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CONSOLIDATION AND SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PENSION SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Abstract

The Pension system as part of the general financial and economic system as well as the most important segment of the socio – economic aspects, continues to be responsible for providing financial resources and social security for current and future pensioners, that is, the mobilization of funds and providing pensions for people who fulfill the legal condition for retirement. The financial stability of the pension system depends on a number of factors (demographic and economic) – factors, that rarely and with difficulties and can reach the long-term consolidation and financial sustainability of pension system, therefore undertaking reforms towards improving the pension system remains inevitable.

Pension reforms, i.e. the improvement of the pension system had to do mainly with: security in the realization of the rights to pension and disability insurance, short and long term security of solvency for pension and disability insurance, maximum insurance and minimal risk, assuring the right to a pension for all generations, strengthening public confidence, as well as stimulating the development of capital markets and encourage economic growth. Implementation of the new system pension (the three-pillar system), brought additional costs, otherwise known as transition costs. Although the transition costs or transformation costs, are of temporary character, and by passing time will end, even so, for the Pension and Disability Insurance Funds, financially, this burden represents a critical condition, to the fact that to cover these costs there is need for additional revenue, which the Fund can not provide because the parameters upon which the reforms are supported, are

affected by the reduction of contributions, the transfer of a part of them in the second pillar, unemployment, as well as by younger pensioners, therefore, undertaking projections for alleviating the situation of the Fund, should be made primarily based on the concerned parameters.

Keywords: Pension system, pension reforms, demographic and financial aspect, projections for improving the pension system.

1. Intruduction

This study has to do precisely with the pension system as part of the overall financial and economic system as well as the most important segment of the socio-economic life. As we know, the pension system, since its establishment until today, has operated and continues to operate under the principle of solidarity between generations – a system, this which has been established in the nineteenth century by the famous German chancellor Otto von Bizmark. Also, this system was initially considered successful and without problems during the implementation, because, then, the average life expectancy was about 55 years and the ratio of the employed – pensioner was 7 to 1 (a ratio, which deeply will be elaborated in the following sections). However, the later, as a result of changes in the demographic structure (which began in the twentieth century), some difficulties emerged, especially in the implementation of the principle of solidarity between generations (the latter stems from the increase in life expectancy and by reducing the ratio employed – pensioner). Therefore, demographics – structural changes (which directly define the flow of income – pension funds), caused deterioration in the pension systems, creating debts in pension funds, and the need for improvements, i.e reforms in pension systems – around the world.

1.1. Objectives of the study

This study, aims to explicate the effects of the pension system, as well as the implications on administering this system, that is:

- How much security this system provides in the realization of the rights for pension and disability insurance – for all generations,
- How much maximum ensurance and minimal risk offers,
- How much this system affect in the strengthening of trust of citizens, and;

- How much this system impact on stimulating the development of capital markets and encourage economic growth.

1.2. Research Questions

The study tries to answer the following research questions:

- How does the pension system works after the reforms, i.e. how is the current financial situation of Pensional Fund;
- How do the demographic factors influence regarding the income and expenses of the Pension Fund, and also how they can influence in improving the operation of the Pension Fund.

2. Literature review

The reforms in the pension system (which was initially implemented in developed countries), mainly aimed at improving the financial performance of the pension system, reducing the pressure of aging population, changing the system based on the principle of solidarity of generations, and the introduction of the combined system – by state and private funds. Therefore, taking the example of the reforms applied in the industrial developed countries, to continue with those at countries in transition, we see that they were largely stimulated by initiatives for consolidation of the pension system and providing funds for payment of pensions, namely insuring long-term financial stability. It can be said that from 1980 onwards, this period represented a decade of pension reforms in developed industrial countries, especially countries in transition. For example, in the UK, from the 1970, and onwards, it operates the pension system of two pillars, i.e. the first pillar that provides basic pension and the second pillar that provides mandatory insurance of additional pension.

Further, in Japan the pension system has been functioning since 1924, and the recent reforms have been made in 1965 and 1973. However, in Japan besides the state pension insurance, it is quite well developed the private pension system, i.e. private pension funds. In Sweden, the pension reforms have started since 1996, but, the reforms that brought significant changes regarding to the functioning of the pension system were made on 1998 (before implementation of reforms, in Sweden, the pension system consisted of: the state pension insurance and from the additional pension insurance i.e. mandatory).

So, since 1980 onwards, this period represent a decade of pension reforms, especially for the transition countries – a decade, filled with models and practices from developed countries, which later will serve as a sample for the transition countries (pension reforms in transition countries were followed as a result of the reduction of revenues from contributions and by demographic changes). Starting with Slovenia (to continue with Croatia, Bulgaria and Macedonia), which in 1993–1995, started with the first reform of the pension system, where the socialist companies which began to send home (in early retirement) persons who had over 50 years. Croatia also underwent pension reforms. The latter, in 1999 introduced the pension system consisting of three pillars (the first pillar which present the pension state insurance – inherited from socialism, second pillar mandatory – fully funded, as well as the third pillar which present the security voluntary pension – fully funded). Bulgaria (as a transition country), also on the past 12 years underwent gradual pension reforms. The Republic of Macedonia during the transitional period also underwent on pension reforms and pension system – in order to consolidate the pension fund and providing funds for pension payments. The relevant approved reforms came mainly from demographic changes and by worsening the ratio employed – pensioner.

3. Methodology

Taking in consideration the formulated goals, the objective of the study and the research questions around which will rotate the entire study, hence, there is a need to define a suitable methodological framework. In this context, first, symmetrically there are analyzed the features and specifications of compulsory pension and voluntary insurance – where in this regard, a particular importance is given to the method of **structural – functional analysis** (the method of structural – functional analysis, as part of the research is based on official documents and reports, scientific papers, articles, laws and legal acts related with the essential changes to the pension system and creating a new system of RM). Further, the use of the **comparative method** is significantly present in this study – a method, which analyzes the situation of the pension system before and after the reform, respectively scanning the situation in the past and today, to conclude with **statistical method**, which identifies the actual problems that the pension and disability fund is facing.

4. Consolidation and sustainability of the pension system of the Republic of Macedonia

4.1. Reforms and the structure of the pension system in Macedonia

According a historical perspective, the pension system of the Republic of Macedonia exists more than 60 years – a system, which over the time has been improved and developed, because the latter is subject of changes, which always tends to provide long – term financial stability. The most important changes were made in 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000 and 2006, where simultaneously with the recent change of the law on pension and disability insurance, were set the basics of fully funded pension and disability insurance. Therefore, at the beginning of XXI century, symmetrically following the international practices and also in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, in 2006, in the Republic of Macedonia have been undertaken some important reforms in improving the pension system. All the undertaken reforms (parametric) were aimed at rationalizing the current financial system and at the same time preparing the system for additional financing, i.e. fully funded component (in order to ensure long-term sustainability of the fund). The mentioned reforms included: increasing the age of retirement, calculating pensions based on wages – total experience, indexation of pensions, reducing the replacement rate, respectively creating a pension system with three pillars – a system, which will provide combined way of financing, as well as diversification of the economic and demographic risks.

However, regarding the management of funds collected from payments of contributions, legally, with the accumulated funds in the first pillar manages the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, and the funds collected on the other two pillars, are managed by the pension private companies (**KB first pension Society and NLB new pension Fund**).

Table 1: The number of pension beneficiaries and the number of employed people (1991–2015)

Years	The number of employees	The number of those who exploit pensions	The number of those who exploit pensions, up to 1000 employees	The number of employees to 1 pensioner
1991	534.887	180.749	338	3.0
1992	531.083	193.294	364	2.7
1993	503.010	210.537	418	2.4
1994	468.632	216.834	463	2.2
1995	427.658	219.307	513	2.0
1996	403.820	222.727	552	1.8
1997	381.723	227.099	596	1.7
1998	370.869	232.216	626	1.6
1999	374.025	235.839	631	1.6
2000	367.162	241.221	657	1.5
2001	351.009	247.200	704	1.4
2002	332.728	249.421	750	1.3
2003	321.105	254.262	775	1.3
2004	348.212	260.075	747	1.3
2005	348.500	265.152	761	1.3
2006	394.882	269.681	714	1.46
2007	424.338	272.386	693	1.55
2008	451.491	273.281	654	1.65
2009	475.780	273.977	576	1.74
2010	466.280	273.751	587	1.70
2011	489.608	280.891	567	1.74
2012	507.061	285.411	557	1.8
2013	526.909	291.821	549	1.8
2014	536.191	296.215	548	1.8
2015	558.821	299.640	536	1.9

Source: Annual reports for the relevant years – Fund of Pension and Disability Insurance

The table 1 – shows the flow of the number of employees, number of pensioners who use the pension and employee ratio for the period 1991–2015. As can be seen, since 1991–2006, we have a gradual decline on the number of employees, which also is reflected in the ratio employed – pensioner. However, from 2006 onwards, the number of employees gradually begins to grow, that in 2015 (according to the Statistical Office), this number reaches up to 558 821 employees, while the ratio of the employed – pensioner reaches to 1.9.

4.2. Specifics of the state mandatory Fund

As we know, the second pillar is also mandatory, but, unlike the first pillar which is controlled by the state, the second pillar is managed by pension companies (NLB New Pension Fund and KB First Pension Company) – according to law for mandatory pension insurance – fully funded. Any negligence during the management of the collected funds creates uncertainty and distrust to the pension beneficiaries, namely uncertainty about their future. Consequently, mandatory funds legally are oriented in how and where to invest the collected funds. Further, the latter are responsible for the multiplication of mobilized funds, namely creating profit for the future pensioners. Therefore, pension companies as NLB New Pension Fund and KB First Pension Company, during the process of managing the collected funds are based mainly on the principle of security, contributions, diversification, and liquidity.

Table 2: The distribution of membership on the mandatory pension Fund according to their status - NLB New Pension Fund (2006–2015)

Years	Voluntary	Mandatory				Total (2+6)
		By contract	Disseminate	Temporarily disseminate	Total (3+4+5)	
31.12.2006	27.638	22.205	8.437	3.127	33.769	61.407
31.12.2007	28.998	28.682	14.756	4.471	47.909	76.907
31.12.2008	30.240	40.147	20.110	3.169	63.426	93.666
31.12.2009	30.784	47.988	27.395	5.230	80.613	111.397
31.12.2010	31.350	57.945	32.627	4.161	94.733	126.083
31.12.2011	31.801	67.901	36.478	4.039	108.418	140.219
31.12.2012	32.080	76.570	39.705	4.903	121.178	153.258
31.12.2013	32.050	81.369	45.213	7.697	134.279	166.329
31.12.2014	32.009	81.469	56.181	8.134	145.784	177.793
31.12.2015	31.987	82.423	69.527	9.752	161.702	193.689

Source: Annual reports for the relevant years – ASFFPI

Regarding to the dissemination of members (Table 2), is noticed a relative oscillation in the voluntarily column, which represents the members who automatically with the entry into force of the second pillar, have passed on one of the private funds. Whereas, regarding to the remainder part, i.e. mandatory membership, there is a growing trend – a trend, that in 2015 reached to 193 689 members.

Table 3: The distribution of membership on the mandatory pension Fund according to their status - KB First Pension Company (2006–2015)

Years	Voluntary	Mandatory				Total (2+6)
		By contract	Disseminate	Temporarily disseminate	Total (3+4+5)	
31.12.2006	32.835	21.292	8.770	3.727	33.789	66.624
31.12.2007	34.716	30.174	15.596	5.260	51.030	85.746
31.12.2008	36.060	39.770	21.842	3.802	65.414	101.474
31.12.2009	36.785	51.680	31.701	5.461	88.842	125.627
31.12.2010	37.259	61.386	37.339	4.903	103.628	140.887
31.12.2011	37.500	72.804	41.573	4.535	118.912	156.412
31.12.2012	37.566	82.275	44.992	5.389	132.656	170.222
31.12.2013	37.522	87.862	50.595	7.732	146.189	183.711
31.12.2014	37.473	87.947	61.326	8.612	157.885	195.358
31.12.2015	37.424	89.132	74.838	10.205	174.175	211.599

Source: Annual reports for the relevant years – ASFFPI

Regarding to the dissemination of members (Table 3), is noticed a relative oscillation in the voluntarily column, which represents the members who automatically with the entry into force of the second pillar, have passed on one of the private funds. Whereas, regarding to the remainder part, i.e. mandatory membership, there is a growing trend – a trend, which in 2015 reached to 211.599 members.

4.3. Specifics of the voluntary Fund

The third pillar, i.e. the fully funded pension insurance, represents a new way of pension (fully funded), based on defined voluntarily contributions. What distinguishes the third pillar is the fact that on this pillar may be included all persons who wish to provide a high volume of material security – despite mandatory pension (including the first and second pillar).

Table 4: The distribution of membership on voluntary pension Fund according to the way of membership NLB New Pension Fund (2009–2015)

Years	Voluntary in the individual accounts	In pension scheme with professional account	Total
2009	1.036	551	1.587
2010	1.988	882	2.870
2011	2.499	1.325	3.824
2012	3.366	1.986	5.352
2013	3.866	2.487	6.353
2014	4.822	2.885	7.707
2015	5.443	3.148	8.591

Source: Annual reports for the relevant years – ASFFPI

Regarding to the distribution of members, there is a significant progressive trend, both in the membership with individual accounts, and on joining the pension scheme according to the professional account. The total number of members (including members with individual and professional accounts) in 2015 reached to 8.591 members.

Tabela 5: The distribution of membership on voluntary pension Fund according to the way of membership KB First Pension Company (2009–2015)

Years	Voluntary in the individual accounts	In pension scheme with professional account	Total
2009	1	23	24
2010	495	3.543	4.038
2011	622	7.749	8.371
2012	940	10.463	11.403
2013	1.199	10.973	12.172
2014	1.463	11.263	12.726
2015	1.573	11.580	13.153

Source: Annual reports for the relevant years – ASFFPI

Regarding to the dissemination of members, there is a significant progressive trend, both in the membership with individual accounts, and on joining the pension scheme according to the professional account. The total number of members (including members with individual and professional accounts) in 2015 reached to 13.153 members.

4.4. The specifics of the Agency for Supervision of Fully Funded Pension Insurance (ASFFPI)

The Agency for Supervision of Fully Funded Pension Insurance was founded in July of 2002 – a agency, which continues in supervising the operation of pension funds, respectively, controlling the work of NLB New Pension Fund and KB First Pension Company, to protect the interests of pension fund members. This Agency also cooperates with the Ministry of Finance, National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia, the Securities Commission and other institutions for ensuring effective supervision on fully funded pension insurance

Tabela 6: The financial data by the NLB New Pension Fund, about managing of pension funds, respectively of the second and third pillar, for period 2006–2015 (in million denars)

Vitet	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Të hyrat	58,11	84,60	103,65	120,87	123,67	128,92	142,44	159,91	171,41	183,74
Shpenzimet	58,67	79,17	79,11	99,11	94,78	99,29	101,15	101,90	113,04	121,12
Humbja/fitimi	-561,61	-5,07	-24,54	21,75	28,91	29,63	37,80	58,01	58,38	62,62
Hum/fit i akumuluar	-39,46	-34,36	-22,85	11,68	35,06	30,80	55,67	91,03	148,65	154,98

Source: Annual reports for the relevant years – ASFFPI

Table 6 – presents the financial data by the NLB New Pension Fund, about managing of pension funds, i.e. financial data for the management of the second and third pillar, for the period 2006–2015. According to the presented table above, it appears that NLB New Pension Fund concluded the first three years of operation of the system, with an accumulated loss of 39.46 million denars in 2006, 34.36 million denars in 2007 and 22.85 million denars in 2008. However, for the first time in 2009 (since the beginning of operation of the system), NLB New Pension Fund realized sufficient income to cover accumulated losses from previous years, while KB First Pension Company, the latter, has realized on 2008.

Tabela 7: The financial data by the KB First Pension Company, about managing of pension funds, respectively of the second and third pillar, for period 2006–2015 (in million denars)

Vitet	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Të hyrat	66,32	94,95	111,63	137,45	140,71	144,42	154,09	36,61	188,62	204,44
Shpenzimet	69,09	87,56	91,99	95,92	93,73	95,44	99,06	101,22	105,42	115,54
Humbja/fitimi	-2,78	-7,39	29,63	41,54	46,98	48,97	55,03	73,60	83,20	88,90
Hum/fit i akumuluar	-27,02	-19,63	28,93	0,00	81,95	44,80	58,36	102,10	107,74	167,05

Source: Annual reports for the relevant years – ASFFPI

Table 7 – also presents the financial data realised from the KB First Pension Company, i.e. financial data for the management of the second and third pillar, for the period 2006–2015. KB First Pension Company, only the first two years of operation of the system completed with an accumulated losses, of 27.02 million denars in 2006 and 19.63 million denars in 2007. However, unlike NLB New Pension Fund, the KB First Pension Company, in 2008, for the first time (since the beginning of operation of the system), realized a sufficient income to cover accumulated losses from previous years, while NLB New Pension Fund, realized this in 2009. Whereas, in 2009, the accumulated profit in the mentioned company reached zero, which means that KB First Pension Company reached to the critical point, i.e. neither profit nor loss.

