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The Balkan *Gurbet* /*Pečalbarstvo* – Past and Present

The article presents an observation on the various traditional forms of cross-border seasonal labour mobility on the Balkans, both as agricultural works away from the home place, and as large-scale temporary craftsmen's migrations of builders, bakers, dairy workers, confectioners and so on. In countries like Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia and Serbia, traditional cultural models of trans-border labour mobility that encompasses the majority of the male population of entire regions have existed for centuries. These migrant groups created the specific subculture of *gurbet*, which the men carried with them in the big city, at the same time altering the entire model of traditional culture in their home regions. The annual journeys of men from the various mountain parts of the Balkans "at work" and "for gain" (*pečalba*) in the course of the years developed specific features of the feast-ritual system and folklore in the villages of these regions. At the same time, the traditional Balkan *gurbet* is an important condition for mutual penetration between various cultures and peoples and for creating new cultural patterns and various multidimentional identities.

Key words:

migrations, labour mobility, gender, gurbet, pečalbarstvo, Šopluk

The fall of the Berlin Wall 20 years ago and the break-up of Yugoslavia drastically changed the dynamics of labour mobility of the Balkan people. Since the 1970s, in the decades of no visa restrictions on Yugoslavia, legal trans-border labour migrations became widespread among its citizens, and their presence as *gastarbeiters* in a number of Western European countries became a long lasting life-strategy. The political changes of the early 1990s transformed the social environment once again – the so-called Western Balkan countries (excluding Slovenia) fell behind the "Schengen barrier" for a long time, while countries such as Bulgaria and Romania got an opportunity for "opening" towards the EU and for various forms of legal and illegal trans-border labour mobility. The restrictive visa policy of the EU towards some of the ex-Yugoslavian countries led to the emergence of new strategies for constructing identities. Logically, a very important methodological issue stands in front of the migration researchers, such as deepening the knowledge on

the Balkan mobility in a comparative perspective – both in terms of studying the traditional patterns of cross-border temporary labour mobility and in terms of trans-border migrations from the Balkans to Western Europe. This article will suggest a research viewpoint on the traditions in the labour migrations in the very heart of the Balkans in the past two centuries.

The tradition of seasonal and temporary labour migrations, particularly among the men, has existed for centuries in a number of regions on the Balkans. The model, according to which men earn money somewhere "away" or "abroad" (the neighbouring region, the big city, another state/country or "somewhere on the Balkans"), but return every year to their home places and families "here", is known in different Balkan languages as *gurbet/ kurbet/ kurbéti*, or with the South-Slavic term *pečalbarstvo* (Hristov 2008, 217). The Balkans offer a remarkable variety of traditional cultural patterns of seasonal or temporary (between one and three years) labour migrations in the separate regions, but they all share a number of common typological features that make them an important part of what we could call a Balkan "culture of migration" (cf. Brettell 2003, 3).

Researchers of migration problematic face several difficulties, posed by the need to uncover the reasons for migration (temporary or permanent) of different social groups from one country to another or within the country itself, to trace the mechanisms of this process, and to determine the ways in which these changes reflect on the everyday life and culture of the migrants, on their thinking and understanding. From a Balkanistic perspective, such problems are posed by the complex research of labour mobility on the Balkans both from historical and contemporary point of view. Serious difficulties also arise from the researchers' approach, limited to his own national frames – a number of Balkan authors, who study labour migrations, focus on their own country, write in their national "cages", and don't look across the borders. Incompatibly, in a historical context, labour migrations on the Balkans were as a rule cross- and trans-border, "border" in the meaning implied by Fredrik Barth – of the [trans-] ethnic, religious, cultural, and later – state boundaries on the Balkans (cf. Barth 1969).

The purpose of the present article is not to provide exact definitions and generalizations on the issue of "labour migrations on the Balkans". It will focus on the social phenomenon of seasonal male labour migrations (*gurbet* or *pečalbarstvo*) in its socio-cultural and ethnological aspects, showing its historical roots, specifics and stages of development, through the example of the Central Balkans – this part of the peninsula, where the frontiers of three states come together nowadays – these of Republic of Bulgaria, Republic of Serbia and Republic of Macedonia. In the literature this region is widely known as *Šopluk* – a denotation with unclearly defined borders and cultural specifics (Hristov 2004, 67-82; Malinov 2008, 424-436). When speaking of regional specifics on the Balkans, this area shows common, stable cultural specifics, despite the fact that the local population shares different national identities over the last 150 years; it is a historical fact that during the last 125 years these regions have changed their state affiliation five times (Hristov 2002, 69-80). National and/or ethnic groups there are not denoted decisively – they change in the course of history and "by definition are modified after changes in state borders"

(Prelić 1996, 115) – at least this is the way it has been on the Balkans. One of these stable traits of social life in the region during the entire 19th and 20th century is the seasonal labour mobility of male population that shaped the traditional cultural model of local communities. This region has only sporadically been mentioned in previous studies of migrational movement on the Balkans (cf. Palairet 1987, 225-35).

