian, who ruled from 81 to 96 AD. Researchers dating the inscription noted that Domitian received the title of Germanicus between 83 and 84 AD (Yampolsky 1950: 181; Trever 1959: 344). A more precise date for the acquisition of this title by the emperor was later proposed. Miriam Griffin notes: "The date currently favored? on numismatic evidence, for Domitian's assumption of the title Germanicus is autumn 83" (Griffin Miriam 2000: 38, note 144). Based on this information the inscription can be dated between the autumn of 83 and 96 AD.

From the reports of Suetonius we know that Albania and Atropatena were in the zone of political interests of Domitian during the period when he was not yet the Emperor. Suetonius writes the following: "when Vologesus, king of the Parthians, desired succours against the

Alani, with one of Vespasian's sons to command them, he labored hard to procure for himself that appointment. But the scheme proving abortive, he endeavoured by presents and promises to engage other kings of the East to make a similar request." (Suet. VIII, Dom. 2). In this passage the line "one of Vespasian's sons" refers to Domitian (Yampolsky 1950: 181). Information about this invasion is also given by Josephus Flavius, who reports on the unexpected and destructive campaign of the Alani in Media. During this period, the name Media definitely refers to Atropatena. Based on the additional information of Josephus that the king of Hyrcania allowed the Alani to pass to Media, it can be concluded that the campaign took place from north to south – from the territory of Albania to Atropatena (Josephus Flavius J. Vit. VII, 7, 4). Regarding the period of this invasion of the Alans, it can be noted that the researchers attribute it to the very time when the king of the Parthians Vologesus asked the emperor Vespian for help (Griffin Miriam 2000: 40). These written sources make it possible to clarify the reasons for the emergence of the Roman presence in Albania during the reign of Domitian.

As for the size of the military detachment from the XII Legion, there are different opinions on this matter. For example, from the point of view of L. A. Elnitsky, the purpose of the expedition of the XII legion Fulminata, located at a permanent base in Cappadocia, was most likely punitive and was directed against the Albanians or Sarmato-Alani (Yelnitsky 1950: 193). N. V. Efremov also believes that it was a punitive expedition against the Sarmatians (Efremov 2012: 11-12). In connection with the mention of the name of the centurion in the Latin inscription under research Z. I. Yampolsky asks the question – was the entire XII Legion here? (Yampolsky 1950: 178) K. V. Trever draws attention to the fact that the inscription has no frame, the word order in the title has been changed, and the title of Caesar is missing from Domitian's name. She adds that the inscription was not written in the name of Domitian. Based on these data, she comes to the conclusion that units of the XII Legion Fulminata carried out some local tasks in Albania, possibly related not to conquest, but to exploration purposes (Trever 1959: 344-345).

Taking into account the various opinions available, the question should be asked – how many Roman soldiers were required in order to carry out a "punitive operation" in Albania? As noted above, the author of the studied inscription is a centurion. The sign > used to reproduce the title of centurion in the inscription corresponds to its period. Mi-

chael Speidel notes that: “the conventional abbreviation for both centurio and centuria was a sign resembling a 7 or a >; in the early Empire, a reverse C was used” (Speidel 2014, 330). Roman centuria in different periods had different numbers. On average, the centuria (centuria) had a number equal to 80 soldiers. It was headed by a centurion (Speidel 2014: 330). Could one centuria carry out a punitive operation in Albania? During the period of Pompey's campaign in the South Caucasus, the size of his army was in the boundaries of 50 thousand to 60 thousand Roman soldiers (see: Jafarov 1985: 102). In other words, about 10 Roman legions participated in Pompey's campaign. At the same time, according to Plutarch, Pompey was never able to reach the shores of the Caspian Sea and was forced to turn back three days from it (Plut. Vit. Pomp., XXXVI, 1). According to Cassius Dio, the Albanian army consisted of more than 40 thousand soldiers when they unexpectedly attacked the Romans during their wintering near the Kura River during the Roman holiday of Saturnalia (Cass. Dio. XXXVI, 54, 1-4). This was the first battle between the Albanians and the Romans. Plutarch suggests that Amazons from the river Thermodon may also have fought in the Albanian army during this first battle (Plut. Vit. Pomp., XXXV, 3). Appian, on the other hand, confidently asserts that the Amazons did indeed participate in this battle. He also writes that the combined army of Albanians and Iberians in this first battle against the Romans was 70,000 warriors (Appian, Mithr., 103).

According to Strabo, the Albanians marched against Pompey with an army of 60,000 infantry and 22,000 horsemen (Str., XI, 4, 5). Apparently, in this passage Strabo writes about the second battle of the Albanians with the Romans.² Based on the scale of the above mentioned battles and armies involved in the war of Pompey against Albania, we can conclude that we do not have enough data to conclude that a sufficiently significant Roman military contingent, capable of resisting the Albanian army, was present in Albania in the time of Emperor Domitian.

One should also pay attention to the nature of the inscription under research itself. I. M. Jafarzade drew attention to the fact that in the inscription the size of the letters was not the same, and “the cross-section of the deepening of the letters represents the form of an acute angle with a rounded apex” (Jafarzade 1948: 308).

² On the problem of Pompey's campaign in the South Caucasus, see: Trever 1959: 6, 345; Manandyan 1939; Javadov 1960; Jafarov 1985; Dreer, 1994

We visited the site at the foot of Mount Boyuk-dash together with Professor Michael Speidel, who drew my attention to the fact that the nature of the inscription does not correspond to the canons of the official inscriptions of the Roman Empire. In particular – the size of the letters of the inscription differs, the inscription does not have clear boundaries, and the recesses of the letters are a type of an acute angle with a rounded top. Apparently the inscription was created by the centurion himself or his assistants (see: Braund 2003; Smyshliaev 2018).

While researching the site, I noticed that the inscription was not carved in the most convenient place for its long-term preservation. It is carved at the very bottom of the rock, on slightly inclined surface. The likelihood that it can be destroyed over time is very high. You can easily step on the inscription, drop a heavy object on it, etc. All this could lead to its destruction over time. If the goal of the centurion Lucius Julius Maximus was to preserve the inscription for many centuries, then he would have to create it on a higher spot. The inscription was carved on the inclined, lowest, most clearly visible part of the rock. The inscription is placed in such a place on the rock that it could be clearly seen by those passing by. Over time, the inscription was somewhat erased, but during the period of its creation, the letters were certainly located much deeper³ and the inscription should have been seen much more clearly from a distance.

Based on the data presented, it can be assumed that the inscription was created in order to perform the function of a guide. If so, there must be other inscriptions mentioning this legion. In confirmation, one can cite information from Z. I. Yampolsky that Professor V. A. Petrov told him that in 1934 "he saw in the village of Karyagino [Fizuli] of the Azerbaijan SSR a stone with a Latin text, which also mentions the XII Legion. The stone was found on the banks of the Arax (Araz) River" (Yampolsky 1950: 182). The same information is given by K. V. Trever (Trever 1959: 345). There is no additional data about this second Latin inscription to date. Here one should pay attention to the fact that both Roman inscriptions are located on waterways – the Arax (Araz) River and the Caspian Sea. Perhaps the purpose of the Roman detachments was to prepare for the invasion, and they collected information along the route of the alleged offensive zones of the Roman troops. Suetonius' information about Domitian's political interests in this region can be

³ At the time of discovery of the inscription, the depth of the incised letters in most cases reached 1 cm. Jafarzadeh 1948, p. 308.

used as confirmation of this notion (Suet., VIII, Dom. 2). Plutarch's report that Pompey went to the coast of the Caspian Sea, but could not reach it and was forced to turn back, while three days away from it (Plut. Vit. Pomp., XXXVI, 1), testifies to the strategic importance of controlling the coast of the Caspian Sea for the Romans.

It is also necessary to answer the question why the centurion detachment stopped in Gobustan. If you look at modern maps, you can immediately notice that Gobustan is located in the very center of a natural bay. Recently, the Port of Baku was moved from the Baku Bay to the Alat Bay (Baku International Sea Trade Port), which is the next bay in the southern direction after the one in which Gobustan is located. It cannot be ruled out that the natural and strategic characteristics of this region, which contributed to the location of the modern Baku International Sea Trade Port there, were also known in ancient times.

“Water Silk Road” of the Classical Antiquity Sources.

Based on the information of written sources, researchers cite the presence of three different branches of trade routes passing through Caucasian Albania in the ancient period. One of them passed along the western coast of the Caspian Sea. The second one was heading west to Iberia. The third route was a waterway – from the Amu Darya to the Caspian Sea and further along the Kura River to the Black Sea. The existence of these trade routes is confirmed not only by written sources (Str., XI, 2, 17; XI, 5, 8; XI, 7, 3), but also by numerous imported items found during archaeological excavations (Babaev 2009: 24-25).

For our study, the most interesting is the water trade route, information about which is given in the work of Strabo, who writes the following. The rivers Ochus and Oxus (Amu-Darya) flow into the Hyrcanian (Caspian) Sea. Many Indian goods are transported along the Oxus River to the Caspian Sea and from there they are transported to Albania. Further from Albania, along the Kura River, these goods are transported to the Black Sea (Str., XI, 7, 3). In another passage, Strabo writes that the large river Phasis (Rioni) flows through Colchis, from which it is a 4-day journey by land to the Kura River (Str., XI, 2, 17). The Phasis River flows into the Black Sea. The information that goods are delivered along the Oxus River to the Caspian Sea and then from there along the rivers to the Black Sea is repeated in another passage of Strabo (Str., II, 1, 15) (see: Fig. 2).

Pliny the Elder also provides information about the water trade route under research: “under the direction of Pompey, it was ascertained

that it is seven days' journey from India to the river Icarus, in the country of the Bactri, which discharges itself into the Oxus, and that the merchandize of India being conveyed from it through the Caspian Sea into the Cyrus, may be brought by land to Phasis in Pontus, in five days at most" (Plin. NH, V, 17).

As for the reliability of Strabo's information, he notes that his sources on the geography of the Oxus River and its connections with the Caspian Sea are the works of Aristobulus and Eratosthenes, who in turn borrowed this information from Patroclus (Str., XI, 7, 3). Patrocles (a Macedonian general and geographer) is a fairly reliable source, as Strabo himself writes about it (Str., II, 1, 2). Patrocles led the fleet of Seleucus I and at that time explored trade routes along the Caspian Sea and adjacent rivers (Tarn 1901: p. 13). Herodotus (Herodotus, I, 202-203) was the first ancient author to provide accurate information about the Caspian Sea, including the duration of navigation on it in various directions.

There are different opinions about the reality of the existence of the studied water road. W. W. Tarn questioned the information of Patroclus based on where the modern mouth of the Oxus (Amu Darya) is located. He believed that Patroclus had confused the Aral Sea with the Caspian Sea (Tarn 1901: 18-22). K. V. Trever believes that in the works of ancient authors we are dealing with the echoes of the discussion of the possibility of such transportation of goods from India to the ports of the Black Sea, and not with the real fact of such transportation (Trever 1959: 44). Arguments for and against the existence of this road can be explored by dividing this road into two segments. The first is from the Amu Darya to the Caspian and the second is from the mouth of the Kura to the Black Sea.

One of the first researchers substantiating the reality of the existence of the waterway along the Kura, based on the archaeological data of Albania, was Z. I. Yampolsky (Yampolsky 1956). The same opinion was shared by K. G. Gozalishvili, indicating the absence of any facts against the existence of this trade route (Gozalishvili 1956). In subsequent years, a significant number of researchers joined this opinion (see: Aliyev 1962: 15; Rasulova 2008: 68; Babaev 2009: 24-25). Goshgar Goshgarly cites the following archaeological data from Mingachevir as the main argument in favor of the existence of the investigated water trade route: 1) the presence of large quantities and a wide range of imported goods in the graves of ordinary people; 2) the simultaneous existence of the ancient city on two opposite banks of the Kura River in

the ancient period; 3) the presence of all the main types of burials of the Caucasus here at the turn of the two eras, which have no analogues in the archeology of the Caucasus yet (Goshgarly 2009). Goshgarly believes that Mingachevir could be one of the key points that ensured the functioning of the water trade route along the Kura River and it played the role of a regional center of trade (Goshgarly 2009: p. 39). Maya Rasulova cites the numismatic materials of Albania as evidence of the existence of this water trade route. Among them the presence of tetradrachms of Greco-Bactrian kings and the fact of the diversity of the numismatic material of the ancient period (Rasulova 2009: 124).

N. V. Efremov believes that in studying the possibility of the existence of this water road, instead of analyzing written sources, researchers are only bringing forward archeological data that increase year by year (Efremov 2012: 4). At the same time, Efremov's research itself contains too many suggestions about what the written sources might or might not have implied.

Regarding the trade route along the Amu Darya River, R. R. Mukasheva and M. Rasulova cite information from the work of the Chinese historian Sima Qian, who, referring to Chinese travelers, writes about the Caspian Sea and the Amu Darya (Kui-shui) River, on which many merchants dwell delivering goods over long distances (Mukasheva 1972; Rasulova 2008: 87; Sima Qian. Historical notes, Shih Tzu, ch. 123). Thus, not only ancient Greek, but also Chinese sources confirm the existence of trade along the Amu Darya River.

As for the problem of connecting the Amu Darya with the Caspian Sea, there are a sufficient number of studies indicating that it really existed. Disagreements are only about the millennium in which this waterway ceased to exist. Researchers for a long time opposed the full flow of Uzboy River in the 1st millennium BC (see: Tolstov 1960; Mukasheva 1972). Later B. I. Wainberg, who has been conducting archaeological excavations in the Uzboy region for a long time, came to the following conclusions. At the end of the 8th – beginning of the 7th centuries BC abundant watering and filling of the Sarykamysh depression begins. As a result, a population of pastoralists of the Kuyusay culture, who left settlements and burial mounds, appeared here. Further, starting from the 6th century BC watering of the Uzboy begins, however, there was no permanent population on its banks at that time. At the turn of the 5th-4th centuries BC Uzboy is constantly functioning as a river. This continues until the 4th century AD (see: Fig. 2). Stone

crypts (fish bones were found in several of them) and religious buildings, dating back to this time, were discovered on its banks. These crypts were used for multiple burials, which indicates the constancy of the settlement of the inhabitants. (Wainberg 1999: 19, 36-45). Wainberg points out that a series of burial grounds formed from several crypts stretches at a distance from several meters to ten or fifteen kilometers along the right bank of the Uzboy River (Wainberg 1999: 40). In the area of the Igdy-kala fortress, located in the area of the Uzboy, a burnt layer up to half a meter with burnt reed stalks was found, which, from the point of view of Weinberg, indicates that the Uzboy terrace was overgrown with reeds, which indicates the presence of water in it. Radiocarbon dating of this layer showed the date of the 1st c. AD (Wainberg 1999: 42-43).

Regarding the geographical status of the Uzboy, Dilorom Alimova, Edvard Rtveladze and Ulfat Abdurasulov note that it should be considered a river, since its channel was filled with water, at different periods, as a result of the overflow of the Sarykamysh basin. Accordingly, Uzboy was not a continuation of the Amu Darya (Alimova, Rtveladze, Abdurasulov 2009: 10).

The only argument against the existence of this water trade road in Central Asia can be Polybius' evidence that there are quite large waterfalls on the Oxus River (Polyb., X, 48). Waterfalls can indeed be an obstacle to the continuous passage along the river on navigable vehicles. An argument against the existence of the studied waterway in the South Caucasus may be Strabo's information that the river sediments of the Kura River clog its mouth. Further, he describes a similar situation with the Arax (Araz) River, which carries its sediments to the mouth, making its channel navigable (Str., XI. 4, 2). From Strabo's information, it can be concluded that the mouths of the Kura and Arax were blocked, while their channels were navigable. It should be especially noted here that not the entire path from the Amu Darya to the Black Sea passed through the water. Part of this path undoubtedly passed by land. Strabo reports that from river Kura to river Phasis one should go by land within four days. Based on the above information of Strabo, it can be concluded that the ships also did not enter the mouth of the Kura immediately from the Caspian Sea. Most likely, they unloaded in the port and then followed by land to that part of the Kura, where it was navigable. The same processes could take place along the Oxus River.

Cassius Dio provides information that Pompey, choosing the route of the campaign against Mithridates to the Bosphorus through the

territory of Colchians, found out that: “the voyage by sea was still more difficult on account of the lack of harbours in the country...” (Cass. Dio. XXXVII, 3, 1-3). From this passage we get information that on the territory of Colchis there were either no harbors, or there was a lack of them. Hippocrates' information presents a slightly different picture.

Hippocrates writes that in the Phasis region, people “sail about, up and down, in canoes constructed out of single trees, for there are many canals there” (Hippoc. Aer. 15).

Small local harbors acceptable for boats carved from a single tree may not have been suitable for ships of the Roman army. This is what explains Cassius Dio's information. The Phasis River is the shortest section of the investigated water trade road. It is possible that ships of different types and sizes were used on different sections of this route. The goods were unloaded and reloaded onto new vessels several times. At first they were reloaded on the Oxus River. Then, at the mouth of the Uzboy, they could be reloaded onto larger ships to enter the Caspian Sea. After that, the goods were unloaded on the western coast of the Caspian Sea, transferred to the navigable channel of the Kura and loaded onto smaller ships. The last reload took place on small boats after a four-day hiking trip from Kura to Phasis. The same route was used in the opposite direction of this route (see: Fig. 2).

The trade route from the Amu Darya to the Black Sea was a combined route using water and land means, but the main part of this route, contributing to its safety and speed of movement, certainly passed through the water.

B. I. Wainberg notes that archaeological materials from Khorezm of the 4th-2nd centuries. BC demonstrate close cultural contacts with the regions of Transcaucasia and Media. All these data, along with information from written sources, lead her to the conclusion that there is a real existence of a water trade route from the Amu Darya to the Black Sea (Wainberg 2005: 14). Thus, on all the way from Uzboy to Mingachevir, we trace the penetration of imports, along this trade route, in both directions – from Asia to Europe and back.

It is important to note that during the modern times the idea of this classical water route was repeated in the Baku-Tbilisi-Supsa oil pipeline. The reason for the similar transportation structures repeating throughout the history are the favorable landscape elevations allowing the easiest passage and the existence of the certain communication infrastructure created through centuries.

Burials with finds of Sarmatian and Roman origin.

During the period under study, there was an active infiltration of the Sarmatian tribes into the region of the South Caucasus. Burials with finds of the Sarmatian type were discovered in various regions of Azerbaijan, but in this case we are interested in the burials located on the above-described water trade road. As noted above, according to researchers, the central point of this road was Mingachevir (Goshgarly 2009: 39).

As a result of excavations in 1946-1953. in Mingachevir, 4 jar burials with Sarmatian-type weapons were found. These burials differed from all other jar burials of Mingachevir by the richness and variety of inventory, the peculiarity of the burial architecture, as well as the presence of a large number of weapons. All four burials were located at a great depth – 3-4 m from the level of the modern ground surface. Usually the jar burials of Mingachevir are located at a depth of 0.5-2.5 m (Ione 1955: 54).

Three burials with Sarmatian weapons (No. 17, 26 and 29-31) were located on the grave field, on the right bank of the Kura River. The grave structure consisted of a polygonal underground crypt built of mud brick and covered with wooden beams. The fourth burial (No. 14-L), excavated on the left bank, was built in a soil pit in which there was a burial jar additionally covered with shards of a large broken vessel and lined on all sides with slab-like blocks of fine-grained sandstone (Ione 1955: 54). All four burials were approximately the same size – 3 x 5 m, while usually the jar burials of Mingachevir do not exceed 2 x 3 m (Ione 1955: 54). The skeleton of a horse was found in burial No. 17 (Qaziyev 1960: tabl. III) (Fig. 3). Jar burials with an accompanying horse skeleton are a great rarity for the archeology of Azerbaijan. According to Goshgar Goshgarli, burial No. 17 from Mingachevir is the only known burial of this type (Goshgarli 2012a: 38-39). Iron bits, a set of rings and buckles from horse equipment, as well as spurs were found in two of the investigated burials (Ione 1955: 61). Weapons (in large numbers) were found in all of the four burials. This detail is also very rare, since weapons were found only in 10% of the jar burials of Mingachevir, and usually in small quantities (Ione 1955: 54).

According to all other indications of the funeral ritual, these burials do not differ from the rest of the jar burials of Mingachevir. 1) the horizontal position of the burial jar; 2) head orientation to the northwest; 3) the position of the skeleton inside the vessel. In each of the four burials studied, a jar was found with one crouched human skeleton oriented

with its head to the neck of the vessel and placed on the right or left side (Ione 1955: 55). In the jar graves of Mingachevir, burials on the left side and sometimes on the right side are more common (Kaziev 1949: 32).

Clay vessels of various shapes and sizes (large jars, spouted jar, trefoiled jugs, tripod bowl and zoomorphic rhyton with deer protome), Roman and Parthian coins, rings, bracelets, beads, a glass vessel, brooches, and especially many weapons were found in the burials.

Coins were found in two burials. Among them are a Roman silver denarius of Emperor Augustus (27 BC - 14 AD) and an Arsacid coin bearing the name of Phraates IV (38 BC - 3 BC).

According to Pakhomov's description, on the silver denarius minted by Emperor Augustus (27 BC – 14 AD), on the front side there is a depiction of Augustus in a laurel wreath, and on the reverse side of his two adopted sons – Gaius and Lucius, dressed in togas. This denarius was minted around 4 BC. Pakhomov gives the following description: "[they] stand straight, each placing his hand on one of the two large round shields placed between them on the ground; the ends of the spears rise from behind the shields, and a priestly spoon and a staff are placed between the latter. The entire image rests on a horizontal line. The inscriptions are read from the edges of the coin: under the horizontal line, – G L CAESARES; above the line, in a semicircle above the entire image – AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT". Denarius diameter 19.0-19.5; thickness up to 1.5; weight 2.83 (Pakhomov 1951: 147).

In the Numismatic Fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan there are three denarii, with the above-described image of Emperor Augustus and his sons. All of them come from Mingachevir. On the first two, both the images and the Latin text (Fig. 1: 3-4) correspond exactly to Pakhomov's description. On the third denarius (Fig. 1: 4), as a result of a manufacturing defect, part of the Latin text is missing (both on the front and on the back).

Pakhomov notes that in some parts of the South Caucasus (for example, in Georgia), these denarii were so widespread that, when they were scarce, their imitations were minted with a distorted pattern and inscriptions (Pakhomov 1951: 147). These imitations date back to the 1st-3rd centuries. AD (see: Rajabli 2016: fig. 311). Judging by the description of Pakhomov, the denarius of Emperor Augustus, originating from a jar burial with Sarmatian weapons, is an original, not an imitation.

Ione, referring to Pakhomov, dates the studied jar burials to the 2nd-1st centuries BC and 1st-2nd centuries AD (Ione 1955: 55-56). Based on the finds of coins, Pakhomov himself dates these same burials to the second half of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD (Pakhomov 1951: 163). According to Pakhomov, the Arshakid coin of Phraates IV (38 – 3 BC) comes from a jar burial on the left bank of the Kura. He gives the following description – a silver drachma with a diameter of 19.0-20.0, a thickness of up to 2.0 and a weight of 3.18 (Pakhomov 1951: 146). We know from the work of Ione that only one burial with Sarmatian weapons was excavated on the left bank of the Kura. This allows us to somewhat narrow the time frame of this burial and date it to the period after 38 BC. We have no information about which of the three remaining burials the silver denarius of Emperor Augustus comes from.

The ceramics presented from the studied burials (Fig. 4: 4-14) generally corresponds to samples originating from other Albanian burials of the period under study. An exception is the find of a zoomorphic rhyton depicting a deer protome. Exact analogies of this find in the archaeology of Azerbaijan are not yet known. In the archaeological fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan, we managed to find some of the vessels originating from these burials (Fig. 4: 2-3; 5: 1-3), including a zoomorphic rhyton (Deer shaped vessel: AF 1887) (Fig. 4: 1).

Among the studied vessels, attention is drawn to two large jugs with rounded shape, narrow necks and small loop-shaped vertical handles on the sides. Images of both vessels are given in Ione's article. On one of them, shown in the form of a drawing, a tamga in the form of a trident is clearly visible (Ione 1955: fig. 20) (Fig. 4: 12). On the second jug, presented in the form of a photo, the ornament is not observable (Ione 1955: fig. 21) (Fig. 4: 11). We found this vessel in the archaeological fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan. Its examination showed an ornament in the form of a tamga (Yellow clay jug with rounded shape: AF 15763) (Fig. 4: 2-3). According to Yatsenko, these tamgas (signs) are specific to the Aral Sea region. He notes that these signs were used on the pottery of Central Asia (Yatsenko 2001: fig. 27) (Fig. 6). In terms of its forms, this pottery corresponds to the pottery common in Albania during this period. The only distinctive feature is the presence of tamga-like signs on both vessels.

In accordance with the information given in Ione's article, all the weapons presented in these burials were made of iron. Tri-lobate and

trihedral tanged arrowheads of the Sarmatian type, socketed spearheads, small socketed darts, knives of various shapes and sizes, pitchforks, straight swords with one-sided and two-sided sharpening come from these burials. In addition to this, large three-legged iron candelabra (thymiaterion – incense burner) were found in the burials (Fig. 7). Horse harness and riding equipment were found in two burials. Among them are iron bits, rings, buckles and more. Parts of metal armor were found in one burial (Ione 1955: 59-61).

In the archaeological fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan, we managed to find tri-lobate tanged arrowheads (trilobate arrow heads: AF 2286) (Fig. 7: 18) and a sword with a ring-shaped pommel (Sword of Sarmatian type: AF 1814) (Fig. 7: 17) originating from the jar burials of Mingachevir. The numbers of the burials from which they originate are not indicated, but these examples of Sarmatian-type weapons correspond to those depicted in the drawings in Ione's article.

The two fibulas depicted in Ione's article (Fig. 8: 6-7) correspond to the early Roman hinged arc fibulas of the "AVCISSA" type originating from the Roman provinces in Italy. They date from the first half of the 1st century BC. In accordance with A. K. Ambroz in the archeology of the Soviet Union, these items were probably imported. These fibulas were found in the North Caucasus, in the upper reaches of the Dnieper River and one in Siberia. Ambroz notes that two examples of these brooches were found in the jar burials of Mingachevir in Azerbaijan, containing coins of Augustus and Phraates IV. He dates these burials to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD (Ambroz 1966: 26).

The three-legged candelabras (thymiaterion) found in these burials have parallels in the Mediterranean [Bronze thymiaterion with Marsyas]. They were used there in Roman times and earlier as an incense burner in religious rituals (Fig. 7: 19).

We managed to find the balsamarium depicted in the figure in the article by Ione (Fig. 8: 9, 11) in the archaeological fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan. This Roman Balsamari made of green glass, with a long neck, a narrow mouth and conical body. Balsamari were used for perfumes and perhaps medicinals.

Among the beads depicted in the article, Ione's attention is attracted by eye beads ("eye beads") and pendants in the form of a fig. O. N. Mosheeva notes that eye beads are widespread in the burials of the Sarmatians of the Lower Volga region of the 4th century BC – 3rd century AD. Further, she gives statistical data, according to which, in the

late Sarmatian culture, eye beads are more often found in female and children's burials. At the same time she points out that rare finds of eye beads in the Sarmatian male burials (about 11%), could be pendants-amulets for weapons (Mosheeva 2008: 26).

Ione's article depicts three paste beads depicting a human face (Fig. 8: 1). We were not able to find them in the fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan.

Ione's article depicts two Roman figs made from pasta (Fig. 8: 3-4). One of these figs is stored in the archaeological fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan (Fig. 8: 10). Fig gesture – “a hand clenched with thumb protruding between the index and second finger”. In Latin this hand configuration was called *figere*. Very often often *figere* amulets were combined with phallus (Potts 1982: 7-8). According to Albert M. Potts these amulets were universally used against the Evil Eye in Roman Empire. He points out that the Evil Eye is universal concept. Accordingly the use of amulets and talismans against it is universal to human nature as well (Potts 1982: 7).

The finds of individual Roman figs in the Mingachevir jar burials are certainly quite interesting, but even more interesting is the combination of these finds with other artifacts used to protect from the evil eye. Potts gives an image of a bead amulet against the Evil Eye originating from the Cimmerian Bosphorus. This amulet contains eye beads, figs, and anthropomorphic images, including images of a human face (Potts 1982: fig. 47) (Fig. 8: 12). That is, the same combination as on the finds beads from the jar burials of Mingachevir under research. Of particular interest on the amulet from the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the image of a man in a pointed cap. The connection of this combination of finds on the amulet from the Evil Eye with the Sarmatians is beyond doubt.

Conclusions.

The study of written sources allows us to establish the existence of close ties between the Roman Empire, Albania and the Sarmatians. The inscription from Boyuk Dehne is evidence of the presence of the Sarmatians in Albania, from where they often raided the territory of Parthia. The reports of Josephus indicate that the Alani, who were of Sarmatian origin, advanced into Parthia from the north. King of the Parthians Vologesus was asking Roman Emperor Vespasian to help him in his war against the Alani. As we can conclude from Suetonius' report, the future emperor of Rome, Domitian, had certain political interests in

Albania and Atropatene, but he was unable to realize them under the rule of his father Vespasian. After Domitian becomes emperor, he begins to collect information about Albania and Atropatene in order to determine the routes of advance of the Roman troops. Evidence of this may be a Latin inscription in Gobustan near the Caspian Sea and possibly a second Latin inscription in Fizuli, near the Arax River.

Finding Latin inscriptions next to the waterways of South Caucasus is not accidental, since they played an important role in Albania's trade relations. The water trade route, information about which is given in the work of Strabo, played an important role in relations between Central Asia, Albania and the Black Sea provinces of the Roman Empire. A comparative study of written sources and archaeological data allows us to confirm the existence of this path. As evidence, a whole series of archaeological evidence from Central Asia and the South Caucasus is cited. It is very important that from Central Asia to Albania, we trace the penetration of imports, along this trade route, in both directions – from East to West and back. All this testifies to the importance of cultural exchange. This route can be called “Water Silk Road” between Central Asia and the Black Sea.

In addition to the “Water Silk Road”, which moved horizontally from east to west and back, there was also a land trade route moving vertically along the western coast of the Caspian Sea. It connected north and south and played an important role in the infiltration of the Sarmatians and Alans into Albania and Atropatene. The combination of these two paths – horizontal and vertical – allows us to trace the interaction of the cultures of the Roman Empire, Albania and Sarmatia.

Special mention should be made of the burial rite in a structure made of mud bricks covered with wooden beams. This rite was recorded in the studied burials of Mingachevir No. 17, 26 and 29-31. An interesting fact is that these burials were located on the right bank of the Kura River. The above-described jar burial No. 14-L, lined with slab-like blocks of fine-grained sandstone, was located on the left bank of the river. Perhaps the above-mentioned facts may indicate the penetration here of the burial rite in mud-brick tombs covered with wooden beams from the territory of Central Asia through Atropatene – i.e. from southeast to north. The ritual of burning their dead in catacombs practiced by the Sarmatians could have entered Azerbaijan from the North Caucasus. But this does not mean that the Sarmatians advanced to the South Caucasus exclusively from the north. The discovery by Japanese archaeologists of catacomb burials with Sarmatian-type mirrors and

weapons, as well as a Saka-type girth buckle in the Dailaman vicinity of the Gilan province of Northern Iran (Egami Namio et al. 1966: 4-12) demonstrates that the steppe tribes could move to the western coast of the Caspian Sea from the south as well. However, the main penetration of the catacomb burial rite to this region, apparently, should be associated with the northern regions.

In the archeology of Azerbaijan, the Sarmatian burial ritual is usually identified with catacomb burials (Goshgarly 2012: 119). However, based on the data presented here, we can speak about several burial rites in graves with Sarmatian-type artifacts on the territory of Azerbaijan: 1) burials in the catacombs; 2) jar burials in mud brick crypts covered with wooden beams; 3) jar burials in earth pit graves where the burial vessel was lined with slab-like blocks of fine-grained sandstone.

The burial rite in jars placed in a mud brick crypts covered with wooden beams is apparently a combination of two different rituals. Azerbaijani researchers believe that the burial ritual of burying their dead in large jars during the Classical Antiquity time penetrated into the northern parts of our country from Atropatene (Asadov 2010: 93; Goshgarly 2012b: 42-43). As for the rite of burial in mud brick crypts covered with wooden beams, this rite is known from the burials of the Northern Black Sea region of the Scythian time. As an example, we can cite the burial mounds of the Nymphey necropolis, as well as the Semibratnie kurgans. Researchers attribute these burials to the Sindo-Maeotians (Ilyinskaya, Terenozhkin 1983: 81, 209-214). Goshgarli notes that the rite of burial in mud-brick crypts was brought to Albania by migrants, whom he associates with the Hellenic population (Goshgarli, 2012b: 42-43). Based on the richness of the findings, Ione comes to the conclusion that the studied jar burials of Mingachevir belonged to tribal leaders or the military elite (Ione 1955: 61).

The finds of Sarmatian-type weapons in the investigated jug burials of Mingachevir, coupled with horse burials and the burial rite in mud brick crypts covered with wooden beams, originating in the Northern Black Sea region, testify in favor of the origin of the warriors buried here from the territory of Sarmatia. The discovery of parts of an amulet consisting of “eye beads”, figs, and anthropomorphic images in the studied burials of Mingachevir allows us to once again confirm this conclusion and draw a parallel with a similar amulet from the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

The glass bottle, eye beads, thymiaterion and the Roman fig found in these graves are certainly Roman imports. Archaeological evidence

points to the existence of some connections between the Sarmatian and Roman type findings in the region. Sarmatians could have played an important role of mediation between South Caucasus and Roman provinces of the Near East and Black Sea Region. Further archaeological research of necropolises of the Classical Antiquity period located in Azerbaijan is important in order to fully understand these relations.

Captions for Figures



Figure 1. 1 – Latin inscription from Gobustan, Azerbaijan; 2 – Greek votive inscription from Boyuk-Dehne, Sheki, Azerbaijan; 3-5 – silver denarii of Emperor Augustus (1 – photo by Zaur Hasanov; 2 – after Trever 1959, fig. 46; 3-5 – after the Numismatic Fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan: NF 875, 4005, 4489).

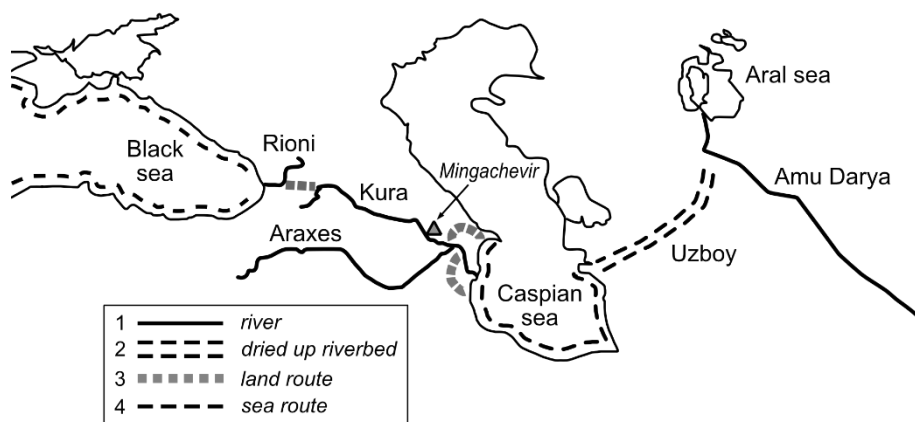


Figure 2. Water trade route (map by Zaur Hasanov).

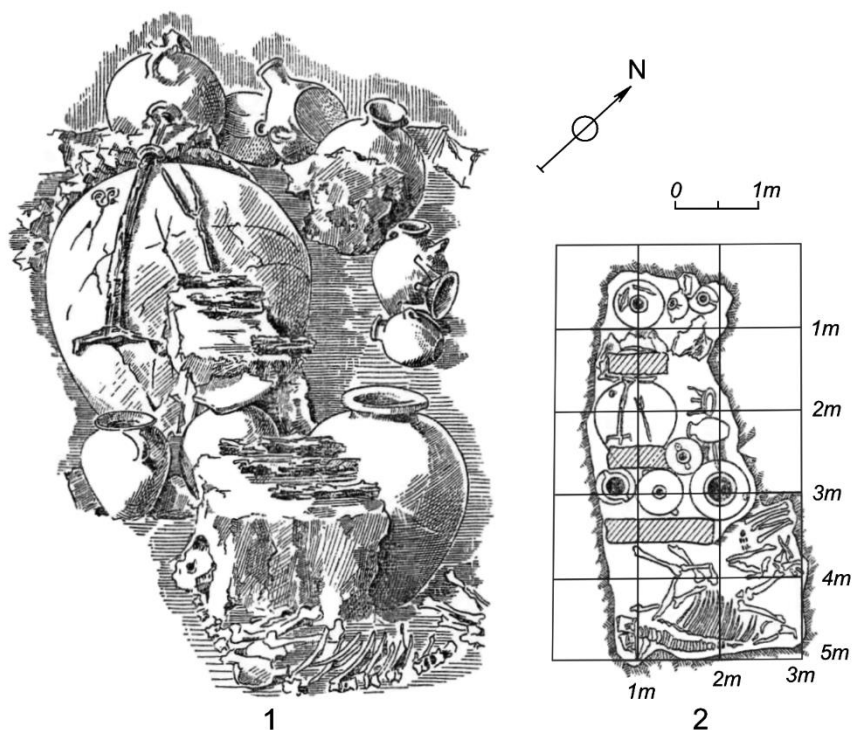


Figure 3. 1-2 – Jur burial No. 17, Mingachevir, Azerbaijan (1-2 – after Ione 1955: fig. 19).



Figure 4. 1-14 – Ceramics from the jur burials No. 17, 26, 29-31 and 14-L with Sarmatian type weapons, Mingachevir (1-3 – after the Archaeological Fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan; 1 – AF no. 1887; 2-3 – 1434; 4-14 – after Ione 1955: fig. 20-21).



Figure 5. 1-3 – Ceramics from the jur burials No. 17, 26, 29-31 and 14-L with Sarmatian type weapons, Mingachevir, Azerbaijan (1-2 – after the Archaeological Fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan; 1 – AF no. 1013; 2 – AF no. 15763; 3 – drawing after Nermin Bayramova).

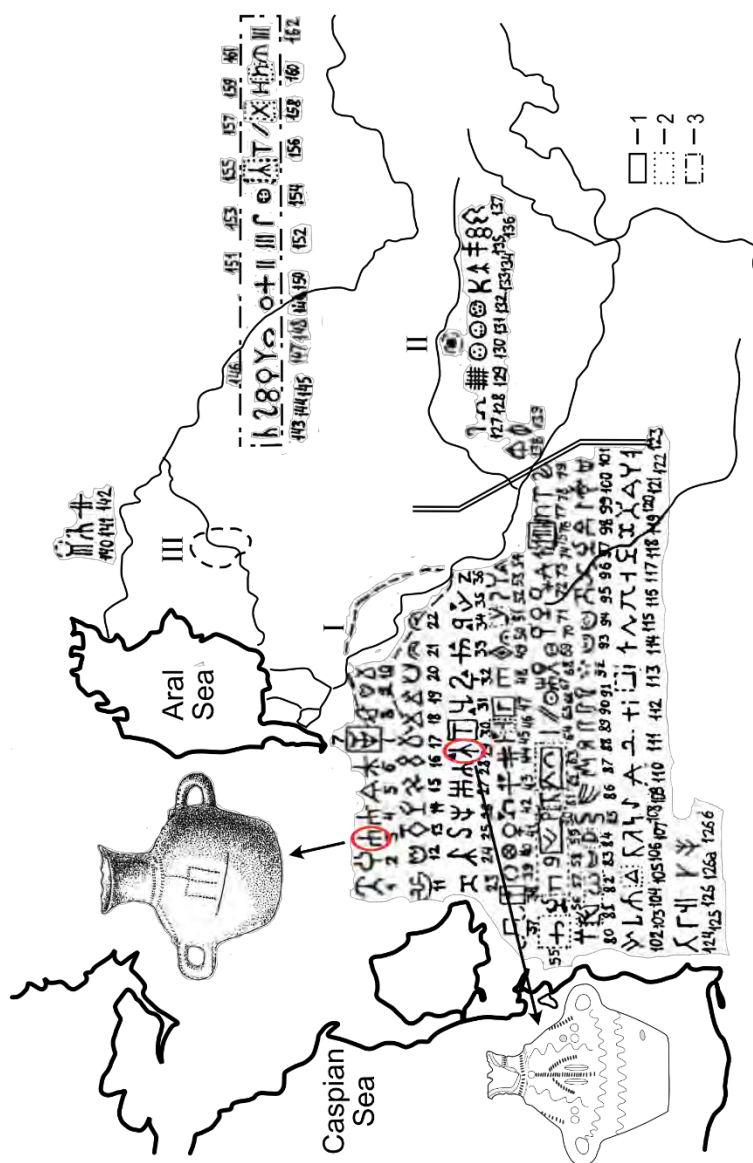


Figure 6. Tamgas (signs) from the Aral Sea region (after Yatsenko 2001: fig. 27).

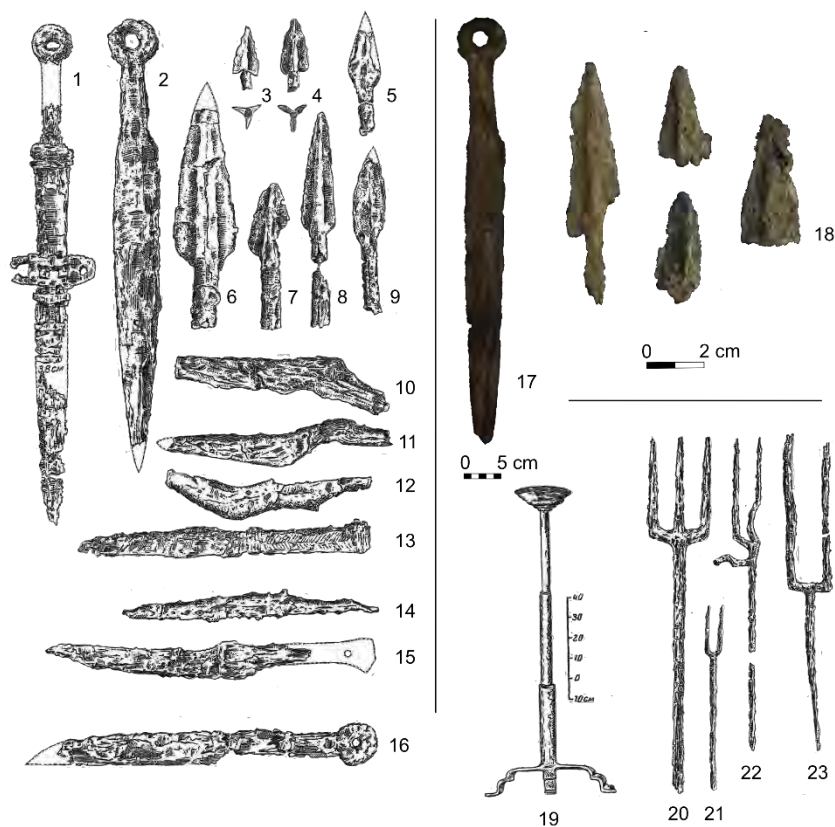


Figure 7. Jur burials No. 17, 26, 29-31 and 14-L with Sarmatian type weapons, Mingachevir, Azerbaijan. 1-18, 20-23 – iron weapons; 19 – iron thymiaterion (1-16, 19-23 – after Ione 1955: fig. 23-24; 17-18 – after the Archaeological Fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan; 17 – AF no. 1814; 18 – AF no. 2286).

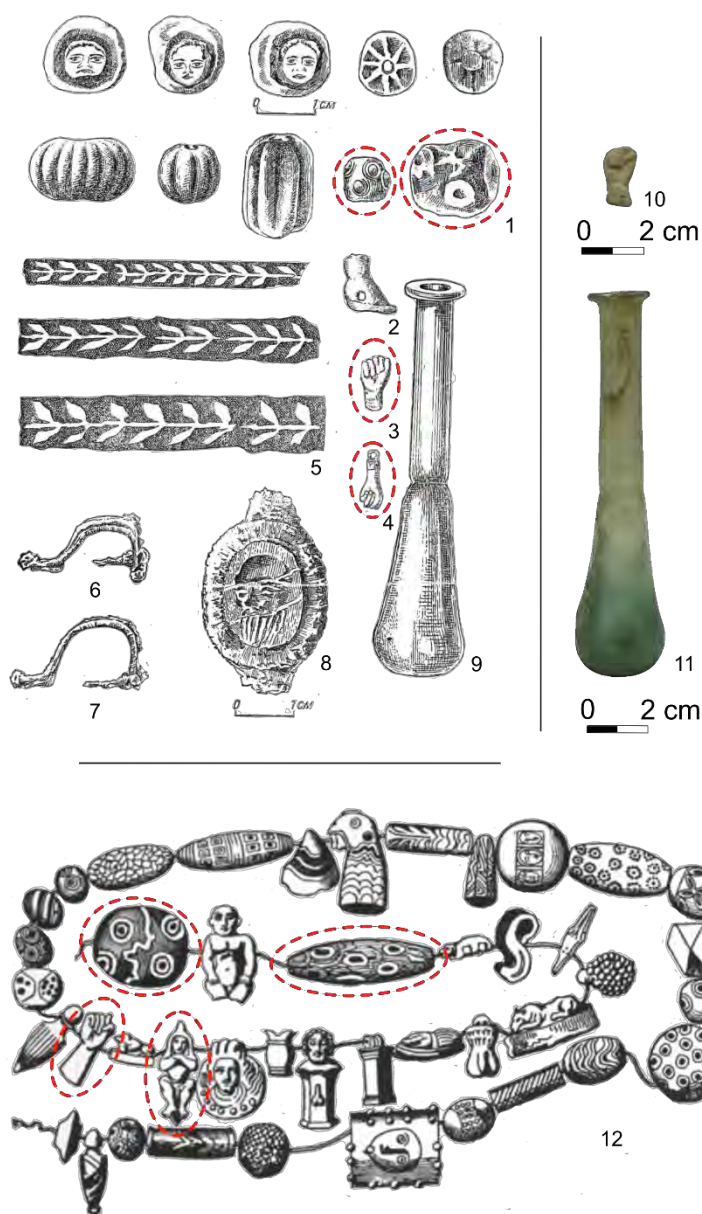


Figure 8. Jur burials No. 17, 26, 29-31 and 14-L with Sarmatian type weapons, Mingachevir, Azerbaijan. 1 – beads; 5 – ornaments on the beads; 2, 3, 4, 10 – amulets; 6-7 – fibulas; 8 – ring; 9, 11 – balsamarium; 12 – amulet against the Evil Eye, Cimmerian Bosphorus (1-9 – after Ione 1955: fig. 22; 10-11 after the Archaeological Fund of the National Museum of History of Azerbaijan; 10 – AF no. 1589; 11 – AF no. 24195; 12 – after Potts 1982, fig. 47).

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Ottoman Heritage in Balkans and Nationalism

Abstract: *The ethno-centric study of the Ottoman past after the establishment of the national Christian countries on the Balkan causes many negative stereotypes. Today the cultural and historical heritage from that period is still followed with the negative perception which affects the every-day life of the people living on the Balkan. The aim of this text is to show that for the Macedonian state the Ottoman heritage still represents a serious disability, which can not be fully absorbed and integrated in the contemporary Macedonian society. This will be done through several examples of the Ottoman heritage in Republic of North Macedonia, which is one of the most significant segments of the multiculturalism in this country.*

Keywords: *Ottoman heritage; mosque; Torbeshi; nationalism; North Macedonia.*

The Ottoman heritage in today's Republic of North Macedonia is one of the most significant segments of the multiculturalism and multi-confesionalism in the country. This segment of the common cultural heritage of the various Macedonian ethnic and religious communities is very often present in the rhetoric of the highest state officials, and always in an affirmative and positivist context. However, the question remains open as to how much the Macedonian state manages to absorb and articulate that heritage in its politics, to what degree multiculturalism and multiconfessionalism are free from the prejudices and negative perceptions of the past and whether that heritage is free from the (mis)use of various political factors and religious institutions and organizations. The aim of this text is to demonstrate how this heritage can be used in articulating and directing the ethnic nationalisms of the various communities that coexist in the modern Macedonian state¹

¹ The Republic of North Macedonia is a country in which the largest religious communities are the Orthodox Christian community headed by the Macedonian Orthodox Church - Ohrid Archdiocese (MOC - OA) and the Muslim community headed by the Islamic Religious Community (IRC). The first is mostly made up of ethnic Macedonians and a smaller number of Vlachs and Serbs, and in the second the

through several examples from the spiritual-material and demographic sphere of the Ottoman heritage in Republic of North Macedonia. This also raises the question of how much multiculturalism and multiconfessionalism are really an asset and an advantage, and how free are modern Balkan societies from prejudices and negative stereotypes in the perception of the past. Some of the examples that will be pointed out have already been forgotten or solved in a certain way, although those solutions did not contribute to a different attitude towards the Ottoman historical heritage, nor did they contribute to relaxing the relations between the different religious and ethnic communities.

The first such problem, which raised tensions for a long time, was the Burmalı mosque in Skopje. This Ottoman mosque was built in 1495, and its founder was Mehmed-bey, for whose origin and function there is not much data (Кумбараџи-Ђоројевиќ, p. 76). It was one of the few mosques built on the right side of the Vardar River, which actually represents the new part of the city, which began to be massively populated, mostly by Christians, only in the 19th century². Burmalı Mosque in 1925 was demolished by the then Serbian authorities and an Officer's Residence was built in its place, which was destroyed by the catastrophic earthquake that hit Skopje in 1963. From then until 2014, the place was empty, although it is located in the very center of the city, that is, on the city square itself. In 2009 year, the local authorities of Skopje adopted a new urban plan for the arrangement of the central city area, according to which the construction of a church was foreseen on the city square, and the rationale was that in its immediate vicinity there was the church of St. Constantine and Elena, which was also destroyed during the earthquake. The Islamic Religious Community of the Republic of Macedonia immediately reacted to this decision and sent an ultimatum to the state noting that if a church is built on the square, then they will demand that the Burmalı mosque be rebuilt as well. Such an attitude of the Islamic Religious Community caused a backlash reaction from the Macedonians who fiercely opposed the very idea of a mosque being built on the city's square. The legend was revived that under the foundations of the Burmalı Mosque there was a church named St. Nikola, built in the Middle Ages, which was demolished by the

most numerous are the Albanians, followed by the Turks, Bosniaks, Torbes (Macedonians - Muslims), Roma, etc.

² Even today more than 95% of the population in this part of the city is Christians. On the left bank of the Vardar River is the old core of Skopje, where more than 95% percent of the Muslim city population lives.

Ottomans. However, to this day, there are no scientific facts or material evidence that would confirm this legend³. The then president of the Islamic Religious Community, Suleiman Efendi Redzepe, also stated that the day when the foundations of the church are laid, the foundations of the Burmali Mosque will be also laid. At that moment, there appeared a huge public and social pressure both from the Christians and Muslims about the adoption of the decision to build these religious buildings on the Skopje square. But while the Christian community was divided over the construction of a church in the square (a civil movement called "Plošad Sloboda" („Square Freedom“) was formed, which was against the construction of religious buildings in the square), the Muslim community was firmly united and homogeneous for the construction of a mosque on the square, if a church is built there. It was also a big problem that the government of the Republic of Macedonia did not have a clear position on this issue and with some of its actions favoured the building of the church, thus raised inter-ethnic tensions and made the possibility of a dialogue between the two largest religious communities in the country impossible. This problem, it seems, was solved in favor of the Christians, by allowing the construction of a church named St. Konstantin and Elena a few hundred meters away from the Skopje square, while the Officers' Residence on the disputed site was renovated.

Another similar example is the case of the Charshi Mosque in the city of Prilep. This Ottoman mosque in the center of Prilep, built in 1475, was burned and destroyed by Macedonians in Prilep, as revenge for the killed members of the security forces from Prilep, during the internal Macedonian-Albanian conflict that happened in the area of Te-

³ In Macedonia, there are many unconfirmed legends which say that under almost all Islamic religious buildings from the Ottoman period, are hidden church foundations. Most of these legends have not been scientifically proven. However, the practice of converting Christian churches into mosques or building mosques on the foundations of former Christian buildings is not unknown among the Ottomans. Such is the case with the conversion of the Ohrid Cathedral Church of St. Sofia in a mosque and the building of the famous Imaret mosque on the foundations of the monastery of St. Panteleimon in Ohrid, towards the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century. The existence of the church of St. Nikola beneath the Burmali mosque's foundations has not been verified by science, but it is still unknown why the Ottomans constructed a mosque outside of the city at a time when the city had not yet been moved to that side of the river, when there was no Muslim population there, and when multiple mosques had already been constructed in the city's old center to accommodate the needs of the Muslim populace.

tovsko in 2001. In the spring of 2010 the Muslims from Prilep, in co-operation with the Islam Religious Community, requested the restoration of the mosque as an active religious building. However, there was once again a reaction from the Macedonians in Prilep, who did not want to restore the mosque as an active religious building. This problem it is yet to be solved.

The question arises as to what are the reasons for such an extremely negative attitude of Macedonians towards Islamic religious buildings, which are essentially a cultural material heritage from the Ottoman period, located in a Christian environment.⁴ Of course this is a complex question whose answer penetrates the political, cultural, social, and educational sphere. Here we can talk about the great division between Christianity and Islam, about a belated attempt at de-Osmanization in the material sphere, about the strong negative stereotypes created among Christians about slavery for more than five centuries, which are still used as tools to inflame national passions, etc. However, in this particular case, I want to refer to two reasons, at least, for such a relationship, which are characteristic of the Macedonian society and which are essential to understanding the problem.

The first of these reasons is the Albanianization, in the eyes of the Macedonians, of the Islamic religious buildings left from the time of the Ottomans.⁵ Namely, the largest part of the Turkish population,

⁴ Here I emphasize the Christian environment because Macedonians do not react when similar events occur in a purely Muslim environment. Such is the case with the Arasta Mosque, an Islamic religious building from the Ottoman period, most likely from the first half of the XV century. Towards the end of April 2010 the Islamic Religious Community started the restoration of this building without building permit, of which only a part of a wall was left. The National Conservation Center of R. of Macedonia, reacted to this, indicating that it is not possible to carry on with building activities without a permit because in that way are irretrievably destroyed extraordinary material artifacts from the 15th century. This had no effect on the protection of the Ottoman heritage and the new mosque was erected. It is interesting that in this case there was no reaction from the Macedonians, because the Arasta Mosque is located in the heart of the Old Skopje Bazaar, which is located in the old core of the city where the Albanians are more numerous and because of which there is no interest from Macedonians in that area.

⁵ The Albanianization can be discussed not only of the religious Ottoman buildings, but also of entire areas formed in the Ottoman period, such as the Old Skopje Bazaar. In 2006 within this bazaar, which is one of the largest and best-preserved Ottoman bazaars in the Balkans and, of course, the most significant Ottoman heritage in Skopje, an imposing monument to Skender-bey, an Albanian national hero, was erected, who, to make the absurdity even greater, in the 15th century fought against the Ottomans

which was the most numerous among Muslims and lived on the territory of Macedonia for several centuries, during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), after the First World War and after in the middle of the last century moved to the Republic of Türkiye. Thus, after their departure, the most numerous community among the Muslim population became the Albanian population, which caused a change in the overall functioning on the community.

The most important in the highest bodies of the Islamic Religious Community and the most influential positions (reisululama and imams) began to be occupied by Albanians. The Ottoman religious buildings, in which until 1963 the Turkish language was the language of the religious sermons, after the mass emigration of the Turkish population, gradually passed into Albanian hands, and the Albanian language became dominant in the religious service of the Islamic Religious Community.

Today, in almost all places where the Albanian population dominates among the Muslims, all sermons and religious services are conducted in the Albanian language. Thus, the Albanianization of those objects caused a change in the perception of Islam and the Ottoman heritage among ordinary Macedonian people. The former equation Muslim = Turk, which applied to the older generations, now is changed and reads Muslim = Albanian, and the old Ottoman buildings are no longer perceived as Ottoman heritage and cultural monuments, but as religious buildings where, along with other believers, certain radical structures also meet. Such connection of any Islamic religious building with Albanian nationalism, does not allow Macedonians to come to terms with the presence of an Islamic building spaces in their community, even if that building is from the Ottomans period, with a history of more than 400 years. In their eyes those objects obtained a nationality, became Albanian and, inevitably, they also became centers of Albanian nationalism. The existence of national Orthodox churches and their connection with the respective nations (Macedonian, Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian, etc.) make it easier for the Macedonian Orthodox believer to nationalize the Islamic buildings and their connection with the Albanian community, although there are no national Islamic communities.

For those reasons in the internal Macedonian-Albanian conflict of 2001, the targets were the main religious. The attitudes of the larger

and was the leader of one of the longest lasting anti-Ottoman uprisings in the Balkan Peninsula.

political parties, both Macedonian and Albanian, also contribute to a great extent to such an attitude. These parties could not abandon their ethnocentric perceptions regarding religion and contribute greatly for the division of the Macedonian society along religious lines to become more visible. So far, no Macedonian government has seriously distanced itself from the connection with both largest religious communities, although according to the Macedonian constitution, the Macedonian state is a secular one, and religion is separated from the state.

The second example where Ottoman heritage is used by ethnic nationalism can be traced in the demographic segment of that heritage.

In the northwestern parts of the Macedonian state lives a separate religious-social group known as Torbeshis, who are also called Macedonian - Muslims. They represent a minority religious group of predominantly Islamic faith, and most of them are Suni. Culturally and religiously they differ from the majority of Orthodox Macedonians, but also linguistically and anthropologically they are different from the larger Muslim ethnic groups: the Albanians and the Turks. They are, in fact, part of the Ottoman heritage in the demographic sphere, which is claimed today by the Macedonians as well as the Albanians and the Turks. However, their identity, stuck between religious - Islamic and linguistic - Macedonian belonging, does not allow those claims to be fully realized by either of the aforementioned contenders. Macedonian society fails to absorb that heritage, which is why, besides unresolved historical issues, there are also contemporary political controversies related to it. Among the unresolved historical issues is the problem of their origin and name⁶, but in this case I will focus only on the political controversies that are the result of abuses by political nationalists.

⁶ Sources to look at regarding the historical dilemmas surrounding the origin of the Torbeshis and their naming: **Ј. Хаџи Василјевић**, *Муслимани наше крви у јужној Србији*, Београд 1924; **П. Чулев**, „Обиколка из албански селища в прищинско, призренско, дебърско и охридско“, *Известия на Народния етнографически музеи в София*, год. 6, кн. 1–4, София 1926, 107 - 121; **М. Павловић**, „Скопски торбеша – најстарије српско племе на Балканском Полуострову“, *Јужна Србија*, 27 XI 1939, бр. 94, Скопље, 1940; **Д. Ангелов**, *Богомилството въ България*, София 1960; **Д. Мандић**, *Богомилска црква босанских християна*, Чикаго 1962; **А. Стојановски**, „Прашањето за потеклото на името Торбеш и неговото првично споменување во пишувани извори“, [in:] *Историја, фолклор и етнологија на исламизираниите Македонци*, ред. **Г. Тодоровски**, **Н. Лиманоски и др.**, Скопје 1987, 29-38; **Н. Лиманоски**, *Исламската религија и исламизираниите Македонци*. Скопје, 1989; **Н. Лиманоски**, *Исламизацијата и етничките промени во Македонија*. Скопје, 1993; **Г. Тодоровски**, 2000. *Демографските процеси и промени во Македонија од крајот на XIV век до*

There is no doubt that the Torbeshis used to be traditionally tightly connected with the Turks and in different periods, especially until the departure of the Ottomans from the Balkans, they mostly identified themselves as Turks. However, when in 1944, the Republic of Macedonia within the Yugoslav community was created, the federal government encouraged the Torbeshi to accept the Macedonian identity. But this also caused some tensions with the Macedonian Christian community due to the strong connection of the Macedonian national identity with the Macedonian Orthodox faith and church. It is precisely because of this insurmountable religious difference that a marriage between Torbeshis and Orthodox Macedonians is a rare occurrence. Mutual marriages of Torbeshis with other Muslim communities in the country are much more numerous and more acceptable.

One more attempt at the strengthening of the Macedonian identity among the Torbeshis was the establishment of the organization „Cultural and Scientific Manifestations of Macedonian Muslims“ in 1970. This organization was formed with the support of the official Macedonian authorities, and the aim of it, in addition to strengthening the Macedonian identity, was also the prevention of the Albanian and Turkish influence on the Torbeshis. According to this organization, after the Second World War more than 70.000 of its members were assimilated by other Muslim groups, but mostly by the Albanians.

Although the organization was successful in improving the sense of belonging to the Macedonian community of the Torbeshis, they still remained exposed to strong influence especially from the Albanian Muslim majority. The Albanian influence among the Torbeshis became even stronger after the independence of R. of Macedonia (1991) and many of the Torbeshis begun identifying as Albanians. During the elections in 1990, there was a sharp correspondence between the Organization of Macedonian Muslims and the largest Albanian party, in which later was accused of quiet assimilation and use of religion in an attempt of kosovization and albanization of western Macedonia. Controversies

Балканските војни. Скопје, 2000; **E. Fraenkel**, "Turning a Donkey into a Horse: Paradox into Identity of Makedonci Muslimani", in: Balkan forum, Vol.3, No. 4(13), (December 1995). Skopje, 153-163; **V. A. Friedman**, „Language in Macedonia as an Identity Construction Site“, [in:] When Languages Collide: Perspectives on Language Conflict, Language Competition, and Language Coexistence, ed. Brian D. Joseph, Columbus (Ohio) 2003, 257-295; **Г. Паликрушева**, Исламизација на Торбешите и формирање на Торбешката суб-група, Скопје, 2016; **С. Стојановски**, „Инкорпорирање на Македонците муслимани како дел од македонската нација“, *Историја, бр. 2* Скопје, 2022, 141-58.

increased in 1995, when the Council of the Islamic Religious Community of R. Macedonia, where Albanians dominate, declared that Albanian is the official language of the Muslims in R. of Macedonia, which caused protests from the leaders of the Organization of Macedonian Muslims.

In the forms from the last census from 2021, there was no special column for identifying as Torbesh or Macedonian Muslim. However, after processing the data, internal data was published in which there are three interesting subgroups according to the declared ethnicity. Namely there were 4,174 Torbeshis, 1,187 Muslims, and 455 as Macedonian Muslims. It can be assumed that behind the last two groups, the members of the Torbeh community are hiding, although a good part of them, of course, must be sought among the three largest communities: Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish. It is interesting that in the municipality of Mavrovo Rostuše, where the Torbehis live, there are also 1,555 people who identified themselves as Turks.⁷ However, this only shows the deep divisions in the Torbesh community on which none of the larger ethnic communities does nor manage to impose its identity, but also, that not even the Torbeshis manage to develop their own separate identity despite some attempts.⁸ In this case as well, the Ottoman legacy in the demographic sphere turns out to be a handicap for the Macedonian society. The failure to impose a special national identity on this minority religious group by the three aforementioned communities, only confirms the still strong Ottoman influence regarding the formation of the national identity on the Balkan Peninsula. Namely, among both Christians and Muslims, that identity is strongly connected with the religion and the language, which is the result of the influence of the Ottoman Milet system. Also the influence comes from the basic parameters around which the nations were formed in the Balkans in the 19th century - religion and language. The Macedonian nation whose members are Orthodox Christians, never made a serious attempt to integrate the Torbeshis into their environment. This was impossible because the legacy of the Milet system, strengthened by the influence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, does not allow a member of the Macedonian

⁷ Source: <https://www.stat.gov.mk/pdf/2022/2.1.22.10-mk.pdf> (accessed: April 4, 2024)

⁸ In the elections in 2008 also participated the Party for European Integration, also known as the Party of the Torbeshis. Its leader, Fiat Tsanovski, a rich businessman who insists on the ethnic uniqueness of the Torbesh community, managed to enter the Macedonian Assembly.

nation to be non-Christian, much less Muslim. For those reasons today, the conditions have not yet been created for the Torbesh people, who speak the Macedonian language, but religiously belong to Islam, to be integrated into the modern Macedonian nation. The political culture in recent years further intensifies the partisanship in the modern Macedonian society into special religious and ethnic groups with the aim of establishing local political and economic power. Because of that, the Torbeshis, as an Ottoman legacy in the demographic sphere, remain a tool used by Macedonian ethnic nationalisms.

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***Zakonik Danila Prvog* and Religious Identity: Orthodox Christianity in Montenegrin Legal Thought**

Abstract: *This article explores the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* (Code of Danilo I) as a foundational legal document that shaped Montenegrin governance and national identity by integrating Orthodox Christian values into the state's legal framework. Established in 1855, the *Zakonik* reflected the influence of Orthodox Christianity on justice, morality, and public life, while also serving as a tool for asserting Montenegrin sovereignty against Ottoman and Catholic influences. The analysis investigates the deep interconnection between law, religion, and national identity, comparing the *Zakonik* with Eastern Orthodox canon law and highlighting its role in regulating religious life, family law, and public morality. Additionally, the article discusses the tensions between customary tribal laws and Christian doctrine and explores how non-Orthodox communities were governed under this legal framework. The broader implications of the *Zakonik* for Balkan legal and religious history are also examined.*

Keywords: *Zakonik Danila Prvog; Orthodox Christianity; Montenegrin national identity; Balkan legal history; Church-State relations.*

I. Introduction

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog* (Code of Danilo I), established in 1855 by Prince Danilo I of Montenegro, represents a pivotal moment in the legal and political history of Montenegro. It is not only a comprehensive legal code but also a reflection of the socio-political realities and the evolving national identity of the Montenegrin people during the 19th century. As Montenegro sought to assert itself as an independent and sovereign entity, distinct from the surrounding empires, the *Zakonik* provided a legal framework for governance that consolidated both civil and religious life, establishing the foundation for modern Montenegrin statehood.

Prince Danilo I's legal reforms came at a critical juncture in Montenegro's history. The country was situated in a politically volatile region, surrounded by the Ottoman Empire to the east and south, and Austria-Hungary to the west. While much of the Balkan Peninsula remained

under Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian control, Montenegro had retained a high degree of autonomy. However, this autonomy needed to be reinforced by a coherent legal and political structure that could unify the Montenegrin population and defend against external pressures. The *Zakonik* fulfilled this role by codifying a set of laws that balanced traditional Montenegrin customs with the legal and moral principles of Orthodox Christianity, which was deeply ingrained in the Montenegrin psyche (Jelavich, 1983). The significance of the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* extends beyond its role as a legal document. It served as a key instrument in reinforcing national unity and consolidating Montenegro's religious and political independence. By grounding legal principles in Orthodox Christian values, Danilo I not only addressed the immediate need for legal reforms but also strengthened the cultural and spiritual identity of the Montenegrin people. The *Zakonik* addressed a wide range of issues, including criminal justice, property rights, marriage, and family law, all of which were deeply influenced by Christian ethics and the Orthodox tradition (Banac, 1984). As such, the *Zakonik* stands as a unique example of the intersection between law, religion, and national identity in the Balkans, a region where religious affiliation often played a critical role in political and social life (Vucinich, 1974).

Relevance to Balkan Studies

The study of the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* is particularly relevant to scholars of Balkan history, law, and religion because it provides valuable insights into how law and religion were intertwined in the construction of national identity in 19th-century Montenegro. In the broader context of Balkan studies, this legal code offers a case study of how small Balkan states sought to navigate the pressures of larger empires while maintaining their sovereignty and distinct cultural identities. Throughout the Balkans, religion, especially Orthodox Christianity, was a significant marker of identity, particularly in contrast to the Islamic rule of the Ottoman Empire. The *Zakonik* reflects this dynamic, demonstrating how legal reforms were used not only to create internal order but also to resist the cultural and political influence of neighboring powers (Morrison, 2009).

The legal code also sheds light on the broader processes of state formation and modernization in the Balkans during the 19th century. As Montenegro sought to formalize its legal structures, the integration of religious values into the legal framework underscores the role of Orthodox Christianity as a central pillar of Montenegrin national identity.

This phenomenon was not unique to Montenegro but was part of a larger trend across the Orthodox Christian regions of the Balkans, where religion served as both a unifying force and a symbol of resistance against Ottoman rule. Thus, the *Zakonik* serves as an important historical document for understanding how law and religion were used in tandem to construct a cohesive national identity (Kitromilides, 2013).

Thesis Statement

This article posits that the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* reflects the deep integration of Orthodox Christian values in Montenegrin legal thought, shaping both the governance and the socio-political structure of the state. The code was not only a legal instrument but also a cultural one, providing a framework for national unity and autonomy within a religious context. By embedding Orthodox Christian principles into the legal fabric of the state, Danilo I sought to strengthen Montenegrin identity and sovereignty, particularly in the face of external pressures from the Ottoman Empire and other neighboring powers. The *Zakonik* demonstrates how law, religion, and national identity were mutually reinforcing in the formation of the modern Montenegrin state.

Methodology

This study adopts an interdisciplinary approach, combining historical analysis, religious studies, and legal scholarship to examine the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* and its impact on Montenegrin identity. The historical analysis focuses on the geopolitical and social context in which the *Zakonik* was created, considering Montenegro's struggle for autonomy and its resistance to Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian influence. By examining historical sources, such as the writings of Prince Danilo I and contemporary accounts of Montenegrin society, the article situates the *Zakonik* within the broader trends of state-building and legal modernization in the Balkans (Berend, 2013). The religious studies component of this research examines the influence of Orthodox Christian doctrines on the *Zakonik*. This includes an analysis of how Orthodox beliefs regarding morality, justice, and community were translated into legal principles within the code. The research draws upon both primary and secondary religious texts, including Eastern Orthodox canon law, to demonstrate the parallels between religious doctrine and the legal provisions of the *Zakonik*. By doing so, the article highlights the centrality of Orthodox Christianity in shaping Montenegrin legal thought and governance (Ware, 1997).

Finally, the legal analysis explores the structure and content of the *Zakonik* itself, focusing on key legal provisions that reflect the integration of religious values. This includes an examination of laws related to family, property, and criminal justice, which were heavily influenced by Orthodox Christian ethics. The article compares the *Zakonik* to other contemporary legal codes in the Balkans, such as the Serbian Civil Code, to demonstrate how Montenegro's legal reforms were part of a broader trend of legal modernization in the region. By adopting this interdisciplinary approach, the article provides a comprehensive analysis of how law and religion were intertwined in the construction of Montenegrin national identity.

II. Historical Context: Montenegro and Orthodox Christianity in the 19th Century

Montenegro in the 19th Century

Montenegro's mid-19th century political situation was marked by its position between powerful empires, particularly the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Despite its small size, Montenegro's strategic location made it a focal point for broader imperial ambitions. Its autonomy was preserved largely due to its mountainous terrain and the resistance of its population (Jelavich, 1983). However, Montenegro's independence was frequently challenged by external forces and internal clan divisions. By the mid-19th century, Montenegro was emerging as a distinct political entity, though it lacked formal recognition. Surrounded by Ottoman-controlled territories, Montenegro faced growing threats from both the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Internally, Montenegro's decentralized clan-based governance posed challenges for unity, and Prince Danilo I's reforms, including the *Zakonik Danila Prvog*, were crucial in creating a more cohesive state (Banac, 1984).

Role of Orthodox Christianity

Orthodox Christianity was central to Montenegrin national identity, providing a unifying cultural and political force. The Montenegrin people identified as part of the broader Serbian Orthodox community, distinguishing themselves from their Muslim neighbors and the Catholic populations to the west (Vucinich, 1974). The Orthodox Church played a significant role in resisting Ottoman rule, as adherence to Orthodox Christianity was both a matter of faith and a form of resistance. The Church's leaders were central to both the spiritual and political life

of Montenegro (Kitromilides, 2013). Orthodox Christianity also shaped Montenegro's foreign relations, particularly with Russia, which provided military and financial support. This relationship, based on shared religious values, bolstered Montenegro's position as a defender of Orthodox Christianity in the Balkans (Morrison, 2009).

Danilo I's Leadership

Prince Danilo I (1826–1860) was pivotal in modernizing and consolidating the Montenegrin state. His leadership marked a shift from the traditional theocratic governance of Montenegro to a more secular form, while retaining religion's deep influence. Before Danilo, Montenegro was governed by prince-bishops who held both spiritual and temporal power. Danilo's reforms modernized Montenegro's political structures while preserving its religious traditions. His most significant achievement was the promulgation of the *Zakonik Danila Prvog*, a legal code that unified Montenegrin governance under a common set of laws (Banac, 1984). Danilo's leadership balanced modernization with the need to preserve traditional values, including the introduction of a standing army, diplomatic relations with European powers, and legal reforms shaped by Christian ethics (Ware, 1997). The *Zakonik* enshrined equality before the law and reinforced Christian values such as the sanctity of marriage, which Danilo saw as key to Montenegro's survival (Morrison, 2009).

The geopolitical position of 19th-century Montenegro and the role of Orthodox Christianity played a crucial role in shaping the *Zakonik Danila Prvog*. Prince Danilo I's leadership promoted Montenegro's sovereignty, and his legal reforms reflected a vision of a unified state grounded in Orthodox Christian values. The *Zakonik* not only provided a legal framework but also reinforced Montenegro's religious and cultural identity, ensuring the country's resistance to external pressures and its preservation of independence.

III. Orthodox Christianity as a Foundational Element of the *Zakonik Danila Prvog*

Influence of Orthodox Christian Doctrine

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog*, reflects the profound influence of Orthodox Christian doctrine on Montenegrin governance in the 19th century. This legal code was designed to embed Orthodox Christian principles into the fabric of Montenegrin society, emphasizing moral and

ethical standards. Danilo I aimed to modernize the legal system while reinforcing the spiritual and moral foundations of Montenegrin identity (Bieber, 2003). The *Zakonik* framed justice as a moral imperative, emphasizing equality before the law, mirroring the Christian belief that all are equal before God (Galatians 3:28). Article 1 states that “every Montenegrin and Highlander is equal before the court,” reinforcing fairness and impartiality, deeply rooted in Orthodox Christian teachings (Morris, 2006).

The *Zakonik* also integrates Orthodox Christian morality into personal and social conduct, particularly in areas like marriage and family life. For example, Article 67 requires mutual consent and a church blessing for marriages, reflecting the Christian sacramental view of marriage as a holy union (Danilo I, 1855). Moreover, Article 66 mandates church attendance, emphasizing religion’s role in guiding daily life. This codification of religious observance further ensured that the law reflected divine will (Roudometof, 2001).

Comparison with Canon Law

The *Zakonik* shares significant similarities with Eastern Orthodox canon law, embedding religious values into secular governance. Family law in both systems reflects the sacredness of marriage, and the *Zakonik*, like canon law, strictly limits grounds for divorce, particularly in cases of infidelity (Meyendorff, 1982). Both legal systems emphasize moral responsibility and repentance for crimes, where violations are treated as sins against the community’s moral order (Morris, 2006). For instance, Article 27 prescribes the death penalty for murder but allows leniency for those showing repentance (Danilo I, 1855), reflecting Orthodox beliefs in redemption (Roudometof, 2001). The *Zakonik* also includes ecclesiastical discipline, as in Article 73, which prescribes expulsion for blasphemy, showing the deep integration of religious authority into Montenegrin law (Ware, 1997).