5. Analysis of pensional and disability insurance fund stability

5.1. Demographic aspect

The impact of demographic factors in the Macedonian pensional system, it's very present, due to the fact that from the population willing to work depends the number of insurees. Further, from the number of in-

insurees depends the income of the Fund -which on the other side is based on the paid contributions for pension insurance. Hence, the increase of the number of population willing to work is related with the economic growth and living standards i.e. with the improvement of economic growth, which on one hand leads to increased activities of the entities and creating the necessity for more employees, and on the other hand, enables increasement of Fund's revenue. In addition, increasing of living standards directly affects the increasement of life span – a standard, which means a longer period of exploitation of pensions by pensioners, as well as greater burden for the Fund's budget. Also, the movement of the total population in the Republic of Macedonia (demonstrated in the following table), represents a significant parameter for the future occurrence in the pensional system – especially, from the perspective of the population that is willing to work.

<i>Table 8: Total number of population</i>						
1950	2002	2007	2015	2025	2050	2100
1.230.000	2.022.547	2.038.000	2.025.000	1.990.000	1.745.000	1.500.000
<i>Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia</i>						

The table above – presents the number of total population from 1950 onwards, as well as the projections for the future, namely the increase of number of population after the last census (the last census of the population in Republic of Macedonia was done in 2007). Thus, the projections for the future show a declining trend in the general population, that in the last year of the projection period Republic of Macedonia is expected to lose a quarter of current population number. However, beside the general population movement on demographic assumptions panel, an important role (in terms of sustainability of the pension system), takes the assumptions on fertility and longevity. Fertility rates are important for the number of population that is willing to work, from which depends the number of insurees, while longevity represents an indicator of the mortality tables that shows on average how many years a person will live, at a certain age. On the other hand, the increase in longevity means that people will live longer. The latter, it will reflect in the growing number of elderly people, i.e. in the increasing number of pensioners and the duration of retirement.

5.2. Financial aspect

The consolidation and the financial sustainability of the pension system, represents one of the major challenges that Republic of Macedo-

nia is facing currently. This public concern has to do precisely with the capacity and security of the pension system, in an environment characterized by a decreasing ratio in terms of number of employees in financing a pensioner. In 1995 (from employment perspective), the number of employees significantly decreased, thus, in Central and Eastern Europe countries reached to 12.5% – a number which is not a relevant indicator because it does not show the informal employment namely the part – time employment, and for which there is no employment contract. The latter (informal employment), as a phenomenon, is quite present and with a emphasize relevance in the economic and social sphere and which automatically creates the need for asking the following question: Which would be the economic and social consequences by reducing the employment?

As always, from economic and social perspective the reduction of employment leads to numerous consequences, namely that affects the employed people. In our case, mostly is battered the activities and the pension system, because, on one hand the payments for contributions continuously are dropping, while on the other hand the payments of pensions are increased known as the phenomenon of "open scissors". The latter, leading to creation of financial gap which later will grow even more as a result of the dismissal of workers and their engagement in the informal sector or outside the framework of authorities for payment of social contributions (action which led to the reduction of revenues of the pension system). In Republic of Macedonia, the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund (as the first pillar of pension system), represents the most sensitive and less favorable part of pension system. Furthermore, it is known that the largest financial deterioration of pension system in the Republic of Macedonia, are as a result of the undertaken reforms, i.e the transition from a pension system with one pillar - to the three pillar's system (for the concord reform, the state took over the funding of transition or transformation of the system costs which are of temporary basis). These costs started in the first year of the reform and gradually continue to grow, and by 2020 it is expected to reach the level of 1.29% of GDP, while its maximum of 1.56% of GDP, would be reached by 2030, and will end in 2045, by strengthening the second pillar of the system. Thus, a part of the burden of financing pensions is transferred to the second pillar, which directly affects the reduction of costs (for pensions), of the first pillar. So, taking in consideration the vertiginous increase of transition costs, from 5 to 10 million euros annually, automatically arises the question which corresponds with the concerned situa-

Financially, this burden represents a critical condition, due to the fact that covering these costs requires additional revenues, which the Fund can not provide because the parameters upon which are supported these reforms are affected by:

- The decrease of contributions** – represents a huge burden and a quite uncomfortable situation, which the Fund faces every year. By a government decision strating from 01.01.2009, contributions were decreased from 21.2% to 19% that is 10% reduction on contributions for pension insurance. In 2010, the previous decrease was followed by another one but this time the decrease was 1 point percent that led to todays level which is 18% – and these decreaselements, which according to the basis of 21.2% that was before, it represents a decrease by 15% of pension insurance contributions, or a 15% reduction of income (holding other things constant).

Years	% of Contributions	% of reduction Contributions	Source Revenues	Income from the old rate (before the changes)	The negative difference as a result of change in contribution rates - in denars	The negative difference as a result of change in contribution rates – in euros
2008	21.2	-	26.355,49	26.355,49	-	-
2009	19	10,37	26.536,02	29.287,8	-2.751,78	-44.744.390
2010	18	15,09	26.301,39	30.270,26	-3.968,87	-64.534.470
2011	18	15,09	27.012,55	31.088,74	-4.076,19	-66.279.510
2012	18	15,09	27.744,05	31.930,62	-4.186,57	-68.074.310
2013	18	15,09	28.706,74	33.038,58	-4.331,84	-70.436.420
2014	18	15,09	29.907,64	34.420,7	-4.513,06	-73.383.090
2015	18	15,09	32.236,20	37.100,64	-4.864,44	-79.096.590
Total					-28.692,75	-466.548.780

Source: Personal calculation based on data of Pension and Disability Insurance Fund

Also, the above table helps us to form an idea about the financial situation of the current pension system of Republik of Macedonia, respectively, it gives us a clear picture about the financial losses and damage that was caused to the Pension Fund, by decreasing the contributions for 3.2 point percentage, thus, it is noted that since 2009–2015, on pension fund were swept 466.548.780 milion euros less – funds, that would have entred into the Fund if the contributions would be on the old level of 21.2%. Although the Pension Fund considers these financial means as loss, the economic entities considered these as aid or facilitation, if and only if the latter are directed on productive purposes (the productive purposes further affect economic growth – so both sides are benefiting). So, from the perspective of the pension system, this situation is considered to be a shock, because the coverage of these assets (losses) was made from other sources such as the budget of RM, and if would be taken into consideration the projections of World Bank regarding the reform process – projections which predicted that over a continuous growth of the economy, to an average of 5% per year, thus the Pension Fund would not have faced with financial difficulties, respectively the period of the reforms will be completed with a positive financial balance. However, on the one hand the poor results of economic growth, and on the other hand the financial crisis after the country independence and the 2008 crisis led the state pension system in its current situation, i.e. being fully depended on the budget of the Republic of Macedonia.

Transfers in the second pillar – represents the second parameter according to which the current financial situation of the Fund is created. After converting of the 6.3% from the total contribution rate for pension insurance, the Fund keeps only 11.7%, which represents Fund's total income, and which both should serve in covering the expenses for pension's payment.

Unemployment – as the third parameter on which pension system reforms are supported, creates an alarming situation on the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund. All of this, due the fact of not completing in time the projections of the World Bank and of the Actuarial Unit, which recommended that for successful reforms, unemployment in the country until 2010 should be reduced to 28%, while in 2012 should have reached the level of 26.5%, with a purpose of resurrection of other economic parameters, respectively their impact on GDP to be more crucial.

The following table presents the movement of employment and unemployment during the period 2008–2015. The numbers in the table 9, claim the reasons of worsening of the financial situation of Pension and Disability Insurance Fund of Republic of Macedonia.

Table 10: The movement of employment and unemployment in the period 2008-2015				
Years	Employment		Unemployment	
2008	37.3	609.015	33.8	310.409
2009	38.4	629.901	32.2	298.873
2010	38.7	637.855	32.0	300.439
2011	38.9	645.085	31.4	294.963
2012	39.0	650.554	31.0	292.502
2013	40.6	678.838	29.0	277.219
2014	41.2	690.188	28.0	268.809
2015	42.1	705.990	26.1	248.934
<i>Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia</i>				

Table 10 – presents the national employment strategy of Republic of Macedonia. According to the national and European Union target, the % of employment in 2015 was expected to reach 55% – a percentage, which would directly affect the growth of income of Pension and Disability Insurance Fund (due to increased paid contributions).

Table 11: The movement of employment compared with the strategic priorities of the EU and with the national employment strategy of RM				
	Mace- donia 2010	National target for 2015	The objective of the EU for 2020	The forecast national target of RM for 2020
% of employment from 20 to 64 years	48.1%	55%	75%	60%
% of employment among young people 15 to 29 years	26.5%	29%	-	-
% of employment among young people 15 to 24 years	15.4%	17%	-	-
% of employment of women from 15 to 64 years	34%	42%	-	-
% of employment of older people from 55 to 64 years	34.2%	41%	-	-
<i>Source: The Statistical Office and from the labor force survey for 2010</i>				

However, due to the real economic situation, the Republic of Macedonia did not manage to fulfill on time the World Bank's project-

tions for a successful reform, i.e the reduction of unemployment at 28% in 2010 and 26.5% in 2012, as well as fulfilling the projections of the national employment strategy of RM, respectively increasing employment to 55% in 2015. Therefore, to achieve the mentioned projections, it took Republic of Macedonia 3 additional years, because the reduction of unemployment to 26.5% (that was supposed be reached in 2012), was achieved in 2015. So, if we rely only on the data of the above table, we obtain an impression that all the measures that were taken by the government have had positive results, due to the fact that, on one hand unemployment is significantly reduced while on the other hand employment has been increased. But, as always, these data should be taken with caution, because:

- Firstly, there were changes in the list of evidence of the unemployed (a few years ago), where a good part of the citizens were categorized as persons seeking employment in passive way. As a result, the latter were removed from the evidence of unemployed, by not excluding also cases where in arbitrary way and for trivial reasons (short delay in monthly reporting), citizens were deleted from the list of the unemployed;
- Secondly and most importantly, remains the structure of employment growth, i.e. where these people were employed, because the structure of employment growth directly affects the fiscal sustainability of the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund.

However, if we analyze the total employment in the Republic of Macedonia, we conclude that a significant number of employment were made by the state institutions – employment, which actually does not have any significant impact in the budget of the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, due the fact that we just transfer of state fund towards state institution. Therefore, to have a more pronounced effect on the Fund's financial stability, the bigger part of new employments should be done by the private sector and not the public-state one. Perhaps only on this way, the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund of Republic of Macedonia would provide new funds, which positively would impact on the growth of its source revenues. On the other hand, in the new employments of the private sector, it is important to consider the structure of its salaries (where Fund provides its income sources).

Table 12: The flow of revenues for the period 1994-2015 (in million denars)

Years	Income sources	Employment Agency	Budget	Excise	Other entries	Dividends	Sale of shares	Total	% of central budget revenues in total revenues
1994	13.634,70	-	2.944,61	835,15	79,82	-	-	17.494,28	16.83%
1995	14.286,81	-	2.830,00	857,50	36,56	-	-	18.010,87	15.71%
1996	14.180,21	-	3.289,00	778,87	31,46	47,18	-	18.326,72	17.94%
1997	14.551,83	-	3.516,00	731,02	32,02	48,38	-	18.879,25	18.62%
1998	15.468,00	-	3.618,57	693,86	120,87	49,94	569,84	20.520,72	17.63%
1999	16.843,09	-	3.266,07	633,24	43,05	68,68	177,52	21.031,65	15.52%
2000	17.762,43	-	4.174,42	802,07	88,22	53,86	15,55	22.896,55	18.23%
2001	17.546,45	-	5.744,48	716,09	75,58	39,44	167,54	24.289,58	23.64%
2002	17.939,26	-	6.960,91	687,83	29,20	19,68	172,51	25.809,39	26.97%
2003	19.187,97	-	7.740,95	677,04	80,13	20,98	20,63	27.727,70	27.91%
2004	19.752,87	-	8.486,44	660,97	56,09	20,60	50,91	29.027,88	29.23%
2005	19.888,97	-	8.255,08	659,14	62,74	18,13	27,65	28.911,71	28.55%
2006	19.948,52	1.219,77	9.370,85	661,00	223,75	22,75	962,6	32.409,24	28.91%
2007	21.914,23	864,98	10.378,52	681,04	151,89	5,88	56,71	34.053,25	30.47%
2008	25.581,91	773,58	10.181,99	717,40	247,71	21,48	97,63	37.621,70	27.06%
2009	26.279,53	256,49	14.020,85	744,49	194,11	19,41	74,64	41.589,52	33.71%
2010	26.137,49	163,90	14.218,12	787,57	112,17	10	40,78	41.470,03	34.28%
2011	26.890,36	122,19	15.704,97	813,77	122,23	7,22	276,35	43.937,09	35.74%
2012	27.659,80	84,25	17.503,34	851,03	149,65	3,44	119,12	46.370,63	37.74%
2013	28.655,98	50,76	21.060,83	870,16	142,69	2,25	287,56	51.070,23	41.23%
2014	29.876,77	30,87	22.677,71	892,39	290,74	0,66	11,54	53.780,68	42.16%
2015	32.214,89	21,22	23.860,89	1016,11	125,70	0,09	11,52	57.254,51	41.67%

Source: Pension and Disability Insurance Fund

If we rely on the data from the Statistical Office, the monthly average salary in Macedonia for April 2016 was 22,356 denars or around 362 euros, which means that Macedonia has the lowest average salary in the region. That is three times less than the average salary in Slovenia, two times less than in Croatia, and has been surpassed even by Kosovo, as the youngest country in the region. So, although the numbers are a strong argument, not always are on our side, in this case not on the Fund's side, because the low level of salaries generates low income, respectively not enough to finance the expenses of the Fund. However in our case, the analysis should be more profound so that we detect who has increased the salaries in the country, the private or public sector, because the increase of salaries represents a further important parameter, which can not be bypassed. The Government of the Republic of Macedonia, a few years ago, increased the salaries of state administration, but, the same did not happen in the private sector ...?!

The young pensioners – represents the last segment, which also affect the financial situation of the Fund. This is because of early retirement, otherwise known as "Younger pensioners" representing the people who can work, but regardless the ways and means they manage to get pension, and by this they burden financially even more the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund.

During the financial describe an important role represents the flow of revenue and expenditure of the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund.

The total incomes in 2015, compared to 1994, are increased by 327.27%, while the funds from the budget of RM are increased by 810.32%. The revenues from the Employment Agency are drastically reduced (in 2009), and that is due to the change of legislation in terms of gained right, and in terms of base's and calculating the percentage realized.

<i>Tabela 13: The flow of expenditures for the period 1994-2015 (in million denars)</i>							
Years	Pensions	Compensations from disability insurance	Contributions from health	Professional service	Other capital expenditures	Transition costs	Total
1994	15.404,40	391,66	2.102,03	-	427,72	-	18.444,58
1995	15.684,34	204,11	2.082,07	-	198,97	-	18.295,69
1996	16.223,17	185,26	2.217,54	-	170,61	-	18.925,01
1997	16.694,20	179,22	2.292,43	-	209,89	-	19.504,07
1998	17.730,56	177,48	2.320,67	-	174,52	-	20.533,40
1999	17.757,99	177,80	2.450,13	-	163,53	-	20.681,29
2000	19.745,20	173,44	2.674,37	-	206,53	-	22.941,57
2001	21.282,34	170,19	2.800,73	-	290,23	-	24.696,86
2002	21.282,34	179,85	2.927,64	-	352,59	-	25.880,42
2003	22.252,52	182,89	3.183,98	-	197,74	-	27.764,35
2004	24.028,33	189,07	3.349,18	-	301,62	-	29.116,81
2005	25.108,05	199,61	3.416,82	-	272,67	-	29.028,91
2006	25.410,57	224,98	3.582,45	177,17	486,40	1.325,14	31.206,70
2007	26.305,27	247,79	3.714,03	240,33	385,13	1.877,00	32.769,55
2008	30.953,74	115,58	4.367,89	256,16	549,24	2.490,53	38.733,14
2009	33.537,64	107,53	4.290,57	264,64	260,39	2.932,20	41.392,97
2010	34.437,32	103,52	4.338,25	251,55	203,89	3.172,93	42.507,46
2011	35.751,31	101,65	4.524,32	273,81	172,07	3.482,61	44.305,77
2012	37.292,59	100,65	4.798,82	257,28	177,93	3.599,49	46.226,76
2013	40.812,95	100,57	5.359,18	247,34	193,43	4.141,29	50.854,76
2014	43.931,60	97,45	5.421,47	241,31	187,30	4.138,32	54.017,45
2015	45.569,34	94,71	5.954,22	248,63	202,47	4.719,99	56.789,36

Source: Pension and Disability Insurance Fund

Whereas, regarding to the flow of Fund's expenses, we conclude that, the latter, during the period 1994–2015 have grown dramatically (all

this, as a result of the increase of pension beneficiaries and pension adjustments). The expenditures for pensions in 2015, have reached 45.569.34 million denars, which compared to 1994 shows an increasement of 295.99%, the expenses for salaries of employees have increased for 209.34%, while other expenses have declined. So, the total expenses of 2015, compared with 1994, have increased for 307.89%.