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The historical traditions of temporary and seasonal economic migrations on the Balkans are impressive for their variety and importance for the social and cultural history of the region. Despite the turbulent historical destiny of the Balkan peoples, marked throughout the past 200 years by numerous economical and social catastrophes, the trans-border labour mobility of seasonal type, accompanied by exchange of ideas, information, technologies and cultural patterns, has never ceased. Particular regions on the Balkans - Middle-western Bulgaria, North-eastern Macedonia, Albania, Northern Greece and South-eastern Serbia are among the main centres for such seasonal/temporary labour migrations.

This Balkan version of the "mobility culture"[1], practiced by generations of men who earned their means of living away from home, caused a number of transformations in the entire model of traditional culture in these regions, related to the temporary absence of males from the village. In a number of places in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey these transformations encompassed the ways of making a living and material culture, as well as re-thinking everyday gender stereotypes, social organisation, the holiday calendar and the rituals, related to a person's life cycle. Some of these cultural patterns and their impact on identity, particularly in the border regions of the Balkans, have already been mentioned in my earlier works (cf. Hristov 2009, 109-126).Works of comparative research about *gurbet* on the Balkans are still remarkably few in numbers. A significant challenge for researchers (historians, ethnologists, anthropologists, sociologists, demographers) is to explain how these traditional patterns of "life-in-motion" are reproduced and transformed in the conditions of globalisation and EU expansion, which give more opportunities for labour mobility in a European perspective. This research is still yet to happen and the future migration studies in Serbia are significant and will contribute in this way.

Seasonal and temporary labour mobility in the central part of the Balkans (known as *Šopluk*) is a social process that has been developing with varying intensity throughout the 19th and the 20th centuries. Within the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century, the main "streams" of temporary labour migrations were directed to

[1] I borrowed this term from the French anthropologist Benoît Fliche, who studied labour migrations (*gurbet*) in Turkey (cf. Fliche 2006).

the capital – Istanbul[2], and the other big cities of the Empire, but also to Wallachia and Serbia, which were free by that time.

In the early decades of the pre-modern age, the main form of seasonal migrations in the agrarian sphere for the entire Balkan-Mediterranean range (Brodel 1998, 30, 40-43, 51-53) was the movement of labour force from the mountains (areas which, according to Fernand Braudel, were characterised by their "archaism and poverty") to the rich plains and river valleys, mainly in the harvest seasons (*"na žetva"*[3]). For example, the main destinations for agrarian seasonal labour mobility from the mountainous central part of the Balkans (the so-called *Šopluk*) were Wallachia and the big farms in Dobruđa and the Thracian Valley. During the second half of the 19th century, men from entire villages in the Bulgarian-Serbian border region (regions of the Timok river, Godeč, Berkovica etc.) worked in the farms of Wallachian *čokoyas* (Hristov 2010, 199). Only sporadically, however, this labour mobility was called *pečalba*.

Typical for the centuries of the Ottoman Empire and its rule on the Balkans was the seasonal hired shepherdry (with calendar framework between the feasts of St. George in May and St. Demetrius in October), along with different combinations of agrarian labour. Most distinctive in this aspect was the transhuman shepherd nomadism, typical for not only Wallachians, Aromanians and Karakachans, but also for Bulgarians from the Rodopi mountain (towards Aegean Thrace and the Upper Thracian plain) and from Eastern *Stara planina* mountain (towards Dobruđa). Here we should also mention this part of the population, which during these centuries had the privileged *đelepkeshan* status of suppliers for the Ottoman army (Grozdanova, Andreev 1986, 121).

These seasonal migrations related to agrarian labour had their age specifics and gender characteristics in different regions of the Balkans, but their female version (similar to the *"slizane na Romanya"* in Bulgaria during harvest) was predominantly maiden's – traditionally after the marriage the woman would stay with her family, at her husband's house, and, in the regions with male *gurbet,* she would take care of the family's land and livestock. The *Šopluk* mountain regions were a constant source of seasonal maiden workers that migrated to the lowland regions (the areas around Sofia in Bulgaria and *Ovče pole* in Eastern Macedonia) at the time of crop harvesting.