Moral and Ethical Codes in the Law

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog* is grounded in Christian ethics, emphasizing personal conduct, family responsibilities, and public morality. It upholds virtues like honesty and humility, with Article 35 prohibiting deceit and slander, reflecting Christian teachings on truthfulness (Danilo I, 1855). The *Zakonik* promotes peaceful conflict resolution, discouraging retaliation and instead encouraging forgiveness, aligning with Christian teachings on reconciliation (Morris, 2006).

Family law emphasizes the sanctity of the family, as Article 50 requires children to honor and care for their parents, reflecting the biblical commandment to “honor thy father and mother” (Danilo I, 1855; Exodus 20:12). The *Zakonik* protects the family unit, reinforcing Orthodox beliefs in family as the core of Christian life (Roudometof, 2001). Additionally, public morality is a key concern, with Article 74 prescribing harsh penalties for public indecency, underscoring the importance of moral behavior in maintaining social harmony (Danilo I, 1855). By embedding these values into the legal code, the *Zakonik* ensured that Montenegrin society was governed by both secular laws and Christian ethical teachings (Bieber, 2003).

IV. Church-State Relations: Institutionalizing Orthodox Christian Influence in Law

The Role of the Orthodox Church in Governance

The relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Montenegrin state during the 19th century, particularly under Prince Danilo I, was deeply intertwined. In the Balkans, where religious and national identities often merged, Montenegro was no exception. The Orthodox Church was both a spiritual authority and a crucial institution in shaping the political and legal structures of the emerging Montenegrin state. This entanglement is clearly reflected in the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* (Code of Danilo I), which institutionalized Orthodox Christian values within the legal system, ensuring the Church’s fundamental role in governance (Banac, 1984).

Unlike other Balkan states that adopted more secular systems influenced by European legal traditions, Montenegro maintained a legal framework deeply rooted in religious principles. The Orthodox Church, as the main religious institution, became central to governance. Montenegrin rulers, including Danilo I, viewed the Church as an ally in maintaining social order and national unity, particularly as Montenegro asserted its sovereignty against the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. The Church's role in governance was significant, extending to legal and administrative matters (Jelavich, 1983).

This Church-state relationship was not new. Since the 16th century, Montenegro had been governed by *vladikas* (prince-bishops), combining secular and ecclesiastical authority. This system continued until Danilo I’s reforms, which separated secular and religious offices, though the Church’s influence remained strong (Roudometof, 2001).

By the mid-19th century, Montenegro was formalizing its legal structures, but the Church still guided moral and cultural aspects of governance.

The *Zakonik* codified laws that aligned with Orthodox teachings. Laws on personal behavior, family life, and property rights were influenced by Christian doctrines. Religious rituals, such as oaths, were used to legitimize judicial decisions, ensuring the law reflected both secular and divine justice. The fusion of church and state meant that Montenegrin law was not merely a secular instrument but also a reflection of divine justice (Morrison, 2009).

Clergy's Role in Legal and Social Affairs

The Orthodox Church's influence in legal matters, particularly in family law and inheritance, was evident in the *Zakonik*. Marriage, regarded as a sacrament in Orthodox Christianity, required the Church's blessing for legal recognition (Meyendorff, 1982). The clergy also played a key role in approving divorces, ensuring they adhered to religious standards. Inheritance laws similarly reflected Orthodox principles, with the clergy involved in disputes over heirs, ensuring family hierarchy and moral conduct were upheld (Bieber, 2003).

Beyond legal matters, clergy served as moral exemplars and enforced public virtue. The *Zakonik* empowered them to intervene in cases of moral misconduct, such as adultery and blasphemy, reinforcing the alignment between law and Orthodox ethics (Kitromilides, 2013).

Judicial Oaths and Religious Legitimacy

One way Orthodox Christianity was institutionalized in Montenegrin law was through judicial oaths and the invocation of divine justice. Oaths, made in the presence of God, carried legal and spiritual significance. The *Zakonik* required oaths to be sworn in churches, emphasizing that legal decisions were divinely sanctioned (Ware, 1997). Judges and officials also took oaths to uphold Christian principles, blending secular and religious authority (Morris, 2006).

In cases with insufficient evidence, individuals were sometimes required to submit to religious trials, reflecting medieval beliefs in divine intervention. This practice persisted into the 19th century, highlighting the ongoing influence of religious principles in Montenegrin legal practice (Jelavich, 1983). The use of oaths and divine justice in

legal proceedings ensured that the *Zakonik* maintained a close connection to Orthodox values, reinforcing the legitimacy of Montenegrin law (Roudometof, 2001).

V. Regulating Religious Life in the *Zakonik Danila Prvog*

Religious Freedom and Exclusivity

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog* reflects Montenegro's religious landscape in the mid-19th century, where Orthodox Christianity was integral to national identity and state governance. The legal code emphasized Orthodox Christianity as the state religion, outlining the status of other religious communities. This exclusivity helped construct Montenegrin identity, particularly in opposition to the Ottoman Empire, where Islam held sway, and against Catholic populations under Austro-Hungarian influence (Banac, 1984).

Article 92 explicitly established Orthodox Christianity as the official religion, stating, "In this land, there is no other nation and no other faith except the Orthodox." This was not just a legal declaration but a statement of national unity. Although other religious communities were present in the region, Montenegro's identity was tied to its Orthodox faith, similar to other Balkan states like Greece and Serbia during their independence movements (Jelavich, 1983). However, the *Zakonik* did not completely exclude other faiths from legal recognition. Article 93 allowed other religious communities to live peacefully in Montenegro as long as they respected the Orthodox Christian character of the state. This conditional tolerance was common in 19th-century Balkan states, where national identity was intertwined with religion (Roudometof, 2001).

The treatment of non-Orthodox communities under the *Zakonik* reflects Balkan nationalism trends, where religious identity was central to independence from the Ottoman Empire. In Montenegro, Orthodox Christianity was both a religious and political statement against Ottoman Islamic rule, shaping the legal status of religious minorities. This dynamic was seen across the Balkans, where religion and national identity were closely connected, with legal frameworks reflecting the primacy of the majority religion (Kitromilides, 2013).

Public and Private Worship

The *Zakonik* also regulated both public and private worship, showing the central role of religious practice in Montenegrin society. It

codified religious observance as part of public life, prescribing duties for clergy and laypeople alike. Public worship was closely regulated, with laws requiring regular attendance at church services and participation in religious festivals. Article 66 mandated that all citizens attend church services regularly, with clergy ensuring compliance. This reflected the Orthodox belief in the importance of communal worship for social cohesion and the collective identity of the Orthodox Christian community (Ware, 1997). Punishments were set for those who failed to observe these duties, such as fines or public penance. These regulations mirror those in other Orthodox Christian states, like Tsarist Russia, where religious attendance was legally enforced (Roudometof, 2001).

Article 67 outlined the clergy's duties in regulating public worship, especially in overseeing baptisms, marriages, and funerals. This underlined the clergy's institutional authority in both spiritual and legal matters. The clergy were expected to uphold moral standards and ensure religious practices conformed to Orthodox teachings. The Church thus shaped both the spiritual and legal framework of Montenegro (Kitromilides, 2013).

In terms of private worship, the *Zakonik* allowed personal devotion but placed limits to ensure alignment with communal obligations. Orthodox Christianity emphasized personal prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, but Article 68 ensured that private worship adhered to social norms. This reflects the Orthodox belief that private worship should not conflict with public religious duties (Ware, 1997).

Religious Law in Daily Life

Religious norms permeated daily life in Montenegro under the *Zakonik*, with religious obligations influencing various social and legal interactions. Sabbath observance was a key aspect, with Article 70 mandating that work cease on Sundays and religious holidays. This law reflects the broader Orthodox tradition that views Sunday as a day of rest and worship. Violations of this law were serious, with punishments such as fines or public penance (Roudometof, 2001). Fasting was also codified, with Article 71 requiring citizens to observe the major fasts of the Orthodox calendar, including Great Lent. The clergy oversaw these observances, and failure to comply could lead to penalties (Ware, 1997).

Religious law also influenced economic transactions and property law. Article 50 emphasized honesty in economic dealings, reflecting Christian teachings on fairness. The clergy played a role in overseeing

property disputes, ensuring transactions adhered to Orthodox principles. This integration of religious norms into economic life highlights the Orthodox view that all aspects of life should align with Christian ethics (Banac, 1984).

In summa, the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* reveals a legal system deeply intertwined with religious norms, where Orthodox Christian law governed nearly every aspect of life in Montenegro. From worship to economic transactions, the *Zakonik* ensured that religious obligations were not merely personal matters but integral to societal functioning. This close integration of religion and law illustrates the role of Orthodox Christianity in shaping Montenegro's legal and social order and reflects broader Balkan trends where religious identity was foundational to national governance (Morrison, 2009).

VI. Gender, Family, and Religion in Montenegrin Law

Orthodox Christian Views on Marriage and Family

The *Zakonik* provided the foundation for Montenegrin family law, which was deeply intertwined with Orthodox Christian views on marriage, family, and inheritance. Within Orthodox Christianity, marriage is not just a social contract but a sacrament, reflecting the relationship between Christ and the Church (Meyendorff, 1982). This religious perspective on marriage shaped the legal provisions of the *Zakonik*, which aimed to uphold the sanctity of marriage and the centrality of the family as the fundamental unit of society.

In the Orthodox Christian tradition, marriage is seen as a lifelong commitment that is entered into with the blessing of the Church. The *Zakonik* echoed this religious principle by codifying the requirement for all marriages to be conducted under the auspices of the Orthodox Church. Article 67 of the *Zakonik* stipulated that a marriage could not be legally recognized unless it had been solemnized by the Church, reflecting the Orthodox belief that marriage is a holy union requiring divine sanction (Danilo I, 1855). This provision highlights the extent to which religious norms were integrated into the legal framework, ensuring that family life in Montenegro was governed by Christian moral and ethical principles (Ware, 1997).

Divorce, on the other hand, was strictly regulated under both Orthodox canon law and the *Zakonik*, with limited grounds for dissolution of marriage. In Orthodox Christianity, divorce is permitted only under exceptional circumstances, such as adultery or abandonment, and this

religious restriction is mirrored in the legal code. Article 68 of the *Zakonik* permitted divorce only when a spouse had committed an act that violated the sanctity of the marital union, such as infidelity, desertion, or failure to uphold religious obligations (Danilo I, 1855). These grounds for divorce reflect the Orthodox view that marriage is indissoluble except in cases of grave moral failure, and the state was tasked with upholding this principle through legal means (Meyendorff, 1982). Inheritance law in Montenegro was similarly influenced by Orthodox Christian principles regarding the family and the transmission of property. Inheritance practices were designed to preserve family unity and continuity, with special emphasis on the role of the male heir. Orthodox Christian teachings on family life emphasize the responsibilities of children to honor and care for their parents, and this sense of familial duty extended into the legal regulation of inheritance (Roudometof, 2001). Article 50 of the *Zakonik* prescribed that male heirs were to inherit the family estate, reflecting both the patriarchal structure of Montenegrin society and the religious importance of preserving family property within the male line (Danilo I, 1855). However, daughters were not entirely excluded from inheritance; they could receive a portion of the family wealth, particularly if no male heirs were present. This balance between male primogeniture and the protection of female inheritance rights reflects the broader Orthodox Christian emphasis on family solidarity and the ethical treatment of all family members (Ware, 1997).

The Role of Women in Religious and Legal Contexts

The position of women in Montenegrin law, as defined by the *Zakonik Danila Prvog*, was shaped by Orthodox Christian teachings and the patriarchal social structure of 19th-century Montenegro. While women were afforded legal protections in areas like inheritance and family law, their roles were largely defined by their family status and adherence to religious norms. Their legal rights and responsibilities were tightly regulated by both the Church and the state, reflecting the Orthodox Christian view of women's roles as primarily domestic and supportive.

In Orthodox Christian thought, women are spiritually equal to men but have distinct roles in the family and the Church. This perspective influenced the legal framework of the *Zakonik*, which granted women certain rights, especially in inheritance, but reinforced their subordinate position in the patriarchal family. Article 53 allowed daughters to inherit property when no male heirs were present but emphasized that

their rights were secondary to those of their brothers (Danilo I, 1855). This reflects the Orthodox Christian view that women should be protected, but the family line is best preserved through male inheritance (Roudometof, 2001). Marriage and family law also emphasized women's roles as wives and mothers, mirroring Orthodox Christian teachings on their importance in nurturing the family. Article 67 required women to marry within the Orthodox Church and prioritized their duties to their husbands and children. This supported the Orthodox ideal of the family as a domestic church, where women ensured the family adhered to religious obligations (Kitromilides, 2013).

The *Zakonik* restricted women's autonomy in significant ways. Women's legal status was often tied to their relationships with male family members. For example, Article 72 required widows to remain under male guardianship if they chose not to remarry, reflecting the Orthodox Christian emphasis on male authority within the family. This provision underscores the patriarchal nature of Montenegrin society, where women's roles were defined by familial relationships and religious expectations of modesty and obedience (Meyendorff, 1982).

Christian Morality and Adultery

Adultery and sexual immorality were treated as serious offenses under the *Zakonik Danila Prvog*, reflecting Orthodox Christianity's strict moral codes. Adultery was not only a violation of marital vows but a grave sin against God, as marriage is viewed as a holy sacrament (Ware, 1997). The *Zakonik* mirrored this condemnation by prescribing severe punishments, especially for women, who were subject to harsher penalties due to their perceived role in preserving family honor.

Article 72 stipulated that a woman guilty of adultery could be divorced by her husband and stripped of her inheritance or property rights. This reflected the Orthodox view that sexual purity was essential, particularly for women, who upheld family honor and morality. A woman's infidelity was seen not only as a personal failing but a threat to the moral fabric of the family and community (Danilo I, 1855). This gendered approach to morality can also be seen in other Orthodox Christian societies, where women were often held to stricter standards due to their role in maintaining the sanctity of the family (Roudometof, 2001).

While men were also subject to penalties for adultery, they were treated more leniently. Article 73 allowed men to seek divorce if their wives were unfaithful, but men committing adultery faced less social

stigma and legal consequences. This double standard reflects the patriarchal nature of Montenegrin society, where men had greater authority, and women were expected to embody the moral values of the family (Morrison, 2009). However, the Church viewed male adultery as a serious sin, and men were often required to undergo public penance or seek absolution through sacraments.

The legal treatment of adultery in the *Zakonik* highlights the intersection of religious morality and social order. Adultery was seen not only as a sin but as a crime that disrupted the social hierarchy and threatened family cohesion. By codifying the punishment for adultery, the *Zakonik* ensured that Orthodox Christian values were upheld in both public and private spheres. This legal emphasis on morality reflects the broader role of the Orthodox Church in regulating behavior and maintaining a moral order linked to religious teachings (Kitromilides, 2013).

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog* reflects the deep integration of Orthodox Christian views on gender, family, and morality into Montenegro's legal framework. It upheld the sanctity of marriage, reinforced patriarchal family structures, and imposed strict moral codes, especially regarding sexual behavior. Women's legal rights were shaped by their family roles and adherence to religious norms, while adultery and other moral transgressions were treated as both legal and religious offenses. These provisions illustrate how religion, law, and gender were closely intertwined in Montenegrin society, reflecting Orthodox Christian values (Ware, 1997).

VII. Law, Religion, and National Identity: The Symbolism of Orthodox Christianity in Montenegrin Sovereignty

The *Zakonik* as a Tool of National Identity

The *Code of Danilo I* was not just a legal document but a critical tool for consolidating Montenegrin national identity during a period of significant pressure from surrounding empires. Montenegro was located between the Islamic Ottoman Empire to the south and east and the Catholic Austro-Hungarian Empire to the west, both of which heavily influenced the region (MacKenzie, 1996). Danilo I's legal code emphasized the role of Orthodox Christianity in fortifying Montenegrin identity, positioning it as the moral and cultural foundation that distinguished Montenegro from its neighbors. Orthodox Christianity had long been integral to the cultural fabric of Montenegro, uniting various

clans and communities under a shared faith and providing a source of resistance against foreign domination (Pavlowitch, 2000).

The establishment of Orthodox Christianity as the state religion, articulated in Article 92 of the *Zakonik*, was a clear assertion of Montenegrin sovereignty. This article declared Orthodox Christianity as the dominant faith, linking Montenegrin identity directly to the Orthodox tradition (Danilo I, 1855). By connecting national identity to religious faith, Danilo I emphasized that Montenegrin independence was deeply rooted in Orthodox Christianity. This was consistent with national identity movements in Greece and Serbia, where Orthodox Christianity was central to their national narratives (Kitromilides, 2013). This strategic use of religion distinguished Montenegro from its Islamic Ottoman and Catholic Austro-Hungarian neighbors. The *Zakonik* established Orthodox Christianity as the legal and moral standard for Montenegrin society, a deliberate move to fortify the country's independence from empires that threatened its sovereignty (Morrison, 2009).

Symbolic Use of Christianity in the Law

The symbolic and rhetorical use of Orthodox Christianity within the *Zakonik* elevated its legal authority and bolstered Danilo I's legitimacy as a ruler. The preamble of the code invokes Montenegro's long-standing resistance to Ottoman rule, linking survival to Christian faith (Bieber, 2003). It connects the legitimacy of the law to Montenegro's Christian identity, positioning Danilo I's reforms as a continuation of this divine mission (Pavlowitch, 2000). Furthermore, religious oaths played a significant role in judicial proceedings, as witnesses were required to swear before the altar or Bible, reinforcing the idea that legal authority was sanctioned by God. For example, Article 58 mandates that witnesses swear an oath before a priest to ensure truthful testimony (Danilo I, 1855). This practice tied the law to divine justice, legitimizing both the legal code and Danilo I's leadership (Radonic, 2000).

This symbolic use of Christian language and rituals in law was common in the formation of national identities across the Balkans. In Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria, religion was used to assert historical continuity and divine favor in their independence struggles (Kitromilides, 2006). In Montenegro, where national unity was crucial due to the state's small size, the fusion of legal authority and Orthodox Christian rhetoric was particularly effective in creating a cohesive national narrative (Jelavich, 1983).

Religion as Resistance to Ottoman Influence

The *Zakonik* played a crucial role in reinforcing Orthodox Christianity as a symbol of Montenegrin resistance to Ottoman influence. Montenegro faced continuous pressure from the Ottoman Empire, which controlled much of the surrounding region. Orthodox Christianity served as both a spiritual guide and a symbol of Montenegrin autonomy. The legal code used religious observance to assert Montenegrin distinctiveness, mandating, for instance, the observance of Christian holy days as outlined in Article 70 (Danilo I, 1855).

Montenegro's commitment to Orthodox Christianity was framed as a political act of defiance against the Ottoman Empire. Throughout the Balkans, Orthodox Christianity stood as a symbol of anti-Islamic identity, especially in countries like Serbia and Greece, which shared Montenegro's struggle against Ottoman domination (Kitromilides, 2006). The *Zakonik* mirrored this broader Balkan trend, positioning adherence to Orthodox Christianity as essential to Montenegrin survival. Furthermore, the *Zakonik* included provisions to penalize those who betrayed the Christian faith by collaborating with Ottoman officials. Article 73 prescribed severe punishments for individuals found guilty of aiding Ottoman authorities or undermining Montenegrin sovereignty, framing collaboration as both a religious and political betrayal (Danilo I, 1855).

Montenegro's reliance on Russia, another Orthodox Christian power, for support against the Ottoman Empire further solidified the connection between religion and national identity. Russia acted as a protector of Orthodox Christians in the Balkans, providing military and financial aid to Montenegro and other states resisting Ottoman rule (Roudometof, 2001). The *Zakonik* reflected this alliance by using Orthodox Christianity not only as a symbol of internal unity but also as a diplomatic tool. By aligning with Russia, Montenegro positioned itself within a larger Orthodox community, drawing strength from religious solidarity in its struggle for independence (Bieber, 2003).

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog* played a critical role in using Orthodox Christianity to fortify Montenegrin national identity and assert its independence from Ottoman and Catholic influences. By embedding religious values within the legal code, Danilo I created a system that was both legally authoritative and spiritually legitimized, reinforcing both his leadership and Montenegro's sovereignty. The use of Christian symbolism in the law and the emphasis on religion as resistance to Ottoman influence underscored the centrality of Orthodox Christianity in

constructing Montenegrin identity. This legal framework helped to create a unified and distinct national narrative, crucial to Montenegro's survival as a sovereign state.

VIII. Challenges and Conflicts: Tensions Between Religious Law and Secular Governance

Balancing Customary Law with Christian Doctrine

One of the major challenges Danilo I faced in codifying the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* was balancing traditional Montenegrin tribal customs with the Orthodox Christian values that the code sought to promote. Montenegro, like much of the Balkans, had long been governed by customary law, or *zadruga*, rooted in clan-based traditions and local tribal leadership. These customs were deeply ingrained in Montenegrin society, particularly in rural areas where tribal affiliations dictated land rights, conflict resolution, and social hierarchy (Pavlowitch, 2000).

Danilo I's effort to introduce a unified legal code, integrating Orthodox Christian principles, created tensions between religious law and these entrenched customs. While tribal customs were effective in small communities, they often clashed with Christian ethics, particularly on issues like blood feuds, honor killings, and inheritance practices. For instance, customary law allowed for vendettas as a means of settling disputes, a practice that directly contradicted Christian forgiveness and the *Zakonik's* focus on curbing violence (Bieber, 2003). The *Zakonik* addressed such conflicts by incorporating some customary elements into the legal system while aligning them with Christian principles. Article 39, for instance, outlawed blood feuds, mandating that disputes be resolved through legal channels instead of personal retribution (Danilo I, 1855). However, Danilo I was careful not to completely marginalize traditional clan leaders, maintaining their authority in adjudicating local disputes as long as their decisions conformed to Christian morality (MacKenzie, 1996).

Despite these efforts, resistance emerged from tribal leaders who viewed the centralized legal system as a threat to their authority. The tension was particularly evident in areas like marriage and inheritance, where Christian monogamy and equitable property division conflicted with clan customs favoring polygamy and patrilineal inheritance (Jelavich, 1983). Danilo I's challenge was finding a balance that respected the Orthodox Church's spiritual authority while acknowledging the tribal customs that had long governed Montenegrin society.

Religious vs. Secular Power Struggles

The tension between the Orthodox Church and secular authorities was another significant challenge during Danilo I's reign, particularly in the application of civil law under the *Zakonik*. Although Danilo I separated secular and ecclesiastical powers by taking the title of prince, the Church maintained considerable influence over both legal and social matters, particularly in marriage, family law, and moral conduct. This dual authority often led to conflicts between the Church's religious jurisdiction and the state's attempts to centralize civil governance (Roudometof, 2001).

A primary area of conflict was family law, where Orthodox teachings emphasized marriage as a sacrament under the Church's control. The *Zakonik* required Church-sanctioned marriages and permitted divorce only under exceptional circumstances, such as adultery or abandonment (Danilo I, 1855). Secular authorities, in their efforts to standardize legal processes, clashed with the Church, particularly in enforcing civil penalties for moral transgressions that the Church viewed as spiritual issues (Kitromilides, 2013). Ecclesiastical courts, with authority over moral conduct, created a parallel legal system, leading to confusion and conflict when Church rulings did not align with secular legal standards (Morrison, 2009).

Another source of tension arose from the Church's role in enforcing public morality. The *Zakonik* granted clergy authority to oversee religious observances and ensure adherence to Orthodox Christian teachings on issues like fasting and public decency. However, disputes arose when the state sought to impose legal penalties for non-compliance with these religious norms, reflecting broader struggles for control between religious and secular authorities (Banac, 1984).

Impact on Non-Orthodox Communities

While the *Zakonik Danila Prvog* reflected Orthodox Christian values, it also had implications for Montenegro's non-Orthodox populations, including Catholics and Muslims. Although Montenegro was predominantly Orthodox Christian, small communities of Catholics and Muslims lived within its borders, particularly near the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian territories. Article 93 of the *Zakonik* allowed non-Orthodox communities to live peacefully in Montenegro, provided they respected the law and did not challenge the Orthodox Christian character of the state (Danilo I, 1855). This was a form of conditional tolerance, where non-Orthodox communities were expected to operate

within the legal framework of the *Zakonik*, which often did not align with their religious customs or legal traditions (Kitromilides, 2006).

For example, Muslims in Montenegro could practice their faith privately but were subject to the Christian legal code in areas like marriage and inheritance, which often conflicted with Islamic law. Similarly, Catholics, particularly in the western regions near the Austro-Hungarian border, were required to follow the legal provisions of the *Zakonik*, even when these conflicted with Catholic canon law, creating tensions within these communities (Morrison, 2009).

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog* represented a significant step in formalizing Montenegrin law, but it also highlighted the inherent tensions between religious and secular governance and the challenges of integrating diverse legal and cultural traditions. Danilo I's efforts to balance tribal customs with Orthodox Christian values, manage conflicts between Church and state, and govern non-Orthodox communities under a predominantly Christian legal code underscored the complexities of state-building in 19th-century Montenegro.

IX. Conclusion

Summary of Key Findings

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog* embedded Orthodox Christian values into Montenegro's governance and national identity. By formalizing Christianity as the state religion and integrating it into areas such as family law, property rights, and public morality, the *Zakonik* reflected Montenegro's dual commitment to religious faith and sovereignty. Danilo I balanced Montenegro's traditional tribal customs with Christian values, incorporating aspects of *zadruga* (customary law), while curbing practices like blood revenge that conflicted with Christian forgiveness (Bieber, 2003). The *Zakonik* codified Christian morality into governance while preserving tribal cohesion essential for political stability.

The Orthodox Church played a significant role in the *Zakonik*. The Church's influence permeated the legal system, from judicial oaths to oversight of marriage and divorce, reinforcing the authority of both Church and state. The code also addressed non-Orthodox communities like Catholics and Muslims, allowing them to practice their religions but shaping their legal status within an Orthodox framework. The *Zakonik* was instrumental in solidifying Montenegrin identity amid pressures from the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. It positioned

Orthodox Christianity as a marker of cultural and political independence, with Christian language and imagery reinforcing Danilo's leadership and aligning Montenegrin law with divine will.

Broader Implications for Balkan History

The integration of religious values into secular governance, as seen in the *Zakonik Danila Prvog*, holds broader significance for understanding state-building and national identity across the Balkans. As Balkan nations sought independence from Ottoman rule, religion became crucial in constructing national identities. Orthodox Christianity was central to national narratives in Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria, legitimizing secular authority and resistance to the Ottomans (Kitromilides, 2013; Jelavich, 1983). In Montenegro, the *Zakonik* used Orthodox Christianity to reinforce legal structures and promote unity.

This integration also reflects broader Balkan state-building dynamics, where nations defined themselves against Ottoman Islamic governance and Western Catholic influences. By embedding Christian values into legal frameworks, nations like Montenegro distinguished their cultural and political identities from their neighbors. The *Zakonik* illustrates how these distinctions were codified, positioning Montenegro as a bastion of Orthodox values in a diverse region. The *Zakonik* also shows fluid boundaries between secular and religious authority, a recurring theme in Balkan legal histories (Roudometof, 2001).

Future Research Directions

This article suggests future research on legal codes across the Balkans in the 19th century. Comparing the *Zakonik* with frameworks in Serbia, Greece, or Bulgaria could illuminate how different states used religion to strengthen their legal systems and national identity. Another research area is women's roles under the *Zakonik*, exploring how laws on marriage, divorce, and inheritance shaped women's rights. Further study on legal developments after Danilo I, especially under Nikola I, could assess the continuity of these reforms and their influence on Montenegro's transition to a modern legal state.

The *Zakonik Danila Prvog* was a pivotal document in Montenegro's history, deeply integrating Orthodox Christian values into its legal and political structures. Its broader implications for Montenegrin national identity and Balkan legal history offer rich possibilities for further research and analysis.

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Reading the Shaping Effects of Myths on Society Around the Concept of Social Engineering: The Case of Altai Creation Myth

Abstract: *In this article, the Altai Creation Myth compiled by Wilhelm Radloff will be analyzed around the concept of social engineering used in social sciences. The aforementioned text was preferred because it is widely known and contains a wide process. In the light of the expressions in the myth text, it will be discussed whether the creators of this structure had any attempt to direct or shape the society. In the light of questions such as why myths are produced by the society, how they are used, how they affect the group structure, it will be questioned whether social control is attempted to be achieved and whether an engineering is applied to the society as a result. As a result of these discussions, myths will be read differently from an interdisciplinary perspective and the results of what kind of effects such products have on primitive people will be explained.*

Keywords: myth; Altai creation myth; social control; social engineering; folklore.

Introduction

Communities have internal and external factors in forming their unique characteristics. Group, people, community, society, nation, etc. united around a common goal. A number of elements that enable this unification of people called by many names or that distinguish them from other people have come from the past to the present. In the process of shaping the society, many internal and external factors such as geography, nature, climate, war, religion, education have been effective, while some of these factors have influenced spontaneous formation and change, while others have progressed under the leadership of a person or group around various benefits or interests. While there are many elements for influencing or being influenced in the limitlessness of communication possibilities for today's world, it can also be said that in the past, these had limited possibilities that could affect limited circles. At this point, it is clear that folklore elements are at the forefront in the formation of the unique characteristics of societies. Among these, social

norms such as traditions, customs, habits and customs can be considered to be priority areas, but it is possible to see the narratives created by oral culture in the basic structure that enables the formation and spread of these social norms. Therefore, myths in anonymous literature are important products for analyzing the shaping or engineering of society.

Societies have experienced transitions through the stages that constitute their unique structures in the time it has taken to reach their current state. While these transitions sometimes proceed around necessities in line with needs and conditions, sometimes they are realized with certain directions. The first term that comes to mind at the point of making these directives in a systematic way is social engineering. Social engineering can be defined as “a social discipline applied by states or any private structure/institution/individual; it can be expressed as the entire effort to influence social behaviors, attitudes and resources on a large scale.” (Oğuzcan, 2023, p. 52). The fact that the term engineering, which is a mechanical term, is mentioned in the social sciences inevitably creates the idea that this term is used to build a more technical structure. Of course, the systematic shaping of societies can be done around certain mathematical systems in today's world, but one of the most important fields that have helped to do this in a softer way from the past to the present is literature and art. At this point, social engineering can shape artistic activities, products, formations and the societies that produce and use them within their own world of ideas. “Social engineering has clear goals such as making changes in the demographic, social texture and historical structure of the society, directing and controlling its reactions, feelings, thoughts and desires. Within the framework of the task that we can call social engineering, the artist/writer also proposes models for the desired change and prepares the intellectual infrastructure in society.” (Kefeli, 2013, p. 28)

In general, it is quite natural that in addition to some works of art produced by societies with aesthetic concerns, products that are produced about issues of general interest and cost the public are also evaluated under this category. There is definitely a producer of these products before the anonymization process, and it is highly likely that these producers have produced these products according to the general opinion of that period or according to their needs and wishes. The fact that these products have been accepted by the majority and passed down to this day, even if their names are not known, is an indication that the ideas, feelings and expressions in the products are accepted or have

been accepted. Naturally, although it is not easy to demonstrate that this was done in a systematic way, it is seen that this was done with a systematic approach, especially in the genres created to exhibit the prototype, to show the exemplary structure, to convey the creation and to guide people with the reward-punishment mechanism, which we encounter in the readings around myths. At this point, the idea of keeping society under control is important for the purpose of managing the masses and keeping them together. At this point, the terms social control and propaganda, which are other auxiliary concepts that help to shape the individual and society according to the wishes, are also frequently used structures.

The concept of social control is a term used in many fields of social sciences and is generally used to shape the social structure, to keep the society away from determined bad practices or to direct the group where necessary. Social control is defined as the influence of society on the individual for certain behaviors, the regulation of the behavior of individuals and groups, the tools and situations used to maintain and maintain order or prevent deviant behaviors (Ün, 2022, p. 2). Social control is also a means for people to come together and effectively achieve a sense of unity. Individuals accept and internalize the rules that are prominent in the community they belong to in order to gain access to the layers that are considered valuable according to the rules of the community. Through social control, individuals learn and transmit social norms and become united with the group (Azimli & Coşun, 2023, p. 3). For this reason, social control is frequently used in the infrastructure as a means of enforcement in the social engineering structure. In general terms, it is seen as one of the main factors that ensure the control of the community within the framework of the rules determined in the operation of the reward-punishment mechanism.

Propaganda, another tool used to shape society, is one of the methods used both to manage the functioning of social control and to direct society more consciously and quickly towards the desired direction. "Propaganda is a conscious manipulation aimed at influencing individuals and controlling their behavior" (Atabek, 2003, p. 5). The most important constructive identity in the functioning of propaganda is the authorities. Structures that emerge from the social structure and become intellectual leaders in ensuring structures such as order, harmony, prosperity and continuity in social life are accepted as authorities (Büyükoğutan Töret, 2017, p. 199). Individuals, institutions, beliefs, etc. that are considered authorities can consciously direct people to their own

thoughts, ideas or actions in order to strengthen and maintain their power. This situation is transmitted to people from higher positions in turn, and a consensus is formed that spreads from the lowest to the highest level of society (Krech & Crutchfield, 1980, p. 279). Propaganda, which feeds and facilitates social control mechanisms that stand as auxiliary elements of social engineering in shaping and managing society, has been used effectively from the past to the present. From this point of view, it is possible to examine the situation of the use of propaganda with social control mechanisms in myths, which are the first oral narratives of humanity, both in terms of engineering moves that shape the society and adapt it to the desired structure, and in the emergence and maintenance of norms such as traditions, customs, beliefs and practices that will be accepted by the general public.

Prominent Functions of Myths as a Shaper of Society

Myths, which are the oldest of the oral culture products produced in human history from the primitive period until today, meet many needs of the society in general. As a result of the answers produced in the face of these needs, the function varies in the balance of need. Myths, which emphasize a few noteworthy points in the production of answers to the curiosity, fear, anxiety and expectations of primitive man, have generally emphasized the issues of scientific knowledge and belief, while influencing and shaping society through them.

When considering the connection between myths and scientific knowledge, it would be more accurate to adopt a perspective related to the contextual aspect and the requirements of the time, rather than a perspective in today's sense. Myths are clearly the result of the scientific curiosity of the primitive, especially in the sense that the structure that scientific knowledge responds to in today's sense helps to establish a cause-and-effect relationship in a more primitive way but with basically similar purposes. When we answer the questions of what, where, when, how, why and who in the context of today's experiments, observations and experiences, it is possible to say that primitive man sought answers to his inquiries out of fear and curiosity and found them in myths in a half-real, half-extraordinary way. At this point, myths are primitive man's interpretation and transmission of mysterious structures through symbols. In this way, it should be said that it not only makes sense of external events but also begins to form the meaning world of its own social structure and to ensure the formation of certain rules and acceptances (Bayat, 2005, p. 4). Although Malinowski (Malinowski,

1998, p. 103) defines myths as products that increase belief as well as daily utility rather than explanations aimed at satisfying scientific interest, even in doing so, the fact that myths seek answers to questions in general terms and establish rules as a result of reaching certain conclusions from there is a sign of an effort to make sense of the world and adapt to it. The fact that the human being who produces and uses myth has started to systematize all the important events that are important for his own life, no matter how small or big, to put them into rules, and his effort to make sense of the order around him has automatically brought him into the scientific framework (Eliade, 2001, p. 21). In this context, myths have a socially engineering and directing structure that shapes groups, societies and nations that enable the realization of shaping in the structure extending from individual to social.

When we look at the answers myths give to questions, it will be seen that the supernatural dominates. Of course, it is understandable that the production of knowledge is far from rationality in societies where the possibilities and methods within today's scientific framework are not developed. It is precisely here that the second area of emphasis of myths, belief and religious structure, emerges. When the groups that produced and used myths could not find a solution to their problems, they aimed to solve the problem by resorting to beings or entities whose existence is accepted in the transphysical structure. The main reason why the belief structure is so dominant in myths is perhaps the helplessness brought about by the limited possibilities here. As a result, primitive man tried to make his daily life more meaningful by involving extraordinary structures in order not to leave questions unanswered.

The connection of myths with belief and religion is one of their most important functions. Myths have been the answer to many questions as a result of the need to believe in the process of making sense of the world, especially for primitive man. Not only does it create a sense of curiosity, but it also supports various rituals and belief elements while providing social order by showing the influence of today's religions with this feature (Malinowski, 1998, p. 103). However, it is also clear that among the belief systems in primitive times, myths clearly did not constitute as systematic a structure as they do today. Of course, myths had some sanction or influence for the groups that knew and accepted this, but myths were more of a guiding principle in terms of giving meaning to the actions taken and providing a benefit in terms of foreseeing what might happen (Park & Burgess, 2017, p. 117). Thanks to their structures that can be evaluated from different perspectives,

myths stand out and are used philosophically as a source of scientific knowledge and religiously as an example of the world of images, symbols and icons that convey the origin of life (Sivri, 2022, p. 51). From this point of view, it is known that myths are valuable in terms of belief for the societies that accept and use them in the process from ancient man to the present day, that they create various taboos, and that they also show people the aspects they should pay attention to in their lives as a guide. In fact, when this belief structure of myths is considered as a religion for certain societies, it forms the infrastructure of various beliefs in the process that remains to this day. Although the new religions replacing the old religions push them back, the minds of the people cannot act so quickly and sharply. For this reason, it is possible to see the returns of the myth world in social norms such as traditions, customs and traditions in the formation of folk beliefs in social memory (Azimli & Coşun, 2023, p. 9). One reason why myths have such a contemporary impact is that they have fundamentally similar functions to the religious beliefs prevalent today. In order to make sense of the unknown world or the divine world, myths had the same purpose, just as today's religions provide examples or symbols. In both structures, the scarcity of explicit knowledge is striking, but the aim is to provide it through symbols and symbols that rely on interpretation to reach the truth (Bayat, 2005, p. 79). As a result of all this, myths form not only the belief structure of the individual world but also the belief structure of social groups and nations, affecting their lives and even shaping them clearly. The narratives that enter the mind through these texts settle here and help shape the lives of the believers, form the behavioral patterns of the group, help the authorities to gain administrative power or help people to shape themselves by entering into certain expectations (Göka, 2006, p. 63-64).

Social studies have shown that the shaping of humanity goes back to prehistoric times, when various ideas were given to society, and society was guided and changed (Oğuzcan, 2023, p. 53). The consciousness of being a group has been effective in the transition of people from individual to social structure, which means not only a certain mass, but also a group of people gathered around common goals and accepting similar things (Kağıtçıbaşı & Cemalcılar, 2014, p. 271). As can be understood from this definition, in order to become a group, the commonalities of the community need to be found or produced. This is where social forming or engineering comes into play. The ability to manage or control the shaped society from a point can also be realized with the

help of similar tools. Myths have become a shaping element as a result of these functions they fulfill in the societies they live in. It can be seen that society is also shaped in the light of different factors with myths becoming a guide or model by setting an example for people (Eliade, 2001, p. 12). Myths help people understand the relationship between the present and the past in their mental perception, and they are also products that can be examined in terms of seeing the formation codes of a community in a cultural sense. They are ideal narratives in terms of understanding the transformation, change and shaping of the cultural heritage of the community of interest from past to present (Sivri, 2022, p. 50). Through the example of the Altai creation myth, the elements that shaped and guided the lives of the Turks in the primitive period will be examined and the questions of how oral culture products can be used in terms of social engineering and whether it is possible to direct communities in the desired way will be addressed.

The Impact of the Altai Creation Myth in Shaping and Controlling Society

The Altai creation myth is an important piece of Turkish culture that has survived from the first examples of oral culture. This text, which has all the general characteristics of myths, basically describes the creation of the universe, the world and human beings, and conveys a series of events between God and Devil (Erlik) around the conflict of good and evil. A closer look at the structure of the text reveals messages and directions given to both individuals and society. At the same time, it is seen that the text makes certain contributions in order to find answers to the questions in the minds of primitive people. At this point, two main points will be mentioned in the analysis of the text in terms of social engineering. The first of these is the commands and prohibitions or recommendations put forward socially on the basis of belief, their transmission structure and their impact on social transformation, and the second is how the society is shaped around a certain view while accumulating knowledge with the answers given to the questions about what and how to satisfy the sense of curiosity of primitive people.

Myths show their most dominant characteristic feature by carrying the elements of belief within the social structure. This makes them not just ordinary narratives, but guiding texts that shape society's need to believe and help it develop in certain situations. In particular, they enable the formation of many basic principles such as aspirations, expectations, beliefs, ideologies and morals, not of individuals, but rather

of society or, in other words, of a collective structure. For this reason, the ceremonial, ritualistic structure of the first myths stands out in a very dominant way (Bayat, 2005, p. 7). Societies that come together on the axis of belief and use the myth as a guiding light constitute the group structure in social sciences. For communities shaped around group consciousness, the guiding elements such as leader, sacred text, symbolic structure, etc. are unchangeable, tabooed and obligatory to be accepted. Myths are one of the effective elements that enable primitive human groups to stay together, and through them, society can be shaped in line with the wishes of the dominant structure or within the scope of the group's effective power (Kağıtçıbaşı & Cemalcılar, 2014, p. 271-272). In this context, the Altai creation myth provides examples of good and evil, right and wrong, reward and punishment, or in today's common usage, good deeds and sins, for the communities that accept it.

Although the Altai creation myth appears to be a dualistic system, the phrase “True God” emphasized at the beginning reveals the existence of a unidirectional power while emphasizing the inadequacy of the power of others.

“...A wind came up, boiling the waters
He (Devil) angered God by splashing it on his face
He (Devil) thought mankind had become one with it
I have become very powerful, I have become superior to God...”
(Ögel, 2010, p. 451)

The state of showing superiority emphasized in this passage shows us the first signs of the character structure of the man who will turn into Erlik (Devil) in the rest of the text. Attitudes such as angering God and considering oneself superior to God are clearly an indication of a mistake on the plane of belief. With the emphasis here on the superiority of God, the punishment for angering God is revealed in the following section and constitutes the basic theme of the myth.

In certain parts of the text, God's characteristics are presented to people in the form of intermediate sentences. Instead of presenting them as a list in order, the text relates them to the subject matter wherever necessary and draws the boundaries of human daily life at certain points. The belief that God sees, hears and knows everything, which are also seen in the Abrahamic religions today and which serve to keep the society under control, are also given in the text, thus ensuring that the belief world and social life of primitive people proceed in a certain order. In total, six characteristics are presented as attributes of God. These six characteristics are still valid in today's beliefs. These are: God is

everywhere, God knows everything, God commands and is obeyed, God is the only and most powerful, God is forgiving, God sees everything.

(God is everywhere)

“Oh, I'm saved from God,” he thinks.

He looked around and found God ready” (Ögel, 2010, p. 452).

....

(God knows everything)

“No one knows what God's thought was

So that the descendants may be descended, he gave orders like this”

(Ögel, 2010, p. 453).

....

(God Commands and is obeyed)

“We eat from these branches, God commanded it,

We are his servants, our God said so

God told us to see these four branches

Don't eat any of it, don't touch your lips” (Ögel, 2010, p. 454).

....

(God is only and the most powerful)

“Hearing Mandı Şire, God stood up and said:

“Fear not, O Mandı-Şire, there is none stronger than me.”

(Ögel, 2010, p. 459).

....

(God is forgiving)¹

“God said, laughing: Take this place,

No more than the tip of the stick” (Ögel, 2010, p. 461).

....

(God sees everything)

“My eyes see all goodness

And I never lose sight of them, wipe their evil” (Ögel, 2010, p. 463).

These emphasized characteristics are similar to contemporary belief systems and reflect the perception that it is not possible to do anything hidden from God. This is inevitably a useful way of showing that individuals are socially monitored, that what they do is recorded, and that somehow they will be punished or rewarded for it. The emphasized perception of surveillance is also an indication that religion is used as an important tool of control. Especially for individuals who are more

¹ It is possible to see his forgiveness in three places in the text. Despite Devil's evil deeds, it is seen that he forgives him three times and gives him a chance. The first time was after he took soil in his mouth and tried to create soil for himself, the second time after he deceived man, and the third time, as in the example given here, although his whole order was destroyed, he still gave him a place from his own floor. The similarity between the idea of “God's right is three”, which still exists among the people today, and the trinity here is also striking.

sensitive on the axis of belief, it is easier to ensure that they comply with certain social rules by utilizing this aspect, which is why religion/faith is a good social control tool from past to present (Azimli & Coşun, 2023, p. 2). These characteristics given about God will pave the way for the formation of a certain social structure in the new world perception formed in people's minds, as well as paving the way for self-control. In the society to be shaped in terms of social engineering, belief systems provide both internal and external control. The characteristics attributed to God also serve the functions of easy control of the community and removal of deviant behaviors, which are aimed by social control mechanisms. Individuals who want to be included in the group during the socialization process accept this text as an example and sacred text and begin to apply what is described here to their own lives. These characteristics of God prevent the person from doing wrong by dragging him/her into an internal conflict, and enable the society to gain the right to judge and decide on the person's actions. Thus, by showing the limits of what is right, the socialization process is paved the way for the socialization process to proceed faster by forming the concept of conscience, which will not only control the person with a social structure but also control himself/herself (Özdemir, 2023, p. 43; Azimli & Coşun, 2023, p. 8-9).

After this general information about God at the beginning, the text sends a direct message to humans and categorizes them. This categorization is related to the choice of being a party to the God-Erlik (Devil) struggle. In the following words spoken by God, certain rules are laid down around the emphasis on good and bad people:

“With your evil thought, now you have become a sinner
 You filled me with bad feelings for evil
 May your people always keep it in you
 So be it with them, as you've told me.
 My people, on the other hand, always think clean
 Their eyes see the sun, their souls are bright
 ...
 Let those who hide crimes from me be your people
 Let the sinful ones be your property
 Let him who escapes your guilt come and serve me
 Let him who hides his sin come and take refuge in me” (Ögel, 2010, p. 452).

This section, where the conflict between God and Erlik is seen most clearly for the first time while the shape of sinfulness is described, is a warning for the societies using the text. While elements such as bad

thinking, evil, hiding crimes are seen as signs of sinfulness, qualities such as clean thinking, emphasis on light, and staying away from the devil are listed as signs of being a good person. The engineering structure used to shape the society has especially activated social control mechanisms here. The main function of social control is to prevent behaviors that are seen as deviations and to develop attitudes against them. This is the ideal method both to reduce the conflict between individuals and to ensure that they can integrate more easily into society (Azimli & Coşun, 2023, p. 5). “Social control defines people's deviant behavior. Social control facilitates the identification of a behavior as deviance. Deviance can be expressed as norm violation. Social control does not identify with all processes that contribute to order, but with limited efforts to respond to deviant behavior.” (Özdemir, 2023, p. 43). As can be seen in the passage, it is not aimed to bring order to an entire social structure, but simply to plant the concepts of good and evil in the minds of the society with a simple classification. As a result, the people who use the text are guided by explaining what deviant behaviors are, as well as the opposite situations.

In the following parts of the text, the characteristics of God and the things to be possessed or avoided in order to be close to him are frequently repeated in the same order. One of the points that is particularly emphasized is the idea that things that are bad, ugly, irregular, broken, defective, incomplete or naked in appearance are not good, are not approved by God and should be avoided:

“A tree left naked, without a limb.
Not pleasing to the eyes, unpleasant to look at!” (Ögel, 2010, p. 453).

...
“In this very age, people were hairy
When they tasted this fruit, the hairs fell out.
Both of them were left hairless, clothesless, naked.
They were embarrassed and looked for a place to hide.” (Ögel, 2010, p. 456).

...
“Before this there was neither rock nor stone in the world,
Nor was there a towering mountain like now
The devil's been fighting with fragments falling from the heavens
The world has become mixed with rocks and stones
The world is full of mountains and hills
The mountains became steep and steep with slopes all around
What happened to our world when it was flat
This is how God's creation was ruined” (Ögel, 2010, p. 460).

These three passages from the text are generally sufficient to understand the emphasis on corruption throughout the text. Although the text can be read as an exemplary narrative based on the creation of human beings and objects in the world and the realization of the first sin, when we look at the sub-meanings, with the help of repeated perceptions such as nudity, ugliness, deformity, it performs a mind coding to the society and emphasizes that such situations are negative, bad or the work of Devil. For this reason, social engineering is practiced by equating going naked, disrupting order and opposing the existing order with sin and Devil. For those who see the text as a part of their daily lives, it becomes a list of do's and don'ts. Faith is known to be one of the most important factors in determining the general structure of elements with harsh sanctions such as traditions, customs and regulations in the formation of social norms. The interaction between beliefs and norms also affects the formation of the cultural and historical identity of the society (Park & Burgess, 2017, p. 143). And it is with this kind of list that the foundation of the mold forms of social norms is laid.

The Altai creation myth emphasizes some of the issues in people's daily lives and puts forward behaviors that are accepted or rejected within the framework of good deeds and sins as warnings from the divine power. It includes the idea that these are based on the perception of collaborating with Devil, or that those who do these things become open targets of Devil and become alienated from God by taking his side. Erlik's request for humans and God's refusal to accept this and Erlik's actions to take humans are presented as examples in this respect:

“...I also robbed, deceived and stole again
I even dropped the one who ran away on a horse.
I put mischief in the heart of those who drink raki.
I took the life of the man who fought with man.
And I will take the minds of those who enter the water,
I'll dunk you in the water and take your life!
Those who climb the tree, those who climb the rock,
I'll slip him off his feet and throw him to his death.” (Ögel, 2010, p. 457-458).

In this passage, when we look at what devil does, we will see that some of the behaviors that will cause the breakdown of social order are listed. While stealing, drinking, fighting seem to be the most critical of these, warnings are also given to people on an individual basis, emphasizing the idea that one should be careful when entering water and be cautious when climbing high places. Even today, when we look at the

beliefs about water, trees and mountains in folk beliefs that exist in daily life, the idea that there are situations that should be cautious continues. The text shows the effect of the elements mentioned here on Erlik, who does the same, in the following section. The death of the people called the devil's people by being thrown out of the sky happened by fulfilling some of the conditions mentioned above. Some of them drown in the water, some of them fall to their deaths from the top of a tree, some of them hit a stone and in this way Erlik's people are seen to be destroyed, again emphasizing the sub-meaning of how careful one should be when saying or doing something. The effects and reactions of actions are carried out in such a way that they are reciprocal, which dictates both the idea that God is just as an attribute and that society should be careful in its actions.

In the later parts of the text, it also gives messages about the emergence of certain taboos and what are the unforgivable crimes. Especially in the part where God disconnects from humanity, his words to the helper spirits can be seen as socially formative. These words to a helper spirit named Şal Yime are as follows:

“You protect people, who die a good death,
I won't accept anyone who kills himself
To serve God, to serve the Khan
To fight and die in battle, to die in service
You gather people to bring them to me.” (Ögel, 2010, p. 463).

Suicide is the most important prohibition in this section on the afterlife. Killing oneself is shown as a situation that is absolutely unacceptable to God, but another point that is particularly emphasized in the section on deaths is the criteria of service to God, service to the ruler, and service to the country, which are presented as good deaths or acceptable reasons for death. This section clearly exemplifies the concept of propaganda, which is still used as the most effective tool for social engineering, and how society is manipulated through its use. Propaganda, although it seems to be a term of today's society, it is accepted that it has been used since the period when the word was effective in the historical process (Atabek, 2003, p. 5). At this point, in societies where the shaping effect of belief is strong, propaganda is used by the person, institution, thought or belief, which is usually the ruler or leader or authority of that society, rather than a collective structure in the social sense, to direct the society for a certain interest or situation. And it does this by creating taboos, by leading people away from them or to do the

opposite (Park & Burgess, 2017, p. 143). When we look at the text, while death is forbidden as a personal choice, it has turned into a celebrated event when it is for God, then for the political power holder and then for the homeland. The message given to the society is clearly that it is acceptable and even good to die for the ruling class. In this way, while the masses are forbidden from killing themselves, they are willing to die at the behest or request of someone else. Later on in the text, even the existence of God is attributed to the existence of the Khan, and a kind of cult of the holy leader is created by saying, “So that the Great God may be at the head of the Khan”. This inevitably develops a certain pressure and compulsion on the people, and can be interpreted as meaning that what is done to the leader is considered to be done to God, that one must obey him or her and even die for him or her when necessary. As a result, such discourses, which can be used for propaganda purposes, can turn into a structure that forces people to do even the things they do not want to do by putting them under mental pressure (Büyüko-kutan Töret, 2017, p. 199). The fact that this kind of emphasis is made towards the end of the text reveals that social engineering, social control mechanisms and propaganda are used effectively in myth texts. It is also possible to see a similar structure in another section:

“You will always remember my name when your body is strong
 Don't make someone else do it, as long as you know the bad thing
 Equal inheritance for all
 May orphans benefit, may they find equality with all
 ...
 Everything went well, by God's word,
 Everything went well, with God's advice
 ...
 Do not go out of the way, learned from God
 This is the origin of power, coming to us from God” (Ögel, 2010, p. 464-465).

As can be seen, while emphasizing the world order, it is advised to maintain the order and never go out of the way or even resist authority. As a worldly practice, it is emphasized that inheritance should be shared equally, behaviors that would lead to injustice should be avoided, or that one should not impose on others what one has not done on oneself. The main reason for this is that the order of belief also affects social custom and this is of key importance for the survival of society. In the line from the holy being to the holy person to the holy state, disobeying any of these means not fulfilling one's responsibility to the

top (Park & Burgess, 2017, p. 118). At this point, it can be seen that individual control becomes easier in the process of shaping society and that people are forced to put themselves into certain molds both from the outside and from their minds. While the person is asked to accept these unconditionally, the fact that there is no possibility to reject them is supported by putting a full stop at the end with the previously given parts.

Myths, even though they are commonly faith-based elements and try to offer something to the society in this way, they also enable primitive people to form their mind world and continue their daily life by showing the source of the things they do not know. The situation to be mentioned here does not correspond to scientific knowledge in today's sense, but it is a knowledge structure that was created to enable primitive man to understand things more easily and to live properly by answering questions such as how, why and what. In this context, it seems possible for primitive man to make sense of himself, his environment and what is happening with the help of myths and to shape, direct and control culture and life in social terms.

Myths automatically constitute a mass of information in terms of their content in terms of telling the beginning/creation. As a whole of answers to the questions of primitive man about the creation of the place where s/he lived, himself/herself and his/her environment, shaped around the sense of curiosity, myth texts have met the need to know for many years. This is the case not just for one nation, but for all ancient societies, and in a cumulative mass, it affects even today. "The fact that myths are transformed and repeated in literary works is an indication that humanity and the depths of the human soul are based on a common past. In other words, we can easily say that myths are a universe and human design and software. They are almost a database and are passed down from generation to generation through software updates by accumulating data." (Sivri, 2022, p. 50). The accumulation of knowledge created by myths is still encountered in oral culture products that continue today as folk beliefs and in narratives among the people. In the Altai creation myth, the creation of many elements from the universe to human beings, from landforms to animals is described. From the beginning of the text, it is possible to see the process of creation in order. First of all, the answer to the question of what existed when there was nothing is given as follows:

"When the earth was the land, it was covered with water
There was no sky, no moon, no sun, no place" (Ögel, 2010, p. 451).

The idea that water is the beginning of everything has been a subject that has attracted the curiosity of primitive people as well as philosophical debates around the world, and the text given here tries to provide an answer. Then it is explained how the earth was created for human beings. This is one of the parts of the text where the conflict of good and evil begins, because man wants to create a place for himself and for this purpose he takes soil from the bottom of the water and brings it for himself, but since man is not God, the created place almost kills him.

“Man said: -O God, I have thought of my share,
I took some soil in my mouth, thinking I would have a place,
God shouted to mankind: -Spit
Mankind spat and the spittle scattered the earth.
When the earth was flat, it wrinkled and suddenly withered
It's like the hills and mountains are full of places that are over.” (Ögel, 2010, p. 453).

In this section, the text answers two questions, “How did the earth come into being? How did the mountains and hills come into being?” As noted in the section on beliefs, the smooth, good and beautiful things were created by God, while the bad, ugly and deformed things were made by Erlik. Here it is clearly seen that man is a being who destroys the smoothness of the world. By furthering this evil, he will turn into Erlik. As a result of this information, the message of the text to those concerned is clear. Going against God's wishes and doing other things will lead to disruption of order and will cause you to go out of the way and become evil. As a result of the structure of choosing sides given with this information in terms of social shaping, both the sense of curiosity was satisfied and the main structure of the myth, faith, was emphasized. After the creation of the world, it is the turn of human beings and the human race came to life with the greening of the ugly tree without branches and knots that God saw.

“Let nine people be made, from the root of nine branches
May nine clans be derived, from the essence of nine people” (Ögel, 2010, p. 453).

For the Turks, the idea of descending from a tree contributed to the tree being considered sacred, and was effective in primitive man's connection of himself with another being. When we look at the mythologies of nations, the idea that different beings are chosen as ancestors

and that the lineage comes from there is still actively valid today. In the later parts of the text, the conflict between good and evil is clearly evident. It is imprinted in the minds that everything good comes from God and everything bad is produced by Erlik. Not only this, but the idea of being on God's side or on Erlik's side, which is dominant in terms of belief, is also clearly revealed. For example, the transformation of the snake into an evil animal is due to the fact that it disobeys God and helps Erlik, while the fertility of the woman is given as a punishment for the same reason.

“Hearing this, God once said to the snake:
O serpent, from now on be the Devil himself
Let a human enemy kill you and take your life
“Be the symbol of evil and let your name remain so.”

...

“From now on, it will always be women who give birth
The pains and agonies of childbirth will suffocate you” (Ögel, 2010, p. 456-457).

As a result of this answer to the question of why the snake is a feared and evil creature and why the woman gives birth, a certain stereotype has been derived in the minds of the society. In today's Turkish folk beliefs, the snake is still seen as an evil, dirty and feared creature, and there are many narratives about demons disguised as snakes. Likewise, in determining the place of woman in society, her being coded as a being who attracts humanity to sin and who defies God by committing the first sin is one of the inferences from this narrative to the present day. The information given about the universe, the world, the creation of human beings, and the creation of various animals after the creation of human beings is of a kind that will be effective in controlling social memory. After giving Erlik the power to create, the beings created by Erlik are as follows: snake, bear, pig, albis , shulmus , camel, kordoy , yalban (Ögel, 2010, p. 462).² As can be seen, the animals created here are, in general terms, creatures that either have a bad appearance in terms of appearance or have become feared in a way that harms human beings with their actions. At the same time, the fact that different spirits that bring evil and harm to people are also mentioned here emphasizes that Erlik has a share in the evils of not only the earthly but also the transphysical structure. For this reason, people are afraid of these beings and when they encounter them, they engage in a struggle as if they were

² Albis, Shulmus, Kordoy and Yalban are evil spirits and animals created by the devil.

fighting Erlik. It is clear that the effect of the group that produces and uses information is to control the masses through various manipulations in the form of propaganda and to create friends or enemies (Oğuzcan, 2023, p. 55). This section, which describes the creation of the animals that human beings see around them, also explains the causes of the problems that plague individuals and societies, such as poverty, disease and death. By indicating the place to be close to if one moves away from God, people are prevented from objecting in such situations. For this reason, when people encounter such situations, they demand to get rid of it somehow by doing different practices according to the collective consciousness in order to achieve social relief. From this point of view, the formation of social norms such as various practices, rituals and traditions are used to ensure that the group structure becomes deep-rooted and permanent. In general terms, the formation and transmission of norms is realized through unconscious influence and the power of narratives rather than a conscious structure. This transmission is passed down from generation to generation through oral communication rather than one-to-one experience (Özcan, 1998, p. 49).

Knowledge is a power in itself in every period. While knowing knowledge is useful for solving problems, in the case of knowledge learned through verbal transmission, power is shared between the transmitter and the knowledge. If the narrator is an entity recognized as an authority by the society, the accuracy of the narrated information is less questioned, while the identity of the narrator is given more importance by the society. This is one of the important points of oral culture. After a while, the transmitted information is questioned as to whether it comes from a strong source or a weak source. In this case, the power of information shifts to the transmitter and it is no longer important what is said but who says it. This accelerates the dissemination of information, makes it easier to accept and harder to reject. As a result, the person who transmits the information can manage and direct the society in the way they want. Although this situation seems to have been broken during the Renaissance period, when philosophy or reason came to the fore in modern societies, it would not be wrong to say that it continues today.

“Living myths”, as Eliade calls them, are exemplary, meaningful and valuable mediums because they are recognized as true stories in their own time (Eliade, 2001, p. 11). Since these myths are accepted as real, they rank high as a source of information for primitive people. As a result, the validity of the answers to the questions asked is at a high

level, making them easy to accept. Myths, which also have an effective structure in terms of belief, have consequently become a symbol of unconditional acceptance by taking on a structure that is not accepted to be questioned. For primitive humans, accepting what is described here, whether in terms of belief or knowledge, is a convenience because they do not have to think about these things and can continue their daily lives in a more relaxed way and know what to do and what not to do by creating ready-made assumptions. Authorities who want to shape society can use these texts by using social engineering as a guiding force. By evaluating, interpreting or changing the content of the texts according to their own needs, they gain the power to direct societies in the desired direction. It is important to remember that these pieces, which are available in written form today, existed orally at the time they were produced and consumed, and were open to changes. Basically, the main axis of many instruments used to shape society is to minimize disruptions in society, facilitate administration, and eliminate or prevent abnormalities (Ün, 2022, p. 3). As a result, myths have been used as useful instruments in times and groups where the oral culture environment is active in order to create the system deemed necessary.

Conclusion

The oral culture period of human history is still ongoing. Even though new cultural environments develop, the power of the word maintains its dominance in certain societies and is included in life. When considered on the basis of the analyzed text, it will be seen that myth texts are structures that can be used with different functional codes due to their layered structures. In the control of authorities who produce, transmit and recreate myths through the sacred power of the oral word, narratives can turn into regulatory, controlling, enforcing and restrictive instruments. In the specific case of the Altai creation myth, it can be said that this is the beginning of one of the steps in the cultural development of the Turkish community. While the journey of the universe, the world and human beings is conveyed, the rules about the dynamics around which the order should be shaped are also internally processed as cultural codes.

Social engineering was theoretically established in the 19th century, but it is possible to understand through myths that different instruments have been used in practice to form societies since the primitive period. The main purpose of social engineering is to create a structure that is more easily managed around certain patterns by directing society

in the desired way. Today, while these directions are made through mediums such as television and the internet, it is quite natural that in the past this was done through oral culture products. The important thing is to ensure communication, to transfer information and thus to create a uniform public coming out of one place. As a result of the text analysis, it is possible to say that myth texts, which are considered sacred and have enforcement power, are used as a solution to the difficulties experienced in the governance of nomadic communities such as the Turks. Communities, although they create certain systems around their own cultural codes, the power of impact of myths is similar, fulfilling the needs of primitive people and gathering them around certain commonalities. The Altai Turks have been under the influence of many different beliefs in the historical process and have had to live under the pressure of other nations. As a result, it can be observed that there are periodic updates in their oral narratives. The Altai creation myth realizes this by revealing the God-Erlik conflict and the choice it offers to the members of the community. When different variants of the text are examined around this myth, it is also possible to see that different directions are realized by adding and removing the desired structures as a result of changing times and conditions. This creation myth compiled by Radloff also proves how this community was guided by the authorities through the information it provides on the direction of the lifestyle of the Altai Turks in the early periods. As a result, it is possible to see and examine a similar situation in the myths of different nations. For this reason, myths are among the first practical examples of social engineering.

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Geographies of sharing and the East/West divide in Europe. The case of HomeExchange¹

Abstract: *Sharing economy supposed to be a current global, or at least Western, phenomenon, running across geographic, nation or culture borders. In the globalized world, everybody with the access to the Internet can participate in sharing economy platforms. This article shows that this is not the case even within the West, more specifically Europe. The text argues that the participation in the hospitality platforms follow old political, geographical and culture borderlines in Europe. The authors use the example of HomeExchange.com, a hospitality platform built on the sharing economy business model, to show that contemporary hospitality networks might reproduce the old borderlines and culture divides.*

Keywords: sharing economy; Europe; Eastern Europe; Western Europe; hospitality tourism; HomeExchange.

Introduction

Globalisation with increasing connectivity and mobility was supposed to create a homogeneous world culture and de-territorialise economic, political, and culture relations (Paasi, 1998). Large-scale social changes triggered by globalisation, as well as postcolonial and post-modern sensibilities in anthropology, contributed to increasing attention to instability, fluidity and destabilisation of boundaries. The discourses of transnationalism and translocality emphasize the porous character of boundaries and cross-border movements of objects

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and people (Vertovec, 2001; Hedberg & Do Carmo, 2012; Budilová & Jakoubek 2014). The image of bounded cultures and communities has been replaced by the idea of grey zones (Frederiksen & Knudsen, 2015; Green, 2015) or ambiguity (Green, 2005). However, the space has not become irrelevant even in the globalized world of accelerated change and increased connectivity. Instead, it has been, as Gupta and Ferguson (1992, p. 9) argued, *reterritorialized* in a completely different way. Recent works at the intersection of anthropology and geography focusing on the relationship of identity and place develop concepts like “edginess”, referring to not so much a place, but to a way of being (Harms et al., 2014), or “pathways” denoting a flow of trade, people, or stories, embedded in a particular landscape and topography (Saxer, 2016).

However, boundaries still matter in the globalized world. In the “overheated” phase of globalisation (Eriksen, 2016), with the accompanying tensions, conflicts and frictions, there are also novel forms of boundary making, as boundaries may be also re-stabilised (Eriksen & Schober, 2016, p. 9). As Eriksen (2019) points out, while cultural meanings and values mix, group identities and boundaries persist. Renewed anthropological interest in space and place led to re-evaluation of the idea of cultural difference. Even though the local places are becoming more blurred, *ideas* of culturally and ethnically distinct places become perhaps more salient (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 10). S. Green’s notion of cross-locations (Green, 2015) shows how any place can form part of several entities.

Home exchange, a way of travel when people swap their homes temporarily using digital platforms as a mediator, appears in the academic literature most often as a phenomenon of the sharing economy, or as an example of “alternative” tourism. Both perspectives stress the environmental and social sustainability and suggest that it implies a new economic model with the power to reshape our social, economic and political interactions. Sharing economy and participatory culture seem to be open to anyone with an access to the Internet in the contemporary globalised culture. However, the participation in the sharing economy is still not spread worldwide, and differs even within the “Western world”. This paper investigates the geography of sharing economy within Europe, taking home exchange phenomenon as a case point. We will show that there are significant differences in the participation in sharing economy across Europe and these new divides often follow old culture boundaries.

Sharing economy as a subject of social science research

Research on sharing economy has focused on its economic and social impact, legal and regulatory aspects, user motivations and characteristics of the participants, or the functioning of particular platforms. Much has been written on the general characteristics of the sharing economy model (Botsman & Rogers, 2010; Belk, 2014a, 2014b; Slee, 2015; Lang et al., 2020; Česnuitytė et al., 2022). Many researchers have studied hospitality networks as a unique business model, focusing on its economic, legal and regulatory aspects (Grit & Lynch, 2011; Russo & Quaglieri Domínguez, 2016; Sigala, 2017; Crommelin et al., 2018; Gupta et al., 2019; Lang et al., 2020; Casado-Díaz et al., 2020). Also, individual platforms using the sharing economy model have been studied, such as Couchsurfing (Decrop et al., 2018), AirBnb (Crommelin et al., 2018), or various home exchange sites (DeGroote & Nicasi, 1994; Grit & Lynch, 2011; Forno & Garibaldi, 2015; Sdrali et al., 2015; Russo & Quaglieri Domínguez, 2016).

Many researchers have examined the motivations to participate in the sharing economy. Kim et al. (2018) studied the motivation of CouchSurfing providers to help strangers, and ask why hosts help strangers even though there is no expected economic benefit. Lang et al. (2020) stress the importance of studying both types of one-sided users of sharing economy platforms: consumers and providers. They specifically focus on the motivations of both consumers and providers to adopt the other role and become “prosumers” on the example of Airbnb users. Decrop et al. (2018) focused on the motivations and shared values of the CouchSurfing community. They have emphasized the “transformative power” of CouchSurfing, i.e. the positive influence of the CouchSurfing experience on the personality of its participants (Decrop et al., 2018). Forno and Garibaldi (2015) analysed Italian home-swapping community, focusing on socio-demographic characteristics and lifestyles.

Some researchers suggest that differences between various countries in the number of sharing economy accommodation platforms might be due to cultural differences (Kim et al., 2018, p. 29), but in general an impact of cultural differences on participation in sharing economy has not been studied much so far. The cultural dimension of the home exchange phenomenon and differences in the notions of trust, reciprocity and sociality in different countries, has been suggested as one of the “research gaps” in the existing research (Casado-Díaz et al.,

2020, p. 279). Gupta et al. (2019) analyzed the influence of cultural differences on individuals' decision to participate in P2P (peer to peer) exchanges on respondents from 11 countries. They analyze the *propensity to provide* and the *propensity to rent* products from others, analyzing four “cultural dimensions” (collectivism, masculinism, uncertainty avoidance and power distance). These “cultural dimensions” like “collectivism” or “masculinism” are, however, very difficult to define at the level of national statistics.

Some scholars focused on the geographic scale of home exchange phenomenon. Casado-Díaz et al. (2020, p. 272), for example, showed that from more than 500 000 homes offered on the HomeExchange.com site in 2019, Europe, America, and to a lesser extent Australia, were the most popular home exchange “supply” areas. Therefore, the home exchange phenomenon is largely a “Western affair” (Russo & Qualgieri Domínguez, 2016, pp. 161–162), a typically Western phenomenon, with members from predominately Europe, USA and Canada, and Australia and New Zealand (Grit & Lynch, 2011, p. 23). In this article, we focus on the participation in the sharing economy platform (HomeExchange.com), and show that even within Europe, participation in hospitality networks differ significantly between the Eastern and Western Europe.

Sharing economy and collaborative consumption

Sharing economy (Česnuitytė et al., 2022), collaborative consumption (Botsman & Rogers, 2010), or “collaborative commerce” (Sigala, 2017) are rapidly growing phenomena that emerged around the financial crisis of 2007–2008 and related recession period (Miguel et al., 2022, p. 4). Most of these activities imply sharing of surplus capacity in an asset or service and use new digital platforms as an intermediary (Crommelin et al., 2018, pp. 431–432). What is typical of all types of the new sharing and collaborative consumption practices is 1) the use of temporary access non-ownership models and 2) the reliance on the Internet, especially Web 2.0 technologies (Belk, 2014a, p. 1595). The former stresses access over ownership as a new form of consumption. The latter points out to the fact that sharing economy facilitates peer-to-peer (P2P) exchanges via digital platforms and mobile communication (Miguel et al., 2022, p. 3).

The growth of sharing economy testifies the increasing value of temporary access to goods over ownership as an alternative mode of consumption (Casado-Díaz et al., 2020). Many observers believe that

sharing of music, books, cars, homes, or energy will challenge the traditional business models (Belk, 2014a; Sigala, 2017). Botsman and Rogers (2010), for example, suggest that collaborative consumption could bring a similar turning point as the Industrial Revolution once did. These practices might completely change our views of how we think about ownership, and start what Belk (2014a, p. 1599) calls “post-ownership economy”. Unlike traditional economy where individuals are only consumers, the sharing economy have a potential to create so called “prosumers”, i.e. persons who are providers and consumers simultaneously (Lang et al., 2020, p. 2). The use of the Web 2.0. technologies results in a dramatic expansion of the pool of participants willing to engage in sharing assets and services (Crommelin et al., 2018, p. 432).

An aspiration of collaborative consumption is to replace current consumption practices with the more sustainable economic and environmental models (Miguel et al., 2022), and more equitable redistribution of wealth (Crommelin et al., 2018, p. 430). More recently, the positive narrative of the environmentally sustainable and socially conscious sharing economy business model has been criticised. Some argue that “sharing” and “economy” are inherently contradictory concepts (Slee, 2015, p. 11). Others point out that “sharing” obscures that benefitting from such “sharing” first requires ownership or effective control of assets capable of monetization (Crommelin et al., 2018, p. 432). A frequent objection to sharing practices in case of accommodation is that the properties are removed from the market for a long-term rental to be used as a tourist accommodation instead.

According to Belk (2014a, p. 1597), the concept of collaborative consumption is a broader category, including all activities when “people coordinate the acquisition and distribution of a resource for a fee or other compensation”. “Other compensation” encompasses also bartering or swapping, which involve non-monetary compensation. Many “sharing” companies (typically “car sharing”) are, therefore, rather examples of collaborative consumption practices, not sharing. Belk (2014b, p. 10) calls these “pseudo-sharing”, as these platforms often use the terminology of sharing, but only appropriate the sharing vocabulary. Pseudo-sharing is a business relationship, defined by the presence of profit motives, absence of feelings of community, and expectations of reciprocity (Belk, 2014b). By contrast, in true sharing the intention is not granting or gaining access but helping and making human connections (Belk 2014b, p. 17). (Belk, 2014b) also speaks about “many

shades of sharing”. His concept of “true sharing” is closer to the anthropological concept of reciprocity and sharing, based on data from non-Western, “tribal”, or “traditional” societies (Mauss, 1925; Sahlins, 1972).

Similarly, we should distinguish between hospitality as a feature of the “host-guest” relationship and the hospitality industry developed with the advent of modern tourism (Chambers, 2010, p. 14). In the following text, we will focus on the online sharing sites that profit from offering platforms on which people can share with others. We build on the concept of sharing that has developed in the West in recent years and that “has come to mean participating online” (Belk, 2014, p. 10).

Collaborative consumption in tourism: the case of sharing accommodation

Although tourism was promoted in the past as a strategy for the development of underdeveloped areas, due to its negative effects on local communities and environment it later started to be considered as a kind of neo-colonialism. Ideas of alternative tourism have flourished as a way out of these negative impacts. These include all forms of tourism that do not harm local communities and the environment and encompass varieties like “ecotourism”, “community-based tourism” or “cultural tourism” (Stronza, 2001, pp. 268–276). Advocates of ecotourism argue that when the ecotourism works well and apply “participatory approach”, its negative impacts on local hosts are reduced (Stronza, 2001, p. 275). Hospitality networks such as home exchange, endorsing the idea of sharing economy, apply this participatory approach, creating “prosumers”.

In the hospitality industry, it is so called peer-to-peer (P2P) accommodation that builds on the sharing economy business model. This occurs when property owners act as hosts and let their property be used by guests. Or, “when individuals offer a room or an entire property for short-term accommodation” (Farmaki & Miguel, 2022, p. 116). The main idea of the P2P accommodation is to use unused accommodation capacity, contribute with an additional income (in case of paid platforms) to the host, or to travel in an environment-friendly way (guests). It is, however, often difficult to distinguish conceptually the sharing economy business model from the traditional short-term rentals.

