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**SECTION OF SOCIAL AND ALBANOLOGICAL SCIENCES**

# **STUDIA ALBANICA**

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## **LEZHA IN THE MIDDLE AGES**

Lezha is amongst one of the most ancient Albanian cities. It has been a fortified settlement since the prehistoric ages with traces found in Maja e të Shëlbuemit<sup>1</sup>, and about it exist many historic data even for the Antiquity period<sup>2</sup>, but in this paper we shall focus in the medieval history of this city.

As precisely observe the medievalists Konstantin Jireček dhe Milan Šufflay, in the Middle Ages, we find Lezha in the documents with different names. Through the Serb documents this city is met with the name *Ljesh* (*Lješ*), in the Byzantine papers (in the catalogues of the bishops, on Konstantin Porfirogenetos and Anna Komnena) *Elissos*, through the medieval documents of the XIII-XV centuries is met with the Latin names *Lessium* (*Lexium*, *Lessum*) also *Alexium*, *Alessium*, and in Italian *Alessio*.<sup>3</sup>

Except these names, Hahn also presents us for the city another

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<sup>1</sup> Gjerak Karauskaj, *5000 vjet fortifikime në Shqipëri*. Tiranë: Pegi 2016, p. 20; see also: Frano Prendi, Koço Zheku, "Qyteti ilir i Lisit. Origjina dhe sistemi i fortifikimit të tij", në *Iliria*, 2, Tiranë: 1972, p. 244; Koço Zheku, *Lisi në shekuj*, redacted by Jani Toçka, Tiranë: 8 Nëntori, 1988, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the old history of the city of Lezha see the paper: Edmond Malaj, "Lezha gjatë periudhës së Antikitetit", in *Studime historike*, nr. 3-4, Tiranë: 2017; see also: Erwin Pochmarksi, Gëzim Hoxha, "Lissos: Quellen und Stadtgeschichte", in *Römisches Österreich*, 25, Graz: 2005, p. 243-251, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Konstantin Jireček, "Skutari und sein Gebiet im Mittelalter", in *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, Unter Mitwirkung von Professor Dr. Konstantin Jireček [etc]. Zusammengestellt von Dr. Ludwig von Thallóczy. I. Band. Mit einer Landkarte. München/Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot 1916, p. 123; see also: Milan von Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens hauptsächlich während des Mittelalters*. Vorgelegt in der Sitzung am 24. April 1918. Kommissions-Verleger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Wien/Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A.-G. 1924, p. 27.

name, which was used by the Slavs. This second but unknown Slav toponym is "Mrtav" (*mortuus*)<sup>4</sup> means "cadaver" and this according to Hahn has to do with the translation of the toponym "Ljesh" (*Lješ*) that was used for Lezha, what indeed means "cadaver"<sup>5</sup> and was a word borrowed from the Turkish language.<sup>6</sup> This toponym by Šufflay is met only in two Ragusan documents dating 18 May 1372 (*ad Drinam in Mirteç*)<sup>7</sup> and 26 October 1377, in which is mentioned the locality with the name Merteç, Mirteç Drine (Mertesi/ Mertesi in Drini), related with the consignment of oak that the carpenter Boxa Vtolcich owned two Ragusans.<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless Šufflay thinks that here the word is about for some dead side-line of the river Drin.<sup>9</sup> Let's see now more closely the medieval history of this city.

### Earlier Middle Ages. The first Byzantine period

About the earlier Middle Ages that has its origin with the fall of the Roman Empire and mainly through "Migration Period" we have few data. The first invasions were made from peoples so-called "barbarians" that were Goths, Longbards, Avars etc., which didn't stayed long. Relating to the Avars passage we are given also evidence from the treasures found in Erseka and in the village of Vrap<sup>10</sup>, in the district of Tirana, so not far from Lezha. Vrap's treasure was found on 1901 from a peasant of the area who was working his land<sup>11</sup> and was

<sup>4</sup> *Albanesische Studien*, von Dr. jur. Johann Georg von Hahn., K. K. Consul für das östliche Griechenland. Nebst einer Karte Nebst einer Karte und anderen artistischen Beilagen. [Erstes Heft]. Jena: Friedrich Mauke, 1854, p. 92

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 137, ref. 92.

<sup>6</sup> M. von Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> "1372, 18 maii navigations ad Drinam (!) in Mirteç ad caricandum ibi lignanem". *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia*. Collegerunt et digesserunt Dr. Ludovigus de Thallóczy, Dr. Constantinus Jireček ed Dr. Emilianus de Sufflay. Volumen II (Annos 1344-1406 continens) (Nr. 555 et passim) Vindobonae MXMXVIII. Typis Adophi Holzhausenm, dok. nr. 347 (hereinafter: AAlb, II).

<sup>8</sup> "Boxa Vtolcich marangonus duobus Ragusinis se obliguat "de dando eis in Merteç Drine(!) usque ad menses II provime venturos trabes triginta de robore longos XIII" [...]" *Ibid*.

<sup>9</sup> M. von Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Matthias Hardt, *Gold und Herrschaft: Die Schätze europäischer Könige und Fürsten im ersten Jahrtausend*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004, p. 183.

<sup>11</sup> The peasant whose name is not given in the studies, during the powning met in a cauldron and was not very much interested what had inside, but sold it for some mexhide to three

compound of 41 different objects, some of them of gold with a weight of 5,554 kg and others of silver, with weight 1,438 kg.<sup>12</sup> The objects are Byzantine, so must have been robbed in different cities and there is a lot of possibility that have been property of Kuber, son of Kuvrat that was *khagan* of the Avars and must have been taken to Albania because of a rebellion. How this treasure have ended hidden in the Albanian mountains, still remains today an enigma.<sup>13</sup>

Later occurred the invasions of the Slav populations,<sup>14</sup> which nearly 545 AD, started in great majority to the south passing the rivers Ister and Danube and in the years 547-548 conquer and destroy many countries through the Illyric and Thrace<sup>15</sup> and approach to Durrës.<sup>16</sup> As for the city of Lezha, its known that in the VI century was among three main cities of the Preval province with its center in Shkodra. In that period Lezha was called Lissos, is mentioned even in the Hierocles list of cities, which was established in the VI century and served as guide for the central Byzantine administration.<sup>17</sup>

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Albanians, which apparently become to quarrel because of it. This quarrel was heard in Tirana from the Ottoman organs of that time. The head of sandjak Mehmet Hysni Bey found in them a golden cup (pokal), which confiscated and sent for examination in Istanbul, another part ended sold in Paris and as conclusion 39 pieces of this treasury (with exception of 2 parts, that of Istanbul and one of those of Paris) were later bought by J. Pierpont Morgan († 1913) and were preserved after his death in New York from his son. See also: Josef Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung. Ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wanderer - und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser Geistigen Lebens. Anknüpfend an einen Schatzfund in Albanien.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchandlung 1917, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup>M. Hardt, *Gold und Herrschaft* ..., p. 184.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>Jahja Drançolli, "Kontaktet historike arbërore-sllave gjatë mesjetës", in *Arbërit ndërmjet Perëndimit dhe Lindjes gjatë mesjetës*, Zagreb: Misioni Katolik Shqiptar, 2008, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup>*La guerra gotica di Procopio di Cesarea*; testo greco, emendato sui manoscritti con traduzione italiana. A curi di Domenico Comparetti. Vol. Terzo, Roma: Forzani e C. Tipografi del Senato 1898, p. 311; see also: Procopii Cesariensis, *De Bello Gothico*, Libri VII (III), 3-8, in *Ilirët dhe Iliria tek autorët antikë*, prepared by Selim Islami

(editor in-chief), Frano Prendi, Hasan Ceka, Skënder Anamali, Fourth Edition, Tiranë: Toena, 2002, p. 435

<sup>16</sup>*Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia.* Collegerunt et digesserunt Dr. Ludovigus de Thallóczy, Dr. Constantinus Jireček ed Dr. Emlilianus de Sufflay. Volumen I (Annos 344-1343 tabelamque geographicam continens) Vindobonae MXMXVIII. Typis Adophi Holzhausen (hereinafter: AAlb. I), nr. 40; J. Drançolli, "Kontaktet historike arbërore-sllave ...", in *Arbërit* ..., p. 50.