The intensification of the agricultural production during the first decades of the 20th century put an end to the seasonal maiden mobility; yet, the growing needs of the new bourgeois society in the capital forced the quick development of new types of temporary maiden labour – being a maidservant in a rich urban family became important for the socialization of girls from a number of villages near Sofia (Palairet 1987, 34). The Maidservant market (*Sluginski pazar*) in Sofia, organized

[2] As example, in 1863, approx. 32,550 Bulgarians worked in Istanbul and its suburbs.

[3] In Bulgaria, this traditional movement from the mountains to the valleys received the folklore name "*slizane na Romanya*" ('ascending to Romelia').

twice every year at the *Piazza* for the construction workers (*Djulgerska piazza*) – a week after St. George's day and after St. Demetrius's day, became an important place of the capital of Bulgaria after World War One (Hristov 2005, 87). The girls, who were too young to get married, were brought and contracted for housemaids at the "market" by their parents, most commonly by their mothers, who also received the money for the house and kitchen work, which their daughter was hired for. This money was used to prepare the dowry for the future bride. When the girl reached the age of 15-16, she was taken back to the village to be married. According to the information of my respondents, it was very rare girls to stay and live in the city and marry there. It was believed that successful marriages took place in the village, so that was the end of the young women becoming familiar with the city lifestyle. But what was learned from the landlady (*gospođa*) in the city was taken to the village: recipes for cooking, patterns of housekeeping and nursing children, and sometimes urban ways of dressing and social etiquette.

In a number of cases, agrarian (in particular shepherd) mobility was traditionally closely related to craftsman seasonal migrations in a number of mountainous regions on the Balkans (Palairet 1987, 225-35; Brunnbauer 2004, 141-142). The latter would mainly include builders, potters, bakers[4] and tinkers, who travelled around the entire peninsula. In this aspect, several regional centres in Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia were formed, which "emitted" waves of men going for *gurbet* and *pečalba* every year throughout the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Possibly the oldest such centre is Northwestern Macedonia, and specifically the Debar and Tetovo *kaaza,* the region of the *Mijaks*[5]. The other traditional centres, such as Trăn in Midwestern Bulgaria, Crna trava and Bosilegrad in today's Sotheastern Serbia, Kriva palanka and Kratovo in Macedonia, still preserve the tales of how the legendary builders (*djulgers*), who built the capitals Belgrade and Sofia, learned their skills from "*debarlii*", who came from the "*Arnautluk*" (Hristov 2008: 219). The *debarlias*' traces can also be found among the wandering *dyulgeri* from other regions of Bulgaria – both in the school of Bracigovo in the Rodopi mountain, and in Central *Stara planina*, where the centres were Drjanovo, Trjavna and Gabrovo. An example: when in 1870 the first railway was built in Bulgaria (Varna-Rousse), most of the workers were "Christians from Albania who swarm(ed) all over European Turkey and return(ed) home in the winter months, but faithfully returned each year" (Barkley 1876, 56-57).

Traditional seasonal labour migrations of men in Bulgaria and Macedonia are not only a part of the century-long common history of different ethnic, religious and lingual communities on the Balkans, they are also a part of the folklore (cf. Karovski 1979; Pistrick 2008, 97-110), of local and family narratives, and of individual biographies of a number of prominent local historical figures, some of which "grew up" in these tales and legends to the scale of cultural heroes. The activation of male *gurbet* in the late centuries of existence of the Ottoman Empire was caused, in my opinion, by the breakup of the agrarian system in the Empire and by the so-

[4] The term "bakers" includes the entire range of bakers, pastry-cooks, *bozađii*, *halvađii* etc.

[5] The *Mijaci* are a specific ethnographic group, inhabiting Northwestern Macedonia.

cio-economic crisis of the late 18th and early 19th century that led to a decline of the well-developed and state-maintained network of sheep breeders in the mountain region responsible for the army and the large cities supplies (Hristov 2008, 219). To this we must add the economic collapse that followed the decades of feudal violence (for example, the rule of the *kurđali* leader Kara Feiz in the Middle-western Bulgaria) and the constant raids by various villain gangs, especially in Western Macedonia (Петров 1909, 3; Цвијић 1931, 134, 162, 169, 199).