Much conceptual effort has been put into distinction between various types of P2P accommodation. Farmaki and Miguel (2022, pp. 119–120), for example, offer this type of distinction: 1) P2P accommodation

offered free from hosts and guests via platforms like CouchSurfing, 2) reciprocal P2P accommodation, like the various home exchange sites, where homes are swapped between two parties (despite some swappers paying a fee to the platform), and 3) profit-based P2P accommodation such as Airbnb. The first type is sometimes said to be “prototypical sharing” (Decrop et al., 2018, p. 68), involving generalized reciprocity (Sahlins, 1972). The second type involves various home exchange sites, which is the focus of this study. The third type, online paid P2P accommodation, “represents the largest sector of the sharing economy in terms of the transaction value” (Farmaki & Miguel, 2022, pp. 115–116).

In this section, we focus on accommodation platforms using the sharing economy (or P2P) business model. All of them encompass the idea of sharing economy, although they represent “different shades of sharing” to use Belk’s (2014b) terms. These hospitality networks cover all three types of P2P accommodation suggested by Farmaki and Miguel (2022, pp. 115–116), comprising both paid and free platforms. Although the first hospitality networks are reported as early as 1949 (Servas network), the ideas of sharing economy, the Internet, and growing ecological concerns in the last 15 years have revolutionized the hospitality industry and led to an expansion of hospitality networks (Decrop et al., 2018, p. 58).

Hospitality networks are considered to contribute to a sustainable economic development (Farmaki & Miguel, 2022, p. 125; Casado-Díaz et al., 2020, p. 281), because they do not require the construction of new mass tourist accommodation infrastructure and use already existing facilities. Hence, they contribute to preserving the environment, local housing and the urban heritage (Decrop et al., 2018, pp. 68–69). They are also supposed to enhance better cultural understanding, appreciation of local culture and exchange of cultural values (Sigala, 2017, p. 353). As an alternative of traditional hospitality, they should help deconcentrate tourism flows and alleviate negative impacts of “overtourism” (Casado-Díaz et al., 2020, p. 280). CouchSurfing and home exchange, for example, are supposed to increase tourism in less favoured areas.

One of the positive effects of hospitality networks is that they help reduce the costs of travel for individual travellers, who, in turn, bring more money to local neighbourhoods. An additional source of income for hosts, it might also reduce their feelings of loneliness (Farmaki & Miguel 2022, p. 122). Hospitality networks should also contribute to the democratization of travel, because it makes possible that people of all social standings travel and enjoy authentic local experiences they

could not have afforded otherwise (Sigala, 2017). However, this democratising effect, so often emphasized by platform providers, has been challenged by researchers who argue that had not the hospitality networks been available, most travellers would have simply used a different way of travel (Farmaki & Miguel, 2022, pp. 122–123).

Hospitality networks: from Airbnb to HomeExchange

The research on accommodation sharing mainly focus on paid platforms like Airbnb, the most successful business model of P2P accommodation sharing since it was launched in 2009 (Crommelin et al., 2018; Casado-Díaz, Casado Díaz & Hoogendoorn, 2020, p. 269). Unlike other hospitality platforms, Airbnb is paid, the platform taking revenues from mediating between the parties, and is often used as an example of a network that started as a sharing economy platform, but eventually turned into a business. With regard to Airbnb, researchers mention a massive flow of tourists in cities, gentrification of certain suburbs, overcrowding of popular sites, noise-related issues, or its potential negative impact on the housing market (Slee, 2015, pp. 35–47).

Unlike Airbnb, whose status has been challenged, Couchsurfing is considered an icon of the sharing economy, a case of “pure sharing” (Belk, 2014b). Founded in 2004 by a young student, it is the most popular hospitality network offering non-commercial accommodation (Decrop et al., 2018, p. 57). CouchSurfing supports a global community of more than 12 million people worldwide, and with regard to accommodation, there is no monetary transactions between hosts and guests (Kim et al., 2018, p. 18). The site originally operated as a non-profit organization ran mainly by volunteers, but in 2010 it became a for-profit corporation (Belk, 2014b, p. 8). Participants form a network of social links and develop a feeling of connectedness and trust, and a certain sense of belonging of like-minded people who seek authentic experiences and want to mix with locals (Decrop et al., 2018, p. 58).

If Couchsurfing is considered a case of “pure sharing” (Belk, 2014b), encompassing generalized reciprocity, home exchange platforms would be very close to Couchsurfing on the scale of “various shades of sharing”. Home-exchange is a non-monetised P2P sharing accommodation where individuals exchange their homes for a limited time via online platforms (Casado-Díaz, Casado Díaz & Hoogendoorn, 2020). People who join usually pay a modest fee (mostly an annual or monthly subscription). Most home exchange sites offer both a possibility of a simultaneous exchange (both parties travel at the same time),

and a non-simultaneous exchange, when the two exchanges need not be at the same time. People who own a second home often use the latter option. Most companies also offer a system of “points” or “balloons” (earned by letting somebody stay in your home) to allow for more flexibility and non-reciprocal exchanges. Interactions between participants of home exchange platforms is based on trust and reciprocity. The key role in building of trust is played by online platforms and their reputation systems that help promote trust among community members (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015, pp. 208–209). Home exchange platforms usually have a system of guest ratings and the parties often communicate via emails or skype prior to their exchange. The mutual trust is also warranted by the double role of the host and the guest in reciprocal exchanges.

The phenomenon of home swapping originated in 1950s in the United Kingdom and the United States (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015, p. 209). Since the advent of the Web 2.0 technologies, home sharing platforms proliferated (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015, p. 208). Today, there are many of home swapping platforms, such as Love Home Swap², Intervac³, Homelink⁴, or HomeExchange⁵, although only a few give access to a reasonably large number of homes with a world-wide reach (Casado-Díaz, Casado Díaz & Hoogendoorn, 2020, p. 271). Most of them (e.g. Love Home Swap, Homelink, HomeExchange, or Seniors Home Exchange⁶) are based in North America or Europe. Other non-profit hospitality networks are, for example, Hospitality Club⁷, founded in 2000 in Germany (not active today, in partnership with AirBnB since 2012). In 2007 a group of dissatisfied members of the original Hospitality Club created another platform, BeWelcome⁸, registered in France. In 2014, Trustroots⁹, a non-profit hospitality exchange network was founded in Germany to support hitchhikers, cyclist, buskers, or climbers.

Russo and Quagliari (2016, p.150) suggest that home exchange disturb traditional core-periphery tourist patterns, when the powerful and rich from the northern and western world travel into southern and

² <https://www.lovehomeswap.com>

³ <https://www.intervac-homeexchange.com>

⁴ <https://www.homelink.ca/>

⁵ <https://www.homeexchange.com/dashboard>

⁶ <https://www.seniorshomeexchange.com>

⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/hospitalityclub.org/about>

⁸ <https://www.bewelcome.org>

⁹ <https://www.trustroots.org>

eastern “pleasure peripheries”. Home exchange brings a different pattern by implying symmetry and making both suppliers and demanders a part of a peer community (“prosumers”). The concentration of places for home exchange does not necessarily match the tourist attractions places, which might attract guests to less “touristy” areas. Casado-Diaz et al. (2020, p. 276) also mention an element of randomness, when sometimes the chance of being offered an exchange from an unexpected place results in an exchange that you would not have imagined otherwise. This “out of the beaten path” character, together with environmental responsibility lead some researchers to believe that “... the practice of home exchange has the potential to realise many of the aspirations and social and economic outcomes associated with the sharing economy” (Casado-Diaz et al., 2020, p. 269).

Home exchange is based on the sharing economy philosophy and emphasizes the values of responsibility and trust. The participants, like-minded people all over the world, are called a “community”. Home swappers are often people with a high level of trust towards strangers, and high environmental sensitivity (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015, pp. 214–215). Motivations to participate in home exchange platforms usually comprise economic reasons (saving money), a wish to travel in an alternative way, to meet new people, or sustainability (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015; Sdrali et al., 2015; Decrop et al., 2018; Kim et al., 2018). People choose home exchange because they want to flee from the mass tourism experiences and desire unique, authentic, individual experiences (Casado-Diaz et al., 2020, p. 275). The focus is on the local way of living and a more localised tourist experience (Farmaki and Miguel, 2022, p. 125).

Home-swappers are frequently different from conventional low-cost travellers. They are often teachers¹⁰ or people working in related fields, because they are flexible regarding the period for travel and open minded towards different cultures; they also often comprise families (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015, pp. 212–213). Grit and Lynch (2011) conclude that people who participate in home exchange are mostly middle-class educated professionals, self-employed or retired, with a higher-than-average income, often people in their mid-30s to 40s with dependent children or in their 50s and 60s without dependent children. They also confirm that home exchangers are independent travellers who are

¹⁰ Intervac, one of the first homeexchange organisations that started before the advent of the Internet, was founded by teaching unions in Europe in 1950s, to improve understanding between people from different cultures (Grit – Lynch 2011: 22).

open to exploring new cultures, open-minded and trusting, such as teachers, journalists, architects or doctors (Grit & Lynch, 2011, pp. 23–24).

However, research shows that home exchanges are more likely to occur “between like-minded and privileged members of the creative middle class, rather than low-income people” (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015, p. 297), i.e., people with high educational, cultural and networking capital benefit most. Besides, you need to own a home in order to participate (Grit & Lynch, 2011, p. 21). In this perspective, home exchanging does not fight social inequality, because people with properties in attractive localities, and people with second homes, benefit more. As suggested by Casado-Diaz et al. (2020), in some parts of the world home exchange phenomenon might result from a cultural institution of second homes ownership. It might then be seen as an opportunity of accessing a temporary second home in a global geographical reach, without a necessity to own one (Casado-Diaz et al., 2020, p. 277).

The case of HomeExchange.com: data analysis

Our analysis focuses on the geography of participation in the HomeExchange.com¹¹ network. HomeExchange.com, supposedly the first organized home swap service online¹², was established in 1992 by an American Ed Kushins. At present, HomeExchange.com boasts to be the world’s largest home exchange company, with the widest offering of homes: more than 450 000 homes in 187 countries, and covering 70% of market share.¹³ According to their own presentation, the platform aims to promote more egalitarian and circular tourism, thinks about the environmental impact, defies standardized tourism, avoids creating ghost towns, and promises a return of authenticity and the immersion in the local culture.¹⁴ The platform therefore explicitly embraces the ideas of sharing economy.

Like many other similar platforms, however, HomeExchange.com has been increasingly incorporating commercial aspects and has lost a part of its original sharing economy ethos. The GuesttoGuest platform, operating since 2011, acquired the competing

¹¹ <https://www.homeexchange.com/dashboard>

¹² https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/gtg-prod/images/cms/presse/press_kit/press_kit_homeexchange_US.pdf

¹³ https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/gtg-prod/images/cms/presse/press_kit/press_kit_homeexchange_US.pdf (6. 7. 2022)

¹⁴ https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/gtg-prod/images/cms/presse/press_kit/press_kit_homeexchange_US.pdf

HomeExchange in 2017, after having acquired European competitors like Itamos, Trampolinn and Home for Home¹⁵ (Casado-Díaz, Casado Díaz & Hoogendoorn, 2020, p. 271). In December 2018, the two websites created a unified platform keeping the HomeExchange brand (Casado-Díaz, Casado Díaz & Hoogendoorn, 2020, p. 271). The fusion with the GuesttoGuest platform caused a backlash among many members. The introduction of the commercial worldview disturbed the original “community” and “sharing” ethos of the platform and many members withdrew. To some extent, expectations of reciprocity and the sense of sharing were replaced by profit seeking motives.

Our analysis is based on two sources. First of them is a long-term participation in the community of home swappers at the HomeExchange.com website. We have participated in this community (with a typical profile of middle class teachers in their 30s – 40s with dependent children) since 2012, having accomplished more than 20 exchanges to various European countries. We have discussed the phenomenon with many of our friends from different countries, and attracted some of them to become participants. In the course of the years of our participation, we have noticed a certain East/West divide in the use of the website. This was the motivation to do a research on the participation in HomeExchange.com platform. The second source of our analysis is the data of HomeExchange.com website participants in terms of their country of origin.

Unlike other researchers (e.g. Gupta et al., 2019), we do not distinguish *propensity to rent* and *propensity to provide*, assuming that having a profile on the website means willingness to do both. Having a profile means that you are accepting offers from others and that you act as a host at the same time. In this regard, HomeExchange.com has indeed created “prosumers”, i.e. persons who are providers and consumers simultaneously (Lang et al., 2020). In our analysis we do not distinguish “active” and “non-active” users of the site, like Kim et al. (2018) did, for example, in case of their research of Couchsurfing users. We suppose that creating a profile implies a willingness to share your home with strangers and at the same time some degree of activity (because the members pay an annual fee for keeping the active profile).

¹⁵ https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/gtg-prod/images/cms/presse/press_kit/press_kit_homeexchange_US.pdf

We have analysed the number of profiles on the HomeExchange.com site (July 2022)¹⁶, as a representative of the largest home exchange platform. The aim of the analysis is to show the willingness of people in respective countries to participate in a sharing economy platform. The data presented below in the tables 1 and 2 and map 1 suggest that the Western European countries are definitely overrepresented, compared to Eastern Europe, the dividing line copying more or less the former Iron Curtain. The most represented countries (see Table 1) are France and Spain (with more than 10.000 profiles), followed by Italy (3146), Germany (2785), Netherlands (2529), Belgium (1469), United Kingdom (1365), Switzerland (1040), Denmark (1039), and Ireland (839). These countries are followed by Sweden (650), Portugal (526), Iceland (403), Norway (391), Austria (369), Hungary (341), Croatia (247), Czechia (237), Poland (181) and Greece (160).

Spain	more than 10.000
France	more than 10.000
Italy	3146
Germany	2785
Netherlands	2529
Belgium	1469
United Kingdom	1365
Switzerland	1040
Denmark	1039
Ireland	839

Table 1. The most represented countries in terms of the number of profiles (HomeExchange.com), July 2022.

On the other side of the scale, among the least represented countries in Europe (see Table 2), we see Kosovo (2), Liechtenstein (7), North Macedonia (10), Albania (21), Lithuania (23), Bosnia and Herzegovina (25), Serbia (25), Luxembourg (28), Slovakia (29), and Andorra (29). Other least represented countries are the following: Latvia (31), Russia (34), Bulgaria (36), Montenegro (44), Estonia (67), Slovenia (75), Romania (87), Ukraine (90), Belarus (92), Finland (97) and Turkey (157).

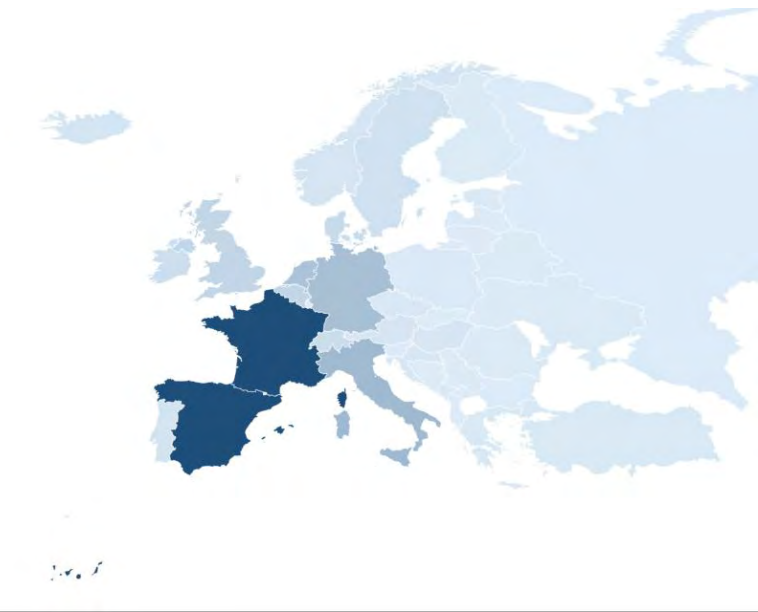
Kosovo	2
Liechtenstein	7
North Macedonia	10

¹⁶ Data were retrieved from the website on July 9, 2022.

Albania	21
Lithuania	23
Bosnia and Herzegovina	25
Serbia	25
Luxembourg	28
Slovakia	29
Andorra	29

Table 2. The least represented countries in terms of the number of profiles (HomeExchange.com), July 2022.

As suggested, the data show a difference on a Western-Eastern axis dividing Europe (see Map 1). The divergence in representation starts already on the borders between France and Germany. We might hypothesize that the difference would take place between the former Western and Eastern Germany. Unfortunately, we do not have more detailed data on the number of profiles in Germany related to their geographic distribution. So any possible difference between the Western and Eastern Germany cannot be proved. On the other end of the scale, we find the countries of Eastern Europe, with some small Western European countries like the Luxembourg or Liechtenstein.



Map 1. The number of profiles on Home.Exchange.com platform in different European countries (July 2022). Map by: Natalia Jandl Trušina.

If we take into account the number of inhabitants of the respective countries, the picture changes slightly. The number of profile counted per 100.000 people for respective countries (see Table 3) shows as the countries with the highest numbers of HomeExchange.com profiles: 1. Iceland, 2. Andorra, 3. Spain, 4. Liechtenstein, 5. Denmark, 6. Ireland, 7. France, 8. Netherlands, 9. Belgium, and 10. Switzerland.

Iceland	107,1
Andorra	37,1
Spain	21
Liechtenstein	18
Denmark	17,7
Ireland	16,6
France	14,7
Netherlands	14,4
Belgium	12,6
Switzerland	12

Table 3. The most represented countries in terms of the number of profiles (HomeExchange.com), July 2022, counted per 100.000 people.

Among the least represented countries, counted per 100.000 people (see Table 4), we find: Russia, Kosovo, Ukraine, Turkey, Serbia, North Macedonia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland.

Russia	0,02
Kosovo	0,1
Ukraine	0,2
Turkey	0,2
Serbia	0,4
North Macedonia	0,5
Slovakia	0,5
Bulgaria	0,5
Romania	0,5
Poland	0,5

Table 4. The least represented countries in terms of the number of profiles (HomeExchange.com), July 2022, counted per 100.000 people.

We can see that small Western countries like Liechtenstein, Luxembourg and Andorra count as the countries with a high number of HomeExchnage.com profiles, when counted per 100.000 inhabitants (see Map2). Counted per 100.000 people, the data show even more

compelling picture of a Western/Eastern divide, with the most represented countries (Table 3) being the countries of north-western Europe, and the least represented (Table 4) Eastern European and Balkan countries. There are, however, also some exceptions in this perspective, such as the United Kingdom (a north-western country), taking quite a low share counted per 100.000 people (2), which is less than Hungary (3,5) and Czechia (2,3). Similarly, some Mediterranean (south-east European) countries show quite a high proportion of HomeExchnage.com profiles per 100.000 people, such as Montenegro (7,1), or Croatia (6,3), which makes them more enthusiastic home exchangers than, for example, Swedes (6,2), Italians (5,3), or Austrians (4,1).



Map 2. The number of profiles on Home.Exchange.com platform per 100.000 people in different European countries (July 2022). Map by: Natalia Jandl Trušina.

Geographies of sharing: sharing economy in the European East and West

As suggested in the scholarly literature, home exchange is largely a “Western affair” (Grit & Lynch, 2011, p. 23; Russo & Qualgieri Domínguez, 2016, pp. 161–162), especially popular in Europe, North

America and Australia (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015, p. 209). Europe and the United States, followed by Canada and Australia, are regions with most active home exchange communities, unlike for example, China, that is marginal in this respect (Russo & Quaglieri, 2016). Most home exchange sites are based in Europe and North America. Hence, most researchers of hospitality platforms focus their research on these geographical areas. For example, Forno and Garibaldi (2015, p. 211) analysed the Italian home exchange community on the HomeExchange.com platform, which was fifth in terms of the number of members after the United States, France, Spain, and Canada. Kim et al. (2018) focused on European cities in their research of CouchSurfing hosts and their motivations, because European cities accounted for more than 50% of the total registered users, and “a relatively higher proportion of active hosts (against registered users) are located in European cities than in those of other continents.” (Kim et al., 2018, p. 22).

According to the study conducted by Eurostat (2020) on the participation in P2P accommodation in the EU countries (quoted in Farmaki & Miguel, 2022, pp. 121–122), Luxembourg is the country with the most individual hosts (46%), followed by Ireland (34%) and Malta (30%). Conversely, there were some countries with less than 10% of the population being hosts, such as Cyprus and the Czech Republic (both 5%), Latvia (8%), and Bulgaria (9%). Sometimes destination countries are analysed. According to the HomeExchange.com platform, for example, the most popular countries in terms of numbers of nights in 2018 were 1. France, 2. Spain, 3. USA, 4. Italy, 5. Canada.¹⁷

In our analysis, we have focused on Europe and analysed data from the HomeExchange.com platform with regard to the number of profiles in respective countries. Unlike the above-mentioned statistics of P2P accommodation (which might include also various paid sites such as AirBnb), we focused on a website (HomeExchange.com) based on the sharing economy model and implying reciprocity. We believe that our data reveal the (un)willingness of people in respective countries to participate in the sharing economy. As expected, our data show a definite overrepresentation of home exchange participants in the countries of Western Europe, compared to the European East. In this section we try to find an answer to the question: Why people in Eastern European

¹⁷ https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/gtg-prod/images/cms/presse/press_kit/press_kit_homeexchange_US.pdf (6. 7. 2022).

countries do not participate in sharing economy (represented by HomeExchange.com) as much as people from the European West?

1. External constraints hypothesis

First, we suggest a hypothesis we call “external constraints”, according to which people in Eastern Europe do not travel so often, because of their limited economic capacities. Worse economic conditions of Eastern Europe (compared to the European West) might be seen as an obstacle to travel.

This hypothesis, however, may be easily refuted. Home exchange sites are an economic way of travel, accessible to large segments of population. Even if we take into consideration an annual fee paid to the website (annual membership in 2022 being 175 USD)¹⁸, it is still insignificant amount compared to “traditional” vacation.

We might also remind the objection of some researchers that participants need home in order to participate (Grit & Lynch, 2011, p. 21), and so only the well-established middle class benefit from it (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015). Is the absence of home ownership and obstacle to participation in home exchange? According to Eurostat data for 2021, countries of Central and Eastern Europe are among the countries with the highest degree of inhabitants living in their own house or flat. The highest shares of home ownerships were reported in Romania (95%), Slovakia (92%), Hungary (92%), Croatia (91%), Lithuania (89%), Poland (87%), and Bulgaria (85%). In other words, owning a home is more general in Central and Eastern Europe than in the European West. Among the countries with the highest share of tenant living we find Germany (51% tenants), Austria (46% tenants), Denmark (41% tenants), France (35% tenants), and Sweden (35% tenants).¹⁹ The best established home-owners in Europe, therefore, are the least enthusiastic home exchangers.

In addition, language barriers might be hypothesized to be a barrier to home exchange travel (the websites using predominantly English). However, the advent of online translators easily help overcome the language barrier in the home exchange travels. People use translators to describe their home and their family in their “profiles” on the website, translators are automatically used to translate people’s messages to one another in their internal communication, and translators

¹⁸ <https://homeexchangehelp.zendesk.com/hc/en-us/articles/360000610118-What-are-the-advantages-of-the-Membership> (15. 12. 2022).

¹⁹ <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/digpub/housing/bloc-1a.html>

help people understand each other even on the ground. Translators, widely used by many participants, make the travels easier and the cultural contact smoother. Besides, the predominance of English on the website does not explain a big share of profiles in countries such as France and Spain, and a low proportion of homes in the UK.

2. Culture sediments hypothesis

Another hypothesis, which we call “culture sediments”, associates differences in the contemporary (non-)acceptance of sharing economy in various parts of Europe with cultural patterns of the past. Historians, sociologists, demographers and anthropologists have drawn many dividing lines between the European East and European West (Wolff, 1994; Todorova, 1997; Davies, 1999; for the critique see Szoltysek, 2015, pp. 41–109). One of the oldest is the dividing line between the Catholic (and Protestants) West and the Orthodox East. Another one is a line between Europe that has been a part of the Roman Empire, and the part of Europe that lied outside. Later, this division transformed into the difference between the (Western) Roman Empire and the Byzantium. Eastern Europe has been conceived as a category since the Enlightenment, when western travellers started to construct it in opposition to the West (Wolff, 1994). Iron Curtain was the latest embodiment of this political and cultural geography of European continent, reinforcing the idea of the East-West cultural, political and economic differences.

As our main topic is concerned with exchanging of homes, we might recall another dividing line, suggested by a statistician John Hajnal (1965, 1982) and concerning the geographical variation across Europe of family and marriage patterns. Hajnal (1965) argued that Western Europe (or, more precisely, north-western Europe) has been characterised since the 16th century by late marriage and large proportion of population remaining unmarried. Later, he added more criteria to show that the family in the European West was based predominantly on the model of simple household system, preference for neolocality, and the predominance of nuclear or stem families. The rest of Europe, lying south-west of the St. Petersburg – Trieste line (so called Hajnal line), was, on the contrary characterised by complex family households, early marriage, and an emphasis on patrilineal ties (Hajnal, 1982). Hajnal’s thesis received serious criticism for oversimplification and overemphasis of differences between “East” and “West”, viewed by

many as an act of Western ethnocentrism (Goody, 1996; Todorova, 2001; Szołtysek, 2015).

One of the differences Hajnal emphasized, however, was an omnipresence of so called “life-cycle service” in north-western Europe. In the past, it was common for young people to become temporarily a part of another household before marriage. This service in the households of strangers, unknown in the European East, led, according to Hajnal (1982) to the growth of the independence of women (who married later and economically secured, so they had a bigger say in their choice), more flexibility in the workforce of young adults, and a smoother acceptance of capitalism in the West.

This family model, however, also meant that the definition of the family in the West was not based on strictly “consanguine” ties, like in South-Eastern Europe with its emphasis on patrilinearity. In the European East it was very unusual to accept strangers in one’s household and to consider them a part of the family. It seems that unlike the European East, the European West has been used to accept strangers in the family. The term “family” often meant the household, including all dependents, servants or apprentices, i.e. all who lived in the same house (Laslett, 1971; Mitterauer & Sieder, 1982, pp. 5–10; Tadmor, 1996). Is it possible to associate these “culture sediments” with a lack of trust towards strangers in contemporary Eastern Europe?

3. Iron Curtain and postsocialism legacy hypothesis

Another line of interpretation does not go so far in the past, but looks into a recent development in Europe, mainly the divide of the continent by the geopolitical circumstances of the Cold War. It could be also called “culture sediments” hypothesis and asks if the contemporary differences in the acceptance of sharing economy in various parts of Europe could be associated with the differences between the post-socialist East and the rest of the continent.

After the end of the Cold War, Eastern Europe became a “laboratory of social change”, where social scientists would study what happens when boundaries disappear and large parts of Europe become interconnected with the rest of the continent. The discourse of “postsocialism” was born (Burawoy & Verdery, 1999; Hann, 1994, 2002; Verdery, 1996). It was assumed that postsocialist countries would smoothly accept the western cultural values, market economy and political pluralism. Quick incorporation into the European political structures and acceptance of the globalized Western culture were supposed.

Still, this did not happen as expected, as some examples show, such as the continual support for the communist parties in postsocialist countries (Creed, 2010), problems with the creation of “civil society” (Sampson, 2002; Jung, 2019), problems with privatization and dissolution of agricultural cooperatives (Verdery, 1994), or the widespread “postcommunist nostalgia” (Todorova & Gille, 2010; Todorova, Dimou & Troebst, 2014).

One of the often cited consequence of socialism in Eastern Europe is the widespread distrust of people to one another, connected to the developed dependence of the isolated nuclear families on the state (Rev, 1987). As David Kideckel (1993) put it: “the socialist system, though ostensibly designed to create new persons motivated by the needs of groups and of society as a whole, in fact created people who were of necessity self-centred, distrustful, and apathetic to the very core of their beings”. Similarly, Czech sociologist Ivo Možný (2003) argued that socialism created isolated and distrustful individuals and nuclear families. One of the consequence of the shared socialist legacy of European East, then, might be the widespread distrust.

As we have shown above, sharing economy is based on trust. Most scholars agree that “trust is critical in sharing economy business models” (Lang et al., 2020, p. 3), and that one is expected to trust in a “generalized other” in order to agree to swapping one’s home (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015, p. 215). And that “a lack of trust has been identified as one of the main barriers to not participating in the sharing economy (Lang et al., 2020, p. 3). Only people who share a belief that people are to be trusted, might easily participate in sharing with others, and especially in home exchange. The other “cultural sediments” hypothesis thus might be: Is it the engraved distrust to others, shared by the European East due to their socialist legacy, that prevent people from this part of Europe to engage in sharing economy?

4. Litmus paper of the acceptance of the affiliation to the West

The last hypothesis claims that the low share of participation in the sharing economy in the European East is a kind of a litmus paper indicating how much the given country has accepted its own affiliation to the West. We assume that home exchange platforms, with their origin in the Western Europe and the U.S., with the predominance of English as a communication language, represent a “Western affair” in the eyes of the people from Eastern Europe.

The non-acceptance of platforms such as HomeExchange.com by the majority of people of the European East might suggest that they do not feel to be “a part of the game”. They do not share values this game is based on, and by not taking a part in it, they declare they do not feel to belong to the same community. Could this hypothesis explain why Eastern European countries such as Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, or the Balkan countries with the least pro-Western identities such as Serbia or Bulgaria, are amongst the least represented countries in these sharing economy platforms?

Conclusion

In this text, we focused on the phenomenon of sharing economy, mainly on the home exchange phenomenon. We suggested that although the sharing economy is supposed to spread worldwide in the contemporary globalized, seamless world, it does not work in this way in practice. Even though admitted by most scholars as a “Western affair”, concerning mainly Europe, North America and Australia, there are big differences even within the “Western world”.

We investigated the geographies of sharing economy within Europe, using the example of participation in the HomeExchange.com platform. Using the data from July 2022 we have shown that there are major differences in the participation in the HomeExchange.com platform between the underrepresented European East and overrepresented European West.

We have discussed four hypothesis possibly explaining this difference. The first one, called “external constraints hypothesis” suggests that external obstacles (wealth, capital, or language) might cause the difference in the participation in sharing economy. We have refuted it by pointing out the high shares of home ownerships in Eastern Europe compared to European West, and the widespread use of translators that enable communication without knowing the others’ language.

The second hypothesis, called “cultural sediments” hypothesis, discusses the possibility of a certain cultural legacy of the traditional Western and Eastern European family models. Following Hajnal (1965, 1982) we argue that the difference might be explained by the Western tradition of incorporation of strangers (apprentices, maids, servants) into the family, which was incomprehensible in the European East.

The third hypothesis is a variation of the “cultural sediments” thesis and suggests that the reluctance of East Europeans to share their homes with strangers might be explained with the socialist legacy. As

socialist regimes in Eastern Europe created people who were distrustful and suspicious, it might explain why most of them until today do not consider it a good idea to let someone strange into one's house.

The fourth hypothesis suggests that Eastern European countries do not participate in the sharing economy because they have not accepted their Western affiliation. Hence, they do not trust sharing economy platforms, seen as representatives of the Western ideas and values.

We have refuted the first hypothesis, and we leave open the latter three. It is a matter of further research to falsify them. Certainly there might be other possible explanations and we leave it for the further research to raise and discuss them.

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Monuments and Landmarks in Decolonisation and Decommunization Processes: A Comparison of Romania and Bulgaria with Trinidad & Tobago

Abstract: *In the light of the presence of ongoing debates and discussions on the legacies of colonisation and/or communism, this article presents a comparative desk-based qualitative overview of approaches regarding relevant monuments and landmarks in three selected countries – the Caribbean nation of Trinidad & Tobago, and the two southeastern European nations of Romania and Bulgaria. After giving a succinct summary of the historical aspects and sociocultural composition of the three countries, the study then presents nascent steps which have recently been taken in Trinidad & Tobago to address this aspect of the colonial legacy, including the creation of an officially-designated Cabinet Appointed Committee to Review the Placement of Statues, Monuments, and Signage in the country, as well as an initial public consultation on the matter in August 2024. With the situation in Trinidad & Tobago still at an early stage, the article then uses a range of recently scholarly literature to consider the state of affairs in Bulgaria and Romania. The focus is primarily on the fate of several domestic Communist-era monuments in the years after 1989, thereby providing perspectives on some of the relevant political and societal discussions and debates. Reiterating that this process is still ongoing in Trinidad & Tobago, the article concludes by proffering some brief considerations for further analysis and research on the topic.*

Keywords: *Bulgaria; postcolonial; post-communist; Romania; Trinidad & Tobago.*

Introduction

Recent international debates on the lasting effects of slavery and colonialism have impacted public and political discourses in several Caribbean nations, including the small dual-island republic of Trinidad & Tobago. More than 60 years after its independence from the United Kingdom, discussions on the colonial legacy have consequently received renewed interest, leading the Trinidad & Tobago Government to recently establish an official Cabinet Appointed Committee to Review the Placement of Statues, Monuments, and Signage. With British colo-

nial influence forming a long-standing component of the nation's visual, sociocultural, and linguistic topography, the Committee's task will be considerable. Yet Trinidad & Tobago is not alone in this regard. The majority of countries in Central and Eastern Europe have also undergone similar processes, seeking to evaluate – or remove – the past imprints of imperial and communist ideologies on their nations (e.g., see Jõekalda, 2024). Focusing particularly on the experiences of Bulgaria and Romania as post-imperial and post-communist spaces, this article presents some details relating to the retention or removal of certain statues and monuments. By contrasting them with the present reality in Trinidad & Tobago, it is aimed to provide key comparative insights.

Trinidad & Tobago, Romania, and Bulgaria: Brief remarks on history and monuments

Though the choice of case studies may seem odd, there are indeed – as advanced in the author's recent study (Hoyte-West, 2024) – many similarities between the Caribbean and Central & Eastern Europe. In addition to the mixing of cultures, religions, languages, and societies, both areas have also been heavily impacted by imperial annexation, domination, and – noting that the use of the word remains somewhat contested in the Central & Eastern European context – colonisation (e.g., see Petersen, 2024).

In the case of Trinidad & Tobago, the modern dual-island nation bears witness to the vicissitudes of the past few centuries, including its distinctive – and highly diverse – ethnic and religious composition. Previously the home of indigenous Arawak and Carib peoples, after becoming known to Europeans following Columbus's third voyage to the Americas in 1498, Trinidad was a colony initially of Spain (to 1797) followed by Great Britain (1797-1962), receiving *inter alia* European settlers, (including French planters), slaves from Africa and elsewhere in the Caribbean, and from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, indentured labourers from India. The much smaller island of Tobago was a possession of various European empires before Britain retained it at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The two islands were unified by the British into a single colony during the latter years of the nineteenth century, and Trinidad & Tobago finally gained its independence in 1962, becoming a full presidential republic in 1976 though remaining a member of the Commonwealth (Watts, Robinson, & Brereton, 2024).

For Romania, from the medieval era onwards the two historic principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were long under Ottoman suzerainty, with Transylvania forming part of Habsburg-ruled Hungary. The unification of the two principalities after 1860 formed the first Romanian unitary state, the borders of which were expanded significantly after World War One with the inclusion of Transylvania, former Habsburg-ruled Bukovina, and former Russian-ruled Bessarabia. Following interwar authoritarianism and alignment with the Axis powers at the beginning of World War Two, Bessarabia and the northern portion of Bukovina were subsequently annexed by the USSR, and the advent of state Communism saw Romania fall under the Soviet realm of influence, albeit not as strongly as some other Warsaw Pact countries. This culminated in the rule of Nicolae Ceaușescu from 1965 onwards, which lasted until the fall of the regime and the subsequent execution of him and his wife in December 1989 (Latham et al., 2024).

Previously under Ottoman rule, modern Bulgaria was established in 1878 after a war of independence which was supported by imperial Russian forces. The territory of the nation expanded significantly following the two Balkan Wars in the early twentieth century, with some border changes also occurring after World War Two, where Bulgaria was also aligned to the Axis grouping. Subsequently, as in Romania, the Communists also came to power in Bulgaria, and the nation was also subject to Soviet-inspired ideology for five decades until the official end of the regime in 1990 (Danforth et al., 2024).

Though of course varying widely in geographical location, land area, and population size, the three nations nonetheless share a diversity of languages, ethnicities, and religions. In Trinidad & Tobago, the single official language is English, although Trinidad English Creole is widely spoken on an informal basis, and at one time the islands were once heavily multilingual; in addition, no ethnic group comprises a majority and there are four official religions (Hoyte-West, 2021, p. 237). In both Romania and Bulgaria, though the national ethnicities and languages (Romanian and Bulgarian) and Orthodox Christianity are dominant, there are also significant minority populations speaking other languages (such as Hungarian in Romania and Turkish in Bulgaria) and adhering to other religions or denominations (such as Catholicism or Islam) (see Latham et al., 2024; Danforth et al., 2024, etc.). It should be noted, however, that in terms of the nations analysed in this article, all three countries can be considered as relatively recent establishments,

with the modern Romanian and Bulgarian states dating back to the second half of the nineteenth century, and Trinidad & Tobago a product of the Caribbean independence movements of the mid-twentieth century.

Although the length of colonial rule in Trinidad & Tobago and communist rule in Romania and Bulgaria differed significantly in temporal terms (in the latter two countries, it lasted for approximately four-and-a-half decades, whereas the Caribbean nation was colonised for just over four-and-a-half centuries), the far-ranging impact of both ideologies has deeply influenced the societies to the present day. Accordingly, following Anderson (2006 [1983]), issues of national identity – and in the instances of Romania and Bulgaria, the promotion of ethnocultural aspects – remain of relevance and importance. This is particularly true given that all three share post-imperial aspects, and in the case of the two southeastern European nations, it can be argued that the decades-long period of communist rule still retains an impact on politics and society (e.g., see Agarín, 2020), even though more than three decades has elapsed since the end of the respective regimes in Romania and Bulgaria.

As a physical demonstration of power and belief, the role of monuments – and by extension, of museums and similar sites (Jarosz, 2021a; 2021b) – can be seen as significant in articulating discussions on identity and ideology, in addition to acting as *lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1989). In advancing a particular narrative of what or who is to be commemorated, celebrated, or memorialised, debates surrounding these constructions may often become extremely important – and even volatile – in times of political or societal transition (e.g., see Rigney, 2022; Rose-Redwood et al., 2022), such as from colonial rule to independence, the shift from totalitarianism to democracy, or from communism towards free-market economies. Such discussions regarding names, monuments, and commemorations can be controversial, especially with regard to public opinion and political debates, as well as having potential diplomatic ramifications (e.g., see Gabowitsch, 2024). Indeed, as demonstrated by the renaming of several topographical and placenames in Ukraine following the 2022 Russian invasion (Schenk, 2023), questions regarding the retention or revision of names and monuments memorialising historical figures or events from previous times, as well as the use of different languages and terminology, remain highly pertinent not only in Europe, but also elsewhere.

As mentioned in the opening section to this article, the focus here will be on presenting aspects relating to the current post-imperial context of monuments in Trinidad & Tobago, before briefly contrasting this present reality through outlining the post-imperial – and especially post-communist – experiences of both Romania and Bulgaria. The chosen methodology will be qualitative in approach; given the timeliness of the topic in the Trinidad & Tobago context, appropriate media and social media sources will be used to supplement the existing academic literature. In the cases of Romania and Bulgaria, taking into account the fact that the issues of monuments and post-communist identity and heritage has been extensively studied, the selected resources will be based on appropriate scholarly sources primarily written in English. Owing to space limitations and to its desk-based approach (Bassot, 2022), the present article does not have any pretensions to represent a comprehensive or exhaustive overview of the subject; rather, as suggested by its title, the study aims to present some brief pointers and suggestions for further research, evaluation, and discussion of the topic under consideration.

Moves in Trinidad & Tobago

As David V. Trotman's comprehensive article from the turn of the present century outlines, on independence Trinidad "inherited an inventory of public memorials, which included statues of Columbus and Lord Harris, a monument in Woodford Square, a memorial commemorating the 1918 Armistice, and a number of named public squares" (Trotman, 2006, p. 42), observing that the "symbolic or iconic decolonisation in Trinidad has been slow and halting" (Trotman, 2006, p. 39). Elsewhere, he highlights a number of instances where this has taken place (such as the renaming of highways and public spaces) though, noting Trinidad & Tobago's diversity, Trotman is cognisant of the potential for politically-linked ethnic disagreements that renaming procedures could pose for its multicultural society (see Trotman, 2012, p. 39).

As mentioned previously, the past few years have seen an increase in academic interest in the topic. Indeed, several chapters in a newly-released edited volume entitled *Independence, Colonial Relics, and Monuments in the Caribbean* (Ramsay & Teelucksingh, 2024a) also centre on the Trinidad & Tobago context. Particularly relevant to current discussions are the contributions on the historical, cultural, and religious aspects pertaining to the replacement of the Trinity Cross, formerly awarded as the country's highest national honour (Brereton, 2024), the memorialisation of historical and religious aspects relating

to Trinidad & Tobago's East Indian population (Morris, 2024; Albert, 2024), as well with regard to the country's general lack of monuments which commemorate women (Jahgoo, 2024). Other recent studies have sought to draw attention to the issue of decolonising the country's monuments and landmarks, including a case study involving the renaming of a student residence hall at the University of the West Indies St Augustine (Matthews, 2021), and the importance of public history and cultural heritage with specific regard to Tobago has also been analysed (Joseph, 2022).

Of additional note in these discussions is the lasting impact of monuments to Trinidad's infamous colonial governor during the very first years of British rule, the Welsh-born army officer Sir Thomas Picton, who was eventually killed in action leading a charge against Napoleon's forces at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. However, Picton's well-attested cruelty during his brutal overlordship of Trinidad (1797-1803) was to see him put on trial in London (see Hoyte-West, 2023, pp. 89-94). Consequently, the issue of commemorating Picton's legacy in public spaces remains complex and contested even to this day, as detailed by Hoskins and James's (2024) analysis of the present situation in Trinidad and in Picton's native Wales.

As detailed in local media reports, the Trinidad & Tobago government launched the initiative to review the country's monuments at the end of 2022, and a committee was created (Trinidad & Tobago Guardian, 2022). In 2024, the Cabinet Appointed Committee to Review the Placement of Statues, Monuments, and Signage in Trinidad and Tobago began its public-facing activities, which were to commence with a consultation where the populace could share their views and opinions on the matter (Ramsey & Teelucksingh, 2024b, p. 2). According to the Committee's official social media presence, submissions (which could be submitted online or by post) were requested on the three following aspects: "1. The removal or retention of specific statues or monuments in public spaces, particularly the Columbus statues; 2. The actions that should be taken with statues or monuments to be removed from their current locations; and 3. Suggestions for new statues, monuments, and signage in public spaces" (Statues, Monuments, and Signage in Trinidad and Tobago, 2024a).

In addition to receiving domestic attention, the Committee's activities also attracted media coverage in the United Kingdom, as it was mentioned in an article in *The Guardian* newspaper about Trinidad &

Tobago Prime Minister Dr Keith Rowley's move to change the country's coat of arms (by removing Columbus's three ships and replacing them with a depiction of Trinidad & Tobago's national instrument, the steelpan) (Duncan, 2024).

The Committee's public consultation took place in Port of Spain, Trinidad & Tobago's capital, on 28 August 2024. The meeting was televised and recorded for posterity (see TTT Live Online, 2024). Contributions by various parties were presented and discussed, sometimes vigorously. Perhaps mindful of Trotman's conclusions regarding the interlinkage between nomenclature and decolonisation – i.e., that “the inhabitants of the twin-island nation have invested so much energy in creating community identities linked to those names that they have subverted the original intention of the colonial inscribers and divested colonial names of their previous associations” (Trotman, 2012, p. 39) – the *Trinidad & Tobago Guardian* newspaper reported of the “drama” caused by the lively exchange of conflicting opinions (Lee, 2024). As summarised in the newspaper account, a variety of topics were discussed relating to placenames, monuments, as well as to the descendants of the First Nations indigenous inhabitants of the islands.

Further posts on the Committee's official social media presence have enumerated three “terms of reference” to move forward with, and also inviting further input from the public on these matters. According to a post dated 9 September 2024, these terms comprise: “1. To develop a policy for the placement and removal of statues, monuments, and signage in Trinidad and Tobago; 2. develop a policy with respect to the treatment of statues and monuments that are to be removed and how the spaces they occupy should be utilised; 3. and, within the context of (1) and (2) above, make recommendations to the Government on how to treat with statues, monuments and signage that are referenced through the consultations” (Statues, Monuments, and Signage in Trinidad and Tobago, 2024b). Accordingly, with the present article being written in autumn 2024, it remains to be seen how things will proceed over the coming months and years.

Moves in Romania and Bulgaria

Turning to the two southeastern Europe context, it is important to mention that the well-studied literature on monuments, statues, and landmarks in Romania and Bulgaria also includes several comparative studies which contrast the two nations (e.g., see Dobre, 2015; Preda, 2023). For example, Claudia-Florentina Dobre articulates the “solid

grounds for studying the Bulgarian and Romanian postcommunist transitions in conjunction with each other” (Dobre, 2015, p. 299) and with regard to attitudes towards the past, Caterina Preda highlights the notion of “ambivalent socialist heritage” (Preda, 2023, p. 148) shared by both countries. Indeed, it has been noted that, despite a number of similarities in their societies and experiences during communist rule, Romania and Bulgaria also display divergent memorial policies relating to the issues of monuments and statuary in the post-Communist context (Dobre, 2015, p. 300). As mentioned, with the topic having already been the subject of considerable academic analysis, the present brief summary aims to focus on the most recent literature pertaining to the Romanian and Bulgarian contexts.

In first outlining the Romanian case, some contemporary studies have looked at *lieux de mémoire* from a post-imperial perspective. These include the restoration of the emblematic Habsburg-era citadel in the city of Alba Iulia within the framework of the 2018 centenary of the request to incorporate Transylvania into the Kingdom of Romania (Bădescu, 2020). And in the primarily rural counties of Transylvania where ethnic Hungarians form a majority (historical Szeklerland), Ionut Chiruta illustrates that the restoration of old monuments commemorating aspects of the Habsburg period has been the subject of attempts to promote greater kin-state affinity with modern-day Hungary (Chiruta, 2022).

The immediate post-communist era saw, as Dobre attests, an abrupt break with the past, with the names of streets and places changed, and “placards, red stars and other communist insignia were removed from the walls of factories, plants, construction sites and important buildings, especially in large cities” (Dobre, 2024a, p. 121). Statues were toppled – most notably, those of Lenin and Petru Groza, the first communist prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania – and were dismantled or abandoned (see Dobre, 2021, pp. 187-189), with several sites replaced by memorials to the victims of totalitarianism. Yet there have been some successful efforts to conserve elements of communist-era monument culture: for example, the planned destruction of the 1960s mausoleum – known as the Monument to the Heroes of the Struggle for the Freedom of the People and the Fatherland for Socialism (*Monumentul eroilor luptei pentru libertatea poporului și a patriei, pentru socialism*) – in the early 2000s was thwarted by political and civic opposition to the move (see Dobre, 2021, pp. 190-191; Dobre,

2024a, p. 125). Additionally, a certain societal nostalgia for certain aspects of the past, the so-called ‘pink’ memory, also became part of public debate regarding the legacy embodied in communist-era monuments (Dobre, 2024a, pp. 138-140). And, as will be discussed further in the case of Bulgaria, issues relating to extant communist-era war monuments and memorials in Romania still remain ambiguous, particularly given that many are linked with the Red Army and thus with the Soviet Union (see Dobre, 2024b).

Moving southwards to Bulgaria, narratives relating to the issue of monuments can be traced back to the ostensibly close historical and cultural ties with the Russian Empire and, in the postwar era under communist rule, with the Soviet Union. With regard to the War of Liberation which culminated in Bulgaria’s independence from the Ottomans in 1878, Anastasiya Pashova and colleagues observe that it is still widely commemorated and thus heavily present in the country’s cultural and spatial landscape (Pashova et al. 2013, pp. 34-35). In addition, it is noted that the first memorials on Bulgarian soil to that conflict were actually imperial Russian ones, further exemplifying the deep links as well as the relationship between the two countries (Pashova & Vodenicharov, 2014).

To turn to the trajectory of Bulgarian monuments relating to the communist era, it must be underlined that this topic has been extremely well-researched over time, as confirmed by the existence of numerous studies. In highlighting some recent additions to the literature, these include a case study of the Banner of Peace (*Знаме на мира*) monument in Sofia, once slated for destruction but which is now a restored urban landmark (Kaleva & Vasileva, 2020). In addition, the same pair of researchers (Vasileva & Kaleva, 2017) also conducted a comparative study of two monuments which both commemorated the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state in 1981, but met with very different fates: the “despised” (and eventually demolished) monument in Sofia, and the “beloved” monument in the city of Shumen, which remains inscribed on the Bulgarian Tourist Union’s official list of the 100 Tourist Sites of Bulgaria (*100 национални туристически обекта*) (BTS, 2024). As underlined by Evelina Kelbecheva’s analysis, the “social fate” of many communist-era monuments seems to involve either their preservation or their disappearance (Kelbecheva, 2009, pp. 89-90). In this regard, the well-known example of the Buzludzha Monument (*Паметник на Бузлуджа*) is emblematic of the latter: an abandoned space built to glorify socialism but which has nowadays fallen into spectacular disrepair

(e.g., see Petrova, 2017). Though initiatives such as the opening of the House-Museum of Todor Zhivkov (named for Bulgaria's longstanding communist leader between 1954 and 1989) in the rural town of Pravets have occurred (Vukov, 2008), the cases of the Sofia-based Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov (*Мавзолей на Георги Димитров*) and the Monument to the Soviet Army (*Паметник на Съветската армия*) underline Nina Debruyne and Georgeta Nazarska's conceptualisation of 'contentious heritage spaces' (Debruyne & Nazarska, 2024), as other studies have also examined (e.g., Decheva, 2022; Ivanova, 2023). Indeed, the mausoleum – which Michael Kelleher described as “the most ideologically important monument in communist Bulgaria” and where the mortal remains of the country's first communist ruler were “put on par with Lenin” (Kelleher, 2009, p. 50) – was famously blown up in 1999, though this proved to be a controversial act (Decheva, 2022, pp. 94-95). And turning specifically to the case of those military monuments related to the Red Army, a Polish-language study by Kamen Rikev observes that the presence of these memorials (several of which are profiled in depth in Dobre's (2024b) analysis), continues to be somewhat contentious (Rikev, 2022, p. 74).

Conclusions and further research

The present article has aimed to provide some brief comparisons between three different country case studies: the Caribbean republic of Trinidad & Tobago and the two southeastern European nations of Romania and Bulgaria. In charting nascent moves in Trinidad & Tobago towards developing (and eventually implementing) a comprehensive policy with regard to the country's numerous colonial-era memorials, statues, and landmarks, the initial activities of the relevant Committee have been outlined. With the Caribbean nation still at a very early stage in this complex process, some brief comparisons regarding the post-1989 fate of communist-era statues and monuments in Romania and Bulgaria have also been given. As such, this has demonstrated how discussions relating to these contested items can often be contentious, displaying not only considerable ambiguity on the part of politicians and the wider public, but also illustrating how political, societal, and other factors can play important roles in determining the steps taken. As exemplified by the decisions made regarding the destruction, removal, or retention of specific communist-era monuments in Romania and Bulgaria (some of which may have decreased in ideological significance over time and thus become part of the fabric of everyday life for many

citizens), it can be advanced that some of these aspects may also prove to be relevant to the Trinidad & Tobago context and thus warrant further scholarly investigations.

Whilst the comparative data presented in this study has been somewhat limited by the desk-based methodological approach, further examination of legal and sociocultural aspects, as well as interviews and surveys with the public and policymakers, could lead to a deeper understanding of the issues at hand. In this vein, it is certainly to be hoped that future steps regarding monuments and landmarks linked to the colonial legacy in Trinidad & Tobago will aim to accommodate the country's distinctive diversity, ensuring that these issues are examined and dealt with in a way that recognises and is acceptable to all stakeholders, thereby opening the door to nuanced discussions on this important topic in the upcoming years.

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What were the Origins of the Bulgarian Alphabet? Cultural Patterns and the Question of the Socialist Heritage

Abstract: *The paper addresses the question of the socialist heritage in scholarship with regard to the issue of the origins of the Old Bulgarian alphabet. The point of reference is the process of generating memory about the event(s) and the discussion that took place in the Bulgarian academic community on the occasion of the anniversary of 1100 years of the Moravian Mission (1963). The aim of the analysis is not to re-evaluate the view that is well-established in Slavic studies, but to problematize the conditions of possibility for the alternative thesis, i.e. St. Cyril and Methodius invented it long before they went to Moravia and it was intended specifically for Bulgarians, which functions in Bulgarian cultural memory and textbooks up to present day. The research focus is on the scientific discourse on the subject and the role of both intellectuals and the long-lasting cultural patterns in the process of (re)creating notions that have been crucial for the national identity before and after the fall of the communist political regime.*

Keywords: *alphabet; socialism; heritage; Bulgarian culture; memory; Cyril and Methodius.*

Introduction

The year of 1963 was one of the most important years in terms of Slavic idea in Bulgaria during socialism. The international celebration of 1100 years since the creation of the Slavic alphabet, as an event included to the UNESCO calendar, was conducted in Sofia, where the 5th Slavic Congress was held in September. The great jubilee was acknowledged also by the local authorities. The Cyrillo-Methodian Commission, which had its origins in 1934, was restored officially, and a jubilee scientific conference, which was directly associated with the feast of 24th May, i.e. the day of Bulgarian education and culture, was organized. The jubilee activities were massive, and obviously determined by the current policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The events became a pretext for re-evaluating the established standpoints.

However, what was celebrated in Bulgaria in 1963, was not the invention of the Slavic alphabet, but the dissemination of the Cyrillo-

Methodian work. As explained by Vladimir Georgiev (1908 – 1986), a well-known linguist and the vice-president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences at that time, during the conference opening speech:

The 1100th anniversary that we are celebrating marks the beginning of the Cyrillo-Methodian activity among the Slavs in 863, i.e. at the time when Cyril and Methodius with the newly created alphabet and books began their educational work among the Slavs in Great Moravia. Since in 863 Cyril and Methodius undertook a large-scale activity among the Slavs and built that work with which they entered the history of Slavism and medieval Europe, that year really remains memorable in terms of development. But Cyril and Methodius began educational work among the Slavs even before that, which is why it was not by chance that they were charged with the important so-called Moravian mission. Connected by blood with the Slavs inhabiting the city of Thessaloniki and the Thessaloniki region, even before the Moravian mission, they consecrated a gift and efforts to the Slavs inhabiting Byzantium and the lands close to it. These Slavs are part of those Slavic masses who were the main component of the population in the Bulgarian state. The belief that Cyril composed a Slavonic letters as early as 855 with a view to activity among the Bulgarian Slavs is rooted among ours philologists and historians. This year is taken not only from the date indicated by Chernorizets Hrabar in his remarkable *On Letters*, but also from the short life of Cyril, in which it is reported that before he was charged with the Moravian mission, Cyril developed an educational activity among the Slavs in Macedonia – along the Bregalnitsa River, for whom he also wrote books. This information also connects well with the character of the language of the Cyrillo-Methodian texts, which is not Moravian but Old Bulgarian, i.e. language of the Bulgarian Slavs. (B. Георгиев, 1965, pp. 6–7).¹

According to the dominant and officialised during socialism view, the Moravian mission was a matter of increasing range, gaining all-Slavic character, not inventing alphabet itself. The presupposition was the Slavic letters were created in 855 in the context of the legendary mission on Bregalnitsa river which was argued with a specific reading of the sources.²

¹ All translations are mine – E.D.

² There were different theories as to when the Slavic alphabet was created and which was it. For more, see the entries in: *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, 1985–2003. See also **Атанасова & Пенчев**, 2014. One need to note that the Bregalnitsa mission as a historical fact of has been already refuted, as it seems to be a product of the process of Bulgarization of the Cyrillo-Methodian cult in the medieval era (Чешмеджиев, 2001, pp. 86–91).

It is not the aim of this paper to revise the scientific proofs, or to suggest any alternative readings with regard to the origins of the Slavic alphabet. What I am interested in is the question how the memory of the origins of the Bulgarian alphabet has been generated and recycled in long-durée terms. What were the conditions of possibility for particular arguments and notions? How does it function today? Therefore, I will be focusing mainly on the academic discourse, and the context will be given by the premises of the Bulgarian cultural memory. I will be asking of a master narrative within the Bulgarian scholarship and culture.³

Chronology and Ideology

As concluded by Diana Atanasova and Boyko Penchev in their paper “Chronology and ideology (on the origin of Slavic writings according to the history textbooks and the Cyrillo-Methodian studies)”:

[...] the year 855 has proved itself to be flexible enough to fuel various ideological narratives from the mid-19th century to the present day. Its persistence in historiographical discourse may be due to the fact it “remembers” in a coded way the narrative that was actually inherited from Paisius [of Hilendar]. In the chapter “About Slavic teachers” from *Istoriya Slavyanobolgarskaya* we will find all three key elements – the conversion of Boris by Methodius (although Paisius, who follows Mauro Orbini, confuses Boris with Mortagon), the departure of Cyril and Methodius to teach the Bulgarians (as the first ones) and the rest of the Slavs of the Christian faith, and the composition of the letters. With Paisius, it is not very clear which came after which, there were no specified years. However, historians after him, or at least the majority of them, would take care to adjust the years in such a way as to remain true to Paisius’ account. It turns out that it is not so much historians who ignore philologists; it is literature, in the person of Paisius, who dictates to historians what the correct facts are. And therefore to the question “In what year was the Slavic alphabet created?” students must indicate the “correct” year 855. (Атанасова & Пенчев, 2014, p. 105).

³ This question has been already addressed by Rumen Daskalov (2021). However, his contribution is of general nature, as the aim is to offer a synthesis of the history of Bulgarian historiography with regard to the Medieval era (with all its advantages and disadvantages). My aim is to go beyond the history of historiography and to comment on different ways of articulating historical knowledge, not only the official (i.e. approved by the authorities) discourse. Hereby, I would like to thank Doc. Dr. Desislava Naydenova for her remarks on the draft of this paper.

As I agree with this statement, I will comment on this *persistence* in locating the event in 855 by focusing more on the context in which it became fundamental element of the national, i.e. during socialism.

First of all, it has to be noted that, the question of the origins – of Cyril and Methodius, as well as their letters and language, became relevant again in the 1960's due to the shift towards the national past that happened in the Soviet bloc. Indeed, the Cyrillo-Methodian work was an important element of the socialist imaginary shortly after 1945, but then then emphasis was on the all-Slavic community and internationalism, and the leading role of the Soviet Union. The official discourse was against the established theses which were associated with and stigmatized as the bourgeois historiography and Great-Bulgarianism. The main subject of the ideological criticism was the so-called “philological method” which was seen as an expression of formalism, false objectivism, and idealism. The new goal was to conduct analysis “properly”, i.e. on the basis of the social development and economic relations, not the literary sources themselves. With regard to the Cyrillo-Methodian work, the position of Aleksandar Burmov (1911 – 1965) is the most vivid expression of this new socialist reading:

In accordance with the accounts from the lives, until recently it was accepted in research that Cyril and Methodius laid the beginning of the Slavic alphabet and literature on the order of the Byzantine emperor and were sent to Great Moravia as agents of the Byzantine church. Or, in other words, the Slavs acquired writing and literature through the intervention of an external factor. On the other hand, it happened by chance at the request of Rostislav, a Moravian prince, who was looking for preachers of Christianity who knew the Slavic language. [...] It is clear at first glance that these views, which were dominant in scholarship, are anti-scientific. Above all, they contradict reality. It is obvious that the compilation of an alphabet, and one that fully corresponds to the complex phonetic features of the Slavic language, cannot be accomplished in such a short time, despite the abilities and literacy of its creator. [...] Secondly, the current views on the history of Slavic writing and literature are idealistic. They detach this important event in the history of the Slavic peoples from the concrete historical reality, they reduce it to chance, they attribute it to the will of some individuals who are not related to the Slavs, the main agent being the Byzantine emperor. The only way that would lead us to a complete and proper clarification of the problem is the analysis of the specific historical situation that conditioned and gave birth to the work of Cyril and Methodius. In one word, the need for writing became a historical necessity for the Slavic peoples. It had to legitimately find its permission. (Бурмов, 1957, pp. 63–67).

Already in 1951, A. Burmov published a paper “On the beginning of Slavic alphabet and literature” in which he argued for the year 855 in “proper” terms (Бурмов, 1951-1952). As a result, during the government of Valko Chervenkov (1900 – 1980), the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the first years after the Second World War, and the prime minister in the period 1950 – 1956, the Bulgarian historiography engaged with this reading very quickly, and Burmov became an authority in this regard. The main shift manifested itself in introducing the notion of a historical necessity. Within the framework of materialism and historical determinism that underpin socialist historiography, it was impossible an event to occur without having an internal cause, which is deeply rooted in the social circumstances. The change in the perception of historical development was fundamental, nonetheless the issues to resolve remained the same as before. Was there Slavic writing before Cyril and Methodius? What came first the Glagolitic or the Cyrillic alphabet? What was the role of Byzantium? These “classic” questions had to be reinterpreted in terms of socialist and internationalist propaganda.

During the Stalinist period, the master narrative about the Cyrillo-Methodian work was revised and even censored, as shown by the first socialists synthesis of the Bulgarian history. *History of Bulgaria* was published already in 1954, and the model was given by the Soviet synthesis (for more, see Найденова, 2017). The emphasis was on the priority of the Russian alphabet. The unique work of Cyril and Methodius and their disciples was in fact denied.

Attempts to compile the Slavic alphabet were made in many places in Slavic countries. In 859, the Eastern Slavs already had some alphabet and even books written in it. Two such books - a gospel and a liturgical apostle - were seen by the Slavic saint Cyril in the city of Kherson on the Crimean peninsula. They were written, according to his life, in *roski* or *ruski*, i.e. Russian letters, which he easily read. All these attempts, unknown or known today, inevitably led to the creation of a more sophisticated Slavic letter system. After all, it was founded by the brothers Cyril and Methodius. (Милчев et al, 1954, p. 109).

The event of inventing the Slavic alphabet in 855 was indeed mentioned, and the letters were described as Glagolitic, however, there was no mentioning of the Cyrillic alphabet, only the Slavic writing. It was in this context that the activity of the Cyrillo-Methodian disciples in Bulgaria was introduced, which could have led to the conclusion that the Cyrillic alphabet is in fact a Russian invention. Moreover, the meaning of the Cyrillo-Methodian work was set in the all-Slavic perspective

which was argued in terms of the intention *and* the results. Within this narrative, the story about the *roski* letters became particularly important.⁴

There were two fundamental assumptions that organized scientific narrative. The first was that the Glagolitic alphabet was a historical necessity. The second was that there was a direct continuity between the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic. As explained by V. Georgiev:

Cyril created the so-called Glagolitic alphabet. These letters were a historical necessity: first, by creating letters that differed significantly in appearance from both the popular Greek and the popular Latin letters, Cyril responded to the desire of the Slavs to live their own cultural life; and, secondly, heading for lands claimed by Rome, Cyril could not create and successfully use the so-called Cyrillic, letters very close to Greek. It is true that quite a number of researchers have defined or still do the so-called Cyrillic as Cyril's alphabet. However, they forget the fact that where Cyril and Methodius worked, in Moravia and Pannonia, it was the Glagolitic alphabet that spread; the literary monuments that have come down to us from these lands testify to this – they are exclusively Glagolitic. Having played its historical role, the Glagolitic alphabet was later replaced – on Bulgarian soil – by the Cyrillic. The Cyrillic alphabet, however, continues in every respect Cyril's Glagolitic alphabet. (B. Георгиев, 1965, pp. 7–8).

The reasoning is based on the socio-political circumstance, and the main premise is that the alphabet is necessary if one seek to gain (or preserve) their cultural independency. There is no specific information about the Cyrillic alphabet, only that it has been continuing the Cyrillo-Methodian work “on Bulgarian soil”, which also deserves our attention.

What I would like to emphasise here is that the Bulgarian views on the origins of the Bulgarian alphabet were marked by two ideological frameworks: the Soviet Marxist and the Soviet Russian narrative. Both of them had challenged the local Bulgarian tradition, in both the scientific and cultural terms, and as such had helped in developing new/old thesis on the subject. The standpoint of a literary historian, Emil Georgiev (1910 – 1982) seems be the most vivid example of this manoeuvring between different ideological views:

[...] the original form of the Glagolitic alphabet was created by Cyril for the Bulgarian Slavs. This does not at all exclude the possibility

⁴ For more on the case of “roski” letters, and its readings in the context of the process of Russification of the Cyrillo-Methodian cult, see i.e. Чешмеджиев, 2001, pp. 110–127.

that when Cyril returned from South Russia, where he became acquainted with the Slavic alphabet, that is the so-called Cyrillic alphabet, that was created as a result of a historical process, he was spreading this alphabet among the Bulgarian Slavs for a while. [...] Immediately before his departure for Moravia, Cyril was able to compose his letters “at once”, because he had in front of him both his letters from 855, which he had “drawn” for the Slavs of Bregalnitsa, and the Slavic Greek alphabet – i.e. the Cyrillic alphabet. The presented facts are of such a nature that the thesis of significant activity of great Slavic educators among the Bulgarian Slavs cannot be a “patriotic” thesis of Bulgarian researchers, but a thesis of science. (Е. Георгиев, 1956, pp. 99–100).

Emil Georgiev was a philologist who began to publish already in the 1940's, defending two theses. First, the Glagolitic alphabet was created in 855, which was based on a specific calculation of the year mentioned in *On letters* by Chernorizec Hrabar. Second, the so-called Bregalnitsa mission that was mentioned in *Assumption of Cyril* was indeed a historical fact. The thesis of 855 had a long tradition in the Slavic and Bulgarian scholarship, although the leading historians before 1944, including Vasil Zlatarski (1866 – 1935), argued in favour of the year 862 or 863. What is important here is that E. Georgiev managed to argue for the year 855, i.e. the thesis that he had been defining for years, in terms of Marxism methodology. He introduced it as a result of a critique of the “philological method”. Moreover, although the invention of the letters was presented as an effect of the long-term development and a response to the specific social-political situation, the story remained in favour of the Bulgarian-centric views. The principles of social determinism and materialism were set within the framework of the nationalist idiom. The keywords were *necessity* and *continuity* which presumably masked or neutralized “patriotic” charge of the old scholarly view.

The thesis of 855 was dominant already during the celebration of the Cyrillo-Methodian anniversary in 1957 which was devoted to the 100 years of the (Bulgarian) Feast of Cyril and Methodius that was celebrated on 24th May. The “objective sense” of the event was emphasized in terms of materialism, social determinism, and the idea of progress, nevertheless, the right to self-determination in terms of *national* identity became more and more relevant. And then, in the early 1960's the great change happened. The Middle Ages became again an important subject of interest, which manifested itself in terms of both institutional forms and publishing practices. In this context, Kuyo Kuev (1909 – 1991), literary historian and medievalist began to argue in favour of 863. The anniversary of 1963 turned out to be a perfect pretext

and context for ideological reformulations, and the publishing activity was extensive.

The year of 855 was more and more present, and the idea of the “roski” letters gradually vanished. In the new circumstances, the all-Slavic dimension of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission was not emphasised by diminishing the unique contribution of Bulgarians, like in the 1950’s, but reframing the role of Byzantium. Dimitar Angelov (1917 – 1996), a historian and Byzantinist, claimed, for example, that the thesis about the Byzantine influence on Cyril and Methodius contradicted the very essence of the Byzantine “attitude” towards foreign languages, as well as the state policy regarding the Slavs (Ангелов, 1965). The thesis that Byzantium had wanted to control the Slavs through the new alphabet, which was formulated by Ivan Duychev (1907 – 1986), another historian and Byzantinist, already in 1957, was rejected precisely due to the main assumption at that time that (only) one’s own language leads to an independent and unique cultural and political development (Дуйчев, 1957, Ангелов, 1965, pp. 151–152).

The case of Duychev’s research is also very interesting. Already in 1957, he managed to interpret the matter of inventing Slavic alphabet in the wider historical context of political aspirations of the Byzantine Empire. He defended the idea that the Byzantine authorities in fact supported using “national” languages in order to gain control over various ethnic groups, including Slavs, by giving them Christian faith (Дуйчев, 1957, p. 256). He also emphasised that there had been many attempt in creating Slavic letters, and Cyril probably had known some of them, which also corresponded with the premise that was crucial for the communist that the invention could not have been not a one time (or miraculous) event. In the same time, he claimed that the Glagolitic alphabet was invented by Cyril precisely in 855, although he mentioned the latest suggestions by K. Kuev, and agreed there was a need for further investigation (Дуйчев, 1957, pp. 262–263). And yet, his serious academic reasoning was rejected at that time because of the incompatibility between the official line of interpretation of the events and the notion that the Empire had left a positive impact on Slavs, and the Slavic Enlighteners in particular.

The fact that the work of Cyril and Methodius was not mentioned in the Byzantine chronicles was pointed out as a proof of their “weak connection” with the Empire. The idea of the Byzantine initiative in creating alphabet for the Slavs simply had to be refuted. The issue that should have been addressed as well was the relation between the Slavic

and the Byzantine. While Petar Dinekov (1910 – 1992), a literary historian, suggested that the environment of the monasteries around Constantinople was as much Slavic as Byzantine (Динеков, 1965, p. 106), E. Georgiev claimed that Byzantine culture was not actually Greek, as the empire was ethnically mixed and in this sense the proper term should be *Southeast European culture* (Е. Георгиев, 1965, p. 32). As a result, the Byzantine element in the life and work of Cyril and Methodius was vastly re-evaluated and diminished. Regardless, the all-Slavic character of the letters was preserved, although with different means and arguments. Its interpretation depended on which aspect of the work was discussed: the invention or spreading the alphabet among the Slavs.

As the genealogical (and ideological) relations between language, alphabet, literature, culture and ethnicity, nationality were being tightened, the narrative on the Cyrillo-Methodian mission reversed in terms of the basic questions. The emphasis shifted from the results towards the origins, and the origins were perceived as Bulgarian. The role of Bulgaria in disseminating the “great legacy” became a new topic, leading to revitalising the notion of Bulgarian primacy, which was achieved in two steps: by appropriating the old nationalistic idiom and by rejecting the thesis of the Russian/Soviet supremacy. Only now it was possible to conclude:

Old Russian literature for a long period was a continuation of Old Bulgarian literature. Even if there was some writing among the Russians, before Bulgaria became the cradle of Slavic literature, it was only from the Bulgarian cultural centre that the writing passed to Russia, completely arranged and established. Moreover, Bulgaria sanctioned the right of the Slavs to have letters and books (Динеков, 1965, p. 42).

The Cyrillo-Methodian work was referred to as revolutionary, progressive, democratic – which was understood in terms of the Communist propaganda (for more, see Джевиецка, 2020), in the same time, however, it was *also* considered as truly and solely Bulgarian.

And so, since the early 1960's, different scholars, philologists and historians, had been publishing their texts in popular magazines and everyday papers and repeating their standpoints in different formats and genres. They also had authored many articles and chapters in textbooks and encyclopaedias. As a result, the reformulated view on the origins of the Bulgarian alphabet and literature was constantly reminded to Bulgarians. The feats of 24th May, which was restored as an official public holiday already in 1957, became the main occasion for this activity.

Memory and the Shift of Meanings

The above-mentioned characteristics are the basic elements of the process of generating memory of the origins of the Bulgarian alphabet. The expression “generating memory of the origins” is obviously a logic contradiction but it captures a very effective mode of addressing and strengthening specific views on the national past, in which the main role is played by the intellectuals and scholars. The jubilee discourse that was launched with the events of 1963 and was maintained after that on special occasions, particularly every 24th May, is the most striking manifestation of this phenomenon. At its core, there were ideas that had been supposedly set by the hymn *Cyril and Methodius* by Stoyan Mihaylovski (1856 – 1927). Cultural development, writing and literacy in the history of Bulgaria became (once again) markers of the national identity and pride. The national meaning, however, always underpin the Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations. In fact, the case of the hymn is a particularly telling. This literary text was wrote in the end of the 19th century by a writer who was bourgeois and backward in terms of communist ideology. Nonetheless, his work was redacted and adapted for the needs of the Party. The ideological appropriation was achieved by removing the references to religious tradition, putting emphasis on Slavic brotherhood, and focusing on the idea of the bright future (of a socialist country) (for more, see Джевицка, 2023).

The master narrative on the Bulgarian Middle Ages, including the year of 855, that was established in the late 1960's has been repeated in encyclopaedias and textbooks till nowadays, despite various changes in ideological emphasis and frameworks. Historically, what is certain is that apart of the account in *On letters*, there is no Greek or any others sources that indicate an exact time of the invention. Also, the question how to interpreted the year given by Chernorizets Hrabar, i.e. 6363, proved to be very challenging academically. Nevertheless, neither the position of K. Kuev, who claimed it was 863 (for more, see Kyev, 1967), nor that of Ivan Dobrev (b. 1938), who argued for 862 in the late 1970's (Добрев, 1977), received an approval in terms of the needs of propaganda, and as such entered the teaching programmes. As a result, today, the (hi)story of the origins of the Bulgarian/Slavic alphabet(s) appears to be one of the most vivid expressions of the socialist heritage within educational system.⁵

⁵ Another very interesting example of the socialist heritage in the Bulgarian educational system today is the folklore motif of the immured woman, which was addressed recently by Sylwia Siedlecka (2024).

After the fall of communism, different history textbooks named and framed the events in different manner, as the “degree” of the reading that was established during socialism also differed, but the “fact” of 855 remains unchallenged. In my view, it cannot be explained only with the silent/hidden power of the work by Paisius of Hilendar. The hermeneutic potential that manifests itself here and gives primacy to the Bulgarians was positively evaluated in specific circumstances during socialism. It was successfully incorporated into the official narrative precisely because of the ideological purposes of the party, not the genealogy of the motif itself. In this perspective, the claim that “it is not so much historians who ignore philologists; it is literature, in the person of Paisius, who dictates to historians what the correct facts are” (Атанасова & Пенчев, 2014, p. 105) should be reformulated. I would suggest that it is not so much scholars who ignore the truth; it is cultural (and thus scientific) heritage, (re)framed and capsulated during socialism, that dictates to scholars what the correct facts are (or in fact – should be). Obviously, this formula is not only valid for the socialist period, nevertheless it was under the communist ideology when the conditions of cultural production were extremely limited and as such they played a special role in the transmission of cultural memory.

History textbooks for elementary school issued after the change of political system serve as a good example of this peculiar continuity of a certain model of understanding and presenting the events. Obviously, at this early stage of education many facts and processes are simplified or given in a slightly appropriated way, but the invention of the Slavic alphabet is always related to the year of 855 – regardless of possible ideological framings. The narrative intended for the younger pupils is particularly telling, since it presents the events in the most condensed way, being a testimony of what facts and interpretations are considered to be irrelatively important.

Until the school year 2016/2017, the history of the medieval Bulgarian state, and thus – the question of the Slavic alphabet(s), was thought in the 5th and 11th grade, and it was this period that Atanasova and Penchev (Атанасова & Пенчев, 2014) analysed. It seems that the most “neutral”, and thus common version of the (hi)story is presented in a textbook branded by a renowned publishing house Prosveta. Here, the ambivalent role of Byzantine Empire is acknowledged, and the focus is on the Slavic dimension of the work, without going deeper into the matters of national identity. And still, the invention of the alphabet

is introduced as a singular and independent act of one man that happened in a particular year of 885.