<sup>17</sup>Hierocles Synecdemus, XVII, 656, in *Ilirët dhe Iliria* ..., p. 456; Frano Prendi, "Vazhdimësia etno-kulturore e Lisit në Mesjetë", in *Lis 6*, prepared by the Historic

During this century, as many other urban centers, Lezha also suffered a heavily blow, because on 592 during these invasions the city is attacked by the barbarians (according to Pulaha from the Slavs<sup>18</sup>) and is kept from them for a long time (*Lissus ab hostibus teneatur*)<sup>19</sup>. This given data comes to us from a church document, in which it is said that the pope Gregory I, having in mind that Lezha was hold by the enemies, John (Johannes), the departed bishop from Lezha had the duty of presbyter in the church of Skillaç (*ecclesiae Scyllacinae*) in the vicinity of Catanzaro.<sup>20</sup>

So, the Pope kindly accepts John, but with the condition that when the city would win its previous freedom, also the bishop John should return to his crowd.<sup>21</sup> These enemies should have been beyond any doubt the Slavs, which as we have previously mentioned, penetrated during the years 548-550 until Durrës.<sup>22</sup> The latter seriously harm the city of Lissus (Lezha), as they have done with other provinces of Illyria attacking with rage, and putting it under their peonage, and as consequence the city's bishop escaped and went to Rome.<sup>23</sup> From them were destroyed other coastal cities as for example Salona and Epidaurum.<sup>24</sup>

The church document that we have above mentioned has a great value, because is the earliest and proves to us the existence of Lissus bishopric. Nevertheless, Christianity must have entered Lezha since earlier times, this for the fact itself that this city was a port and circulation center. For the diocese of Lissus Farlati does not mention an earlier data from 592, but he says that "the origin of the Lezha's Church, even why

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Museum of Lezha, Lezhë: Lisitan, 1993, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup>Selami Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës", in *Lissus*, Tiranë: Naim Frashëri, 1968, p. 96.

<sup>19</sup>"*Lissus ab hostibus teneatur*". AAlb. I, nr. 40.

<sup>20</sup> "592, mense iulio. Gregorius I. papa Johannem, expulsus episcopum Lissitanum, vacuae ecclesiae Scyllacinae, dum Lissus ab hostibus teneatur, praeesse iubet cardinalem sacerdotem". *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>*Illyrici Sacri. Tomus Septimus, Ecclesia Diocletiana, Antibarensis, Dyrrhachiensis et Sirmiensis, cum eorum suffraganeis.* Auctore Daniele Farlato, Presbytero Societatis Jesu, et Jacobo Coletio olim ejusdem Societatis alumno. Venetiis, MDCCCXVII. Aput Sebastianum Coleti. Superiore permissu ac privilegio. (Second edition, Prishtinë: Arbi, 2004), p. 386.

<sup>22</sup>"*Sub hostibus haud dubie Slavi intelliguntur, qui iam a. 548 usque Eoidamnum (Dyrrhachium) progressi a 550 ...*". AAlb. I, nr. 40.

<sup>23</sup>"*Cum Lissus a barbaris, fortasse, Slavis, qui tum per illyrici provinciali imune grassabantur, in miserrimam vastitatem ac servitutem fuisset aducta ...*". D. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* ..., VII, p. 386.

<sup>24</sup>AAlb. I, nr. 40.

unknown, could refer to the time when in Dyrrachium (Durrës) permeated the whole Christian belief and all of Epirus started to be divinely enlightened by Gospel's light".<sup>25</sup> Since 592, we have the interruption of the Lezha bishops list for nearly 800 years. On 1385 it is manifested again as bishopric, but not as before under the jurisdiction of the Greek Metropolis of Dyrrachion, now belonging to the Latin Church (*episcopus Lesseniensis 1371*).<sup>26</sup>

Also during this period of Slavic infiltration, ceased to function Shkodra's Archbishopric, which is vanished on 602, at the time when archbishop was Konstanci<sup>27</sup>, who was the last archbishop, because after that these events this ecclesiastical center is manifested in the Middle Ages as bishopric.

This Slavic invasion, starting since the '80s of the VI century was not satisfied only by plundering, because their tribes started to be settled in the Byzantine territory in increasing numbers.<sup>28</sup> The Slavic invasion according to F. Prendi seemed that lasted at least until the beginning of the VII century,<sup>29</sup> causing to the city the lost of its shine and of the importance and density it had in the antiquity. The barbaric invasion and internal factors have created a very unfavourable situation for the further existence and development of the city, which led during the VII-VIII centuries in its shrinkage, especially of the lower districts of Drini side.<sup>30</sup> The limited economic power of the city is indirectly proved especially by the field of archaeology, which does not finds in the city remains from the monumental constructions belonging these two centuries.<sup>31</sup>

Nonetheless, the city even during that difficult period was not retired in its own shell, because the archaeological data prove evidence about the commerce, stock exchange and craftsmanship relations with other cities as Durrachium or the Italic Peninsula. In Lezha during the VII century existed shops where were produced work tools, weapons,

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<sup>25</sup>"*Ecclesiae Alexiensis initia, quamvis ignota ad idem fere tempus referri possunt, quo Durrhachium Christiana religio invecata est, & Evangelii luce tota Epirus divinitus coepit illustrari*", D. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* ..., VII, p. 385.

<sup>26</sup>K. Jireček, "Skutari und sein Gebiet ...", p. 123.

<sup>27</sup>D. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* ..., VII, p. 307.

<sup>28</sup>Georges Castellani, *Histori e Ballkani (shekulli XIV-XX)*, translated from the original by Arben Puto, Luan Omari, Tiranë: Çabej, 1996, p. 34.

<sup>29</sup>F. Prendi, "Vazhdimësia etno-kulturore...", in *Lis* 6, p. 8.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid*, p. 9.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid*.

ornaments for the body and different ceramic materials which supplied not only the local market, but were making trade even beyond.<sup>32</sup> This internal factor promoted the further development of Lezha during that period, but another factor was helpful that consisted in the administrative reorganization of the Byzantine Empire and in the establishment of the Theme of Durrachium, in which Lezha was included as a center of big economic reserves.<sup>33</sup> During that period, the city is fortified with powerful encircling walls and above the hill where the ancient Lissus has been previously settled, was build the castle, which would resist until the Ottoman conquest of 1443.<sup>34</sup>

### **Under the theme of Durrachium. The second Byzantine period**

In the IX-X centuries, the city starts to be identified with a new name *Elis* and enters into a new stage of uninterrupted historic developments, because the economic-social situation starts to get stronger and the feudal relations are step by step enlarged as a consequence of the local feudal strata establishment.<sup>35</sup>

The city is even more fortified and during the Norman attacks, Anna Komnena praises the strong position of the inexpugnable castle, which the Byzantines through the sea supplied with food and weapons the city of Durrës during the war against Boemund.<sup>36</sup> From this can be drawn the conclusion that the city was fortified at it best and was in blossom until the end of the Byzantine rule, thus until the end of the XII century.<sup>37</sup>

### **The Serb period**

At the time of the Rasha's Serb Kingdom enlargement (1165-1195) during the rule of Stefan Nemanjić, Lezha together with Albania's northern regions was included within this kingdom until 1215.<sup>38</sup> At the time of Nemanjić the city is not mentioned, but is later manifested in the hands of later Serbian kings. Mihael I Angelos, the despot of Epirus takes the city from the hands of the Serbian rulers, including

<sup>32</sup>Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid, p. 13; see also: S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus*, p. 96.