So, the all parameters examined above, contribute in creation of the image of the current financial situation of the Fund, which according to the actuarial projections is expected to deteriorate even more, primarily due the increase of transition costs and demographic parameters, where on 2030, is expected that this deficit will reach its maximum. Also, if we continue with this financial crisis and economic situation, and if the latter does not mark significant increase – in the upcoming years, inevitably it will be implemented the projection of increasing the age limit for retirement (from the current 65 to 67 for men and from 62 to 65 years for women). The latter will directly affect in reducing the pressure on the overall financial burden of the Fund. But, how this option of reducing the financial deficit may be permanent solution, remains an open and quite problematic question, as for developed countries as well as for the countries in transition. So, which will be the adequate solution or formula, it still remains a challenge!?

6. Proposals and measures for improving the financial performance of state pension fund

6.1. Increasing the retirement age

Increasing the retirement age, represents one of the most unpopular ways for improving the financial performance of state pension fund. However, the global crisis, the absence of budgets, as well as the ongoing deterioration of the mentioned institution, led to taking into consideration the increasement of retirement age, i.e. the adoption of a reform, which envisages a gradual expansion of the limit of retirement age. The Republic of Macedonia currently has two ways to implement this measure, such as:

- The gradual expansion of the limit of retirement age, i.e. indexing every year with certain month, by increasing the age limit for several years, and;

- Increasing the limit, for example, from the current 64 to 70 years of age.

However, which method will be implemented, largely depends on the decision regarding the impact of raising the retirement age limit - at the insurers (although each method that would be enforcement would not be a misstep). On the other hand, we are aware of the fact that any undertaken action has the cause and the effect, i.e. the effects from the implementation of the same. Therefore, the effect of the undertaken action (conditionally) - on this negative case, would be reflected on the current employees, because the latter will have to work for longer period and will receive pension for a shorter period. Further, another question arises, that is, which will be the positive effects from the implementation of this method?

However, which way will be implemented, largely depends on the decision of the impact of rising the limit age of retirement to the insurers (although each method that would be enforcement would not be a mistake). On the other hand, we are aware of the fact that any undertaken action has cause and effect, i.e. the effects from the implementation of the same. Therefore, the effect of the undertaken action (conditionally) - on this case negative, would be reflected in current employees, because the latter will have to work for longer period and for smaller period to receive pension. Further, another question arises, respectively, which will be the positive effects from the application of the same?

Initially, we have the appearance of a double effect: firstly, we will have an increase in the number of employees, primarily those of the older generation, which will be on the group of insurers for the longer period and will pay contributions, and with these paid contributions it will provide additional financial means for the Fund, and secondly, will have a decrease in the number of pensioners – due to higher retirement age, thus, reducing the costs of the Fund for pensions payment. A side effect, by undertaking this measure would be the reduction of dependence of the Fund from the state budget (which represents the major problem for the state budget).

6.2. The introduction of a combined retirement system (increasing the age limit of retirement)

Increasing the retirement age limit for certain groups, foresees the increase of retirement age limit up to 70 years of age, which will include:

- Administration employees (state and private);
- Employees on educational institutions, i.e. manufactory

However, for the other industries where work commitments require more physical activity, and at the same time are exposed to risks, the implementation of this measure, foresees that the retirement age limit to remain at 64 years of age (as it is currently). Although through the selection of the retirement age limit for certain groups, it will be achieved a partial effect (unlike the first projection), however this projection (even partially) would enable improvement in the financial condition of the Fund, because administrators and employees of educational institutions (with subsequent retirement), would continue to remain in the employees group, and therefore would not burden the Fund budget. So, the implementation of this measure (like the first measure) would cause negative social consequences, because of the separation of employees into different groups. However, taking in consideration the implementation of major reforms, particularly for increasing Fund's liquidity, is more than necessary making relevant, strategic and competitive decisions.

6.3. Increase of the contributions or returning to the previous state

This measure is also quite unpopular for implementation, respectively its implementation is expected to encounter more disagreement by all parties involved, particularly between employers and the insurees (see table 9 regarding the loss caused to Pension and Disability Insurance Fund). Therefore, the need for returning the contributions rate at the level of 21.2% (or introducing even a higher one), is considered inevitable and quite challenging for overcoming the financial crisis, which the Fund currently is facing with. Further, increasing the contribution rate, would enable growth of Fund's revenue, and also will significantly reduce the difference between revenues and expenditures.

However, undertaking such a measure has also social consequences that would be justified only in the case of positive future results of the economy of Republic of Macedonia, through increased GDP. On the contrary, any increase in contributions would be considered as pressure on economic entities, namely on employees, and for employers this would cause additional costs, whereas the possibility to increase the number of employees would be reduced.

6.4. A new reformulation of policies for promoting employment in the private sector

The Employment Agency of the Republic of Macedonia, relying on policies for promoting employment in the private sector, as well as based in the Section 98-b of amending the Law of Employment and Insurance in case of unemployment of 2014, and Section 98-g, Section 98 and Section 98-d-f, of amending the Law of Employment and Insurance in case of unemployment of 2015, quotes that: **the employer of private sector through a prior requests sent to the Employment Agency of the Republic Macedonia**, will be able to employ people with full time job (that are unemployed), belonging to certain categories and simultaneously will be exempted from paying contributions for mandatory social insurance, and/or personal income taxes. The exemption from social security contributions, significantly increased the demands in the private sector – addressed to the Employment Agency of Republic of Macedonia (6647 operating entities sent requests for employment of 11364 unemployed people and were issued in total 11121 positive confirmations). Hence, the project "Macedonia employs" managed to employ a total of 8148 people in 2015. So, through a mathematical calculation, the following table presents the losses of revenue in 2015 (the project is scheduled to last 3 to 5 years).

Table 14: The financial losses from non-payment contributions for 2015 – Project Makedonija (in million denars)

Year 2015	Employment under 29 years of project "Macedonia employs"	Scenario according to the minimum wage (1)		Scenario according to the average salary (2)		Financial loss for 2015	
		Minimum wage	Pension contributions	Average salary	Pension contributions	Loss from scenario 1	Loss from scenario 2
M - 1	2973	10080	2904	22356	5923	103.603.104	211.308.948
M - 2	8148	10080	2904	22356	5923	283.941.504	579.127.248
Total	11121	10080	2904	22356	5923	387.544.608	790.436.196

Source: Personal calculation based on annual work program of the Employment Agency for 2015

So, based on mathematical arguments, respectively, to confirm the effect (negative one) that this action causes to the Fund, we have created two possible scenarios. The first scenario, which assumes employments are on the category of minimal salaries, and the second scenario

which assumes employments are on the category of average salaries. The latter is taken, to the fact that we are talking about a social action – an action which would result in the following outcomes:

- According to the action for exemption from payment of contributions for employed people under the age of 29, the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, for 2015, according to the scenario based on the minimum wage category, has lost, about 103.603.104 million denars or 1,68 million euros, and about 211.308.948 million denars or 3.43 million euros according to the scenario based on the average salary category;
- According to the action "Macedonia employs" involving the other categories of employees - young people, the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, for 2015, was damaged for 283.941.504 million denars or 4.6 million euros based on the scenario on minimum wage category, and for 579.127.248 million denars or 9.4 million euros according to the scenario based on the average salary.
- In total, employing through these measures, the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, was damaged for 387.544.608 million denars or 6.3 million euros, according to the scenario of the minimum wage category, and for 790.436.196 million denars or 12.85 million euros, according to the scenario based on the average salary category, in 2015.

Table 15: The financial losses from non-payment contributions for the next years - Project Makedonija (in million denars)

Financial loss for 2015		Loss for the next 3 years		Loss for the next 5 years	
Loss from scenario 1	Loss from scenario 2	Loss from scenario 1	Loss from scenario 2	Loss from scenario 1	Loss from scenario 2
103.603.104	211.308.948	310.809.312	633.926.844	518.015.520	1.056.544.740
283.941.504	579.127.248	851.824.512	1.737.381.744	1.419.707.520	2.895.636.240
387.544.608	790.436.196	1.162.633.824	2.371.306.588	1.937.723.040	3.952.180.980
<i>Source: Personal calculation based on annual work program of the Employment Agency for 2015</i>					

- Regarding to the financial loss from the non-payment of contributions – for the next few years, we conclude that, on total, the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, for the next 3 years will not be able to generate funds at about 1.162.633.824 million denars

or 18,9 million euro according to the scenario of the minimum wage category, and about 2.371.306.588 million denars or 38,5 million euro, according to the scenario based on the average salary category, whereas for the next 5 years the financial damage, will go up to 1.937.723.040 million denars or 31,5 million euro, according to the scenario of the minimum wage category and for 3.952.180.980 million denars or 64,2 million euro according to the scenario based on the average salary category.

6.5. Improving financial discipline and regular pension

payments, namely the reduction of fictitious pensioners

As we know, the problems or difficulties which the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund of Republic of Macedonia faced in the past, have been primarily of financial aspect, such as negligence i.e. non-payment of contributions on time by companies (this negligence exacerbates the financial situation of the Fund). Although the latter problems are somehow eliminated, however, the issue of non-payment of contributions remains one of the most sensitive areas affecting directly the daily operation of the Fund. However this negligence of non-payment of contributions is not present only in private companies, but also in many public enterprises, that are managed by the state and which for a long time have not paid the contributions for their employees. Further, their debt (together the private and public enterprises), towards the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, has reached almost 100 million euro. The other problem that is also very present during the daily operation of the Fund has been the appearance of fictitious pensioners as well as their application for pension with false working experience.

Regardless of their ongoing tendency to "misuse" the Fund for personal gain, the latter, as a result of the deployment of the software applications, significantly is reduced due to the fact that the electronic system obviously is regularly updated and supplemented with new data about the insurees. Thus, in terms of increasing the financial discipline, the state should provide the kind of mechanisms for reducing the informal employment. In this context, we must create and set adequately and incentives policies for public enterprises, as well as for private ones, which for various reasons they register their employees with minimum wage (so that their obligation toward the Fund be lower) and the rest of the salary are given to them in cash.

6.6. The establishment of the strict mechanisms for preventing the misuse of collected funds

The Fund of Pensional and Disability Insurance of the Republic of Macedonia continues her struggles in terms of improving the financial situation – situation, this which day after day becomes more difficult as a result of the above elaborated factors, as well as a result of mismanagement of funds collected by its own. Even, for this mismanagement speaks the last year scandal, detected by the investigation media on the misuse of 13 million Euros by the Fund of Pensional and Disability Insurance, thus, funds which the Fund does not transferred them in the second pillar, i.e. in private pension companies (NLB new pension Fund and KB first pension company), specialized for multiplication of part of the funds transferred to the second pillar. So, as its known right now, the Fund of Pensional and Disability Insurance of Macedonia, recently, for several months did not transfer the funds, i.e. the 6% of total revenue collected by contributions for pension and disability insurance. On the other hand, as a result of this delay, the private companies (NLB New Pension Fund and KB First Pension Company), did not arrive in time to invest the collected funds, thus, to generate additional revenue for their insured (delays, which in financial terms significantly damaged their ensurans). Although the Fund of Pensional and Disability Insurance made legal infringement, however the punishment for misuse of by the competent institutions missed. Hence, this fact of impunity, once again informs us that the government and the authorities must establish strict mechanisms which will contribute to preventing the misuse of funds collected for the payment of pensions, and the Agency for Supervision of Pension, will have to detect in time and react quickly to any infringement, thus, to reduce attempts to further aggravation of the the Fund's, respectively, cases in which the consequences may be even more severe.

7. Conclusions

1. The pension system, since its establishment until now has functioned and continues to function based on the principle of solidarity between generations. This system was initially considered successful and did not have any problems during the implementation, because, then, the

average life expectancy was about 55 years of age and the ratio of the employee – pensioner was 7 to 1. However, later (in the second half of the twentieth century), as a result of the deterioration of the ratio of employee- pensioner, the reforms respectively the improvements in pension systems, took worldwide momentum, because, any postponement or delay in the reform process, caused bankruptcy or failure in pension payments, i.e. social problems. However, pension funds, remain the most important institutional investors, who, through the use of mechanisms of economic performance, provide security and stability of individuals income – after retirement. The latter (the security and stability of revenues), is achieved mainly through deployment of costs over the years of living, individual saving and national redistribution of income from the rich to the poor – maintaining the solidarity, as well as through horizontal distribution or to those who have the greatest need (the individuals with disabilities, families with more members, etc).

2. On the other hand, financial stability of pension system depends on a number of factors (demographic and economic) – factors, that can achieve a consolidation and long – term financial sustainability of pension system rarely and with lot of difficulties. Therefore, undertaking reforms, namely improving the pension systems (worldwide), was inevitable. The latter, were alluding to mainly in improving the financial performance, reducing the pressure of population aging, changing the system based on the principle of solidarity of generations and the introduction of the combined system by state and private funds.

3. The Republic of Macedonia, during the transitional period, also undertook a pension reform and pension system – in order to consolidate the pension fund and providing funds for pension payments. All the undertaken reforms (parametric), in the Republic of Macedonia, were intended at rationalizing the existing financial system, and also preparation of the system with component of equity financing, respectively the three pillar pension system. The first pillar involves providing mandatory pension and disability insurance based on generational solidarity, the second pillar represents private and competitive management, while, the third pillar represents a new mode of pension (includes all persons), who would like to provide a high volume of material security, based on defined contributions on voluntariy basis.

4. Implementation of the new pension system brought additional costs (otherwise known as transition costs). Although the transition costs or transformation costs, are of temporary character, and by passing time will end, even so, for the Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, in financial aspect, this load represents a critical condition, due to the fact that to cover these costs there is need for additional revenue, which the Fund can not provide because parameters upon which are supported the reforms are affected by the reduction of contributions, transferring a part of them in the second pillar, unemployment, as well as by younger pensioners. Therefore, undertaking projections for alleviating the situation of the Fund should be made primarily based on the mentioned parameters.

5. Increasing the retirement age (as a future projection), represents one of the most unpopular methods for improving the financial performance of the state pension Fund, as well as improving its situation. Despite this, to implement this projection (raising the age of retirement) the Republic of Macedonia must choose between gradual extension of the retirement age limit, respectively indexing its with particular month for each year by increasing the age limit for several years, or raising the limit, for example, from the current 64 to 70 years of age. Therefore, the increase of contributions or their return to the previous state (as a second projection for improving the financial performance), would cause social consequences, pressure on economic entities, namely on employees, as well as additional costs on employers (in this case, the possibility to increase the number of employees will be reduced).

6. Improving financial discipline and regular pension payment (reduction of fictitious pensioners) – as a possible projection, aimed at reducing negligence, regarding non-payment of contributions in time (by private companies and state), reducing fictitious pensioners which apply with false work experience, reduction of informal employment (just to avoid paying contributions), as well as creating and establishing appropriate policies and incentives for the payment of contributions. Also, the establishment of tighter mechanisms to prevent misuse of funds collected for the payment of pensions, as well as detection on time and quickly reaction by the Agency for Supervision of Pension Insurance, to any legal infringement would reduce attempts to further deterioration of the work of the Fund, respectively, the cases where the consequences could be even more severe.

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CORPORATE CULTURE AND COMPETITIVE PERFORMANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF BULGARIAN ENTERPRISES

Abstract

Purpose: Presentation of the trends occurring as a result of two empirical studies on the attitudes of Bulgarian business in terms of understanding the importance of the relation between corporate culture and firm competitive performance and related constructs associated for the overall successful existence of the companies.

Design/methodology/approach: A comparative study based on two national surveys of the Bulgarian business – "*National survey of business – September 2010*" and "*National survey of business and July-August 2015*". A survey closed questions based on a representative sample of 1000 companies, realizing business activity in Bulgaria. Ratio micro / small / medium / large companies is 60:30:10. Respondents are the owners and top managers of companies. The method used is standardized interview, that later is subsequently implemented by the author as comparative study between the two surveys from 2010 and 2015.

Findings: Among the survey respondents exists an understanding of the positive influence of the corporate culture to enhance the competitive advantages of the company and the importance of the planned management of internal communications of the organization and their motivating effect. Still the importance of professional management of corporate image is underestimated by Bulgarian business.

Practical Implications: Presentation of the understanding of the importance of the corporate culture for positive competitive performance among Bulgarian business. The identification of strengths and weak position in terms of understanding the importance of the "intangible values" for the overall performance of companies, which might served for a basis for future research in the wider pertaining to the issue.

Originality/value: Solely survey among Bulgarian business related to the understanding of the importance of the corporate culture for the competitive performance of the company, which could become the basis for future studies on issue.

Keywords: Corporate culture. Competitive performance, Internal Communication, Motivation, Corporate Image

Introduction

Interest towards study of the corporate culture arises in academic fields and among managers in the 80s of the 20th century. One of the essential aspects that affect this process is the ability of the corporate culture to support the improvement of the competitive advantages of companies. During that period, with the aim of survival and adaptation, as well as the opportunity to reinforce sustainability, companies need to redefine their nature, with emphasis on those benefits that are associated with "lighten" of the hierarchical structure, which facilitates the communication, exchange of information between members of the organization and the environment, adopting new approaches in management – strategic, human capital, the introduction of new concepts of development, all located in the domain of corporate culture.