In 855 Cyril invented Slavic alphabet called Glagolitic. With a small circle of disciples, the holy brothers began translating the Bible from Greek into Slavic. Their activity was encouraged by Byzantium, which aimed to impose its spiritual influence over the Slavs. At that time Bulgaria had not yet been Christianized and in 863 the emperor sent Cyril and Methodius on a mission to Great Moravia. There they introduced worship in the Slavic language and prepared many disciples. (Гаврилова et al., 2006, p. 36).

The lack of a specific context makes the year of 855 rather unmotivated, and ultimately unnecessary. In fact, the whole structure of the message raises questions. Was the invention the sole initiative of Cyril, so the Byzantium took advantage of it? If Bulgaria was Christianised at that time, would the emperor send his missionaries there instead of Moravia? The narrative bears marks of compilation of two version of the (hi)story that have been addressing the events differently in terms of the purpose and the circumstances of the creating the alphabet. One is organized around the year of 855 and the missionary work of Cyril among Bulgarians. The other revolves around the idea of Byzantine initiative and indirectly refers to the theory of 863.

Historical synthesis authorised by the acclaimed Bulgarian historians after 1989 show that the year 855 was *inherited* as a historical fact, although one may find some inconsistencies within their narratives, which confirm a particular ideological nature of the historiographical construct. For example, in *History of the Medieval Bulgaria 7th-14th century* by Ivan Bozhilov and Vasil Gyuzelev (1999), the circumstances around the invention, including the lives of Cyril and Methodius are described in details. It is said that after the mission among the Arabs in 855, Cyril retreated to Polychron Monastery, and precisely then, together with Methodius, started to work on Slavic alphabet (Божилов & Гюзелев, 1999, p. 199). It is emphasized that the data had showed *unequivocally* that the invention of the letters took place long before the Moravian mission (Божилов & Гюзелев, 1999, p. 203). This claim that it was a long process (because it had to be so) is repeated in other publications on the subject, and it is presented as the only reliable element of the (hi)story (apart from the identity of the inventor).⁶ Nevertheless,

⁶ And as such – it may be seen even as a direct proof in support of the thesis of 855! According to the short history of Bulgaria by Petar Angelov, Petar Sazdov and Ivan Stoyanov (Ангелов et al., 2003, p. 86), the logical premise that inventing letters

the precise year is always given, and it is 855. On the other hand, the process itself is presented as a quite complicated, which seems to reconcile the two main scientific views on the matter: “The Slavonic alphabet created in 855 (it was the Glagolitic alphabet) was subsequently improved, and in 862-863, just before the Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius, it was fully developed [...]” (Божилов & Гюзелев, 1999, p. 203). The “problem” of the Moravian mission is resolved by (re)introducing the notion of practical application, just as within the socialist framework in 1963. In this context, the Cyrillo-Methodian activity along Bregalnitsa river may or may not be mentioned (cf. Божилов & Гюзелев, 1999, p. 199; Алгелов et al., 2003, p. 85), but the main idea is clear, and the fundamental assumption is the soil agency of the Brothers.

In most recent times, due to the changes in the teaching programme, the medieval history of Bulgaria is thought in the 6th and 11th grade. In the new textbooks, the Cyrillo-Methodian work is presented quite extensively. It is noticeable that the issue of the two Slavic alphabets is addressed more detailed, as well as the contribution of Holy Brother is commented widely in the context of the rise of the Old Bulgarian culture and the so called Golden Age. In a textbook for the 6th grade published by Prosveta, the main point is that “Cyril and Methodius created an alphabet for the Slavs”, but the work was saved by the Bulgarians, and Bulgaria turned into “a focal point of Slavic Christian culture” (Павлов et al., 2017, p. 42). The textbook includes, however, illustrations of Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts. Bulgarian dimension of the story is gained by pointing two facts. First, the Glagolitic alphabet created by St. Cyril’s alphabet is based on the local speech of the Bulgarian Slavs around the city of Thessaloniki (Павлов et al., 2017, p. 43). Second, the Glagolitic alphabet was gradually replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet established in Bulgaria (Павлов et al., 2017, p. 42). the notion of continuity is strengthen by addressing the issue of the development of the letters. In this regard, a textbook issued by the publishing house Riva is even more persuasive, as it includes tables with Glagolitic, Old Cyrillic and Modern Cyrillic alphabet which gives a clear the idea of the Bulgarian alphabet(s)⁷.

required more time is even a proof that the claim of Chernorizets Hrabar about 855 is right, which shows that the issue of different ways of interpreting the year of 6363 is not acknowledged.

⁷ On the other hand, it is said that Cyrillic was in fact a creation of St. Clement, which is an old theory that has been already rejected by most of the scholars.

What is more important, however, is that the tendency is the legacy of the year 855 to be relativized. In the afore-mentioned textbook by Prosveta, the circumstances are explained as follows: “*Probably* [emphasise is mine – ED], in 855, Cyril created the first Slavonic alphabet, the Glagolitic alphabet, and together with Methodius began to translate the sacred books from Greek into Slavonic. The alphabet and the books of Cyril and Methodius were not intended only for the Slavs in Byzantium” (Павлов et al., 2017, p. 42). In the textbook by Riva, it is said that both of the brothers created the new alphabet *around* 855 (Гарова et al., 2017, p. 93). Although there is factual difference between the two textbooks regarding the identity of the inventors(s), the change is significant. In a textbook for the 11th grade, which is for the purposes of the profiled learning, the circumstances are presented without indicating the year, and the history of Cyril and Methodius is more nuanced and contextual.

Indeed, the year of 855 may be seen as a sign of the interpretative matrix than is much older than the socialist one, as noted by Atanasova and Penchev, which is a chronological fact. However, it may also be seen as a manifestation of a particular intellectual heritage which I identify as socialist. Here, I understand heritage as a something that is inherited in terms of the ideological horizon and model of classifying and articulating things. Therefore, I do not engage directly with the research that focuses on material and/or immaterial manifestations of a community’s identity and its remembered past, especially with regard to the issues of power and cultural heritage conservation. I perceive heritage as culturally inherited forms and ways of understanding and expressing notions that are of key importance for a community. It is not about the positively evaluated category of heritage as something to be preserved, since it supposedly captures or symbolizes a certain identity. It is about an intellectual legacy, in which the man role has been played by the cultural elites of a community as inventors and supporters of memorable narratives. I call it a socialist heritage because it gained its current form precisely during this period, in the specific context of ideological struggles at the intersection of science and politics in the 1960s, and as such – it has an socialist genealogy. As such, it took over the scholarship and has been functioning until nowadays. The question of the communist legacy within the Bulgarian scholarship, especially historiography has been already addressed (see i.e. Daskalov, 2021). Here, I would like to focus on a broader context of the phenomenon, which I perceive in terms of *longue durée* cultural patterns.

Obviously, the case concerns the question of the so-called communist nationalism or “nationalism from the left” (Sygkelos, 2011; cf. Marinov & Vezenkov, 2014), however, my aim is not to address the well-known phenomena in the context of the communist party’s struggles for legitimacy. I am interested in the power of the national idiom that gives forms and meanings in longer terms (cf. Verdery, 1995). If a community is defined by the modern category of nation, then sustaining its existence can be reached by replicating selected elements of the national master narrative. In this perspective, the socialist heritage manifests itself in particular expressions, sets of values and relations between the “facts” that had been established before 1944. The case of the Slavic alphabet is a very significant example of this reorganization. The genealogy of the leading scientific theory and its contextual application is traceable, especially when it comes to the educational system and the most popular views on the subject today. However, from my point of view, what needs to be further investigated is the terminology itself. In Bulgarian, there are few linguistic expressions that have been used as far as the events of 863 is concerned. The event is called creation or invention, dissemination, beginning; its subject is called writing system, alphabet, letters, even literature and culture. The adjective is Slavic and/or Bulgarian. It is important to add that in case of many anniversary statements, even when the title or the leading wording refer to the idea of invention, the text itself would often suggest the alternative version of the events. I would argue that the key element for capturing the sense-making horizon is the notion of the *Slavic*, as it is interpreted in a close relation to the *Bulgarian*.

What is obvious at this stage of my research is that during socialism the names of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets appear rarely in the anniversary and popular texts. Also, the chronology of the events is not presented clearly. There is a vague transition from the notion of the alphabet that was created by Cyril and Methodius towards the notion that Cyril and Methodius are the founders of the Bulgarian alphabet and literature. It is related to the process of popularizing the historical knowledge which do lead to simplification by definition, but what I would like to suggest is that it seems also to have a compensatory character, being a result of manoeuvring between different standpoints.

In my view, the ideological dilemma between *the national* and *the all-Slavic* that came to fore in the early 1960’s resulted in instability and even vagueness of the main plot about the Slavic writing. Firstly, it manifested itself in the unstable meaning of the term “Slavic”, which

could have referred either to the ethnic origins, the cultural area of use, or the imperative of the Slavic community, and as such – it had different connotations and propaganda use in different Slavic communist countries. Secondly, the name of the Glagolitic alphabet disappeared in fact from the basic narrative about the Cyrillo-Methodian work, which I see as a quite paradoxical effect of appropriating it for the needs of the nation-centric discourse in the socialist context. In order to strengthen the link between the events of 855 and the Golden Age of the Bulgarian literature and culture, i.e. to establish the continuity between the invention of the Slavic alphabet and the triumph of the Cyrillo-Methodian idea in Bulgaria, Cyril and Methodius were often presented as creators of the *Bulgarian* alphabet, i.e. the Cyrillic.

This identification is of course characteristic of the premodern period, when the Slavic alphabet was visualized as Cyrillic. The question of the origins of the alphabet referred also to the main mythologemes of the National Revival. As noticed by Atanasova and Penchev:

With time, the two key elements – the conversion of Boris by Methodius and the Bregalnitsa mission – fell out of the “serious” history, being perceived as legendary, and thus we will not find them in the textbooks. However, the year remains. Without its meaningful context, ideological coherence, it stands incomprehensible. (Атанасова & Пенчев, 2014, p. 104)

What I would like to suggest is that the contemporary image of Cyril and Methodius as creators of the Bulgarian Cyrillic alphabet is not just a convenient National Revival tradition, or a simplification of the Cyrillo-Methodian narrative but (also) a peculiar “side effect” of the dilemma what and how to celebrate in 1963, and how to address the question of the Slavic alphabet(s).

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Linguistic Technologies in Branding: Artistic Variations at the Biennale Arte in Venice 2024¹

Abstract: *The research aims to establish the role of language in the branding of national, transnational and regional identities in the works of art selected for the Venice Biennale 2024. The analysis shows that the notion of language as a unifying concept of national identity is greatly shaken. The use of text in works of art shows the clash and destruction of traditional values and identities. In most national pavilions and individual participants, the theme is the return to or push away from traditional identities. The texts in the works of art are monolingual, discussing the problems of colonialization, women's and transgender identity, and multilingual, thematizing the increasing feeling of alienation in a globalized world based on gender, religious, etc. differences. The use of intentional language variants or speech imitations suggests the person's inability to talk about the suffering and violence, as well as to connect with others.*

Keywords: branding; language; text; Biennale Arte in Venice; identity.

Branding is an identity-building process by which countries gain visibility and position themselves on the world map by drawing on their history, culture, economy, society, geography and people (Theodoropoulou, Tovar, 2022). S. Anholt (2017) was the first to use the term ‘national brand’ in the late 1990s, later comparing the world to a “giant supermarket” due to globalization, in which countries compete through different elements of branding - people, places, culture and language, history, food, fashion, famous people, global brands, etc. Y. Fan defines seven levels of the concept of national brand, among which he places the so-called ‘soft’ power - intellectual and intangible achievements, i.e. the so-called by other researchers cultural brand (Fan, 2010, p. 99–100). The national brand is related to the cultural industries of the countries, and therefore it is precisely “cultural brands that play a leading role in national branding today”, being “actively used to demonstrate the cultural values of the country and their dissemination” (Tulchinskii, 2013, p. 9–10). O. Biletska (2021) uses the results

of the rating of national branding according to the criterion “culture and heritage” (here comes the factor of influence in art) and indicates that Italy tops the list for 2020 as the country with the strongest cultural brand. “The National Brand Index, O. Biletska continues, shows that the world's leading countries pay special attention to the 'culture' component as a tool for their national branding these days. Culture is considered a driving force in building a positive international image and national brand” (Biletska, 2021). Arguably, participation in the Biennale Arte in Venice is a way to brand both the nation and the artists (see further Swartz, 1997; Nisbett, 2003; Ferraro, 2006; Thornton, 2009; Birnbaum and Volz, 2009; Titova, 2021).

Branding and types of identity

Looking for the place of national identity among other types of identity, I use D. Petkova's integrative model of social and cultural identities (Petkova, 2013, p. 16-26). According to the model, social and cultural identities are subcategories of individual and collective identity. So national identity is a collective identity. As a collective identity, national self-consciousness is of the type of traditional affiliations built on the basis of common genetic, racial, class origin, common historical memory, common language and cultural heritage, common religion. This type of collective identity is of the first type. The second type is transnational and regional identities.

Based on this typology, I examine the artifacts in the Biennale Arte in Venice pavilions according to the role of language in making sense of national and transnational identities.

A factor influencing the choice of a national branding strategy is the self-concept, defined as the collective members' mental image of their own group (Petkova, 2013, p. 144). Self-concept equals self-narrative, which “includes thoughts, feelings, and perceptions about a community's past, present, and future, and is typically replicated in the media, education, and legislative systems” (Ashmore et al., 2004, p. 96-97, cited in Petkova, 2013, p. 144). This discourse approach outlines the role of language in the formation of collective image and identity. That is why the research emphasizes the use of language in the works in the presentation of collective values, beliefs, stories, customs, etc., since a number of studies have proven the importance of the opposition ‘we’ – ‘them’ in the construction of a collective identity. In this sense, the placement of the themes of ethnocentrism, racism and xenophobia is quite expected, since the theme of the Venice Biennale 2024 is also

“Foreigners everywhere”. Setting the topic of stereotypes about the other and about oneself also influences the choice of branding strategies.

Research methodology

Aims and objectives of the research. The research aims to establish the role of language in the branding of national, transnational and regional identities in the artworks selected for the Venice Biennale 2024.

The tasks are as follows:

- to find works that use language as a strategy for identification with the nation or with transnational and regional features;
- to typologize and interpret the use and functions of the text in the works.

Analysis results

The Venice Biennale offers artists different ways of participating. The most prestigious level is through an invitation by the Biennale committee to individuals to participate and compete with other artists in the Palazzo (palace) within the Giardini. Otherwise, artists can be chosen to represent their nation either in a permanent pavilion in the Giardini (national pavilions appeared as early as 1907 and reflected the power play between nations over a century), in the Arsenale, or in temporary locations located around the city center. Side events can also be put on independently by individual artists or bands. It is a huge and complexly organized exhibition with the participation of hundreds of artists. And quite a few of them use text in their works. Texts of a different alphabet, in a specially selected font or handwriting, with a different degree of importance in the work.

This year the focus is on the colonial causes and gender dimensions of marginalization, the ecological fusion with nature, the freedom of the unusual, the wondrous and the utopian, the creation of places of religious empathy and/or escape.

A number of national pavilions and the artists selected by the curators have chosen to tell about the national collective identity through the historical events and cultural heritage of their own country. A recurring theme of the Biennale Arte in Venice 2024 is the reflection on the colonial past and marginalized communities due to ethnic or other conflicts. But some nations self-identify through the artists approved to represent them as historically colonized, i.e. enslaved and discriminated

against, sometimes subjected to massacres, forced relocation to foreign lands or outright extermination, i.e. genocide. Other national pavilions reimagine the past of their peoples as the past of colonizers, that is, of dominant peoples who must acknowledge historical guilt, but do so through a complex reflection of ambivalent events and multidirectional interpretations.

1. Functions of monolingual texts in artistic communication

1.1. National identities in a colonial environment and in migrant waves

In some cases, the choice of language is the way to show the dominance of the modern lingua franca: English. An internationally recognized language of nations with universally recognized economic, political and cultural prestige. In English there are, for example, the narratives of Andrii Dostliev, Lia Dostlieva. *Comfort Work* (2023-2024) at the National Pavilion of Ukraine, as well as Pablo Delano. The Museum of the Old Colony, 2024. And if we focus even just on these two pavilions, we see two completely different branding strategies using the English language. English as a seemingly neutral international language and English to emphasize who tells the story of marginalized and oppressed communities.

Andrii Dostliev, Lia Dostlieva through ten actors from Europe and Great Britain portray “suitable” types of Ukrainian refugees who are preferred by various European communities. Current refugees who have participated in research on stereotypes about Ukrainians are invited to help the actors improve their performances (see Photos 1 – 4).



Photos 1 – 4. National Pavilion of Ukraine. Andrii Dostliev, Lia Dostlieva. *Comfort Work* (2023-2024).

Pablo Delano's conceptual installation traces the endurance of colonial structures based on the experience of Puerto Rico, a Caribbean island that was a US colony for 500 years. In a purpose-built museum, the story of US dominance is told through the presence of the English language in bottle labels, in the titles of books and textbooks, in the captions of photographs, in geographical maps of the region. Mass American culture has permeated everywhere, with the Puerto Rican Barbie doll a kind of symbol of the trade in national identity that has been stripped down to facade exoticism (Photos 5 – 8).



Photos 5 – 8. Pablo Delano. The Museum of the Old Colony, 2024.

The opposite strategy is also chosen in the Pavilion of the Americas, where contemporary texts written in English are stylized in the color tradition of Native American art (see Photos 9 - 23). The colors that swallow the inscriptions of the colonizer's language and make them hard to read show the strength of the traditions of the indigenous people and challenge the idea of the foreigner - who the foreigner really is.





Photos 9 - 23. If not now then when; Give my something extra; The right of the people peaceably to assemble; Treat Me Right; The Obligation Of Honor Of A Powerful Nation; We Will Be Known Forever By The Tracks We Leave; The Returned Male Student Far Too Frequently Goes Back To The Reservation And Falls Into The Old Custom Of Letting His Hair Grow Long; I'm A Natural Man; Liberty When It Begins To Take Root Is A Plant Of Rapid Growth; The Great Spirit Is In All Things; Action Now Action Is Eloquence; Whereas It Is Essential To Just Government We Recognize The Equality Of All People Before The Law, 2024.

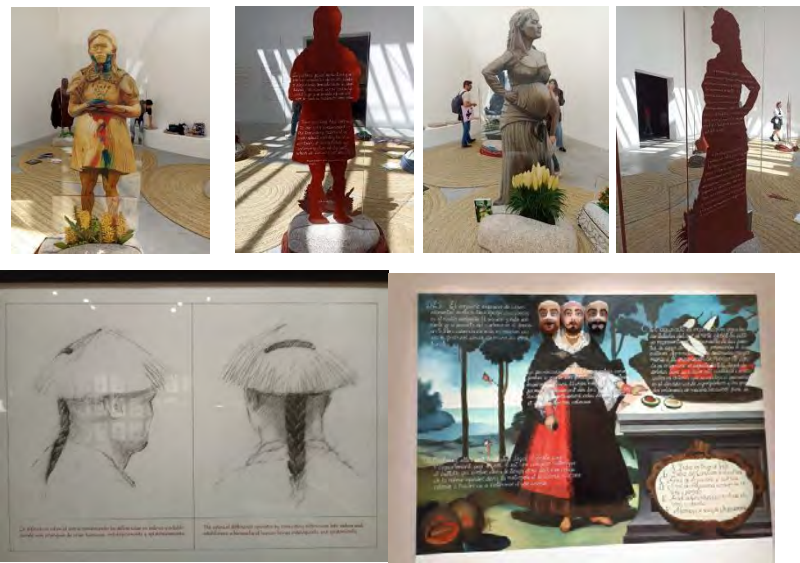
In the pavilions of Spain and Bolivia, almost every work used a narrative in Spanish - in one case it was the language of the colonizers, in the other - of the colonized. The inscriptions are directly on the images or on their backs (Photos 24, 25-30), the imitation of handwriting emphasizing the human effort to talk about the difficult subjects of colonization.

The Spanish pavilion is among the large-scale ones, so several different projects are taking place there. One presents a series of pictorial canvases of the idealized pastoral equatorial nature of the colonized lands, as it appears in historical paintings from the centuries of Latin American colonization, but on them are exposed handwritten texts representing how, according to Walter Benjamin, behind each natural or man-made beauty stands for exploitation.



Photo 24. Pavilion of Spain

The other installation in the Spanish Pavilion tells the story of Native Americans through a series of cardboard cut-out silhouettes set behind iconic and culturally recognizable types of flowers.



Photos 25-30. Pavilion of Spain.

1.2. Female identity as a transnational phenomenon and the Hispanic tradition

Spanish texts have also been used to highlight female identity, accompanying traditional handmade artefacts made from natural materials – feathers, cotton, silk, etc. The emphasis on the position of women in Bolivia and Chile, for example, aims to rebrand the countries as abandoning conservative values for the sake of defending the freedom and rights of women and joining the ideas protecting human rights (see Photos 31 – 33).



Photos 31 – 33. Pavilion of Bolivia. Alexandra Bravo. Undocumented Women Yearn for Their Native Environment and Suffer from ‘Mal de País’, 2024; Alexandra Bravo.

Many European Women Work or Study Thanks to Undocumented Immigrants, 2024; Alexandra Bravo. No One in the World Is Illegal, 2024.

On canvases made like traditional patchwork in Chile, words are written that connect traditional with universal values – “a hopeful sigh of change” (curator Rodrigo Moura in Biennale Arte 2024, p. 81), thus combining national and transnational identity, creating a common universe of human values - solidarity, love, peace, freedom (Photos 34 – 35).



Photos 34 – 35. Arpilleristas (Unidentified Chilean artists). Arpillera, 1980s.

1.3. Other international or small languages and their alphabets as traditional branding of national identity

Texts in small languages and different from commonly used alphabets fit into the traditional way of branding – through nationally specific, recognizable and rare cultural facts.

Works that use the possibilities of the alphabet to show that changes in language and collective narrative are inextricably linked to changes in society are curious. Such is the work of Katya Buchatska. Best Wishes (2022-2024) (see Pictures 36 – 38), who, “while working with artists with neurological diseases during the war, noticed how family language changes - standard linguistic forms and clichés do not work when ordinary life is destroyed. Asking what a bombed person should wish for, she turns to the artists with neurological diseases, whose wishes capture the new reality sometimes abstractly, repetitively, poetically or absurdly” (curators Viktoria Bavykina, Max Gorbatskyi, see Biennale Arte 2024, p. 447). The use of the Cyrillic alphabet is not accidental. It is related to the perception of language and the alphabet as a strong bond of nationality in a country whose independence is threatened.



Pictures 36 – 38. National Pavilion of Ukraine. Katya Buchatska. Best Wishes (2022-2024).

Stylized inscriptions and images of letters in a traditional cultural context emphasize the transfer of meanings from the past to the present. In a number of works, the possibilities are sought through the form of letters and the ethno-religious graphic tradition to modernize the idea of the culture of an ethnic group, as was done in Lebanon. A Dance with her Myth (Photos 39 – 42) and Omar Mismar. Ahmad and Akram Protecting Hercules (Photo 43).

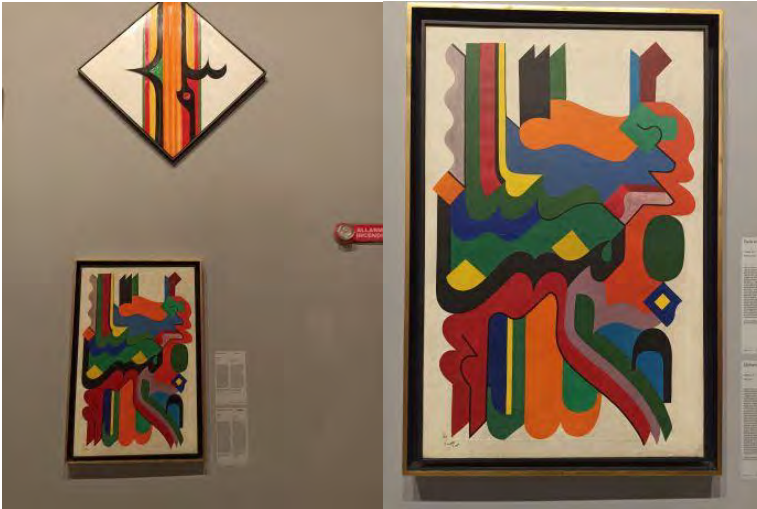


Photos 39 – 42. Lebanon. A Dance with her Myth, 2024.



Photo 43. Omar Mismar. Ahmad and Akram Protecting Hercules, 2019-2020.

The push away from traditional national symbols, such as language and the alphabet, is rather through form. The interweaving of letters and text into abstract forms was used by Rafa al-Nasiri, an Iraqi artist who in the 1970s used the Arabic script in his works. He imitated Arabic calligraphic forms in decorative decoration and used the Arabic alphabet as an artistic expression of the heritage of Arab-Islamic civilization. “The artist gives importance to only to the shapes of the Arabic letters, rather to their literal meaning. These shapes corresponded with this experimentation in abstraction, which served to reconnect Iraqi and Arab communities to their common artistic heritage” (curator Arthur Debsi Photos in Biennale Arte 2024, p. 73) (Photos 44 – 45).



Photos 44 – 45. Rafa al-Nasiri. Untitled, 1971.

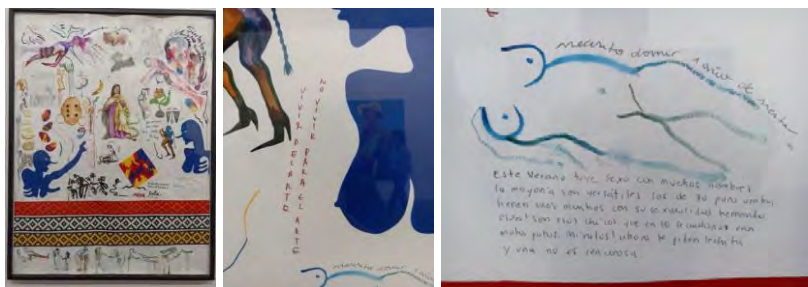
1.4. Transgender (mis)identifications and the rebranding of countries

The Spanish language was also used in a number of works asserting new sexual identities and showing the conflict between traditional and modern identity criteria. And this is part of the rebranding of Spanish-speaking nations as societies recognizing the right of the individual to identify with new groups on different grounds.

The story of people of different religious and sexual identities is told entirely in Spanish in the series *Virgenes Cholas* of La Chola Poblete (Photos 46, 47–49, 50–53, 54–55, 56–57). The series raises questions about religious and sexual identities that are transnational. Their collision gives rise to the dramatic experiences of modern man, who struggles with the violence of the collective over the individual who has rejected traditional identities. It is not by chance that slogans and keywords such as VIOLENCIA can be found among the numerous textual fragments in these works.



Photos 46. La Chola Poblete. Purple María, from the series *Virgenes Cholas*, 2023.



Photos 47-49. La Chola Poblete. Pachamama, from the series *Virgenes Cholas*, 2023.



Photos 50-53. La Chola Poblete. Virgen de la Misericordia, from the series Virgenes Cholas, 2023.



Photos 54-55. La Chola Poblete. La Virgen Mulata, from the series Virgenes Cholas, 2022.



Photos 56-57. La Chola Poblete. Inmaculado corazón de Travo, from the series Virgenes Cholas, 2022.

Jade Guanaro Kuriki-Olivo's works “address the pitfalls of identification and misidentification in the rejection of binary thinking” (curator Elena Ketelsen). The neon colors correspond to the Pride flag (see Photo 58).

Foreign language texts are placed in new and different contexts to produce new meaning. Recontextualization is realized not only through the transfer of inscriptions and letters, but also through the citation of entire texts in a different cultural environment.

Lauren Halsey presents an installation of monumental columns inspired by daily life in Los Angeles (Photos 63 – 65). Some of the columns have words written along with the images. The forms from the columns of the goddess Hathor have been recontextualized “by carving the capitals with likenesses and stories of people from her neighbourhood, honouring their contributions” (curator Juan Silverio in Biennale Arte 2024, p. 170). The temporal remix of ancient and contemporary “is a political gesture to uphold the Black and African American diaspora and its history with the same reverence as other architectural landmarks across the West” (curator Juan Silverio in Biennale Arte 2024, p. 170).

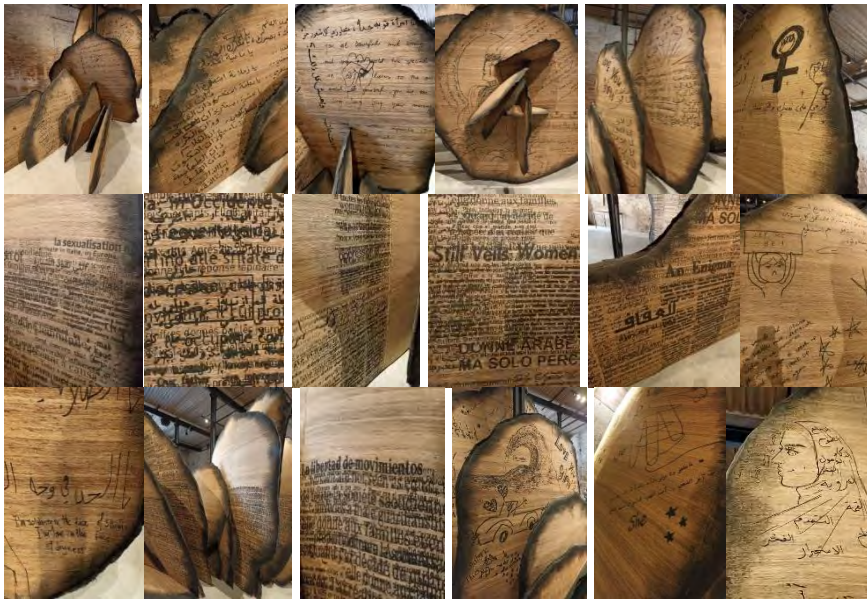


Photos 63 - 65. Lauren Halsey. Courtesy the artist.

The installation by Nil Yalter (Golden Lion winner 2024) “combines two iconic works of the author – “Exile is a Hard Job” (1977–2024), inspired by the words of the Turkish poet Nâzım Hikmet, which are written in red and are located on the images of immigrants and exiles. The work deals with two identity images – of the migrant and of the woman. Videos and fly-posters show the lives and sufferings of specific migrants, presenting the ideas of integration, uncertainty and stigmatization that evoke nostalgia for what is left behind (see Photos 66 – 69). “Topak Ev” (1973) refers to the artist's experience in the Bektik nomadic community that lives in round tents in Central Anatolia and migrated around the 10th century. It questions gender roles and social

Güneş Terkol's paintings feature images of women telling (on the banners) their individual stories, which become a collective narrative. This amplifies women's voices and creates a deep sense of community. Along with this, the question of the transformation of joint collective storytelling, in which women interpret their stories, contemporary reality and lifestyle is raised (an interpretation of curator Arzu Yayntaş, see more in Biennale Arte 2024, p. 321) (see Photos 72 – 73).

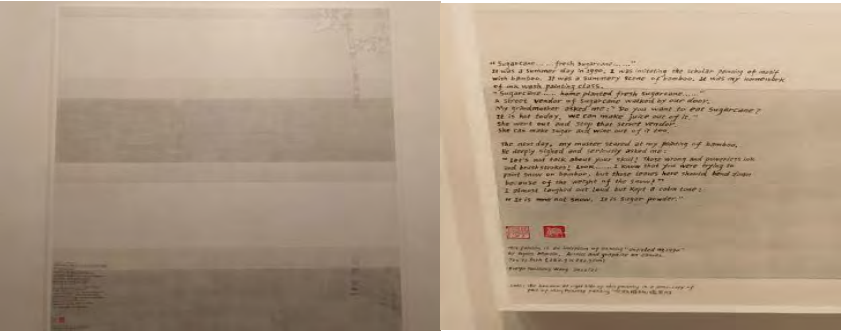
Similar in concept is “Shifting Sands: A Battle Song” by Manal AlDowayan in Pavilion of Saudi Arabia, but impressive is the decision to use the unique sand shapes of the desert rose to write texts in different languages from local and international media about Saudi women. These words and archives are a cacophony of prejudices that have distorted women's self-image and limited women's voices, tying them in the "straitjacket" of the outsider. The voices of Saudi women are expressed in combining the sounds and geology of the desert with the voice of women - a collective expression of their opposition to the meaninglessness of life (an interpretation of curators Jessica Cerasi, Maya El Khalil, see more in Biennale Arte 2024, p. 433). The installation not only shows the energy of Saudi women in a period of profound cultural transformation, but also forms a definitive outline of a transnational and transreligious female identity (Photos 74 – 91).



Photos 74 – 91. Manal AlDowayan. Shifting Sands: A Battle Song, 2024.

2.1.3. Citation as a way of pushing away from traditional identities and rebranding

The citation, which was not missing in the previous examples, of artists in a foreign national cultural context is a typical postmodern technique that tries to affirm the national by rejecting what belongs to outdated ideas. Evelyn Taocheng Wang expresses her long-standing interest in the Canadian-born American painter Agnes Martin. In the works, Wang literally follows the inscriptions of selected works by Martin – Sugar Powder Bamboo and Imitation of Agnes Martin; Colored Cotton Candles and Imitation of Agnes Martin; Do Not Agree with Agnes Martin All the Time (see Photos 92 – 93, 94 – 95, 96 – 97). It is related to the Chinese literati tradition, but also distanced it “from its Confucian-patriarchal basis, while the insertion of figurative elements within the modernist grid tease Minimalism’s universalist pretences” (curator Adeena May, see Biennale Arte in Venice 2024, p. 318).



Photos 92 – 93. Evelyn Taocheng Wang. Sugar Powder Bamboo and Imitation of Agnes Martin, 2023.



Photos 94 – 95. Evelyn Taocheng Wang. Coloured Cotton Candles and Imitation of Agnes Martin, 2023.



Photos 96 – 97. Evelyn Taocheng Wang. *Do Not Agree with Agnes Martin All the Time*, 2023.

This strategy of recontextualization is used in the installation in the Belgium Pavilion, thematizing media narratives, as well as in the large canvas “*Rage Is a Machine in Times of Senselessness*” (2024) by Frieda, Toranzo, Jaeger (Photos 98 – 104).



Photos 98 – 104. Frieda, Toranzo, Jaeger. *Rage Is a Machine in Times of Senselessness*, 2024.

The texts on the back of the panel refer to the mural *Flower Seller* (1941) by Diego Rivera and Juan O’Gorman’s in the UNAM library (1949-1952) and to Sappho (pp. 630-604 ALL).

3. Intentional language variants or speech imitations as transnational symbols of broken human existence

Specially constructed languages are used in a number of works that show man's inability to narrate the anxiety and suffering of war or slavery. Such a strategy is adopted in the works of Pavilion of Poland, "Repeat after me" and *El Negro Yanga* (2011) by Aydeé Rodríguez Lopez (Photo 105).



Photo 105. Aydeé Rodríguez Lopez. *El Negro Yanga*, 2011.

Conclusion

The analysis of the works selected for the Biennale Arte in Venice 2024 shows that the notion of language as a unifying concept of national identity is greatly shaken. The use of the text with the works of art shows the clash and destruction of traditional values and identities. In most national pavilions and individual participants, the theme is the return to or push away from traditional identities. States are rebranding themselves as rethinking tradition in relation to contemporary identity issues and universal values.

Texts in works of art are monolingual and multilingual.

1. Monolingual texts are used in works that discuss dominance and assimilation in colonial environments and in migrant waves. English and Spanish are a kind of lingua franca for vast territories that have been colonized in the past. The problem of who is the foreigner – the indigenous population or the colonizers – is also posed through the choice of language within the works.

The works that place women's identity as a central problem in modern societies are also monolingual - Bolivian, Chilean, Arabic, etc. Often the use of the text aims to rebrand countries as abandoning conservative values that suppress women's freedom and choice.

The use of other large and small languages, as well as stylized variants of their alphabets, aims to destabilize the notion of language as a national symbol in times of war and in modern times in general.

Participants in the Biennale Arte in Venice 2024 strongly raise the issue of transgender (mis)identification as well, with Spanish-language works standing out in this regard. Perhaps this is an attempt to rebrand Spanish-speaking modern societies – they do not turn their backs on new identities that come into sharp conflict with traditional (religious, sexual, patriarchal, etc.) values.

2. Polylingual texts are used in quite a few works in order to outline the globalization processes, to emphasize the common humanity and the unification of the world, but also to show the complex reality of the other, who in the supposedly globalized and open world always remains foreign. This group of works includes a number of postmodern concepts in the use of the text in art – the recontextualization, the quotation, to raise again the questions of female identity, of the clash between tradition and modernity.

3. The idea of several works is realized through the use of intentional language variants or imitations of speech, through which the inability of man to tell about suffering and violence is shared, as well as to connect with others.

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French, English, and Georgian National and Cultural Heritage Reflected in Idioms

Abstract: *This paper explores the national and cultural heritage embedded in French, English, and Georgian idiomatic expressions, examining how language reflects cultural values, beliefs, and stereotypes associated with different nations and regions. Figurative expressions, such as idioms, proverbs, metaphors, and similes, often encapsulate elements specific to a particular culture or society. Analyzing these expressions provides valuable insights into a nation's collective mindset, history, and social dynamics. Many of these units distinctly express the national identity of a language, reflecting customs, culture, traditions, and everyday behaviors. These include kinetic codes, which represent the national worldview and express the specifics of world perception and the distinctive ways of thinking characteristic of a particular culture. This study encompasses the complex culture and ethnopsychology of the French, English, and Georgian peoples and their unique modes of figurative thinking.*

This research aims to analyze the national characteristics reflected in French, English, and Georgian idioms, particularly those related to etymology and the customs of these cultures, which have acquired various semantic connotations over time. The methodology of this idiom research in the three languages involves comparative and contrastive analysis, lexical and semantic analysis, identification of national characteristics, etymological analysis, cultural contextualization, and cultural semantics. As a result, the following factors were found to be nearly common among the French, English, and Georgian peoples: boasting, love, friendship, family, labor, intelligence, skill, humor, cowardice, patience, suffering, loyalty, kindness, courage, forgetfulness, avoidance, help, guidance, ridicule, insult, talkativeness, stupidity, hedonism, pessimism, appearance, and treason. Analyzing French, English, and Georgian idiomatic expressions reveals both similarities and differences, highlighting cultural nuances across these languages.

Keywords: idioms; national characteristics; cultural heritage; etymology; cultural contextualization.

Introduction

Studying the cultural heritage embedded in idiomatic expressions in French, English, and Georgian offers a unique insight into the interconnectedness of language, culture, and national identity. Idiomatic expressions—deeply rooted in the cultures of their respective nations—reflect customs and social norms that shape a community's worldview. These expressions encompass various cultural traits, values, beliefs, stereotypes, and historical influences unique to each nation. Although these traits may not apply to everyone in a culture, they provide valuable insights into the collective mindset and cultural identity of that society.

Linguists examine the national characteristics of idioms through interdisciplinary approaches, integrating linguistic analysis, cultural studies, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis. Their research covers a broad range of topics related to figurative language, including the origins, meanings, usage patterns, and cultural significance of idiomatic expressions. Piirainen (2008) argues that idioms are "carriers of cultures" and emphasizes that modern phraseological research must engage with cultural phenomena. Similarly, Jaskot (2019) views idiomatic expressions as reflections of different historical and cognitive modes of acquiring knowledge and encoding cultural information. Studying such expressions helps us better understand how culture, history, and language intersect.

The implicit understanding of idioms among native speakers is a crucial part of their ability to use language fluently and effectively, which is essential for effective communication. In everyday situations, native speakers often use language in an idiomatic way. It is generally expected that advanced learners of a foreign language should also aim to achieve idiomatic proficiency.

Cultures are often specific to certain regions, making idioms localized and not universally understood. Some idioms act as conversational metaphors that require background knowledge or shared cultural experiences to be fully grasped. However, certain idioms might be more universal and can be easily translated or understood metaphorically. For instance, the idiom "kill time" is common in English, Georgian, and many other languages.

The cultural nature of idiomaticity is an essential part of a speaker's linguistic intelligence. Moreover, phraseology is one of the domains where the relationship between language and culture is most evident. Cultural background often informs idiomatic expressions, with

some units associated with significant events in the history of a speech community (Szerszunowicz, 2011:299).

Bolkvadze (2017:5) points out that as a nation develops, a distinct worldview and ethnic-mental character take shape. This worldview, along with the specific ethnic mentality, is reflected in the cultural linguistic structure. Consequently, ethnic mentality, which underpins national identity, is consistently expressed through language.

Ter-Minasova (2017) outlines the culturally specific components of idioms, including (a) traditions, customs, and habits; (b) living culture, which maintains and adapts traditions; (c) everyday behaviors, including kinetic and mimic codes; (d) "national images of the world," which convey culturally specific ways of perceiving reality; and (e) artistic culture, which reflects the traditions of a particular ethnic group. Understanding these aspects is essential for effective intercultural communication. Awareness of national character, emotional states, and idiomatic expressions is crucial. Since idioms often originate from specific cultural contexts, studying them can uncover a nation's unique cultural traits and values.

This paper explores the national characteristics reflected in French, English, and Georgian idiomatic expressions. This study examines how language preserves and conveys cultural memory and values by analyzing the origins and cultural meanings of these expressions. Comparing these idiomatic expressions reveals the subtle ways in which national identity and worldviews are communicated through language.

Methodology of research

Studying national characteristics of French, English, and Georgian idiomatic expressions in a cultural context involves examining how language reflects and shapes the cultural identity, values, and stereotypes associated with different nations or regions. This interdisciplinary field draws on insights from linguistics, cultural studies, anthropology, and literary analysis to explore the intricate relationship between language and culture.

The research of French, English, and Georgian idioms was conducted according to the following methodology:

Collection and analysis of idiomatic expressions: We collected and analyzed a corpus of 210 idiomatic expressions: 70 French, 70 English, and 70 Georgian idioms from dictionaries and folklore.

French idioms are selected from Planelles, Georges.(2014). *Les 1001 expressions préférées des Français*. Les éditions de l'Opportun.

Georgian idioms were selected from the books and dictionaries: a) Sakhokia, T. Georgian Figurative Words and Sayings; b) Tshekladze, N. Aspects of Phraseologism Research. c) Oniani, A. Georgian Idioms. d) Ilia State University Idiom Dictionary.

English idioms were selected from a) The Oxford Dictionary of Idioms; b) Cambridge Dictionary; (c) Merriam-Webster Dictionary; d) Vocabulary Dictionary; e) Tbilisi State University Idiom Dictionary.

The collected corpus of idiomatic expressions was selected based on the principle of clearly expressing themes such as love, friendship, family, diligence, intelligence, skillfulness, humor, cowardice, patience, suffering, loyalty, kindness, courage, forgetfulness, avoidance, help, guidance, ridicule, talkativeness, stupidity, hedonism, pessimism, appearance, treason, and boasting among the French, English, and Georgian peoples.

Comparative and contrastive analysis: Comparative studies of idiomatic expressions offer insights into cultural diversity, linguistic relativity, and universal human experiences across different nations. We analyzed the usage, form, and interpretation of idioms within various cultural contexts, highlighting the similarities, differences, and cross-cultural variations that reflect the unique characteristics of each nation.

We analyzed the usage, structure, and interpretation of idioms in various cultural contexts, highlighting the similarities, differences, and cross-cultural variations that reflect national characteristics.

Semantic Analysis: We examined the semantic properties of selected idiomatic expressions to understand how meaning is conveyed through metaphorical or non-literal language. We investigated the cognitive processes involved in interpreting figurative language and explored the relationship between literal and figurative meanings in idiomatic expressions.

Identification of national characteristics: Next, we analyzed the collected expressions to identify themes, motifs, and recurring patterns that reflect national characteristics. This involved examining the cultural references, and imagery used in the expressions to uncover underlying values, beliefs, and stereotypes associated with French, English, and Georgian cultures.

Cultural Contextualization and Cultural Semantics: Idiomatic expressions do not exist in isolation; they are embedded within

specific cultural contexts and social dynamics. We contextualized the identified national characteristics within broader cultural frameworks, considering factors such as history, geography, culinary traditions, etiquette, and social norms. This contextual analysis helped us to elucidate the deeper meanings and significance of the expressions within their cultural milieu. We investigated how cultural factors shape the meanings and usage of figurative expressions in these societies.

National Characteristics and Cross-Cultural Communication: idiomatic expressions often perpetuate stereotypes or common perceptions about certain nationalities or ethnic groups. We critically examined these national characteristics to uncover the underlying biases and prejudices. We considered how the national peculiarities are constructed, reinforced, and challenged through language use, and how they influence intercultural communication and relations. We investigated how cultural differences in worldview, language usage, and communicative styles affect the comprehension and interpretation of idiomatic language in intercultural communication contexts.

The study of national characteristics of French, English, and Georgian figurative expressions in a cultural context offers a rich and nuanced understanding of the intricate interplay between language, culture, and identity. It provides valuable insights into how language both reflects and shapes national cultures and how cultural meanings are negotiated and contested through linguistic practices.

French, English, and Georgian Idioms with a Nationally Specific Flavor

These idioms often include components of culture with a nationally specific flavor, reflecting the unique history, traditions, values, and social norms of each language community.

Here are some components of culture commonly found in French, English, and Georgian idioms.

Historical References:

Many idiomatic expressions have historical or sociopolitical origins, reflecting pivotal events, figures, or movements in a nation's history. We examined the etymology and historical context of various expressions to understand how they have been influenced by, and have contributed to, national narratives, identities, and ideologies. We investigated the historical origins and evolution of idiomatic expressions in French, English, and Georgian, tracing their linguistic development over time and through different historical periods.

- **French idioms** may reference historical events, figures, or periods specific to French history. For example, the expression *Être sorti de la côte de Charlemagne* –[verbatim:-*To have originated from the side of Charlemagne*]-lit. meaning:- *to have a high opinion of oneself*. This expression is associated with the king of the Franks, Charlemagne (King Charles the Great. *C'est le chien de Jean de Nivelle (qui s'enfuit quand on l'appelle)*)-verbatim:- *[It's Jean de Nivelle's dog (who runs away when you call it)]*- lit. meaning –lit. meaning:-*a person who avoids a task or hides when needed*. When Louis XI asked his ally Jean II for help in the fight against the Duke of Burgundy, Jean II ordered his son Jean de Neuville to help Louis in this opposition, but the son disobeyed his father and refused him. The Duke disinherited his son and called him a “dog” in front of everyone, thereby humiliating him (Planelles 264-265).

- **English idioms** may contain historical allusions or references to British history, traditions, or famous figures. For example, the expression “*to read the Riot Act*” lit. meaning *to speak angrily to someone about something they have done and warn that person that they will be punished if it happens again*, comes from the historical document The Riot of the Act (1715). Some English idioms contain references to historical events, figures, or symbols. “*To meet one’s Waterloo*”- “*to be defeated by someone who is too strong for you or by a problem that is too difficult for you*”.

- **Some Georgian idioms** preserved the memory of historical events, either. E.g. *ათასი ჯიბი მარჩილი* (*Atasi kisa marchili*—verbatim: *purse full of thousand coins*)-lit. meaning: *countless money, countless wealth*). *Marchil* was an old Georgian money, equal to three *abaz* (coin) of Georgian silver. In old times, money was kept in bags, and purses sewn from a fabric called *Kisa*. When the Georgians wanted to express the great value of something, they would say, “*I can't give you that for a thousand kisa(a bag containing money)*”.

Culinary Traditions:

- **French idioms** often incorporate references to food, cooking, and culinary traditions, reflecting the importance of gastronomy in French culture. For example, the expression *-mettre son grain de sel*—verbatim: *[to put one's grain of salt]*- lit. meaning- *one's opinion or input*, reflects the significance of salt as a seasoning in French cuisine.

- **English idioms** often refer to food and dining practices. For example, the expression “*big cheese*,” meaning *a very important person*, comes from the Urdu word *chiz*, which means “*a thing*.” The British

colonization of India brought English speakers and Urdu speakers together, and one result was the phrase "the real *chiz* " to mean "*a big thing or event* (Cambridge Dictionary)." This evolved into *big cheese*. Idiom (*don't*) *cry over spilled milk* meaning *get upset over something that has happened and cannot be changed*. This expression is old, going back at least 360 years. The English historian and writer James Howell used the phrase in a book called "Proverbs in 1659" — "*No weeping for shed milk.*"(see Mytv)

- **In Georgian** cuisine, many national foods are reflected in idioms, such as *აქაფსანდალი გახდა* ([*ajafsandali gakhda*--verbatim: it became ajapsandali(Georgian meal)]-lit. meaning: *the matter is very confusing, and you won't be able to understand it yourself*). *Ajapsandali* is a Georgian food made of eggplant, sweet paper, chilly, carrots, potatoes, tomatoes, greens, and everything is mixed and fried. This expression is used when this or that case is complicated, a person cannot understand where or how it begins, where or how it ends. *ღვინოსა და პურს არ ეღალატებოხ* ([*rvinos da purs ar eralatebis*—verbatim: *you cannot betray wine and bread*]-lit. meaning *Wine and Bread are the staff of life*). "Wine" is the most important beverage in Georgia. Researchers analyzed the residue contained within the vessels—the remains of grapes and grape seeds—and dated the material to 6000 BCE. This establishes ancient Georgia as the first known location of grape winemaking (see Wine History).

Social Customs and Etiquette:

- **French idioms** may reflect social customs, manners, and etiquette specific to French society. For example, the expression *faire la bise*-lit. meaning--*to kiss* refers to the custom of greeting someone with a kiss on the cheek, which is common in French-speaking countries and reflects cultural norms of warmth and familiarity. *Ne pas y aller par quatre chemins*-verbatim:[*Not beating around the bush*] - lit. meaning- *speak or act openly*; *Un grand abateur de besogne*--verbatim: [*A great doer of work*] -lit.meaning:- *hardworking*; *Franc comme l'osier* - verbatim: [*Frank as a willow*]- lit. meaning:-*sincere*; *Droit comme un arbre* -verbatim: [*Straight as an arrow*]-lit. meaning: - *incorruptible, honest*.

- **English idioms** may contain references to social conventions and behaviors, although they may differ from those found in French culture. For example, the expressions "*keep a civil tongue*" and "*stand on ceremony*" are connected to the British Character to be polite and not offensive. The idiom *beat around the bush* means *to avoid saying*

what you mean, usually because it is uncomfortable. It came from the tradition of bird hunting when hunters used to beat bushes to stir the birds from them while others caught them in nets (see Learn English)

- **Georgian idiom** ბეწვობ ხიდზე გავლა ([betsvis khidze gavla-verbatim: *to cross a fur bridge*]-lit. meaning: *hard risky to overcome*). According to people's belief, before a person enters heaven or hell, he must pass through the fur bridge thrown on the sea of boiling tar. If he is a sinner, the bridge will be broken, and he will remain in the pit forever, and if he is good, he will put his good deeds and fatigue on his shoulders, cross the fur bridge in peace, and enter heaven. Hence, the fur bridge became a synonym for difficult work, and overcoming adversity.

Geographical features and landscapes:

- Figurative expressions often draw on the geographical features and landscapes of a nation to convey meaning. The idiom "*carry coals to Newcastle*"- "*taking something to a place where there is already plenty of it*" shows that Newcastle is rich in coal mines. The idiom *New York minute* means *a very short time; a moment* regarding the hectic pace of life in New York City (see Merriam-Webster Dictionary).

- Georgian idioms ჩაილურის წყალი დალია ([chailuris tskali dalia-verbatim: *He drank Chailuri river water*]-lit. meaning: *disappeared forever; died*); კაკას ხიდი გაიარა ([kakas khidi gaiara-verbatim: *He crossed Kaka Bridge*]-lit. meaning: "*disappeared forever*) are connected with the geographical locations on the border of Georgia and North Caucasus. These idioms come from the historical fact of kidnapping people and cattle from the regions of Georgia.

Stereotypes that are universal for many languages:

Some figurative expressions perpetuate stereotypes or common perceptions about certain nationalities or ethnic groups. For instance, phrases from the fable "*Stubborn as a donkey*" or "*Sly as a fox*" reflect stereotypical traits attributed to specific cultures or individuals. Georgian idioms ვირივით ჯიუტი (virivit jiuti=*as stubborn as a donkey*) and მელასავით გაიძვერა (melasavit gaidzvera=*as cunning as a fox*) mean the same as English ones: stubbornness and cunning.

Etymological and Semantic Analysis of Idiomatic Expressions

Many figurative expressions have historical roots, reflecting cultural events, traditions, or significant historical figures. Examining the origins and historical context of these expressions reveals how national characteristics have developed.

Implicit information can be uncovered through the etymological analysis of idiomatic expressions. French, English, and Georgian languages contain numerous phraseological units, and their etymological backgrounds reveal distinct national characteristics. These characteristics reflect the attitudes of each nation toward specific human traits and behaviors, which serve as the foundation for these figurative expressions.

In the analysis of French, English, and Georgian idiomatic expressions, we found that ethnocultural perspectives are often present in the structure of these expressions, where they incorporate onomasiological components like toponyms, semiotic signs, proper names, and references to historical or literary figures rooted in ethnoculture.

French idiomatic expressions featuring proper names:

Être aussi chanceux que le chien à Brusquet,--verbatim: [*To be as lucky as the dog in Brusquet*] – lit. meaning:--*To be unlucky*, originating from a French folk tale about a dog heroically saving children from wolves. *Le grain de sable de Pascal*--verbatim: [*Pascal's grain of sand*] – lit. meaning: - *Being unable to act*, derived from Pascal's famous words: "*If not for a grain of sand, Cromwell (who died of kidney stones) would have changed the fate of Europe.*" *Faire le Jacques*--verbatim: [*Doing the Jacques*]- lit. meaning:- *To do something foolish*, derived from the character Jacques, a symbol of simplicity and naivety in French culture. *C'est le chien de Jean de Nivelle*--verbatim: [*It's Jean de Nivelle's dog*]- lit. meaning- *a person who avoids tasks*, connected to the disobedience of Jean de Nivelle in French history.

The link between the names of some French provinces and the traits of their populations is a deeply rooted aspect of French national mentality. In particular, the names of these provinces often appear in idiomatic expressions, such as "Normand," "Gascon," and "Bretagne." Typically, a Norman is viewed as cautious, reserved, and prudent. In contrast, a Gascon is known for his eloquence and tendency to exaggerate, often excelling at navigating difficult situations effectively. On the other hand, the term "Breton" is associated with a stubborn, rude, and uncultured individual—exemplified by the phrase "de bas Breton," which denotes rudeness and a lack of sophistication.

English idiomatic expressions featuring proper names:

Tomfoolery: Refers to playful or silly behavior, often associated with someone named Tom. *Nigel No-Friends*: Describes someone perceived as unpopular or lacking social connections. *Simon Says*: A game where participants follow commands only if prefaced with "Simon

says,” indicating obedience. *Johnny-on-the-spot*: Refers to someone ready to help or take action. *Tom, Dick, and Harry*: Represent generic or unspecified individuals. These idiomatic expressions enhance the English language and culture by providing vivid imagery and allusions to social dynamics, behaviors, and character traits.

Georgian Idiomatic Expressions featuring proper names:

Georgian culture also includes a significant number of idiomatic expressions with toponyms, semiotic signs, proper names, and historical or literary references deeply rooted in ethnoculture:

ეგ არის და გორის ციხე ([*Eg aris da goris tsikhe* – verbatim: *here it is, and Gori Fortress*]-lit. meaning: *We have achieved the victory*). This expression refers to something strong or invincible, connected to the famed fortress of Gori. *მტკვარი ვერ გარეცხავს* ([*Mtkvari ver garetskhavs*--verbatim: *the Mtkvari (river) cannot cleanse*-lit. meaning: *a shameful act that even an abundance of water (like the Mtkvari river) cannot cleanse; a person was scolded too much*). *გორგასლის ხმელი* (*Gorgaslis khmali*--verbatim: *King Gorgasali's sword*)]—lit. meaning: *strong, powerful, relentless, suppressing the enemy, plunging everyone*). The inspiration came from the legendary King Vakhtang Gorgasali of Georgia. He ruled in the 5th century. The chronicler describes the king as having a tall, muscular, Goliath-like body; a person with great physical strength who wields a proper sword (Sakhokia, 1979: 101-102).

These examples illustrate how idiomatic expressions act as cultural markers, embodying specific values, traditions, and historical contexts that enhance both language and culture. The semantic analysis reveals a fascinating array of national characteristics as reflected in the idiomatic expressions from French, English, and Georgian cultures.

These features not only highlight the essential traits associated with national identities but also emphasize how idioms serve as cultural artifacts, providing insights into a society's temperament, values, and social norms. For instance, the French phrase "*être tiré à quatre épingles*," meaning *dressed magnificently*, showcases the French cultural appreciation for elegance. In contrast, the English phrase "*less is more*" reflects a cultural preference for simplicity and subtlety.

Basic Features (Temperament and Natural Characteristics)

French: The idioms often focus on mood and demeanor, portraying French people as open, direct, or phlegmatic. For example- *Être froid comme une carafe d'orgeat*--verbatim: [*To be as cold as a carafe of orgeat*]-lit. meaning- *To be cold like a jug of orgeat* emphasizes a

phlegmatic, unemotional nature. *Ne pas y aller par quatre chemins*-verbatim: -*Don't beat around the bush*]- lit. meaning- *a direct, candid way of interacting*. *Tomber dans l'abattement* --verbatim: [*Fall into despondency*]- lit. meaning:-*to fall into pessimism*; *Faire qch. Sur-le-champ/trois coups de cuiller à pot* -verbatim: [*Do something On the spot/three strokes of a wooden spoon*]-lit. meaning: *to do something suddenly, immediately*; *Avoir l'air triste comme un bonnet de nuit* –verbatim-[*To look as sad as a nightcap*]- lit. meaning: *to look annoyed*.

English: The connection between nature and landscape is significant in English idioms. English culture values restraint, stoicism, and understatement. For example, *Make a mountain out of a molehill*: A characteristic caution against exaggeration. *Out of the woods*: Refers to navigating through difficulties with a sense of control and caution.

Georgian: Georgian idioms reflect a passionate and intense temperament, where emotions are frequently tied to expressions of anger, pride, or rapid reactions. For example, *ავანთე და დავანთე* ([*Avante da davante*--verbatim: *I turned it on*]-lit. meaning: *the quick rise of anger*). *აბრიალებულ ჩალასავით ჩაქრობა* ([*Abrialebulo chalasavit chakroba*--verbatim: *extinguish like a burnt straw*]-lit. meaning--*unable to moderate behavior, indicative of volatility*).

Ethical Characteristics (Values and Social Morals):

French: French idioms capture a society that values sincerity, honesty, and at times, sophistication in social interactions. However, some expressions reflect a certain cynicism or pragmatism toward human behavior. For example, *Franc comme l'osier* : -verbatim: [*Straightforward as a willow*]-lit. meaning- *the importance of being straightforward and sincere*. *Poli comme une porte de Prison*- verbatim: [*Polite as a prison door*] -lit. meaning: *a biting sarcasm, calling out false politeness*.

English: Ethical idioms highlight the importance of integrity, fairness, and valuing actions over mere words. For instance: - *Honest as the day is long*: This phrase reflects the high regard for honesty and trustworthiness. - *Stand on your own two feet*: This expression encourages self-reliance, independence, and personal responsibility. - *Keep your word*: This emphasizes the significance of honoring commitments and promises.

Georgian: Georgian expressions stress fidelity, hard work, and moral integrity, often placing a high value on personal sacrifice and communal support. For example, *გულღია ადამიანი* ([*Gulgia adami-ani*--verbatim: *an open-hearted person*]-lit. meaning- *an open-hearted,*

honest person, valuing sincerity. აღალი ოვლით ლუკმის ჭამა ([*alali oplit lukmis chama* - verbatim: *to eat a bite with an honest sweat*])—lit. meaning: *to earn an honest livelihood. To turn an honest penny.*

Aesthetic Features (Artistic or Eccentric Traits):

The French often reference high culture and refinement, while English expressions emphasize pragmatism and functionality. Georgian idioms blend aesthetics with intense emotional states, reflecting a vivid, expressive cultural heritage.

French: aesthetic features characterize a person according to his attitude towards himself, as well as his appearance: *Être fait comme un torchon /être ficelé/fichu comme l'as de pique/un sac* -verbatim: [*To be done like a dishcloth / to be tied up / to be in a bad way / a mess*] -lit meaning: *-a person dressed tastelessly and badly; Être tiré à quatre épingles* -verbatim: [*To be dressed to the nines*] -lit. meaning: *- magnificently dressed from head to toe; Un Beau Brummel* - a very handsome and elegant man.

English: idioms reflect the aesthetic character or values often associated with English people including their appreciation for simplicity, beauty, creativity, and attention to detail. For example, *Beauty is in the eye of the beholder* - Acknowledging that perceptions of beauty are subjective and vary from person to person. *Form follows function* - Emphasizing the importance of practicality and efficiency in design. *Art for art's sake* - Appreciating art and creativity purely for its intrinsic value, rather than for any external purpose or agenda.

Georgian: The aesthetic features characteristic of the representatives of the Georgian nation are manifested in appearance: A person dressed tastelessly, untidy. For example, *ყვავის ბუდეს დამსგავსება* ([*kvavis budes damsgavseba (tmisa)*])--verbatim: *similar to a crow's nest (about hair)* – lit. meaning: *-untidy, unkempt hair*). This idiom is very visual and may not have an equivalent in other languages. *ვარსკვლავებს ეთამაშება* ([*varskvlavebs etamasheba* --verbatim: *she plays with the stars*]-lit. meaning: *-She is lovely beyond compare*). *თამარ დედოფალია* ([*Tamar dedopalia* –verbatim: *She is Queen Tamar*)-lit. meaning: *--She is extremely beautiful*). This idiom refers specifically to Georgia's history, as Queen Tamar is regarded as the most powerful and celebrated ruler, known for her beauty.

Eccentric Peculiarities: Each of the cultures represented here reveals idiosyncrasies that make them unique. Some idioms in all three

languages are described with humor, admiration, and sometimes disdain to show eccentricity.

French: The balance between candor and wit, sometimes coupled with a certain cold detachment, portrays a complex, refined social character. For example, **egocentrism:** *le coq du village / être fier comme un pou / se rengorger comme un dindon*-verbatim: [the rooster of the village / to be as proud as a peacock / to strut like a turkey]-lit. meaning:- to be proud, arrogant, to have a high conceit; **spinelessness:** *quit de soi-même - indifférence to oneself; n'avoir ni forme ni couleur* -verbatim: [indifference to oneself; to have neither form nor color]-lit. meaning:- does not stand out from the crowd; *Monsieur le Bon*-fool-verbatim: [Mr. Good] -lit. meaning:- idiot; **having a super-negative character:** *bijou de la foire Saint-Ovide/villain bonhomme- mauvaise grine*-verbatim:[jewel of the Saint-Ovide fair/mean fellow-bad grin]-lit. meaning:- unvillain coco- nonentity, scoundrel, very bad person.

English: Reserved, valuing practicality and fairness, yet often humorously self-aware of exaggeration or understatement. For example, **not mentally sound:** *Not playing with a full deck* - indicating that someone is not entirely mentally sound or rational. **Unintelligence:** *Not the brightest bulb in the box* - describing someone who is not very intelligent or astute. **Strangeness:** *Off one's rocker* - suggesting that someone is behaving irrationally or strangely. **Stupidity:** *Not the sharpest tool in the shed* - Implying that someone is not very bright or clever.

Georgian: Passionate and driven by deep emotional responses, where personal integrity and social connections hold powerful significance. For example, **Egocentrism:** დიდი გულის ჯონა ([didi gulis kona--verbatim: He/she has a huge heart])-lit. meaning:-He is arrogant). ზევდან უყურებს ([zevidan uyurebs--verbatim: look down from the top]- lit. meaning: - Consider yourself to be in a superior position). **Bad mood:** უცხვირპირო ([utskhvirpiro -verbatim: without nose and mouth]-lit. meaning:- gloomy individual, who is constantly in a bad mood). **Supernegative character:** გველის წიწილა ([gvelis tsitsila --verbatim: snakelet]-lit meaning- cruel, devious, and ruthless individual).

Results

As a result of semantic analysis of the studied French, English, and Georgian idiomatic expressions with national specifics, we have identified the following characteristic features that are nearly common

to French, English, and Georgian people: stupidity, hedonism, pessimism, appearance, treason, boasting love, friendship, family, labor, intelligence, skill, humor, cowardice, patience, suffering, loyalty, kindness, courage, forgetfulness, avoidance, help, guidance, ridicule, insult, talkativeness (see the table below).

Table 1. French, English, and Georgian national characters depicted in idioms

Some Characteristics of the French People	Some Characteristics of the English People	Some Characteristics of the Georgian People	Number of French idioms	Number of English idioms	Number of Georgian idioms
stupidity	Stupidity	Stupidity	19%	18%	20%
Hedonism	Hedonism	Hedonism	14%	3%	17%
Pessimism	Pessimism	Pessimism	13%	9%	14%
Appearance	Appearance	Appearance	11%	7%	15%
Treason	Treason	Treason	8%	4%	4%
boasting	Boasting	Boasting	8%	8%	10%
Love, friendship, family	Love, friendship, family	Love, friendship, family	7%	26%	10%
diligence	diligence	diligence	6%	5%	6%
Intelligence, skillfulness	Intelligence, skillfulness	Intelligence, skillfulness	4%	15%	17%
Humor	Humor	Humor	3%	8%	3%
Cowardice	Cowardice	Cowardice	3%	6%	3%
patience, suffering	patience, suffering	patience, suffering	2%	13%	7%
Loyalty, kindness, courage	Loyalty, kindness, courage	Loyalty, kindness, courage	7%	19%	10%
Forgetfulness, avoidance	Forgetfulness, avoidance	Forgetfulness, avoidance	3%	7%	6%
Help, guidance	Help, guidance	Help, guidance	4%	9%	10%
ridicule, insult	ridicule, insult	ridicule, insult	5%	10%	2%
Talkativeness	Talkativeness	Talkativeness	2%	4%	9%

Our research revealed a profound insight into how idiomatic expressions embody national characteristics and serve as a window into the cultural, cognitive, and historical context of the French, English, and Georgian societies. By conducting a semantic analysis of idioms, we

have uncovered shared features such as *stupidity*, *hedonism*, *pessimism*, *appearance*, and *talkativeness* reflecting common human traits across these cultures while capturing distinct nuances within each society.

The idiomatic expressions we explored illustrate that language reflects a nation's temperament and values. French idioms emphasize precision, mood, and directness; English idioms often utilize natural metaphors to convey themes of stoicism, self-reliance, and ethical integrity; while Georgian expressions highlight passion, communal support, and strong ethical principles.

Conclusion

This research on the national characteristics of French, English, and Georgian idiomatic expressions offers valuable insights into the complex interplay between language, culture, and cognition in shaping the meanings and usage of figurative language within these societies. The idiomatic expressions used by these cultures were influenced by various historical events, cultural shifts, and social developments over the centuries. These idioms often reflect the values, beliefs, and experiences of the people who used them, providing an understanding of the historical context in which they originated. This research enhances our understanding of cultural diversity, linguistic creativity, and communicative competence inherent in figurative expressions across different national and cultural contexts.

Cultural Implications became vivid while exploring the idioms in French, English, and Georgian languages that proved that societal norms in the respective countries differ. Interpersonal Dynamics is shown in many of these idioms that express attitudes towards interpersonal relations (flattery, boasting, rudeness), which could indicate how each culture navigates social hierarchies or expectations.

The comparative analysis highlighted cultural differences in idiomatic expressions. For instance, Georgian idioms often emphasize vivid imagery and metaphors related to nature or everyday objects. In contrast, French idioms typically stress elegance and social status. English expressions, particularly those concerning aesthetics and eccentricity, tend to focus on moderation, restraint, or pragmatism, exemplified by the saying "form follows function."

Cultural Reflection: Selected idiomatic expressions reflect the values, beliefs, and historical experiences of the French, English, and Georgian people. The expressions examined often reveal attitudes

toward everyday behaviors, relationships, and societal norms. For instance, hedonism appears more frequently in Georgian and French idioms, while intelligence and skill are more pronounced in English idioms.

Shared Traits Across Cultures: The study shows that idiomatic expressions from different languages often capture universal human characteristics, such as *boasting*, *loyalty*, *humor*, and *family bonds*. However, the frequency and emphasis on these characteristics vary across French, English, and Georgian idioms.

Linguistic Diversity and Richness: research underscores the richness of the vocabulary in these languages. The idioms represent linguistic creativity and cultural diversity, drawing from imagery, symbolism, and history to create a complex tapestry of meanings. The vivid metaphors and symbolic devices present in these idioms enhance the aesthetic qualities of the language, as well as their communicative function.

Pragmatic Functions: idioms are not just figurative or poetic; they also play a crucial role in communication by conveying politeness, sarcasm, humor, or solidarity. This aspect underscores how idioms operate as social tools, reflecting interpersonal dynamics within specific cultural settings.

Cross-linguistic Comparison: through comparative analysis, we have illustrated how idioms from different languages may share a common concept (such as *boasting* or *ridicule*) but differ in how they are expressed. These contrasts provide deeper insights into how each culture perceives and represents these characteristics.

Many idiomatic expressions are vivid in their imagery and symbolism, which enhances their effectiveness in communication. By examining the imagery and symbolism behind these idioms, we gain a deeper understanding of literary texts. Additionally, idioms serve various pragmatic functions in communication, including conveying politeness, humor, sarcasm, or a sense of solidarity. The structure of many idiomatic expressions contains codes that express nationality, culture, and customs, making the lexical resources of the French, English, and Georgian languages diverse and rich. Comparing and contrasting idiomatic expressions enables cross-linguistic analysis, highlighting similarities, differences, and cultural nuances across these languages. Such comparative and contrastive studies contribute to a broader understanding of language universals and linguistic diversity.

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The Impact of Extralingual Factors on the Language Situation of Modern Ukraine

Abstract: *The aim of the research is to study the impact of extralingual factors on the current language situation of Ukraine in the context of the dehumanization and cosmopolitanization of the modern globalized world. The research employed such methods as analysis of open sources and empirical data of sociological research, content analysis of Internet publications and factor analysis, and observation. The results of the study show that the language situation in Ukraine has radically changed over the past few years in terms of its main parameters: quantitative, qualitative, and evaluative. The main factor of these changes is hybrid and direct Russian aggression, which has become the greatest threat to political independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, as well as the existence of the Ukrainian nation. The analysis evidenced that despite the powerful destructive influence of various extralinguistic factors on the language situation in the state, its evaluation characteristics have significantly improved. Constant monitoring and systematic comprehensive analysis of the language situation will contribute to the harmonization of the language space of Ukraine.*

Keywords: *Ukraine, language situation; extralingual factors; state policy; socio-political factors; hybrid and direct aggression.*

Introduction

Relevance

The era of global changes prompts many researchers to carefully study the impact of various extralinguistic factors on the language situation both in a particular country and throughout the world. On the one hand, the researchers focus on the processes of extinction, dematerialization, decline of languages under the influence of globalization and the crises caused by it - political, economic, ecological, demographic, climatic, etc. On the other hand, the last decade is characterized by the increased interest of domestic and foreign researchers in the problems of self-regulation of a particular language community, its ability to create and change reality, successfully counteract external threats and internal crises, form and convey its own vision of the world, and therefore influence the world (Abduvali, 2020). It is significant that one of the main concepts of modern sociolinguistic research is the “language situation”, which is studied to better understand the specifics of human existence and the language community in the globalized world, and to more deeply understand the essence of the daily changes in the development of society. The linguistic environment is Ukraine, like in any other country, is constantly changing (Mooney, 2024). A feature of modern Ukrainian existence is being in the epicentre of hybrid threats, on the edge of life and death. The borderline situations reveal what often remains hidden, invisible in the conditions of stable customary existence (Sydorenko and Matsko, 2020).

Analysis of the impact of extralingual factors, such as political processes, socio-cultural transformations, media and the Internet, war, migration, economic factors and others, on the language situation is of strategic importance for understanding modern language trends and developing an effective language policy (Mukhammadjon, 2022; Hubert Lyall, 2020).

Aim

The aim of the article is to study the impact of extralingual factors on the language situation of modern Ukraine in the context of the dehumanization and cosmopolitanization of the modern global world.

Objectives/questions

1. Analysis of the language situation in Ukraine;
2. Conducting a content analysis of online periodicals with the aim of identifying extralingual factors;
3. Carrying out a factor analysis of the development of the language situation in Ukraine.

Literary Review

Studying the impact of extralingual factors on the language situation is very important, as it provides a better understanding of the processes of language policy formation, changes in language practices and their relationship with socio-cultural, political, and economic processes. Such an analysis contributes to the development of effective strategies for the preservation of linguistic identity, the development of language education, and contributes to the support of the linguistic rights of citizens.

The work of Selihei (2023) is important in the context of the analysed problems. The researcher denotes communicative power as an extremely important parameter of language life, emphasizing the peculiarities of the modern language situation in Ukraine. In particular, he notes that the Ukrainian language has not yet acquired the status of an obligatory language in interethnic communication within the country. For the most part, this function is performed by Russian and English languages. The researcher claims that Ukraine with a single state language actually still remains bilingual with the prospect of transition to trilingualism. Selihei (2023) insightfully indicates the threat of narrowing spheres of functioning of the state language, reduction of its communicative power using the example of active processes of displacement of the Ukrainian language by English from the sphere of science and higher education, which are supported and encouraged by the current government in every possible way. The researcher emphasizes the important role of the elite in raising the prestige of the Ukrainian language, in establishing it as a symbol of power and success. Understanding the problems of the modern existence of the Ukrainian language, the researcher emphasizes the dependence of the stable position of the language on the general state of the economy. He notes that the state that strengthens the national economy thereby also strengthens its national language.

The study of Hrytsenko (2021) reveals the specifics of the linguistic structure of the state and outline the features of the language

situation in Ukraine during the last 30 years. The researcher emphasizes unsatisfactory state of retention of the Ukrainian language, as well as the need to increasing the role of the Ukrainian language in strengthening the unity of the state. The low effectiveness of the general and higher education of Ukraine in the formation of strong positions of the Ukrainian language in society, the Ukrainian mentality of children and youth was noted. The author rightly emphasizes the relevance of a sociolinguistic analysis of the functioning of languages in different regions of the state as a prerequisite for formulating accurate assessments of the language state and forecasting the development of language situations, preventing the use of language in information wars and the production of social tension. The researcher states the strengthening of Hungary's open offensive expansion policy in Transcarpathia, the sharp narrowing of the education of Hungarian youth in the Ukrainian language in recent decades, their exclusion due to ignorance of the Ukrainian language from the national space. He states that "inattention to language planning and language construction of the state and the functioning of languages in each region, underestimation of the importance of correct resolution of language use issues create the ground for inciting conflicts, manipulative use of language issues to achieve political, economic, and military goals" (Hrytsenko, 2021).