<sup>34</sup>F. Prendi, "Vazhdimësia etno-kulturore...", in *Lis* 6, p. 13.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>36</sup>K. Jireček, "Skutari und sein Gebiet...", p. 123

<sup>37</sup>M. von Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 27.

<sup>38</sup>S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës...", in *Lissus*, p. 96.



within it the regions until Shkodra and together with them the Principality of Albania<sup>39</sup>. However, the situation changed because the war between the despotate of Epirus and that of the Nicaea for the throne of the already destroyed empire from the crusades, weakened the Byzantine power from one side and brought the empowerment of the Albanian feudals,<sup>40</sup> especially during the second half of the XIII century. Among the feudal families that had more possession in the aereas in Lezha's field and highlands, we can mention the families of Jonima, Blinishti, Dukagjini and Skuraj. However, even these families couldn't take more power, because against them was the power of Anjou, under the rule of Charles I Anjou (1272-1286), who fought them who opposed him<sup>41</sup>, considering them as traitors and sending many Albanian feudals in prison at Brindisi (Italy). Among them we can also mention Gjini Tanushi (*Johanes Tanusius*) from the Dukagjini family.<sup>42</sup> Surprisingly, during this time in the trade acts, Lezha is very rarely mentioned.<sup>43</sup> Charles I Anjou considered himself as king, because on 22 February 1272 he had proclaimed in Naples "*Regnum Albaniae*" (Kingdom of Albania), and was self-proclaimed its king.<sup>44</sup> On 1292, the Serbian king Uroš II Milutin introduced Durrës under his kingdom and since that time, the Kingdom of Albania entered for the first under the rule of the Serbian kings.<sup>45</sup>

After coming into power in the Serbian Kingdom Stefan (Uroš IV) Dušan, the Serbian power started to be spread again in the Albanian territories also including Lezha. This king was so cruel, that for the sake of his power he also ordered to put to death his father for not having any obstruct to get the throne as soon as possible.<sup>46</sup> He was self proclaimed as "the first emperor (tsar) of Serbs and Greeks" on 1346 in

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<sup>39</sup>*Ibid*, p. 97

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> See below the agreement with the Blinishti family and the others. AAlb I, nr. 333.

<sup>42</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës...", in *Lissus*, p. 97.

<sup>43</sup> K. Jireček, "Skutari und sein Gebiet...", p. 123.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Bartl, *Shqiptarët. Nga Mesjeta deri në ditët tona*, translated by Afrim Koçi, Tiranë: IDK 2017, p. 30.

<sup>45</sup> Milan Shufllaj, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët*, translated from the Croation language Hasan Çipuri, Tiranë: Toena 2004, p. 50-51.

<sup>46</sup> Ludwig von Thallóczy, *Të ndodhnit e Shqypnis prej një Gege që don vendin e vet*, translated from the German language Stefan Zurani, third edition, Shkodër: Botime Françeskane, 2008, p. 136.

Skopje.<sup>47</sup> Stefan Dušan's troops conquered all the Albanian territories, except Durrës, which resisted even further under the Anjou rule.<sup>48</sup> To further centralize and strengthen his power in the great Serbian empire established by him, in which were included territories from the Danube to Achaia (Greece), he on 1349 made the codification of the law (*zakonik*)<sup>49</sup>, that in history was known by the name the Code of Stefan Dušan. Nevertheless, Stefan Dušan's period was not longer because with his death was dismantled his big empire.

After the death of Stefan Dušan and the fall of the Serbian Empire, in the region of Lezha started to be empowered different Albanian feudal families, and among them catches the eye the Blinishti and Dukagjini families. Also the Balshaj family that were situated more on the north, had their influence in Lezha and often they had there the residence.<sup>50</sup> During that time, as in other cities as Scutari (alb. Shkodra), Dulcigno (alb. Ulqini), Antibari (alb. Tivari), Drivasto (alb. Drishti), etc., there was a development in the civilian community of Lezha, which after the end of the Serbian occupation must have been an independent community, but shouldn't have enjoyed for a long time this independence, because the cities attracted the envy of the Albanian feudal nobles, which respected the city's self-administration towards a ransom, which the communities of the cities were forced to pay to them.<sup>51</sup>

### The Blinishti family

First of all its worth mentioning here that the Blinishti family as the first noble family having a powerful position in Lezha, and as their main domain possessed the today village of Blinishti in the vicinity of Lezha. Their name is met in different writings and in not correct forms as *Bleusi*, *Bleuisti*, *Bletisti*, *Blevisci*, and perhaps they have had the origin from the Mati inhabitants tribe (Matasei).<sup>52</sup> The Blinishti family are mentioned

<sup>47</sup> *Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*. Karten und chronologischer Abriss. Bd 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Französischen Revolution. Mit 128 Kartenseiten. 7. Auflage. München: dtv 1990, p. 205.

<sup>48</sup> P. Bartl, *Shqiptarët ...*, p. 35.

<sup>49</sup> *Atlas zur Weltgeschichte ...* 1, p. 205.

<sup>50</sup> K. Jireček, "Skutari und sein Gebiet...", p. 123.

<sup>51</sup> Kristo Frashëri, *Historia e qytetërimit shqiptar. Nga kohët e lashta deri në fund të Luftës së Dytë Botërore*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Tiranë: 2008, p. 82.

<sup>52</sup> M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët ...*, p. 157; see also: Milan Shufflay, *Histori e shqiptarëve të Veriut*, Studim Sociologjik, translated by Abdullah Konushevci, Prishtinë: Nosit

for the first time on 1274, at the time of the Anjou rule. In this occasion, the first among them is mentioned Vladi, a byzantine stratiot who had connections with the Serbs.<sup>53</sup> In a document of 1<sup>st</sup> December 1274, the name of Vlad (Blado Bletista), is mentioned in an agreement made between him and other Albanian nobles and the king Charles I Anjou.

In the agreement is stated that "the King Charles approves and ratifies the treaty made by Najron de Toucy captain and vicar in Albania, with Albanians; on which (the treaty) that has been settled many times that the royal military forces placed in Albania would march together with the Albanians against their enemies, the Albanians are obliged to surrender the prisoners at the hands of the captain and the vicar appointed by king Charles in Albania".<sup>54</sup> This agreement was made known by the king Charles I also to other Albanian nobles.<sup>55</sup> Vlad seemed that has not respected that agreement and as a consequence he was captured by the Anjou on 1279, from the captain of Durrës and was sent in Brindisi in chains, and was put in prison.<sup>56</sup> Later he accepted the vassalage towards the Anjou and on 1304 becomes a noble by receiving the title *comes*.<sup>57</sup>

The same year having sent their representatives in Naples also the other noble families as Skura, Shpata, Arianiti, Matranga etc., to express the desire to again put themselves under the rule of Anjou.<sup>58</sup> On 1319 the Serbs have conquered Durrës. The power of the Blinishti family grew even more, when Durrës was conquered by the Philip of Tarent, nephew of Charles I, taking again the city from the hands of the Serbs on 1322,<sup>59</sup> but this time with the help of the Albanians. To Blinishti and other

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2009, p. 26.

<sup>53</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus*, p. 97.

<sup>54</sup> "Re Carlo approva e ratifica il trattato fatto da Najron de Toucy capitaneo e vicario in Albania con gli Albanesi; col quale trattato è stabilito che quante volte le milizie regie dimoranti in Albania dovranno marciare con gli Albanesi contro a' loro nemici, gli Albanesi sono obligati dare ostaggi nelle mane del capitano e vicario, che esso re Carlo tiene in Albania". AAlb I, nr. 333.