In the mountain regions of the central part of the peninsula, male craftsman's labour away from home (*pečalbarstvo*) was popular and traditionally prestigious (Bobčev 1902: 107; Petrović 1920: 18; Cvijić 1931: 134). This referred especially to the region, known as *Šopluk***:** legends are still told about masters "could shoe the flea and split the sole-leather into nine" (Cvijić 1906: 194). The seasonal mobility of the *pečalbars* is well documented in the period after the Crimean War (1853-56) – the report of the Austrian vice-consul in Sofia, von Martrit, published in Vienna in 1853, stated that "*the Christian citizens of the region around the town of Trăn were so poor that they could hardly pay their taxes, therefore a big part of these would leave the native places in the spring to go elsewhere and seek for opportunities to earn money in Istanbul, even Asia Minor, from where they came only as late as in the winter*" (Mihov 1943, 331-332). After the year of 1878 Konstantin Ireček reported that "during the time of the Ottoman Empire a group of 5000 men regularly went to Serbia to work as masons in summer". Later, he adds: "*In the area around the town of Trăn as well as around Radomir and in Kraište there live mason-vagrants and work in bunches of 40 to 50 persons*." (Jireček 1976, 559). In the area of Trăn, the seasonal workers in free Serbia were called "*Šumadiers*" (*šumadinci*) in order to differentiate them from "*Stamboldjias*" (*stamboldžias*), working in the villages, surrounding the capital of the Empire (Petričev 1940, 150).

These masters were going "from early spring to late autumn" all over the Balkan peninsula – from Serbia (Morava region, Šumadia, Belgrade) and Wallachia to Istanbul and Asia Minor (Smirna) as builders (*dyulgeri*), masons (*dzidari*), tilemakers (*ciglari*), potters (*kaljavci)* and "*crepari*" (making flat clay baking pots – *crepnja* or *podnica*) and from some villages also as stone-cutters (cf. Nikolić 1910, 29; Mirnova-Panova 1971, 65; Palairet 1987, 23-46). The seasonal movement of mountain male population ("*u pečalbu*", "*u rabotu*") to other parts of the Balkan peninsula made for the stability in time of the complex family households (*zadruga* type) and for increasing the importance of women's position in the family (Brunnbauer 2004, 144). However, the deeply entrenched traditional gender models in this patriarchal socio-cultural milieu inhibited the modernization in that respect – here I agree with Michael Palairet's conclusion (Palairet 2002, 147). Men's labour mobility, their seasonal absence from the village community and their continuous work out of the home region, resulted as well in the proverbial strength of kinship networks in these regions.

An important condition for the continuous conservation and the great significance of family-kin structure for the entire life of the village was the traditional form of organization of the migrants' groups (*pečalbarska tajfa*) of construction workers. They were based upon kinship principle and up to the beginning of the

20th c. did not know any written form of regulation (of the guild type) – traditionally migrant male labour groups followed the norms of customary practice: a hierarchy of masters (*majstor*), journeymen (*kalfa*) and apprentices (*čirak*) was selected mainly among the kin and, rarely, among the village community. This peculiarity, as well as a lack of statistical information for seasonal workers in Bulgaria[6], Serbia and the Ottoman Empire during this period, forces our choice of research strategy into historic-ethnographic reconstruction of seasonal cross-border mobility, using predominantly narrative sources.

The end of these agrarian migrations was put by the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, which resulted in new political boundaries dividing the territory of the former Ottoman Empire.

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The directions, destinations and character of seasonal labour of male migrant groups changed several times in the 19th and the first decades of the 20th c. in accordance with the turbulent and complicated historical destiny of this part of the Balkans (Manolova-Nikolova 1997, 159-173; Stojančević 1995, 283-331). Before the Liberation of Bulgaria (1878) the main attractive centres for the migrant groups from this nowadays border region of Crna Trava, Trăn, Caribrod, Pirot, Leskovac, Vranje, Lužnitsa, Kumanovo, Kratovo and Kriva Palanka were *Šumadiya* in Serbia and *Vlaško* in today's Southern Romania, which were already free at the time, and within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire – the region of *Zagore* (near the Bulgarian towns of Vidin and Lom in North-western Bulgaria), *Dobruđa* in North-eastern Bulgaria, and, logically, the Empire's capital – Istanbul. Travelling throughout the Balkan peninsula, the skilled master-builders left traces of their work everywhere – from the particularly popular among the locals in Wallachia houses of rammed earth (*bienica* or *punjenica* – cf. Mironova-Panova 1971, 69-70), to the modern buildings in the capitals – Istanbul and Belgrade, and the large port cities of the Ottoman Empire.