Literature Review

In the academic literature there is no single accepted definition of the corporate culture, which is justified by the fact that the study of the construct requires a multidisciplinary approach – from the perspective of management, the social sciences and economics. For the purpose of this study will use one of the popular definitions of corporate culture, which states: "The culture of the organization is shared, common framework of relations, I. e. it is taken for granted and is perceived by a significant part of the group members; acquired and managed, learned in the process of socialization and transmitted between members. Prescribe rules for their organizational behavior; provides a sense of common psychological climate, i.e. indicates the uniqueness of the organization and contribute to the development of its identity; exists for a long period of time, i.e. could be found in every relatively stable social unity, for the entire period during which it exists; is symbolic, i.e. manifested in concepts like language and behavior is a construct that defines the meanings; its essence is

usually invisible and deterministic contains the base configuration of the deeper underlying values and assumptions; suggests a change that is not easy to be realized " (Lundberg, 1990).

The corporate culture is determined by management of the company, but management style, its approach, policies and practices of the organization are formulated, implemented and modified in accordance with established corporate culture.

Each organization exists through communications that connect members. That communication practices and corporate culture are elements without which the organization could not exist (Deetz, 2001; Mumby & Stohl, 1996; Putnam, Nicotera & McPhee, 2009). The corporate culture and communications support organization in its communication with all groups stakeholders, they are preconditions for establishing, managing and changing the corporate / organizational identities, corporate image and reputation. The corporate culture and communications committed to the creation of motivational programs, which contribute to increasing the commitment of employees to the organization, and hence the positive reaction to its overall performance (Grunig and Hunt, 1984; Hatch and Schultz, 1997; Melewar et al. 2005; Cornelissen, J., 2014; Van Riel, C. and Fombrun, Ch, 2007; Illia & Balmer, 2012; Димитрова, 2013). The corporate culture is a "framework" in which there are all the other aforementioned constructs whose ultimate goal is to support the successful existence of the organization in terms of growing dynamics of the modern business environment.

According to Chatman and Cha (2002) the corporate culture is the only dimension that is applicable to all organizations regardless of their size, stage of development, and a sector in which implement business activities. It is assumed that the size of companies and the peculiarities of the industry in which to compete influence the formation and implementation of their corporate culture (Gordon, 1991; Chatman and Jehn, 1994).

The competitive performance of the company is also difficult to uniquely define because it is taught both in terms of economic disciplines and from the perspective of organizational sciences. The competitive performance is associated with the most effective and efficient use of the organization's resources in a way that would help to achieve the final goals (Daft, 2000; Ricardo and Wade, 2001). Other authors, using empirical studies prove that the "intangible values" to which belongs the corporate culture are essential / with "tangible" / enhancing the overall performance of the organization and achieve competitive advantage (Car-

meli and Tishler, 2004; Hitt et al., 2001). Therefore, concurrent use of "hard" and "soft" factors to measure the competitive performance of the organization is essential both to establish its advantages and to identify its weaker positions and detect possible discrepancies, identifying which could lead to reformulation of strategies, or the creation of new ones that help to increase competitiveness.

One definition of competitiveness states that "Under the competitiveness we understand the nature of the subject of market relations (the company) to hit the market equivalent to the present there similar competing entities. The degree of competitiveness determines the ability of the object to withstand the intensity of counter the competitive market (a market objects can be competitive to another – no) (Икономическа енциклопедия, 2005: 370). We consider the competitive performance, which translates into corporate performance, which include both economic performance and corporate culture, and related constructs that contribute to positive results for the overall performance of the business organization.

To measure the competitive performance are created and tested empirically different models (Denison, 1984; 1990; Kotter and Heskett, 1992; Gordon and DiTomaso, 1992, Marcoulides and Heck, 1993; Denison and Mishra, 1995; Fey and Denison, 2003; Denison et al, 2006, etc.), using indicators related to the corporate culture / culture strength, adaptability, management style, human capital management, customer reporting requirements, etc. / on par with economic indicators / return on sales; return on investments; income-sales ration; growth of assets, etc./. Despite the criticism for certain aspects of research methodology (Wilderom and Van den Berg, 1998; Alvesson, 2002), and the need to refine the tools for studying the relationship between corporate culture and competitive performance, we can conclude that there exists such a relation, a positive character that emphasizes the multifaceted nature of corporate culture and its vital importance for the development of the modern organization.

Questionnaire surveys of Bulgarian companies

In this research paper we will follow the results of two empirical studies of attitudes among Bulgarian business to understand the importance of the link corporate culture and competitive performance¹ – "Na-

¹ "Development of the potential of the PhD students and young scientists for interdisciplinary socio-economic research 'Institute for Economic Research – BAS (Contract BG051PO001-3.3.04 / 37).

tional survey of business – September 2010" and "National survey of business and July-August 2015". The author of the current article is a participant in the two nationally representative surveys.

The main question: " Does the corporate culture of your company supports its economic performance / results /? is correlated with the size, shape of the registration, the sphere of activity of the surveyed companies used communication channels to implement internal communications, understanding of the motivating effect competently constructed internal communications , the forms to maintain the corporate image in the public domain. The volume of both samples is the national sample - 1,000 companies operating in Bulgaria. Respondents are owners and representatives of the top management of companies the ratio micro / small, medium and large companies is 60:30:10. The method used is standardized interview with closed questions. For the presentation of the relation between the issues is made through cross-tabulation using SPSS 16.0.

The relationship that exists between corporate culture and the competitive performance of firms is accepted as theoretically and empirically proven in world practice and through empirical study in Bulgarian business practices seek understanding of the positive impact that has a the corporate culture to enhance the competitive advantages of the company.

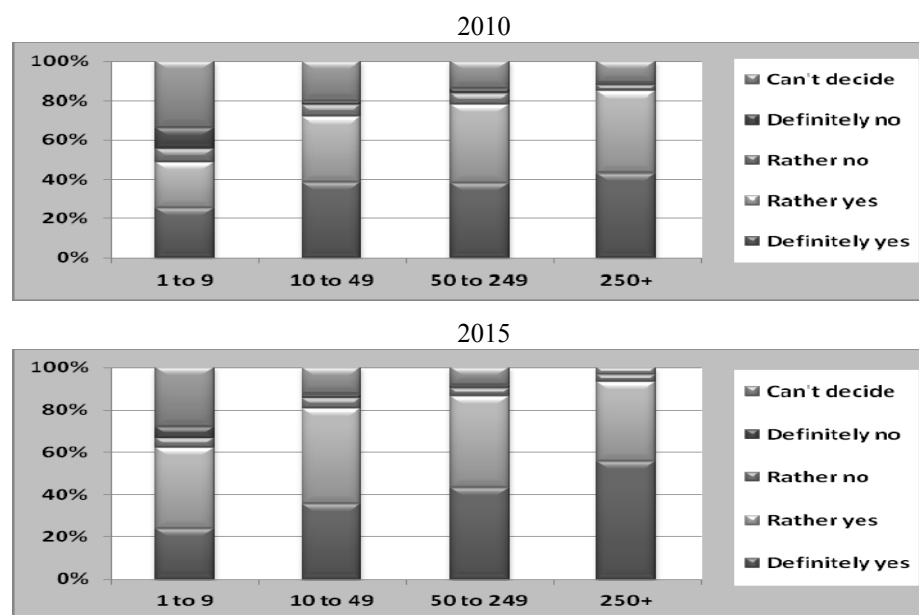
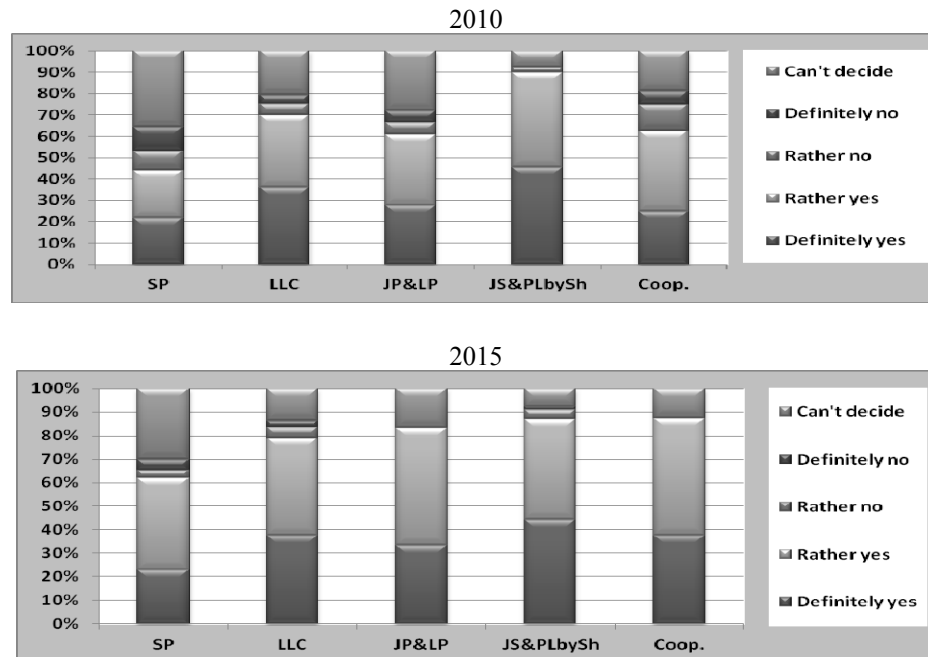


Fig. 1 – Number of employed persons / corporate culture competitive performance

The results of both surveys noted that among the respondents exists sustainable trend in the perception of the positive impact that the corporate culture has an in relation to the competitive performance of the company. Micro and somewhat smaller companies in showed the most largely difficulty in defining the nature of the connection. Large and medium-sized enterprises have no hesitation in confirming the allegation.



Legend: sole proprietorship (SP), cooperative (Coop.), general partnership (GP); limited partnership (LP); limited liability company (LLC); joint stock company (JSC); partnership limited by shares (PLbySh).

Fig. 2 – Form of registration / corporate culture-competitive performance

The most serious confirmation of the relationship between corporate culture and competitive advantages of the company, in both studies observe at the companies registered as Limited Liability Company (Ltd.) and Joint-Stock Company. In the most general case, this form of registration is characteristic of large, medium and small businesses. Micro-enterprises, most often registered as Private Merchant /PM/ in the both studies, experienced the most significant percentage hesitation on the nature of the impact of the corporate culture in relation to competitive advantages. The same argument is valid for the respondents registered as "other".

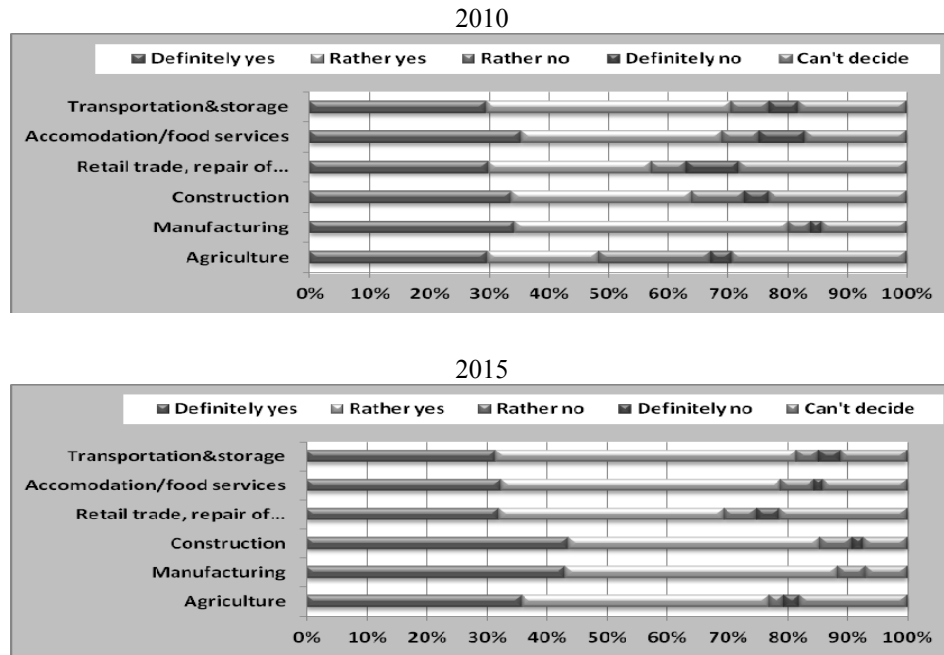


Fig. 3 – Business sphere/ corporate culture- competitive performance

The trend in both studies remains – regardless of sector- the assessment of the positive effects of the corporate culture over competitive performance is valid. We note that in sectors where competition is more intense and positive perceptions of stakeholders are critical to their survival; there is a more substantial support of the allegation. Such areas are industrial, construction, hospitality and trade and repair of motor vehicles. Less support the allegation in both studies show interviewed representatives of companies operating in the field of agriculture, forestry, fisheries. In trade and in hospitality and restaurant management is essential to maintain a certain standard in customer service, implementation of best practices in terms of staff and increase motivation, the introduction of creative and innovative working methods which aim to attract customers and turn them into loyal partners.

The companies in the industrial sector operating in a highly competitive environment, most often of the international markets. To be competitive, they need to maintain standards and improve the processes that match the best performance in the industry, which harmonizes directly with the corporate culture – offering quality products and services, conti-

nuous improvement of the value chain, ethical relationships with customers, suppliers, partners, adopting socially responsible behavior.

The construction sector is one of the sectors most affected by the financial and economic crisis. The survival and development of the companies in this sector insist continually improvement of the processes and working methods, the use of innovative and quality solutions, implementation and application of different practices, supported by an integrated marketing communications. They realize the importance of the corporate culture to adapt to the dynamics and volatility of the business environment.

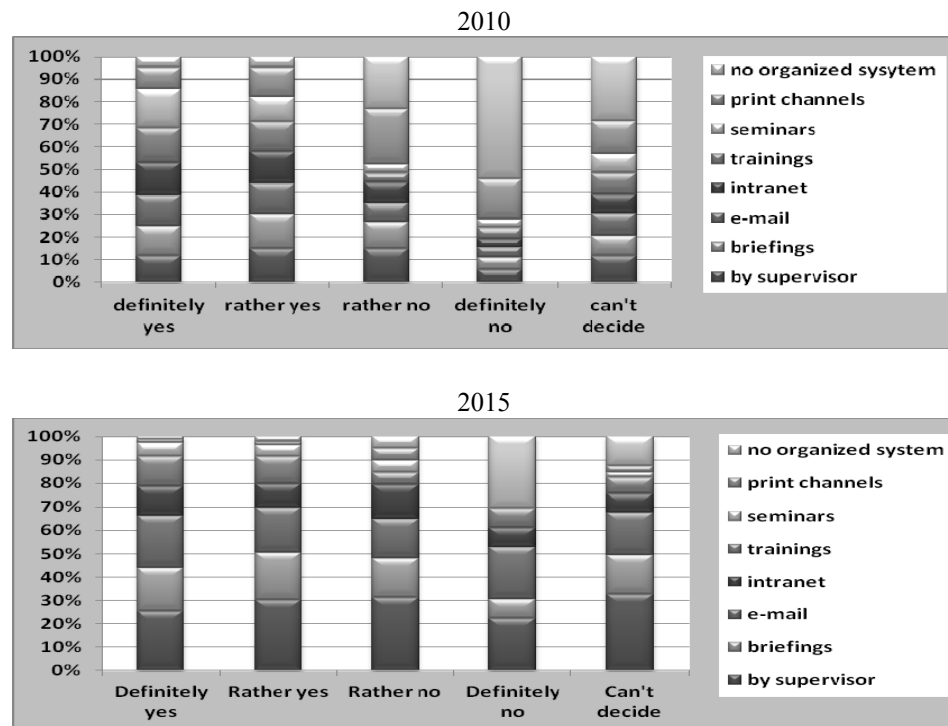


Fig. 4 – Corporate culture – competitive performance/ How to implement internal communications How to implement internal communications

The both studies confirmed significant dependence that exists between the corporate culture and communications in organization. Respondents who confirm the validity of the alleged positive effects of the corporate culture to enhance the competitive advantages of the company indicate a coordinated communication policy in the organization by using

a combination of different communication channels. Companies that said they had no established system for targeted implementation of internal communications showed the most difficult to define the nature of the relation, or strongly denied the importance of the corporate culture for the successful development of the company. Both studies showed that companies which used the intranet, seminars and trainings are the most confident in the existence of a positive relationship between the corporate culture and the competitive performance. Data from the first study show that the use of intranet, seminars and training for employees is typical for large and for the medium-sized enterprises (Димитрова, 2013). In the second study again highlights that the use of seminars as a channel for internal communication is typical of medium and large enterprises, while other communication channels are almost equally used, regardless of the size of the surveyed companies (Димитрова, 2015).