<sup>55</sup> The other nobles were: "Savasto Maurus Scura, Zacharias et Georgius Scura, savasto Yonima, savasto Paulus Verona, savasto Blasius, Savasto Paulus Sanbonbruno, savasto Yetquy, savasto Petrus Misie, Blado Bletista (!) miles, savasto Petrus Clange, savasto Tanusius Bessossia, Theopia miles, savasto Demetrius Limius, savasto Tanus Barbuca, savasto Alexius Arianiti, Paulus Miles." AAlb I, nr. 333.

<sup>56</sup> M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët ...*, p. 157.

<sup>57</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës...", in *Lissus*, p. 97.

<sup>58</sup> P. Bartl, *Shqiptarët ...*, p. 33.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, p. 34.

families in this occasion their privileges were increased.

Vlad was also known as Caznecio Blinishti, because this title was previously granted to him by the Serbs.<sup>60</sup> Philip of Tarent granted him the title of count, while to his son Wilhelm (Guljelm), was given the office of Albania's marshall (*marascallum regni albanie duximus ordinandum*), which adds to this title that of the Byzantine *protosevastos*.<sup>61</sup> Another person, cousin with the predecessors, is also Kolajan Blinishti, mentioned during 1304 and 1319, who had the title *comes*. This noble family is not mentioned later, because disappeared during the great rebellion (1319-1336) that the Pope's See ignited against the Serbs.<sup>62</sup> According to Šufflay, "for its annihilation had cooperated head over heels the Dukagjini family and especially the Thopia family".<sup>63</sup>

### **Under the Balsha family rule**

Another important family that had its influence in Lezha was also the Balsha family. Balsha senior together with his sons Strazimir (*Stracimir*), Gjergj I and Balsha II (*Đurađ I and Balša II*) submitted many Albanian feudals and different cities, made Shkodra their chief town and during the rule of Strazimir (1362-1372) their borders reached Mat, bordering the Thopia family, also including here within their territory Lezha.<sup>64</sup>

Lezha rested under the Balsha family rule until the time when Gjergj II Balsha (*Đurađ II Balšić*) became ruler, but because he had weak power couldn't keep under control the submitted feudals, which started to rebel as for example the Dukagjini family chaired by Pal and Lek *Dukagjini* (*Paulus and Alexius Ducaginus*), which detached from him Lezha on 1387.<sup>65</sup>

### **As a residence of the Dukagjini family**

After detaching from the Balsha family, Lezha became for a certain

<sup>60</sup> M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët ...*, p. 157.

<sup>61</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës...", in *Lissus*, p. 98; see also: M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët ...*, p. 157.

<sup>62</sup> M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët ...*, p. 158.

<sup>63</sup> M. Shufflay, *Histori e shqiptarëve të Veriut...*, p. 27; see also: M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët ...*, p. 158.

<sup>64</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës...", in *Lissus*, p. 98.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p. 98.

time residence of one of the Dukagjini (Duchaginus) family branches, which main region should have been in Zadrima<sup>66</sup> and between the regions of Lezha and Fani, which should have been the predecessors of Tanush II Dukagjini line (*Tanussius II Duchaginus*), son of Leka I \*(*Alexius I*).<sup>67</sup> To them belonged this city in the XIV century. Later, Tanush Dukagjini (*Tanusius Duchaginus*) with his brother Progon (sons of Lekë II Dukagjini) lose Lezha through an agreement made on 1393 in this city.<sup>68</sup>

They surrender the city in the hands of the Venetians, with the condition to have from this city one third of the production<sup>69</sup> to further enjoy the property of five big villas with homes around (*casalia*), which should be in the possession of the castle, and to not leave enemies and rebels of the Dukagjini family to be placed in the territories of this city.<sup>70</sup> They let loose the city in the hands of the Venetians, apparently because for the Turkish menace that had started to become more and more present. This supposition is supported by another document of year later, in which is spoken about the attacks from the part of the Turks against the villages of Lezha that had remained under the possession of the Dukagjini family.<sup>71</sup> Nonetheless, even why they lost the possession on Lezha, the Dukagjini family influence over this city continued to be considerable even beyond,<sup>72</sup> because they were hoping that would retake later the city. Their hopes vanished since the first decade of the new century, and this happened because of the Turkish attacks and plundering which reached their peak in the period of the sultan Bayezid

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<sup>66</sup> AAlb. II, nr. 413.

<sup>67</sup> M. Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe shqiptarët ...*, p. 158; see also: Gjon Muzaka, *Memorie*, translated by Dhori Qirjazi, Tiranë: Toena, 1996, p. 41.

<sup>68</sup> *Acta Albaniae Veneta Saeculorum XIV et XV*. Josephi Valentini S. J. Labore reperta et Transcripta Ac Typis Mandata. Pars Prima: Saeculum XIV complectens. Tomus Primus: Ab initio ad usque annum MCCCCLXXXIV. Centro internazionale di Studi Albanesi Palermo/ Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli/ Istituto di Studi Albanesi del' Università di Roma/ Fondazione Giorgio Cini Venezia/ Ponteficio Istituto di Studi Orientali Roma 1967, nr. 501. (më tej: AAV, I)

<sup>69</sup> AAlb. II, nr. 501, 517; AAV I, nr. 542; see also: *Dokumente për Historinë e Shqipërisë I (1400-1405)*, prepared by Injac Zamputi and Luan Malltezi, editor in-chief Aleks Buda, Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, 1987, dok. nr. 101.

<sup>70</sup> AAV I, nr. 497; see also: AAlb II, nr. 501.

<sup>71</sup> AAlb II, nr. 517.

<sup>72</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus*, p. 100.

Yaldram.<sup>73</sup> As a consequence they made an Act for sale, through which they sold the rights over Lezha to Johannes Barbo, a prosecutor of the Republic, which after this agreement would take 1/3 of the city revenues.<sup>74</sup>

### The Venetian age

As we have previously mentioned, Lezha with all its surroundings<sup>75</sup> was given to the Venetians in 1393 by two brothers of the Dukagjini family<sup>76</sup>, Progon and Tanush (*Tanussius*).<sup>77</sup> The Dukagjini family even during the four first years of the Venetian rule, according to the agreement should take 1/3 from the city revenues. This right they enjoyed it until 1401, time when they sold the rights to the above mentioned Venetian prosecutor, Johannes Barbo.<sup>78</sup> At that time, Lezha was considered as "the right eye" of Durrës (*dexter Oculus Durachii*),<sup>79</sup> and without it Durrës counted nothing, because except the protection offered by Lezha to Durrës, it was the key point for this city trade, because there were supplied the Slavonic countries with salt.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100-101.

<sup>75</sup> "*Castrum de Lexio cum toto territorio exterior Venetis traditur*". AAII, nr. 501.

<sup>76</sup> We had to mention here another author, Josef Gelcich, writing that Lezha during this time was not under the Dukagjini family but under Radić Crnojević, who has surrendered Lezha to the Venetians, while the Dukagjini family ruled the territories surrounding this city. Also the Dukagjini family surrounded the territories to the Venetians towards a big ransom. Giuseppe Gelcich, *Zeta dhe Dinastia e Balshajve*, translated from the original by Laura Leka, Tiranë: Shtëpia botuese "55", 2009, p. 184.

<sup>77</sup> M. von Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 27.

<sup>78</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus...*, p. 101.

<sup>79</sup> K. Jireček, "Skutari und sein Gebiet...", p. 123.

<sup>80</sup> G. Gelcich, *Zeta dhe Dinastia e Balshajve...*, p. 184.