The book by Masenko (2019) is a collection of essays written between 2016 and 2019. The author focuses on the issues of language policy and reflect the struggle of civil society for the approval of the state status of the Ukrainian language. The book covers the methods of disinformation, lies and manipulations that the Russian authorities resort to in order to maintain their control and influence on the territory of Ukraine. The researcher analysed in detail the technologies of using Russian-speaking environments as a potential bridgehead for the further absorption of the Ukrainian state. The book is an important source for understanding the modern challenges faced by Ukrainian society in the conditions of aggression and information warfare by Russia.

The studies in which the peculiarities of the functioning of languages in a specific region of the country are investigated are of great importance for the understanding of the modern language situation in Ukraine. In *Essays on the Language Situation in the Ukrainian Danube Region* of Novak (2023), outlined the main differential features of the region's linguistic situation. The author characterizes it as multi-component complex exoglossic (a non-indigenous language that is used as an official or second language in a particular country or community)

interaction of idioms (dialects) of different languages: Bulgarian, Gagauz, Albanian, Romanian, Ukrainian, Russian, etc.); endoglossic (competing dialects and standard languages); unbalanced (components are functionally unequal and are distributed by areas of use). The specifics of the studied region are that the Ukrainian language performs the functions of the language of official communication and education, Russian — the functions of the language of international and unofficial (oral and written) communication. It is notable that for informal written communication they use purely Russian language, which the residents of the region are fluent in. The work also notes that Turkey, Albania, and Bulgaria have been actively pursuing a policy of support for compatriots in this region over the past three decades.

The specifics of the language situation and language policy in Transcarpathia since the declaration of independence of Ukraine were clarified in the studies of Shumytska (2021, 2022). In particular, the problems of functioning of the Ukrainian language in the region were identified, and the inadequate level of its state support and protection was noted. According to the researcher, the lack of a clear language and political vector in the country, the sporadic nature of appropriate measures for its approval, their formalization in regions with their specific geopolitical features that can significantly affect the language and political situation cause a situational shake-up of public attitudes, while being a convenient purposeful manipulative tool.

In recent years, there has been a growing interest of Ukrainian researchers in the study of the language situation in a certain socially significant area. In her work, Danylevska (2019) noted a positive dynamic in maintaining the Ukrainian language in the school education system, which is manifested primarily in the levelling of the language situation in accordance with the ethnic composition of the population in the regions and the state in general. This trend is confirmed by the increasing number of students involved in learning in the Ukrainian language from 1991 to 2017: (49.3% and 89.7%, respectively).

According to Danylevska (2019), the results of the mass survey give reasons to state that the sphere of school education is assessed by the citizens of Ukraine as the most Ukrainianized (41.5% of the respondents think so). In ten years, this indicator has increased by 10%, which is an objective confirmation strengthening the position of the Ukrainian language in school. The conducted thorough research revealed a significant unevenness of the language situation in the field of school education by region. The language environment of schools in the

West of Ukraine is assessed as entirely Ukrainian-speaking by 96% of respondents, which almost coincides with the official statistics of the number of students studying Ukrainian (this indicator in the region is 97.8%). It is 82% in the Centre (99% learn Ukrainian), and 75% in the North (98.4% learn Ukrainian). In the East and South, the discrepancy between the respondents' assessment and the data of official statistics is more significant: 35% against 71% according to statistics and 49% against 82.2%, respectively. A thorough analysis of teaching in schools in the languages of national minorities testified that school education has not yet become a tool for establishing the Ukrainian language as the language of interethnic communication in the state. It was noted that the formalization of the study of the Ukrainian language as the state language caused a low level of proficiency by graduates of schools of national minorities and an aggravation of the language conflict in the education system.

A study by Antropova et al. (2020) examines the concept of the existence of socially motivated variants of language. The authors explain them by sociolinguistic differentiation and specific use of language in different communication situations. The dialectical connection of the objective world, society and language makes the latter especially dynamic, which is manifested in active language processes at all levels of language and in language innovations. Sociolinguistic options not only demonstrate different images of the world, but also reflect changes in the world depending on culture, which, in turn, is reflected in the specifics of linguistic phenomena.

Methods

Design

The research was organized into several stages, each having its own peculiarities and duration. Table 1 contains a detailed description of each of them, including the content and period of implementation. It provides detailed information about how the research was conducted.

Table 1. Research stages

Research stages and their tasks	Terms	Diagnostic methods	Sample
SUMMATIVE STAGE: – Development of a plan for conducting an experiment;	March 2023 - December 2023	Standard general scientific methods	Open international and

– Selection of methods for studying the impact of extralingual factors;			Ukrainian sources
CONTROL STAGE: - Conducting content analysis of online periodicals in order to identify extralingual factors. - Carrying out factor analysis and correlation analysis.	February 2024 - March 2024	Analysis of open sources. Factor analysis.	

Source: created by the authors of the study

Participants

The content of the following online publications was examined: All-Ukrainian online publications Ukrainska Pravda (<https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/>), BBC Ukraine (<https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian>), Radio Svoboda (<https://www.radiosvoboda.org>). Regional Internet editions 056.ua (Dnipro) (<https://www.056.ua>), 061.ua (Odesa) (<https://www.061.ua>). Also, materials from the reports of international and Ukrainian organizations (World Economic Outlook (<https://www.imf.org/>), UNHCR (<https://data.unhcr.org/>), Civic Network OPORA (<https://www.oporaua.org>)).

Materials from reports of international and Ukrainian organizations (World Economic Outlook (<https://www.imf.org/>), UNHCR (<https://data.unhcr.org/>), Civil Network OPORA (<https://www.oporaua.org>)) were also used.

Instruments

The corpus manager Wordsmith 5.0 was used to work with texts. All data are given in relative units (%).

Data collection

1. *The method of analysis of open sources.* This method is an important tool in research involving the collection, evaluation and interpretation of publicly available information. This approach enables obtaining the necessary data from a wide range of sources, including official documents, academic publications, news articles, blogs, social media, and other open platforms.

2. *Content analysis of online publications.* Qualitative and quantitative research method was used for systematic analysis of textual information in order to identify content characteristics and structural features of texts. The method allows researchers to distinguish significant

themes, motifs, and patterns in textual data, which can be useful for understanding a wide range of social, cultural, and communicative phenomena.

3. *Factor analysis.* The method made it possible to analyse extralingual factors related to language policy in Ukraine. The factors taken into account are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Extralingual factors of changes in the language situation in Ukraine in 2022-2024

Factor	Explanation
Geopolitical factors	The increased level of threats
Political factors	The modern language policy of Ukraine is aimed at establishing the Ukrainian language as the state language in all socially important spheres and ensuring the linguistic and cultural needs of national minorities. The government's formal approach to resolving issues of language use in the regions contributes to the instigation of conflicts by various political forces both inside and outside the country, which destabilize the language and political situation and threaten the territorial integrity of the state.
Economic factors	The agrarian raw low-tech model of the economy of modern Ukraine does not contribute to the growth of the economic power of the Ukrainian language. The competition between languages has significantly intensified in the global economy. As a result, the range of use of national languages is narrowing in favour of the expansion of international languages, especially English as a global language.
Social factors	The deepening of the social crisis, a significant decrease in funding for the development of domestic science and education significantly reduce the competitiveness of the Ukrainian language as a language of international communication, do not contribute to its full functioning in the scientific, educational, informational and communicative space of Ukraine.
Military factor	The full-scale invasion of February 24, 2022 changed the language situation in Ukraine. The decrease in the population due to hostilities and migration had a significant impact on the number of native speakers on the territory of Ukraine and the communicative power of the Ukrainian language. At the same time, hybrid and direct Russian aggression accelerated the transition of a significant proportion of Russian-speaking citizens of Ukraine to communicating in Ukrainian in various spheres.

Source: created based on Lorenz et al. (2022).

Analysis of data

1. The analysis of the obtained data was carried out using statistical correlation. The Pearson test was used to determine the correlation coefficient:

$$r_{xy} = \frac{\sum(x_i - \bar{x}) * (y_i - \bar{y})}{\sqrt{\sum(x_i - \bar{x})^2 * \sum(y_i - \bar{y})^2}}$$
 (1)

where x_i – the value of X;
 y_i – the value of Y;
 $\bar{x}$ - arithmetic mean for X;
 $\bar{y}$ - arithmetic mean for Y.

2. The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient indicates the internal consistency of the test items. The Cronbach alpha is calculated by using the formula:

$$\frac{N}{N-1} \left(\frac{\sigma_x^2 - \sum_{i=1}^N \sigma_{Y_i}^2}{\sigma_x^2} \right),$$
 (2)

where σ_x^2 – the entire test score variance;
 $\sigma_{Y_i}^2$ – the i element variance.

Ethical criteria

The ethical aspects of this research are important and require careful consideration to ensure the safety and well-being of participants. Confidentiality and anonymity must be guaranteed to protect participants and encourage them to express their opinions honestly. Participants should fully understand the purpose and process of the study and how the information they provide will be used. It is important to consider the emotional impact of questions and topics to avoid discomfort or stress. It is necessary to adhere to the deontological principles of respect for personal dignity and beliefs. Any form of discrimination and indirect influence on participants’ responses must be avoided.

Results

First of all, the reliability and validity of the research methods were checked using Cronbach’s alpha reliability coefficient. It should be at least 0.75 for such types of research. The results of the calculations are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Analysis of the validity of research methods

Method	Description	Validity analysis (Cronbach’s alpha)
Factor analysis	Analysis of extralingual factors related to language policy in Ukraine	0.78

Source: created by the authors of the study

So, based on the received results of testing the methods, it can be stated that Cronbach’s alpha of all methods is greater than/equal to 0.75. Therefore, it can be concluded that the chosen method is reliable. The next step was to conduct a content analysis of journalistic discourse. Its results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Generalization of impact factors on the language situation in Ukraine

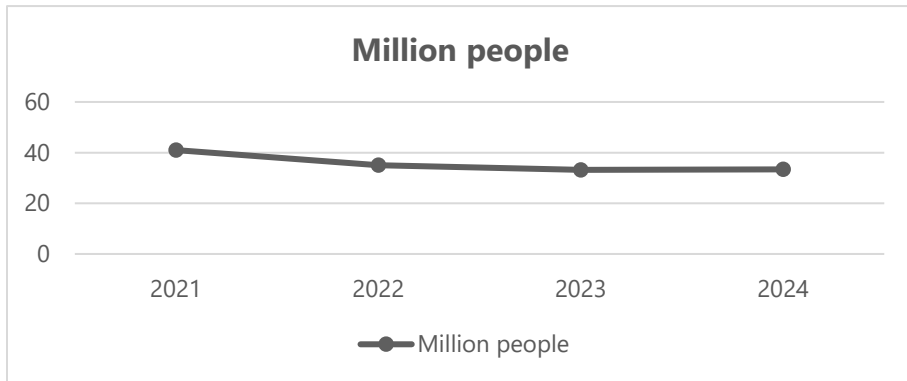
Factor	Impact
Level of education	Respondents with higher education more often use the Ukrainian language at home, at work, with friends, read books and articles in Ukrainian, watch TV shows and movies in Ukrainian, listen to music in Ukrainian, use the Internet in Ukrainian, consider mastery of Ukrainian important for success
Age	Younger participants of the study turned out to be more active users of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of life. They choose the Ukrainian language for communication at home, at work and with friends, as well as for reading books and articles, watching TV shows and movies, listening to music and using the Internet.
Region of residence	Residents of Western and Central Ukraine turned out to be more active users of Ukrainian in various spheres of their lives. They prefer Ukrainian for communication at home, at work and with friends, as well as for reading books and articles, watching TV shows and movies, etc. They also believe that the language situation in Ukraine is not stable.
National self-identification	It was found that respondents who identify themselves as Ukrainians show a preference for using Ukrainian in various aspects of their lives. They use Ukrainian at home, at work, in communication with friends, as well as for reading books and articles, watching TV shows and movies, listening to music and using the Internet.
The deepening of the demographic crisis	Armed Russian aggression (2022-2024) caused a significant increase in mortality among both the military and the civilian population, in particular, children. A significant decrease in the birth rate is observed. The quality of the country’s demographic potential is deteriorating. There is a sharp decrease in the number of speakers as a result of the rapid reduction of the population.
Large-scale forced migration	The hostilities force many citizens of Ukraine to leave their homes and move to other countries that have an active integration policy at the state level and are interested in the quick assimilation of Ukrainian refugees.

Source: created by the authors of the study

The main factor in the significant reduction of Ukraine’s population is full-scale Russian aggression. Fig. 1 shows the dynamics of

changes in the population of Ukraine according to the World Economic Outlook.

Fig. 1. Dynamics of changes in the population of Ukraine according to IMF data



Source: created based on International Monetary Fund (2024); Eurostat (2017)

Analysing the data presented in the figure, it can be stated that there was a rapid reduction of the population of Ukraine during 2022-2024. This factor is essential in the context of changing the language situation. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 8.2 million Ukrainians were abroad as of June 21, 2023. According to the most recent data of Eurostat, the number of Ukrainian refugees in Europe remained at the level of the end of 2023. At the same time, some changes in gender and age parameters were recorded. In particular, the percentage of men among Ukrainian refugees has slightly increased. But there is a slight decrease in the percentage of women and children. According to the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), as of February 15, 2024, there are 6 million Ukrainian refugees registered in Europe who left Ukraine after the start of the war on February 24, 2022. Another 475,600 migrants are outside Europe (<https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine>). Such indicators of migration have a significant impact on the language situation, because the number of speakers in Ukraine is decreasing, and native speakers abroad use other languages. Ukraine lost 15% of its pre-war population, mainly young women with children, which significantly affects the country's demographic situation. Table 5 presents the dynamics of changes in the population of Ukraine for 2022-2024.

Table 5. Changes in the number of the population in Ukraine for 2022-2024

Criterion	2022	2023	2024 (forecast until the end of the year)
Total number	43.528.136**	37 110 000**	31 000 000**
Population density	42 people/km ²	35 people/km ²	29 people/km ²
Birth rate	7.3 ‰	5.6 ‰	4.5 ‰
Mortality	18.5 ‰	21.2 ‰	22.7 ‰
Natural growth	-11.2 ‰	-15.6 ‰	-18.2 ‰
Migration growth	0.9 ‰	13.7 ‰	8.0 ‰
Population losses caused by war	-	4.0 mln**	5.7 mln**

Source: created based on Ministry of Finance (2023); State Statistics Service of Ukraine (2024), Tomeiko (2021)

However, we should note that the indicators of the population in Ukraine on the eve of full-scale Russian aggression are inaccurate. The last census in the state was conducted in 2001, and this caused constant manipulation of numbers. So, for example, according to the State Statistics Service, the population in Ukraine was 41.2 million people as of January 1 2022. And within the framework of the preparation of the state budget, this department submitted another figure - 34.5 million people. Explaining the discrepancies, the State Statistics Service emphasized that it included 41.2 million people in the figure in the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions since 2014.

Since 2022, the population of Ukraine has significantly decreased as a result of the war. According to various estimates, about 8 million people left the country, and more than 4 million died in the hostilities. Natural population growth has decreased dramatically due to falling birth rates and rising death rates. Population density has decreased significantly due to population decline and forced displacement of people. The demographic situation in Ukraine remains complex and requires taking measures to stimulate the birth rate, preserve people's lives, and attract those who left back to the country. It should be noted that various statistical sources record the deterioration of the quality of the country's demographic potential, which is determined by the number of citizens under the age of 17. In 2021 their share in the structure of the permanent population of Ukraine remained at the level of 17.9% (National Institute

of Strategic Studies, 2022). These indicators changed with the beginning of full-scale Russian aggression. More than 30 percent of all forced Ukrainian migrants are children. As the demographic crisis is a defining feature of the modern era of globalization, it is especially noticeable in the countries of Western civilization, it is not difficult to predict that many countries, in particular European ones, will improve their demographic situation at the expense of Ukrainian migrants.

It should be noted that while Ukraine is assessing minute-by-minute losses of people and damage caused by the war, the authorities of other countries are calculating not only their expenses for supporting Ukraine in the war with Russia, but also their profits from this war, in particular, recording the significant contribution of Ukrainian forced migrants in the development of the economy, in the improvement of the quantitative and qualitative demographic indicators of their countries.

So, today, as for centuries in a row, the purposeful destruction of the Ukrainian identity, and therefore the language, can be traced by two main methods – the method of physical destruction and the implementation of a purposeful assimilation policy. Both methods have a destructive effect on the language situation and significantly lowers the level of primarily communicative power of the Ukrainian language, because its existence tomorrow directly depends on the communicative power of the language today.

Table 6 presents the dynamics of internal population migration for 2022-2023.

Table 6. Dynamics of internal population migration in Ukraine for 2022-2023

Period	The direction of migration	Number of migrants (estimate)
2022 (February-March)	From the east and south to the west of Ukraine	7 million
2022 (April-June)	From the east and south to the west of Ukraine	2 million
2022 (July-September)	Return to the territories freed from occupation	1 million
2022 (October-December)	Movement within the western regions	0.5 million
2023 (January-March)	Return to territories freed from occupation	1.5 million
2023 (April-June)	Movement within the western and central regions	0.7 million

Source: created based on Ministry of Finance (2023); State Statistics Service of Ukraine (2024), Tomeiko (2021)

The above table show that the migration of 7 million people to the west of Ukraine at the beginning of the war led to the integration of Russian-speaking residents from the eastern and southern regions into predominantly Ukrainian-speaking communities. This mixing encouraged increased bilingualism and interaction between language groups. The return of the population to the territories freed from occupation from July to September 2022 (1 million) and from January to March 2023 (1.5 million). Movement within the western regions in October-December 2022 (0.5 million) and in the western and central regions in April-June 2023 (0.7 million) contributed to the strengthening of the Ukrainian-speaking environment, as these regions are traditionally Ukrainian-speaking. Table 7 presents the main trends in the use of the Ukrainian language after February 24, 2024.

Table 7. The main trends in the use of the Ukrainian language after February 24, 2024

Indicator	Data
Reducing the use of the Russian language in everyday life	Significantly decreased since March 2022
Mother tongue for the interviewees	82% - Ukrainian, 16% - Russian
Use of both languages or Russian by internally displaced persons and refugees	More common
Native language for IDPs and refugees	More than 70% consider Ukrainian as their native language
Reducing the use of the Russian language at home	From 13% in August 2022 to 9% in May 2024
Dates of the survey conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology	May 16-22, 2024
Topics of the survey conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology	The level of unity of Ukrainian society and the reasons for possible disunity

Source: created based on Hrytsenko (2021)

The table shows that since March 2022, Ukraine has seen a significant decrease in the use of the Russian language in everyday life. Currently, 82% of respondents consider Ukrainian to be their native language, while 16% consider Russian to be their native language. At the same time, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees staying abroad are more likely to use both languages or speak Russian. However, more than 70% of IDPs and refugees also consider Ukrainian as their native language.

At the same time, different sociological studies and our observations confirm that the issue of the relationship between language identity and language practice remains relevant. Although the neighbouring state's full-scale war against Ukraine has significantly accelerated the transition of many Ukrainian citizens to Ukrainian, a large number of speakers still use Russian in everyday communication.

Table 8 presents the dependence of changes in the language situation with the influence of extralingual factors.

Table 8. Dependence of changes in the language situation on extralingual factors

Factor	Correlation coefficient	Description
Political factors	-0.85	High negative correlation. Increasing political instability.
Economic factors	-0.72	A moderate negative correlation. A low standard of living, unemployment, and poverty stimulate emigration and reduce the birth rate.
Social factors	-0.68	A moderate negative correlation. The low level of social security, the availability of education and medical services have a negative impact on the dynamics of the population.
Cultural factors	-0.55	A weak negative correlation.
Military factor	-0.90	Very high negative correlation. The war causes large population losses (deaths, injuries), as well as large-scale migration, destruction of infrastructure, deterioration of living conditions.

Source: created by the authors based on research results

Changes in the language situation in Ukraine are caused by many extralinguistic factors, the most significant of which are military, political, economic, and social. It is worth noting that the hybrid and direct Russian aggression revealed the significant miscalculations of the Ukrainian authorities (current and previous) in the linguistic structure of the state. For example, the situation with Ukrainian refugees who received temporary shelter in other countries testified that, despite the promotion of the theory of multilingualism within the European Union, which has been cultivated for a long time in Ukraine, the authorities of each country pursue an active integration policy at the state level, encouraging adult migrants to attend language courses and obliging their

children to be educated in the official (state) language. Although English has a very strong position as a *lingua franca* on the territory of European and many other countries, the language of the titular nation is decisive for national identity and it is it that performs the unifying function in the multilingual environment of a certain country.

Discussion

The obtained results indicate a significant influence of extralingual factors on the use of the Ukrainian language in society. Trends have been revealed that confirm the importance of the political, economic, and socio-cultural spheres for the language situation in Ukraine. This can be observed in the studies of Boyko (2021) and Faez, Karas and Uchihara (2021). On the other hand, the negative correlation between migration and sociocultural influence indicates the importance of supporting the Ukrainian language in mass culture and society in general (Siebenhütter, 2020). The research findings emphasize the need for a comprehensive approach to language policy, which takes into account various aspects of the political, economic, and cultural situation in the country.

Extralingual factors, such as the military, political, economic and sociocultural context, play an important role in the formation of language environment. This research shows that they determine the extent to which language is used and perceived in different social and cultural settings. The results obtained in the study of Semenyshyn (2023) indicate that the political context can have a great influence on the language situation in the country. The current study found that internal migration has a significant impact on the language situation in Ukraine. The mass movement of people caused intense mixing of language communities in different regions of the country, increase in bilingualism and interaction between people who speak Ukrainian and Russian languages (Chondrogianni et al., 2023). Returning to liberated lands and moving to Ukrainian-speaking regions contributed to the preservation and strengthening of the Ukrainian language. These processes show how important social and demographic changes are for the development of the language situation in the country.

A study by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) demonstrates that the development of the economy can contribute to increasing the status and popularity of the language used in economic spheres. The sociocultural context includes cultural and social norms that influence the perception of language in society. Studies by Pangrazio, Godhe and

Ledesma (2020) and Wei (2022) indicate that cultural or social groups may attach more importance to a particular language because of its historical or cultural importance. According to this study, a significant decrease in the number of speakers of the Ukrainian language occurred as a result of the rapid population decline and migration caused by full-scale Russian aggression.

Language development is not necessarily subject to extralinguistic factors such as political, economic or sociocultural context. Studies by Widmann (2021) and Rowe and Weisleder (2020) show that internal factors such as education, individual characteristics and communication influence language ability and language proficiency. Regardless of external conditions or stimuli not related to extralinguistic factors, a person can potentially develop language skills and language proficiency. According to the works of Bilewicz and Soral (2020) and Jost, Baldassarri and Druckman (2022), a person's linguistic stability allows him to withstand the influence of external factors.

The theoretical significance of the research is the expansion of knowledge about the relationship between the language situation (in local or global dimensions) and extralinguistic factors (Suurmeijer, Parafita Couto and Gullberg, 2020; Vergis and Pell, 2020). The results of the study help to better understand how the social, economic, cultural and political environment can affect language use, the communicative power of the language, and its prestige. Understanding the impact of extralingual factors makes it possible to more effectively adapt language teaching methods, develop language policies and promote linguistic equality in different socio-cultural environments. The obtained results can also be useful for language planners and politicians who are faced with the task of preserving and developing different language communities.

Limitations may arise from the use of certain research tools or approaches that may not consider all aspects of the problem.

Conclusions

The obtained data make it possible to better understand the dynamics of language development in the country, identify priority areas of language policy, and determine strategies for strengthening the status and use of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of society. The research findings show that the language situation in Ukraine has radically changed over the past few years in terms of its main parameters: quantitative, qualitative, and evaluative. The main factor of these

changes is hybrid and direct Russian aggression, which has become the biggest threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine and the existence of the Ukrainian nation. Other factors are directly related to this factor: geopolitical, political, demographic, economic, social, which significantly affect the latest language situation in the country, which is determined by the crisis, instability, and deformity in the conditions of full-scale aggression. However, the analysis evidenced that despite the destructive influence of various extralinguistic factors on the language situation in the state, its evaluation characteristics have significantly improved. The war intensified the social consolidation processes, accelerated the transition of a significant number of Russian-speaking citizens of Ukraine to communication in the Ukrainian language in various spheres. The results of the study can be used to develop strategies and programmes aimed at supporting and developing the Ukrainian language in conditions of hybrid challenges and threats. Further research can be focused on the study of extralingual factors on the development of the Ukrainian language in emigration.

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The Imagined Memory/Invented History

Abstract: *Rushdie's first essay, in his book *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism* 1981-1991, published four years before *The Moor's Last Breath*, seems to me very important to the understanding of this novel. In this Rushdie essay, exiled writers are seen as haunted by a sense of loss, but the homeland is always imagined, the view of it, a view through broken mirrors. However, they are not simply mirrors of nostalgia, but "a useful tool with which to work in the present...we are not gods, but wounded beings, cracked lenses, capable of only fragmentary perceptions" (Rushdie 1991). Rushdie compares the emigrant's gaze to the past, to the imagined homeland, to the "Indian of the mind" with that of Lot's wife: even if you turn into a pillar of salt, you cannot resist looking back. For the writer, the novel is one of the ways to deny the official, political version of the truth, quoting Kundera: "Man's struggle against power is a struggle of memory against forgetting" (ibid.). The novel's title receives various illuminations in the course of the text, referring both successively and simultaneously to the story of Boabdil, to the iconic "Song of my Cid" (the comparison of Bella with Jimena and Camoinche with Cid, later in the novel, the story of the Japanese artist and the Moor), to Shakespeare's "Othello", but also to the gas station with the same name "Last Breath" at the beginning of the text. The historical eras to which the narrative is directed at the very beginning are several: the Spanish Reconquista of Granada and the exile of the Moors, the establishment of trade relations between Europe and India, the colonial expansion of Portugal, social and political events in India in the 20th century, and the narrative in the writer's ironically mimetic strategy it resembles the classic novels of the 19th century, describing the lives and family histories of four generations of Gamma-Zogobi.*

Keywords: *Rushdie; imaginary homelands; the exile of the Moors; memory.*

The Moor's Last Sigh (1995), is a book read through different lenses, as are many of Salman Rushdie's global postmodern fairytale fantasies. As noted, this novel is the first after the fatwa and after *The Satanic Verses*, after about seven years of novelistic silence, which justifiably leads critics to search for the ideas embodied in the work with which this silence was pregnant.

Critics such as Dohra Ahmad read it through the lens of fundamentalism, Muslimism or lack thereof, Jewishness and hybridity (Ahmad 2005), but Matthew Henry turns to neoliberalism and rebellion

(Henry 2015), Loyene to the destruction of postcolonial hybridity (Laouyene 2007), Gutman reads the novel through the metaphor of Jewishness (Guttman 2013), and Halkin sees Jewish imagery as gestures of “cowardice” (Halkin 1996:59). Other critics turn to magical realism, globalization, and postcolonial criticism (De Loughry 2020).

More or less politicized, in search of the imagined homeland, through the prism of intertextuality and postmodernism, the simulacrum and the code (D'haen 1997), through the concept of the palimpsest (Coetzee 1996; Grindberg 1996), the nostalgic-bitter messages of this novel are not easy for analysis, because the novel is made of layers and references, and in practice it is a veritable palimpsest of ideas, cultures, literary and historical images.

The carnival assemblage of *The Moor's Last Sigh* juxtaposes high and low, religions, fine art, history, literary authorities and cartoon characters in a postmodern amalgam, but in it a key idea of the Self is clearly discernible, namely the idea of man as non-uniform man, of the human wholeness as hybridity, which I think is key not only to Rushdie's novels in general, but also to other so-called cross-cultural writers such as Ishiguro, Naipaul, J.M. Coetzee...

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The character's destiny as a Moor, as his mother calls him, is peculiar, and so is the story of his double-speed life: his mother is an artist from India, with Portuguese ancestry leading to Vasco da Gama, the Moor's father traces his descent from the ancient sect of the Kochan Jews, but probably also an illegitimate descendant of the last Moorish Sultan of Granada: the Sultan expelled by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492. Like his ancestor, who turned his gaze to the fabulous and terrible past, at the end of his life, Moraes Zogoibi examines the meaning of his short life, examines his destroyed family, trying to see the lost paradise, which is apparently scattered because of hatred, intolerance: religious and ethnic. Thus, begins and thus ends the novel, a tale and a pastiche at the same time.

For the understanding of this novel, Rushdie's first essay, in his book *Imaginary Homelands* (1981-1991), published four years before the novel *The Moor's Last Sigh* seems very important to me. In this essay, exiled writers are seen as haunted by a sense of loss, but the homeland is always imagined, the view of it a view through broken mirrors. Rushdie compares the emigrant's gaze to the past, to the imagined homeland, to the "Indian of the mind" with the gaze of Lot's wife: even if you turn into a pillar of salt, you cannot resist looking back. For the writer, the novel is one of the ways to deny the official, political version of the truth, quoting Kundera: "*Man's struggle against power is a struggle of memory against forgetting*" (ibid.). Two of the key themes in this author's novel emerge here: memory and exile.

Memory is the thread that joins together the mosaic family history, it is also contained in the paintings, telling about the past, but also prophetically about the events in the Gamma-Zogoibi family; it is also reflected in the leaves that the hero sticks on the doors to preserve the memory of a story that must survive with the understanding that something can become immortal only if it is made public. The indirect comparison with Martin Luther's testaments speaks to the narrator's ambition to see history as creating a new paradigm that overcomes division, blood, and exile. Nostalgia for the golden age is understood here as a multicultural utopia.

At the same time, since it is a postmodern novel, Laouyene's doubt about the way Andalusian history is presented and the reference to the national narrative of India is logical. According to him, this is not simply a question of nostalgia for an exotic golden age, but an ideal multicultural model for a troubled India, adjacent to the writer's doubts "about the ironic possibility that some forms of Indian fundamentalism (political, religious, ethnic and/or artistic) may use such a model for their own purposes. In this way, the apparent nostalgia for the ideal multicultural hybrid modeled on Arab Spain is parodically undercut in the novel of the post-exotic Rushdie" (Laouyene 2007).

In our opinion, however, despite the parody that is present, the main messages of Rushdie's postmodern palimpsest are not condescending.

The novel's title receives various illuminations in the course of the text, referring both successively and simultaneously to the story of Boabdil, to the iconic *Song of my Cid* (the comparison of Bella with

Jimena and Camoinche with Cid, later in the novel the story of the Japanese artist and the Moor), to Shakespeare's *Othello*, but also to the gas station with the same name "Last Sigh" at the beginning of the text.

The entire narrative is permeated by the metaphor of exile, uniting the expulsion of the Moors from Spain with the symbolic expulsion of the Moor from India, associatively leading to the writer's personal history. But falling away from home - paradise is also seen as a loss of light, a loss of one's own history, it is not by chance that the Moor is called "son of the dawn", a nickname for Lucifer. Hence the exotic vampire references associated with the genus (Mother Aurora says: "*My dear, we feed on flesh and blood is our favorite drink!*")

The Moor's narrative begins when he is 36 years old, "on the field alive in the midst" (to which the reference to Virgil's name leads), but in fact without a guide and with the body of an old man of seventy. So the balance sheet, instead of being in the middle of his life, actually marks his end. The final touch, however, points back to the theme of rebirth: through a series of references Arthur, Barbarossa, the Ouroboros Serpent, vampirization, Sleeping Beauty and finally Rip Van Winkle (Max Frisch's character). Incidentally, RIP, apart from being an acronym for the character's name, is a pretty accurate parallel to the Moor's life, a life cut twice short, a descendant of fearless ancestors, a man capable of self-reflection, who doesn't feel happy and wants to find out who he is. One day he wakes up and realizes that half his life has passed. Soon he was young and strong, and before he knew it he had become old and worn out. It is no coincidence that the image of the stuffed dog, which seems to carry the Moor at the end of the novel with absolutely no motivation (Rip also finds the bones of his beloved dog) also works to support this juxtaposition.

At least a double perspective is reflected in the figure of Moraesh Zogoibi: first, the tragedy of the historical figure of Boabdil, the sultan forced to flee his citadel. The book begins and ends in the fictional Spanish village of Benengeli, an allusion to a quote by Hamet Benengeli, the fictional Arabic author of *Don Quixote*, which Cervantes supposedly translated.

But the hero's sigh, both personally and collectively, is a sign of the parallel between the emotions felt by the Moor in the novel and the sigh of the torn Indian nation. Events from modern Indian history permeate the tale - the struggle for independence, partition, scandals, Indian fundamentalism, and assassinations.

It is no coincidence that the image of Mother India appears in the novel kaleidoscopically both through the image of Aurora and through the reference to the film of the same name, because through this image the history of the divided home is most clearly outlined. Motherhood in India, as Rushdie notes in the novel, is one of the most significant ideas and is associated with the mother earth, with the mother goddess, and in the case of *The Moor's Last Sigh*, it has a number of incarnations. However, when it is used for propaganda by certain politicians (referring to Indira Gandhi) with impure ideas, the narrator parodically subverts this mythology. Rushdie uses the past not only to show the evolution of the story but also what is happening in his contemporary India.

Sighing and breathing in the novel have a special status: the story that the Moor tells is a “breathless story”, the hero merges with his breath, Bella's struggle for air with her mother-in-law, her tuberculosis later, the asthmatic Camoinch, the Moor's asthmatic attacks which finish him off. It is no coincidence that the fourth chapter in the novel begins with a meditation on breathing:

The people of my family find it difficult to breathe the air of this world; we are born with the hope of something better.

Paraphrasing Descartes (“I think, therefore I am”), the narrator states:

Suspiro ergo sum. I breathe, therefore I exist... A sigh is not just a sigh. We breathe in the world and breathe out meaning (

Inherited problems with breathing are carried over into a wider aspect: the air of this one does not bring hope, so breathing in the light is compared to a rearrangement of the broken world.

The breath is also related to the exoticism of the spices: inhaling the aroma of pepper, pistachios, ginger, cloves, cinnamon refers not only to the family business of Gamma Zogoibi, but also connects the history of Vasco da Gama with the rediscovery of India: the India that is exoticism, spiciness and all that, “what the men are looking for in the brothel” (ibid.:10). Against this vision of exotic and backward India, Rushdie's novel is actually indirectly opposed.

The postmodern tale, in which the Moor plays the part of Scheherazade, mixes religions and ethnicities: a devout Indian of Christian descent, a devout Indian non-Christian, a Catholic anti-Western anarchist and an artist with Portuguese roots, a Jew from Kochani. Against the background of the recent fatwa, this fact has been interpreted differently in criticism. However, Dohra Ahmad rightly notes that Islam is

rather absent from the novel, and the conversion to fundamentalist Islam is through the portrayal of other types of fundamentalism (Ahmad 2005:1).

Although the main character is a Moor, fundamentalism is symbolically present through the appearances of other religions and ethnic groups. In this sense, Ahmad shows that Rushdie does not shrink the term, but expands it, believing that “fundamentalist views infect not only Islam, but also Hinduism, Christianity, Marxism, contemporary art, and even the doctrine of hybridity, which many of us would prefer to see as relatively flexible” (Ahmad 2005:3-4).

According to Dohra Ahmad, Rushdie's choice of Jews reflects both his attitude towards India and Islam, because “they find themselves in a position both inside and outside of India”. And through them, the writer reflects “the double pressure of isolation and assimilation on the small Kochan municipality... In this way, the invisible Islam disintegrates into two main components: the Islam of the migrants, the religion of the exiled Boabdil, becomes the struggling Judaism, and the fundamentalist Islam, the religion of majority and state ideology becomes a distorted, dishonest monotheistic Hinduism (ibid.).

Particularly interesting and again seen in many ways is the motif of the failed sacrifice of the first-born son: Abraham's Jewish mother, offended by his relationship with a Catholic woman, gives him money to develop his business against a signed oath to take and raise his first-born son. The biblical references are obvious, but also reversed: Abraham's child, nicknamed the Moor, is and is not the heir of the Kochan Jews. He does not continue his father's questionable business, nor was he raised by his religious grandmother, and seeks the meaning of his life away from fanatical strife. Kaleidoscopically, this motif is reflected through the second reference – to the tale of Rumpelstiltskin by the Brothers Grimm, in which the troll who can turn straw into gold fails to take the child.

The multi-layered reading of the novel meets hundreds of texts with the classics, religious books such as the Ramayana, the Bible, etc., tales of various peoples from the East and the West, propaganda posters, films, games (Eeny, meeny, miny, moe, the game, which paradoxically gives names to the Moor's sisters), and Popeye the sailor and cartoon characters in a postmodern mosaic that shows us the need to see the world in a new way of rearrangement and juxtaposition.

Tolkachov systematizes the sources in the novel as follows:

- 1) Magical tales;

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- 2) Family legends,
 - 3) Hindu and other religious mythologies;
 - 4) Cartoons of pop culture;
 - 5) Surrealism and fantasy;
 - 6) Elements of fantasy
 - 7) Allusions to Indian history in the context of European and modern history
 - 8) "Lusiada" and "Reconquista" plots, as well as tales of the Moors and Jews of Spain;
 - 9) Xanada motifs — the artist's dreams;
 - 10) Religious fundamentalist ideologies and autobiographical elements (Tolkachev 2003: 129)

The rearrangement of the world, and the re-creation of myth and history in Rushdie's works takes on a new context. With the help of the plots of East and West, Rushdie tries to create another history and identity, and in this sense, the imagination becomes the connecting thread between the past and the future, it is the engine for the renewal of the world.

The interpretation of the novel cannot go without the plot of the two paintings with the same title *The Moor's Last Sigh*, painted by Aurora and Vashku Miranda, an artist and Aurora's rejected lover. Aurora in the novel is depicted as a genius artist, the emotional center of the work, but not at all an exemplary mother and wife, who very often looks at the world and her children through the prism of her art and her sense of uniqueness.

The portrait that Father Abraham did not like and therefore was "covered", another picture was painted over it, is a "lost image". The search for this image, and then the peeling back of the painting in the novel's finale to reveal the palimpsest, guides the development of the action. Although he constantly eschews an autobiographical interpretation of his works, the very idea of the lost portrait is autobiographical, as is evident from Rushdie's interview with John Banville (Banville 2000).

Abraham commissioned Vashku Miranda to paint a portrait of the pregnant Aurora, which originally depicted a beautiful woman cross-legged on a huge lizard nursing an invisible child with her bare breast. Outraged by the obscenity of the portrait, Abraham refuses to accept it, and the aggrieved artist superimposes on it "*a strange new image of Vasco Miranda in masquerade costume, weeping on a huge white horse*" - a painting that refers to the Moor of Granada.

This sentimental tear-jerking picture reaped great commercial success. Unlike Miranda, Aurora's picture of this subject contrasts sharply. Like her Nehru-supporting father, Aurora espoused the idea of a secular democracy in which national identity was not defined by religion, but rather by a belief in cultural pluralism and freedom of expression. Her variations on the theme of the Moor are many and menacingly prescient in their characterization of the image.

The art in the novel has other projections – not only in the Miranda-Aurora juxtaposition, but also through the art of two strong and charming women: Moraes' cruel but straightforward mother and his chameleon-like lover, Uma. As ideas and messages, their works are diametrically opposed and reflect two different views of art: Aurora's painting is contradictory, “abounding in surreal and multivalent images. ...Uma's sculpture also claims to convey “being”, but in a pure, unified and essentialist form” (Ahmad 2005: 6).

Art as a visionary, diverse rearrangement of the world was seen precisely through Aurora's painting. Her last picture, which she sends to Miranda, carries an unexpected message: it reveals her future killer.

The image of Abraham in the novel undergoes a serious transformation: from a loving and devoted husband to a drug trafficker and murderer, a dark figure associated with dark deals that chose his new “son” from the criminal world. In criticism, he has been compared to a comic book villain, but his incarnation is logically connected to the idea of betrayed love, which is a recurring motif in the novel.

Love in the novel is part of the multi-layered palimpsest. The love story between Bella, the woman who strengthens the foundations of family wealth and memory, and Camoinch is the only one that does not contain betrayal and recalls the legendary love between Cid and Jimena. However, Isabella and Camoinch have no heirs and their ideal love turns into history. All the other loves in the novel contain the motif of betrayal. Beginning exotically, on sacks of spices, the love between the Jew and the Catholic artist finally ends with Abraham's betrayal.

Betrayal also contains the relationship between the offended Miranda and Aurora. The vile and beautiful Uma, who has conquered the mind and body of the Moor, also turns out to be a traitor; the Japanese artist is also disappointed by her husband's love and betrayal. When Uma first lies and betrays the Moor, she is ironically compared to Jimena. Here the analogy of Moraes is not with Cid, but with Boabdil, the betrayed and exiled ruler. For the second time, the image of Jimena

as an ironic consolation appears in the face of the Japanese woman in the castle prison. So she was named by the jailer Miranda.

The lover invariably turns out to be deceived, but that is not the point, the novel argues. Because broken love, as Moraes Zogoibi calls it, is real, worthwhile love, it can make you feel whole, complete, it is worth feeling in this life, in which very often things are not as they are; we want to be (Falling in love with Mind, the hero for the first time feels complete, despite his crippled arm. The motive of inferiority fits into the writer's idea of man as a wounded being (see, for example, the essay *Imaginary Homelands*, 1991).

Everything that meets the Moor on his way is pain, the whole life of the hero is connected with hatred, terror, murder, rebellion and enmity - something that he does not even feel, because he is used to the divided home, to the terrible inheritance, and realizes when his story horrifies the Japanese Aoi Ue. In the finale of the novel, laid to rest, the Moor asks what remains behind him, the heir of what he is. And in his short life he sees love as the only force that overcomes division, the pinch of love that unites India, the pirate map of a treasure that is a mosaic of cultural layers.

The metaphor of the palimpsest, both here and in Rushdie's other works, is comprehensive – not only do politics, art, and religion turn out to be palimpsests, but history is also a palimpsest in the novel, insofar as the writer denies the single truth; the culture in which meaning is drawn through the reference to other literary texts and characters. The character himself is a palimpsest, since his identity is made up of layered pieces.

However, the palimpsest in the work is not simply a postmodern form of parody or, more precisely, it is a parody, but in the understanding of Linda Hutchen, according to which postmodern parody is a form of cultural and narrative practice that aims at a critical reconstruction of history. Thus, parody is not mocking imitation, but becomes a productive approach to creative recoding of tradition that emphasizes difference at the heart of similitude (Hutcheon 2000).

“The past is a foreign country, everything is different there,” Rushdie wrote in the essay in the *Imaginary Homelands*, quoting L. Hardley - *“But photography suggests just the opposite; it reminds me that all my present is foreign and that the past is home too, albeit a lost home in a lost city, sinking into the mists of lost time”* (Rushdie 1991:9).

However, the “alien past” is realized as the home that you have to reincarnate in order to preserve it, the sunken image that has to be

described in order not to sink into oblivion, because it is a part of the Self and because it shows the meaning of the path traveled. I am not putting a full stop, as there cannot be one in research unless it is there to remind us of realizing the boundaries of it, as V. Dibra and F. Jashari say (“just as an interactive sign, as a spelling convention, because the point is not put under any circumstances in research, research, and analytics, I was reminded that the moment itself - awareness gives the boundaries of culture definability”). (Dibra, Jashari 2024:217).

Looking back, to ancestral memory, is part of man's struggle with oblivion, part of his desire to recreate history in a new way, and the figure of the palimpsest in this novel as part of the hero's personality is the desire to create a new paradigm from the fragmented pieces, overcoming division, exile and hatred.

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The Language of Archives in Landmark Court Cases Against Bulgarian Writers

Abstract: *The language of archives has been scarcely studied in Bulgarian linguistics. Therefore, this article aims to explore and analyze archival documents related to the judicial proceedings against two prominent Bulgarian intellectuals and writers – Geo Milev and Peyo Yavorov. The focus of the scholarly analysis is Geo Milev's impassioned defense addressed to the District Court, in which his professional legal knowledge intertwines expertly with his keen sensitivity to the power of words in literary texts and their function as a message to the reader. Two worlds collide – that of the intellectual creator and that of the legal administrator. For Peyo Yavorov, it is challenging to summarize in a brief text the documents related to Case 205, a landmark case that transformed his life. Although only about 300 of the original 850 pages remain in the archives, this article attempts to outline the typical linguistic features through which identification is sought in order to address this complex, unsolvable issue.*

Keywords: *archives; legal discourse; marked vocabulary; judicial proceedings.*

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Езикът на архивите в знакови съдебни дела срещу български писатели

Езикът на архивите е слабо проучен в българската лингвистика. Това се дължи на факта, че доскоро тези документи не бяха широко достъпни нито за широкото представителство на обществото ни, нито за специалистите по различни науки, които да проучат и систематизират тези документи с оглед на спецификата и терминологията на научното познание. В настоящата статия обект на изследване са архивите от съдебните дела срещу двама видни български интелектуалци и писатели – Гео Милев и Пейо Яворов. Темата, която списание „Балканистичен форум“ постави на специа-

лизираната кръгла маса, проведена в ЮЗУ „Неофит Рилски“, е добър повод да се опишат, а след това с времето и да се анализират, езиковите и структурните особености на архивите, запазили следите на времето, правните факти и важни обстоятелства около съдебните производства срещу големи имена в българската литература, в българската история и в живота на България изобщо. Има се предвид фактът, че вероятно част от документацията е унищожена поради спецификата на процесуалните действия към обществено значими лица. Убедителен пример за това е съдебното дело срещу Яворов, известно още като Дело 205, за което е описано, че съдържа повече от 800 страници, от които налични са по-малко от половината – около 300 страници. Друг убедителен пример е делото срещу Никола Вапцаров. Редица спорни хипотези не могат да намерят убедителен отговор, подплатен с документи, по отношение на позицията, която заема Елисавета Багряна в този знаков процес, довел до физическата екзекуция на един от най-големите български поети. Никъде не е намерена нейната защита, за която има сведения, че е съдържала около 8 страници, които са могли да променят хода на делото, което в този случай означава и хода на един човешки живот.

Целта на това научно изследване е да представи документи, свързани със съдебните производства срещу двама интелектуалци, създали блестящи текстове в българската литература. Първият въпрос, на който логично трябва да се отговори, за да се уплътни целта на изследването, е Защо Яворов и Гео Милев. Отговорът за първия е свързан с една инициатива на съдиите в България, ръководен по това време от съдия Таня Жилова, в която инициатива ученици от различни средни училища в страната възпроизведоха съдебните процеси по няколко такива значими дела. Едната от дискусиите беше свързана именно с Дело 205, за което е създаден дори телевизионен филм. С оглед на съвременната действителност се осветляват редица малко известни факти около процеса и това провокира желанието ми да преснимам делото от архивите и да се запозная по-подробно със съдържанието му. За избора на Гео Милев и делото срещу него ме провокираха два основни мотива:

1. Никога не съм разбирал какво стои зад определението „безследно изчезнал“ и може ли човек като Гео Милев да изчезне безследно.

2. Второто обстоятелство има по личен характер и е свързано с един разговор в Катедрата по български език на Софийския

университет с племенника на Гео Милев – доц. Боян Николаев, тогава преподавател по лексикология. Доц. Николаев сподели в този личен разговор, че делото срещу Гео Милев представя лошото лице на българското правосъдие и че има толкова много въпросителни, които трябва да бъдат изяснени, за да бъде спокойна паметта на нелепо убития поет и публицист.

Натрупваните с годините материали дадоха повод да разгледаме различните противоречия в досъдебните производства като криза не само в съдебната система, но и като криза на обществото. Така беше създаден проект на тема „Българският език в държавните институции и в публичното пространство – кризи на общуването и общуването по време на кризи“, финансиран от ФНИ на МОН, в който акцентът беше поставен и върху подобни неизяснени обстоятелства в знакови дела срещу българските писатели и интелектуалци.

Задачите, които си поставя настоящата статия, са да събере материали от двете производства, за да разгледа езиковите им специфики и да направи опит през идентификацията по езика да потърси отговор на някои нерешени въпроси. Тази задача се оказа до голяма степен невъзможна, тъй като е трудно да се представи пълна картина при липсващи страници от документацията.

Предмет на настоящото научно изследване са материалите от съдебните дела като елемент на правораздавателната система в България, а идеята е да се провокира сред научните среди по-голяма дискусия, в която да се потърси обособяването на така наречения юридически подстил в самостоятелна стилова единица, тъй като разнообразната юридическа действителност предполага самостоятелното ѝ обособяване.

Защитата на Гео Милев е повод да се направи лингвостилистична характеристика на текста, за да се открият елементите на реториката, на изящната подредба на фактите и блестящото им речево репрезентиране. Тук прилагам пълния текст на защитата:

*До почитаемия
Софийски окръжен съд
ПИСМЕНА ЗАЩИТА
от Гео Милев, София,
подсъдим по угл. д. 249/925, III угл. отд.
Господа съдии,*

Моля ви да бъда оправдан по следните съображения:

1. *Поемата ми „Септември“ се инкриминира и се иска наказанието ми по чл. 5 от Закона за защита на държавата, и то текста на тоя член по закона*

от 25.I.1924 г. След тая дата обаче с §5 от Закона за изменение и допълнение Закона за защита на държавата (Държавен вестник, бр. 278 от 16.III.1925) въпросният чл. 5 бе отменен, следователно по него не мога да бъда наказан по сила на чл. 1 от Наказателния закон. С отменяването на един закон, който е предвиждал и наказвал известно деяние, премахва се наказателноправната норма, която прави престъпно и наказуемо това деяние, и последното става ненаказуемо, макар и да бъде извършено при режима на отменения закон, защото следва да се приложи по-новият, който, като прави да отпадне престъпността на деянието, се явява по-мек от стария (отменения) — Справка фон Лист, Учебник по наказателно право, Обща част, стр. 56.

В конкретния случай без значение е обстоятелството дали законът от 16.III.1925, общо взето, е по-строг или по-мек от стария. Той е безспорно по-мек по отношение състава, под който се подвежда моето деяние, защото моя състав се премахва (отменява). Действително с чл. 19 на същия закон от 16.III.1925 се създава нов престъпен състав, подобен на оня, предвиден в отменения чл. 5, обаче новият чл. 19 е неприложим по сила на чл. 2, алинея I от Наказателния закон, защото няма обратна сила. А при това дори и по новия чл. 19 се наказва деянието, ако е извършено по предвидения в новия чл. 6 начин — т.е. устно, писмено или чрез печатно произведение, но не и чрез художествено произведение, каквато е инкриминираната моя поема и както предвиждаше отмененият чл. 5.

Много естествено е, че с новия закон законодателят е искал да ограничи отговорността на писателите — автори на художествен и произведения — и затова отделя тия произведения от категорията на другите печатни такива, в които ги бе поставил по стария чл. 5, и затова създаде текста на новия чл. 7, в който се определят други елементи за инкриминиране художествени произведения, при което текстът на чл. 7 значително по-малко стеснява свободата на писателя. А законодателят бе длъжен да скъпи тая свобода, защото за развитието на родното изкуство тя е първото необходимо условие.

2. Независимо от гореизложеното поемата ми не съдържа елементи на престъпление нито по стария чл. 5, нито по новите 7 и 19 (неприложими като нови) от Закона за защита на държавата. Ни дума, ни ред, ни пасаж от нея не оправдава създаването на нелегални организации, не възхвалява терористични действия, а само описва, рисува картината на събития, станали преди създаването на тоя закон — събития печални и трагични, които не могат да останат скрити от погледа на писателя художник и да не привлекат перото му. А как се описва известно събитие, това зависи от художествения похват и способности на автора и не влиза в оценката на съдилищата и властите. Не може от автора, колкото и обективен да е, да се иска да скрие съвсем своите чувства при рисуването на картината. Един вижда нещата, които изобразява, в една светлина, друг в малко по-друг колорит или нюанс. Събитията като описания не могат да не извикат чувство у писателя. Но в моята поема аз все пак съм се старал и съм успял да не влагам мои чувства, нито мои идеи, а да опиша, да изобразя стихията на стълкновението, кървавата жестокост на развилите се борби, без да си поставям някаква друга цел — да давам преценка на събитията. Най-много може да бъде вменено в „грех“ перото ми, че е описало картина, която може да буди у читателя състрадание към пострадалите в тая кървава стихия и възмущение от жестоките средства на

борбата. Във време на озлобление, на настървеност аз описах станалите събития, без да преследвам цели. Но нарисуваната картина трябва да засегне само струната на човеишките чувства у читателя; да възбуди отвращение от кървите (стр. 221: „Смърт, убийство, кръв! Докога, докога?“); да събуди надежда, че ще настане край на кръвопролитията и ще настъпи човеишина и благоденствие (краят на поемата). Но обстоятелството, че картината буди подобни чувства, не може да ми се вмени във вина, нито е моя голяма заслуга — у всеки човек тая поема и нарисуваната в нея картина не ще събуди еднакви чувства. Зависи от психиката, културата и характера на читателя. Следователно „целта“, която е движила перото ми, е обикновена „цел“ на всяко художествено произведение — да изобрази събития, действия, чувства, мисли (които не са мисли и чувства на автора, а на героите), без да се грижи за начина, по който това изображение ще се възприеме от разните читатели. Оценката пък на отделните думи, термини, изрази подлежи да се разглежда не от углавния съд, а само от литературната критика. Законът не бива и сигурно не иска да се вмесва в тая „святая светих“ на писателското творчество и ще бъде печален куриоз в историята на родното изкуство, ако се инкриминират изрази като тия, които съм употребил в поемата си. При това подборът на думите до голяма степен става несъзнателно, в процеса на творчеството, под влияние на подсъзнателните внушения на писателя в момента на вдъхновението. Може ли тогава да се говори за умисъл в юридически смисъл и да се вмени в углавна в и н а подборът на думите, изразите, средствата, формите на описанието? В случая имаме една поема, която дори не е лирическа и не изразява чувства на автора, а колко по-малко мисли, идеи, преценки, одобрения или възхваления.

Господа съдии,

За честта на българското правосъдие не произнасяйте осъдителна присъда, защото с нея бихте нанесли удар, рана, петно върху родното изкуство и неговото развитие. Изкуството цъфти само на почвата на свободата. Не стеснявайте писателя, за да не убивате изкуството!

С почит:
София, 14.V.1925

Както се вижда, защитната реч е образец за интелектуалното могъщество на писателя. В нея се съдържат изрази, които времето разчита като сентенции. Днес едва ли дори опитен адвокат може да създаде толкова богата и емоционално наситена защитна реч. Тази реч е доказателство за неоспоримия талант на Гео Милев и за безспорното му умение да използва думите толкова експресивно, без да има значение към коя сфера на общуването се отнася. Впечатляващи са разсъжденията му върху силата на думите. В призова си той с лингвистична дарба прави едно много важно уточнение: думите в литературната творба и тяхното въздействие върху читателя не са повод съдът да търси умисъл, а са обект на литературната критика, която единствено може да определя ефекта, който се постига при употребата им. Експресивната

роля на лексиката Гео Милев много точно обвързва с желанието да се постигне отвращение от кръвта. Само поет с фина чувствителност към езика може да обясни тази толкова видима специфика на стилистично маркираната лексика. И, за съжаление, само поет с такава чувствителност е поставен в ситуацията да обяснява защо е използвал силата на думите в художествения текст; защо му е било необходимо да въздейства през тези думи, за да постигне още по-голяма плътност и обективност при предаването на историческите събития. Няма как да не се приеме, че грубо се сблъскват два свята – света на твореца и света на една силно изкривена съдебна практика, на която е вменено да търси УМИСЪЛ през посланията на художествения текст. Това е обидно само по себе си. Днес в съдебната практика на Република България са известни подобни дела, но те са насочени към анонимни автори, които чрез текстове и свастики представляват заплахата за националната сигурност на държавата, докато Гео Милев обрисова детайлите на едно престъпление срещу човека, но и срещу човечеството. Първата част от защитата на Гео Милев представя автора като добър познавач на българското правораздаване, който с лекота може да коментира поправките и промените в законодателството, като ги обвързва с казуса, по който е изправен пред Съда. Втората част от защитата му вече е публицистичен протест срещу съдебната система и в този протест много ясно надделява литературното аргументиране в полза на твореца. Речта е сблъсък между призвания през думи да създава светове и административни служители, обучени да не търсят силата на думите. И не звучи толкова като оправдание на обвинения, а като пламенна защита за тежестта и за емоционалната обогатеност на лексиката. Изказването на Гео Милев е силен пример и за (социо)лингвистична компетентност, защото авторът обвързва употребите на думите със ситуацията на общуването и с литературния текст, в който съзнателно или несъзнателно се търси вдъхновяващата сила на лексиката. Не може да не се отбележи, че Гео Милев предвещава и една тенденция, от която съвременните юристи трябва да се учат. В скоби добавя синонимни употреби – **отменява:премахва**. Речта на Гео Милев е пример за пламенна реч, в която творецът като че ли не защитава само себе си, а защитава изкуството в целия свят, което много често бива подлагано на процедури, съдебни или не, през които се проверява тяхната съпричастност към властта. Затова и призивите в края на речта остават

като сентенции: *изкуството цъфти само на почвата на свободата и не стеснявайте писателя, за да не убиете изкуството.*

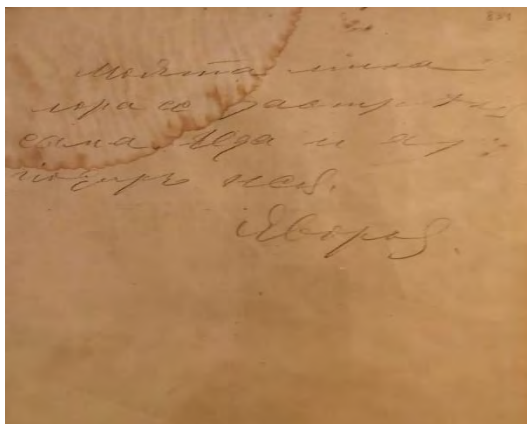
Вторият автор, обект на настоящата статия, е имал не по-малко сложна и тежка съдба. Делото срещу Яворов е класически пример за това как едно досъдебно производство може да задуши твореца и да го накара да изпадне в допълнителни лутания, противоречия и съмнения. Догадките, които са описани в литературата, за намеса на странични лица, при това с тенденциозни обвинения, допълнително усложняват процеса. Налице са и много неточности в хода на разследването, особено видими със средствата на съвременните технологии.

Още първоначалната записка в Следствения участък кратко обобщава действията във фаталната нощ: *Донасям Ви, Господин следователю, че нощес в 2 и 1/2 часа след полунощ в дома си на ул. „Раковски“ № 126 Пею Яворов, 32-год. от София, и Лора д-р Дренкова-Каравелова, 29-годишна от София, се застреляли в стаята си с по един револверен вистрел; първият в челото от дясна страна, а последната в гърдите, която веднага издъхнала. Яворов се закара в Александровската болница за даване медицинска помощ, мястото и следите са запазени до пристигането Ви.*

Като отговор е изготвено **постановление**, което се характеризира със следните езикови особености: употреба на 1л. мн. ч.: *От името на съдебния следовател: Ние, съдебен следовател при Софийския окръжен съд на II участък в София;* употреба на разговорни конструкции за уточняване часа на престъплението: *нощес към 2 1/2 часа след полунощ; евиденциални форми за несвидетелски модус: се застреляли в стаята си с по един револверен вистрел.*

В резултат на деянието е назначено **незабавно предварително следствие**. Първият документ е **Протокол за оглед от 30.11.1913 г.**, изготвен от Иван Божилов, съдебен следовател при Софийския окръжен съд на II участък в София. В този текст се използват налагащи се по това време под влияние на руското законодателство термини като *поемни лица, веществени доказателства, дознание, разписка, следствено дело, следствени действия и др.*; русизми като *тоже*; разгърнати са и редица синонимни конструкции, уточнени в скоби след определени думи: *задния (черен) вход с малка дървена извита стълба, по която се слиза в долния етаж; само стената е поставено едно канапе (кушетка) с възглаве към север; До един ъгъл на масата има мек стол (фотьойл); На пода е постлана една рунтава черга (кебе) и др.*

Под № 4 в Архивите е посочена Записката, оставена от Яворов при опита му за самоубийство, намерена при огледа от следователя:



София, Нощта на 30 ноември 1913 г.

Моята мила Лора се застреля сама. Ида и аз подир нея.

Яворов

Тази кратка бележка е изключително показателна и от психологическа гледна точка, и откъм езикова специфика. Тя е

кратка, но е съдържателна. Освен това е написана от човек, който е станал свидетел на самоубийство и който очевидно е бил достатъчно откровен, за да сподели истината. Човек, решен да сложи край на живота си, едва ли ще излъже. Автентичността на Яворовия индивидуален стил е ясно доловима и в това изречение. То е просто, но категорично изразено през глаголната форма *ида*. *Подир* пък е често срещан предлог в творчеството на Яворов и в тази бележка е ясен маркер за съпричастност и за готовност да сподели пътя, по който е тръгнала неговата любима. По яворовски са наситени тези изречения със свръхоткровеност и с много болка.

В **свидетелство № 5** е запазена неизпратена илюстрирана картичка от Лора Каравелова до сестра ѝ Виола, намерена при огледа от следователя и е датирана на 28 ноември 1913 г.

Под свидетелство № 7 – София, 30 ноември 1913 г., е поместено Постановление № II от съдебния следовател Ив. Божилов за насрочване на аутопсията на Л. Каравелова и назначаването на съдебномедицински експерти. В него прави впечатление употребата на деминутива *раничка* и на описанието на медицинските обстоятелства: *малката 4-милиметрова раничка на гърба е входната, а онази върху гърдите отпред с диаметър около 1 см е изходната и че следователно куришумът е влязъл откъм гърба и е излязъл отпред на гърдите с направление от долу на горе и отзад напред*. Медицинската експертиза е свръхпрецизна и в нея са описани детайли от аутопсията. Преобладават основно количествени данни, свързани с раните и уврежданията, които са настъпили след изстрела.

Заклучение е категорично: *Лора Яворова е умряла от нараняване на сърцето и последващото изобилно кръвоизлияние в сърдечната торба и в лявата плеврена кухина. Нараняването на сърцето, както и на диафрагмата,*

на черния дроб, на стомаха, на левия бял дроб, на 10-ото ляво ребро е станало от преминуването през гръдната и коремната кухина на малокалибрен куршум, който се намери в дрехите на умрялата. Куришумният път има направление отпред назад, отдясно наляво и малко от горе на долу. Изгледът и състоянието на гръдната кожна рана дава да се предполага, че ударът е бил нанесен с допряно до гърдите оръжие. Смъртта е била неминуема.

Прави впечатление високият професионализъм на медицинската експертиза, употребата на коректни термини и прецизността по отношение на наблюдаваното в аутопсията.

Наименованията на административните документи са издържани изцяло в стила на установената вече съдебна практика: **протоколи, доклади, разпит на свидетели, искане за и др.**

Откъм езикови особености се открояват запазени падежни облици в уважителните форми на обръщенията, като най-често се използват родителните и родително-винителните форми при имената: *До Господина прокурора при Соф[ийския] окр[ъжен] съд, както и вокативните форми при обръщение: Господин прокуроре, До Господина съдебния следовател, господина Яворова и др.*

Други особености на архивните документи, които се откриват при прочита на документите, са.

- **Неологизми: самозастрелване.** Използвана е, за да обозначи процеса на самоубийството. Определяме я като неологизъм, защото не се налага с актуално значение в съвременния български език и е създадена като че ли точно за този случай;
- **Умалителни форми: писъмце, раничка.** В съвременния политически дискурс например все повече се утвърждават думи като *пенсийки, бюлетинки, депутатчета, партийки*. В архивите по Дело 205 деминутивите се срещат рядко, но имат специфично значение, близко до значението им да се изразява умаленост, а не умалителност;
- **Диалектни съюзи и синтактични особености:** най-често се срещат разговорни съюзи като *гдето*. Специфика на синтаксиса на архивните документи от това дело е неговото усложняване. Възможна е и намеса, защото някои от свидетелските показания звучат като добре премислен и добре структуриран наратив; пречистен и редактиран; не е невъзможна намеса с цел структуриране на информацията, но така пък на места тя не звучи автентично и влиза в противоречие с конструкции от същите свидетели, което говори за известно разностилие;

➤ **Специфични абстрактни съществителни имена:** натъженост

Интересни са и някои от протоколите за разпит на свидетелите, но те не са обект на анализа, тъй като речта в тях е дело на индивидуален стил, а на места си личи и намеса от трета страна. Много трудно е да се приеме например начинът на изразяване на част от свидетелите, който звучи толкова изцяло, че наподобява художествен текст. Тези свидетелства в оригинал обаче са в непълен обем и затова е трудно да бъдат подложени на обективен анализ.

Съдебният процес срещу Яворов е сложен и определя прекратяването на производството на равнище прокурорско решение, тъй като законодателната база по това време е била много различна. И на пръв поглед много по-справедлива. Ето защо съдебната инстанция не приема решенията на прокурора и излиза с различно решение, което тук ще посочим:

Водим от горните съображения и на основание чл. 296 от углавното съдопроизводство, съдът

Определи:

Не се съгласява със заключението на прокурора за прекратяване на следствено дело № 205/1913 г. на II софийски съдебен следовател, понеже Софийският окръжен съд намира, че на 30 ноември 1913 г. между 2 и 3 часа след полунощ Лора Каравелова-Яворова не се е самозастреляла, а е била умишлено лишена от живот с револверен вистрел от Пейо Крачолов Яворов – престъпление, предвидено и наказуемо по чл. 247, ал. I от Наказателния закон, заради което делото да се изпрати в Софийския апелативен съд, гражданско отделение, за разрешаване на пререканието между съда и прокурора (следват подписите на съдиите).

Това несъмнено е нов удар по Яворов и в свое изложение до Върховния съд той пише:

София, 28 юли 1914 г.

Господине Председателю,

Случайно преди няколко дена узнах, че по нещастната случка с жена ми (покойна) Лора, Софийския окр[ъжен] съд е постановил да бъде даден под съд, като неин убиец. Нищо до сега не бе ми известно по делото, освен това, че съдебния следовател бе ме разпитал като свидетел. И голяма бе изненадата за мене, когато узнах, че без да бъде привлечен като обвиняем и изслушани обясненията ми, като такъв, без да ми бъде предявено следствието и без да ми се даде възможност да представя доказателства за невинността си (ако би съществувало някакво подозрение спрямо мене) — Соф[ийският] окр[ъжен]

съд постановява да бъде съден и наказан. Аз не познавам точно углавната процедура, но ми се вижда странно, че всичко това е възможно да стане тъй. Въпреки това, аз не искам да се ползвам от формалностите на закона и желая, колкото е възможно, по-скоро да се ликвидира с това обвинение. Доколкото имах възможност, аз прегледах с помощта на брат си (защото не виждам) делото и моля почитаемия Софийски апелативен съд да счете, че следствието ми е предявено. Но понеже никога до сега не съм бил разпитван като обвиняем, моля съда да има снизходителността, да изслуша моите обяснения върху случката като такъв и върху ония обстоятелства, които Соф[ийския] окр[ъжен] съд счита, че ме уличават в убийство.

Тези начални редове в текста на Яворов са свидетелство едновременно за неговия устойчив характер, но неминуемо показват и силното притеснение, което е изпитал поетът. Това е нормално, като се има предвид колко сурово е обвинението и колко лошо е настроено обществото срещу Яворов. Фразата звучи задъхано, а синтаксисът е накъсан. Въпреки това преобладава лексиката, която обективира истинност и достоверност на изказа:

Случката стана така, както съм я разправил на съдебния следовател. Причините за убийството на Лора са същите, които изложих пред него. Това е самата истина и няма тя никога да стане друга – каквото и да мисли правосъдието за мене, както и да постъпи спрямо мене. И нищо повече не бих искал аз да прибавя, нищо повече да говоря за оправдание. Пред кого да се оправдавам? Ако даже моята изповед пред смъртта е в състояние да възбуди подозрение и да бъде тълкувана като симулация на един нечувано хитър престъпник — нима моите по-нататъшни оправдания могат да важат нещо? Бих искал след този аргумент на Окр[ъжния] съд да млъкна — нека правосъдието прави каквото намира за добре! И не за да се оправдавам аз давам долните обяснения. Мен ме дълбоко огорчава, че не съм могъл да намеря в правосъдието поне един достатъчно внимателно отношение и преценка на фактите. Игнорирайки най-важните данни по делото, невярно предавайки други, нагазвайки в областта на хипотезите и фантазиите, служейки си с едно своеобразно тълкуване на психологическите моменти, съдът ме изкарва убиец на Лора. Нека почитаемият Апелативен съд има търпението да ме изслуша, за да види с каква тежка несправедливост Окръжния съд се е отнесъл към мене:

Няма как в тези фрази да не бъде доловено разочарованието. Няма как в него да не се прокрадват и реторични въпроси, които търсят истината на несправедливо обвинения; няма как да не се включи целият набор от въздействаща лексика, която да убеди съда в своята невинност. Именно в тези изречения Яворов се разпознава като човек чистосърдечен, искрен, притеснен от толкова свирепи обвинения. Единствената надежда в този момент е да бъде изслушан от по-висша инстанция, каквато е Апелативният съд. Показанията му доказват само едно – желанието да бъде свалено от

живота му това тежко престъпление. Разказът е като друг разказ и прави съпричастен читателя:

Аз казах, че Лора се застреля, като държеше револвера допрян до гърдите си. Това бяха няколко ужасни мигновения на страх и на очакване, през които аз не смях да се мръдна, да стана от леглото и да ѝ отнема оръжието — да не би с това да я предизвикам още повече да спусне револвера, както много пъти дотогава се бе заканвала да стори. Софийския окр[ъжен] съд обаче счита, че тя не се е самоубила, а аз съм я застрелял подло от към гърба. Той се позовава на «устното» мнение, което двама лекари са изказали преди да е била направена аутопсията: че предната рана е по-голяма, а задната по-малка (на гърба). Даже и в тоя пункт, който поне не търпи тълкуване, най-старателно е подведена работата така, че да се даде впечатление, какво наистина всичко това е тъй.

Още веднага съдебния следовател е счел тяхното устно мнение за невярно, не отговарящо на действителността пред вид обгарянето раната на гърдите. Какво са казали тези същите лекари с третия след направената аутопсия. И тримата единодушно дават заключение, че раната има направление отпред назад и че ударът е нанесен с допряно до гърдите оръжие. И това те го твърдят не «устно» и въз основа на случайни първи впечатления, а с подписите си — след най-щателно изследване вида на раната и вътрешния ход на куришума. Най-силното, очевидното, неоспоримо с нищо доказателство е, че раната на гърдната кост е широко обгорена (виж съдебно-медицинския акт). Нима може след това да става съмнение откъде е нанесен удара? Но за Окр[ъжния] съд тоя факт просто съвсем не съществува, той го преминава мълком, без с нищо да загатне, да даде да се разбере поне с една думица, с една загадка, че такова широко изгаряне е било констатирано.

Но, ако Окр[ъжният] съд напълно игнорира тоя най-важен факт, с най-старателна подробност се залавя за големината на раната на гърдите и гърба и, намирайки първата по-голяма, а последната по-малка, мисли, че ударът е направен отзад. Какво значи големината на раната и нима лекарите, които дават заключение, не са имали това пред вид? Вярно е, че входната рана бива по-малка, а изходната по-голяма, но това е, когато се стреля от достатъчно разстояние, за да може куришума да се засили. Когато се стреля отблизо, от «плътен отпор» — както експертизата за балистическите свойства на куришума удостоверява, че е стреляно в случая — куришума произвежда разрушения, защото току-що излязъл от дулото, преди да бъде засилен, среща масата и употребява усилия, за да я разкъса. Окръжния съд в аргументацията си, че входната рана е винаги по-малка, твърди, че експертизата установила, че в подобен случай «едва се виждала».

Наистина, експертите твърдят това, но го твърдят за в случай, когато се стреля от разстояние 1 метър, а не от далечина 1-4 см., както същите експерти дават заключение, че е стреляна Лора. Нима мога тъй да бъда третиран от съда?

Със същото такова невнимание Окр[ъжният] съд е минал и всички важни данни, относително вътрешния ход на куришума. Ето какво е констатирано в съдебно-медицинския акт: 1) Раната на гърдната кост отвън има диаметър 10 мм, а на задната страна дължина 12 мм и ширина 4 см и 2 мм.

Значи, на задната страна раната е по-голяма. 2) Върху задното лице на лявата камера на междукламерната преграда, и върху самата нея, раната е дълга 18 мм. и широка 8 мм. Значи, раната отзад на сърцето е по-голяма от раната отпред на гърдите. 3) Частица кост е откътрена от задната страна на гърдната кост. 4) Една част от външната ламелка на костта на реброто на гърба е отчекната и свободно виси. 5) Пред сърцето и под раната на гърдите има костни частици.

На мене ми е непонятно, как тия всички многочислени факти могат да се отминат, просто, като че ли не съществуват, и да се изкарва, че ударът е нанесем откъм гърба.

Заминаването на Лора за Париж, което според Окр[ъжния] съд е било непосредствения повод да я убия, е една измислица, също така старателно използвани срещу мене. За заминаването на Лора за Париж действително е ставало между нас дума — пръв път преди мобилизацията. Аз тогава трябваше да замина за Македония и не исках да преживява тревогите и страховете в София, затова ѝ предлагам да замине за известно време в Париж при сестра си. Подир това често пъти след първата и втората война тя изявяваше желание да замине в Париж, но това бе не за да побегне, не за да се отърве от мене, а за съвсем друго. Никой път аз не съм имал нищо против нейното заминаване, но то си остана само проект, който служеше за взаимни закачки и шеги. Ако за това са потребни свидетели, ето г-н Тихов установява това. Даже и вечерта у тях, при играта на оракул, тя пак се закачаше, че ще остана сам в София, но като я запитаха сериозно, наистина ли ще заминава, обясни: «Толкова ли не виждате, че е шега.»

Но било намерено едно писмо от Лора до сестра ѝ, че на 1 декември 1913 г. тръгва за Париж. Това писмо нито е било працано, нито е имала намерение да го изпраща. Слугинята е обяснила защо е направено това — да ѝ се дадат писмата, така че да узнае и аз, какво Лора е решила да замине, а след това тайно да го вземе назад. А разгадката на тази детинска игра трябва да се търси в следното: Лора се блазнише от наивната мечта, че е възможно някоя от моите пиеси да бъде поставена на някоя от Парижките сцени. «Аз бих се оженила, пише ми тя в едно от писмата, които прилагам, за някой друг богат човек, за да построя с парите му един театър, в който да се дават само твои пиеси.» За своя план тя разчиташе на Miss Orsby, секретарка на Сара Бернард, и на m-lle Dermaine Senose, имената на които се срещат в приложените писма (цялата кореспонденция е задигната от бившия ѝ мъж Дрянков, когато аз бях пренесен в болницата). И истинска треска бе я обхванала, когато получи писмо да пратим пиесата. Тя настояваше постоянно да коригираме заедно превода ѝ на «Когато гръм удари» и да го изпратим. Но понеже аз бях зает с много друго и работата се отлагаше, Лора ми говореше, че ще го прати некоригиран или сама ще го занесе и прибавяше: «Ако не вярваш, ето — пиша!» Впрочем, такива игри около пиесата са повтаряни много пъти и аз се чудя, че е намерено само едно писмо! Но аз всякога ѝ казвах: «Лора, наистина, иди в Париж — и ако не направиш нещо за пиесата, поне ще се разведриш» — тя веднага ме хващаше за ръцете сърдита, говорейки: «Ти нарочно ме пращаш, за да останеш сам, кой знае за какво!...» И тогава, за да я успокоя, трябваше да ѝ обещаю, че през ваканцията непременно ще заминем двама.