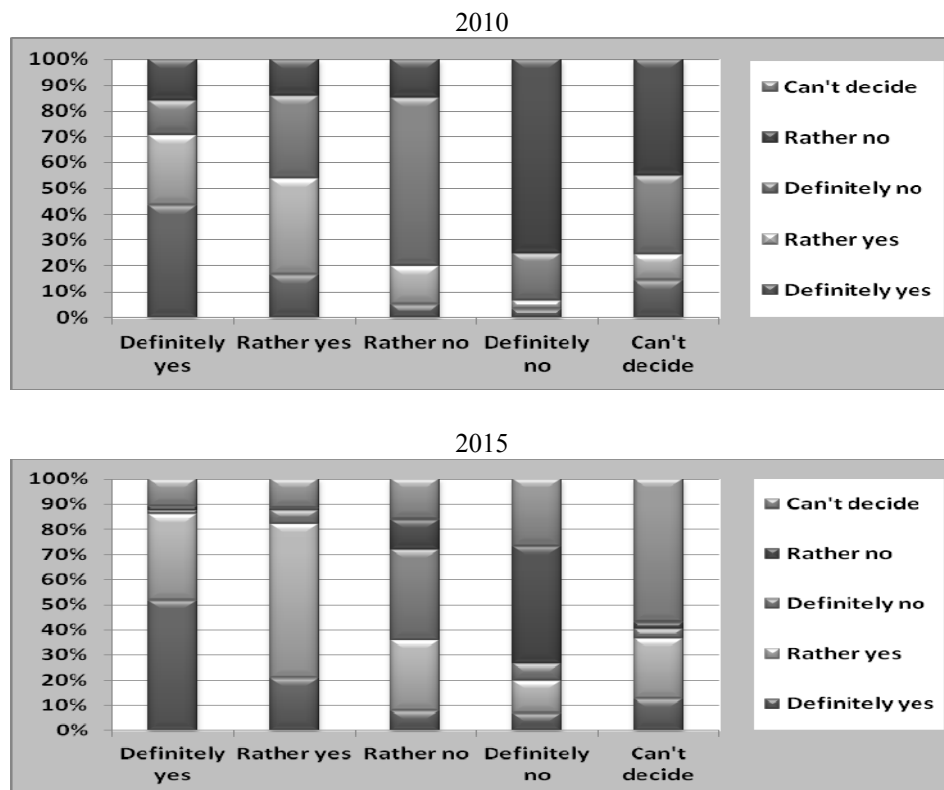


Fig. 5 – Corporate culture – competitive performance/ internal communication – motivation

In both studies, the majority of respondents supported the claim that internal communication has a positive effect on increasing the motivation of employees to perform their duties and to understand the mission of the organization in connection with the confirmation and the thesis that the corporate culture has a positive impact the competitiveness of the company. The answer of this question is amply demonstrated relationship between the corporate culture, communication and motivation. The existing corporate culture is a prerequisite for on the processes for communication policy. The Communications and the corporate culture are the basis for the creation and implementation of motivational programs for members of the organization. Motivated employees work more devotedly to the organization, are stricter in communicating with clients, their level of commitment to the organization is higher and show less tendency to leave. The above is reflected in the positive results for the company's reputation and increased its overall performance.

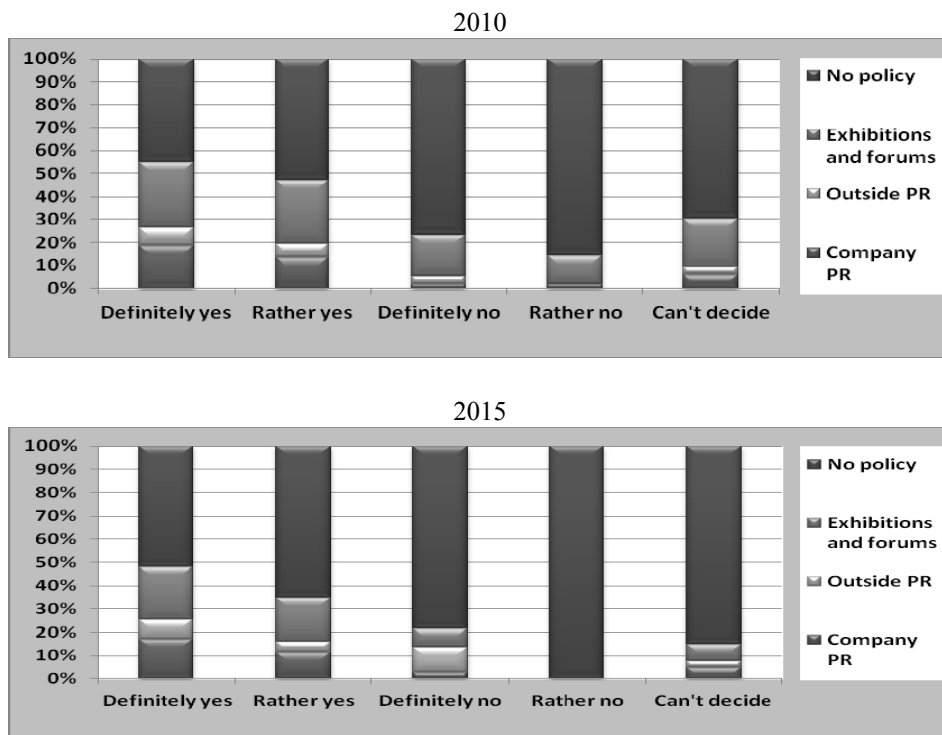


Fig. 6 – Corporate culture - competitive performance/ maintaining the image in the public domain

The results of both studies showed that the Bulgarian business has not yet understand the positives professionally maintained corporate image gives the company. We should note that respondents who are aware of the positive influence of the corporate culture to enhance the competitive advantages of the company to a greater extent indicate a policy of maintaining a corporate image in the public domain through full time PR specialist within the organizational structure and / or using the services of experts from PR agencies.

Discussion

By both studies among Bulgarian business within five years we can deduce positive and negative trends. The understanding of the positive effect it has the corporate culture for the overall successful performance of companies in the business environment in which they realize their activities remains the same. Most difficulty in defining the nature of the link between corporate culture and performance showed micro and some small companies. Micro and small enterprises are differ by the large companies on certain parameters such as organizational structure, management style, manner of implementation of competition with other companies (Man, Lau and Chan, 2001). Regardless of the size of the companies, however, the establishment, implementation and maintenance of corporate culture is necessary to not only for their survival, but also to promote and support the increase of their competitive advantages. Main sustainable competitive advantage for any organization is its corporate culture (Parker, 2012), when it managed in harmony with the strategy and structure. It is necessary to emphasize one of the most significant advantages of the corporate culture, related to the support of the competitive performance, namely that it can not be imitated, even if there are attempts, imitation is impossible, since the construct is complex and act mostly on a subconscious level /Schein, 1985; Kotter and Hesskett, 1992/. Micro and small companies could not "copy" the corporate culture of large companies, but may adopt best practices and adapt them in the context of the characteristics of its business, the environment in which they operate and last but not least, according to their size. Their major advantage is the ability to be more flexible, more adaptable and receptive in adopting and implementing good practices in the implementation of organizational change. Therefore, the creation and management of corporate culture tailored to the specific characteristics of micro and small

companies is an essential component for the successful development of not only Bulgarian but also in international markets.

Although in both studies the respondents cite the use of various communication channels for the implementation of internal organizational communications and show understanding of the importance of competently realized and accordingly managed communication to increase the motivation of the staff members, we can note the presence exactly a communication problem at the surveyed companies. Namely - the steady trend to underestimate the importance of maintaining a professional corporate image at the public domain. The corporate image is directly linked to corporate culture and is controlled by communications organization. The image is internal / images that hold by the members of the organization / and external /the images of external stakeholders of organization / internal and external image influencing one another. According to the tendency for integration of communications is necessary consistent messages to be sent to all the company stakeholders (Christensen & Cheney, 2001; Quirke, 2008). When there is a communication problem, for example to external stakeholders, the internal image is harmed, and hence the related constructs and motivation of the employees of the organization. The concept of autocommunication (Christensen and Askegaard, 2001) posits that the most important recipients of messages sent in the organization and outside its borders / despite their conditionality/ are its employees. In this way it approves image and the corporate culture. Therefore, the focus only on internal organizational communication is incorrect in relation to the management of the company's reputation. The corporate image and related constructs – corporate / organizational identities, the reputation – which exist within the corporate culture, are essential to increase the competitive advantages of the company (Simoes and Dibb, 2001), understanding their importance is necessary for the successful existence of any organization.

Guidelines for future research and recommendations for managers

The main parameters of the two studies are similar in the issues related to corporate culture and the competitive performance, ways of implementation of internal organizational communication and understanding of its motivational effect, as well as ways of maintaining a corporate

image in the public domain. Identical are the indicators related to firm size – respondents in the survey, the form of registration, the sectors in which they operate.

In the first study presented issues related to the specifics of public and non-public companies and the application of management practices associated with corporate governance, the existence of long-term market strategy, linking the remuneration of managers with market success of companies. In the second study are questions related to the propensity to generate and implement innovations, and approaches to improve the competitiveness of companies.

On the future stage of survey is possible the realization of study that connects perception of the corporate culture in the context of competitiveness with the management of the companies – corporate, strategic, introducing new methods, policies and practices.

A good option is the realization of a comparative study of Bulgarian companies with companies from countries that have experienced a transition from a planned to a market economy, resulting in the creation of a tool to identify strengths and weaknesses and effect positive change in corporate culture and related constructs.

For the managers it is important to realize the significance of the so-called. "intangible values" of the company that support not only the overall performance but also the ability to adapt in order to increase its competitive advantage and sustainable competitiveness.

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Вера БИТРАКОВА ГРОЗДАНОВА

ΛΥΧΝΕΙΔΙΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΗΣ

Нов епиграфски споменик

Долго време во науката се правеа обиди да се идентификува локацијата на античкиот град Лихнид (Lychnidos). Навидум, проблемот се наметнуваше поради немањето епиграфски докази, и покрај тоа што само на еден споменик, многу оштетен, се читаше дел од натпис ΛΥΧΝΙ[ΔΟΣ], кој, нажалост, сега е изгубен, а на два римски милјокази растојанието беше означено со бројот на милјите и името на градот со грчки букви, кои, пак, не беа најдени *in situ* на егнацискиот пат. Меѓутоа, големите археолошки зафати, почнувајќи од шеесеттите години, сè повеќе ја потврдуваа тезата дека е Охрид стариот Лихнид, што е прифатено од научната јавност. Особено откривањето на театарот од доцнохеленистичката епоха беше силен показател дека тука, во стариот дел на градот, Варош, се развивал овој многу познат град на Охридското Езеро и како попатна станица на *Via Egnatia*. Во исто време, покрај моќта на градот, што ни ја покажува пространиот антички театар, а подоцна и со неговата премена за изведување и на амфитеатрални игри, во неговите ископувања се откри и еден евидентен натпис како неодминлив доказ за името на градот (сл. 9).

Овој најнов епиграфски споменик претставува база, најверојатно за статуа, која била извајана во еден каменен блок, посветена на една позната и многу учена личност, кон која граѓаните на Лихнид се однесувале со особено почитување, за што ни раскажува и самиот текст. Камениот блок е откриен во античкиот театар во ископувањата во 2000 год.¹, слободно исфрлен со другиот градежен

¹ Ископувањата се раководени од Владо Маленко, В. Маленко 2008, 77–80.

материјал при затрупувањето на арената речиси на дното, која, пак, е дефинирана во фазата на преуредувањето на објектот во амфитеатар. Овој значаен објект, кој многу зборува за културните и за забавните содржини што ги негувале и ги прифаќале лихниѓаните, е комплетно напуштен, веројатно по забранувањето на *ludi circenses* на крајот на 4 век, кога се знае во која мера во градот и околината и колку рано е проповедано и усвоено христијанското учење².

Камениот блок е фрагментарно зачуван, со правоаголна основа со димензии 58 × 68 см. и висина 42 см. на фронтално поле, каде што е испишан почесниот натпис (сл. 1). Задната страна на камениот блок се издигнува и е зачувана до висина од 86 см. Над натписното поле стоела статуа, која е многу оштетена; се назираат само делови од листовите на нозете, кои избиваат од камениот блок. Се чини дека статуата била извајана во истата камена маса од која е изведена базата (сл. 3–5).

Кога ќе се погледа натписот, се забележува дека на истата личност, со сличен текст, е испишана посвета на една друга база, исто така од сив камен, откриена во шеесеттите години на минатиот век, вградена како сполија во темелите на поликонхалната црква на Плаошник (Имарет), веќе објавена. Арата, која беше поставена со натписот свртена кон сидот, со конзервацијата на црквата во 1969 год. извлечена е од темелната основа³. На двата натписа се споминува личноста Аурелиј Кратес Птолемејев, многу почитуван, особено едуциран и (личност) со многу доблести, кому лихниѓаните на едната, а Дасаретите на другата ара, во добар час – ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ – му искажуваат почит. На вториот натпис, познат од порано, му се додава и податокот дека и Атиѓаните му подигнале статуа на Акрополис покрај храмот на Асклепиј (сл. 2, 8). Овај додаток ја претставува разлика во однос на најновиот натпис, како и посочените дедиканти. На арата како дедиканти се јавуваат Дасаретите, ΔΑΣΣΑΡΗΤΙΟΙ, додека на новиот натпис откриен во театарот дедиканти се лихниѓаните (градот на Лихниѓаните – ΛΥΧΝΕΙΔΙΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ).

Што се однесува до графијата на новооткриениот натпис, таа е речиси иста со натписот на арата позната од порано. Правилните букви со вертикални хасти, изрежани се со мали апекси. Застапени се два вида букви: четвртести (ета и сигма), тркалезни (омега, омикрон), но недостасуваат аглестите, кои ги има испишано на арата

² Bitrakova Grozdanova 1975.

³ Битракова Грозданова 1970, 159–160.

поставена од Дасаретите⁴, најчесто во употреба во 3 век⁵. И на овој натпис, во неколку збора, се среќаваат лигатури меѓу буквите со вертикални хасти, кои се појавуваат, како што е познато, во 2 век, но интензивно се присутни во 3 век, забележано и на натписите од Македонија датирани според македонската провинциска ера⁶. Секако, околу датирањето помага и ономастиката. Позната е примената на двочлената ономастичката формула и кај Илирите⁷ и кај Македонците⁸, која ќе претрпи промени со продирањето на римската култура. Со текот на време во номенклатурата на староседелците се инкорпорираат и римските имиња. Вообичаената римска формула е тричлена⁹. Комбинираната формула кај Αὐρέλιος Κράτης Πτολεμαίου тука е очигледна: римско гентилно име+лично име со патронимик, според македонско-грчка формула. Гентилициј-от Aurelios, кој се јавува при крајот на 2 век со декретот на Каракала, Constitutio Antoniniana, кога е даден цивитет на сите слободни граѓани на царството, од 3 век натаму ќе биде почест во употреба¹⁰; имињата што следуваат се од грчко потекло, со патронимик, кој ќе влезе во ономастиката од времето на хеленистичката епоха. Оваа комбинирана формула е почеста во источните делови на Македонија и Тракија¹¹. Според името на овај жител на Лихнид(?), не би можеле да го одредиме неговото етничко потекло. Во корпусот на натписи од Лихнид се забележува доминантно присуство на имиња од македонско-грчката просопографија¹².

Секако дека една особена занимливост претставува споменувањето еднаш на името на племето Дасарети, а во другиот случај името на жителите на Лихнид, кога е јасно дека градот претставува нивно седиште. Натписите, според палеографската анализа и ономастичките особености изведени и порано, можно е да се подигнати во 3 век по Хр¹³.

⁴ Битракова Грозданова 1970, 160.

⁵ Papazoglu 1955a, 16; Бабамова 2005, 68–69.

⁶ Бабамова 2005, 66–67.

⁷ Rendić Miočević 1948, 26–33.

⁸ Папазоглу 1955, 353.

⁹ Ib. 350–370; Rendić Miočević 1989, 633, 656–657.

¹⁰ Rendić Miočević 1948, 50; Id. 1989a, 700.

¹¹ Папазоглу 1955, 362.

¹² Proeva 1993, 193–199; IG X–2, 175–203.

¹³ Битракова Грозданова 1970, 161.

Овај феномен на издвојување на лихниѓаните од Дасаретите го среќаваме и во времето на хеленистичката епоха во 3–2 век. Имено, на монетите ковани во Лихнид во 2 век пр. Хр., одамна познати¹⁴, со симболите на *македонски шийиѝ /лаџа*, стои името на лихниѓаните ΛΥΧΝΙ ΔΙΩΝ (сл. 7). Со поновите ископувања на Лихнид, на просторот на Плаошник, во јадрото на античкиот град и на средновековниот Охрид, откриени се неколку монети, ковани во две различни емисии, со симболите: *Херакле/боздоџан* и *Севс-Амон/молња* и легенда ΔΑΣΣΑ ΡΗΤΙΩΝ, што претставува голема реткост, досега непозната емисија во нумизматичката продукција на античкиот Лихнид (сл. 6)¹⁵. До пред десетина години беа познати само осум бронзени монети од монетарницата во Лихнид, ковани во 2 век пр. Хр. Во поново време изнесено е ново мислење околу бронзите од Лихнид, *македонски шийиѝ /лаџа*, кои досега се поврзуваа со истовременото ковање на сребрените монети со исти симболи, изработувани во македонските градови Пела, Амфипол, Тесалиника, датирани во 2 век, од времето на Филип V (187–168)¹⁶. Кремиди смета дека таа комплетна монетарна активност, вклучувајќи ги ковниците од Долна Македонија, би требало да е од постаро време, без да ги посочи елементите врз кои се базира оваа теза, со напомена дека следува нејзина студија¹⁷.

Со новите истражувања во Македонија и во Охрид бројката на оваа емисија (*шийиѝ/лаџа*) достигна до дваесетина примери. И покрај оваа зголемена бројка, сепак, се чини дека станува збор за еден политички потег преземен од страна на Филип V, на кој е укажувано и досега. Изнесеното мислење дека станува збор за ковање монети како ситархија-sitarchia¹⁸, односно да се платат најмените војници во Лихнид во македонската војска, е под знак прашање. Кога би станувало збор за плаќање на војниците, досега би откриле многу повеќе примери на оваа серија во истражувањата и во Лихнид

¹⁴ Regling 1925, 255, 263, 264, T.XIV, 5; Битракова Грозданова 1973, 295–301; Ead 2001, 43–51.