Fig. 1: Lezha's castle walls. Photo by E. Malaj 2013

Before that, the city has had self-administration rights, but these rights were suppressed by Venice since 1394 when decided to send in the city an administrator or catellan (castellanus Alexii)<sup>81</sup> or as is differently said, a captain<sup>82</sup> which should take into consideration the criminal and civil cases of the city and would have an annual revenue of 150 ducats. He had as obligation to keep with their expenses from this amount two servants<sup>83</sup> and a notary. The duration of the castellan in this duty was not less than two years.<sup>84</sup> In 1402 Lezha's administrator has captured an ambassador of the sultan Bayezid, when he was passing through the sea after being in Kotorr, Ragusa and in Durrës. To the administrator was given the order on 9 April of that year to release without delay this ambassador and to give back to him all the things that might have been taken from him and also to express the regret for the incident.<sup>85</sup> This administrator or captain should have been the same

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<sup>81</sup>“*Capta: Quia est providendum de removendo a castro Lesii castellanum qui ibi est pro bono agendorum deinde, et de faciendo ibi unum alium castellanum – vadit pars, ut habeatur persona sufficiens que vadat ad dictum locum, quod omnes illi qui vellent ire pro castellanis cum salario ducatorum centum quinquaginta in anno et ratione anni tenendo ad suum salarium et expensas duos famulos ac eundo per duos annos, non possendo facere de mercationibus et recedendo ad beneplacitum domini ...*”. AAlb. II, nr. 526.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, nr. 734.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, nr. 526.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, nr. 527.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, nr. 690.

person who captured some Ragusan ships on 1403.<sup>86</sup> The name of this administrator is mentioned on 11 October 1403, and he was *Thomadum Mauro*.<sup>87</sup>

Also during 1402 there are data for the fall of an epidemic in Lezha and in other cities as in Shkodra and Drishti, and as consequence have died some ballistarii, whose have been replaced in Lezha with six others.<sup>88</sup> The document does not inform us for other consequences of this epidemic, which should have caused many deaths in this city population.

In the city, the Venetians had to make different reparation in its fortification, instead were satisfied only by issuing orders especially on 1404, when required to be given to the administrator 200 golden ducats for reparations.<sup>89</sup> Then, on 1411, when the administrator makes a request to take 300, because to fulfill the necessary workings<sup>90</sup> and further on 1413<sup>91</sup> and on 1430, but according to Šufflay without undertaking concrete measures.<sup>92</sup>

Nonetheless, during this year (1430) Venice envoys in Albania with galleys the Bay's vice captain Giorgio Vallarosso, in order to see how the situation was and to take the necessary measures for the safety of the

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, nr. 734.

<sup>87</sup> "1403, 11. octobris Ragusii „Miltinus de Priboe facit manifestum, quod ipse habuit et recepit a Boxicho Dragosseuich presente, dante et solvente pro recuperatione duarum barcharum Raguseorum, captarum per Thomadum Mauro proveditorem turris Lessii...". *Ibid*, nr. 734.

<sup>88</sup> "Quia propter epidimiam, que viguit in partibus Scutari, Drivasti et Alexii, defecerunt multi de ballistariis deputatis ad custodiam dictorum locorum...". *Ibid*, nr. 693.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, nr. 754.

<sup>90</sup> "die. xiiij<sup>o</sup>. Augusti [Mccccxj<sup>o</sup>] Capta Quod concedatur prouisori lesij secundum requisitionem suam Quod pro multis laborerijis deinde necessarijs, in suis litteris contentis, et pro reparatione cuiusdam domus, possit expendere iperpera trecenta de pecunia nostri communis. ASV, Del. Miste Sen. XLIX/ 48(49)v". *Arkivi i Institutit të Historisë* (hereinafter: *AIH*), A-III-564, Dokumente për Historinë e Shqipërisë të shekullit XV, vol. III (1411-1415), prepared by Injac Zamputi, Përparime Huta, nr. 50, p. 65.

<sup>91</sup> "die dicto [MccccIIj XXVj Septembris], ser vincieura georgio, ser Nicolaus lipamano, Sapientes ordium. Capta Quod concedatur viro nobili ser Petro gradenico, prouisori nostro Alexij, quod possit expendere in reparationibus omnio neccessarijs deinde, videlicet in stallis, balladuris et alijs reparationibus neccessarijs ad muros dicti loci, et etiam pro reparatione domus, in qua habitat, que minatur ruinam ducatos quinquaginta, licet maior quantitas esse neccessaria. de parte - - 65, de Non - - I, non sinceri - - I. ASV, Del. Miste Sen. L/33v". *Ibid*, p. 364.

<sup>92</sup> M. von Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 27.



cities, especially for Durrës, Ulqini and Lezha.<sup>93</sup> Also they have previously given (1398) instructions to make inspections because to rehabilitate Akrolisus that in their time was changed in a ruin, because without it the city was very weak and its reconstruction would better fortify the city.<sup>94</sup> However no reparations were made. Perhaps because as cause for not undertaking such reconstructions were the insufficient revenues of the city and the surroundings, because the reparations should take place from the city's revenues and the inspectors should constatate how much was required for such a reparation.<sup>95</sup>

On 1440 the city was struck by a big fire harming stocks and especicillay a big quantity of salt.<sup>96</sup> Except that, the city was threatened time after time even from the Turks.<sup>97</sup> These events forced the Republic of Venice to surround the new Acropolis with a new wall<sup>98</sup>, the remains of it are found in that shape even in our days.<sup>99</sup> The building of this wall ended on 1451 with the expenses of Venice and Lezha city.<sup>100</sup> In May of

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<sup>93</sup>“*Et si Durachii non esset dubium vel periculum, et periculum esset Alexii vel Dulcigni, volumus, quod te exerceas et vigiles ubi erit maius dubium et maius periculum.*” Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnašajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike*. Skupio i uredio Šime Ljubić, Pravi Clan Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti ITD knjiga IX. Od godine 1423 do 1452. Zagreb: U knjizarnica Jugoslavenske Akademije 1891, p. 40.

<sup>94</sup>“*Capta: Item extit supplicatum pro parte ipsorum nobelium Duchainorum, qui dederunt caastrum Alexii in minibus nostril dominii, quatenus, cum ipse locus Alexii sit valde debilis, et super ripa fluminis sit unus mons versus versus ponentem, super quo fuit antiquitus vel civitas vel castrum et adhuc sunt muri alti super quibus, dicunt, leviter posit construe unum pro maiori fortitudine et securitate loci – vadit pars, quod scribatur rectori deinde, quod diligenter et subtiliter examinare debeat ipsa laboreria,...*” AAlb. II, nr. 607.

<sup>95</sup>“... diligenter et subtiliter examinare debeat ipsa laboreria, et quanta expensa intraret ad faciendum ea ...”. Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>“*Ad secundum. Che alghuni de questa terra havea manda sal ad Alesso avanti el chaxo del fuogo, el quali era sta vendudo la più parte, e non avea fato el pagamento secondo el comandamento de la nostra signoria; siche supplicha umelemente, che quella se degni, che quel, che non hano habudo el suo pagamento si de quello jera vendudo, chome de quel jera romaxo, del qual ne segui pichol dano, e per che d Alesso non seriano mai pagadi, che i siano scritti in la camera vostra da Scutari. Respondeatur, quod super denariis extractis de sale vendito in Alexio, volumus habere informationem, de sale autem, quod remansit ab igne, volumus, ut denarii, qui ex venditione eius extracti sunt aut extrahentur, dividantur per ratam in illos comunes, quorum omne illud sal erat.*” Š. Ljubić, *Listine o odnašajih između ...*, IX, p. 129-130.

<sup>97</sup>M. Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 27.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid, p. 27.

<sup>99</sup>S. Pulaha, “Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...”, in *Lissus...*, p. 100.

<sup>100</sup>M. Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 27.