In a number of (then) border cities in free Serbia (Paračin, Jagodina and Čuprija) and Wallachia (Craiova, Gjurgiu, Braila and the capital Bucharest), temporary migrants from Bulgaria and Macedonia built entire colonies of their own. Many of them actively participated in the revolutionary struggles, uprisings and wars which led to the liberation of their home regions from Ottoman power, and sometimes even to inclusion in the borders of the new national states on the Balkans (Hristov 2008, 222).

After the Liberation of Bulgaria (1878) the new capital – Sofia, quickly became an attractive centre for temporary labour migrants from the central part of the Balkans, as well from Macedonia. The main part of the seasonal construction workers in Sofia were from mountain villages in the border regions between Bulgaria

[6] During the entire period after the liberation of Bulgaria the official state statistics did not take into account seasonal workers hired for less than 6 months (Natan et al. 1969: 408)

and Serbia and from the regions of Kratovo and Kriva Palanka, which remained within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. The most famous construction contractors in the Bulgarian capital were born in Trăn (Western Bulgarian border region) or in Macedonia (Petrović 1920, 23). The seasonal construction workers had "their own" gathering and hiring spot – *Djulgerska Piazza* – which as well became an important place in the capital city as early as the end of the 19th century (Hristov 2005, 86). At the beginning of the 20th century, the construction workers were still "seasonal guests" in the big city – they worked and earned in the capital, but spent the winter months in their home villages. Soon after the Ilinden Uprising in Macedonia it became clear that the decades-long destinations of the *pečalbar* men also traced the route of the refugees from the central part of the peninsula.[7]

Organized on kinship and/or local principle, the groups of temporary migrants (*pečalbarski tajfi*) developed their specific subculture in the big cities (Istanbul, Thessalonica, Belgrade, Sofia). The seasonal workers had permanent spots where they got together and communicated, such as the famous "Znepole" Hotel (for the *pečalbars* from Trăn) and the "Razlog" restaurant (for those from Macedonia) in Sofia. Their specific dialect came to be their language marker both in Bulgaria and in Serbia (Cvijić 1922, 219), while some groups developed their own "secret" language, as those from the village of Šlegovo, near Kratovo – the so called *Fornički* speech (Филиповски, Китановски 1984, 67-135). The local population on both sides of the (political) frontiers also accepted the migrant groups as specific communities and their seasonal moving "from early spring to late autumn" was compared to the flocks of migratory birds (dialectal *kurkavci* – "cranes" – cf. Hristov 2005, 85). These male craftsman's communities were traditionally closed in their specific subculture: the infiltration of workers from other regions was a rare exception even in the 1940s.[8]

In the beginning of the two Balkan Wars and during World War One, many of these *pečalbars* from the central regions immigrated to America to avoid military service. As early as the end of the 19th century, America became an attractive place for labour force from the region – at first from Macedonia, and later on from Bulgaria and Serbia (Petrov 1909, 3-6). Part of these "Americans" returned to their homes in the 1920s, but most of them remained in America as immigrants.

As time passed, in the regions with traditional male labour mobility, local cultural tradition was transformed according to the men's seasonal absence from their home places. In the *Šopluk*, the builders groups (*tajfa*) started their journey on some of the main spring feasts – *Mladenci* (The Forty Holy Martyrs), *Džurdžovdăn* (St. George's Day), but according to the tradition this was supposed to happen on the first Monday of Long Lent, so called *Čist Ponedelnik* (Clean Monday). By the middle of May - St. Constantine and Helen's Day - they were already at work ("*u*

[7] Here is only one example: from 74 construction workers in Sofia from the village of Radibuš (Kriva Palanka region in present-day Republic of Macedonia), 72 enrolled as volunteers in the "Macedonian" volunteer corps of the Bulgarian Army to participate in First Balkan War, hoping to liberate Macedonia (personal fieldwork records).

[8] It is still told in Sofia that you can only "steal" but not learn the craft from the Trăn masters.

rabotu") (Petrović 1920, 14). Their earliest date of return was near St. Demetrius's Day or *Randželovdăn* (St. Michael the Archangel's Day). That's why the most important family-kin feasts (of the *svetec* type – the feast of the family patron-saint, cf. Peševa 1960, 739) were grouped in the period from St. Demetrius's Day to St. John's Day, reaching their culmination on the feasts of *Randželovdăn* (St. Michael the Archangel's Day), *Nikuldăn* (St. Nicolas's Day) and *Božič* (Christmas) (cf. Hristov 2014, 1-18). The weddings were similarly concentrated in the winter period.