Истината пък с писмото на г-ца Вира Хаканова е още по-невинна. Г-н М. Никифоров бе наш познат и приятел и в това писмо (всъщност записка) г-

ца Хаканова съобщаваше на Лора за денят, когато ще заминава за Виена да се лекува (той беше тежко ранен). Не за заминаване на Лора се касаеше тук, а за едно обикновено предупреждение, да идем на гарата да го изпратим. Понеже тренът заминаваше към 3—4 часа и аз имах неотложна служебна работа, помолих я да отиде сама, като предаде на пътника моите поздрави и благопожелания. Това могат да потвърдят и г-ца Хаканова, и г-н Никифоров. За какво заминаване с експреса още същия ден говори Окръжният съд, когато записката е от 14 ноември, а писмото до Виола от 28 същия?

Но Лора била сама казала на слугинята, че ще заминава. Прочетете показанията на слугинята да заключите доколко това е било сериозно: днес ѝ каже ще заминава утре, други път — след 1 месец, трети път — напролет и всичко в свързка с проектите на пиесата. Но слугинята на края на показанията си твърди, че няколко дни преди случката тя не е ѝ говорила нищо за заминаване. Това е било не един ден преди смъртта, както твърди Окръжният съд, а преди месец.

Никакво приготовление за заминаване не е имало. Свлянето на сандъците от тавана бе предизвикана от това, че хазяите бяха дали таванските стаи на работници; става тясно и неудобно да се държат известни вещи там и Лора бе принудена да изпрати 1—2 сандъка при майка си.

Изтегляването на 1000 лева от банката също не е в свързка с никакво заминаване. Тя ги бе изтегвила, както много други пъти, за свои дамски потребности. С тях щеше да купува някои принадлежности за салона и да уравнява някакви свои сметки. Окръжният съдия счита тия пари за заминаване? Ако Лора би имала намерение да заминава същия ден (в петък), не би ли се погрижила поне за паспорт?

Че цялата тая история за заминаване е измислена, се вижда от това, че последните дни тя се занимавала със съвсем друго — да гледа къщи, които се продават, защото ималх намерение да си купим своя и да се наредим тъй, както тя искаше. Даже и в самия ден на случката пак щяхме да ходим да гледаме къща. Ако трябва да се вярва на слугинята, трябва да се вярва и на всичко това, което тя утановява и на което Окръжният съд не намира за уместно да се спира. Ами че даже вечерта на вечеринката у Тихови тя пак говореше за намерението ни за собствена къща, както са показали присъстващите.

Не, г-да съдии, за никакво заминаване не е ставало дума и никога аз не съм бил против него.

Аз обясних на съдебния следовател, че убийството на Лора се дължи на ревност. Нейната ревност бе велика, както бе велика и нейната любов и нищо не можеше да я удовлетвори. Тя ме ревнуваше винаги, навсякъде и от всичко — от хората, от самата ми работа, от мъртъвците. Прочетете онова писмо, в което тя се измъчва от съмнението, че аз пазя своята любов за «покойната малка приятелка», на чийто гроб може би в него момент се намирам. Каквото и да правех, колкото време и да отделях — никога моята любов не беше достатъчна за нея и тя вечно се измъчваше от съмнения. И ако в такива минути тя често говори в писмата си за смърт, за самоубийство, може да си представите, какво би била в състояние да направи нейната ревност, когато напоследък изкуствено се разпали до неимоверност отвън. Тук аз не мога да казвам всичко, за да не стана причина с обясненията си и виновник за две или три

чужди нещастия, но Ви моля да прочетете внимателно собствените признания на г-жа Дора Грозева за държанието ѝ спрямо мене, за желанието ѝ да дразни Лора, за секретните картички и букети, за късните съпровождания и пр. Аз Ви моля да обърнете внимание и на това как Лора е гледала на всичко туй (показанията на приятелките ѝ и на слугинята), как е реагирала на тия предизвикателства (пред г-ца Бонева тя се е оплаквала, че вече я било срам от света и че ѝ идело да се самоубие). Обърнете внимание и на това, защо тя в мълчаливата си женска гордост не е дала на г-жа Д. Грозева нито повод да помисли, че ме ревнува от нея. Това бяха изблици на една ужасна ревност, която се проявяваше винаги, навсякъде, без никакъв повод. В едно от писмата си тя ми забранява дори погледите на други хора, освен за нея. Такава една ревност я обхвана и вечерта у г-н Тихови (по какъв повод, това е смешно да се говори) и нищо вече не бе в състояние да я отклони от заседналото в душата ѝ подозрение спрямо мене. Мислейки, че аз я пренебрегвам заради други, наранена дълбоко в своята женска амбиция и гордост, тя направи това, което често и в писма по-рано пред мен се канеше да направи, за да даде едно удовлетворение на себе си, а може би и да ми отмъсти.

Това е самата истина и аз мисля, че приложените писма достатъчно я уясняват. Съдете сами, дали това е било у нея едно «нормално, законно чувство» или едно болезнено състояние, което е могло да я доведе до такава постъпка.

Като улика, че аз съм убиец, се използва и това, че съм бил революционер и че следователно и «лесно съм могъл да посегна на своя и чуждия живот». Аз протестирам, дето Окр[ъжният] съд си позволил да се занимава с моята революционна дейност. Ако съм ходил в Македония, правил съм го да изпълня един дълг и няма да се намери даже едно куче в поробената земя, което да засвидетелствува, че съм убил някого — не! че съм присъствувал на някое убийство или даже, че съм говорил за убийство на когото и да е. Моята дейност в Македония бе чисто агитационна. Колкото се отнася до намереното в къщата ми оръжие, ще кажа, че понякога се е случвало да има у мене и чувал с бомби. Аз бях временен задграничен представител на Македонската организация и всички тия неща бяха нейни.

Думите, които д-р Червениванов твърди, че съм казал на Лора преди венчаването си, ги приемам за истински, макар и да не ги помня. Ако може да се прави аргумент и от тия съвсем естествени любовни клетви и то 2 год. преди случката, съгласен съм те да се считат като улика срещу мене. Господа съдиш, когато ще преценявате в състояние ли е била Лора да извърши такава постъпка, имайте пред вид писмата, които прилагам... Колко често я намирах настроен да се махне от хората, да се махне от света! С мисълта за смъртта тя бе свикнала толкоз, че чувствуваше някаква сладост в нейната близост. Прочетете писмата от Париж, дето тя ме уведомява да ѝ изпратя няколко грама кокаин! Вижте как се радва, как тя тържествува, когато най-после е успяла да се снабди с достатъчно количествено кокаин и как е успокоена, че сега има «такъв сигурен и съчувствен другар»! Вижте най-подир колко пъти тя говори за самоубийство и ме успокоява, да се не боя - че няма сега да направи това, а някога подир, на есента и пр. ...

Нейната любов бе едно много сложно и тъмно чувство, което неминуемо водеше към смъртта; друго удовлетворение то не можеше да намери! И сега, като ми препрочитат нейните писма, като се мъча да си припомня

онова, което е било, пред мен постепенно се открива най-голямата истина на станалата случка. Нашите съдби бяха решени в деня, когато си подадохме ръка!

П. К. Яворов

Позволих си да приложа по-голямата част от текста на Яворов. Този текст е важен, защото оборва със силата на фактите и през силата на думите онези обстоятелства, които много често съдебните институции приемат, но приемат без важната функция на свидетелската позиция и на първоличната гледна точка. Това пространно изложение може да се определи като пламенна реч в защита на достойнството и на истината. Яворовата истина. То със сигурност продължава да поставя въпроси и да разкрива черти от сложния и противоречив микрокосмос на Пейо Яворов. И днес като че ли остава свидетелство за един много сложен свят, в който се преплитат драматични чувства и напрежения. Всичко останало го казва поезията на Яворов. А тя доказано е устояла проверките на времето и със сигурност ще бъде част от живота и от литературните настроения на поколения българи.

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Soviet Directing, Bulgarian Plot: Film “Bulgaria” (1946) between Propaganda and Documentary

Abstract: *Creating the Eastern Bloc in the postwar era entailed an intricate process which included the transformation and adjustment of Soviet institutions and politics in the countries with new communist regimes. This article presents and analyzes the first Soviet-Bulgarian documentary about Bulgaria. In 1946 Bulgarian and Soviet cinematographers started working on the first joint film production, the documentary “Earth, Culture and Life of the Bulgarian People”. The final title of the film remained only “Bulgaria”. This film was the first Soviet lesson in propaganda cinema under Soviet occupation in Bulgaria and was part of a series of similar Soviet films for the different countries in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the Cold War. In this article the film “Bulgaria” (1946) is analysed in the context of the policies of Sovietization as a significant component of the Soviet Union’s strategy in Eastern Europe after 1945 – defined here as “occupation of the image”.*

Keywords: *Bulgaria; Soviet documentary; propaganda; Communism; Sovietization; cultural studies.*

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Съветска режисура, български сюжет: филмът „България“ (1946) между пропагандата и документалистиката

Въведение: окупиране на образа

През май 1946 г. ръководството на Околийския комитет на комунистическата партия (БРП/к/) в гр. Разлог препраща към местните дружества на бившите партизани¹ специално писмо:

„По искане на Централния съюз на народните партизани се снима филм от акцията на Рило-Пиринския отряд в Рилското

¹ Става въпрос за Дружествата на Съюза на бойците против фашизма България (1947–1951), преди това организацията се нарича Съюз на българските народни партизани (1945–1947). Вж.: Ангелова (2019).

корито през месец август 1944 г... Всички партизани, които са взели участие в тази акция, се задължават на 4 юни т. г. в 8:00 часа сутринта да бъдат в Разлог, облечени в партизанските си дрехи... Онези от партизаните които са си запазили оръжието, да дойдат с него. Другите, които нямат – ще бъдат снабдени в Разлог от милицията. От Разлог ще бъдат взети с камиони и закарани в Рилското корито... Всички разходи са за сметка на **филмоснимачите – съветски представители**. На всички партизани да се съобщи срещу подпис“.² (подч. Мое – М. А.).

Защо през лятото на 1946 г. се налага филмирането на инсценировка на „партизанска акция“ и за какъв съветски снимачен екип става дума? Това първоначално питане и беше отправната точка на предложеното тук изследване. Оказа се, че *филмоснимачите – съветски представители* са част от киногрупа на съветската *кинохроника*, която между май и септември 1946 г. заснема мащабен филмов проект, чийто резултат е почти 50-минутния „документален“ филм *България*.³ Кавичките в жанровото определяне не са случайни, доколкото някои изследователи фиксират неигралното кино от епохата на късния сталинизъм като *метажанр* (Dobrenko, 2008, 65). Филмът *България* е определян от създателите си най-често и като „културен филм“, и като „монументална кинохроника“.

След Първата световна война *киното* се превръща не само в завладяващо изкуство, а във и важен инструмент за политическа, идеологическа и икономическа пропаганда (Sarkisova, 2017, 1). Това важи в най-голяма степен за инструментализирането на кинодокументалистиката или т.нар. „неигрално кино“⁴ (особено за

² ДА–Благоевград, ЧП 93, л.11 – Протоколи, удостоверения, писма на Дружеството на бойците против фашизма – с. Белица, Разложко.

³ Дълга специална благодарност на Андроника Мартонова за възможността да видя филма – копие е съхранявано във Филмовия архив на Българската национална филмотека.

⁴ В изследванията на т. нар. *неигрални филмови практики* кинопрегледите, хроникалното кино и т.нар. „културни филми“ често се разглеждат като периферни за документалното кино – "считани за твърде циклични, твърде актуални, твърде инструментални (открито пропагандни) или твърде ефимерни, за да имат място в документалната традиция" (Kahana, 2016: 3), а естетиката им се разглежда като твърде незначителна, гласовете им – твърде приглушени, целите им – твърде очевидни (Malitsky, 2020, xii). В дискусиите за документалния филм или документалното кино се използват редица специфични термини – *културен филм*, *филмов журнал*, *пропаганден филм*, *кинохроника* и др., но жанрът се оказва труден за еднозначно дефиниране

кинохрониката)⁵ в конструирането на съветския политически и социокултурен модел (Roberts, 1999, 4; Miller, 2010) в процесите на *съветизация*.

Уте Даниел описва кинохрониките като "правителствена пропаганда, ... съвкупност от стратегии за създаване на политически смисъл" (Daniel, 1994). Дори и степента на техния ефект да остава под въпрос, кинохрониките като цяло са поставени в услуга на държавната пропаганда (Reeves, 1999, 157). Въпреки че периодът непосредствено след Втората световна война се оказва последният, през който се произвежда *хроника*, жанрът запазва и в следващите десетилетия значението си на решаваща аудиовизуална масова медия и важен инструмент за развитието и оформянето на политико-културните публични сфери в процеса на идеологическо и политическо "превзпитание" (Hahn, 1997). До разпространението на телевизията, кинохрониката е нещо като като аудиовизуална новинарска медия, показвана в кината преди филмите и разпространявана от контролирани от правителството институции, осветяващи „политически мотивирани актуалности“ (Sieber, 2016, 4).

Останал почти неизвестен или само бегло споменаван в изследванията за историята на българското кино (Братоева-Даракчиева, 2013; Чичовска, 1990; Garbolevsky, 2011), филмът *България* се оказва първият подготвителен *съветски урок по пропагандно кино* след преврата на 9 септември 1944 г. – официално това е „първата съветско-българска филмова продукция“ (Ракова, 1989, 35). Подготовката и реализирането на филма се случват в условията на реална съветска окупация⁶ и трасират превръщането на киното в България в обект на културно и социално инженерство, в институция и индустрия, доминирана от държавата и използвана за целите на индоктринацията и пропагандата (Garbolevsky, 2011, 15).

(Juhasz, Lebow, 2015, 1). В съветския случай документалните филми и кинохрониките най-често се терминологизират като „неигрални“ (*неигровое кино*) (Malitsky, 2013, 31). Понятията „игрален“ и „неигрален“ обаче не се превеждат просто като художествен и нехудожествен. Разделението е свързано по-скоро с налагането на повествователна или последователна структура, отколкото с "качеството" на материала. За повече информация вж. (Taylor & Christie, 1988, 225–232).

⁵ Особено след въвеждането на звуковото кино през 1920-те г. кинохрониката се оказва особено привлекателна в рамките на и за националистически дискурси и политики, в средство за индоктринация, особено по време на война, и дори в инструмент на самата война (Imesch et al., 2016).

⁶ До влизането в сила на Парижкия мирен договор (15 септември 1947 г.), когато започва изтеглянето на войските на Червената армия от България.

„В първите следвоенни години литературата, театърът, живописата, скулптурата, кинохрониката бързат да отразят революционния кипеж“ (Станимирова, 1973, 10) – цитатът от книгата *Кино и героика* (1973) на Неда Станимирова дава краткия вариант на идеологически допустимото тогава обяснение на промените, които претърпяват културните институции и творците при установяването на *социалистическия реализъм* – процесът на налагане и адаптиране на съветските политики в страните, управлявани от просъветски комунистически режими от 1944 – 1945 г. (Cărbăș, 2017, 249; Bazin et al. 2016, 1–18; Дойнов, 2008). *Соцреализмът* в киновариант е дефиниран от самите идеолози като „художествен метод [...] който представлява естетически израз на социалистически осъзнатата концепция за света, обусловена от епохата на борбата за установяване и изграждане на социалистическото общество“ (Юткевич, 1986, 402). Както отбелязва и Ингеборг Братоева-Даракчиева, киното на *соцреализма* показва две съществени черти: художествеността е подчинена на идеологията, произведенията се създават според строга стилистична нормативност, а *класово-партийният подход* е основно идеологическо изискване към патоса на всяка художествена творба (Братоева-Даракчиева, 2013, 32).

Съветското неигрално кино до края на Втората световна война: от културен филм до ... културен филм

Изпращаме ви сценарий на филм за живота в Румъния. Ако е необходимо, той може лесно да бъде преработен за грузинския живот (Сергей М. Третяков, 1928)⁷

Болшевиките избират киното за свое основно оръжие в кампанията за спечелване на „съзнанието на масите“ (Taylor, 1979, 43). На „фронта“ на политическата легитимност и в обучаването на обществото в нови модели на политическо, икономическо и социално мислене от изкуството не се изисква да предлага обективно изображение на действителността, а да моделира революционния

⁷ Цит. по Sarkisova (2017, 108). Сергей Михайлович Третяков (1892–1937) е руски и съветски публицист, драматург, поет-футурист, сценарист. През 1925 г. е председател на художествения съвет на първата Държавна кинофабрика (Госкинофабрика). Автор на сценариите за филмите *Елисо* (1928; реж. Н. М. Шенгелая), *Соль Сванетии* (1930; реж. М. К. Калатозов), *Хабарда* (1931; реж. М. Е. Чиаурели). През 1937 г. е арестуван и разстрелян в Москва.

идеал и да служи като дидактичен инструмент на революционната реторика. Правдивостта на художественото изображение трябва да се съчетава с идеологическо преоформяне и възпитание на *работническата класа* в духа на социализма, предназначено да разпространява и да образува *масите* по политически въпроси, заобикаляйки неграмотността; да преодолява на разликата между социалната реалност и марксистическата утопия – това, което Джейми Милър сполучливо определя като вид „временна легитимност“ (Miller, 2010, 9).

Със съветското разбиране на категорията *документален филм* възникват множество парадокси. От една страна, се правят опити да се разграничи (концептуално и визуално) *художественото* от *нехудожественото*. От друга страна, все по-голям брой хибридни *културни филми* смесват конвенциите за представяне на нехудожествено и художествено. Съвместното съществуване на тези тенденции внася напрежение и вътрешни противоречия в историята на съветското документално кино. Така например между 1925 и 1940 г. създателите на филми, които се застъпват за създаването на студия за *неигрално кино*, са често са заклеявявани с етикета "документалисти" – „правдивостта“ според съветските идеолози няма жанр. Въпросите за съчетаването на фактологичната и емоционалната реторика са в основата на дебатите за съветското кино през 1920-те г., които се разпростират отвъд филмовия жанр до "литературата на фактите" и "изграждането на живота" в изобразителните и сценичните изкуства, създавайки нова форма на документална естетика (Papazian, 2009; Kiaer, 2005).

Приблизително между 1926 и 1940 г. се произвеждат и разпространяват поредица съветски *неигрални (културни)* филми, показващи териториите и националностите на Съветския съюз.⁸ Тези филми, заснети по време на *експедиции* в различни части на съветската „периферия“, спомагат за създаването на набор от визуални формули и запознават съветската публика с отдалечените (и понякога екзотични) места, като новите части от "родината" (Sarkisova, 2017, 2). През 1920-те г. най-използваният етикет за такива *неигрални експедиционни филми* е именно *културен филм* – понятието,

⁸ Сред експедиционните културни филми са: *Дагестан* (1927, П. Зотов, Я. Толчан), *Тунгусы* (1927, Е. Свилова), *Крышия мира: Экспедиция на Памир* (1927, Вл. Ерофеев), *Ворота Кавказа* (1928, Н. Лебедев), *Соль Сванетии* (1930; реж. М. К. Калатозов), *Страна Нахчо /Старая Чечня/* (1929, Н. Лебедев), *Марийцы* (1929, Н. Прим), *Турксиб* (1929, В. Турин) и др.

първоначално въведено от немската филмова индустрия, се появява и в съветския контекст, където остава в процес на обсъждане и употреба до началото на 1930-те г. Разбирани като дидактични филми, предполагащи статут на „обективна истина“, *културфилмите* се създават с цел да предоставят нови знания и да подредят представите на публиката за света. В този период те фигурират в производствените планове на всяко филмово студио в Съветския съюз. От края на 1920-те г. концепцията за *културен филм* постепенно е изоставена след период на яростна критика. Преди това съветската професионална филмова гилдия – Дружеството на революционните кинематографисти – организира "Сектор за научно и културно кино" и се опитва да „изчисти“ определението за културфилмите като „филми с политическо-просветен, научно-образователен или хроникален характер, без измислени сюжети, насочени към запознаване на зрителите с различните клонове на науката и знанието, както и с обществения, политическия и културния живот и условията на труд“ (Sarkisova, 2017, 20). Въпреки държавната подкрепа, терминът *културен филм* се оказва под идеологически прицел. Редица филмови дейци, критици и „апаратчици“ от сферата на киното се опитват да го заменят с по-ясно идеологическо понятие, като най-активните режисьори в областта на неигралното кино настояват за използването на нов термин – *документално кино*. Дебатът достига своя връх през март 1928 г. на Всесъюзната партийна конференция по въпросите на киното, на която атаките от концептуални се персонализират – Дзига Вертов се превръща в основна мишена на обсъжданията заради „липсата на тематично планиране“. (Sarkisova, 2017, 25).

Тематичното планиране от началото на 1930-те г. нататък е основното средство, чрез което Сталин ангажира киното в изграждането на съветската империя. С него се гарантира създаването на филми, които да защитават и легитимират текущата правителствена политика, да покажат на обикновените хора, че те са придобили права благодарение на революцията; че съветската система се основава на масовото участие, споделянето на властта и ресурсите и установяването на справедливо човешко съществуване (Miller, 2010, 94). През 1931 г. *Союзкино* е реорганизиран, закрит е отделът му за културно кино и се институционализира *Союзкинохроника*, централизираща отделите за кинохроника на *Украинфилм*, *Белгоскино*, *Азеркино*, *Госкинопром Грузия* (Багров, Дерябин, 2007, 86). В официалните дебати и в тематичното планиране за повече

от десетилетие се преустановява използването на термина *културен филм*. Възприемайки и преформатирайки метода *Кино-око*, с който Вертов възнамерява да наложи ред в сетивните впечатления на зрителите и да осигури "единството на всички участници през филмовия екран", новите влиятелни режисьори като Роман Кармен⁹ и Михаил Слущки¹⁰ разработват нов, приемлив начин за оформяне на контролиран разказ – преварително планиран и одобрен, определян като *документален*. Налага се т. нар. *фактографския метод* и се установяват нови стандарти на съветското документално кино, което скоро след това трябва да отговори и на очакванията на *социалистическия реализъм* (Sarkisova, 2017, 26–27).

През 1935 вестник *Правда* повтаря катехизиса за "огромната безценна сила на киното, ... притежаващо изключителни способности за духовно възпитание на масите". Модел и за неигрално кино вече е игралният *Чапаяев* – представян като пример за филм, който "мобилизира за изпълнението на нови задачи и обяснява както за постиженията, така и за трудностите на социалистическото строителство" (Sarkisova, 2017, 201). Както се изразява секретарят на ЦК на Всесъюзната комунистическа партия на болшевиките Андреев на Седмата конференция по кинематографично про-

⁹ Роман Кармен (1906–1978) – оператор, режисьор, сценарист, писател. Р. Кармен става особено популярен след като през 1939 г. Есфир Шуб режисира филма *Испания* (1939) въз основа на неговите кадри, заснети в Испания по време на Гражданската война (1936–1939). Водеща фигура в съветската военната кинохроника – ръководител на филмовата група на Северозападния фронт (1941–1942 г.), Западния фронт (1942–1943 г.) и на 2-ри Украински фронт (1944 г.), оператор на 1-ви Белоруски фронт (1944–1945 г.). Режисьор (заедно с Е. Вертова-Свилова) на пълнометражния документален филм *Суд народов* (1947). През 1950–1970-те г. Кармен снима във Виетнам, Китай, Бирма, Индия, Индонезия, Южна Америка. Художествен ръководител, продуцент и сценарист (заедно с И. Ицков и К. Славин) на 20-сериината съветско-американска документална продукция *Великая Отечественная/ The Unknown War* (1979). Р. Кармен е най-влиятелният „кинодеец“ – образец за действия в съответствие с генералната линия на съветската партийна пропаганда. И след смъртта на Сталин той остава водещият пропаганден документалист в СССР до края на 1970-те г..

¹⁰ Михаил Слущки (1907–1959) – кинооператор, режисьор на документално и игрално кино. Режисьор на документалните филми „*Имени Ленина*“. *Днепрогэс* (1932), *Биробиджан* (1934), *Песня молодости* (1938), *День нового мира* (1940), *Победа за нами! Боевой киноборник № 5* (1941), *День войны* (1942) *Концерт фронту* (1942), *Песня о Киргизии* (1946), *Советская Украина* (1947, 1950), *Навеки с русским народом* (1954) и др.

изводство: "В нашите собствени филми трябва да показваме истинския живот, истинския живот на хората!". В същото време той ясно заявява, че този "истински живот" трябва да бъде „драматизиран и внимателно написан“ (Roberts, 1999, 127). Социалистическият реализъм, по думите на бившия първи комисар на „Наркомпрос“ Анатолий Луначарски, трябва да отдалечи филма от „безразличното регистриране на събитията. Това е реализъм плюс ентузиазъм, реализъм плюс енергичен дух“ (Holter, 1970). Тематичните планове и внимателно подготвените кадри вече олицетворяват трансформацията на *съветското нехудожествено* чрез процеса на „тотална намеса“, който превръща *фактите* в добре изработена документална фикция (Winston, 1995). Утопичният принцип на Вертов за показването на „живота такъв, какъвто е“ се оказва несъвместим както с технологията на филмовия процес, така и с принципите на соцреализма. Филмът от 1940 г. *День нового мира* (реж. М. Слуцки и Р. Кармен), монтиран от кадри (заснети от 97 оператори в един ден) например, е лента, в която "животът какъвто е" е заместен с почти пълна инсценировка – перфектно балансиран, синхронизиран и напълно контролиран образ. Тази реалност вече не се синтезира с „Кино-окото“, а с "филмовия поглед". Тук „родината“ е престанала да бъде задача и се е превърнала в обект за възхищение, а филмовото движение – в самодостатъчна, непоклата тавтология (Сандомирская, 2012).

Значението на текста в сталинското кино нараства с напредването на режима. Филмовият сценарий получава статут на самостоятелно литературно произведение – той е обявен за „основа на филма“. Ето защо и монтажът вече се разбира не като средство за организиране на пространството, времето и ритъма и като основен структурен принцип на кинематографичния разказ, а като похват, разрушаващ конвенционалния разказ. Режисьорите, които през 1920-те г. експериментират със специфични структури на филмовия разказ (Айзенщайн и Вертов), са обявени за „безсюжетни“, което в новото разбиране означава „неидеологични“ (Dobrenko, 2008, 5).

Втората световна война мобилизира и съветската филмова индустрия. До пролетта на 1942 г. тя се е адаптирала към военните условия и започва да произвежда пълнометражни филми – стотиците съветски оператори от *фронтовите киногорупи* заснемат около 3,5 милиона метра филмова лента, а между 1942 г. и 1945 г. студията създават над 70 филма (Kenez, 1992, 149, 158). Първата

военна хроника се появява в киносалоните само три дни след избухването на войната – 25 юни 1941 г., а след това на всеки три дни се пуска ново издание. Когато през есента на 1941 г. повечето филмови студия са евакуирани от столицата, екипите на документалните филми остават да работят в Москва. През първата есен на войната режисьорите започват да правят *пълнометражни документални филми* по материали от кинохрониката. Съветската документалистика от времето на войната продължава да търси мащабността в драматичния монтаж на кадри от лентите на военните кинохроникъори.¹¹ Следвайки успеха на първите такива филми, режисьорите създават десетки пълнометражни документални проекти. Защитата на Москва, Сталинград, обсадата на Ленинград, битката за Севастопол и др., а по-късно и *освобождението* на източноевропейските страни дава още сюжети за пълнометражни филми (Kenez, 1992, 149–152) – включително и на филма *България* (1946).

През 1944 г. специално партийно решение настоява за *подобряване на работата на кинохрониките*. То изиграва сериозна роля в преструктурирането на документалната кинематография, мобилизирайки усилията и на режисьорите на игрални филми. Резултатът е добавянето на очевидна драматизация в „арсенала“ от изразни средства на военновременното съветско документално кино.¹² За „подобряването“ на тематичните планове и сценариите са привлечени и известни белетристи и журналисти: Ванда Василевская, Борис Горбатов, Алексей Сурков, Иля Еренбург, Константин Симонов и др.

В първите месеци и години след войната, производството на тематични пълнометражни филми продължава да заема изключително голямо място в съветската кинохроника. Още през 1945 г. излизат *Берлин* (Ю. Райзман) и *Разгром Японии* (А. Зархи, И. Хайфиц), а през 1946 г. – *Суд народов* (Р. Кармен). Военните киноопе-

¹¹ През 1942 г. излиза филма *Разгром немецко-фашистских войск под Москвой* (реж. Л. Варламов, И. Копалин), през 1943 г. – *Сталинград* (реж. Л. Варламов), а през 1945 – *Берлин* (реж. Ю. Я. Рейсман).

¹² Сергей Герасимов (1906–1985) между 1944 и 1946 г. е директор на Централната студия за документални филми. Герасимов е режисьор на „художествените“ филми *Учитель* (1939) *Маскарад* (1941), *Непобедимые* (1942), *Большая земля* (1944), *Молодая гвардия* (1948), *Тихого Дона* (1957–1958) и др., както и на „документалните“ *Освобождённый Китай* (1950), *Великое прощание* (1953) и др.

ратори и режисьори вече са ангажирани и в тематиката за следвоенното възстановяване, отразена във филмите *Возрождение Сталинграда* (1945, И. Поселски, Б. Агапов), *День победившей страны* (1947, И. Копалин, И. Сеткин и др.), *Днепрогэс возрождается* (1945, О. Подгорецкая), *Донбасс* (1946, М. Билински), *Мастера высоких урожаев* (1947, В. Беляев, М. Славинская), *Колхоз „Красный Октябрь“* (1947, П. Аташева) и др. Става въпрос за „производството“ на обширна поредица от филми със сходна тематика, създадени от сравнително тесен кръг от режисьори, оператори и озвучени от един и същи дикторски глас. Чрез интерфейса на филма, обектива на камерата, словесния коментар и монтажа, такива филми имплантират последователност, приписват кохерентно послание към по-широката съветска общественост (Bahun, Haynes, 2014, 8).

1946 г. е „знакова година“ за съветското кино. Настъплението на *ждановизма* в съветския културен живот води до специални партийни решения за „разгромяването“ на списанията *Звезда* и *Ленинград*, на репертоара на театрите, на филма *Большая жизнь* и др. Критиките за „основните недостатъци в организацията на филмопроизводството“ демонстрират видимото засилване на идеологическия надзор и в киното.

Съветската кинохроника и „Българско дело“ – идеологическите контексти на филма *България*

Новата власт в България веднага след 9 септември 1944 г. възприема съветското виждане за значението на кинохрониката и на документалното кино като ключови пропагандни инструменти. Ето защо към новосъздаденото Министерство на пропагандата¹³ е включено отделението "Кино и фото" (оглавно от Иван Фичев¹⁴), а и в Сдружението на филмовите дейатели веднага е организиран ОФ-комитет. Към Министерството се числи и създадената през

¹³ По-късно Министерството на пропагандата е преобразувано в Министерство на информацията и изкуствата, което пък през 1947 г. става Комитет за наука, изкуство и култура.

¹⁴ Иван Фичев (1911–1986) е сценарист и режисьор – *Борба за щастие* (1946); заедно с Борис Борозанов и Кирил Илинчев режисира филма *Данка* (1952) по сценарии на писателя Кръстьо Белев.

1941 г., фондация „Българско дело“, която продължава да произвежда и разпространява *кинопреглед*¹⁵ (Чичовска, 1979; Пискова, 2000; Ragaru, 2023, 5). Много бързо е подменен съставът на ръководството на Фондацията, а дотогавашният му председател Слав Бурджов е изправен пред „народния съд“.¹⁶

Само пет дни след преврата за жителите на София е прожектиран на открито на площада филма *Чапаев* (1934), а същата вечер в кино „Балкан“ е показан и *Светлият път* (1940) на Григорий Александров (Братоева-Даракчиева, 2013, 23). Междувременно, още на 25 септември 1944 г. Фондация „Българско дело“ подготвя и първия – вече *Отечествен*, кинопреглед, а до края на годината са заснети и са показани общо 14 такива.¹⁷ Автори на кинохрониките са операторите Васил Холиолчев, Симеон Симеонов, Захари Жандов, Георги Парлапанов, Александър Вълчев, Стефан Петров, Васил Бакърджиев, Стоян Христов, Бончо Карастоянов (Станимирова, 1973, 9). В началото на 1945 г. вече са уточнени главните задачи на фондацията в контекста на по-обширните бъдещи перспективи пред кинематографията в новите условия – създаване на професионални „национални кадри“, изграждане на национален киноцентър като основа за снимане и обработка на български филми, провеждане на широка програма по кинифициране на страната и „издигане на кинокултурата“ чрез подходящ репертоар (Янакиев, 2003, 192; Братоева-Даракчиева, 2013, 24).

През 1945 г. основната тематика на кинохрониката е свързана с актуалните пропагандни акценти. Заснемат се траурни митинги и препогребвания на тленните останки на загинали антифашисти, митинги, заседанията на Народния съд и пр. Преди края на 1944 г. е изработен и проект на Наредба-закон за държавен моно-

¹⁵ Повече за фондация „Българско дело“ и жанра на кинопрегледите вж.: (Пискова, 2000; 2015, 30), (Деянова, 2009, 285–316); (Янакиев, 2003, 166–170); (Garbolevsky, 2011, 16–17).

¹⁶ От средата на 1946 г. в Управителния съвет на Съюза на филмовите дейци, председателстван от Орлин Василев, вече са Васил Холиолчев (1908–1974) и Иван Фичев, а в контролния съвет е и Панталей Матеев (1898–1957), а Страшимир Рашев – „директор“ на фондация „Българско дело“ (Кърджилов, 2024)

¹⁷ Част от колекцията от кинопрегледи с описание на заснетите обекти е достъпна в ютюб-канала на Националната филмотека. Вж:

@Българсканационалнафилмотека:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyTJuZHpEQ&t=272s> и др.

пол върху вноса и разпространението на филми – основата на приетия през 1946 г. Закон за кинокултурата. Програмната статия *Българското документално кино* от 1946 г. на редактора на новото списание *Кино и фото* – Панталей Матеев¹⁸, представя вектора на този жанр в най-близко бъдеще и въвежда официално съветския термин *културно-документален филм*: „Главната дейност на „Българско дело“ ще протече в производството на хроникални и културно-документални филми“. Той изброява и няколко такива подготвени до онзи момент: „*Силата на слабите* – документален филм за кооперативното дело в България, с участието и на артисти; *Един ден София*, *Язовирът Бели Искър*, *Борбата против беса*, *Високопланински наблюдатели*, *Вестникът* и др.“ (Матеев, 1946, 2).

Кинохрониката *9 септември 1945*, представяща „чувстването на първата годишнина от победата на народната власт“, е изпратена за разпространение през българските дипломатически представителства в Париж, Прага, Варшава, Будапеща, Белград, като главното намерение е тя да бъде показана на заседаващите на Парижката мирна конференция. Специално с тази цел е монтиран и краткия филм *Българската действителност* – с текст на български, френски и английски език (Ракова, 1989, 35). В подготовката на българското правителство да представи България на мирната конференция като страна с мащабно *съпротивително антифашистко движение*, се пристъпва и към реализирането на *мащабна съветско-българска филмова документална продукция* (Увалиев, 1947; Матеев, 1947).

Още през октомври 1944 г. в София пристига лично председателят на съветския *Държавен комитет по въпросите на киното* Николай Болшаков¹⁹ – като представител на съветското *Союзторгкино* за България, Гърция, Югославия и Албания. Официалната

¹⁸ Пантелей Матеев Карасимеонов (1898–1957) – поет, журналист, кинокритик. През 1920-те г. публикува във *Вестник на жената* и сътрудничи на леви вестници и списания – *Щит*, *Фронт*, *Литературен преглед*, сп. *Българска мисъл* и др. Редактира в. *Кормило* (1936) и сп. *Нашето кино* (1924–1935). След 09.09.1944 г. работи в Българска кинематография, Радио София и в. *Вечерни новини*. Автор на стихосбирките *Победна година* (1945), *Песни за републиката* (1945), *Поеми за мира* (1950), *Знаме на дружбата* (1954) и др.

¹⁹ Николай Иванович Большаков (1912–1990) е съветски филмов оператор, като през 1930-те г. работи в "Мосфилм". Той е и асистент на оператора Едуард Тисе в разкритикувания, спрян и унищожен филм на Сергей Айзенщайн *Бежин луг* (1935) – историята на убийството в Северен Урал през 1932 г. на Павлик

цел на визитата му е „да се запознае с филмовото дело“ и той договаря сътрудничество и установяване на търговски връзки между кинематографиите на двете страни. Конкретната програма на Болшаков предвижда: „Големите игрални филми в България да се заснемат под ръководството на видни съветски режисьори, оператори, специалисти, техници и т.н. Артистите и сюжетът да бъдат български“ (Пискова, 2015, 60, 90).²⁰ През 1946 г. сп. *Кино и фото* публикува като уводна статия текста на Болшаков „Съветските филми за Югославия, България и Румъния“:

Героичната Червена армия освободи от немско-фашисткото иго много страни в Европа. Естествено е, че съветският зрител проявява голям интерес към живота, икономиката и кул-

Морозов. От юни 1939 г. Болшаков е оператор в Одеското студио за игрални филми. По време на войната е фронтови оператор, като от ноември 1942 г. е началник на филмовата група на Каспийската флотилия, а през 1944 г. снима в Северния флот. От ноември 1944 г. до юни 1945 г. Болшаков е и комисар на "Союзинторгкино" в България, Гърция, Югославия и Албания, а след това – до май 1946 г. е заместник-управител на "Союзекспортфилм" в съветската окупационна зона в Германия, в Австрия, Чехословакия, КНДР и Манджурия. От май 1946 г. до септември 1984 г. работи в студията "Мосфилм". Оператор и сърежисьор е на документалната хроника *Каспийци* (1944) и участва в снимките на филма *Мы за мир* (1952).

²⁰ Марияна Пискова представя в предисторията на филма *Героите на Шипка* (1955) първото посещение в България и на режисьорите Г. и С. Василиевци през 1945: „За да направят филм за Втората световна война, за съветската армия и завършващия победен етап на войната, братя Василиевци са командирани от Главно политическо управление и Комитета за кинематография в СССР в България, Румъния, Унгария и Югославия от януари до април 1945 г. ... По разказа на тогавашния министър на съветската кинематография Иван Болшаков те са на посещение при него с идеята да създадат „голям исторически филм за освобождаване на балканските славяни от чуждоземно иго на основата на събитията от 1877–1878 г.“. Следва съгласие и предложение от страна на кинематографията да се подкрепи командировката на братя Василиевци в страните на Балканския полуостров за събиране на материал за филма... През ноември 1944 г. Кинокомитетът изпраща писмено предложение в Главно политическо управление на съветската армия да започне работа по филм „*Освободителката*“ за същата съветска армия и за завършващия победен етап на войната. Във връзка с това комитетът моли да бъдат изпратени на фронта бъдещите автори на филма. Написването на сценарий се възлага на сценариста и драматург Борис Чирсков, а постановката на бъдещия филм – на братя Василиевци. Пътуването се е състояло от януари до април 1945 г. братя Василиевци заедно с Чирков и бъдещия директор на филма А. Владимиров посещават Югославия, Унгария, Румъния и България в търсене на интересни събития в първите дни на освобождението на братските страни от Съветската армия“ (Пискова, 2015, 57–59).

турата на тези страни и техните народи. Затова се отделя голямо внимание за създаването на художествени и документални филми на тези теми. (Болшаков, 1946, 3).

Оказва се, че вече е в ход производството на цяла поредица културни филми за страните, окупирани от съветската армия. По същото време приключват снимките и на художествената съветска „военна драма“ *В горах Югославии* (1946, реж. Абрам Роом). Година по-рано са завършени документалните филми *Освобождение Югославии* (1945, Л. Варламов) и *Освобожденная Чехословакия*²¹ (1945, И. Копалин и П. Аташева; прожектиран в България под името *Изгрев над Прага*). Болшаков споменава и за завършването на подобен филм за Унгария (*Венгрия*, 1946, А. Лебедев), в който „да се покаже историята на тази страна, нейният бит, култура и мирният живот на унгарския народ след изгонването на немските фашисти от Червената армия“ (Болшаков, 1946, 3).²² Той представя и следващите два филма, които се подготвят от съветските филмови екипи – за Румъния²³ и за България:

Филмът за Румъния трябва да покаже как се строи нова демократична Румъния под ръководството на правителството на Петре Гроза. Филмът, в основата си, ще бъде посветен на съвременния живот на следвоенна Румъния и ще запознае зрителя с природата, бита и културата на тази страна.

Филмът за България ще бъде снет съвместно със софийското киностудео „Българско дело“. Това ще бъде филм за нова България – България на Отечествения фронт, филм за българския

²¹ През 1949 г. е произведен още един съветско-чехословашки филм — *Новая Чехословакия*, под режисурата на доста по-опитния режисьор на съветско пропагандно кино В. Беляев (Вж.: Бел. 22)

²² И през следващите години съветските „кинодейци“ са изпращани като "идеологически пазачи" в страните от Съветския блок. Така например Всеволод Пудовкин действа като "съветски филмов полицай" в Унгария, посещавайки страната два пъти през 1950 и 1951 г. (Cunningham 2004, 70-71). През 1947–1948 г. Иля Трауберг е член на борда на директорите на източногерманската филмова компания, а на Абрам Роом и Сергей Юткевич – съответно в Албания и в Югославия – са поверени съветско-албански и съветско-югославски копродукции.

²³ Филмът *Румъния* (1947) е режисиран от Василий Беляев – един от „образцовите“ съветски творци още преди и по време на войната с участието му в пълнометражната документална продукция *День нового мира* (1940; реж. М. Слуцки и Р. Кармен) и с режисурата на хроникалните филми *Черноморцы* (1942), *69-я параллель* (1942; с М. Ошурков), *Народные мстители* (1943; с Н. Комаревцев), *Битва за Севастополь* (1944). През 1945 г. е режисьор на монтажа (заедно с И. Венжер и И. Поселски) на грандиозния *Парад Победы*.

народ. Русия освободи България от петвековното турско робство. Съветският съюз я освободи от немско робство... Филмът ще показва природата на страната, градовете, селата, бита и работата на хората. (Болшаков 1946, 3)

При всички посочени филми Болшаков задава еднакво формулирана цел – да показват *природата, бита и културата* – вижда се, че става въпрос за предварително замислен комплекс от филми за всяка една от окупираните и оставащи в съветската сфера на влияние държави. Първоначалният работен вариант от 1946 г., когато екипът на режисьора Роман Кацман пристига в София, предвижда филмът за България да се казва именно *Земя, култура и бит на българския народ*.²⁴ (Garbolevsky, 2011, 18–19).

„Постиженията на страните с народна демокрация“ се отразяват и в други *културни* филми в „творческо сътрудничество с режисьори от младата кинематография на социалистическия лагер“. По зададения вече модел през следващите години съветските зрители могат да видят: *Северная Корея* (1947, В. Славинская, Б. Небылицкий), *Польша* (1948, Л. Варламов), *Новая Албания* (1948, И. Копалин), *Демократическая Венгрия* (1948, Л. Степанова), *Румыния* (1947, В. Беляев). През 1949 г. В. Беляев подготвя *Новая Чехословакия*, а три години по-късно излиза и *Демократическая Германия* (1950, Н. Садкович). Тези филми трябва да свидетелстват за „успехите на народите на страните от социалистическия лагер, за установяването на нови икономически и социални отношения; да покажат горещата любов и благодарност на народите от тези страни към Съветския съюз и Съветската армия, които ги бяха освободили от фашисткото иго“ – използвам сбор от цитати от филмите. В сходен ключ са по-късно и *Освобожденный Китай* (1951, С. Герасимов), *Вьетнам* (1954, реж. Р. Кармен) и др.²⁵

Филмът „България“: проектът, киногрупата и образите

Оплодителната и градивна културна мощ на съветското кино ще се разпростре и върху бъдещото наше кинотворчество, което ще се развие по пътя на социалистическия художествен

²⁴ ЦДА, ф. 2, оп. 1, а.е. 4, л. 169 – Информация от Министерство на информацията и изкуствата за подготовката на филма *Земя, бит и култура на българския народ*, 1946 г.

²⁵ Централното студио за документални филми в Москва между 1946 и 1953 г. произвежда общо около 150 късометражни и пълнометражни филма и над 600 хроники (Sidenova 2020, 75).

реализъм. Възприемайки стила и народната целеустременост на съветското кино, българският национален филм ще се отърси от наслоенията на безплодния западен интелектуализъм, от разложителната аморалност на спекулативната търговска кинематография, за да развие духа на социализма, на моралната здравина и борческата устойчивост в полето на трудовото преуспяване и борбата за демокрация, култура и човещина. (Матеев, 1946, 2)

Патетиката на Панталей Матеев уместно отразява идеологическата атмосфера, налагана в кинематографията докато *съветската киногорупа*, ръководена от режисьора Роман Кацман²⁶, работи по заснемането на филма *България* през 1946 г.

Контурите на *монументалната* продукция започват да се чертаят в съветската столица още през 1945 г. В изследването 1948. *Символна еуфория, символен терор* Лиляна Деянова представя интересен момент от дневника на Георги Димитров. На 7 септември 1945 г. в Москва „той приема Герминов²⁷ и Кацман, които възнамеряват да направят документален филм за България, и им дава консултация по филма” (Деянова, 2005).

Същевременно, още през от зимата на 1944–1945 г., се обсъжда отпускането на кредит за нуждите на „Българско дело”. Когато две години по-късно 26 ОНС гласува исканата сума от 110 млн. лв. за предстоящото изграждане на национален киноцентър, се предвижда 10 млн. лв. да бъдат използвани за реализиране на българо-съветския "монументален филм *Земля, бит и култура на българския народ*, който да се прожектира в чужбина по време на

²⁶ Роман Григориевич Кацман /след 1948 г. посочва по-често фамилията Григориев/ (1911–1972) е съветски режисьор-документалист. От декември 1933 г. е редактор, от 1934 г. е ръководител на Отдела за кинохроника в *Союзкинохроники* в Москва, а от 1936 г. е главен редактор на Московското централно студио за кинохроника. От март 1940 г. до май 1944 г. Кацман е заместник-началник на кинохроники и документални филми на съветския Комитет по кинематография и е ръководител на филмовата група на 3-ти Украински фронт. От май 1945 до 1972 г. той е директор на Централната студия за документални филми (ЦСДФ). След *България* Р. Кацман (Григориев) подготвя цяла поредица пълнометражни документални филми: *На страже мира* (1948; с М. Фиделева); *32 милиона* (1948), *Слава труду!* (1949; с А. Медведкин и М. Славинская), *Советский Дагестан* (1950), *Советская Якутия* (1952), *Свет Октября* (1957; с И. Посельский) и др. През 1962 г. Роман Григориев отново режисира по българска тема, отразявайки в 20-минутния филм *На земле братской Болгарии* посещението в страната на съветската делегация, водена от Никита Хрущов.

²⁷ Вероятно става въпрос за режисьора Роман Кармен.

работата на Парижката мирна конференция" (Чичовска, 1990, 138–139). През пролетта на 1945 г. е подписано споразумение за съвместна работа между фондация „Българско дело“ и Централната студия за документални филми в Москва.²⁸ Българските управляващи преценяват подготвяния филм като „ярък документ за отстояване на българската кауза пред чуждата общественост“. Това мнение дава основание на Министерството на външните работи да отпусне от фонда "Мирна конференция" допълнителни суми за завършването на „големия културен филм“. Параметрите на проекта се доуточняват и при посещението на директора на фондацията Страшимир Рашев в Комитета по кинематография при Съвета на народните комисари в Москва.

Весела Чичовска отбелязва, че няколко седмици преди началото на преговорите за примирие в Москва (октомври 1944 г.) писателят Людмил Стоянов се обръща към съветските „културни дейци“ Алексей Толстой, Александър Фадеев, Иля Еренбург, Павло Тичина, Михаил Аплетин и др. с призив „да проявят интерес към българските дела и по този начин да помогнат за приобщаването на страната към международната демократична общност“ (Чичовска, 1987, 2008). В спомените си Иля Еренбург разказва, че през пролетта на 1945 г. лично Васил Коларов го посещава в дома му с молба „да отида в България, да пиша за тази страна“. Няколко дни по-късно писателят е извикан от завеждащия Отдела за пропаганда и агитация към Централния партийен комитет, Георгий Ф. Александров, който му съобщава, че „молбата на нашите български приятели е подкрепена“. Изпадналият в партийна немилост писател е изпратен в „творческа командировка“ (Еренбург, 1966, 422–423). За четири месеца бъдещият сценарист на филма *България* посещава като кореспондент на вестник *Известия* Румъния, България²⁹, Югославия, Албания, Унгария, Чехословакия и Германия. Няколко дни след прибирането му в Москва, в самото начало на 1946 г. от съветската *Кинохроника* го „убеждават“ да подготви текст за сценарии на документални филми за Югославия и България на базата на публикуваните от него кореспонденции за *Известия*³⁰ (Еренбург, 1966, 426).

²⁸ Стенографски дневници на 26 ОНС, 1 РС, 3 април 1946, 570, 579; ЦДА, ф. 2, оп. 1, а.е. 2, л. 180, а.е. 15, л. 32.

²⁹ Повече за Еренбург в България – Вж.: Николов (2016).

³⁰ От пътуването в България Еренбург публикува във вестника през октомври 1945 г. статиите: *Большое сердце*, *Народ не шутит с совестью*, *Битва за жизнь*,



Роман Кацман в Будапеща като ръководител на киногрупата на Трети Украински фронт, 1945 г.³¹

По същото време се комплектова и филмовият екип на филма за България – Роман Кацман е определен за „автор-режисьор“, а Михаил А. Орлов – за директор на продукцията. За Кацман това не е първото посещение в страната. Като началник на киногрупата на 3-и Украински фронт той координира снимките от придвижването на окупационната съветска армия и на българска територия през септември 1944 г. Кацман идва в България и

през декември 1945 г., за да „събира материал за сценария на филма“ (Кацман, 1947, 14). Тогава той се запознава с операторите от „Българско дело“ и организира *българското участие* в подготвяния филм. При това посещение той занася в Москва копия от кинопрегледите на фондацията, за да подготви „историческите кадри“: „За да си взема 600 метра за филма, аз трябваше да прегледам 35 000 м., филмирани от Карастоянов, Жандов, Петров, Христов, Вълчев и др...“ (Кацман, 1947, 15). Захари Жандов също разказва, че българските оператори „по поръчка на Кацман снемат някои и други кадри и оставят на разположение целия си архивен материал от репортажи и художествените кадри на *българските културни филми*“ (1947, 18). До влизането му в кино „Благоев“ при показването на филма в България, той дори не знае, кои „български“ кадри са влезли във филма (Жандов, 1947, 18). На плаката и надписите към *съветско-българския среднометражен документален филм* като оператори са записани З. Жандов, А. Вълчев, Б. Карастоянов, Ст. Петров и Ст. Христов.

Оппозиция и Путь Болгарии. На български е публикувана през 1946 книгата *В България*, в превод Л. Георгиева-Левенсон и с предговор на Димо Казасов (Еренбург, 1946).

³¹ Снимка: Евгений Халдей. Източник: www.russainphoto.ru.

Мариана /Мария/ Фиделева³², съпруга на Роман Григориевич – е определена за режисьор-монтажист на екипа. Тя също има личен опит с България, доколкото монтира и режисира епизода за фронтовата кинохроника *Вступление Красной армии в Болгарию* (1944, Фронтowej выпуск № 8) – по-късно във филма са монтирани откъси от тази кинохроника. В операторската група на продукцията се включени А. Сологубов – заснел през 1944 г. някои от кадрите на навлизането в различни български градове на съветските военни части и Гай Асланов³³ – филмирал възпоменателния ритуал, организиран на 17 октомври 1944 от военните части под командването на ген. М. Шарохин на паметника „Шипка“³⁴ (Фомин, 2018, 663–664). Другите съветски оператори в екипа на Кацман са: Александър Брантман, Павел Касаткин, Василий Соловьев, Андрей Сологубов и Аркадий Левитан. Операторският екип е подпомаган и от съветските фотографи и оператори (Соловьев е един от тях), останали на разположение в т.нар. *Южна група войски*³⁵ – разположена през 1945–1947 г. на територията на Румъния и България.

Съветската киногорупа пристига в София за началото на снимачната работа по филма на 1 май 1946 г. и още същия ден успява да заснеме първомайската манифестация в София (Кацман, 1947, 14). Последните кадри от българския престой на филмовия екип са

³² Марьяна (Мария) Яковлевна Фиделева (1907–1949) – в периода 1932–1944 е режисьорка-документалист в *Союзкиножурнал* и подготвя над 140 епизода от кинохрониката. Сред филмите ѝ са : *Рыбные богатства Дальнего Востока* (1937), *К переговорам премьер-министра Великобритании 2-на Уинстона Черчилля с председателем СНК СССР товарищем И. В. Сталиным* (1942, с Мария Славинская), *Вступление Красной армии в Болгарию* (1944), *На страже мира / 30 лет Советской армии* (1948, с Роман Григориев / Кацман).

³³ Гай Гр. Асланов (1913–1974). Оператор от Военната кинохроника – в киногорупите на Закавказкия, 4-и и 3-и Украински фронт. Участва в заснемането на епизоди за кинохрониките и филмите *Комсомольцы*, *Победа на юге*, *Освобождение Донбасса*, *Будапешт*, *Взятие Вены*. В България заснема част от кадрите по придвижването на съветските войски в страната, филмира и „местата на руската слава от 1877 г.“ (Фомин 2018, 663–664).

³⁴ Ритуалът е определян като „първия организиран празник на прерастващата българо-руска в българо-съветска дружба“ (Пискова, 2015, 34).

³⁵ *Южната група войски* е организирана след трансформирането на 3-и Украински фронт (об.1945) с цел да контролира изпълнението на споразуменията за примирие, сключени от представители на съюзническите сили с Румъния и България и „да оказва помощ на местното население при ликвидирането на последиците от войната“. През 1947 г., след подписването на мирните договори с Румъния и България тази военна част е разформирана.

от референдума за обявяване на Републиката от 8 септември 1946 г.

Още в края на 1946 г. 47-минутната *културна картина* вече се представя в съветските кина и е прожектирана от българските легации в редица европейски столици (Чичовска, 1990, 138). Представянето на филма в България се случва през първата половина на 1947 г. като списание „Кино и фото“ посвещава двоен брой (4 и 5) на представянето му.³⁶

За музикалния фон на филма е ангажиран композиторът Светослав Обретенов – доказал лоялността си към съветските служби и „отдаден“ комунист. След няколко срещи с Кацман и запознаване със сценария на Еренбург той е наясно, какво се очаква: „Източници за музикалното оформяване беше ясно, че трябва да се търсят в съответствие с текста, като се използва огромното *богатство на народната песен и самобитния партизански музикален фолклор*“ (Обретенов, 1947, 16). До септември 1946 г. Обретенов завършва подготвителната работа по обработката на музикалните мотиви за филма. Изборът му пада върху няколко песни: *Републико наша, здравей!*, която съвсем скоро е обявана за национален химн (1947–1951); *Темна е мъгла паднала*, представена от него като „партизанска народна песен“; *Химн на българските въстаници* (Кр. Кюлявков, Л. Пипков) и *Мила Родино* (Цветан Радославов), представена като „народна мелодия“ на съветските диригенти, записващи музиката. С подбраните и обработени музикални мотиви през октомври той също заминава за Москва, за да съгласува записите с диригентите при Централната киностудия Арнолд Ройтман и Давид Щилман: „След като филмът беше готов в първата си редакция, започнахме съвместно да работим върху всяка негова част“ (Обретенов, 1947, 16).

Освен музикалния фон, документалният филм придобива смисъл чрез авторитетния глас зад кадър, на фона на оркестровата музика – за да се подчертае предварително зададеното идеологическо послание (Bahun, Haynes, 2014, 8), а *звукът* е една от най-твърдите характеристики на съветското документално кино през този период. Доколкото *България* е насочен основно към съветския зрител, към него се обръща гласът, който е привикнал да му говори

³⁶ *Кино и фото*, 1947, 4–5.

от хроникалните филми малко преди войната и който слуша от екрана години след нея – „гласът на държавата“³⁷, задкадровия актьор Леонид Хмара³⁸. Преведеният от Христо Радевски на български език текст се чете от Моис Бениеш.³⁹



Част от фотоколаж и представяне (текстът е на Иля Еренбург)
на филма „България“ в сп. „Кино и фото“, 1947, 4–5, 4.

Каталожното описание на сюжета на във филма фиксира епизодите лаконично:

³⁷ Съветският режисьор Сергей Юткевич пише в спомените си, че според Сталин гласът в документалния филм трябва да бъде "гласът на държавата", а не на отделния човек. (Сиденова, 2020, 82–83)

³⁸ Леонид Иванович Хмара (1915–1978) – съветски актьор, „диктор“ на документални и научно-популярни филми. В периода 1940–1978 г. гласът на Л. Хмара звучи в 576 хроникални и 12 игрални филма, сред които: *Битва за нашу Советскую Украину* (1943), *Крымская конференция* (1945), *Освобожденная Чехословакия* (1945), *Будапешт* (1945), *Берлин* (1945), *Парад Победы* (1945), *Суд народов* (1946), *Советская Украина* (1947), *День победившей страны* (1947), *Победа китайского народа* (1950), *Советская кинохроника 1918-1968*. *Зрительная память истории* (1968) и мн. др. Вж.: Дерябин (2016, 884–889).

³⁹ Моис Исаак Бениеш (1907–1976) след 9 септември 1944 г. работи като режисьор в радиотеатъра на *Радио София*, участва в създаването на кръжока „Никола Йонков Вапцаров“ заедно с Виска Калчева, Иванка Димитрова, Сашо Стоянов, Лео Конфорти, Магда Колчакова, Гриша Островски и др., с които подготвят тематични вечери и ги изнасят на сцени, естради, работни площадки. През 1947 г. е изпратен с Коста Наумов като говорител на българската емисия в *Радио Москва*. Следва в Режисьорския факултет на ГИТИС „А. Луначарски“. След завършването си през 1951 г. е назначен като режисьор в Народния театър.

*Планини. Пасища с овце. Изгледи от населени места в България. Исторически паметници. Партизани водят бой. Части на Червената армия освобождават българските градове. Съветски параходи доставят помощи за България. Български художници. Митинги в защита на създаването на републиката в България. Розобер, събиране на тютюн. Избиратели гласуват по време на избори. Митинг, масови тържества в София в чест на обявяването на България за република.*⁴⁰

При представянето на *България* в сп. *Кино и фото* през 1947 г. – рубриката „Майстори на камерата“, всеки от операторите разказва за заснетите от него кадри. П. Касаткин се заема с филмирането на планинските пейзажи: „сneh рилските и пиринските езера, Белоградчишките скали и Троянския проход...; в Рила филмирах язовира Бели Искър; прокарването на Хаинбоаз“. А. Сологубов си спомня септември 1944 г. с Червената армия: „На 13 септември, аз, в числото на първите съветски офицери, пристигнах в София. На 16 септември филмирах посрещането на Червената армия в София. Всичките снети от мен сцени влезнаха във филма. Сега в качеството си на постоянен кореспондент на съветската кинохроника в България, аз снимам живота и възстановяването на страната“. А. Левитан заснема сцените в Батак, в които е представена основната сценарна линия за героичната генеалогия на семейство Тошеви и „черните забрадки“: „партизанските майки с техните сурови, тъжни лица... референдума в Батак“. А. Брантман е скамерата „в най-различни кътчета на България“ – кадрите от с. Богдан, Карловско. В. Соловьев освен с пейзажите, запечатва кадрите от розобера и от Созопол.⁴¹ От лаконичните спомени на операторите не става ясно, кой от тях заснема „етнографските“ сцени, както и възстановките на партизански сражения – заради които е цитираното в началото на текста писмо до бившите партизани от с. Белица.

Финалният кадър на филма показва ширнал се светъл път, заснет от движещ се камион, а дикторът отправя пожеланието на Еренбург: „Последната снимка показва новия, светъл път на бъл-

⁴⁰ Вж.: <https://www.net-film.ru/film-48555/>. Освен във филмовия архив на *Българската национална филмотека* и на *Центральная студия документальных фильмов*, копие от филма е налично и в проекта *Киноархив net-film.ru*.

⁴¹ Майсторите на Камерата – *Кино и фото*, 4–5, 1947, 17.

гарския народ. Прозвучават топлите думи „На добър път, България!“ (Еренбург, 1947, 4). Инсцениране на „пътя“⁴², на „партизанската героика“,... на „второто освобождение“⁴³.



„Зовът на основателя на Отечествения фронт Георги Димитров стигна до селата, до горите, до планините...“ Кадръ от филма *България с инсценировка от партизанския живот*.⁴⁴

Контекстът на „второто освобождение“ е от съществено значение при декодиране на представянето на България и „българския народ“ в *съветско-българския* филм от 1946 г. Вписвайки се в съветския дискурс на следвоенната епоха *България*, а и сниманите в сходна матрица и други съветски филми за окупираните от Червената армия държави, установява ясна йерархия – по думите на Мери Луиз Прат: „колониалните сили се стремят да гарантират

⁴² През септември 1943 г. Г. Димитров публикува в съветския официоз в. *Правда* статията *Куда идет Болгария? /Накъде отива България?/* (Димитров, 1997, 392). Освен всичко друго, в нея Димитров формулира насоките на една политическа тактика, която няма аналог в историята на българската държава. Тя е оформена в пропагандни фрази, които не поставят под съмнение и целенасочено издигат ролята на Съветския съюз като „исторически път на България“ при „всякакви условия“, като „наше щастливо бъдеще като нация“. Статията става популярна в Москва, чете се и в ефира на нелегалното радио „Христо Ботев“. Еренбург има добра основа за „Пътят на България“ и финалното визуализиране в сценария на филма за *съветския път за България*.

⁴³ Вж. и документалния филм *Второто освобождение* (2021, Св. Овчаров, Евелина Келбечева).

⁴⁴ Източник: Филмов архив на Българската национална филмотека.

своята невинност в същия момент, в който утвърждават своята хегемония“ (Pratt, 1992, 7). Съветското „навлизане“ в *България* е интерпретирано като необходима последица от процеса на „освобождение и възстановяване“. Кинематографичният език, който се използва, за да създаде смисъл, предлага прости решения на сложни външнополитически въпроси и въвежда мотиви и символи, които съветските граждани лесно да могат да разберат.

Заклучение: „архив на откраднатите революции“

Ирина Сандомирская интерпретира съветското документално кино на късния сталинизъм *като архив на откраднатите революции* (Сандомирская, 2012). Историята на филма *България* (1946) поставя важни питання за значението на документалната филмова пропаганда за Студената война и нейното значение за укрепване на идеологията в разширяващия се комунистически свят. *България* се оказва част от следвоенното визуално картографиране на *въображаемата география* на Съветския съюз, своеобразно презареждане на *културфилма* за нуждите на актуални политики. Още руската имперска експанзия създава многобройни и „хетерогенни периферии“ (North, 2019, 63), свързващи Руската империя с различни региони като Прибалтика, Кавказ и Североизточна Азия. Съветската държава ги наследява, като същевременно се стреми да ги усвои и идеологически. Страните от Източна Европа, превърнали се в част от съветското пространство след 1944 г., също стават обект на политики, подобни на по-ранните такива към собствено *съветските периферии*. През 1920-те г. това се прави става с *експедиции* за заснемането на *културни филми*. Следвоенното запознаване на съветския зрител с документирането на „новите територии“ също става с филмови *експедиции* – Р. Кацман използва точно тази дума за работата на екипа в България (Кацман, 1947, 14). Така, примерът с филма *България* от 1946 г., като конкретен случай, положен в по-широки контексти, показва централната роля на киното във визуализирането на съветската пространствената динамика в началото на Студената война (Widdis, 2003). Следвоенната сталинистка документалистика – набрала опит във филмовите *експедиции* в България и в останалата част от *съветската чужбина* – реактивира същите модели, режисьори, оператори, гласове, монтажни похвати и пр., за да синхронизира и актуализира образа и на филмираните вече съветски републики (Sidenova, 2020). От 1945 до 1953 г. *географският документален*

филм е доминиращ жанр в съветското документално кино – режисьор на *Советский Дагестан* (1950) и на *Советская Якутия* (1952) е именно Р. Григориев (Кацман); оператор на филма *Советская Армения* (1950) е А. Левитан; Роман Кармен режисира *Советский Туркменистан* (1951), М. Слущки – *Цветущая Украина* (1950) и пр. Всички те използват стандартизиран набор от вече изпробвани кинематографични похвати, както и формулата „икономиката, живота, бита и културата на народите в СССР“, за да изработят хомогенен *филмов атлас* и да препотвърдят идеологическата еднородност на Съветския съюз и неговите нови територии.

Позабравеният днес филм *България* от 1946 г. е не само първият съветски урок по пропагандно кино, а по същество – *окупирани* и на образа. Когато през 1952 г. се създава Държавният киноархив, текстът на министерското постановление препотвърждава тезата, че „благодарение на братската помощ на Съветския съюз, [българското кино] преодоля стадия на изостаналото занаятчийско филмопроизводство ... и тръгна решително по пътя на съветската кинематография“.⁴⁵ Новите управляващи вече са усвоили и филмово монтираната утопия като инструмент на демагогия. Инженерите на тоталитарната култура само препотвърждават киното като важен инструмент за мултиплициране на комунистическите идеологии.

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Renegotiation of Inheritance between Generations – Traditions and Holidays in the Village of Ribnovo, Garmen Municipality

Abstract: *In recent years, the village of Ribnovo, municipality Garmen, has been permanently in the media and research spotlight because of the interest in its preserved traditions, which are presented as a cultural treasure and an integral part of the identity politics of the Muslim community. Their public presentation, among other positives, supports the optimization of social relations between people and social cohesion between generations, which is important for the modern sustainable development of the community. At the same time, changes are also observed. Young people carry out social, educational and labor mobility outside the village of Ribnovo and expand their cultural ideas, which leads to reinterpretations of accepted traditions and values. These reinterpretations are related to the adaptation of wedding customs to the modern vision of the young for relevance, aesthetics and fun. The shedding of certain elements and the introduction of new rituals is necessary to meet the periodic material and spiritual challenges faced by the community. Adapted in this way, the tradition of colorful weddings and „pisani gelini“ helps to harmonize relations, overcome generational differences and renegotiate the inheritance between generations, which allows Ribnovo to save itself from the negative modern trends of depopulation, demographic stagnation and one-way labor migration, characteristic of all settlements remote from large regional centers.*

Keywords: Pomaks; Bulgarian Muslims; cultural heritage; cultural agency; traditional weddings and holidays.

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Предоговаряне на наследството между поколенията – традиции и празници в с. Рибново, общ. Гърмен

От началото на новото хилядолетие се направи изключително много за налагането на нематериалното културно наследство

тво като важен елемент в развитието както на малките локални общности, така и на модерните национални общества. В международен и национален план основите идеи, заложили и популяризирани в приетата *Концепция на ЮНЕСКО* от 2003 г., акцентирани върху неговото опазване и съхранение, еволюираха до успешното създаване на действащи политики за социализация и интерпретация в един постмодерен и постоянно променящ се контекст. Основната цел е да се отговори както на глобалните предизвикателства и локални специфики, така и на актуалните потребности и начин на живот на съвременните хора.

Благодарение на полученото внимание се промени не само начинът на ценностно осмисляне на културни практики, свързани с миналото, но и целият процес около изграждането на понятието наследство. В България през последните години се появяват все повече изследвания, които се опитват да представят различните видове наследства (нематериално, материално, книжовно-документално, архивно и пр.) и терминологично, теоретично и нормативно да ги въведат в обращение не само за специализираната, но и за широката публика (Кабаков, 2020; Колева-Звънчарова, 2021). Количествено натрупване се наблюдава и сред изследванията, занимаващи се с интерпретиране ролята на наследството в политиките за изграждане на идентичност, било то локална или национална, както и включването му в стратегиите за признание и добавяне на културна стойност и многообразие (Велев, 2013; Бокова, 2022; Сантова, 2014). Възходяща е и тенденцията да се обръща внимание и на тези наследства, които особено през социалистическия период, са съзнателно маргинализирани или се възприемат за непредставителни или непълноценни, защото принадлежат на различни малцинствени общности (Назърска, 2014; Myuhtar-May, 2014). Така постепенно се очертават не само различните репрезентации на наследството в съвременността, но и се популяризират и инструментализират дейности и процеси за неговото децентрализиране, остойностяване и възпроизводство, оттам и генериране на повече публичност и практики за неговата адекватна социализация (Дебрюне, 2019).

Активната роля на специализирани институции, неправителствени организации, различни социални актьори, заинтересувани страни и културни предприемачи допринасят наследството да се разглежда не като завещание, а като динамична категория, която не само позволява и насърчава човешката креативност и стремеж

към устойчивост, но и подсилва общностната кохезия и социална интеграция между различните групи и индивиди (Сантова, 2014, с. 11–15; Ганева-Райчева, Бокова, Ненов, 2021). И не само. През последното десетилетие ресурсите на културно-историческото наследство все по-ефективно се използват за развитието на различни сфери в икономиката, културния туризъм, предприемачеството и екологията, с цел налагането на иновативни пазарни ниши и в помощ на местните индустрии за оформяне на културния пейзаж на различните региони (Страхилов, 2022; Бокова, 2022) или за възстановяване на различни традиционни продукти (занаятчийски или хранителни) и културни практики (обичаи, празници и пр.). Наследството може да се развие не само в икономически, но и в социален план, защото има потенциала да оптимизира качеството и характера на изградените социални връзки и следователно подпомага генерирането на социален капитал. Това, от своя страна, позволява много повече хора (както индивиди, така и цели общности) да търсят възможности да се самоорганизират, припознаят и преживеят като носители на уникални културни образци или пък да го преработят по свои собствен вкус или специфики, чрез което да се търси преодоляване на травматично минало, памет или натрупани негативни стереотипи¹. Трансформацията му в съвременен културен продукт предполага достигането до по-широка аудитория, защото това е най-сигурната гаранция за неговото съхранение, опазване и разпространение. Все повече изследователи акцентират и върху връзките и влиянието на наследството както в „традиционни“ сфери като образованието и популярната култура, така и в бързо налагащите се дигитализация, дигитален маркетинг, социални медии и пр. Така наследството не само изпълнява своята съвременна роля и достига до различни публики, но и обезпечава своето бъдеще, като се доближава до културата и потребностите на подрастващите поколения.

В България кампаниите на ЮНЕСКО за вписване в различни представителни и национални листи на избрани културни практики и образци на традиционната народна култура набират все по-

¹ Доклад: Възможности за подобряване на взаимодействието между администрациите, подкрепящи и регулиращи бизнеса с НПО, СИП и местните предприемачи в социализацията на културното наследство и културния туризъм https://civildialogue.eu/images/civil_dialogue/Doklad-1.pdf

голяма популярност.² По този начин се стимулира желанието най-вече на локалните общности да се мобилизират и да положат усилия за съживяване и популяризиране на наследството си сред голяма аудитория, като същевременно се търси нарастващо признание в национален и международен контекст. Поддържането на характерни, „автентични“ или разпознаваеми празници, фестивали, обичаи и ритуали, както и положените усилия за тяхното възпроизвеждане, са сигурен индикатор за жизнеността на общностите и тази активност не е само стремеж да се впишат в културната карта на страната, но обслужва много по-значими цели, свързани с вътрешни процеси на синхронизация, взаимодействия, социална репродукция и поддържани отношения вътре в самите общности. Подобен е примерът със село Рибново, община Гърмен, известно в цяла България със своите зимни шарени сватби и „писани гелини“. То е едно от малкото населени места, които могат да се похвалят с траен положителен естествен (немиграционен) прираст на населението, въпреки географската му изолираност, не добре развитата му инфраструктура и отдалеченост от голям градски център. Селото е изцяло българомюсюлманско, а според последното преброяване е и най-голямото в общината.³ В Рибново има гимназия до 12-и клас, която е и със статут на средищно училище. Наличието на образователна институция е свързано с демографската стабилност на общността и задържането на младите семейства и подрастващи в селото, въпреки че основният поминък на неговите жители е трудовата мобилност из страната и чужбина. Предимно мъжете, но и цели семейства, сезонно извършват различни трудови дейности предимно в строителството и селското стопанство. Независимо от този масово разпространен икономически модел, в селото почти няма случаи на постоянна емиграция, а средствата, изкарани в чужбина, се влагат предимно в строеж и обзавеждане на къщи, както и организиране на семейни тържества. Именно при семейните празници – сюннет, годех и сватба рибанци успяват да възпроизведат своите традиции, характерни за помашките общности в региона, но и да се открийт чрез тях от другите села, за-

² Има се предвид Представителният списък на елементите на нематериалното културно наследство; национална система „Живи човешки съкровища“; Регистър на добрите практики за опазване на нематериалното културно наследство и пр. https://bulgariaich.com/?act=content&rec=15&sql_which=6

³ https://www.grao.bg/tna/t41nm-15-03-2024_2.txt

щото тук това наследство не само е запазено, но и изглежда изключително актуално. Особено чрез извършването на сватбените ритуали най-ясно се търси връзката с традиционните практики от миналото. От всички съседни мюсюлмански села в района на Родопите, само в Рибново по време на сватбата младоженката е облечена в костюм – реплика на традиционна сватбена носия, лицето ѝ се покрива с бял крем и пайети във формата на флорална украса, а на главата се слага *прекрив*, подобен на невестинското забраждане със сребърни *тельове*, спускани около лицето на помашките булки, преди този ритуал да бъде забранен през социалистическия период.

В исторически контекст съхраняването на религията, а и на традиционната култура и мироглед на българите мюсюлмани, е проблематично още с включването им в пределите на българската национална държава. Възприемането им като неизменна част от българската етническа общност насърчава политическите елити през различните периоди към перманентни опити за промяна на тяхната мюсюлманска идентичност чрез различни кампании, свързани с насилствено покръстване (т. нар. Кръстилка 1912–1913 г.) или явна подкрепа на организации като Дружба „Родина“ и нейните дейности по „избистряне на националното им съзнание“ (30-те и 40-те години на XX в.) По време на комунистическия режим помашките общности са подложени на редица забрани и рестрикции, като основната им цел е не само да се модернизира техния бит и да се повиши тяхното образователно и културно равнище, но и изцяло да се заличи тяхната традиционна култура и ислямско вероизповедание (Груев, Калъонски, 2008; Груев, 2006; Иванова, 2002). Политиката през този период е открито асимилаторска и включва насилствена смяна на турско-арабските имена с български, забрана за празнуване на характерните за общността семейни и календарни празници, контрол върху посещението на джамии, ограничаване на изповядването на исляма и налагане на „нова социалистическа празничност“. В резултат на всички тези мерки, известни в пропагандата тогава и в научната литература като „възродителен процес“, дори и в малките изолирани населени места се прекъсват вековни традиции, свързани не само с празниците на общността, но и с нейния мироглед и ценностна система. Опитите за хомогенизиране и създаване на единна социалистическа нация не успяват заради насилствения си характер и репресиите, които хората трябва да изтърпят, но спомагат за развитието на устойчива

травматична памет и недоверие към официалните институции, които за в бъдеще ще влияят върху оформянето на техните стратегии за принадлежност и осмисляне на културното си наследство.