1448 are still present the threats from the Turks, or the subjects of the sultan even why the sultan had signed a peace agreement with the Venetians.<sup>101</sup>

The same year on 4 October 1448, in Lezha is signed a peace treaty between Venice and Scanderbeg and other Albanian nobles. Scanderbeg's representatives were Andrea Albania's bishop and Gjergj Pelini (*Georgius Pelino*), abbot the abbey of Shën Mëria of Rotec (St. Mary of Rotecio) in the vicinity of Tivari), while for the Venetian side were present Paul Loredano, Shkodra's count and captain and Andrea Veniero, orator and administrator in the medieval Albanian regions.

In this agreement among other things, is taken the decision from the part of the Republic of Venice that Scanderbeg and the Albanian gentlemen to be considered as dear close friends and to be pardoned for all the offences and insults they have made in some way to Seignory.<sup>102</sup> As in any other point, was the granting of 1400 ducats every year to Scanderbeg, including an amount of 200 ducats that he usually had taken from the financial bureau of Durrës.<sup>103</sup> Also from this office, Scanderbeg was to be granted in the future the extraction of 200 horses of salt consignment and was not forced to pay nothing more except the given quantity.<sup>104</sup> Also to Scanderbeg and to other Albanian gentlemen was allowed to give and taken by rent or to make trade with any Venetian citizen according their compliance.<sup>105</sup> Other points also were for all those persons who had participated in military actions against the Seignory. These persons were allowed to return in their homes and the

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<sup>101</sup> "Ser Franciscus Capello vult partem suprascriptam cum infrascripta etiam addicione, videlicet. Item quia per pacem dominus Teucrorum promittit punire suos subditos, qui contra nos facerent, et etiam pro locis Scutari et Alexii datur certa quantitas denariorum Teucro, sicut patet per capitula dicte pacis, ex nunc sit captum, quod per viam Durachii mittatur unus notarius nostre cancellarie ad Teucrum cum ilia comissione, que sibi dabitur per collegium, + 51, - 7, - 7.", Š. Ljubić, *Listine o odnašajih između ...*, IX, p. 268-269.

<sup>102</sup> "Et primo, che la prefata illustrissima signoria de Venexia tuol et accepta el prefato signor Scanderbego et Meolo Ducagini in sieme con tuti altri signori de VAlbania per boni, veri et cari amiei et vieini, perdonando a tuti ogni inzurie et offese, che per cadaun muodo l havesseno fato verso la prefata illustrissima signoria de Venexia." Ibid, p. 282.

<sup>103</sup> "Item che la prefata signoria de Venexia dar dieba al prefato signor Scandarbego ogni anno ducati mille quattoeento, nel qual numero debia entrar i ducati duxento, ch'esso signor Scandarbego soleva haver da la camera de Durazo". Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> "Item che la prefata signoria de Venexia dar dieba al prefato signor Scandarbego ogni anno ducati mille quattoeento, nel qual numero debia entrar i ducati duxento, ch'esso signor Scandarbego soleva haver da la camera de Durazo". Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid

same thing should be allowed by Scanderbeg and Albanian lords to the persons who had participated in war against them at Venice's side.<sup>106</sup>

The Venetians through this agreement wanted also to rectify the issue of some villages along the Drini river in the possession of Scanderbeg, but needed to be returned under Venice's rule, because belonged to this state.<sup>107</sup> Also, the Seignory aimed to also take some other villages in the vicinity of Dagno (alb. Dêja), which with no right were kept under the rule of Nikollë Dukagjini (*Nicolaus Duchaginus*).<sup>108</sup> We should stress here that prior this peace, Scanderbeg has been at war with Venice and Venetians in the beginning of 1448 and they tried to find a credible person who could kill Scanderbeg and for this job they would pay him for all his life a provision of 100 ducats and would had him in their grace.<sup>109</sup> About the occupation of Lezha we have to say here that it was a surrender of the city at the hands of the Turks rather than an escape of its inhabitants as in the case of Shkodra.

### Lezha and Scanderbeg

Lezha is related to Scanderbeg in a special way because there was formed the League of Lezha or the Assembly of Lezha under Scanderbeg's leadership, and in parallel of this event is the place where died and was buried our national hero. Let's take these two events one by one.

About this assembly of nobles there is a consistent lack of evidences and no notification of that time, nevertheless its call and workings are

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<sup>106</sup>“ *Item che cadaun, che havesse falido a la prefata signoria de Venexia in la presente guerra del prefato signor Scanderbego, i sia perdonado liberamente, et possino ritornar in le loro habitation. Et cussi versa vice quelli, che havessero falido et rebelado al signor Scanderbego et a gli altri signor d'Albania, i sia perdonado, et possino ritornar per le lor habitation, ut supra.*” *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 283.

<sup>109</sup>“1448. 4 maii. *Cum quidam fidelis subditus noster, qui est persona bone reputationis et pratica et sagax, diçi fecerit nostro dominio, quod haberet modum dandi vel dari faciendi mortem Scanderbergo inimico nostro, sed vult habere provisionem ducatorum c. in anno; vadit pars, quod respondeatur sibi, quod si ipse dabit vel dari faciet mortem Scanderbergo predicto, sumus contenti dare sibi in vita sua provisionem predictam; et ut libentius ad hanc rem se ponat, dicatur ei, quod volumus habere eum in gratia nostri domini, in omnibus licitis et honestis precipue comendatum.*” *Ibid.*, p. 268.

beyond any doubt.<sup>110</sup> The notification on it start in the beginning of the XVI century, and among the main earlier authors we can mention Marinus Barletius (alb. Marin Barleti), Demetrius Francus (alb. Dhimitër Frangu) and Johannes Musachi (alb. Gjon Muzaka).<sup>111</sup> The date when the League of Lezha was summoned, is not sure. According to Biemmi the meeting took place in 2 March 1444 (*era pei due di Marzo*),<sup>112</sup> while according to the regest of Cordignano and Valentini that date is a day before, so on 1 March 1444.<sup>113</sup>

Barletius does not present us any data on this event, but notifies us on the participants in this assembly. There have been present Gjergj Arianiti (Georgius Arianiti) (alias Arianit Golem Thopia); Andrea Thopia with his sons Komin and Muzaka and the nephew Tanush; Nikollë and Pal Dukagjini (*Nicoluas and Paulus Duchaginus*); Gjergj Stres Balsha (*George Strez Balšić*), the husband of Scanderbeg's sister; Stefan Crnojević of Montenegro married to one of the Scanderbeg's sisters, together with his sons Gjergj and Ian; in the following were present Lekë Zaharia; Pjetër Shpani with his sons (Aleks, Bozhidar, Vruko and Mirko); Lekë and Pjetër Dushmani (*Lech and Pietro Dusmano*) with the neighbors; Teodor Muzaka (*Theodor Musachi*) of Berat and others<sup>114</sup>. The Ragusans even why have expressed their will to participate were not present, while the Venetians sent there they representatives as observers.<sup>115</sup>

This asseblly was gathered in a city church, which Barletius calls "the big sanctuary"<sup>116</sup>, while Biemmi calls it "the main church of the city" (*Chiesa principate della citta*)<sup>117</sup>, that should have been the cathedral of

<sup>110</sup>Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Skënderbeu*, translated in Albanian by Ardian Klosi, Tiranë: K&B 2008, p. 77.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup>Giammaria Biemmi, *Istoria di Giorgio Castrioto detto Scander-Begh*, Seconda Edizione, Brescia: Giammaria Rizzardi 1756, p. 30.

<sup>113</sup>Fulvio Cordignano, Giuseppe Valentini, *Saggio di un regesto storico dell'Albania*, Premiata dalla R. Academia d'Italia, Scutari: Tipografia dell'Immacolata 1937-1940, nr. 671.