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The new political borders on the Balkans after the Balkan Wars and World War One, the restrictive national legislation in the individual countries, and the complex political environment in most Balkan countries (both victorious and defeated in the wars), only further intensified by nationalist propaganda, lead as a consequence to a drastic decrease in trans-border labour mobility of the men from the studied regions. During the period between the two world wars the Balkan market for seasonal trans-border migrants virtually collapsed – not only USA was debunked as "the *pečalbar* Eldorado", but also the social situation in Bulgaria, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Greece cut down drastically the opportunities for labour migrations (Plairet 1987, 34). This lead to a change in the model of temporary labour among the men from these regions – their seasonal movement was redirected towards the big cities at the 'hearts' of their own countries. Still, this labour mobility had the traditional characteristics of temporary labour in 1920s-1940s – the men were earning in the city but their families stayed at their home villages throughout the *Šopluk* were the men spent the inactive winter months. The increase of the "internal" temporary labour migrations, however, prepared the social conditions for the permanent emigration towards the cities that became a fact after World War Two and was stimulated by the intense industrialization of the new socialist governments of Bulgaria, Romania and Tito's Yugoslavia.

After the end of World War Two the regions from the central part of the Balkans were affiliated with the newly created "People's republics", which dramatically changed the situation on the labour market and the character of labour relations in Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia. The accelerated industrialization of the 1950s turned the seasonal migrants into "socialist workers" and resulted in the mass depopulation of villages. Becoming city dwellers, the builders brought to the big cities their families and gradually lost their connection to the land, leaving behind only elderly people. In Bulgaria this contributed to the forced mass collectivisation of arable land, which led the villagers to losing their land.

The century-long traditional model of male labour mobility (*gurbet*) was once more changed during the 1960s, when a number of Western European countries invited "guest workers" from the Mediterranean countries, including Greece, Turkey and former Yugoslavia, turning men into legal temporary migrants. This type of migratory movement to countries from Western Europe reached its peak in 1973 (Novinšćak 2009, 123), as a consequence of the simultaneous process of fami-

ly reunifications in the 1970s, turning successfully the Western European countries to countries of continuous immigration even nowadays (Guentcheva, Kabakchieva and Kolarski 2003).

During this period, temporary migrants from the territory of former Yugoslavia settled down permanently in Western Europe, mainly in Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland. This was a consequence of the new policy and the new possibilities, given by the legislation of some European countries, such as West Germany. Being invited as legal workers for a certain period of time due to the need of labour force in some economic sectors, the Balkan *gastarbeiters* soon brought their families along and emigrated permanently in the host country. West Germany "shared" the model and the designation ("*gastarbeiter*") of the "temporary" labour migrants with the rest of the West-European countries. This also radically changed the model of the (temporarily) separated families in the regions I have studied. The traditional *gurbet* model of seasonal migrations and labour outside the region (the families stay in their home places, while the men earn abroad, sending and spending their money at home), was transformed from the beginning of the 1970s into the *pečalbar*'s model of the *gestarbeiter* culture, especially in Serbia and Macedonia.

Future will tell whether this model will be repeated for Bulgaria and Romania or not.

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Петко Христов

Балкански *гурбети/печалбарство* у прошлости и садашњости

Кључне речи:

миграције, радне миграције, пол, гурбет, печалбарство, Шоплук

Овај рад се бави различитим традиционалним радним и сезонским миграцијама на Балкану, укључујући пољопривредне радове ван места становања и радне повремене миграције грађевинских радника, пекара, радника на фармама млека итд. У земљама као што су Албанија, Бугарска, Грчка, Македонија и Србија, традиционални културни модели прекограничних миграција које су обухватале већину мушке популације читавих регија, постојале су вековима. Ове групе мигранта биле су ствараоци и носиоци нарочите подкултуре гурбет, истовремено мењајући читаве моделе традиционалне културе у својим матичним земљама. Годишње миграције мушкараца из различитих планинских регија Балкана због посла и – зараде, током година добиле су специфичне карактеристике ритуалних и фестивних система у селима ових регија. Истовремено, традиционални балкански гурбет постао је значајан чинилац обостраног утицаја различитих култура и народа, стварајући тако нове културне обрасце и различите више-димензијске идентитете.