Непосредствено след настъпилите политически промени и започналия преход към демокрация възможността за свободно изразяване на културни специфики и идентичност се възстановява, но процесът на отпадане на различни традиционни елементи от празничността и облеклото вече е оставил своя отпечатък върху помашките общности в различните райони на страната. По какъв начин и как да се възстанови не само традицията, но и идентификационните маркери, се оказва колкото индивидуален, толкова и избор на колектива. Това предполага проявата на палитра от идентичности, която учените историци и етнологии регистрират при извършването на различни теренни проучвания от началото на 90-те години на XX в. и в редица публикации се опитват да обяснят този процес (Георгиева, 1998; Brunnbauer, 1999, р. 35–50; Груев, 2008). Те забелязват както признаци на възприемане на турска идентичност (т.нар турчеене), най-вече заради завръщането и активно изповядване на исляма (предимно в Западните Родопи), така и случаи на доброволно приемане на християнството (в района на Кърджали и Неделино).⁴ Развиването на различни идентификационни стратегии и подчертаването на определени маркери пред други, според Брунбауер, показва идентичност, чувствителна към контекста и определяна от социални, културни, политически процеси и индивидуални решения. Подобна множествена или контекстуална идентичност е ясна индикация, че българите мюсюлмани изпитват трудности да се приспособят към своето особено междинно състояние да бъдат българи по произход и мюсюлмани по вяра (Желязкова, 2022, р. 818–824). Всъщност Антонина Желязкова споменава дори за „отнета“ идентичност, визирайки бруталните политики на комунистическата партия от близкото минало спрямо всички мюсюлмански общности. Отнемането явно е причината да се катализира обратен процес на изграждане и легитимно представяне на собствена визия при оформянето на принадлежност било чрез религия, култура или чрез етничност.

Самите представители на общността се противопоставят срещу наложените им „отвън“ или спуснати „отгоре“ идентификационни маркери и определения именно чрез представянето на

⁴ С тази дейност се занимава отец Боян Саръев и неговата фондация „Св. Йоан Предтеча“ – бел. а.

различни и противоположни идентичности. Дори са склонни да възприемат квазиисторически интерпретации, които да ги отграничат като самостоятелна самобитна и културна общност чрез развиването на идеята за помашки етнос или вяра в своя предосмански произход (Георгиева, 1998; Иванова, 2014). В своето основополагащо изследване на помашките идентичности от края на 90-те години на XX в. Цветана Георгиева заключава, че помашките общности са подложени на различни влияния и натиск, които предизвикват напрежения от разнообразен порядък и дестабилизируют стария предмодерен модел на идентичност, както на индивида, така и на цялата група (Георгиева, 1998, с. 286–308). В ход е търсенето на престижна идентичност и индикациите са, че този процес ще приключи само когато се създадат условия на макро- и микрониво помашките общности да се почувстват уверени и спокойни в правото си на собствено културно, религиозно и етническо съществуване и самоопределение.

Сравнително успешното осъществяване на политическия преход в страната към демокрация и членството в Европейския съюз през новото хилядолетие са факторите, които нормализират вътрешната динамика на помашките общности. Декларирането на принадлежност става въпрос на личен избор, светоусещане, а и както е при хората от Рибново и чрез общностен консенсус. Включването им в европейските трудови пазари, предимствата на трудова мобилност и свободно предприемачество успокоява икономическото напрежение и позволява постепенно „отваряне“ към света чрез запознаване и възприемане на нови културни модели. Българите мюсюлмани оценяват предимствата на националното гражданство и произход без това непременно да е свързано с натиск върху тяхната религия и мюсюлманска идентичност. Допирът до западните европейски общества и техният етнически и културен плурализъм им дава усещането, че могат да хармонизират своите идентификационни стратегии без непрекъснато да се избира един доминиращ маркер между етничност, религия, майчин език и пр. Същевременно в различните мултикултурни колективи регионалните и културни специфики като традиции, фолклор, празничност и облекло започват да се открояват и следователно да се оценяват от техните носители като важни и определящи. Така за рибанци тяхната съществуваща локална култура се оказва не само органичната връзка с културното и историческо наследство на тях-

ното драматично минало и предци, но и мощен легитимиращ фактор за общността в съвременността, който им придава стойност и чувство за самоценност.

Със старта на политическите промени от края на XX в. жителите на с. Рибново са едни от първите, които непосредствено възстановяват традиционните елементи не само в празничното си, но и в ежедневноното си облекло. Масово жените, в зависимост от възраст и статус, носят шалвари, фереджета и различно по вид забраждане. Разбира се, материите са фабрични, цветовете са крещящи, а ежедневноното фередже на омъжените жени твърде много напомня на дочените манти, носени през социалистическия период, но наличието на традиционно по форма облекло още тогава, е най-видимият белег и индикатор за силата на традицията (Георгиева, 1994, с. 143–145). В селото започват да се организират както общоселските празници по обрязване на мюсюлманските момчета – т.нар. сюннети, така и сватбените ритуали с традиционното „лепене“ на младоженката. И двата обичая са подложени на стриктни забрани от комунистическия режим и след началото на 70-те години не се изпълняват публично поради заплахата от налагане на санкции. Завръщането към традиционното облекло и празничност се дължи и на факта, че селото е религиозно хомогенно, няма постоянно живеещи християни и това е оценено от местните като една от главните причини за естественото възстановяване на тяхната култура в близък до познатия от миналото вид, без да изпитват неудобство или чувство на назадничавост и изостаналост, в каквито преди са обвинявани от режима.⁵

Наистина в първите десетилетия на прехода в България връщането към традицията при някои от помашките общности е етикетизирано като форма на консерватизъм и затвореност, нещо, което не носи стойност в бързо променящото се българско общество по пътя към неговата трансформация според новите демократични стандарти и модели.⁶ Географски, пространствено и символно

⁵ Това сподели с мен Хайрие Бабишка, всепризната майсторка на „лепените гелини“ в селото през юли 2010 г. Днес лепенето се извършва от приятелки и близки на младоженката. Това е знак, че наследството е било предадено успешно на следващото поколение. – бел. а.

⁶ При първото ми посещение на Рибново през 2010 г. с екип от преподаватели и студенти от специалност „Етнология“ на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски“ жените, с които най-често разговаряхме, особено по-младите, винаги ни питаха как изглеждат в нашите очи техните шарени шалвари и

Рибново сякаш съзнателно поддържа своята дистанцираност от процесите на промяна, но това е само на пръв поглед. Оставени най-после на мира от властта и насилствено налаганите им политики на идентичност, рибанци интуитивно насочват усилията си към два важни елемента от начина си на живот, които да ги съхранят като колектив. От една страна, това е заздравяване на социалните връзки вътре в общността. Възстановява се религиозният живот, усвояват се нови стопански модели, за да се противодейства на икономическата криза и повсеместната постоянна емиграция към чужбина, която би променила съществуващия патриархален семеен модел и пр. От друга страна, те се превръщат в културни агенти на собственото си наследство и възобновяват своята празничност според традицията, която насилствено им е била забранена. За Фатме Мюхтар-Мей културното агентство е закономерен процес, позволяващ свободата да оформяш своята култура и идентичност в зависимост от личните и колективни предпочитания и нужди (Muhtar-May, 2014, p. 4–9). Авторката е израснала в с. Вълкосел, общ. Сатовча и като дете е усетила последиците от т. нар. „възродителен процес“ върху своята общност и насилствено прекъснатата културна традиция. Тя защитава тезата, че наследството на българите мюсюлмани е фрагментирано и исторически разпокъсано. Днес различните помашки общности не само имат правото да конструират своето наследство наново и дори му предадат нова семантика, но трябва и да го възприемат като възможност за собствена (не държавно определяна и контролирана) интеракция с миналото, а оттам и безпроблемното и успешно (нетравматично) приемане на своята помашка култура и идентичност. Възстановяването на традиционната помашка сватба от рибанци е посочена като един от процесите на успешно „производство“ на наследство. Така не само се съживява уникална традиция, която е била типична за всички помашки общности, но вече не се изпълнява, а и представя Рибново (следователно и българите мюсюлмани) като носител на културен феномен, част от културното богатство не само на България, но и в световен мащаб (Muhtar-May, 2014, p. 25–26). Всъщност, признаването и популяризирането му като уникална и самобитна традиция и нейното поставяне на културната карта на България идва първо отвън, извън общността. Всяка година с настъпването на зимата селото открива брачния сезон на традиционните

забрадки. През 2023 г. почти всички гости, които посещават селото, желаят да си закупят шалвари или носия. – бел. а.

сватби. Сватбата е събитие, което рефлектира върху цялата общност, заради характерната брачна ендогамия в селото и наличието на големи родове. И в съвременността се запазва моделът на роднинска взаимопомощ при подготовката и провеждането на сватбата във всеки един етап от излагането на чеиза, през посрещане и обгрижване на гостите. Музиката, която се поръчва, се изпълнява на площада на селото и всеки, който желае, може да присъства, дори и да не е персонално поканен от младоженците и техните семейства. Това прави рибанските сватби многолюдни, публични, пищни визуално и материално. Акцентът в тях се явява лепенето на гелината, което се прави на втория ден от сватбата, в къщата на момичето. В присъствието на най-близките, предимно жени, лицето на булката се намазва с дебел слой крем „Здраве“ и върху него в строга последователност започват да се лепят различни лъскави орнаменти и пайети.⁷ Покриването на лицето на младоженката с разноцветни елементи е мюсюлманска, не коранична традиция, свързана с идеята за трансформацията, която преживява младата жена по време на брачната церемония и визуализира получаването на нов статус след брака. Скриването на истинското лице на булката с тази своеобразна маска позволява успешно преминаване на този важен ритуал на преход в жизнения цикъл на всеки индивид (Карамихова, 1993; Кюркчиева, 2004). Според Веселка Тончева и нейния сравнителен анализ на ритуала, там, където все още днес е регистриран сред различните помашки общности, основната идея на тази инициация е символното умиране и преминаване през отвъдното и завръщането отново, но в ново социално състояние – на омъжена жена и бъдеща майка (Тончева, 2012). Цветната маска и лъскавите *тельове* (сребристи нишки, заместени днес от коледни гирлянди), спуснати около нея символизират булото, зад което се извършва промяната, защото нито околните трябва да виждат истинското лице на гелината, нито тя да има възможност да вижда, какво става около нея. След ритуала на лепене очите трябва да останат затворени, движенията ѝ са силно ограничени, а в ръцете си държи огледало. Функцията на огледалото е двузначна, обяснява се, че или с него гелината си помага, за да вижда какво става около нея или то служи да отразява всичко лошо, за да не бъде урочасана.

⁷ Според възрастни информатори преди навлизането на употребата на крем „Здраве“, лицето се е мажело с разбит жълтък и захар, поради не винаги наличието на лутурки (т.е. пайети), са се използвали станиоли и разноцветни хартийки от бонбоните карамел Му. – бел. а.

В прагматичен и съвременен контекст е и обяснението за целия ритуал на лепенето, разноцветните бляскави пайети трябва да отразят лошите и завистливи погледи и мисли, които могат да развалят щастието на младите. Изведена от бащината си къща и подкрепяна от съпруга си и своята майка, младата невеста извървява пеша разстоянието до новия си дом, придружена от музикален съпровод, роднини, близки и гости. В къщата на младоженеца, почти в малките часове на нощта, украсата се сваля и чак след това се извършва от имама религиозен брак – *никях*.⁸

Това накратко е целият сватбен комплекс, чрез който рибанци се отличават от съседните населени места, където младоженката, независимо от религиозната си принадлежност, сключва брак в наложилата се вече класическа бяла рокля. Отразяването на Рибново и представянето на неговите съхранени и до ден днешен традиции се заражда постепенно и е предимно медийно – чрез репортажи в сутрешни блокове и предавания до документални филми на различните национални телевизии и локални онлайн канали. „Шарената приказка“ на рибанци става популярна и разпознаваема, показвайки „екзотичната“ и непозната страна на част от мюсюлманите в България.⁹ Нарастването на влиянието на социалните мрежи и бързото споделяне на информация допълнително спомагат за разпространението на нови и непознати аспекти от техните традиции и интересът към тях прехвърля предела на националните граници. Това съвпада и с повсеместното развитие на културния туризъм и зараждащите се местни политики за съхраняване и опазване на културно-историческото наследство. Фокусът към Рибново като място на жива и активна традиция действа позитивно върху всички сфери в социалния, културния и икономически живот на общността¹⁰. След десет години от последното ми посещение в селото промяната е видима – чезиът е по-богат, сватбите все по-многолюдни, а украсата по лицето и носията на булката все по-

⁸ В Рибново ми споменаха, че рядко се извършва граждански ритуал от младоженците. При раждането на дете, то се припознава от бащата при оформянето на акта за раждане. – бел. а.

⁹ В кавички е заглавието на документален филм на Антон Хекимян, журналист от БТВ. Това е един от първите документални филми, които представят на широка аудитория рибанските сватбени традиции.

¹⁰ Селото се превръща в атрактивна и търсена туристическа дестинация не само в сезона на сватбите. Близостта му до други популярни курорти като Банско и Огняново, провокира много от почиващите там да го посетят, за да си създадат собствени впечатления от хората и населеното място. – бел. а.

пищни. Наблюдава се и изменение при изпълнението на различните обреди в сватбения ритуал – едни са отпаднали за сметка на други. Например вече не се изпълнява характерния за региона сватбен песенен фолклор по време на лепенето или извеждането на булката от бащиния ѝ дом¹¹. Същевременно се прави опит да се включват други нови елементи като т.нар. „турска“ къна, ритуал заимстван от сватбените обичаи в съвременна Турция, изпълняван на площада на селото и наблюдаван през февруари 2023 г. или наетата целодневна „музика“ с изпълнител на живо или с уредба и диджей¹². И двата елемента са ориентирани предимно за забавление на събралите се на площада гости и жители на селото. Наблюдава се и желание да се възобновят и различни позабравени или отпаднали елементи, с цел да се възстановят или акцентират автентични практики от миналото, като например традиционните дарове (жив овен, който се дарява на булката), които се разменят между младоженците и техните семейства. При някои годежът и сватбата са близо (в рамките на една две седмици) или един след друг, обединени с ритуала „връщане на баници“ и пр.

Без съмнение става ясно, че се представя едно активно действащо, но и припознато наследство, което се реконструира с оглед на приспособяване на традиционните сватбени обичаи към съвременното виждане на местните хора за актуалност, естетика и забавление. Според Мишел Ротенбърг наследството е едновременно

¹¹ При извеждането на гелината преди най-често се е изпълнявала песента „Прощавай майко, прощавай...“. Отпадането на пеенето ми беше обяснено по два начина. Единият беше, че в Корана е записано, че жената не трябва високо да си произнася гласа. (Ф. Р., ж. ок. 55 г., зап.юни 2023 г.); в друг разговор ми беше обяснено, че младите не знаят и не харесват тези тъжни песни. – бел. а.

¹² Т. нар. „турска“ къна представляваше визуално пищен изнесен ритуал в центъра на селото, с факелно шествие, танци с дайрета, изпълнявани от булката и нейните приятелки, и символично поставяне на къна в центъра на дланта на младоженката. Тя е облечена в атлазена рокля и тиара на главата, а в ритуала се включва и младоженецът, като двойката изиграва пред всички първия си брачен танц под звуците на романтична балада. Целият спектакъл продължава не повече от час и се изпълнява на първия ден от двата сватбени дни. След това, в домашни условия, в дома на гелината се прави и традиционното ѝ кърсоване, при което се кърсват всички пръсти и на двете ѝ ръце. Според информатори, това представление рибанки са го видели от с. Лъжница и са решили да го представят и в Рибново. Самите лъжничани са го привнесли от Турция, защото имат роднини там и поддържат много тесни връзки. До този момент, по мои проучвания, този ритуал беше изпълнен три пъти през сватбения сезон. Дали ще успее да се наложи като задължителна част от сватбения цикъл предстои да се разбере. – бел. а.

и репрезентация, и социална практика, знание и емоция, политика и въображаемо (Ротенберг, 2013). Празниците за рибанци са част от техните традиции и култура, но същевременно са и ключови за взаимодействието между поколенията и поддържане на общностната кохезия. При представянето на наследството пред широка публика акцентът трябва да се поставя не само върху начина на неговото репрезентиране, но и върху ролята на неговите носители и изпълнители, които го възприемат като ресурс да хармонизират колективните си ценности и норми и да организират съвременния си социален ритъм и нагласи. За по-старото поколение напълно е ясно, че да се продължи една традиция младите членове на общността трябва не само да са възпитани с нея, но и да я припознаят и осмислят като своя собствена културна ценност. Затова и най-честото обяснение на въпроса защо се прави това, си оставаше: „на младите така им харесва“ или „младите искат това“. Участието и на „младите“ и на „старите“ показва не само договарянето на консенсус около изпълняването на всеки елемент от сватбените ритуали, но и подпомага изграждането на споделеност около важните за цялата общност маркери на колективна идентичност. Осмислената и адаптирана по тази начин традиция на шарените сватби и писани гелини съгласува поколенческите различия и успешно предоговоря наследството между поколенията. В културен план това позволява на Рибново да търси възможност да представя пред все по-широка публика (национална и международна) специфичните образци от своето съхранено наследство и така да генерира важен символен капитал не само за себе си като населено място, но и за цялата помашка общност в България. Поддържаният благодарение на училището и учителския колектив състав за представяне на местни традиции и фолклор вече има няколко участия и награди в национални събори и прегледи на народното творчество. Към момента се търси институционална подкрепа ритуалът „лепене на гелина“ да кандидатства и да се впише в представителната листа на елементи от нематериалното културно наследство на ЮНЕСКО. По световния телевизионен канал Viasat History през м. май 2024 г. се излъчи документален филм на известната проф. Бетани Хюз, в който са включени рибанските писани гелини и обичаи¹³. Благодарение на съвременните информационни канали и онлайн медии почти целият сватбен ритуал може да се наблюдава на живо или

¹³ Екип на предаването гостува в селото през лятото на 2023 г., за да заснеме материал за поредицата „Съкровища с Бетани Хюз“. – бел. а.

да се правят директни включвания от празненствата в селото. Рибново е вече желана туристическа дестинация и е включено в различни маршрути за културен туризъм. Това са само една част от дейностите, които правят селото и неговите традиции разпознаваеми, популярни и стимулират изброените ритуали да търсят по-скоро представителност, отколкото автентичност. Наблюдава се и друга тенденция – все повече културни агенти от помашките общности в различни населени места, предимно чрез възстановки, представят и заснемат техните сватбени ритуали, такива, каквито са се изпълнявали в миналото (напр. в популярния канал youtube могат да се открият материали за такива фолклорни възстановки от селата Брезница и Беслен).

В социален план съхраненото наследство позволява на селото да запази своята жизнеспособност и да неутрализира негативните съвременни тенденции на обезлюдяване, демографска стагнация и еднопосочна трудова миграция, характерни за всички региони на България, отдалечени от големите областни центрове. Селото е пълно с живот, училището се разширява и модернизира, инфраструктурата се подобрява, действат малки бизнеси и фирми и чрез предоставяните услуги се подобрява качеството на живот на местните хора. Възходът на нематериалното локално културно наследство действа благоприятно и овластява общността, като ѝ предоставя инструменти за успешно постигане на собствените си интереси и желания, обвързани с политики за устойчиво развитие на селските региони и опазване не само на културния пейзаж, но и на природната среда. В заключение може да се каже, че колкото и парадоксално да звучи, традицията прави рибанци модерни и в това твърдение няма противоречие, а закономерност.

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Challenging Social Norms: Women as Symbols of Prejudice and Stereotypes in World Literature (A Comparative Study)

Abstract: *Throughout the history of world literature, numerous authors have centered their works on female protagonists, presenting them not only as individuals but also as symbols shaped by societal expectations, prejudice, and stereotypes. From the cunning Sheherazade of „1001 Nights“, to Flaubert's conflicted Emma Bovary, Tolstoy's tragic Anna Karenina, and Zola's ambitious Nana, female characters have long been used to explore complex societal dynamics. Even those who were not central figures – such as Homer's faithful Penelope, Shakespeare's Desdemona and Lady Macbeth – have become emblematic of various cultural ideals and gender norms. At the root of these representations lies the biblical figure of Eve, whose "original sin" casts a shadow over women in literary history, often reflecting patriarchal anxieties and the social marginalization of women.*

In this comparative study, Heinrich Böll's „The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum“ and Ismail Kadare's „A Moonlit Night“ are examined as examples of how women continue to be portrayed as symbols of prejudice and social condemnation. These works highlight the consequences of societal judgment on female characters, portraying women as both victims of patriarchal scrutiny and as complex agents challenging these limitations. Moreover, this study reflects on how literature, across cultures and time periods, has both mirrored and challenged the evolving roles of women within society, with particular attention to the enduring stereotypes and norms that shape these narratives.

Keywords: *women; prejudice; stereotypes; societal norms; literary representation.*

Introduction

The two protagonists

From the very first reading of these two works, the first comparable element - the female protagonists - comes to the fore. As in the work of Böll, as in that of Kadare, the protagonists are females. In a broader perspective, we could talk about the female characters in these two authors. In Böll's work, she is also a protagonist in his other work called “*Group Portrait with Lady*” (1971), *Women in a River Landscape*

(1985) and others. Kadare, in his very first prose works, including *Coffee Day*, *The Monster* and *The General*, deals with female characters, and with character of women in a multifarious aspect, even in its extremes, beginning with beautiful and troublesome women to prostitutes, elder women who are surnamed as *elderly women of life* or even as *elderly women "katënxhika"* in "*Chronicle in Stone*". He further creates female protagonists in his other works such as *the Wedding* (1968), *The Ghost Rider* (1979), *Agamemnon's Daughter* (2000), *In front of a Woman's Mirror* (2001), *A Girl in Exile* (2009) and so on.

When I mentioned Kadare's *The Monster* (a work that is built upon the Myth of Trojan Horse) leaving aside the symbolism and allusions with contemporary times), I was reminded of a series of Greek antiquity works where females and women appear to be protagonists. *Helena*, then her sister-in-law, *Klitemnestra*, *Iphigenia* (her daughter), *Andromache*, *Penelope* and others appear in the gallery of the many old epic characters, even within the nucleus of conflict.

A lot of authors come to us in the history of the world literature (famous authors as well, not to mention those usual ones and any other one), whose works have placed females - women as their main characters. Without pretending to make typologies of such works, I have to mention *Scheherzade* of the *1001 Nights* of Arab fairy tales, *Sappho* of Lesbos's sensitive lyrics, *Emma Bovary* of Gustave Flaubert, *Anna Karenina* of L.N. Tolstoy, Emil Zola's *Nana*, Jasunari Kavabata's *Geishas*, to those that, even when they were not the main characters, were transformed into symbols like Homer's *Penelope of Odyssey*, *Desdemona*, *Lady Macbeth* and *Juliette* of William Shakespeare, and other female characters.

If we continue to follow the genesis of female-woman character based on the biblical motif, she appears to us in the form of Eve, created from Adam's rib, with the guiltless "guilt" of fall from Eden. This deadly "curse" accompanies him everywhere through ages, countries, nations, races, and religions.

After this little "journey", let's turn to our protagonists. In the structure of both of these works, Katharina and Mariana become protagonists not so much with their presence in the textual space and structure as with the presence of non-presence. In the active sense of the acting character, they capture very small spaces in relation to other characters, and even when they become visible they represent only inserts of confessions, self-confessions, while the narrator author from the omniscient position and other times by the narrator that identifies the

group (We), as it were, narrates their deeds and actions. In this sense, though nothing seems mysterious, in the imagination of the reader they become not only ubiquitous and omnipresent, as well as for the characters that surround them, but they also exercise an influence and pressure of concern with all their emotional and mental energy. This is what makes them protagonists in the overall development of society, politics, economics, culture and, if you like, of the psychology of their countries and citizens. They are the Cyclone's Eye that swirls everything around.

Considering their character and their actions only from a moral point of view seems to me very narrow. Morality, as well as other categories, is a form of social consciousness that does not occur spontaneously and suddenly. Consequently, its opposite, immorality does neither. Their roots are firmly enrooted in the background of social life and thence they are irrigated or withered.

Katharina and *Mariana*, being special as literary artistic creations, become representative of a type within society, because they exhibit general characteristics that correspond to their types, always according to the Aristotelian principle: events that could have happened, have already happened or may happen.

The formula sometimes used by writers on the margins of their works that (allegedly) similarities with people, actions or circumstances are occasional, is just an attempt for an "alibi", camouflage or excuse. Boll uses this formula as a motto: "The persons and actions of this story are invented by the mind ..." but, nevertheless, he is original as much as honest because he immediately confirms, even stubbornly: ... but if, in describing some journalistic practices, a similarity to the practices used by BILD-ZEITUNG is noticed, I must point out that this has not been done intentionally and is not even a coincidence, but it is inevitable" (Boll, 2007, pg.7).

The phenomenon of *inevitability* also appears in Kadare, but he has no reason to pronounce it, because the *engineers of the spirit* - as Stalin once called political commissioners - were so vigilant that they were ready to accuse him of the opposite, for *deviation from the reality* (when Kadare treated historical motive and themes), or *distortion of reality* (when he revealed the truthfulness of life, as he himself drew the mask off the ideological cover of dictatorship).

Finally, the fact that Kadare's work was "condemned" by an undisclosed trial and, after partial publication in a literary magazine, was not published until the fall of the dictatorship; the fact that its circulation was suspended and the neglecting seeds of silence (nobody had the

courage to speak about the work) were planted, proves that his work was painfully striking the dictatorship, its mechanism, its realism.

I. Background Context

Historically, women in literature have often been cast into roles defined by patriarchal values. From the obedient Penelope in Homer's *Odyssey* to the tragic Emma Bovary in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, literary portrayals of women have frequently mirrored society's expectations, reinforcing stereotypes that depict women as passive, morally vulnerable, or bound to their familial roles. However, the characters of Katharina Blum and Mariana stand apart as they defy conventional expectations. As modern protagonists, they not only question these norms but suffer the consequences of doing so, highlighting the societal backlash against women who deviate from traditional roles. This backdrop allows Böll and Kadare to critique the systemic prejudices against women and explore the underlying societal fears that drive such stereotypes.

II. Methodology

Since this topic typologically belongs to the comparative literature, the research method will also precisely follow the comparison and the parallels between the work and life of both of them. The analysis will reveal the position of Mariana and Katerina as they become representative of a type within society, whereas the vertical and horizontal structure of their impact and intersection is mainly based on being special as literary artistic creations. The "Nata me hënë" (Moonlit Night) had originally circulated as a story from the very beginning. Then, as a variant in the manuscript, then as a story in the magazine "Nëntori" in early 1985, and also in his occasional interviews and lectures. In examining the similarities, the following shall be distinguished: 1. identification of certain common or similar features of previously recognized characters and phenomena, as well as of new characters and phenomena being explored. So, through this method I analyzed in detail Mariana and Katerina, two characters with similarities and differences.

Throughout my work in this study, therefore, relying heavily on the principles of the method of comparison, the studies of Caller, Ann Jefferson, and David Robey have had strong support in terms of secondary literature, without excluding Jury Lottman Tzvetan Todorov.

III. Results

Physical and moral portrait

The issue of female / women characters mentioned in the previous chapter, now we are entering the analysis of two egos, it becomes inevitable for at least an approximate definition of their role in the works of the authors Boll and Kadare. Although the problem is distant and ancient as the world itself, I find the referential origin of a meaningful reformulation in the researcher Toril Moi (Moi, 1985) who relies on the French feminist Helene Cixous, as well as the French philosopher Jacques Derrida. At the beginning of her essay, the Feminist Literary Criticism, she asserts: "I would first suggest that we distinguish between 'feminism' as a political stance, 'feminine' as a biological matter and 'femininity' as a set of characteristics, culturally defined" (Jefferson & Robey, 2004, p. 294). In the context of our study it seems to me that the characters Katharina and Mariana give and take from the three notions above, but I essentially find them related to the position of femininity as a whole of culturally defined characteristics.

During the reading, but on the issue, the thoughts of Cixous and Derrida that alternately complete it, it becomes clearer that in their works, the authors Boll and Kadare do not manifest gender animosity: neither support nor rejection; neither mercy nor criticism. They are neither sympathizers, nor recruits, nor masculine militants and even, I would say, neither neutral. They naturally build characters, not fictional, but on the basis of reflection of reality where, according to Derrida, "meaning is not produced within the ending of the opposite pairs. Rather it is achieved through the "free play of the one who creates the meaning", and Cixous will argue: "Limiting the masculine and feminine to a special exclusion against each other means to force them to enter in a deadly battle within the opposite pairs." (Jefferson & Robey, 2004, p. 306).

In our study, therefore, I do not find Katharina and Mariana as heroines who with revolutionary initiatives and actions want to vindicate gender freedom and rights; I do not find them as wanting to have the attributes of representatives on the basis of gender conflict, but first and foremost, I see them as social beings who are ready to fight with everyone for the independence of their world, including here the society, system, social structure, regardless of whether they appear as men or women. If we were allowed a metaphorical name for their character, I would call them *heroins(female heroes) stripped off heroism*. They have "lost" the chance of heroism because they did not bother about

collective ideals, but for individual ideals. Even when their action could become an approvable and admirable element for a wider circle, as an emanation of resonance, as a consensual principle, the same environment emerges and strips off their heroism with its mechanisms. Perhaps meditations on this issue would lead us further into a parenthesis that raises the conflict between the individual and the society, where the psychology of the crowd, the lynching and other methods emerge, but that is totally different issue.

Within the character's concept, I see Catherine and Mariana as having been realized according to the principle of modernity. The researcher and writer, Fatmir Alimani, speaking of the modernity of characters in Kawabata, Kafka, Kundera and Kadare, generally comes into a sustainable conclusion, which I believe is applicable for the characters of Böll as well: "...the characters have a different nature, not only compared to many other authors but also to each other. In general, they are not classical characters, yet there is something classical in their modernity. They never bring the detailed biography of an X or Y but only some of the most significant moments of their existence. In contrast to classical characters, that are alike in flesh and blood, on the outside they may look pale and skinny, but actually their efficiency is as useful or even more useful than if they had been described more broadly and to the smallest details." (Alimani, 2005, p. 263). Creating characters in this sense is attributed in the first place to creating a character in accordance with the vertical principle rather than detailed description of their appearance. This detail, lack of grandiose superficiality, lack of formal monumentality becomes an element of influence in their deheroization, but, being just ordinary characters, they do not lose any of their weight or significance as protagonists of two literary works.

Here we will look at the texts of both books to see with what brushstrokes the authors Böll and Kadare portray their characters. They (different from Flaubert, for instance, who portrays Emma in her formation, in her development and beyond, since her minority) take and put their portraits only in a given moment, in the moment of drama. Occasionally, they present reminiscences remote like an edit on a pale photograph.

Katharina:

"...a twenty-seven year old woman leaves her house at about 18.45 and heads to participate in a private party" (Boell, 2007).

"...a smart and almost cold woman...in a decisive moment prepared by herself, not only took out the revolver but fired". Boell (2007, p. 13)

"...she had been very much pleased with this invitation, mostly because she hadn't had the chance to dance for a long time..., Katharina felt an almost pathologic disgust for those dancing nights organized in religious communities". Boell (2007, p. 15)

"...an extremely shy girl, almost fanatical in sexual matters...". Boell (2007, p. 19)

"...she, out of fear and confusion, was trying to cover her face with her bag, with the toilet box...he managed to take a picture of her with a wild face expression and untidy hair...". Boell (2007, p. 21)

"...dead-face woman". Boell (2007, p. 27)

"...in a strangely elegant manner, she controlled every formulation, asked to have every sentence read...". Boell (2007, p. 29)

"...she had always had a regular and clean appearance, and was polite, although a bit cold-hearted". Boell (2007, p. 30)

"...they had tried to hurt her sick pride when it came to money..." Boell (2007, p. 39)

"...had qualified Catherine's writing as exemplary calligraphy of a good student..." Boell (2007, p. 45)

"Katharina Blum did not pay a church tax... she had abandoned the church since she was eleven". Boell (2007, p. 47)

"...she spent very little on her living...she went to the cinema and, occasionally, bought chocolates..." Boell (2007, p. 47)

"...she had always been a hard-working, regular girl, a bit shy, or, better say, anxious". Boell (2007, p. 67)

"...the only practical thing she had in mind of doing for now was sewing a carnival costume..." Boell (2007, p. 87)

"...she has two virtues, which are very rare now: loyalty and pride!" Boell (2007, p. 92)

"...so nice and so rare, not feather-brained and yet capable of making love...serious and, yet, young and beautiful, with a charm whose value she did not know herself either..." Boell (p. 94)

"...it was exactly her personality of a fair and honourable girl...it was exactly her personality that had helped her not frail and arrange her ruined life well and beautifully..." Boell (2007, p. 95)

"Keep your head up, dear Katharina! Not everyone thinks badly of you!" Boell (2007, p. 120).

If we try now to look at these evaluations and characterizations generally, in a few words, the portrait of Katharina would be: a woman sometimes twenty-seven year old girl, honourable, a bit shy, regular, clean, proud, smart, nonreligious, serious and without any evident temper.

These general features speak clearly of a character who has an independent Self, Ego and Credo, or, disassembled as notions, "Part of sub consciousness or unconsciousness...that comprise types of leading

instincts of the psyche, which will include the dynamic forces whereby the resources of concepts, meaningful ideas and messages, the language itself and its characteristics are set in motion,” as much as “Desires driven by sources of instincts of receiving pleasure (including memories of the past) want to erupt, thus conscious through the expressive means” (Domi, 2009, p.18). As such, more than ordinary, but independent in her own world, in an environment perverted by greed, she is targeted to be hit or become “like everyone else”, meaning, to lose the independence that is displayed as pride.

Let us now look at its sister-book “*A Moonlit night*” (Kadare, 2004).

Mariana:

“...beautifully dressed and brushed, as usually...” Kadare (2004, p. 14)

“...she had a faint state of mind...” Kadare (2004, p. 25)

“...cheerful girl...” Kadare (2004, p. 34)

“...the appearance, elegance and everything else was acknowledged as a merit of Mariana”. Kadare (2004, p. 35)

“...she was skilful and regular in her work and in everything...” Kadare (2004, p. 42)

“...Mariana’s new topcoat looked perfectly on her...” Kadare (2004, p. 44)

“Mariana was one of those who seemed guilty of her being ignored until now”. Kadare (2004, p. 52)

“Mariana was still white as snow from the shock, when a police officer and a civilian appeared in the lab, accompanied by the head of administration”. Kadare (2004, p. 60)

“...she expected everything with a dead face, where only one observing eye could still see, between the outlines of suffering, the question ‘why?’”. Kadare (2004, p. 66)

“...beautiful, a bit taller than average, with a shining pin on her light...” Kadare (2004, p. 98)

“...Mariana had meanwhile given the first sign of divinity”. Kadare (2004, p. 101).

Like in the first case concerning Katharina, here too we can do a summarized reading to construct Mariana’s portrait in a mosaic shape: a beautiful, cheerful, elegant, average-height girl, skilful and regular in her job, but who, in situations of distress, can become – like Katharina – confused and sickly pale.

The variants we showed in both cases are the profiling of their authors, Böll and Kadare (from the position of the omniscient narrator) and, even, given with – I would say – data with quite reservations. However, why do we, while reading them, feel omnipresence, a fulfilment,

a presence of theirs and why does it feel like their vivid images accompany us accordingly? They speak of themselves, little or not at all. Mostly, Katharina is “obliged” from the investigators to present her biography in the form of a Statement (Chapter 15, pages 21-26), whereas Mariana, in the form of a monologue, displays her experience after receiving the Doctor’s report, as an “evidence of honour for the investigators” of the collective (Chapter 12, page 96-101).

Their images are fulfilled by the other characters, with an astonishing and heuristic depth to the most candid areas like those of tastes, feelings, etc. but the information we obtain from the other characters should be divided because they belong to two contingents: pro and against them.

Katharina gets divorced from Wilhelm Brettloh: *“It hadn’t been six months yet and I started to feel such an antipathy towards my husband that I could not defeat... the court divorced us for my fault, for abandonment with a bad intent”* (page 23).

Mariana gets divorced from Philip: *“Last year she had had relationships and had separated from Philip, for reasons no one knew of”*. (page 51).

“Her entire library (Katharina’s library, my note V. D.) consisted of four love novels, three police novels and one biography of Napoleon and one of Christina, Queen of Sweden” (page 20).

“...Nafije’s call to ask her about the books that Mariana read (amongst them, to verify Mariana’s allegedly liberal stance, was marked ‘Madam Bovari’” (page 73).

Apart from the association here, we cannot avoid the similarity that the three of them read and are influenced by love novels, show identical artistic tastes and requirements.

Let us now see the imperfections that the accusers burden on Katharina’s back:

“I am convinced that she is capable of doing anything. Her father was a disguised communist, and her mother whom I, out of lament, hired for some time as a cleaner, used to steal from me mass wine, and used to do orgies in sacraments...Katharina Bloom regularly accepted visits from men since she was two years old.” (p. 37).

“Now everything is clear to me. Our modest happiness was not enough for her, she wanted to reach high! (Ex-husband, my note, V.D.). Perhaps you could send the NEWSPAPER readers my advice: Erroneous perceptions on socialism must suffer this end by all means!” (p. 42).

“...a true perversion the other fact that Katharina Blum did not shed a single tear for her dead mother!” (p. 123).

“Apparently, Katharina Blum was instructed from a leftist group to ruin Sch’s carrier.” (p. 124).

"...in 1949, in one of the village's seven bars, Katharina's father had uttered in the presence of the farmer Scheumel thus: "socialism, my brother, must not be as bad as they say!" (p. 131).

"Sins" more or less the same are attached to Mariana's biography:

"Philip himself (Mariana's lover, my note – V. D.) had admitted that Mariana had left him, causing him a real shock." (p. 20).

"Mariana had wanted to ruin her friend's happiness". (p. 34).

"Happiness-destroyer Mariana, a symbol of perversion, that achieved to be called "the lure", 'donna fatal', and even 'murderous beauty'." (p. 48).

"...as he was walking beside her, he slapped her thighs, whispering: 'look at what you have here!'" (p. 59).

"It could be said that from now on Mariana had really become flawed. She was taking the shadow of an immoral woman, one who causes disputes among men." (p. 65).

"Where are we, cried one of them, are we in Italy or Switzerland, for such things to be allowed?". (p. 80).

When one reads, sees and finds such parallels, in two different works, where the protagonists are hit in the same dives: in morality – their immorality, their honour – their dishonesty, it is impossible not to compare the arsenal of means and methods that take part in such a mask ball. The attack against them has now taken a campaign character. Spite, slander, intrigues and fabrications; threats and blackmail are of the most ordinary. Scenes and behind the scenes interact as in a drama or theatre show, where, on middle scenes, also tools which are allowed and prohibited, legal and illegal as well as provocative and accusing letters are introduced.

IV. Symbolic Representation

Both Katharina and Mariana serve as symbols of resistance against societal prejudice and stereotypes, albeit in different cultural contexts. Katharina's character represents a direct challenge to a society that vilifies female autonomy, while Mariana becomes a tragic emblem of the risks women face when they do not conform to social expectations. Katharina's story, framed by her assertiveness and moral conviction, underscores the societal paranoia surrounding female independence. Mariana's experiences, marked by subtle acts of defiance and personal pride, portray a quieter but equally powerful resistance. These characters encapsulate the psychological burden and societal costs of nonconformity, revealing the impact of stereotypes and societal judgment on women who strive to assert their identity outside the prescribed roles.

V. Conclusion

The journeys of Katharina Blum and Mariana, as crafted by Heinrich Böll and Ismail Kadare, illustrate more than individual stories of women caught in the crosshairs of societal judgment. They embody a universal struggle faced by women in various cultures and time periods: the challenge of resisting imposed roles and prejudices while asserting one's identity. By placing these female characters at the center of their narratives, both authors confront deeply ingrained stereotypes that cast women either as morally compromised or as passive figures molded by societal expectations. The portrayal of Katharina and Mariana reveals the limitations placed on women who dare to step outside their prescribed roles, showing how society's expectations continue to be a formidable force in shaping individual lives (Böll, 2007; Kadare, 2004).

Katharina's and Mariana's experiences serve as reflections of broader social anxieties about female independence, autonomy, and agency. Society's collective gaze scrutinizes, judges, and ultimately condemns these women not necessarily for their actions but for what they represent – an unsettling defiance of gender norms. Böll's Katharina Blum is a woman whose independence becomes a threat to the social fabric, her reputation tarnished by rumors and her character dismantled by those around her (Böll, 2007, p. 120). Kadare's Mariana faces a similar fate, as the mere suggestion of her independence and beauty invites scorn and moral policing, ultimately casting her as a destabilizing force within a society resistant to change (Kadare, 2004, p. 66). In both narratives, the protagonists symbolize society's inclination to ostracize women who embody traits associated with autonomy and assertiveness, qualities that challenge traditional gender roles (Moi, 1985).

In a broader literary context, Katharina and Mariana represent a shift from passive female archetypes to characters actively engaged in confronting societal constraints. They are not merely objects of narrative; they drive the narrative's critique of societal norms, with their experiences acting as catalysts for readers to question their own cultural assumptions about women's roles (Cixous, 1985). Their stories underscore how literature serves as a powerful tool to expose and question societal injustices, using fictional characters to highlight real-world struggles. Through these protagonists, Böll and Kadare demonstrate the destructive consequences of unchecked prejudice, challenging readers to reconsider how society's expectations of women can harm not only individuals but the societal fabric as a whole.

Furthermore, Katharina and Mariana's stories underline the resilience required to withstand societal pressure and the emotional toll that comes with defying oppressive norms. Böll and Kadare, through their nuanced portrayals, reveal that resistance often comes at a high price – social isolation, character assassination, and psychological trauma (Alimani, 2005, p. 263). Yet, despite these consequences, both protagonists maintain their integrity, symbolizing the strength and agency that lie within the act of defiance itself. This enduring resilience, even in the face of overwhelming societal condemnation, makes Katharina and Mariana powerful literary symbols of courage and autonomy (Böll, 2007, p. 95; Kadare, 2004, p. 101).

In conclusion, *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum* and *A Moonlit Night* serve as literary testaments to the enduring struggle of women to assert their identity within patriarchal societies. Katharina and Mariana challenge the reader to confront the stereotypes and societal expectations that continue to marginalize women. Their stories remind us of the importance of empathy, understanding, and the need to dismantle prejudice and stereotypes in the pursuit of a more equitable society. Through these narratives, Böll and Kadare not only critique societal norms but also call for a reevaluation of the roles women are expected to play – roles that, when resisted, reveal the depth of prejudice that still exists beneath the surface of society. As symbols of prejudice and resilience, Katharina and Mariana inspire a reflection on the power of literature to illuminate social truths and to champion the voices of those who resist marginalization (Moi, 1985; Cixous, 1986).

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Author Rights on Architectural Works in the Context of Cultural Processes. Concept on the Balance of Interests

Abstract: *The paper aims to explore the interception between authors rights (copyrights) and cultural processes, focused in Architecture and especially in Modern Architecture. It is presented in the prism of the concept on the balance of interests in relation to Architecture/ Architectural Works: authors (individual) interests – owners (individual) interests – public interests. The collision between the interests of the author's and owner's interests over a certain Architectural Works is often related to its cultural (heritage) representation and the public interests embodied in the Architecture and Architectural Works. The paper presents further research the hypothesis that the individual moral rights of the authors are usually overlap with the public interests related to the cultural values and cultural heritage. Thus, the author's rights (and especially their moral rights on reputation) may represent an important instrument regarding the protection and regulation of Architectural Cultural Heritage (and in particular of Modern Architecture).*

Keywords: *Author Rights; (Modern) Architecture; Moral Rights; Balance of interests; Cultural Heritage; Public Interests.*

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Авторски права върху Архитектурни произведения в контекста на културните процеси. Концепция за баланс на интересите

Авторскоправни аспекти

Авторскоправната закрила на архитектурното творчество представлява един от аспектите на многостранна правна закрила. Цялостното осмисляне на авторскоправните институти е невъзможно без анализ на правните им цели и действие в общия контекст на нормите, закриващи културните и социални аспекти на

архитектурата. Cornish отбелязва, че ако интелектуалната собственост се схваща като „обща закрила на иноваторите срещу свободните ползватели, то кумулацията на права е просто допълнителен полезен инструмент за носителя на правата” (Cornish, 2004, 84). Кумулацията на интелектуални и други права върху обекти на архитектурното изкуство е правно явление, поставящо проблеми при прилагането на обективното авторско право и упорядочаването на субективни авторски права. Неговото изследване предполага изложение на отделните фактори, които оформят правния статут на архитектурно произведение, предмет на множество субективни права. **Авторскоправната защита на архитектурата не е изолирано явление, а част от комплексна система за закрила на архитектурното изкуство и архитектурното културно наследство.**

Архитектурното изкуство е иманентна част от културата на обществата, като културните (публични) интереси се разглеждат като съществен фактор в оформянето на авторскоправната закрила на архитектурните обекти. В съвременната правна теория се посочват няколко аргумента, които оправдават предоставянето на права на авторите, пряко свързани с културата и културните ценности:

- **Поощряване на знанието** – Счита се, че авторското право поощрява творческата дейност на авторите и така допринася за обогатяване на културата на обществата.
- **Развитие на културата** – Отчита се безспорният факт, че без индивидуалното творчество, без участието на автора-творец, е невъзможно цялостното културно развитие. Правната закрила на индивидуалните икономически и морални интереси на твореца се приема като фактор в развитието на културните процеси.

Проф. Каменова обобщава посочените съображения като свързани с интересите на обществото като цяло или с публичния интерес. **Архитектурата съсредоточава в себе си индивидуалните права на авторите, индивидуалните права на собствениците и публичните интереси на обществото** (Каменова, 2006, 21–28). Публичният интерес в архитектурата от авторскоправна гледна точка може да се разглежда в две направления:

- ✓ Интересите на обществото, обусловени от ежедневния досег с архитектурната среда.

- ✓ **Публичният интерес**, повлиян от иманентното присъствие на архитектурното изкуство и архитектурното наследство като елемент от културните процеси и културното развитие на обществата.

Теоретичното възприемане на аргументите, произтичащи от публичните интереси в областта на културата налагат осмислянето на правната закрила на архитектурните произведения от гледна точка на културните процеси в обществата. **Защитата на публичния интерес влиза в очевиден досег с авторскоправната закрила при уреждането на възможности за свободно използване на авторски произведения със или без заплащане на авторско възнаграждение.** Законодателствата предвиждат ограничения в упражняването на авторски права, обусловени от обществените потребности за културно развитие и досег с изкуствата, науката и литературата. Индивидуалните материални и неимуществени интереси на авторите се ограничават с оглед общия публичен интерес, а съвременните авторски законодателства без изключение предвиждат подобни ограничения. **Концепцията за баланс на интересите** (Dietz, 1994) на този етап прилагана спрямо индивидуалните интереси на авторите и ползвателите, допуска разширителен опит за прилагане на основния принцип и по отношение на публичния интерес, който неизменно е свързан с авторските произведения, и конкретно с архитектурните произведения.

Концепция за баланс на интересите

Архитектурното изкуство контрастира с другите сфери на творчество, като литература, музика и наука и поражда включително юридически трудности при дефинирането на моралните (неимуществените) права за архитектите. Основното затруднение произтича от факта, че в архитектурно произведение се съсредоточават две абсолютни права – *авторското право и правото на собственост*. Обикновено ползвателят на архитектурното произведение притежава правното качество на собственик на материалният обект, в който е въплътена творбата.¹ Колизията на неимуществе-

¹ Както показват съдебната практика и различните нормативни подходи, е невъзможно да се формулира генерално правило, което да е общоприето. От гледна точка на концепцията за *баланс на интересите*, интересът на собственика на физическия обект обикновено надделява. В някои случаи се налага ограничение на моралните права на авторите на архитектурни произведения по нормативен път /България, САЩ, Испания и др/. В други

ните интереси на авторите и имуществените интереси на собствениците на архитектурно произведение разкрива отчетливо и съотношението между класическата собственост и интелектуалната собственост в съвременния правен свят.

Архитектурното произведение съсредоточава интересите на автора, собственика и публичния интерес. Без да се отрича правото на собственика да се ползва от материалния обект, който притежава, може да се постигне разумно нормативно решение, отчитащо неимуществените интереси на автора, както и публичните интереси, съсредоточени включително в културните наследства.

В този смисъл защитата на публичния интерес е обвързана и с адекватната закрила на индивидуалните права на творците на архитектура, разбираана като първоначален етап в съществуването на архитектурата като част от културата на обществото. Културните процеси в обществата са в пряка зависимост от стимулирането на индивидуалната творческа дейност. Тази позиция се приема за безспорна както в правната теория, така и в становищата на международни организации – ЮНЕСКО, Световната организация за интелектуална собственост.² Двете насоки в защитата на обществените интереси са пряко обвързани с културните процеси и авторскоправната закрила в сферата на архитектурата. Предмет на настоящето изложение е втората насока от посочената зависимост.

Архитектурата като културен капитал и отношение към авторското право

Концепцията за културен капитал навлиза в сферата на изкуствата и културата като опит да се определят основните характеристики на произведенията на изкуството, културните блага

случаи съдебната практика предпочита опазването на имуществените интереси на собственика /Германия, Израел/. Наличието на утилитарни функции в архитектурните произведения като правило е едно от съществените основания за особения авторски режим, който се прилага спрямо тях. Функционалността е водещото основание в повечето от цитираните съдебни решения, за стеснен обхват на признати морални права на архитектите и отсъждането в полза на собственика. Римското право налага принципа, че собственикът е свободен да използва собствеността си както желае. Концепцията за моралните права на авторите възниква в по-близък исторически период и не може да се сравнява с правните традиции, закриващи класическата собственост.

² UNESCO, *Intellectual Property and Authorship Recognition*, Web. 19.11.2024. http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.phpURL_ID=12313&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

(включително културното наследство) като икономически, материални активи. По този начин се оформя икономическата концепция за културния капитал (Thorsby, 2003a, 166). Съществуват различни предложения за дефиниране на архитектурните творби като елемент на културния капитал/културното наследство. Според подхода за дефиниране на културния капитал следва да се отчита съответно алтернативното повишение, което културните качества и предимства добавят към икономическата стойност на конкретният обект. Подходящ пример в това отношение е историческа църковна сграда. Потенциалната продажна цена като недвижимо имущество на съответната сграда е едно от измеренията на материалната ценност на сградата. Съвършено различен показател е непазарната стойност, която конкретни заинтересовани лица са готови да заплатят за реставрацията и консервацията на сградата. Тези мерки за отчитане на реалната икономическа стойност на сградата могат да се допълнят с редица други културни показатели, които допълват културната ценност на съответната сграда – възможно е сградата да изразява религиозна или социална значимост, която не може да се оцени чрез монетарни средства; възможно е сградата като архитектурно произведение да се е отразило върху развитието на архитектурните стилове; сградата или конкретното място, на което е построена, може да представлява важен символ на идентичност и т.н. Всички тези фактори участват във формирането на културната ценност или стойност на архитектурното произведение и формират многоаспектното представяне на културната значимост на архитектурната творба. Възможно е авторството върху конкретно архитектурно произведение да формира неговата значителна културна ценност. Уникалността, духовният смисъл, социалната функция, символните измерения, естетическите качества, историческата значимост са характеристики на сградата, които се отразяват върху нейната икономическа стойност, но точното дефиниране на съотношението на количествените и качествени икономически показатели и културните елементи е трудно достижимо. Ето защо, културният капитал се дефинира като актив, който възплащава и повишава културната стойност на архитектурното произведение (Thorsby, 2003b, 175). Културният капитал е и основната характеристика на архитектурното културно наследство.

Комплекс България

Интересен пример в областта на архитектурните произведения като част от културния капитал и наследство на обществото представлява случаят с комплекс *България*. Комплексът представлява многофункционална сграда, включваща хотел, ресторант, концертна зала и сладкарница. Построен е през 1934–1937 г. след проведен през 1932 г. конкурс за изграждането на Доходна сграда на Чиновническото застрахователно дружество. Автори на архитектурните проекти и на завършеното архитектурно произведение са архитектите Станчо Белковски и Иван Данчов. Според експертното мнение и оценки на специалисти в областта на архитектурата, комплексът е едно от най-високите постижения на *архитектурния модернизъм* от периода между двете световни войни в България. Подчертава се умението на авторите да впишат няколко функции в общо застрояване на парцел в историческия център на София с висока концентрация на обекти на културното наследство. Високо се оценяват пластичният образ на сградата, модерното асиметрично съчетание на разнообразни елементи в главната фасада, както и техническите нововъведения (Стоилова, 2007).

Преди няколко години се проведе сериозна обществена дискусия по повод изразени намерения за реконструкция и ново строителство в рамките на комплекса. През 1978 г. комплексът от хотел, ресторант, сладкарница и концертна зала “България” е обявен за архитектурен паметник на културата от “национално значение”.³ Тази категория налага строг режим на неговото опазване, който се контролира както от Министерство на културата чрез неговите подразделения, така и от специализираните структури на Столична община и кмета на София. Към момента (на обществената дискусия) собствеността върху комплекс България е частна, но както се отбелязва в доктрината, специалният режим на проектиране и строителство спрямо обекти – паметници на културата ограничава в известна степен възможностите на собственика за въздействие върху архитектурния обект. Същевременно, според разпоредбите на авторското законодателство, срокът на авторското право върху това архитектурно произведение не е изтекъл. Архитектурната творба е създадена в съавторство, като наследниците на арх. С. Белковски, починал през 1962 г., имат правната възмож-

³ Държавен вестник, бр. 40, 1978.

ност да упражняват авторското право в законоустановените граници. Другият автор, арх. И. Данчов, починал през 1972 г., няма наследници и според разпоредбите на действащото законодателство неговото авторско право следва да се упражнява от Съюза на архитектите в България.⁴ Действащите разпоредби на авторското право не позволяват както на авторите, така и на наследниците (съответно организациите за колективно управление) да участват в процеса по реконструкция и преустройство на реализирано произведение на архитектурата. Въпреки това, Съюзът на архитектите заема категорична публична позиция в обществената дискусия като представя няколко публични становища.⁵ Следователно закрилата на сградите и архитектурните произведения в България, които формират културната идентичност на обществото, се осъществява предимно посредством нормите за закрила на културното наследство. Архитектурната и юридическата практика показват, че по-широк обем от правни възможности за контрол върху реконструктивните и други строителни дейности, прилагани спрямо архитектурни произведения, имат положителен ефект спрямо закрилата на културното наследство.

Аналогичен в същността си е и случаят с *Къщата на Мушинов*, построена в началото на XX в., като автор на архитектурния проект и на архитектурното произведение, възплетено в сградата, е арх. С. Белковски. Правното положение на къщата е близко със статута на комплекс *България – архитектурното произведение е обявено за паметник на културата, като паралелно с това се прилага и режимът на авторското право, срокът на което не е изтекъл*. Въпреки кумулацията на два типа правна защита по отношение на архитектурния обект, през 2005 г. къщата е разрушена.⁶

Горните примери илюстрират цялостната невъзможност за опазване на сгради с културна и художествена стойност, поради липсата или поради неприлагане на съществуващата нормативна уредба. В случаите, когато съответната архитектурна творба притежава художествена и естетическа стойност, законовите ограни-

⁴ Съгласно действащата към момента на дискусията (2007 г.) авторскоправна уредба и по-специално според Закона за авторското право и сродните права.

⁵ Web. 19.11.2024. https://newspaper.kultura.bg/media/my_html/2373/c-priziv.htm.

⁶ НИПК съгласува проекта за ново строителство с мотива, че новата сграда цитира разрушеното архитектурното произведение във фасадната част.

чения накърняват в значителна степен както индивидуалните неимушществени права на автора (чрез липсващи или ограничени възможности за участие на автора при реконструкция/промяна на сградата), така и публичните интереси в културата.

Дискусията за архитектурното развитие на комплекс *България* демонстрира една от типичните хипотези в еволюцията на авторските архитектурни произведения. **В голяма част от случаите авторските архитектурни творби се преобразуват в паметници на културата, като техният правен статут кумулира два основни типа права – свързани с културното им значение и статута им като паметници на културата – и с авторското право, което действа да изтичане на седемдесет години от смъртта на автора или авторите им.** Тази хипотеза няма задължителен характер, но е безспорно твърдението, че авторските архитектурни произведения притежават съществена роля в културните процеси на обществото и когато не са обявени за паметници на културата от национално или местно значение.

Авторското право като фактор за ролята на архитектурата в културните процеси

Архитектурното изкуство представлява една от основните културни ценности, които формират културния капитал на обществата и се закрилят от обективното авторско право.⁷

Целите на обективното авторско право не се ограничават до закрилата и поощряването на икономическите предимства за авторите/носителите на авторски права върху архитектурни произведения. Културните измерения на авторското право се изразяват в природата на защитимия обект – архитектурното изкуство, което е иманентна част от *културната идентичност* и от *културното наследство*. **Ролята на обективните авторски норми в сферата на културата се изразяват чрез закрилата на неимушествените, морални права на авторите архитекти.** От тази гледна точка индивидуалните неимушествени интереси на авторите на архитектурни произведения са идентични с опазването на пуб-

⁷ Понятието културна индустрия е използвано за първи път от Adorno and Horkheimer (2002–4172) в дискусия по повод *комерсиализацията на културата* и като начин да се отличи *масовата* култура от *високата* култура, която се формира от *творци*, неповтарящи своите произведения и създаващи единствено оригинално изкуство.

личните интереси в културата и в архитектурата. Нормативното установяване на адекватна закрила на моралните (неимуществени) права на авторите архитекти и тяхното прилагане е фактор за насърчаване на творчеството в архитектурата. Този подход е въведен успешно в Австралия, която представя впечатляващи примери в авторската закрила на архитектура, както и в редица европейски държави. Италианското авторско законодателство също съобразява неимуществените права на автора с културната значимост на неговото произведение.⁸ Подобен законодателен подход отразява **неоспоримата позиция за обвързаност между индивидуалните творчески усилия и принос на автора архитект и публичните интереси в сферата на културата.**

Пряката зависимост между индивидуалното творчество и авторска защита, както и обществените културни интереси не се отричат също и в рамките на американската правна теория.⁹ Според американската Конституция, целите на обективното авторско право е да се осигури икономическа възвръщаемост на творческата дейност. Основният принцип, залегнал в американската правна теория и практика, е, че авторските права следва да принадлежат на страната, която поема икономическия риск, а не на твореца, който изразява личността си в произведението. В тази връзка Hilty посочва: *„Американските законотворци никога не изразяват сериозна загриженост за творците на произведения“* (2003, 52). Фокусът в европейската правна традиция се поставя върху **връзката между личността на автора и неговата творба, която се изразява предимно от авторската закрила на неимуществените интереси на автора.**¹⁰ Същественото в проблема за обхвата на

⁸ Въведен е специален нормативен текст, който задължава собствениците на архитектурно произведение с призната художествена стойност да привлекат първоначалния автор за участие в процеса по преустройство и обновяване на сградата. В случай на архитектурни произведения авторът не може да се противопостави на изменения, сметени за необходими в процеса на строителство. Той, още повече, не може да се противопостави на изменения, които могат да се сметат за необходими във всяко такова завършено произведение. Ако произведението е признато от компетентен държавен орган като такова с важна художествена стойност, авторът ще бъде овластен да извърши проучванията и изпълнението на измененията.

⁹ Winnick (1992) не отрича ролята на индивидуалното творчество в културното архитектурно развитие, но счита че широкият обем авторски права не подпомага, а възпрепятства свободното творческо изразяване в архитектурата.

¹⁰ Именно поради различните парадигми на двете правни системи моралните права на архитектите не придобиват необходимата правна защита в САЩ.

моралните (неимуществени) права на авторите архитекти се открива в плоскостта на индивидуалните неимуществени интереси на автора, а не в материалното възнаграждение. **Репутацията на автора, възможността да упражни известен контрол върху реализираното архитектурно произведение е израз на корелацията личност – автор. Ето защо, адекватната правна регламентация на неимуществениите авторови интереси е начин да се въздейства в полза не само на индивидуалните интереси на авторите, но и на обществените интереси за културно развитие и културното наследство.** Действително, обективното авторско право не може да измести мерките на публичното право за опазване и закрила на културното наследство. От друга страна обаче, субективните авторски права са средство за закрила и стимулиране на индивидуалната творческа дейност и креативност, които са от съществено значение за културното развитие и закрилата на публичния интерес, особено във връзка с архитектурното културно наследство.

Архитектурното културно наследство. Модерната архитектура

С навлизането в епохата на информационното общество се изявиха нови тенденции в културните политики, включително в архитектурата, обусловени от новата визия за културното наследство и за неговата нарастваща роля. Променят се представите за самото наследство, разглеждано вече като цялостна *"културна среда"*, включваща материални и нематериални ценности; за дейността по опазване, схващана все повече като колективен обществен процес; за използването на наследството като ресурс за развитие. Тенденциите в областта на опазване на архитектурното наследство са свързани с усъвършенстване на мерките, гарантиращи прилагането на нормативните правила.

Публичният интерес продължава да е сравнително незащитен в сферата на архитектурното културно наследство. Адекватната авторска закрила е елемент от адекватната културна политика, съобразена както с индивидуалните интереси на авторите и собствениците, така и с публичния интерес от опазване и защита

Основният аргумент против предоставянето на разширени правни възможности на авторите архитекти в САЩ се заключава в успешните икономически начини за възнаграждение на интелектуалния труд на архитектите.

на културата. Съвременната архитектурна среда се формира от архитектурните паметници и съвременните архитектурни решения, част от които са обект на авторското права и представляват потенциални културни ценности, а като минимум участват в културните процеси.

В съвременните културни политики все повече се налага необходимостта от опазване и защита на цялостното архитектурно пространство, което формира жизнената среда. Следователно архитектурното творчество като съществен компонент на оформянето на съвременното пространство представлява важен фактор за формиране на местните културни традиции, както и за утвърждаването на европейската идентичност. Съвременната културна политика изисква цялостен и единен подход за закрила на архитектурното творчество. Етап от този процес е адекватната нормативна закрила на неимущественото право на автора в степен, съобразена с неговите и на собственика индивидуални интереси. Адекватната авторска защита на архитектурните произведения в широк смисъл, представлява една от формите за насърчаване на културното развитие и е тясно свързана с действието на нормативните актове, свързани с опазването на културното наследство и държавните политики в тази област.

Модерната архитектура и възможностите на авторското право

Модерната архитектура съсредоточава съществени противоречия в прилагането на принципите и нормите за защита на авторските права и тези за закрила на архитектурното наследство.

Принципите на модерната архитектура се оформят през 1920-те години и залагат нови процеси в организирането на архитектурната и жизнената среда. Съществено място в модернистичните движения в архитектурата изиграва Атинската харта, приета в рамките на Международния конгрес за модерна архитектура, проведен през 1933 г.¹¹ В този акт се формулират някои от съществените проблеми, които са свързани с творческия процес и творческото начало в архитектурата. Акцентираща се върху необходимостта от *баланс на интересите между основните участници в сътворяването на архитектурно произведение*. Льо Корбюзие определя *интензивното нарастване на частния интерес от*

¹¹ За отношението между ценностите, прогласени в Атинската харта и съвременния български архитектурен процес вж. Димитров (2003, 47 и сл.

началото на индустриалната епоха като основната причина за намаленото отчитане на публичния интерес. **В Атинската харта се декларира, че частните интереси ще бъдат подчинени на обществените, без да се има предвид пълна зависимост и подчиненост на обществените потребности. Постулатът на хартата кореспондира със съвременните принципи за устойчива архитектура – зачитане интересите на съвременното общество и отговорност пред интересите на бъдещите поколения.**

Необходимостта от справедлив баланс между индивидуалните интереси на собственика/инвеститора, от една страна, автора на архитектурното произведение, от друга, както и интересите на обществото (публичния интерес) могат да се разгледат и в призмата на нормативната регламентация на неимуществените права на архитектите. Моралните (неимуществени) права на авторите на архитектурни произведения защитават в тесен смисъл интересите на твореца, свързани с неговите професионални умения, репутация в съсловието и обществото. **В широк смисъл неимуществените права на авторите на архитектурни произведения представляват своеобразна гаранция за творческата свобода, културното развитие, устойчивата архитектура и културното наследство.** Правото на авторство и на авторско име, на неизменяемост на произведението представляват гаранция за опазване на съвременните архитектурни форми, които образуват, наред с архитектурното наследство, архитектурното изкуство. В този смисъл прецизирането на разпоредбите на *Закона за авторското право и сродните права* в посока на засилено авторско участие в дейностите по преустройство, надстрояване, пристрояване или разрушаване на архитектурни произведения представлява опит да се отговори на тенденциите, прокламирани от Атинската харта, а и от съвременните актове в архитектурната сфера. Постулатите на Атинската харта са свидетелство за опитите за опазване на обектите на модерната архитектура, които започват едновременно с оформянето ѝ като дял на архитектурното изкуство и архитектурното наследство.

В последните десетилетия на световно равнище се утвърждава виждането, че образците на модерната архитектура, създадена след Втората световна война, се намират в рисково положение в по-голяма степен в сравнение с всеки друг исторически период. В становище на международната неправителствена организация *ДОКОМОМО*, специализирана в тази сфера, се посочва, че в

края на 1980-те години голяма част от образците на модерната архитектура са вече изцяло разрушени или променени до неузнаваемост.¹² Същевременно, като един от основните фактори за това обективно състояние на съвременната архитектура се посочва **фактът, че много от тези архитектурни обекти не се възприемат като паметници на културата и културни ценности.** В този смисъл съвременната българска културна политика отговаря на общоприетите подходи и разбирания, разпространени в Европа през 1980-те години. **Именно по отношение на модерната архитектура авторското право предлага една от правните възможности за адекватна закрила.** Голяма част от произведенията на съвременната архитектура могат да се разглеждат като **обекти на авторски права.** Разширяването на обема на неимушествените права на автора на неизменяемост на произведението и запазване на репутацията, не засяга интересите на собствениците в значителна степен, съобразено е със съвременните правни тенденции на модерните държави в Европа, както и Австралия. Този подход отчита **концепцията за баланс на интересите** между творците, собствениците/ползвателите и обществото, съсредоточени в архитектурата. Тя формира значителен културен капитал и културно наследство. Моралните (неимушествени) права на авторите, същевременно представляват **едно от правните средства за устойчивото културно развитие и устойчивата архитектура,** доколкото са необходими комплексни мерки в различни правни сфери. Разширяването на обема на моралните права на авторите на архитектурни произведения може да се разглежда като етап в хармонизирането на нормативните правила в областта на културата. Архитектурната среда и архитектурното пространство, като елемент от културата, следва да бъдат защитени и правата на техните автори – закриляни. Закрилата на имушествените и особено на моралните (неимушествени) права на автори на архитектурни произведения представлява съществен елемент в общата стратегия за културно развитие на обществото и еволюцията на културните процеси и ценности, наред със законовата закрила върху културното наследство.

¹² International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement /DOCOMOMO International/. Web. 19.11.2024. <https://docomomo.com/sort-publications/>.

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The Three Seas Initiative in Bulgaria's Public Discourse¹

Abstract: *The "Three Seas" initiative is a relatively new attempt for closer integration and cooperation in the energy, transport and economic sectors of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe within the European Union. This type of cooperation aims to increase the competitiveness and connectivity of the involved countries, which in turn will strengthen the EU's resilience. Whereas, Bulgaria is a part of this initiative from its inception, there is little public debate on the initiative in the country. Even when the "Three Seas" initiative is discussed it rarely concentrates on the facts, activities, advantages and disadvantages. Instead, it is often wrongly associated with geopolitics, which consciously or not, shifts the attention away from the initiative's main goals and perspectives. Based on the analysis of the relevant materials in Bulgarian media, we take the opportunity to highlight the essence of the initiative, underline its distinctiveness when compared to other regional political concepts from the past, such as Intermarium, and challenge some of the myths and misinterpretations present in the Bulgarian public discourse.*

Keywords: "Three Seas Initiative"; Bulgaria; public opinion; delusions.

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Инициативата „Три морета“ в българския публичен дискурс

Членството в Европейския съюз и НАТО създава качествено нови условия за развитието на държавите от Централна и Източна

¹ Публикацията е финансирана със средства от държавния бюджет в рамките на програмата на Министъра на образованието и науката „Наука за обществото № NdS/543014/2022/2022 на стойност 1 500 000 зл., обща стойност на проекта 1 547 200 зл. и Център за изследване на инициативата „Три Морета“ към Института по политически науки на Полската академия на науките.

Европа (ЦИЕ). В първите години техен приоритет става подобряването на връзките с т.нар. „стара Европа“. След като до голяма степен тази цел е постигната, все по-наложителна става и по-голямата свързаност между държавите в региона, които вече не се конкурират за членството, а все повече се възприемат като партньори в ЕС. Интегрирането в ЕС, завършването на основните инфраструктурни проекти по оста Изток-Запад и единният пазар се превръщат в основа, върху която е поставена Инициативата „Три Морета“ (ИТМ).

Въпреки че от осем години България е част от тази инициатива, се оказва, обаче, че тя остава сравнително непозната за българската общественост и извън изследователския интерес, с някои малки изключения като Ф. У. Енгдал (Енгдал, 2018), Т. Кънчевски (Кънчевски, 2021), М. Кръстев (Кръстев, 2022), Ал. Тодоров (Тодоров, 2022). В публичното пространство преобладават сухите факти и текстове, които, съзнателно или не, представят една митологизирана и често изкривена представа за инициативата, разглеждана през призмата на глобалната геополитика.

С оглед многопластовото и многоцветно звучене на темата, на нейната актуалност и предвид състоянието на българската информационна среда, изследването на публичния дискурс в България по отношение на ИТМ е необходимост от изследователско и обществено значение. За целта се проведе проучване и критичен анализ на съдържанието на достъпни материали в електронни и класически медии от 2015 г. Очертаха се две основни необходимиости, свързани с концепцията и използваната терминология, а именно: 1. Необходимост от ясна дефиниция на Инициативата „Три Морета“ и 2. Необходимост от разграничаване на ИТМ от геополитическата концепция за Междуморието, която доста често изопачава аргументите, целите и приоритетите на новото начинание.

Структурата на изследователския труд представя разликите между концепцията за Междуморието (Интермариум) и Инициативата „Три Морета“ (понякога тривиализирана като Триморие), както и резултатите от проучване на отразяването на темата в българските медии. В публичното пространство Инициативата „Три Морета“ (или Триморието) доста често се съпоставя или дори се използва като синоним на Междуморието. Обяснението за това се крие във факта, че и двете концепции касаят земите между Бал-

тийско, Адриатическо и Черно Море. Този на пръв поглед безобиден нюанс се използва за акцентиране на т. нар. „геополитически“, а оттам анти-руски и алтернативно, анти-европейски характер на ИТМ. Поради тази причина, изходната точка на изследването е съпоставянето на двата термина Междуморието и Инициативата „Три Морета“. В следващата част са представени резултатите от изследването, след което са оборени част от митовете и са изяснени основните цели на ИТМ.

Междуморието

В полската политическа мисъл идеята за регионално сближаване и неговата консолидация не е нещо ново. Както пише Пиотр Чиеплуха „В основата си тази външнополитическа концепция обхваща разцвета на царуването на Ягелонската династията на тронове в Централна Европа, дипломатическата дейност на княз Адам Йежи Чарториски в изгнание и идеята за обща борба на народите от Първата полска република срещу руснаците по време на Януарското въстание през 1863 г.“ (Cieplucha, 2014, 41).

Може би най-известната от всички полски визии за регионално сближаване е свързваната с полския държавник Юзеф Пилсудски концепция за Междуморието, (Międzymorze). В неговата визия основната цел е създаването на федерация на държавите от Централна Европа за защита на тяхната суверенност от болшевиките и СССР в периода между Първата и Втората световна война. Според дефиницията на Пиотр Чиеплуха (Cieplucha, 2014, 41) „Междуморието“ е полска външнополитическа доктрина, която се характеризира със своята доброволност за сътрудничество на участващите държави, има дефанзивен характер, стреми се към обща защита на суверенността, както и на реализацията на общи интереси с широк характер на сътрудничеството въз основа на солидарността на държавите от Централна и Източна Европа. (Cieplucha, 2014, 39-40).

В своето изследване на федеративните концепции по време на втората Жечпосполита (1918–1939) Ян Писулински стига до извода, че, с малки изключения, тези идеи са доста мъгляви и им липсва конкретика. Липсва ясна организационна формула и дори не е ясно за каква форма на сътрудничество се говори: федерация, конфедерация или съюз на държави. Дори териториалният обхват на тези концепции е променлив. Повечето идеи се концентрират върху Литва и Беларус, и по-рядко Украйна, но се появяват също

така и идеи за „блок на народите“, съседни на Русия от Финландия до Украйна, та дори и към Югоизточна Европа (Pisuliński, 2021, 115). Това, което ги обединява, е нуждата от създаване на силен държавен организъм, който ще бъде в състояние да се противопостави на руския и немския империализъм (Pisuliński, 2021, 115). Целта на тези идеи е също така да се разрешат териториални спорове като тези за Вилнюс и Лвов, както и мнението, че малките държави, които се появяват в периферията на Русия, няма да са в състояние дълго да защитават своята независимост (Pisuliński, 2021, 115). Писулински смята също така, че това е един опит да се прикрие полският империализъм.

Независимо че по същество Междуморието се очертава като една интелектуална алтернатива на доминиращите политически процеси в Европа, Павел Ковал изброява стремежа за подписване на двустранни споразумения с държавите от региона, Аграрния съюз или идеята на Юзеф Бек за Трета Европа като примери за практически стремеж към реализацията на тази концепция в една динамична международна среда в междувоенния период (Kowal & Orzelska-Stączek, 2019, 21–28). Въпреки загубата на суверенитет след 1939 година в окупирана Полша (Kisielewski, 2006), а след това и по време на комунистическия режим, идеята за регионално сближение отново се появява в различни формати и визии, най-често като алтернатива на доминираната от СССР съществуваща политическа реалност. Опитвайки се да систематизира тези възпроизвеждащи се концепции, Павел Ковал дори говори за три Междумория в хронологическия диапазон между Първата световна война и края на Студената война, настоявайки те да бъдат разглеждани цялостно (Kowal & Orzelska-Stączek, 2019, 13–50). Така, освен споменатата идея, свързвана с Пилсудски, Ковал добавя идеята за полско-чехословашки съюз в периода 1941–1943, а през осемдесетте години идеите, които в опозиционните кръгове в Полша лансират издания като „Лагер“ (Obóz), АБЦ (Адриатическо, Балтийско и Черно море (ABC – Adriatyk, Bałtyk, Morze Czarne) и Нова Коалиция (Nowa Koalicja). От изброения от Ковал каталог, обаче, може да се стигне до заключението, че всяка полска инициатива от регионален характер е свързана с концептуалните рамки на Междуморието, както например Вишеградската група. Абстрахирайки се от споровете около опита за систематизация на Павел Ковал, в контекста на анализа на междувоенния период, той

стига до извода, че Междуморието „е низ от полски идеи за организицията на Централна Европа. Става въпрос не само за усиляване на полската позиция, но и за по-ефективно използване на ресурсите на региона, разделени преди това в рамките на няколко империи, но и включени в техните икономически структури, представляващи големи пазари (Kowal & Orzelska-Stączek, 2019, 28).