<sup>114</sup>Marin Barleti Shkodran, *Historia e jetës dhe e veprave të Skënderbeut*, translated by Stefan J. Prifti, Tiranë: Mihal Duri, 1964. [= *Burime dhe Materiale për Historinë e Shqipërisë* 2], p. 92-94; see also: Dhimitër Shuteriqi, *Moti i Madh*, Përmbledhje shënimesh e dokumentesh për historinë shqiptare të viteve 1379-1479. Tiranë: Dituria 2006, p. 117.

<sup>115</sup>M. Barleti, *Historia e jetës dhe e veprave...*, p. 94.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup>G. Biemmi, *Istoria di Giorgio Castrioto...*, p. 31.

St. Nicolaus (alb. Shën Koll).<sup>118</sup> Scanderbeg kept before the princes a speech<sup>119</sup> and is elected there because of his military experience and character as leader of this league.<sup>120</sup>



Fig. 2: The church of Shënkollit, Lezha, where is said to have taken place the League of Lezha 1444, with the monument of Scanderbeg's grave. Photo by E. Malaj 2010.

The speech that Scanderbeg kept in Lezha before the princes is given even both by Barletius<sup>121</sup> and Biemmi.<sup>122</sup> Pisko calls this speech as a clear evidence of Scanderbeg's cleverness as statesman and brilliant orator<sup>123</sup>, and for this reason we are approximately presenting below this speech according to "the Anonymous" version of Biemmi, but abbreviated and summarized in essential form as is brought to us by Julius Pisko. We have precisely selected Pisko's summary to this speech, because the text on Biemmi's original is too long, nearly 7 pages and would overpass the frame of this paper:

"For sure is too much that I to You o brilliant Princes, to show the hate that the Turks have against the believers of our God Jesus Christ.

<sup>118</sup>Fan S. Noli, *Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu 1405-1468*, Tiranë: Naim Frashëri 1967, p.84.

<sup>119</sup>F. Cordignano, G. Valentini, *Saggio di un regesto storico ...*, nr. 671.

<sup>120</sup>O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu ...*, p. 78.

<sup>121</sup>M. Barleti, *Historia e jetës dhe e veprave të Skënderbeut...*, p. 94-99.

<sup>122</sup>G. Biemmi, *Istoria di Giorgio Castrioto...*, p. 31-37.

<sup>123</sup>Julius Pisko, *Skanderbeg, Historische Studie*, Wien: Frick 1894, p. 21.

By the many wounds that is covered Christianity and Albania herself, abundantly prove this. Even You, Princes of Albania have already known that our enemies want to get rich with our properties and to exterminate us. Allow me in the beginning to explain the causes of this bad luck until now, with the aim that we advise each other for an efficacious solution.”

With blood tears we are weeping the Christian peoples for the lack of unity of their princes, because the latter are the only to be blamed for the general misery. We have as witness the sky, that that Ottoman power can be broken with united forces.

However, I don't want to stop on the sad fate of the foreign princes, because my own brothers have been killed in a infamous way. Therefore allow me to show why my own house was so miserably destroyed.

My father, Your friend was attacked from the Turkish sultan with many armies and better prepared for war. The powerfuls in the vicinities have been already forced to bow to the superior power. Nobody could help them, and thus he was forced to surrender with conditions, equal with the fall of his house. He died, his sons were killed, only I have remained alive, by God's will, and I hope that He will allow to revenge these crimes.

My father fell victim of the lack of the Albanian princes unification; I am predicting still the same destiny for my kingdom. even You, same as I, are in the same situation, near the abyss! What do You think? That the Turk is thinking about my destruction and is preparing for war only against me? O You brave men! Do you not feel the risks menacing you all? And so if you easily would have the chance to unite for the joy of your victory to echo very soon!

The Turk's plans and efforts aim to destroy us all, from the first to the last. If he wouldn't think like this, wouldn't be Turk anymore. His laws, habitudes, character and above all the will of the prophet Mohammed, urge him to destroy everything that carries Christ's name.

With the eyes of the soul I see Murad between the Viziers, his aids and subjects enraged from anger and revenge.

He thanks his prophet, that I have given the motive to him to occupy Albania, as a reward for the losses he suffered from Hungary and Serbia. Now he is giving orders to his officers to annihilate me and after me to direct the weapons against other Albanian princes; He wishes to see you all in chains before him!

These are the Turk's plans and efforts; believe me in my experiences, in my knowledge concerning that court and its habitudes. Think about the terrible events of the today and past times.

These words o princes that I have to say to you are very serious, because only I resemble to that medic who explains to the sick man the dangers of his sufferings, with the aim the he decides to do the operation. – Only united we can resist, and this unification is in the God's will. You notice on Hungary, Zibenbyrgen, Bulgaria and Serbia, all separated subdued to the Turk themselves one by one. But when a year ago they joined their forces, the Sky blessed their weapons and so they won a brilliant victory, the Christianity's victory!

So, this wonderful example you have it before yourselves. Oh! Let's go hand in hand and the divine protection will be certain for us!

Do you believe that the Turk would have subdued Albania at the time of my father if the princes would have been united? The division of that time has been the only cause that our beautiful country fell victim of the Ottoman occupation. May help us for victory the union and the harmony among you, with the aim to triumph the same as Hungarians over the terrible enemy.

Albania's forces seem like the small torrents that flow in different directions. And when these are united in a single riverbed, they form a big and powerful river. This circumstance raises in me a joyful belief and the hope to connect the glorious victory in the Albanian armies, thus to testify to Christianity and Europe their value. I myself have lived for thirty years on that court and I know their weapons, their way of fight, their armies, am allowed I hope that we can succeed against them. And when me as their military leader have defeated their enemies in many bloody wars, how can't I be victorious when I'm protecting my fatherland, the good of my friends, which have trusted me their lives, blood and their properties?

Be not afraid from the empty rumors about our enemies strength; a few months ago they were struck in their head by Hunyadi and their core was annihilated. What has still remained in them is nothing more but a bunch of bad people, cowards and barbarians, without rules and experience. Still once more I am mentioning to you the latest battle we have fought in Morava, where Hunyadi with a small army dismembered the Turkish armies extremely big in numbers. God does not asks for the

number of the enemies, when He wants to give the victory to His believers. Believe me, even today the Turk is hoping on our disunion, otherwise he does not dares to attack us, but even if he dares, they will pay dearly for it.

You see o wise princes, that our salvation depends from us all. If we stay and see with cross hands the fall of our neighbor, if we stay and wait like lambs without doing nothing, we all will fell prey to the wolf. From what we shall do today depends the fate of Albania. I have explained to You in details the general danger and how to avoid it; and only from You depends the fulfilment of the well perceived plans by me; if you accept those, Albania will be saved and the future generations will pray with gratitude for Your soul.

Thus I hope that the Almighty God, advice for better the princes of Albania and may He place in their hearts the spirit of unity, the spirit of resistance against the common enemy!"<sup>124</sup>

These were in a summarized way Scanderbeg's words in the League of Lezha, which Biemmi put in his mouth and Pisko brings them in his study, to put in evidence aspects of the hero's figure and character.

There was not form a true program of a new political order<sup>125</sup>, nevertheless as event, the League of Lezha has a great importance, because was the first political and military union of Albania<sup>126</sup>, forming a general army, whose Scadnerbeg was unanimously elected its commander,<sup>127</sup> and was also established a League's general financial box safe. Every member of the League was free to set his own financial and military aid and the revenues of the League approximately reached an amount of 200 thousand golden ducats.<sup>128</sup>

Nevertheless Lezha had an importance for Scanderbeg's activity, it must be said here that Scanderbeg's men didn't hesitated to make some plundering on livestock among the inhabitants of this city and to kidnap many people<sup>129</sup>

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 21-23. (The above mentioned part is translated from the German language by Edmond Malaj comparing with the original in Italian of Biemmi). See also: G. Biemmi, *Istoria di Giorgio Castrioto...*, p. 31-37.