¹⁵ Монетите се откриени во ископувањата во хеленистичките слоеви на Плаошник во 2008/2009.

¹⁶ Regling 1925, 255–264; Gaebler 1935, I'7, T.XII, 12–14; Id. 1906, 2, 3.

¹⁷ Kremydi 2009, 287–295; Во таа смисла авторката ги објави веќе најновите објавени примери на лихнидската бронза *шийиѝ /лаџа* од Bitrakova Grozdanova 2001, 43–51, датирани според релевантниот автор Regling 1925, со коментар за една напуштена претпоставка од Битракова Грозданова 1987, 97.

¹⁸ Kremydi 2009, 292.

и во регионот. Ова мислење се должи, можеби, и на недоволното познавање на археолошките докази за економската и за културната позиција на градот, кое го става под сомнеж и неговиот недоволно јасен политички статус.

Меѓутоа, бронзите со легенда на Дасаретите, едвај пет на број, се секако голема реткост, бидејќи во Охрид се преземени пространи археолошки ископувања, и тоа во делот на хеленистичката населба, каде што се развивало урбаното јадро на стариот Лихнид. Секако дека ковањето монети во Лихнид во хеленистичката епоха, и тоа со различни симболи, отвора нова страница на културната и економската историја на градот и на регионот што го населувале Дасаретите.

Што се однесува до симболот, како Севс-Амон на една од новооткриените емисии со легендата на припадност на Дасаретите, во хеленистичката епоха најрано се среќава во Кирена (305–304 год)¹⁹. Инаку, во грчките градови-колони на африканскиот брег, Кирена и Барка (Συρεναῖσα, Βαρκα), оваа хеленизирана верзија на египетскиот Амон-Ра, се јавува многу порано, во V век пр. Хр.²⁰ Но, застапените симболи – *Севс/молња* од Лихнид, потсетуваат на монетарниците во Епир, поточно на епирската заедница ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΕΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, од крајот на 3 и почетокот на 2 век²¹, особено на оние ковани од Касопите, во градот Касопе, во Касопија, која му припаѓа на коинонот на Молосите, со исклучок на рогот на Амон²², или особено сличностите со примерите од Аманџија кај Хаоните (*Севс/молња*) од крајот на 3 и почетокот на 2 век пр.Хр.,²³ каде што е доминантен култот на Севс Додонски²⁴. Херодот (2, 54–57) дава податок за врската меѓу Додона, Теба и Либиското светилиште. Натписите се однесуваат на истоимените градови, кај кои е позната и административната организираност во коинон, кон кои се приклучува градот Билис²⁵. Во исто време, и Пела ги има истите симболи на *Севс/молња*, со припадност ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, датирани од времето на Филип V²⁶.

¹⁹ Kray & Hirmer 1966, 380, n. 789,

²⁰ Kray & Hirmer 1966, 380–381; Kray 1976, 298–299, n. 1074, LIMC I/1, 99–103.

²¹ Franke 1961, 134–159, T. 7, 32, 33.

²² Franke 1961, 76–79; Tzouvara-Souli 1994, 119–121.

²³ Gjongecaj 1978, 83–112.

²⁴ Tsouvara –Souli 1993, 80.

²⁵ Hammond 1967, 648–671; Anamali 1972, 90–94; Ceka 1987, 144–145.

²⁶ Gaebler 1935, XII, 12, 13, 14.

Во познатата серија на монетоковање во времето на Филип V, кога кралот дал право за изведуваче на оваа активност во повеќе градови од Македонија, кои, пак, ковале самостојно и пред забраната на Филип II, а тоа се Пела, Амфипол, Тесалоника, *Афийтис* (Aphytis), во почетокот на II век пр. Хр. кон нив е инкорпориран и Лихнид. Во оваа категорија на градови-монетарници би го издвоила градот *Афийтис*²⁷, каде што на реверсот е претставен Севс-Амон; главата на Севс со рогот над увото, на десно²⁸. Изборот на овај симбол е очигледно врзан со светилиштето на ова хеленизирано египетско божество, кое е подигнато многу порано во градот, пред Александровите походи кон исток (Paus. 3, 18, 3)²⁹, кога градот исто така кова монети со истата претстава на Амон-Севс³⁰.

Идејата за изборот на оваа претстава на лихнидските пари не упатува на митолошките теми што се присутни на монетите ковани во времето на Филип V, кога овој македонски владетел и на Лихнид ќе му го додели правото на самостојно ковање. Познато е во која мера влегува култот кон Севс-Амон, присутен на македонска почва, со кралицата Олимпија на македонскиот двор, врзано со нејзината егзалтација, како и аспирациите на Александар III за неговото божествено потекло, за што ќе побара потврда во светилиштето на Амон во Сивах (Siwah)³¹. Со заземањето на Халкидик од страна на Филип II, и Амонеионот од *Афийтис* влегува во македонскиот посед. Богот Амон-овен, чиј симбол е рогот, ќе го прифатат диадосите и затоа и оваа претстава најчесто се среќава на нивните монети. Лихнид, односно Дасаретите, чие ковање се случувало во нивниот главен град, можеби центар на заедницата или на коинонот (?) на Дасаретите, избрале симболи под влијание и на епирските монетарници, ковани по 238 год., и на оние од Долна Македонија, односно Афитис.

Симболите и на другата новооткриена монета во Лихнид, *Херакле/боздоган*, се секако идентични со бронзите врзани за Александар III, кои, како што е познато, се коваат и во текот на III век пр. Хр. Но, исто така, и со автономното ковање во времето на Филип V, овие симболи се застапени на бронзените емисии од Тесалоника и Амфиполис³².

²⁷ Papazoglou 1988, 248.

²⁸ Gaebler 1935, 46, n. 14–15, XI, 17–18; Touratsoglou 1993, 33 XIII, 9, 10.

²⁹ Paus. 3, 18, 3; LIMC I/1, 666–689, n. 5–8.

³⁰ Gaebler 1935, 44–46.

³¹ LIMC I/1, 667.

³² Gaebler 1935, T. VII, 22, 23, T. II, 30; Touratsoglou 1993, T. III, 11–12.

Се поставува прашањето: од каде доаѓа идејата за илустрацијата на Севс-Амон на лихнидските монети? И, кога се ковани монетите со името на припадност на Дасаретите, воопшто? Околу проблемот на датирањето ни се наметнуваат историските аналогии на постоењето на коинонот како форма на административно уредување, кое е познато во 3 век пр. Хр. и во Епир, потврдено со ковањето монети на овие независни етнички или територијални организации³³ или слични форми на уредување познати во Горна Македонија во раното римскоимперијално време, потврдено преку натписите³⁴. Но, ковањето во Лихнид еднаш со натпис и припадност на Дасаретите, другпат на лихниѓаните, кои се со различни симболи, се чини дека можеме само да го претпоставиме. Сличностите со епирските симболи на епирските и на јужноилирските монети (*Севс/молња*), упатува, секако, на крајот на 3 век, но со знак на прашање: а, кога се ковани емисиите со името на градот? Дали Лихнид со Дасаретите во исто време како и јужноилирските и епирските градови е организиран во вид на коинон? Дали и двете емисии се однесуваат на истото време или се совпаѓаат со датирањето што го предложи Реглинг³⁵, кој сметаше дека ковањето на монетите ја потврдува припадноста на Лихнид на македонската држава?

Со овие два археолошки примери, епиграфски и нумизматички, се поставуваат повеќе прашања за историјата на Лихнид и на Дасаретите, а, во исто време, се отвораат нови можности за интерпретација.

И покрај тоа што областа Дасаретија, односно територијата што ја населувале Дасаретите, била предмет на проучувања на повеќе истражувачи, таа никогаш не е јасно дефинирана. Секогаш се вели дека се простирала на југ до Епир, на запад кон Илирите до Партините, на исток до Линкестите и Орестите, а на север до Пенестите и Дарданците³⁶. Меѓутоа, централниот простор што го населувале овие прастари жители од антиката, судејќи според книжевните и епиграфските извори, е, секако, областа околу Лихнидското, денес Охридско Езеро. Сепак, сè што поседуваме до денес, во смисла на материјални докази, во форма на епиграфски споменици каде што се посочуваат Дасаретите и Лихнид, откриени се во Охрид-

³³ Anamali 1972, 67–140; Ceka 1972, 121–138; Ceka 1987, 144; Gjongecaj 1978/, 83–112; Caban 1988, 157–158, 168–170.

³⁴ Papazoglou 1959, 163–167; Hatzopoulos 1996, 83, 104.

³⁵ Regling 1925, 255–264.

³⁶ Папазоглу 1985, 71–74

Лихнид. Еден единствен исклучок претставува едниот од двата мил-јокази од III век каде што се споменува градот Лихнид, кој потекнува од Струга, локалитет 14 км западно од Охрид, на патот Вија Егнатија кон Скампа и Дирахин³⁷.

Двете групи извори, епиграфските и нумизматичките, се однесуваат на различни временски периоди, со разлика речиси од пет века, што навидум остава сомнеж во која мера можеме да ги поврземе овие појави, а во евентуалните заклучоци, пак, во која мера да пристапиме со поголема претпазливост. Ова двојство на изворите треба да се разгледува во релациите што се наметнуваат меѓу градот на лихниѓаните и оние со етниконот Дасарети или дасаретска територија.

Најпрво, во изворите Лихнидското Езеро се споменува во походите на Филип II, кој го освоил просторот до езерото во 358 год. (Polyb. V, 108), додека градот Лихнид за првпат се споменува во 209 год. пр. Хр., кога Ероп го отргнал градот од македонска управа (Liv. XXVII, 32, 9). Тоа се оскудните книжевни вести за раната античка историја на градот. Но, систематските ископувања, веќе споменати, даваат нова слика за просперитетниот град во раноантичката епоха, особено во доцнокласичното и ранохеленистичкото време. Тоа се, секако, богатите некрополи откриени кај Горна Порта³⁸, Дебој³⁹, на Кале⁴⁰, како и населбата со дефинирани улици на Плаошник⁴¹, простор на кој и во римската и во ранохристијанската епоха ќе се проширува и ќе се развива градот, спуштајќи се по падините низ источната страна на ридот, каде што се вклучува и античкиот театар, веројатно од доцнохеленистичкиот период⁴². Сега имаме сосема нова слика за постоењето и моќта на просперитетниот град, и покрај тоа што не и комплетна.

Што се однесува до Дасаретите, тие во книжевните извори се споменуваат најчесто покрај соседите Македонци, и со Илирите, со кои и војуваат. Но, не е непознато дека во тој триаголник на релации

³⁷ Во регионот околу Охридското Езеро досега се откриени над педесет епиграфски споменици, најмногу од нив во градот Охрид, обелоденети од повеќе истражувачи и преиздадени со критички коментари во IG X/II, 175–203, со претходна целосна литература.

³⁸ Кузман 2006, 215–244.

³⁹ Ископувања на В. Маленко.

⁴⁰ Битракова Грозданова 1987, 64–66.

⁴¹ Битракова Грозданова 2011, 99–124.

⁴² Malenko 1981, 17–28; Id. 2008, 77–80.

се инкорпорираат и Епирците⁴³, што сè повеќе се потврдува со сите нови материјални откритија од последниве години.

Уште во раните педесетти години на минатиот век проф. Папазоглу, немајќи доволно археолошки податоци, искажа сомневање околу наметнувањето на власта и културното асимилирање на населението во овие западни краишта освоени од страна на Филип II, и покрај тоа што укажа на процветот на Лихнид во царскиот период, повеќе потпирајќи се на епиграфските споменици од тоа време⁴⁴, а подоцна ќе се приклучи и со покомплетни проучувања на проблемот. Имено, станува збор за административни институции што се регистрирани на натписите⁴⁵, кон кои ние би ги додале и новите откритија на монетите⁴⁶.

Од раноантичката епоха, освен неколку примери на епиграфски споменици што не содржат доволно читливи елементи, кои даваат административни податоци, не се откриени релевантни споменици од овој тип, какви што се оние што се познати од римско време. Но, секако, монетите со натписи што зборуваат за нивната припадност на лихниѓаните или на Дасаретите го отвораат прашањето за административното уредување на градот и на регионот и пред доаѓањето на Римјаните на Балканот.

Познато е во која мера административната форма *κοινον* е присутна во Епир и во Јужна Илирија, како на пример градот Билис и жителите на регионот Билионите на крајот на 3 век пр. Хр.⁴⁷ Но, во Горна Македонија епиграфски потврди најрано се среќаваат во Орестида, источен сосед на Дасаретија, во I век во времето на императорот Клаудиј⁴⁸. И за Лихнид уште одамна е посочено во која мера во римско време, како главен град на Дасаретите, е административно организиран како автономна градска општина – полис⁴⁹, а како главен град можеби и на коинонот на Дасаретите⁵⁰. За дефини-

⁴³ Во тој контекст треба да се спомене сомнежот на Папазоглу (1957, 229) за припадноста на Дасаретија на Горна Македонија; во последно време сè повеќе други автори се склони да мислат дека оваа област му припаѓала на горномакедонското културно коине Hatzopoulos 1996, 104; Bitrakova Grozdanova 2000, 22, 23; Ead 2006, 588–590; Touratsoglou 2010, 12, 80, 222.

⁴⁴ Папазоглу 1957, 224–230;

⁴⁵ Папазоглу 1985, 103–110.

⁴⁶ Студија за новите монети од Даница Размоска-Бачева (во печат).

⁴⁷ Сека 1987, 135–149.

⁴⁸ Papazoglou 1959, 163–164.

⁴⁹ Папазоглу 1957, 229; Папазоглу 1985, 104.

⁵⁰ Папазоглу 1957, 167.

рање на поширока административна заедница на Дасаретите, кои-нон(?), како доказ се зема споменувањето на архонтите, општината и на народот, регистрирано на еден натпис од Охрид⁵¹, односно заедницата на повеќе полисмата (населби). Можеме само да претпоставиме дека во таа заедница влегувала и населбата кај Селце, лоцирана во планините западно од Охридското Езеро, единствен истражуван локалитет од поширокиот регион на Дасаретија⁵².

Административната структура на *koionon*, односно административното функционирање во Горна Македонија, Папазоглу⁵³ ја открива во областите Орестида, Елимеја, Линкестида, Деуриопос. Таа наоѓа потврди во споменатите органи на власта или споменувањето на коинон на епиграфските споменици, на споменатите региони и во Дасаретија, односно Охрид. Оваа конституција на власта е очигледно прифатена и од Римјаните како регионална управа, особено во планинските области на Македонија⁵⁴. Прашањето околу административната управа на Лихнид и на Дасаретија и нејзината одредена самостојност се насетува уште пред доаѓањето на Римјаните, ако го земеме предвид и како доказ и самостојното ковање монети. Од друга страна, и Дасаретија, како соседната Орестида, со доаѓањето на Римјаните ќе го добие статусот “*libera gens*” (Plin, IV, 3.), поради својата предусетливост кон новите освојувачи⁵⁵. Во таа смисла, и административното уредување на Дасаретија со Лихнид се чини дека продолжува да функционира и во времето на римската управа како една адаптирана општинска форма, која се потпира на индигената организација⁵⁶, што се потврдува, на некој начин, и со споменувањето на натписите подигнати од страна и на Дасаретите и на лихниѓаните. Секако дека во тој контекст се уважува мислењето за една територијална, а не и на племенска припадност на административното функционирање во римска доба⁵⁷.

Сите посочени податоци, монетите со повеќе различни симболи, позајмени од македонскиот и од епирскиот репертоар, натписите што нè известуваат за начинот на управувањето со градот од страна на лихниѓаните и од заедницата на Дасаретите, откриената

⁵¹ Папазоглу 1985, 102–104.

⁵² Селце 1985.

⁵³ Papazoglou 1959, 163–170.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 170.

⁵⁵ Папазоглу 1985, 102.

⁵⁶ Papazoglou 1959, 170.

⁵⁷ Papazoglou 1988, 442; Hatsopoulos 1996, 103.

урбана инсула на Плаошник од хеленистичко време, заедно со богатиот инвентар во некрополите, кој се надоврзува на аналогните наоди од Македонија, како и просопографијата, не може а да не нè упатат на едно културно коине со горномакедонските области уште во хеленистичко време⁵⁸. И не само тоа, лихридските богати наоди од злато, предмети од уметничкото занаетчиство или луксузна керамика, се поврзуваат и со големите центри на Долна Македонија. Континуираниот урбан развој на Лихрид, особено со доаѓањето на Римјаните,⁵⁹ дури и ги надминува по својата моќ градовите во Горна Македонија.

Но, секако дека ги сметам за мошне интензивни и релациите со Епир уште во раноантичката епоха, кога во Лихрид и во Дасаретија е присутно утврдувањето на населбите со снажните сидини од типот *moenia aeasia*, но и пред тоа, со присуството на архајската бронза во некрополите⁶⁰.