От тази изходна позиция става ясно, че появата на конкретна и набираща политическа динамика инициатива като Инициативата „Три Морета“ (ИТМ) създава предпоставки за развитието на различни интелектуални концепции, свързани с региона, още повече, че събитията в Украйна и последвалата окупация на Кримския полуостров от Русия през 2014 доведоха до завръщането на геополитиката като интерпретативен наратив на политическите процеси в региона. Както забелязва Анджей Войташак, в научните среди се появяват все повече публикации в търсене на формула за сътрудничество между страните от региона (Wojtaszak, 2022, 140). Тези публикации до голяма степен се концентрират на геополитическата парадигма, произхождаща от моментното състояние на отделните държави, и не толкова на стриктно придържане към основните принципи на хърватско-полската Инициатива „Три Морета“, още повече, че идеята за Междуморието като алтернативна визия за региона, точно поради своята анти-руска ориентация, привлече интелектуалния интерес и на ред украински учени (Kushnir, 2019; Kushnir, 2021; Nagel, 2022; Shevchenko, 2020, Wishart, 2018).

Въпреки че Интермариум е директен превод на Междуморието на латински, сред геополитическите ентусиасти в Полша има и такива, които поставят разделителна линия, свързвайки Интермариум с външни (американски) визии за региона (Bartosiak, 2014). Можем да предполагаме, че поне част от причината за този аргумент е издадената в САЩ през 2013 г. *Интермариум, Земята между Черно и Балтийско Море* на Марек Ян Ходакиевич (Chodakiewicz, 2013), в която той описателно дефинира Интермариум. В географски смисъл, за него територията на Интермариума обхваща земите на полско-литовското кралство (Жечпосполита) и земите, контролирани от него, които се простират на териториите на днешните балтийски републики Беларус, Украйна, части от Словакия и Молдова (Chodakiewicz, 2013, 6).

Ходакиевич вижда региона като специфичен със съжителство, сходство и сблъсък на много култури, и който исторически е бил отявнен защитник на западната цивилизация, независимо от

дългите периоди на чужда доминация (Chodakiewicz, 2013, 5). Интересна е в случая и неговата оценка за пагубните последствия от последните окупации в периода 1939–1990, които почти довеждат до унищожението на плуралистичния характер на Интермариума (Chodakiewicz, 2013, 5). За него Интермариум е еkleктичен и автономен аванпост на Запада, който по същество не е нито Изток, нито Запад, а съдържа елементи и от двете. Това е мястото, където Изтокът и Западът се срещат, влизат в интеракция, допълват се и понякога се сблъскват. Този опит прави Междуморието феномен (Chodakiewicz, 2013, 6). Това, което впечатлява в подхода на Ходакиевич, е, че той negliжира произхода и историческия контекст на концепцията в опит да ѝ придаде еднаква тежест спрямо Изтока и Запада, търсейки обяснение за това в историята на тази територия. Този подход е сходен с възприятието за региона на Тимоти Снайдер в неговата важна книга „Кървави поля“ от 2010 г. (Snyder, 2010).

Дотук можем да забележим поне част от интелектуалното богатство на концепцията за Междуморието, която позволява да се излезе от утвърдените норми на доминиращите наративи в и за Централна и Източна Европа. От друга страна, обаче, по този начин най-добре се вижда огромната разлика с ИТМ, която е ясна, ограничена и конкретна форма на политическо и икономическо сътрудничество между държави членки на ЕС. Дори и в бъдеще тази формула да еволюира и да допусне участието на държави от Западните Балкани или Източното партньорство, това ще бъде резултат от общо и съзнателно решение на страните участнички в ИТМ, и в синхрон с нормите и правилата, които ги обединяват в рамките на ЕС и НАТО.

Инициативата „Три Морета“

Първата среща, свързана с идеята за Инициативата „Три Морета“, се състои през есента на 2014 г. в кулоарите на Общото събрание на ООН в Ню Йорк. ИТМ е проект, инициран през 2015 г. като форум за сътрудничество между 12 държави: Австрия, България, Хърватия, Чехия, Естония, Литва, Латвия, Полша, Румъния, Словакия, Словения и Унгария. Страните членки на Инициативата „Три Морета“ заемат площ от 1 218 869 км² (27,8% от територията на ЕС), населена от 112 милиона жители (21,8% от населението на ЕС). Целите и нуждите, записани в декларацията от първата среща – в Дубровник през 2016 г., подчертават, че инициативата трябва

да е в полза на европейската интеграция, като същевременно „...разпознават нуждата от свързване на икономиките и инфраструктурата в Централна и Източна Европа по оста Север-Юг, с цел да бъде завършен общият европейски пазар, тъй като досега повечето усилия са били концентрирани върху оста Изток-Запад.“² Инициативата се концентрира върху „сътрудничеството в енергийния, транспортния и икономическия сектор, както и в дигиталната комуникация, с цел да повиши сигурността и конкурентността на ЦИЕ, което от своя страна ще усилва устойчивостта на ЕС.“ Декларацията от Дубровник определя „инициативата „Три морета“ като неформална платформа за осигуряване на политическа подкрепа и решителни действия по специфични трансгранични и макрорегионални проекти от стратегическо значение за страните“ в изброените по-горе сфери.³ Важно е да се отбележи, че в декларацията от Дубровник експлицитно се подчертава, че не се създават паралелни структури на съществуващите механизми за сътрудничество.⁴

Неслучайно, един от участниците в организацията на инициативата, Матеуш Гняздowski, в своя коментар относно политическите дискусии около срещата и декларацията от Дубровник пише: „Не се създава никакъв блок“ (Gniazdowski, 2017, 80). В този ред на мисли, целта е икономическата интеграция на държавите членки на ЕС и създаването на допълнителни импулси за модернизация. Това е политически патронат от страна на президентите на държавите участнички и надсекторно сътрудничество, което цели усилване на общия пазар, на връзките между държавите от нашия регион и по-бързото догонване в икономически план на старите държави от ЕС (Gniazdowski, 2017, 80).

В отговор на критиките към инициативата, тогавашният шеф на кабинета на президента на Полша – Кшищоф Шчерски, подчертава, че Инициативата „Три Морета“ е „инициатива за регионално сътрудничество в рамките на Европейския съюз. „[Инициатива] в рамките на държавите членки на ЕС, заедно с ЕС, използвайки ЕС,

² Dubrovnik Summit 2016, The Joint Statement On The Three Seas Initiative (The Dubrovnik Statement), <https://3seas.eu/about/past-summits/dubrovnik-summit-2016> текста на декларацията е достъпен на: https://media.voog.com/0000/0046/4166/files/DUBROVNIK_deklaratsioon_2016.pdf

³ Пак там.

⁴ Пак там.

неговите фондове, проекти за развитие, за да засилим регионалното сътрудничество, да свържем страните от нашия регион една с друга, да свържем нашия регион с всички други европейски държави по едно и също време“.⁵ ИТМ се стреми също така към усиляване на трансатлантическите връзки в тези области и предполага участието на външни инвеститори, които обаче, според декларацията от Талин, трябва да споделят основните политически ценности, които свързват участниците.

Инициативата „Три Морета“ постоянно еволюира. Доколкото основните принципи остават, те се надграждат с действия, които създават по-благоприятен климат за реализацията на нейните цели. През 2018 г., в Букурещ, се организира първият ИТМ бизнес форум. На следващата година, в Любляна, е добавено ефективното управление на водите и водните пътища, а през 2020 г., в Талин, са включени цифровите технологии. В софийската декларация е добавено предложението за въвеждането на формат *Дуо*, който да подпомага приемствеността между председателстващите държави.

Наред със софийската декларация, българската страна представя и своя визия, която *de facto* разширява концептуалната рамка на инициативата. България апелира „за по-гъвкав и прагматичен подход за отваряне на ИТМ на *ad hoc* основа за избрани проекти с добавена стойност, включващи стратегически партньори и страни със сходно мислене извън инициативата.“⁶ От гледна точка на България, инфраструктурният коридор „Север-Юг“ „може да бъде допълнително надграден с такива връзки с добавена стойност. Коридорът би бил непълен, без да се свърже с гръцките пристанища на Егейско море чрез модерна транспортна, енергийна и цифрова инфраструктура. Друга тема за размисъл в тази насока е изграждането на стратегическа връзка между коридора Север-Юг и Коридор VIII, който свързва българските черноморски пристанища с албанското адриатическо крайбрежие.“⁷

⁵ <https://www.prezydent.pl/kancelaria/aktywnosc-ministrow/minister-szczerski-inicjatywa-trojmorza-to-nowy-pomysl-na-zwiekszenie-jednosci-europejskiej-,10276>.

⁶ Three Seas Initiative in 2021: Bulgaria's Vision, <https://3seas.eu/about/bulgaria-s-vision>

⁷ Пак там.

Важен фактор в развитието на проекта е и включването на Гърция, която участва като гост на срещата в София.⁸

Началото на пълномасштабната руска агресия спрямо Украйна променя геополитическия контекст не само за ИТМ, но и за ЕС и НАТО. Спрямо държавите, желаещи да се присъединят, ЕС отстъпи от политиката си на стриктна условност. Украйна получи статут на кандидат за членство в ЕС, а страните участнички в ИТМ я поканиха да участва като гост на срещата в Рига и партньор в инициативата. В декларацията от Рига е изразена готовност, че ИТМ може да бъде платформа в помощ на възстановяването на Украйна. Освен изразената политическа подкрепа за членството на Молдова и Грузия, участниците в инициативата *de facto* приемат българската позиция, като подчертават, че са наясно с „...потенциала на ИТМ да допринесе за политиките на ЕС, насочени към Западните Балкани, като по този начин допълват усилията за доближаване на този регион до ЕС, включително чрез инвестиране в областта на взаимосвързаността, разширяването на енергетиката на ЕС, транспорта, цифровите и телекомуникационните коридори и ускоряване на зеления преход.“⁹ Освен това, в Рига се организира и първият ИТМ Форум на гражданското общество, както и Парламентарен форум.

В контекста на развитието на ИТМ като президентска платформа е важно да се отбележи, че този формат има своите слабости, тъй като изисква близко сътрудничество между президентските институции и правителствата, което не винаги е очевидно. Затова през 2019 г. се организират и срещи на министрите, които спомагат за координацията на инициативата.

Може би най-съществената крачка в реализацията на Инициативата „Три Морета“ е създаването през 2018 г. на Инвестиционния Фонд (ИФИТМ) като механизъм за финансиране на основни инфраструктурни проекти в региона. Сред участниците във фонда са финансови институции на девет от дванадесетте членки на Инициативата, както и външни инвеститори, като досега САЩ е с най-голямо външно участие – от 300 млн. долара. До момента Фондът

⁸ <https://3seas.eu/event/joint-declaration-of-the-sixth-summit-of-the-three-seas-initiative> т. 4

⁹ Joint Declaration Of The Seventh Three Seas Initiative Summit, Three Seas Initiative and Business Forum, Riga, Latvia 2022, p.3
https://media.voog.com/0000/0046/4166/files/declaration_pages.pdf

е направил четири инвестиции в Полша, Естония, Австрия и България.

От гореизложеното се забелязва, че двата термина Междуморие и ИТН далеч не са синоними. Междуморието може да бъде възприемано като геополитическа концепция на полската външна политика, свързана с периода между Първата и Втората световна война. Целта ѝ е защита пред нарастващия руски и след това, германски империализъм със съзнанието, че държавите между Русия и Германия не са в състояние сами да се противопоставят на тези сили. Междуморието не се превръща в ясна и структурирана външнополитическа концепция, а остава една от идеите за организацията на Централна и Източна Европа в периода между двете световни войни. След края на Втората световна война мисленето за регионално сътрудничество извън рамките на съветската доминация остава блян за опозиционните кръгове. След разпада на Съветския съюз нито една от регионалните форми на сътрудничество (Вишеградската група, Централноевропейската инициатива, ЦЕФТА и т.н.) не се свързва по какъвто и да било начин с Междуморието. Всички те са продиктувани от нуждата за организация на региона в средата на политически вакуум и нестабилност и преди всичко от желанието за сближаване със западните политически и икономически структури.

За разлика от Междуморието, Инициативата „Три Морета“ е конкретна и тясна формула на сътрудничество в областта на инфраструктурата, енергетиката, икономиката и дигиталния сектор. Нейната реализация е тясно свързана и възможна благодарение на членството на участниците в ИТМ в ЕС, което създава нужните предпоставки като липса на граници, общи принципи, правила и унификация на правни регулации за задълбочаването на сътрудничеството между тези държави. Крайната цел на ИТМ е да се постигне нивото на инфраструктурна и икономическа интеграция на държавите от т.нар. „стара Европа“, а реализацията на конкретни инфраструктурни и енергийни проекти създава нови възможности за икономическото развитие на региона.

Инициативата „Три морета“ и българското публично пространство

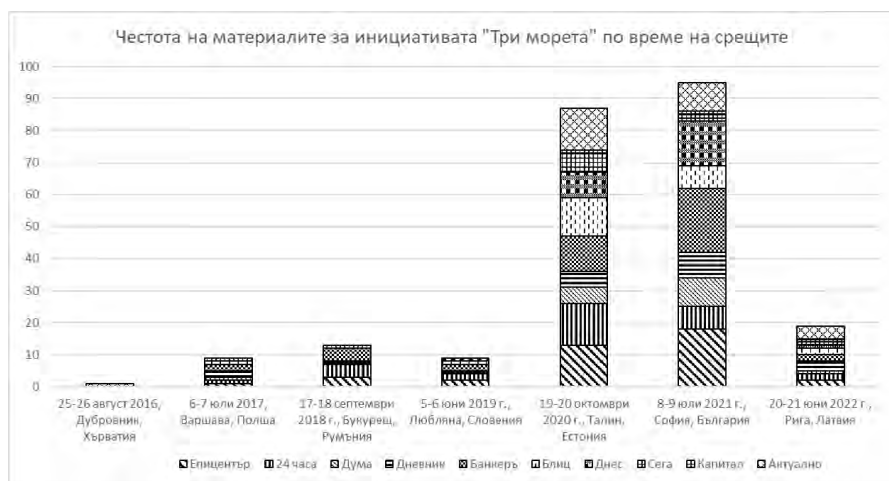
Как възприема и какво знае българската публика за ИТМ? Отговорът на този въпрос дава много теми за размисъл относно

българското общество и неговата (гео)политическа зрялост. Традиционно българската публика реагира свръх емоционално на въпроси от сферата на геополитиката и Инициативата „Три морета“ не прави изключение. Не е изключение и слабият интерес към същността на темата, както и доста елементарният подход при интерпретирането ѝ. Един опит за анализ на реакциите и нагласите на българската аудитория би бил полезен за по-доброто разбиране на подобни „явления“. Прегледът на част от най-четените интернет сайтове и информационни портали дава доста материал за размисъл. Подборът на онлайн достъпните източници, върху които се базира следващият анализ, е направен въз основа на официална информация за посещаемост на сайтовете през 2021 г. (последната известна на авторите подобна класация), като е отчетена и тематичната им насоченост.¹⁰

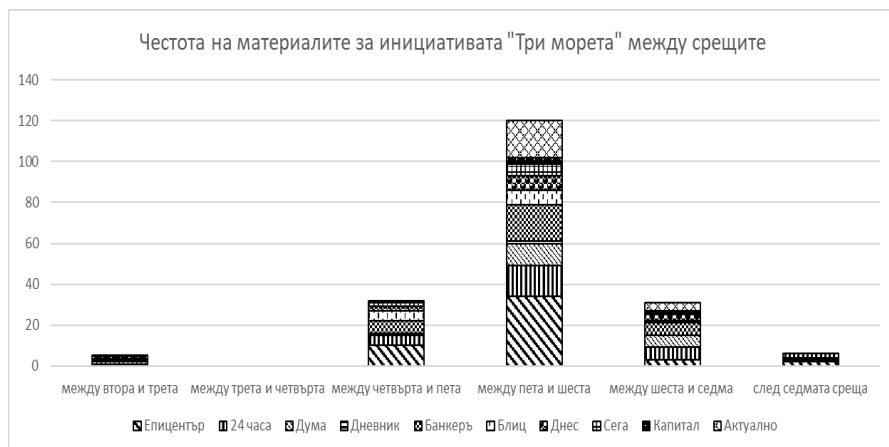
От прегледаните 9 сайта с по-плътно покритие на материали по темата, плюс още няколко със спорадични публикации, се очертава една доста интересна картина. Общият брой анализирани публикации в тези информационни източници за периода от януари 2016 до юни 2023 г. доближава 430 (по-точно 427) и показва няколко важни особености. На първо място материалите могат да бъдат разделени на: 1. посветени на конкретните срещи във връзка с инициативата „Три морета“ на най-високо ниво от 2016 до средата на 2023 г. (графика 1) и 2. такива, появили се във времето между съответните събития (графика 2).

По-големият брой материали са в първата група – 233 срещу 194 във втората група. Интензивността на материалите, както е видно от графиките, варира в зависимост от времето и близостта до определени срещи. Най-голямата концентрация на материали се наблюдава във времето на петата и шестата среща (съответно с домакин Талин, Естония и София, България), както и в месеците между тях – общо 320 публикации. Малко по-подробно за причините за тази концентрация ще стане дума в редовете по-долу. Впечатление прави и неравномерното разпределение между отделните информационни източници, както се вижда от графика 3.

¹⁰ Е-Вестник, *Най-четените медии в българския интернет 2021 г. – класация и справка кой кой е*, 11.02.2021: <https://e-vestnik.bg/33634/nay-chetenite-medii-v-balgarskia-internet-2021-g-klasatsia-i-spravka-koy-koy-e/> (последно посетен на 14.07.2023).



Графика 1



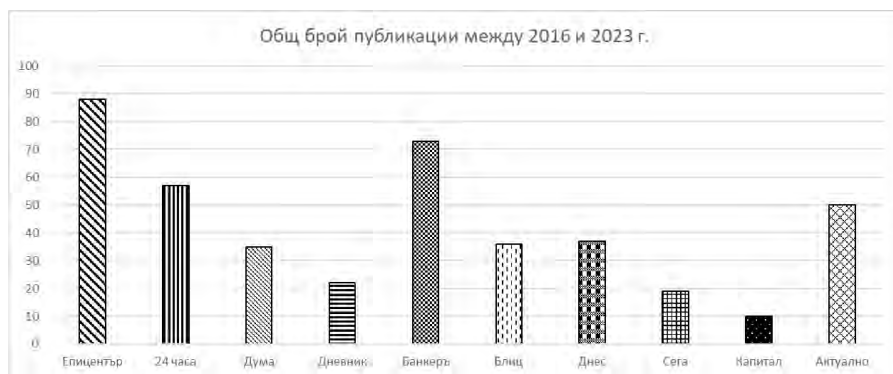
Графика 2

С най-голям брой публикации е информационният сайт „Епицентър“¹¹, с близо 90 публикации за периода, съсредоточени основно във втората половина на 2020 г. и първите шест месеца на 2021 г., т.е. преди и по време на срещата на участниците в инициативата в София. Малко изненадващо, втори по брой на материалите е далеч по-специализираният сайт „БанкерЪ“¹², с малко над 70 публикации отново с концентрация в същия времеви отрязък,

¹¹ <https://epicenter.bg/>, главен редактор: Валерия Велева, собственост на Институт за стратегии и анализи ЕООД, с управител отново Валерия Велева.

¹² <https://banker.bg/>, главен редактор Бистра Георгиева (до август 2022), собственост на BANKER BG EOOD.

както добре се вижда от таблици 1 и 2. Тази концентрация, характерна до голяма степен и за останалите източници, съвсем не означава непременно и високо качество на публикуваната информация и материали. В този случай количественото натрупване не е довело до качествени изменения.



Графика 3

Като цяло, въпреки на пръв поглед големия брой публикации, информираността на публиката е крайно съмнителна. По израз в една от публикациите – „За инициативата "Три морета" у нас се знае малко. Поне за широката общественост този геополитически проект е твърде неясен поради недостатъчното му популяризиране.“¹³ В голяма степен това се дължи на ниската степен на заинтересованост във времето на самата българска държава с изключение на периода 2020–2021 г. Както отбелязва един от добрите международни анализатори „[в] България Инициативата оставаше встрани от политическото внимание за дълъг период от време. На политическо ниво тя имаше подкрепа, но експертните мнения за българското участие в нея са противоречиви и в редица случаи дори скептични.“¹⁴ Най-яркото доказателство за това е липсата на какъвто и да е интерес към учредителната среща в Дубровник през

¹³ *Скандалът "Три морета": Едно е да манипулираш бай Пешо, друго - Питър или Пит*, 22.10.2020: https://www.actualno.com/actualno/skandalyt-tri-moreta-edno-e-da-manipulirash-baj-pesho-drugo-pityr-ili-pit-news_1511877.html (последно посетен 19.07.2023, 17:15).

¹⁴ Кючуков, Л. *Инициативата „Три Морета“: Между геополитическата конфронтация и прагматичния реализъм*: - https://bulgaria.fes.de/fileadmin/user_upload/documents/publications/2021/Iniciativa_Tri_moreta_WEB_BG.pdf (последно посетено, 05.07.2023, 12:39)

август 2016 г. и слабата заинтересованост към отразяването на втората среща от развитието на инициативата във Варшава през юли 2017 г.. От деветте материала, свързани с тази втора среща, в шест централната тема не е самата среща, а фигурата на американския президент Доналд Тръмп.¹⁵ Тази липса на интерес и информационно покритие на първите срещи и особено на учредителната за Инициативата среща влиза в противоречие и с една появила се наскоро теория, развивана от президента на България, между януари 2012 и януари 2017 г. – Росен Плевнелиев, за решаващата роля на българското президентство в оформянето на идеята за Инициативата „Три морета“.¹⁶

¹⁵ Цитирането на всеки един материал от всички 427 ще утежни текста до степен да го направи невъзможен за четене, поради което авторите си запазват правото да посочват материалите с всички необходими атрибути само в краен случай и при цитиране на конкретни части от тях. Пълният списък с анализирани материали е наличен и може да бъде предоставен от авторите при желание от страна на заинтересованите. В случая с конкретните материали, посветени на посещението на президента на САЩ Доналд Тръмп в Европа и участието му на срещата във Варшава на 6 и 7 юли 2017 г. става дума за публикации във в. *Дневник*, *С визитата си Тръмп може да окаже опасна подкрепа на Полша, смятат в Брюксел*, 30.06.2017:

https://www.dnevnik.bg/sviat/2017/06/30/2998144_s_vizitata_si_trump_moje_da_okaže_opasna_podkrepa_na/ (последно посетен на 15.07.2023, 14:35) и *Газ, НАТО и три морета: защо Тръмп отива първо в Полша*, 05.07.2017: https://www.dnevnik.bg/sviat/2017/07/05/3001737_gaz_nato_i_tri_moreta_zashto_t_rump_otiva_purvo_v_polsha/ (последно посетен на 15.07.2023, 14:37); *БанкерЪ, Тръмп започна обиколка в Европа*, 01.07.2017:

<https://banker.bg/2017/06/01/trump-zapochna-obikolka-v-evropa/> (последно посетен на 15.07.2023, 14:41); *Дума, Тръмп нападна Русия от Варшава*, 07.07.2017: <https://duma.bg/trump-napadna-rusiya-ot-varshava-n148824>, (последно посетен на 15.07.2023, 14:44); *24 часа, Тръмп иска Източна Европа да купува US газ вместо руски*, 05.07.2017:

<https://www.24chasa.bg/mezhdunarodni/article/6319845> (последно посетен на 15.07.2023, 14:47) и *Капитал, Тръмп ще предложи внос на втечнен газ за България и още 11 страни*, 04.07.2017:

https://www.capital.bg/politika_i_ikonomika/sviat/2017/07/04/3000787_trump_shte_predloji_vnos_na_vtechnen_gaz_za_bulgaria/ (последно посетен на 15.07.2023, 14:47).

¹⁶ *24 часа, Как се роди инициативата "Три морета"*, 05.09.2022: <https://www.24chasa.bg/mneniya/article/12455730> (последно посетен на 20.07.2023, 12:06). Тезата, изказана в тази публикация за решителната роля на президента Плевнелиев, изглежда доста съмнителна на фона на медийното отразяване по време на самото събитие и в контекста на тогавашните предизборни послания, в които ГЕРБ не биха пропуснали да подчертаят ключовата роля на България в такава важна международна проява през есента

срещи	източници										Общо
	Епицентър	24 часа	Дума	Дневник	Банкеръ	Блиц	Днес	Сега	Капитал	Актуално	
25-26 август 2016, Дубровник, Хърватия										1	1
6-7 юли 2017, Варшава, Полша	1	1	1	2	2	1			1		9
17-18 септември 2018 г., Букурещ, Румъния	3	4		1	4			1			13
5-6 юни 2019 г., Любляна, Словения	2	2		1	2	1	1				9
19-20 октомври 2020 г., Талин, Естония	13	13	5	5	11	12	8	6	1	13	87
8-9 юли 2021 г., София, България	18	7	9	8	20	7	14	2	1	9	95
20-21 юни 2022 г., Рига, Латвия	2	2	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	4	19
Общо	39	29	16	20	41	23	24	10	4	27	233

Таблица 1

Между срещите	източници										Общо
	Епицентър	24 часа	Дума	Дневник	Банкеръ	Блиц	Днес	Сега	Капитал	Актуално	
между втора и трета		1	1				1		2		5
между трета и четвърта											0
между четвърта и пета	10	5		1	6	5	2	2		1	32
между пета и шеста	34	15	11	1	18	7	7	6	3	18	120
между шеста и седма	3	6	6		6	1	3	1	1	4	31
след седмата среща	2	1	1		2						6
Общо	49	28	19	2	32	13	13	9	6	23	194

Таблица 2

Рязкото засилване на интереса към инициативата през 2020 и 2021 г. се дължи повече на вътрешнополитическата конюнктура в страната, отколкото на някакъв внезапен порив на осъзнатост. Информациите за срещите и най-вече за българското участие в тях на ниво президент, зачестяват особено във връзка с опитите (до голяма степен успешни) на президента Румен Радев да извлече дивиденти едновременно в ескалацията на конфликта на президентската институция с правителството от лятото на 2020 г. и в контекста на предстоящите към онзи момент президентски избори през ноември 2021 г. Особено показателен е случаят с участието на българския държавен глава в петата по ред среща в Талин, Естония на 19–20 октомври 2020 г. Срещата е предвидено да се проведе онлайн заради пандемията от COVID–19, обхванала целия свят по това време. Румен Радев пристига в Талин, за да получи лично знамето на инициативата и да поеме символично председателството за следващата година, с което е свързан и ангажимента на България да организира следващата среща на държавните глави на страните участнички в „Три морета“ през 2021 г. Контактът на президента с потенциално болен (началникът на BBC ген. Димитър Пет-

на 2016 г. или през следващите години в светлината на набиращата скорост и популярност инициатива. Подобни „признания“ не се появяват дори в пика на информационния поток по темата и в контекста на нелицеприятните престрелки между правителство и Президентство (вече начело с Румен Радев) в периода 2020–2021 г.

ров) от COVID-19 няколко дни преди визитата в естонската столица, неяснотите около известяването на Румен Радев за положителния тест на въпросния военен, неубедителните обяснения на президентската институция за внезапното прекъсване на официалното посещение, както и още няколко фактора (изявления на естонският президент г-жа Керсти Калюлайд и обявяването няколко дни по-късно на положителен тест за COVID-19 от страна на полския президент Анджей Дуда, също участник на място в срещата в Талин) предизвикват вълна от реакции от страна на правителството и на депутати от управляващата партия, което на практика отклонява вниманието от външнополитическите измерения на инициативата и пренася акцентите на полето на институционалното и личностното противопоставяне. Този сюжет е централна тема в 43 от 87 публикации или половината от медийното отразяване в наблюдаваните информационни източници е посветено на този скандал. От останалите материали 7 са за подготовката на срещата и самото приемане на домакинството на следващата среща от България, а 16 за противопоставянето между президент и правителство и разменените взаимни обвинения. На практика от внушителния на пръв поглед брой материали едва 1/4 засягат по същество идеите зад инициативата, като част от тези материали са преразказ на изявленията на българския президент в първия ден на посещението му в естонската столица. С какво впечатление остава българската публика от това сериозно отразяване на срещата в Талин? Най-добре като че ли това е описано в един от малкото наистина аналитични материали под заглавие *„Егото на Радев и Борисов не може да се побере и на три морета“*. Авторът е повече от категоричен: „В цялата дандания около COVID-19 поводът за визитата на президента в Талин – форумът за Триморието, напълно изчезна от полезрението на публиката. А не трябваше да се пропуска. „Три морета“ е сред най-актуалните международни политически инициативи [...] Нейните поддръжници твърдят, че целта ѝ е да засили интеграцията и икономическото развитие на региона между Балтийско, Адриатическо и Черно море. А противниците ѝ – че се прави пореден опит да се консолидира пространството по западните граници на Русия под егидата на Съединените щати. [...] А какво реално ще извлече България като подкрепа за инфраструктурни проекти, които са важни за страната и биха могли да се финансират от набираните в момента фондове за финансирането

на Триморието. [...] Нашите управници говорят, че правителствените ведомства вече са ангажирани с работа по конкретни проекти. А така ли е наистина? Кой може да каже? Досега не сме чули нищо, освен общи приказки от Борисов за „задълбочаване на интеграцията и по-голяма свързаност“. Е, по какъв точно начин ще стане това? И да стане, каква е конкретната полза за българските граждани и за националния интерес? На тези въпроси отговори няма.¹⁷

В месеците след срещата в Талин и произлезлите от нея скандали и напрежение между институциите, отразяването на инициативата се радва на голяма популярност. Концентрацията на материали отразява опита на българските институции да подготвят „терена“ за провеждането на срещата на лидерите на страните участнички в инициативата в София в началото на юли 2021 г. Точно 120 е броят на „подгръзващите“ публикации. Отново, обаче, темата е заложник на сблъсъка, личностен и институционален, между Президентство и Министерски съвет, който е отражение и на тежката политическа криза, в която затъва българската държава от лятото на 2020 година насетне. Протестите от лятото и есента на 2020 г., редовните парламентарни избори, проведени на 4 април 2021 г. с резултат, който не дава възможност за съставяне на ново правителство¹⁸, последвани от нови извънредни избори на 11 юли 2021 г. и предстоящите президентски избори през ноември 2021 г., са основните събития, които маркират периода и оказват влияние и върху отразяването на инициативата „Три морета“. Осъществяването на срещата в София се превръща в източник за черпене на дивиденди за основните политически играчи на терен, които не се свенят да експлоатират темата, за да демонстрират (псевдо)държавническо мислене и външнополитическа подкрепа. „Надцакването“ върви по всички линии. Ако президентът се среща с американския посланик, за да обсъдят енергийната диверсификация и инициативата „Три морета“¹⁹, веднага след това същото прави и

¹⁷ Сега, *Егото на Радев и Борисов не може да се побере и на три морета*, 28.10.2020: <https://www.segabg.com/category-observer/egoto-na-radev-i-borisov-ne-mozhe-da-se-pobere-i-na-tri-moreta> (последно посетен на 20.07.2023, 17:57)

¹⁸ Сумарните данни и разпределението на мандатите могат да се видят на сайта на Централната избирателна комисия - <https://results.cik.bg/pi2021/rezultati/> (последно посетен на 23.07.2023, 08:12).

¹⁹ Блиц, *Радев и Херо Мустафа обсъдиха енергийната диверсификация и инициативата „Три морета“*, 14.12.2020: https://blitz.bg/ikonomika/radev-i-khero-mustafa-obsdikha-energiynata-diversifikatsiya-i-initsiativata-tri-moreta_news787364.html, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 12:32); Актуално,

министър-председателят²⁰. Или ако президентът обсъжда домакинството с бизнес средите²¹, то премиерът реагира с „другите говорят, ние работим“²².

Тази размяна на „любезности“ значително намалява след изборите през април и последвалата невъзможност на Бойко Борисов да продължи да изпълнява функциите на министър-председател. На „терена“ остава единствено президентската институция, която дирижира не само организацията на срещата, но и цялостното медийно покритие по темата „Три морета“. Още три факта правят впечатление при по-внимателно вглеждане. Едното е рязкото увеличаване на броя на публикациите в сайтовете „Епицентър“, „Актуално“, „24 часа“ и „Банкеръ“. Често пъти съдържанието на текстовете е твърде сходно, което е сигнал за координирана информационна кампания, най-вероятно с център президентската институция. Вторият факт е очевидното натоварване от страна на САЩ на бившия „втори човек“ в партия ГЕРБ, Цветан Цветанов, с ролята на лобист на инициативата „Три морета“ пред българската публика²³. Третият факт, който се набива на очи, е твърде активната

Румен Радев се среща с Херо Мустафа за "Три морета", 14.12.2023: https://www.actualno.com/politics/rumen-radev-se-sreshna-s-hero-mustafa-za-tri-moreta-news_1531475.html (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 12:33); Днес, *Радев разговаря с Херо Мустафа за "Три морета"*, 14.12.2020 – <https://www.dnes.bg/obshtestvo/2020/12/14/radev-razgovaria-s-hero-mustafa-za-tri-moreta.473297> (последно посетен, 22.07.2023, 12:34).

²⁰ Епицентър, *Борисов и Херо Мустафа обсъдиха енергийната диверсификация и "Три морета"*, 16.12.2020: <https://epicenter.bg/article/Borisov-i-Hero-Mustafa-obsadiha-energiynata-diversifikatsiya-i--quot-Tri-moreta-quot--/235390/2/0>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 12:36); Сега, *Борисов обсъди американските инвестиции с Херо Мустафа*, 16.12.2020: <https://www.segabg.com/category-bulgaria/borisov-obsudil-amerikanskite-investicii-hero-mustafa> (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 12:48)

²¹ Банкеръ, *Президентът обсъди домакинството на „Три морета“ с Българската банка за развитие*, 20.01.2021: <https://banker.bg/2021/01/20/prezidentut-obsudi-domakinstvoto-na-tri-moreta-s-bulgarskata-banka-za-razvitiie/> (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 12:58).

²² Днес, *Борисов: Другите говорят, ние работим по „Три морета“*, 20.01.2021: <https://www.dnes.bg/obshtestvo/2021/01/20/borisov-drugite-govoriat-nie-rabotim-po-tri-moreta.477156> (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 12:56).

²³ Актуално, *„Републиканци за България“ с критики към българските политици за „Три морета“*, 20.10.2020: https://www.actualno.com/politics/republikanci-za-bylgarija-s-kritiki-kym-bylgarskite-politici-za-tri-moreta-news_1511844.html (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:32); 24 часа, *Партията на Цветанов: И президентът, и кабинетът не оценяват „Три морета“*, 21.10.2023: <https://www.24chasa.bg/bulgaria/article/9141804>, (последно посетен на 22.

намеса в подкрепа на инициативата, която започва да има посолството на САЩ в София. На практика представителството на никоя друга държава в България не си позволява толкова активно присъствие в медиите (независимо дали става дума за позиция „про“ или „анти“)²⁴. Последният факт, въпреки че „налива вода в мелницата“ на позицията „анти“, вероятно се дължи и на комбинацията

07.2023, 17:35): Епицентър, *Партията на Цветанов с официална позиция за скандалите с Радев в Талин и инициативата "Три морета"*, 21.10.2020: <https://epicenter.bg/article/Partiyata-na-Tsvetanov-s-ofitsialna-pozitsiya-za-skandalite-s-Radev-v-Talin-i-initsiativata--quot-Tri-moreta-quot-/230006/2/0>

(последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:28); Епицентър, *Републиканците на Цветанов са доволни от американската подкрепа за инициативата „Три морета“*, 22.11.2020: <https://epicenter.bg/article/Republikantsite-na-Tsvetanov-sa-dovolni-ot-amerikanskata-podkrepa-za-initsiativata-Tri-moreta/233055/2/0>,

(последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:17); 24 часа, *Цветан Цветанов и Павел Вълнев: Към блестящите морета*, 06.03.2021:

<https://www.24chasa.bg/mneniya/article/9585229>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:17); Епицентър, , 20.03.2021: *Цветанов и Вълнев: Инициативата "Три морета" е защита на демокрацията в Източна Европа*, 20.03.2021:

<https://epicenter.bg/article/Tsvetanov-i-Valnev--Initsiativata--quot-Tri-moreta-quot--e-zashtita-na-demokratiyata-v-Iztochna-Evropa/244059/2/48>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:16); Дневник, *Павел Вълнев и Цветан Цветанов: Инициативата "Три морета" - защита на демокрацията в Източна Европа*, 20.03.2021:

https://www.dnevnik.bg/pr_sfera/2021/03/20/4187926_pavel_vulnev_i_cvetan_cvetanov_iniciativata_tri_moreta/ (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:16); Епицентър, *Синът на Бжежински препоръчва статия на Цветанов за „Три морета“*, 22.03.2021: <https://epicenter.bg/article/Sinat-na-Bzhezinski-preporachva-statiiya-na-Tsvetanov-za--quot-Tri-moreta-quot-/244217/2/0> (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:19).

²⁴ 24 часа, *САЩ: Подкрепяме българското домакинство на "Три морета" през 2021 г.*, 28.10.2020: <https://www.24chasa.bg/mezhdunarodni/article/9165517>,

(последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:48); 24 часа, *Посолството на САЩ: С нетърпение очакваме да работим с България по инициативата „Три морета“*, 19.11.2020: <https://www.24chasa.bg/mezhdunarodni/article/9240255>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:48); Днес, *САЩ подкрепи домакинството на „Три морета“ в България*, 28.10.2020: <https://www.dnes.bg/politika/2020/10/28/sasht-podkrepi-domakinstvoto-na-tri-moreta-v-bylgariia.467646>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:47); Актуално, *Американското посолство: С нетърпение очакваме да работим с България по инициативата „Три морета“*, 19.11.2020:

https://www.actualno.com/politics/amerikanskoto-posolstvo-s-netyrpenie-ochakvame-da-rabotim-s-bylgarija-po-iniciativata-tri-moreta-news_1522190.html, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:52); Епицентър, *Посолството на САЩ: С нетърпение очакваме да работим с България по инициативата „Три морета“*, 20.11.2020: <https://epicenter.bg/article/Posolstvoto-na-SASht--S-netarpenie->

от ясно осъзнат геополитически американски интерес от реализиране на инициативата и твърде хаотичната, несигурна и непредвидима българска вътрешнополитическа ситуация.

Положителен момент е, че в този доста изкривен модел на концентрация на внимание върху инициативата, с мотивация, дълбоко стаена в чисто местните и твърде ограничени като перспектива употреби на темата, се появяват и някои от малкото смислени и интересни анализи за значението и възможните позитиви за България от участието ѝ в „Три морета“. Материалите, като цяло, се опитват да поставят акцент върху икономическите ползи, които могат да бъдат извлечени. Критичните материали са съсредоточени предимно в електронната версия на вестник „Дума“²⁵, макар и спорадично да се появяват материали и в други информационни източници²⁶.

Срещата в София на 8–9 юли 2021 г. представлява кулминационен пик в медийното отразяване на тематичния кръг проблеми, свързан с инициативата „Три морета“. В рамките на четири дни

ochakvame-da-rabotim-s-Balgariya-po-initsiativata--quot-Tri-moreta-quot--/232865/2/0, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:46).

²⁵ Дума, *БАС в София се обяви против инициативата „Три морета“*, 03.11.2020: <https://duma.bg/bas-v-sofiya-se-obyavi-protiv-initsiativata-tri-moreta-n225775>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:56); Дума, *Разграден двор*, 23.10.2020: <https://duma.bg/razgraden-dvor-n225420>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 17:58); Дума, *Политическо оцеляване или... национално самоубийство?*, 03.11.2020: <https://duma.bg/politicheskoto-otselyavane-ili-natsionalno-samoubiystvo-n226228>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 18:05); Дума, *България иска мир, не война в Черно море*, 01.03.2021: <https://duma.bg/balgariya-iska-mir-ne-voyna-v-chno-more-n233282> (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 18:07); Дума, *Триморски „Кит“*, 18.05.2021 - <https://duma.bg/trimorski-kit-n237794>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 18:16).

²⁶ Актуално, *Доц. Вацев: Радев и Борисов не си дават сметка, че вкарването ни в „Три морета“ е равностойно на война между България и Русия*, 28.10.2020: https://www.actualno.com/politics/doc-vacev-radev-i-borisov-ne-si-davat-smetka-che-vkarvaneto-ni-v-tri-moreta-e-ravnosilno-na-vojna-mejdu-byulgariya-i-rusija-news_1514193.html, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 18:26); Актуално, *Проф. Светлана Шаренкова: Радев и Борисов с „Три морета“ работят срещу интересите на България*, 29.10.2020: https://www.actualno.com/politics/prof-svetlana-sharenkova-radev-i-borisov-s-tri-moreta-rabotjat-sreshtu-interesite-na-byulgariya-news_1514678.html, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 18:32); Епицентър, *Велизар Енчев: Защо България не изтъргува „Три морета“ срещу европодкрепа в спора ѝ с Македония?*, 14.11.2020: <https://epicenter.bg/article/Velizar-Enchev--Zashto-Balgariya-ne-iztarguva--quot-Tri-moreta-quot--sreshtu-evropodkrepa-v-spora-y-s-Makedoniya-/232299/11/0>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 18:22).

между 6 и 9 юли 2021 г. в наблюдаваните сайтове са публикувани 95 материала (таблица 1 и графика 1). Очаквано, основен акцент е съдържанието на самата среща и съпътстващите я прояви. На фокус са и няколко съвсем прагматични стъпки в рамките на самата инициатива – сключване на сделки, интерес на големи инвеститори²⁷. В общия поток от положителни отзиви за инициативата се включват дори иначе доста критични издания като Дума²⁸. Критичният и негативен прочит на инициативата, с акцент върху нейната антируска и антиевропейска насоченост, остава на заден план,

²⁷ Сега, *Американската Linden Energy* купува 50% от „Овергаз Инк.“, 08.07.2021: <https://www.segabg.com/hot/category-economy/amerikanskata-linden-energy-kupuva-50-overgaz-ink>, (последно посетен 22.07.2023, 19:33); Днес, *Google, Amazon и SpaceX с участие на форума „Три морета“*, 08.07.2021: <https://www.dnes.bg/eu/2021/07/08/google-amazon-i-spacex-s-uchastie-na-foruma-tri-moreta.496281>, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 19:39).

²⁸ Дума, *Любомир Кючуков: България дава заявка, че отново иска да има своя външна политика*, 08.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/lyubomir-kyuchukov-balgariya-dava-zayavka-che-otnovno-iska-da-ima-svoya-vanshna-politika-n240896>; Дума, *В София започва срещата на върха на „Три морета“*, 08.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/v-sofiya-zapochva-sreshtata-na-varha-na-%E2%80%99Etri-moreta%E2%80%99C-n240866>; Дума, *Радев: „Три морета“ ще донесе стратегически инвестиции в Централна и Източна Европа*, 08.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/radev-tri-moreta-shte-donese-strategicheski-investitsii-v-tsentralna-i-iztochna-evropa-n240891>; Дума, *Кирил Петков за „Три морета“: Заедно можем да развиваме екосистема от нови бизнеси*, 08.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/kiril-petkov-za-%E2%80%99Etri-moreta%E2%80%99C-zaedno-mozhem-da-razvivame-ekosistema-ot-novi-biznesi-n240893>; Дума, *Андрей Живков: Енергийният сектор ще има ключова роля в прехода към безвъглеродна икономика*, 08.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/andrey-zhivkov-energiyniyat-sektor-shte-ima-klyuchova-rolya-v-prehoda-kam-bezvaglerodna-ikonomika-n240895>; Дума, *Радев към Щайнмайер: Очакваме стратегически инвеститор от Германия*, 08.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/radev-kam-shtaynmayer-ochakvame-strategicheski-investitor-ot-germaniya-n240905>; Дума, *Проектите на „Три морета“ ще променят коренно ситуацията в региона*, 09.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/proektite-na-%E2%80%99Etri-moreta%E2%80%99C-shte-promenyat-korenno-situtsaiyata-v-regiona-n240949>; Дума, *Румен Радев на среща с „Гугъл“ и „Амазон“: България е готова да насърчи компаниите, които инвестират в развитието на човешкия капитал*, 09.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/rumen-radev-na-sreshta-s-%E2%80%99Egugal%E2%80%99C-i-%E2%80%99Eamazon%E2%80%99C-balgariya-e-gotova-da-nasarchi-kompaniite-koito-investirat-v-razvitiето-na-choveshkiya-kapital-n240941>; Дума, *Радев: Там, където медиите са свободни, корупция няма*, 09.07.2021: <https://duma.bg/radev-tam-kadeto-mediite-sa-svobodni-korupsiya-nyama-n240955> (последно посетени на 22.07.2023, 20:05-20:10).

макар някои медии да дават трибуна и на това мнение именно в дните на срещата на българска земя²⁹.

За това колко конюнктурно е отношението към инициативата „Три морета най-ясно говори фактът, че общата еуфория покрай срещата много бързо изчезва и в следващите месеци публикациите в медиите рязко намаляват.“. Най-добрият пример може би е информационният портал „Епицентър“, който има общо 63 публикации, засягащи темата, между октомври 2020 г. и юли 2021 г. и едва 5 в периода от средата на 2021 до средата на 2023 г. (таблица 1 и 2). По-постоянен е интересът в „БанкерЪ“, с акцент върху икономическите измерения и възможности, но дори и там рязко намаляват материалите в сравнение с предните месеци. Сравнително слабо е отразена и срещата в Рига на 20–21 юни 2022 г. с чисто информативни съобщения за участието на президента Радев и с няколко статии за сключена сделка от страна на икономическия фонд на инициативата за инвестиция в пристанище Бургас³⁰.

Цялостното впечатление от прегледа на материалите е за хаотично и незаинтересовано отношение, с изключение на периода между октомври 2020 г. и юли 2021 г., и за превес на употребата на темата за вътрешнополитически конюнктурни цели. Малкото опити за анализ са доминирани от предимно „анти“-реторика. Основно място заема антирусият вектор. Ако позициите по отношение на инициативата извън страната могат да се поделят на „проамерикански“, „антируски“, „проевропейски“ и „антиевропейски“, то в българската медийна среда трудно могат да бъдат намерени материали, които да се опитват да анализират идеята в проевропейска перспектива. Обикновено ръка за ръка вървят антируската

²⁹ Днес, *Историк: "Три морета" е антируска, антиевропейска и антигерманска инициатива*, 08.07.2022: <https://www.dnes.bg/politika/2021/07/08/istorik-tri-moreta-e-antiruska-antievropeiska-i-antigermanska-iniciativa.496376>, (последно посетен 23.07.2023, 7:32); Блиц, *Историк от БАН: "Три морета" е антируска, антиевропейска и антигерманска инициатива*, 09.07.2021 - https://blitz.bg/analizi-i-komentari/istorik-ot-ban-tri-moreta-e-antiruska-antievropeyska-i-antigermanska-initsiativa_news827815.html (последно посетен на 23.07.2023, 07:35).

³⁰ Сега, *Фондът „Три морета“ става съдружник на Домусчиеви*, 20.06.2022: <https://www.segabg.com/hot/category-economy/fondut-tri-moreta-stava-sudruzhnik-na-domuschievi> (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 20:11); Капитал, *Фондът към „Три морета“ става партньор на Домусчиеви в пристанище Бургас*, 21.06.2022:

https://www.capital.bg/biznes/transport/2022/06/21/4360142_fond_kum_tri_moreta_stava_partnyor_na_domuschievi_v/, (последно посетен на 22.07.2023, 20:15).

и проамериканската интерпретации³¹, но най-често липсва добрата аргументация защо, с какво и как може да бъде полезна една такава инициатива за България.

Прави впечатление пасивността на онези среди, които *a priori* би следвало да са защитници на инициативата в нейните проевропейски измерения. Може да се стори странно, но за известен период от време (между средата на 2020 г. и средата на 2021 г.) най-сериозният поддръжник на идеята „Три морета“ е президента Румен Радев. Друг протагонист на инициативата е Цветан Цветанов, бившият „втори“ човек в ПП ГЕРБ и настоящ лидер на партия „Републиканци за България“. И двете фигури обаче далеч не са толкова безспорни, което прави и подкрепата им за „Три морета“ съмнителна в очите на българската публика. Но дори и тези „лобисти“ трудно стигат до същността на инициативата и не успяват да убедят аудиториите си в смисъла и полезността на инициативата. Българската публика живее с усещането, че „Три морета“ е просто възобновената идея на маршал Пилсудски за Междуморието, поизтупана от праха на времето и взета отново на въоръжение срещу Русия. А това е доста повърхностно схващане и на практика пречи за осъзнаване на пълния капацитет от възможности, които „Три морета“ предоставя.

В интерес на истината, митовите, легендите и злонамерените тълкувания на Инициативата „Три Морета“ не могат и не трябва да бъдат приписвани само на Русия, която вижда в тази инициатива възможност да я представя като смесица от американско вероломство и полска мегаломания. Не по-малко критичен е и погледът към тази инициатива на опозиционните кръгове в Полша, които се опитват да я представят като мегаломанска амбиция на консервативните радикали от Право и Справедливост, на власт от 2015 г. В желанието си да саботират нейната реализация, те се

³¹ Най-добър пример са няколко публикации на Дума, Велислава Дърева, *Кой обяви Русия за враг?*, 20.09.2017: <https://duma.bg/koy-obyavi-rusiya-za-vrag-n152815>, (последно посетен на 24.07.2023, 13:12) – „Триморието“ е идея на САЩ и цели да пресече руските енергийни потоци към Западна Европа; да насъска - военно и пропагандно, бившите соц. страни срещу Русия; да откъсне Балканите от Русия; да прекъсне всякакви връзки на Русия с Европа; да огради Русия с железен кордон и да я натика в изолатор; да създаде сплотен антируски блок под американски контрол“ или Дума, *„Триморие“ ражда федерацията „Полша-Украйна“*, 25.04.2023: <https://duma.bg/trimorie-razhda-federatsiyata-polsha-ukrayna-n273718>, (последно постен на 24.07.2023, 13:15).

опитват да поставят знак за равенство с Междуморието, което има за цел да изведе Полша от ЕС и да създаде собствена сфера на влияние.

Тази интерпретация е представяна и от Германия, в чийто интерес е да няма алтернативни инициативи в Централна и Източна Европа на тези, които гарантират нейната икономическа и политическа доминация.³² Най-яркият пример за това е лобирането срещу ИТМ в ЕС и първоначалното игнориране на срещите до 2018 г., когато за първи път представител на Германия участва на срещата в Букурещ. Германският скептицизъм не е случаен, имайки предвид съществуващата инфраструктура в Централна и Източна Европа, която е достатъчно развита по оста Изток-Запад, както и германската енергийна политика, която до февруари 2022 предполагаше снабдяването на ЦИЕ с руски газ през Северен поток 1 и 2 (Ukielski, 2018, 54).

Съществена част от критиката към ИТМ се концентрира и върху ролята на САЩ, които са представяни като „сив кардинал“, който прокаква своите интереси чрез верни съюзници. САЩ подкрепят ИТН, а участието на Доналд Тръмп в срещата на върха във Варшава, се смята за важен момент в развитието на инициативата, тъй като придава допълнителна тежест на полско-хърватските усилия в началната фаза. От днешна гледна точка САЩ са участник в създадения през 2018 г. по време на срещата в Букурещ Инвестиционен фонд на Инициативата "Три морета", а също така, в контекста на войната в Украйна, се превърнаха в алтернативен доставчик на газ за региона. Със сигурност изграждането на енергийната свързаност ще създаде възможност за още по-осезаемо американско присъствие в ЦИЕ. Трябва обаче да отбележим, че за повечето държави в региона енергийната диверсификация е приоритет далеч преди руската инвазия в Украйна, която послужи като катализатор за консолидацията на усилията в тази посока и в рамките на ЕС чрез интерконекторните връзки. Също така, строежът на плаващи и постоянни газови терминали в Полша, Литва, Хърватска, Гърция и други държави създаде нови възможности за алтернативни доставки, които дотогава бяха зависими в голямата си част от Русия. В този ред на мисли, реализацията на целите на ИТМ и

³² Не трябва да забравяме, че за всички държави от ИТМ Германия е първи и основен икономически партньор. Както споменава М. Дал стойността на търговския обмен на Германия с региона (без Австрия) е по-голяма с два пъти от този с Франция и Китай и шест пъти от този с Русия (Dahl, 2019, 71).

създаването на качествено нова инфраструктура в региона ще създаде предпоставки за промяната на външни зависимости, създавайки възможност за избор за държавите от ЦИЕ.

Всички тези интерпретации, валидни повече или по-малко и в българската информационна среда, обаче, не оправдават липсата на адекватна и последователна позиция за ползите от реализирането на основните приоритети на ИТМ за България. Няма съмнение, че реализацията на целите на инициативата ще повлияят на европейската икономика чрез създаването на алтернативни пътни, транспортни и енергийни коридори. Само като пример можем да си представим как ще се промени морският транспорт, ако от средиземноморските пристанища на Гърция могат да се транспортират безпрепятствено и бързо товари по земя към ЦИЕ и какви ще са последиците за най-големите европейски пристанища в Ротердам и Хамбург (Domaradzki, 2015, 61,64). Следователно една активна, позитивна и реалистична политика, наред с открит и честен публичен дебат около отделните проекти и ИТМ като цяло, през призмата на осъзнати български интереси е крайно необходим в контекста на бъдещото развитие на Централна и Източна Европа и Европейския съюз.

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The Life and Work of Dr. Albert Long in the Context of the Bulgarian Revival

Abstract: *The monograph aims at the systematization and study of the preserved literary and written heritage of Dr. Albert Long. Separate chapters present his literary activities, an analysis of his conceptions of language, the reception of his translations and other writings, his activities as a publicist. Letters and documents trace his activities as a public figure and philanthropist. All this is considered in the essential context of his missionary and educational work. The monograph demonstrates a range of research methods - descriptive, comparative, historical-literary, and at times cultural studies - that help to contextualize the contributions of A. Long in the literary and cultural life of the Bulgarians in the second half of the 19th century.*

Keywords: *missionary; translation; Bible; journalism; Bulgarian Revival; Robert College.*

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Животът и дейността на д-р Албърт Лонг в контекста на Българското възраждане

Пилева Мария. Мисията на д-р Албърт Лонг сред българите. София 2023. Издателски център „Боян Пенев“, ISBN 978-619-7372-69-4, 544 с.

Монографията на Мария Пилева „Мисията на д-р Албърт Лонг сред българите“ е посветена на една фигура, изключително разнородна

като дейност, интереси, посвещение и експертиза. Книгата представя първото мащабно научно изследване на многоликия д-р Лонг – публицист, преводач, лингвист, общественик, издател, историк и учен по естествени науки, университетски преподавател и преди всичко мисионер. Същевременно той е участник в българското културно-просветно дело, движението за църковна независимост и борбата за политическо и национално освобождение на българите през 19 век. Научният анализ на тази изключително богата палитра от дейности, осъществен чрез систематизиране на колосален брой източници, Мария Пилева поднася с характерната си научна и лична скромност, напомняща за скромността на самия Албърт Лонг, описана в нейната книга. Монографията „Мисията на д-р Албърт Лонг сред българите“ има своя предистория в научните търсения на Мария Пилева. В предишната си монография „Бунт, надежда, изкупление“ (Пилева 2018), която печели наградата на Съюза на българските преводачи за ярки постижения в областта на теорията, историята и критиката на превода за 2018 г., Мария Пилева засяга темата за художествените преводи на д-р Лонг.

Животът и многоаспектната дейност на А. Лонг са тенденциозно омаловажавани и маргинализирани в продължение на десетилетия. Почти непознати до наши дни за науката (история, лингвистика, транслатология) остават неговите преводи, статии и писма, заклеени заради мисионерската му дейност. А „ако се съизмерят нападите срещу протестантските мисионери и недооценката на тяхната дейност с документираните през годините ползи от работата им, изразени в преведените и отпечатаните десетки книги с внушителен тираж, включително Библията, в издадените вестници и списания, в подпомогнатите в тяхната възрожденска дейност български творци и общественици, в построените училища, църкви, болници – ясно проличава превесът на създаденото“ (Пилева 2023, с. 15). М. Пилева консистентно работи в посока хронологичен и фактологичен анализ на приноса на А. Лонг към църковното, просветното и революционното движение в България през 19 век.

Монографията има за цел систематизация и изследване на запазеното литературно и писмено наследство на д-р А. Лонг. В отделни глави са представени литературната му дейност, анализ на схващанията му за езика, рецепцията на преводите и другите му трудове, дейността му като публицист, в писма и документи се проследява дейността му на общественик и филантроп. Всичко

това е разгледано в съществения контекст на мисионерската и просветната му работа. В монографията е демонстриран комплекс от изследователски методи – описателен, сравнителен, историко-литературен, а на места културологичен, които спомагат за изграждане на контекста на приноса на А. Лонг в литературния и в културния живот на българите през втората половина на XIX в. Документите, с които М. Пилева работи, са оригинални и преводни текстове на д-р Лонг, преведените брошури, разкази, повести, стихове и роман (представени хронологично), както и многобройни косвени източници – писмата на д-р Лонг от втората половина на XIX век. Тук трябва да отбележим особено приносния момент в изследването, а именно – писмата, издирени от авторката в най-разнообразни архиви от Европа и Америка.

Разглеждайки книжовното дело на А. Лонг, М. Пилева представя неговата работа като лингвист и преводач, автор на нравоучителна и религиозна книжнина и на художествена литература. Анализирани са неговите преводи на трактати и брошури, разкази и повести, с особено внимание към превода му на световноизвестния роман на Джон Бъниан „Пътешественикът“. Важна част в книгата е анализът на съдържанието на сп. „Зорница“ за времето, когато Лонг е главен редактор (1864–1871), като са открити уводните статии, преводните и някои авторски текстове, както и идеите на Лонг за състоянието на българската литература и образование.

Особен акцент в изданието се поставя върху основополагащата роля на А. Лонг за библейското дело в България и сформиранието на „Преводаческата комисия“ с цел превеждане на Библията на български език.

Монографията проследява в детайли работата на А. Лонг в Робърт колеж, като обръща внимание и на ангажираността му с български ученици (тяхното привличане и подпомагане). Също така са описани някои обществени прояви на д-р Лонг, представени са по-малко известни факти от негови спомени за книжовници, политици, общественици. В монографията се осмисля и историческата роля на протестантските мисионери след Априлското въстание и неговото потушаване – аспект от историята на България, пренебрегван досега.

Впечатляващ е обемът архивни материали, с които се е запознала Мария Пилева. Тя целенасочено и професионално ги интерпретира, за да „сглоби пъзела“ от многоаспектната дейност на

д-р А. Лонг и изключително важната му роля за Българското възраждане. Монографията „Мисията на д-р Албърт Лонг сред българите“ е изследване, изключително любопитно за историци, филолози, хуманитаристи, отдаващо дължимото на незаслужено маргинализирана личност и не на последно място – на човек, силно обичащ България.

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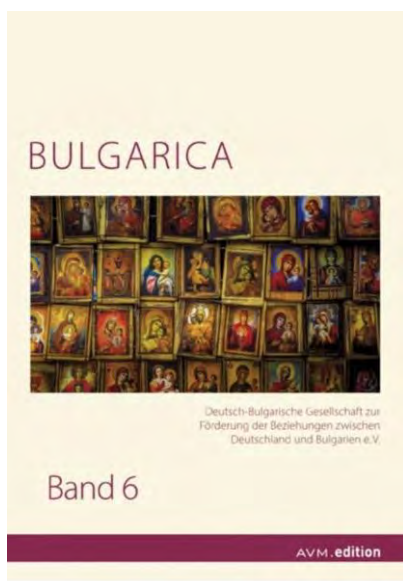
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An Insightful Volume on Bulgarian Studies

Abstract: *This is a review on the recent volume number 6 of ‘Bulgarica’, a book series that is published once a year. International experts contribute to this volume, and thus, it is an important book that provides new insights into Bulgarian studies.*

Keywords: ‘Bulgarica’; serial publication; Linguistics; Cultural Studies; Bulgarian Studies; Bulgaria; book reviews.



Sigrun Comati, Martin Henzelmann, Raiko Krauss and Helmut Schaller (eds.): Bulgarica, Volume 6. Munich: AVM, 2024, 200 pages. ISBN 978-3-95477-176-9.

The ‘Bulgarica’ series is published in Munich by the German-Bulgarian Association for Relations between Germany and Bulgaria. It acts as a cultural organisation and connects scholars from Germany and Bulgaria. It regularly produces publications that strengthen international cooperation. Therefore, Bulgaria is visible through the Association’s academic activities.

The sixth volume in the ‘Bulgarica’ series is an important publication that addresses the current challenges facing Bulgarian studies. Renowned experts have their say in this book and present subject areas that play a central role in Bulgarian philology. Some topics are already well researched; others are still unknown. I will now discuss both in detail.

Cultural studies are an important frame in all philologies. These can have a unifying character, and this holds particularly true for Bulgarian-German relations, as it is well known that the history of both

countries is very closely interwoven. Sigrun Comati refers to this in her study and reports on an exhibition on the subject of ‘Sandro – Prince Alexander von Battenberg. A European Fate’. The author was the co-initiator of this exhibition, which could be visited at Heiligenberg Castle in September 2022. Based on the life of Alexander Prince of Battenberg (1857-1893), this event provided an overview of the complex political and social conditions that significantly shaped the second half of the 19th century in Europe (p. 17). The background to this realisation was the fact that the Heiligenberg Foundation created a working group to prepare an exhibition on Alexander Prince of Battenberg and Prince Alexander I of Bulgaria, of which the author was a member (p. 18). It is extremely gratifying that such exhibitions are being organised at all in the digital age, and that with a very successful response (p. 23). Hereinafter, we learn from Oleg Kosyh about the activities of the Bulgarian cultural organisation ‘Bolgarskij duch’ (*Bulgarian Spirit*) in Moldova. The author is the chairman of this cultural organisation. German readers are unlikely to be aware that a Bulgarian minority lives in this small country, which has become involved in numerous social issues in recent years (pp. 28-29). The problem in the next paper has also been little researched to date. It concerns the cultural semiotics of Bulgarian stamps. In this contribution, Martin Henzelmann, summarises the characteristics of the Bulgarian stamp from its first appearance to present day (pp. 34-35). He discusses cultural semiotic specifics and their blending, which emerged in the 1980s (p. 41 *et passim*, elsewhere the term of ‘creolisation’ is used when blending different linguistic or semiotic components is encountered; cf. Simyan 2020).

This brings us to the linguistic section, which is written in Bulgarian and Russian in this volume, which shows first of all that a multilingual and international orientation is an important concern of the editors. Iskra Hristova-Shomova’s work deals with the naming of biblical sea phenomena in Greek and Old Bulgarian documents. These are depicted in some frescoes in churches, which the author herself has collected and presented for illustrative purposes (p. 58). These texts are equally interesting from a semiotic point of view, as ancient texts are important sources of cultural and linguistic semiotic complexity (in this context, we recommend referring to the well-founded studies by Simyan 2020). The paper by the Turkologist and Slavist Milena Yordanova focuses on the French lexis in Dobri Vojnikov’s work ‘Криворазбраната цивилизация’ (*The misunderstood civilization*), which is particularly interesting. The large number of French loanwords

in this publication (p. 68 *et passim*) were recorded in a valuable multi-volume dictionary (*cf.* Veselinov & Angelova 2015-2017). Moreover, a very important topic is phraseology, which has been well researched for the Slavic languages, but still provides new insights. In their article, Svetlana Zhuleshkova and Stefka Georgieva examine how phraseologisms in Russian and Bulgarian develop under the conditions of globalisation. They meticulously list examples that prove that the innovations we have been confronted with in recent years have also had a strong influence on linguistic developments (p. 89, and also *cf.* Kahl 2014 and Henzelmann 2019). Reference is also made to increasingly important collocations with colour adjectives, which can highlight all kinds of social innovations (p. 94), before we are given a profound overview of the role of the Bulgarian *da-construction* and its equivalents in other Slavic languages. Ivan Iliev argues that there are different lexical equivalents in other Slavic languages to reflect this form of construction (p. 106). The last article in the linguistics section is dedicated to an issue that has been little explored to date. It deals with language teaching in the field of nursing, which is offered to Bulgarian staff in Germany (illustrated on pp. 117 and 122).

This concludes the main academic contributions in the publication. What follows are interviews that familiarise the German reader with the situation of Bulgarian studies abroad. Of particular interest in this part of the book is an interview with the Czech scholar Jaroslav Otčenášek, who teaches at Charles University in Prague, conducts research at the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, and also works as a translator. For decades, he has dedicated himself to researching Bulgarian folk tales, oral and written stories, and folk wisdom. He assumes that there are around 10,000 Bulgarian fairy tales (p. 150). Incidentally, this topic became known in the German-speaking area thanks to the work of Gergana Börger, who published a book on the subject (*cf.* Börger 2015).

Subsequently, current events related to Bulgarian studies are presented, which were organised in Jena or Berlin, for instance (pp. 161-166). Members of the German-Bulgarian Association and people with a strong personal interest in Bulgaria were involved in these events. This is followed by an obituary for the outstanding scholar, professor Ivan Chobanov, who made lasting contributions to Bulgarian, Polish, and Balkan studies at the University 'Paisii Hilendarski' in Plovdiv throughout his life.

Finally, new books from the fields of Bulgarian studies, Slavic studies, and Balkan studies are presented. In this session, the new publication by the Swiss Slavist Cyrill Stieger is a striking work that should be taken into consideration ('Die Macht des Ethnischen. Sichtbare und unsichtbare Trennlinien auf dem Balkan' *The power of ethnicity. Visible and invisible dividing lines in the Balkan*', published at Rotpunktverlag in Zurich in 2021, pp. 187-190). It discusses an interesting phenomenon, namely the role of old and new dividing lines in the Balkans, a region in which many similarities in culture, cuisine, and music are recognisable. Nevertheless, in this region of Europe, invisible dividing lines run through several communities today: Serbs and Albanians are divided over the Kosovo issue, the political survival of Bosnia and Herzegovina is repeatedly called into question, in Montenegro, the question of how to handle the country's most important language is currently being discussed (cf. Henzelmann 2024), and the treatment of ethnic minorities and linguistic issues is also a very ambivalent matter throughout the Balkan region (cf. Kahl 2014 and Henzelmann 2017). These and other aspects are analysed in Stieger's book, and they help us to better understand the region.

Overall, let us hope that the publications of this series, 'Bulgarica', will contribute to the elimination of stereotypes, the intensification of bilateral cooperation and the further development of the European idea in terms of tolerance and cooperation. In any case, this book is an inspiring volume for the transfer of knowledge between Bulgaria and Germany.

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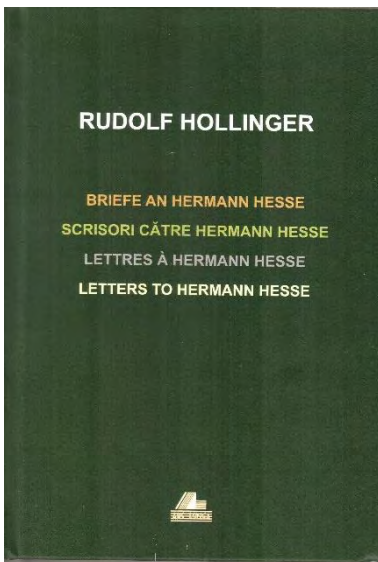
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Traum namens Hermann Hesse

Abstract: *The Banat-Romanian German Rudolf Hollinger wrote twelve letters to Herman Hesse during the 1957-1960 period. The Nobel laureate for literature sent to the longtime teacher of German literature at the University in Timisoara several post cards and gifted him several collections of his new poems. For everyone interested, the professor Mihaela Zaharia of the University of Bucharest collected the correspondence between them and published the letters in four languages: the original German, Romanian, French and English.*

Keywords: *Hermann Hesse; Rudolf Hollinger; letter exchange; Romanian German; four-language publication.*

**Mihaela Zaharia (Hrsg.). Rudolf Hollinger:
Briefe an Hermann Hesse, Ars Longa,
Iași, 2023, 175 p., ISBN 978-973-148-427-3**



Es begann in einer Bukarester Buchhandlung im Herbst des Jahres 1944. Da gelang es einem Rumänien-Deutschen zum ersten Mal ein Buch von Hermann Hesse in der Hand zu haben – *Das Glasperlenspiel*. Leider fehlten dem Soldaten die von dem Verkäufer verlangten 3000 Lei, um sich als stolzen Besitzer des Buches rühmen zu dürfen. Hesse wurde zu jener Zeit noch nicht der Nobelpreis für Literatur verliehen; dies geschah erst zwei Jahre später. Unter den Liebhabern der schönggeistigen Literatur in seiner Heimat Deutschland, in seiner Wahlheimat der Schweiz und weit über die Grenzen des deutschsprachigen

Raumes hatte er sich aber schon so einen guten Namen gemacht, dass seine Werke übersetzt, gesucht und gelesen wurden.

Der damals junge Soldat war eigentlich der Deutschlehrer und späterer Universitätsprofessor für deutsche Sprache und Literatur an der Universität in Temeşwar Rudolf Hollinger.

Erst viele Jahre später, im August 1957, traut sich Hollinger, seinen ersten Brief an Hesse zu schreiben. Im Laufe von insgesamt etwas mehr als drei Jahren schickt er zwölf Briefe an den berühmten Autor. Es ist aber eine einseitige Korrespondenz. Von Hesse bekommt Hollinger keinen einzigen Brief, nur Karten mit Grüßen und einige Bücher, geschickt ihm durch den Verlag. Das entmutigt den begeisterten Hesse-Leser nicht. Er teilt dem Schriftsteller seine Eindrücke von den gelesenen Romanen und Gedichten, bedankt sich für die Geschenke, klagt darüber, dass er manchmal nur die Umschläge der Päckchen bekommt, bespricht mit seinen Studenten Hesses Werke, versucht selber und mit seinen Studenten Hesses Gedichte ins Rumänische zu übersetzen, die nie publiziert wurden. Hollinger ist aber froh darüber, dass der Name von Hermann Hesse den jungen Menschen schon *geläufig und bedeutungsvoll* (Brief 4) ist.

Die Anrede zu Anfang der Briefe ist immer mit einem Ausrufezeichen versehen, was als ein Signal für die große Verehrung Hollingers zu dem berühmten Schriftsteller zu deuten ist: *Sehr verehrter Herr Hesse! Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Hesse! Verehrter Herr Dr. Hesse! Sehr verehrter Herr Doktor Hesse!* In vielen Briefen nennt Hollinger den Adressaten *verehrter Meister*. Die an einer zu jener Zeit typischen Schreibmaschine getippten Briefe enden mit einer handschriftlichen Unterschrift (nur zwei der Briefe sind nicht signiert), die meist nach Worten wie *Ihr ergebener, In unwandelbarer Hochachtung/ Verehrung/ Treue, Ich verbleibe in unwandelbarer Hochachtung und Verehrung* kommt.

Hollinger gesteht, dass er alle Gedichte und Erzählungen von Hesse schon besitzt und ihm ist *als stünde auch für mich etwas darin* (Brief 1). Den Roman *Siddharta* hat er laut gelesen, weil er die Sprache als Musik empfunden hat. Die Sprache von Hesse beeindruckt den Hochschullehrer besonders tief. Im Brief 10 äußert Hollinger seine Meinung darüber, warum Hesses Werke bislang noch nicht ins Rumänische übersetzt worden sind: *wer kann so rumänisch wie Sie deutsch schreiben? (...) Bei Ihnen ist so vieles Sprachmusik, ureigentümlich für das Deutsche, und dieses ist nicht zu übertragen.*

Zwischen Brief 6 und Brief 7 liegt fast ein ganzes Jahr des Schweigens vonseiten Hollinger. Dafür findet er keine Entschuldigung; doch die Erklärung ist, dass er ein Schauspiel geschrieben hat:

Echnaton, König von Ägypten, heißt es, in klassischen Jamben. Das gibt ihm Anlass über den Unterschied zwischen den sich durchgesetzten Strömungen in der Literatur und den modernen literarischen Versuchen nachzudenken, nachdem er in seinem ersten Brief an Hesse die eigenen Versuche im dichterischen Schaffen *antiquiert und unzeitgemäß* nennt. Wegen dieser Bescheidenheit des Lehrers sind seine Werke nach seinen eigenen Worten *in der Schublade* liegen geblieben.

Unbedingt zu erwähnen sind hier noch zwei Briefe von Hollinger an Hermann Hesse. Im Brief 9, in dem der Rumäne *Anzeichen* dafür sehen möchte, *dass es (...) in den Herzen gewisser Menschen nicht mehr wintert*, und von dem *schwindenden Herzenswinter* die Rede ist, wünscht er sich *Tage des Friedens und der Zufriedenheit*. Im Brief 11, der mir besonders persönlich und lyrisch zu sein scheint, beschreibt Hollinger den schwierigen Prozess des Briefeschreibens und richtet Hesse liebevolle Glückwünsche zu seinem 83. Geburtstag.

2023 veröffentlicht Mihaela Zaharia, ehemalige Studentin von Rudolf Hollinger und selbst Professorin für deutsche Literatur an der Universität in Bukarest, seine Briefe an Hermann Hesse im renommierten Verlag Ars Longa in Iași. Es ist ein Band von 175 Seiten, wo man die Briefe nicht nur im Original lesen kann. Die Übersetzungen ins Rumänische und ins Französische hat Mihaela Zaharia selbst gemacht, die Übersetzung ins Englische – Roxana Ilie. Außerdem enthält der Band zwei handschriftlich verfasste Aufsätze von Hollinger über Hesses Roman *Narziss und Goldmund* und das Gedicht *Stufen*, als Fotokopien publiziert. Aus dem Literaturarchiv Marbach entnommene Fotokopien der Postkarten, die Hesse an Hollinger geschickt hat sind auch dabei. Zaharia vermutet, dass die Briefe vom 9.2.1958, 26.6.1958 und 26.12.1960 „den Schriftsteller Hermann Hesse offensichtlich nicht erreicht“ (S. 27) haben.

Diese viersprachige Ausgabe kann für alle – besonders Germanisten und Literaturwissenschaftler – interessant sein, die ihre Vorliebe zu Hermann Hesse nicht verloren haben. Aus den wenigen Briefen von Hollinger an Hermann Hesse kann man zwischen den Zeilen auch viel über das Leben der Menschen in Rumänien in den ersten Jahrzehnten des kommunistischen Regimes erfahren, einen Blick durch die Augen eines Anderen in die Werke von Hermann Hesse werfen und nicht an letzter Stelle den *Traum namens Hermann Hesse* von Rudolf Hollinger miterleben.

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