Трагањето по вистината за Лихрид беше наметнато во голема мера поради одамна познатиот антички театар, подоцна и амфитеатар, кој нè водеше кон мислата за постоење на простран град со особено значајна културна средина. И, затоа, со интензивните ископувања сè повеќе се надополнува сликата за античкиот град, приклучен кон Македонското кралство од времето на Филип II, кој и натаму ќе остане во рамките на политичките, економските и културните случувања меѓу Македонија, Илирија и Епир низ целиот антички период, додека новите истражувањата ќе донесуваат релевантни одговори на поставените прашања.

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⁵⁸ Битракова Грозданова 2000, 19–33.

⁵⁹ Битракова Грозданова 2011, 99–124

⁶⁰ Bitrakova Grozdanova 2002, 551–564; Ead. 2006, 587–591.

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ΛΥΧΝΕΙΔΙΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΗΣ Nouvelle source épigraphique

Résumé

A Ohrid, les nombreux monuments épigraphiques découverts ne font pas mention de la ville de Lychnidos. La seule exception est une inscription déjà perdue, ainsi que les deux milliaires romains sur lesquels le nom de la ville indiquait seulement la distance entre les lieux du trajet.

Ce dernier monument épigraphique a été érigé par les Lychnidiens, ΛΥΧΝΕΙΔΙΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΗΣ, et consacré à Aurelios Krates Ptolemaïou, une personnalité très estimée, particulièrement éduquée et possédant nombre de vertus. Le monument a été découvert au fond de l'orchestre du théâtre lychnide, devenu plus tard arène de l'amphithéâtre. Ce qui suscite particulièrement la curiosité, c'est une inscription en forme d'ara découverte plus tôt, toujours dans la vieille partie de la ville, incorporée dans l'église polyconchale paléochrétienne à Plaošnik. L'inscription a été faite par les Dassarètes ΔΑΣΣΑΡΗΤΙΟΙ en l'honneur de la même personnalité. L'une des différences entre les textes présents sur les deux monuments représente l'information que les Athéniens, eux aussi, avaient posé une agalma en son honneur à Acropolis à côté du temple d'Asclépios.

Le nom de ce citoyen romain est conforme à la formule combinée tripartite, *nom gentilice romain + praenomen et patronyme* présente dans l'onomastique gréco-macédonienne comme l'une des variantes des noms de l'époque romaine, pendant laquelle les noms romains s'incorporent dans la nomenclature indigène. Se basant sur les éléments onomastiques et paléographiques, l'auteur considère que les monuments datent de la première moitié du 3^{ème} siècle. Se pose cependant la question relative à la séparation des dédicants, Dassarètes et Lychnidiens, dans les inscriptions de cette ville, présente à l'époque romaine, un fait noté aussi sur les autres monuments épigraphiques de Lychnidos.

Ce même phénomène est constaté dans les inscriptions sur les monnaies frappées à l'époque hellénistique à Lychnidos. Dans l'espace où a été découverte une habitation hellénistique constituant une strate de la localité de Plaošnik et reflétant la poleogénèse de la ville antique et médiévale, les fouilles récentes ont mis au jour deux types de monnaies de bronze, inconnues jusqu'alors, 5 pièces au total, portant la légende ΔΑΣΣΑΡΗΤΙΩΝ à deux émissions : type 1. *Zeus-Amon/foudre*, type 2. *Héraclès/massue*. Avant ces nouvelles découvertes qui renvoient au travail des ateliers monétaires de Lychnidos, on ne connaissait que la monnaie en bronze du type *bouclier/galère macédonien*, avec la légende ΛΥΧΝΙΔΙΩΝ, découvert à Ohrid, à Pletvar près de Prilep et un exemplaire à Fieri en Albanie et à Pella, une vingtaine d'exemplaires en tout. La monnaie lychnidienne du type *bouclier/galère* est associée à l'époque de Philippe

V, entre l'an 197 – 168, lorsque les villes de la Basse Macédoine, telles Pella et Thessalonique frappaient de l'argent avec les mêmes symboles.

En ce qui concerne le choix des symboles, sur l'avvers de la représentation de Zeus-Amon l'auteur trouve des illustrations analogues dans la ville d'Aphytis à Chalcidique où un temple dédié à cette divinité syncrétisée a été érigé au 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. Cette ville a également frappé de l'argent à l'époque de Philippe V. Le cercle épirote, lui aussi, connaît la frappe de l'argent du koinon épirote, ou des villes particulières comme Kassope, Amantie, le koinon Billion siégeant à Byllis, avec les mêmes symboles Zeus de Dodone /foudre. Hérodote signale les relations de Dodone avec le sanctuaire libyen à Cyrène, où est frappé l'argent portant le symbole Zeus-Amon, sous l'influence de la religion égyptienne.

La frappe de la monnaie portant le nom de la ville et le nom de la tribu nous mène, dans ce cas aussi, vers la thèse sur l'existence possible de la communauté des Dassarètes dont le centre administratif était Lychnidos. La forme connue *koinon* qui s'impose, tenant compte du même type d'organisation administrative en Epire dans la deuxième moitié du 3^{ème} siècle, après l'an 228, peut aussi être mise en relation avec l'administration de Philippe V. Malgré le manque, pour le moment, d'autres sources concernant la présence d'une certaine autonomie de la région lychnidienne-dassarète, excepté la numismatique, le matériel épigraphique de l'époque romaine donne une nouvelle possibilité d'interprétation.

Malgré l'importante distance chronologique entre ces deux groupes de sources épigraphiques et numismatiques, il est tout de même possible d'établir certaines relations. Si au 3^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. l'espace épirote connaît la forme administrative *koinon*, ses attestations les plus anciennes dans la Haute Macédoine remontent au 1^{er} siècle à Orestide, région limitrophe de la Dassarétie. L'administration régionale qui a été adoptée dans les régions montagneuses de la Haute Macédoine avec l'arrivée des Romains concerne également la Dassarétie avec Lychnidos, entre autres due à son statut de « libera gens ». Tout comme les autres régions de la Haute Macédoine, Lychnidos continue à représenter le centre du vieux territoire ayant une certaine composition administrative, *koinon* ?, tenant aussi compte des inscriptions qui mentionnent les organes de la forme administrative adaptée ayant existé dans la période précédente, évidemment acceptée par les Romains.

Toutes les sources fiables, l'argent à symboles différents, empruntés au répertoire macédonien et épirote, les inscriptions qui renseignent sur la manière d'administrer la ville par les Lychnidiens et les Dassarètes, la prosopographie, l'*insula* urbaine découverte à Plaošnik, l'inventaire des riches nécropoles, tout cela renvoie à l'ensemble culturel formé avec la Haute et la Basse Macédoine, et parfois avec l'Epire. Rajoutons à cela la découverte de l'*insula* avec des maisons particulières à Plaošnik, ainsi que les constructions publiques dans le cadre de la citadelle ; tout cela révèle la vie urbaine très développée de la ville.

traduit par
Ioana Hadji Lega

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
 ΛΥΧΝΕΙΔΙΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΥΡΗ-
 ΛΙΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΗΤΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΝ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ
 ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ
 ΠΑΣΗΣ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

des. 1

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Λυχνιδίων ἡ πόλις Αὐρή-
 λιον Κράτητα Πτολεμαίου
 τὸν ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ
 σχολαστικόν, πολεῖτην ἑαυτῶν,
 πάσης ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν.

Сл. 1

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
 ΔΑΣΣΑΡΗΤΙΟΙ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ ΚΡΑ-
 ΤΗΤΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΝ-
 ΔΟΞΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ
 ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝ Ε-
 ΑΥΤΩΝ ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ
 ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑ ΑΝΕΣΤΑΚΑΣΙΝ
 ΕΝ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ ΕΝ Τῷ ΑΣ-
 ΚΛΗΠΕΙῳ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ
 ΕΝΕΚΕΝ

des. 2.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Δασσαρήτιοι Αὐρήλιον Κρά-
 τητα Πτολεμαίου τὸν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ
 σχολαστικόν, πολεῖτην ἑ-
 αυτῶν, οὗ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι
 ἀνδριάντα ἀνεστάκασιν
 ἐν Ἀκροπόλει ἐν τῷ Ἀσ-
 κληπέῳ, πάσης ἀρετῆς
 ἕνεκεν.

Сл. 2



Сл. 3



Сл. 4



Сл. 5



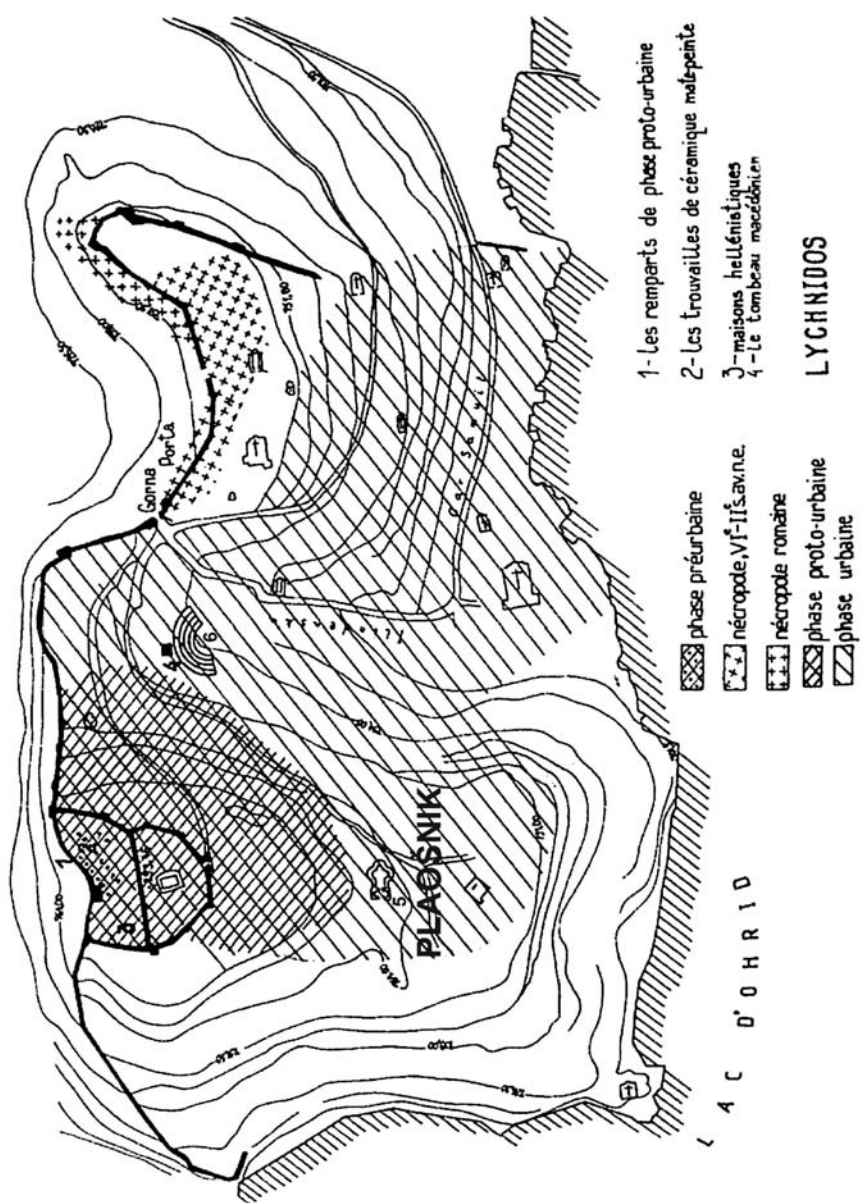
Сл. 6



Сл. 7



Сл. 8



Сл. 9 – Lychnidos n. 5. l'église polyconchale n. 6. le théâtre

Сашо ЦВЕТКОВСКИ

НОВООТКРИЕНИ ПОРТРЕТИ НА СВ. ЃОРЃИ ЈАНИНСКИ ВО ЖИВОПИСОТ ОД XIX ВЕК

Култот и портретите на новомаченикот од Јанина св. Ѓорѓи Нови веќе подолго време го привлекуваат вниманието на истражувачите на културната историја и уметноста на Балканот од XIX век.

Објавувањето на неговото житие и раните портрети поврзани со култното место и неговиот гроб во црквата Св. Атанасиј во Јанина, заедно со најраните претстави во Епир и Света Гора, ги поставија основите за проучувањето на пробивот и распространетоста на култот и портретите на овој новомаченик во повеќето балкански средини од XIX век¹. Од голем научен интерес беше објавувањето на корпусот на хартиени-графички икони од времето на XVIII и XIX век, меѓу кои и над десетина графички икони на св. Ѓорѓи Јанински приредени од Дори Папастрату². По објавувањето на оваа студија стана јасно дека е Света Гора едно од поголемите жаришта на неговиот култ, од каде што еманирал во другите балкански православни средини.

Цветан Грозданов даде значаен прилог во проучување на портретите на св. Ѓорѓи Нови Јанински во уметноста од XIX век во Македонија, согледувајќи го неговото место во тематскиот репертоар и делата на мијачките зографи, особено Димитрија-Дичо Зо-

¹ L.S. Laourda, *Quatre saints locaux de la Macédoine d'ouest et de l'Épire et leur iconographie*, Actes du premier Congrès international des Études balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes II, Sofia 1969, 890–898; Μ.ΓΑΡΙΔΗ - Θ. ΠΑΛΙΟΥΡΑ, ΣΥΜΒΟΛΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ ΝΕΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ, *Ἑπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 22 (1980), Ioannina 1980, 172–190.

² D. Papastratos, *Papar Icons*, volume I, Athens 1990, 215–223.

граф, кој, всушност, неговите портрети-претстави ги воведува во уметноста на преродбата од XIX век³. Исторвремено, тој ги објавува и неколкуте зачувани циклуси посветени на новомаченикот од Јанина во доменот на фреско-живописот, како и една од малобројните графички икони-бакрорези од Битола, уточнувајќи ја нејзината редакција и аналогии со идентичните бакрорези од Света Гора Атонска⁴. Портрети на Ѓорѓи Јанински ќе бидат видно застапени и во тематскиот репертоар на сликаните фреско-ансамбли и на син му Аврам Дичов, чиј опус со над десетина претстави се издвојува по бројноста, а него го сликаат и браќата Јосиф и Јаков Радеви од Лазарополе⁵. Негови портрети сликаат и други зографски тајфи од втората половина на XIX век, меѓу кои по застапеноста се издвојува тајфата на браќата Атанасови од Крушево.

Нашите понови истражувања на живописот на дебарските зографи во црквите од Западна Македонија, како и нивните дела настанати на просторите на Косово, овозможува да откриеме уште неколку портрети на св. Ѓорѓи Нови Јанински непознати досега во фреско-живописот, иконописот и доменот на графичките бакрорезни икони.

Најпрвин го претставуваме портретот на иконата од црквата Успение на Богородица во Дебар (сл. 1).

Станува збор за празнична икона со интересна иконографска концепција. Во горниот дел на иконата насликани се цар Константин и неговата мајка, царица Елена, со Чесниот крст помеѓу нив. Царот Константин е во богато украсена владетелска одежда, светло-зелен стихар, црвен дивитисион, лорос, круна на главата од типот на каналафкион и хермелинска наметка и кратко жезло во десната рака. Царицата Елена е, исто така, насликана во владетелска одежда, лорос, круна од отворен тип, под која го носи белиот превез, црвена наметка и палмова гранка во раката.

³ Ц. Грозданов, *За портретите на св. Ѓеорѓија Јанински во уметноста на Македонија*, Прилози XXXI (2000), МАНУ, Одделение за општествени науки, Скопје 2000, 100–124 (= *Уметноста и културата на XIX век во Западна Македонија*, Скопје 2004, 155–176)

⁴ Ц. Грозданов, *Уметноста и културата на XIX век во Западна Македонија*, 170–176.

⁵ Idem, *Уметноста и културата на XIX век во Западна Македонија*, 160–161; С. Цветковски, *Аврам Дичов*, Струга 2011, 36.



Слика 1 – Икона, црква Св. Богородица во Дебар, околу 1864–1866 г.,
автор Дичо Зограф

Во долниот дел на иконата насликани се четири допојасни претстави, меѓу кои на св. Ѓорѓи Нови Јанински, *сѣтѣи гевргѣи нѣви мѣченикѣ ѿ ѿмѣна*, претставен во народна носија, со вез декорирана кошула, елек и карактеристична епиротска фустанела, наметка, крст во десната и гранче во левата. До него е св. Харалампѣи (*сѣтѣи харалампѣи*), старец со долга бела коса и брада, во стихар и карактеристичен фелон и надбедреник. До него е св. Антониј (*сѣтѣи антѣнѣи*), монах со мантија аналаф и кукул на главата, кој во десната рака ја носи бројаницата и благословува, а во левата отворен свиток

со напишан текст. Последниот во низата допојасно претставените светци е св. Атанасиј Александриски (στυίη Ἀθανασίη) архиепископ, старец со фелон и со високо чело и бела брада лепезесто проширена (сл. 2). Иако иконата не е потпишана, нема сомнение дека е дело на Дичо Зограф. Стилските особености го потврдуваат тоа во целост и ја детерминираат како дело на неговата зрела зографска фаза со нагласени академски пројави од шестата деценија на XIX век⁶.



Слика 2 – Икона, црква Св. Богородица Дебар, околу 1864–1866 г., автор Дичо Зограф

Оваа икона, како и другите неколку празнични, припаѓаат на една поголема целина во која се престолните икони на св. Ѓорѓи и св. Димитрија, сликани 1864 г., иконите Богородица Живоносна источник од 1865 г., како и иконата на Успението на Богородица и Симнувањето на Светиот Дух од 1866 г.⁷ Веројатно и иконата на св. Константин и Елена со портретот на Георги Јанински е насликана помеѓу 1864 и 1866 г.

Веќе одбележавме дека претставите на св. Георги Јанински во уметноста на Преродбата како тематска новина ги воведува Дичо Зограф. Тој неговите портрети ги слика рано, уште во своите почетни дела, како што е иконата на Богородица Пантохара од 1844 г. од црквата Св. Јован Канео во Охрид⁸. Новомаченикот од Јанина Дичо го слика во традиционална епиротска одежда, кошула, елек,

⁶ С. Цветковски, *Икониите на Дичо Зограф од црквиите во Дебар и Мала Река*, Струга 2013, 41–43.

⁷ Ibid, 41.

⁸ Ц. Грозданов, *Уметноста и културата од XIX век во Западна Македонија*, 157–158.

фустанела и фес на главата. Помеѓу 1848 и 1852 г. Дичо неговиот портрет го слика и во црквата Св. Ѓорѓи, манастир Рајчица⁹. И овој портрет ги поседува сите иконографски и типолошки особености на светецот, млад, облечен во епиротска народна носија, украсена бела кошула и елек, фустанела и наметка, без фес на главата. Овој портрет од Рајчица досега се сметаше за последен што Дичо го слика. Ако ги споредиме портретите на Георги Јанински од иконата во Охрид, црквата во Рајчица и иконата од црквата во Дебар, забележуваме дека Дичо користи два иконографски обрасци што меѓу себе се разликуваат единствено по тоа дали новомаченикот од Јанина е насликан со фес на главата или без него. Изворното житие на светецот сугерира на иконографската варијанта со фес, која е присутна и на неговите најрани икони настанати непосредно по неговата маченичка смрт, уште пред неговата канонозација во 1839 г.¹⁰ Дичо Зограф внесува упатство за сликање на св. Ѓорѓи Јанински и во својот зографски прирачник, т.н. втора, засега сè уште непубликувана ерминија од 1851 г.¹¹

На иконата од црквата во Дебар покрај св. Ѓорѓи Јанински е насликан и св. Харалампии, особено почитуван светец во времето на XVIII и XIX век на Балканот како заштитник од чумата, чии претстави Дичо често ги слика понекогаш и во многу комплексни иконографски варијанти, каков што е случајот со претставите од црквите во Росоки, Тресонче, Гари¹². Претставите на св. Антониј, основач на

⁹ Ibid, 158–160.

¹⁰ Најстарата икона на Ѓорѓи Јанински е настаната/насликана десетина дена по неговата маченичката смрт, на 30 јануари 1838 г., од зографот Михаил Зикос од Хјониадес и на неа новомаченикот е насликан со фес на главата. Житието, пофалното слово и службата се составени во текот на 1838 г. од јеромонахот Хрисант Лаинас од Коница, cf. М.ΓΑΡΙΔΗ-Θ.ΠΑΛΙΟΥΡΑ, ΣΥΜΒΟΛΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ ΝΕΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ, 180–182, 184–190; За најраните графички икони од 1839 г., D. Papastratos, *Papar Icons*, vol. I, 215–216.

¹¹ Покрај упатството за сликање на самостојната претстава на новомаченикот, Дичо дава упатство за сликање и на неколку житијни сцени поврзани со неговата маченичка смрт, cf. И. Гергова, “Българският“ св. Георги Нови Янински, in: Традиция приемственост новаторство, в памет на Петър Динеков, София 2001, 486–488.

¹² А. Давидив-Темеримски, *Традиционално и ново у делу Диче зографа* (1819–1872/73), Саопштења XXXV–XXXVI, (2003–2004), 154–158, сл. 3–6; С. Цветковски, *Икониие на Дичо Зограф од црквиите во Дебар и Мала Река*, 52–54.

Египетското монаштво, и на св. Атанасиј Александриски можеме да ги ставиме како една целина, бидејќи токму св. Атанасиј Александриски го пишува житието на св. Антониј Велики, кој, всушност, бил духовно чедо на големиот подвижник од Мисирската пустина долги години. Новоидентификуваниот портрет на св. Ѓорѓи Јанински говори за една поширока хронологија и застапеност низ целото творештво на Дичо Зограф од неговите рани, почетни дела до времето на зрелоста од последната зографска фаза .

Портретите на св. Ѓорѓи Јанински се една од битните тематски особености и на живописот на Аврам Дичов. Досега од истражувачите се идентификувани десетина портрети сликани претежно во црквите од Западна Македонија¹³. За разлика од Дичо, кој новомаченикот од Јанина го сликаше во две иконографски варијанти, Аврам Дичов го слика новомаченикот од Јанина исклучиво со фес на главата, задржувајќи ги другите иконографски особености, пред сè неговата народна, епиротска одежда. Неодамна, истражувајќи ги делата на зографите од Македонија во пределите на Косово и Метохија во близина на Косовска Каменица, во селото Корминање откривме целосно зачуван фреско-ансамбл на Аврам Дичов¹⁴. Оваа еднокорабна црква посветена на Успение на Пресвета Богородица содржи интересна иконографска програма во наосот, на јужната и на западната фасада. Од целосно зачуваниот ктиторски натпис дознаваме дека црквата е живописана во 1870 г. од зографите Аврам Дичов и неговата дружина зографите Зафир, Теодор и Спиро, кој за себе навеле дека се од „деборска“ држава, од село Тресонче: *ѣспїсѣсѣ сѣй хрѣмъ прѣстыѣ Ѣдѣа во лѣто на: 1870: во мѣсецъ маѣа во денъ:10 : зографъ авраѣмъ дичов ѣ дрѣѣ ѣнахъ ѣго. зафѣръ, тодоръ ѣ спѣро. ѣ дебѣорска дер ѣава село трѣсанче*¹⁵ (сл. 3).

¹³ Ц. Грозданов, *op. cit.*, 160–164.

¹⁴ Истражувањата за присуството и делата на зографи од Македонија во црквите на Косово и Метохија се реализира во 2014 г. во рамките на проект што беше поддржан од Министерството за култура.

¹⁵ Ктиторскиот натпис од јужната фасада под лунетата и сликаната претстава на Успението на Богородица го објавува И. Женарју, *Дебарски зографи на Косову и Метѣохији*, Саопштења XLIV (2012), 220.



Слика 3 – Кийиџорски најџиис, црква Усџение на Богџорџица с. Кормиџане

Меѓу светците во првата зона од јужниот сид од наосот веднаш до влезните врати, Аврам го слика портретот на новомаченикот од Јанина св. Ѓорѓи (сѣџиџ геџртџиџ нџвџ мџченџкџ) (сл. 4), во својата препознатлива иконографија во народна епирска одежа, карактеристична бела фустанела, темнозелена кошула и елек декорирани со златовез и копчиџа, карактеристичните извезени чорапи, наметка на грбот и црвен фес со пискул на главата, со крст во десната подигната рака. До новомаченикот од Јанина е насликан св. Јаков Персиски (сл. 4). Она што е можеби најинтересно за овој досега непознат портрет од црквата во Корминаџе е можноста тој да е и најраниот портрет на Ѓорѓи Јанински во опусот на Аврам Дичов.



Слика 4 – св. Георѓи Јанински и св. Јаков Персиски,
црква Усїение на Богородица, с. Кормиѓане

Фреско-живописот од Кормиѓане говори дека Аврам многу рано, по завршувањето на своите најрани самостојни дела во Струшко (1868) и во Дебарца (1870)¹⁶, самостојно настапува и во пределите на Јужна Србија, посебно околу Врање, каде што слика икони за црквите во селата Левосој, Тибужд и Содерци (1870/1)¹⁷. Врање и пределите околу тогаш сè уште биле во состав на Скопската митрополија, со која управувал викарниот епископ под јурисдикција на скопскиот митрополит. Првиот викарен епископ врањски бил Паисиј (1847–1868), за време на скопскиот митрополит Јоаким (1843–1868)¹⁸. Скопскиот митрополит Јоаким, можеби еден од најзначајните скопски митрополити во XIX век, во чие време настапува

¹⁶ С. Цветковски, *Аврам Дичов*, 9–14.

¹⁷ *Иконопис врањске епархије*, пр. М. Тимотијевић, Н. Макуљевић, Београд-Врање 2005, 23

¹⁸ Р. Грујић, *Скопска митрополија*, Споменица српско-православного саборног храма Свете Богородица у Скопљу 1835–1935, Скопје 1935, 246–247.

бележит подем на црковното градителство и уметност, бил и голем покровител на Дичо Зограф, кој токму во негово време остварува повеќегодишна успешна работа за црквите во Скопје и Скопско. Веројатно по негова препорака Дичо во 1859–1860 г. слика и во соборната црква во Врање, кога врањски епископ е Паисиј¹⁹. Оваа успешна соработка по сè изгледа продолжила и подоцна, кога Паисиј станува скопски митрополит, и сега под негово покровителство Аврам настапува во црквите на врањската епархија, која сè до 1878 г. е во состав на Скопската митрополија. Селото Кормиџане се наоѓа во крајните западни делови на врањската епархија, можеби на самата граница со Призренската митрополија. Во овие години сè уште немаме идентификувано сликани дела на Аврам во црквите на почвата на Призренската епархија, што се случува дури кон средината на осмата деценија на XIX век. Нашите истражувања потврдија дека Аврам Дичов во 1875 г. слика во црквата Св. Апостоли во комплексот на Пеќската патријаршија со соработниците. Истовремено, тој слика и икони датирани од 1876. Новите откритија во Кормиџане говорат дека Аврам Дичов многу рано, уште за животот на татко му Дичо, настапува заедно со брат му Спире и нивни соработници на територија на Јужна Србија и Косово во своите рани самостојни години кога го презема и водството на тајфата²⁰.

Во Мавровскиот Крај, во црквата Св. Никола во село Кичиница зачувани се неколку хартиени графички икони, меѓу кои и бакрорезот на св. Ѓорѓи Јанински²¹. Оваа идентификација е посебно интересна и значајна, бидејќи досега во уметноста на XIX век во Македонија беа познати само две графички икони посветени на новомаченикот од Јанина, придружувани со неколку сцени од неговото житие. Иконата од Кичиница е целосно зачувана, со незначителни оштетувања во долниот дел, каде што делумно е зафатен/оштетен приложничкиот запис (сл. 5). На иконата доминира фигурата на Ѓорѓи Јанински претставен во народна епиротска одежда и на главата фес со пискул. Во десната рака носи крст, а во левата рака

¹⁹ Ц. Грозданов, *op. cit.*, 8; С. Цветковски, *Живойисој на Дичо Зограф и Аврам Дичов*, 147.

²⁰ С. Цветковски, *Живойисој на Дичо Зограф и Аврам Дичов*, 177–190; *Idem*, *Аврам Дичов*, 21–22.

²¹ Во црквата освен оваа графичка икона зачувани се и две графички икони на св. Никола, архангел Михаил како ја зема душата на грешникот и иконата на св. Јован Претеча со сцени од неговото житие.



Слика 5 – Графичка икона, црква Св. Никола , с. Кичиница

палмово гранче – знак на неговото мачеништво. Над неговата глава испишана е сигнатурата на грчки јазик (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Ο ΝΕΟ-ΜΑΡΤΥΣ Ο ΕΪ ΣΑΝΝΗΝΩΝ). Во горниот дел на иконата, носени на облаци, претставени се Христос, кој го благословува новомаченикот, и од спротивната страна ангелот Господов, кој го носи маченичкиот венец. Зад фигурата на Ѓорѓи Јанински е ведутата на градот Јанина со ѕидините, профаните градби и претстави на цркви, куполни градби и џамија. Над ведутата на градот Јанина испишана е словенската сигнатура (ЃѢѢѢ ГЕОУРГѢѢ НОВѢѢ МѢЧЕНИКѢѢ ЈАНИНО). Во долниот дел на иконата до нозете на Ѓорѓи Јанински е претставена и црквата Св. Атанасиј (Н ЕККАНСΙΑ ΤΩ ΑΓΙΩ), каде што по неговата смрт се положени неговите мошти, како и чудото што се случило пред црквата. Странично се претставени четири сцени од животот на св. Ѓорѓи – св. Ѓорѓи пред турските старешини, мачењето на светецот со ставање на камена плоча на неговите гради, а од спротивната страна сцените на испрашувањето на Ѓорѓи пред турските старешини и четвртата сцена е маченичката смрт на св. Ѓорѓи со бесење. Под претставата на светецот испишан е ктиторски натпис: ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΡΕΤΩ ΜΝΗΩ ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΩ ΜΑΙ ΤΩ ΕΙΩ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΟΡΩΩ. Како што веќе напоменавме, освен графичката хартиена икона од Киченица, досега во уметноста од XIX век беа познати само уште две графички икони. Постарата од Прилеп, од депото на црквата Св. Димитриј датирана од 1838 г., која, всушност, ѝ припаѓа на најстарата редакција на неговите житијни икони, настаната набргу по неговата смрт. Оваа икона е авторство на познатиот бакрорезец од првата половина на XIX век, Антим од Пелопонез²². Втората икона се чува во зградата на митрополијата во Битола и ѝ припаѓа на редакцијата отпечатена 1859 г.²³ Иконата од Киченица, благодарение на зачуваниот ктиторски натпис и споредбата со најблиската аналогија, односно идентичната икона објавена во корпусот на графички икони од Дори Папастрату No. 231²⁴, може многу прецизно да се датира во 1845 г. Иконата, односно овој бакрорез, е настаната по порачка на монахот Филарет од скитот на св. Троица на Света Гора, а како бакрорезец се потпишал златарот

²² *Графички лисџови XVIII – XIX век од збирката на музеј Прилеп*, каталог, Прилеп 2006, 4, 21, 51, кат. 15 (С. Алексоска)

²³ Ц. Грозданов, *op. cit.*, 168–169.

²⁴ D. Papastratos, *op. cit.*, 219, cat. 231.

Георги Статис Каларитис. Иконата од Кичиница можеме да ја вброиме во постарите редакции на житијни икони на св. Ѓорѓи Јанински настанати меѓу 1838–1845 г. Инаку, досега се утврдени вкупно 14 одделни графички серии бакрорезни клишеа во неколку редакции, кои се карактеризираат со одредени иконографски поединости, што само говори за интензитетот и пробивноста на неговиот култ, кој имал силен одглас на широките простори на Балканот, но и пошироко, дури до Светата Земја и градот Ерусалим, за што сведочат неговите бројни претстави сликани на поклоницките икони на платно – Ерусалими, кои православните поклоници ги носеле како еулогии, благослов од поклоницките патувања во Светата Земја²⁵.

Sašo CVETKOVSKI

THE NEWLY FOUND PORTRAITS OF ST. GEORGE OF IANNINA AT THE FRESCO-WRITING FROM THE XIX-th CENTURY

Summary

In this paper are published three newly identified representations of St. George of Iannina in the art from the middle and the second half of the XIX century, painted by zografts from the Debar art school, Dičo Zograf and his son Avram Dičov, as well as one graphic-paper icon with provenance from Mt. Athos. Dičo Zograf paints the image of the new martyr from Iannina on a festive icon at the church of the Virgin in Debar. Beside st. George of Iannina depicted in, for him typical folk costumes from Epirus, are painted the emperor Constantine and his mother the empress Helena in the upper zone and lower as bust representations are painted St. Haralampij, st. Anthony and st. Athanasius of Alexandria.

There is no signature from the zografts on the icon and no date of when it was painted, but there is no doubt that it was painted by Dičo Zograf, who for the church in Debar between 1864–1866 painted numerous of icon- festive, throne and proscinetary. Therefore we believe that this icon with a portrait of st. George of Iannina was painted between 1864 and 1866. This portrait of st. George of Ioannina builds on to the previous two painted in 1844, on the icon of the Virgin Pantochara from Ohrid, and the portrait from the monastery Rajčica

²⁵ И. Гергова, *op. cit.*, 488.

originated between 1848–1852. It is important to mark that Dičo Zograf is the one who introduces the portraits of st. George of Iannina in the art of the XIX century in Macedonia, and his second Herminie from the 1851 includes notes and instructions on how this image is to be painted.

As an important feature of the work of Avram Dičov are also the representations of st. George of Ioannina. The newly identified portrait of st. George of Iannina at the village Korminjane in Kosovo is recognized as the earliest painted representation of this new martyr of Iannina. According to the fully preserved donor inscription, the Korminjane church was painted in 1870 by Avram Dičov and his group of zografs Zafir, Todor and his brother Spire.

St. George of Iannina is painted in the first zone of the southern wall next to st. Jacob Persian and has all the important iconographic peculiarities, folk Epirus robe, fez on his head and martyrs' cross in his hands. Of great importance is the discovery of the graphic icon of st. George of Iannina with a scene of his martyrdom in the church in the village Kichinica. So far, from the art and the time of the XIX century in Macedonia were known only two graphic icons from Prilep and the metropolis in Bitola. The icon from Kichinica according to the donors' inscription is created by the effort of the monk Filaret from the skit of the Holy Trinity on Mount Athos, and belongs to a graphical redaction incised in 1845.

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