<sup>125</sup>O. Schmitt, *Skënderbeu...*, p. 78.

<sup>126</sup>S. Pulaha, "Vështtrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus...*, p. 103.

<sup>127</sup>Fan S. Noli, *Gjergj Kastrioti...*, p. 85.

<sup>128</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup>AAV, XVIII, nr. 5009.



These incidents between Scanderbeg and Venice were happening because Scanderbeg offered shelter in his territories to Venice's enemies.<sup>130</sup> From the other side, to Venice didn't liked Scanderbeg' strengthening and on 1448 entered in an armed conflict with the League of Lezha, but when the Turkish danger started to directly menace the Republic, she started to collaborate with Scanderbeg.<sup>131</sup> With the continuous strengthening of Scanderbeg's power, began to vanish the previous borders of the feudal possessions in a single national unit.<sup>132</sup> "In the conclusion of this process, especially after the sensational Kruja's victory, was established a concentrated state<sup>133</sup> under the power of Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg (George Castriota). Its establishment marked a step forward compared with the previous situation of the feudal anarchy and after the freedom gained from the Ottoman yoke, this was the second major work of Scanderbeg".<sup>134</sup>

The next important historic moment about Scanderbeg and Lezha, is his death and bury in this city. Scanderbeg went again in Lezha to gather the League, aiming to find new sources against the Turks, because in July 1467 the whole Ottoman army headed by the sultan Mehmed II invaded the Albanian territories.<sup>135</sup> A bloody battle was held in Elbasan's Buzurshek and Kruja was encircled for the third time, but still the sultan Mehmed couldn't occupy it and withdrew with shame, by interrupting the encirclement.<sup>136</sup> However, during this time, when Scanderbeg reached Lezha he fell seriously ill with fever and couldn't participate in the attack and victory of his army against a Turkish army coming from Kosova aiming to attack Shkodra.<sup>137</sup> Scanderbeg died on 17 January 1468 and was buried in the Cathedral of Shën Kolli (*St. Nicolaus*)<sup>138</sup>, with great honors. The date of his death (17 January) is

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<sup>130</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus...*, p. 103.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> K. Frashëri, *Historia e qytetërimit shqiptar. ...*, p. 114.

<sup>133</sup> Scanderbeg's concentrated state included within the possessions of the Kastrioti, Thopia, Muzaka, Arianiti, Gropaj, Jonima, Stresa families etc., and the borders spreading from Shkodra's Velipoja in the west to the Seman river in East. See, *ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114-115.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus...*, p. 104.

<sup>138</sup> Kristo Frashëri, *Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu. Jeta dhe Vepra (1405-1468)*, Tiranë: Toena 2002, p. 468.

presented to us by G. Maria Biemmi, but he places the year on 1467.<sup>139</sup>

Eleven years later, when the Turks occupied Lezha on 1478, they desecrated his tomb and spread in all the directions the bones of the famous prince, to use them as talisman.<sup>140</sup> According to Babinger, "Mehmed occupied Lezha and ordered to be opened the tomb of the man which he once feared so much in order to be seen from everybody".<sup>141</sup>

### **The Ottoman occupation**

Lezha didn't experience a good destiny after the occupation. It was engulfed by the wave of destruction. About Lezha's occupation, it must be stressed here that was a surrender of the city at the hands of the Turks and escape of the inhabitants as in the case of Shkodra. The city was burned. Daud Pasha, the beylerbey of Rumelia, who went there with a strong army and this should have happened on 9 September 1478.<sup>142</sup> When his army was standed before the walls of Shkdora, brought with them 50 prisoners captured in a Venetian ship and many others in the island of Drin and were all executed.<sup>143</sup> According the Ottoman chronicler Hodja Saddedin, was not only a ship but different ships. The island of Drini that is previously mentonied by Barletius, perhaps is the today "*Ishulli i Lezhës/Lezha's island*". Today there is not an island, but perhaps such island has once exited in the time of the XV century, when Drin's main flow passed through Lezha. Here how is explaiend by Hodja Saddedin the imprisoning of these ships that were constituted not only by soldiers, but also from families trying to escape:

"Some French commanders coming from the France's sides to govern the castle, after putting within the ships their families together with the belongings escaped, hoping to reach the sea through the torrential river

<sup>139</sup>G. Biemmi, *Istoria di Giorgio Castrioto...*, p. 478.

<sup>140</sup>K. Jireček, "Skutari und sein Gebiet...", p. 123.

<sup>141</sup> Franc Babinger, *Mehmet Pushtuesi. Botësulmuesi në kapërcyell kohe*, vol. I, translated by Afrim Koçi, Tiranë: 55, p. 382.

<sup>142</sup> Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*. Band 2. Einleitung und Bibliographie Prof. Dr. Herbert W. Duda. Eilftes Buch. Graz: Akademischer Druck und Verlagsanstalt 1963. (=Veröffentlichungen der Hammer-Purgstallgesellschaft. Hrsg. v. Franz Sauer. Reihe A. Joseph v. Hammer-Purgstall. Werke. Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches. Band 1-10), p. 164.

<sup>143</sup> Marin Barleci, *Rrethimi i Shkodrës*, Translated from the original in the Latin language by Henrik Lacaj, Second edition revised, Tiranë: Universiteti i Tiranës 1967, p. 100. (=Burime dhe materiale për historinë e Shqipërisë 1.), p. 101

flowing at castle's side. In a word, when the invading royal army reached the shores of that river and saw the escaping ships, sliding along the river and they were enemies worthy to kill, spreading the arms of escape, then the armed courageous men with machetes entered the deep water naked as swords. The mob of the French that had boarded the ships, when saw the approach of those brave crocodiles, trembled and understood that their boat would sink. They [with difficulty] reached the shore and escaped in the forest. While from the other side the winner warriors pulled the ships, which were full of stocks and girls of a rare beauty and brought in the place where the army was staying. At the same time they sent against people with the captured ships to follow the infidels which managed to escape. All were captured and chained and brought before the high see".<sup>144</sup>

After the fall of the city who entered the Ottoman administration and belonged to the Dukagjin region.<sup>145</sup> The power there was chaired by a subash who was under the dependency of Dukagjin's Sandjakbey, who had a substitute (vaib), a bookkeeper llogaritar, the commander of the castle (dizdar) with the soldiers and the market's caretaker (bazhdar).<sup>146</sup>

### **The expedition of Gjon Kastrioti (Johannes Castriota)**

Immediately after the Ottoman occupation, erupted a series of rebellions from the north to the south. Here in first place we can mention the rebellions undertaken from Gjon Kastrioti (*Johannes Castriota*), the son of Scanderbeg nearly 1481, who landed in Durrës and established an army of 4000 Albanian infantry men and 600 knights.<sup>147</sup> On these events we are informed from the manuscripts of Stefano Magno. According these manuscripts, the Albanians went themselves to seek for Gjon in Puglia, who at those times served in the army of the duke of

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<sup>144</sup>Hoxha Sadeddin (Hoxha Sad-eddin b. Hasan xhan b. Hafiz Muhammed Isfahai 1536-1599), "Pushtimi i Shkodrës", in *Lufta Shqiptaro-Turke në shekullin XV*, Burime Osmane, prepared for publishing by Selami Pulaha, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Tiranë: 1968, p. 267.

<sup>145</sup>S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus*, p. 104.

<sup>146</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup>"[...] e 'I fjo de Scanderbec continua la so impresa, con 4.000 Albanesi e 600 cavalli". *Dokumente të shekullit XV për historinë e Shqipërisë*, vol. IV (1479-1506), Part I (1479-1499), prepared by Injac Zamputi, Tiranë: Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës 1967, nr. 79; see also: *Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke e shekullit XV*, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë, Tiranë: 1967, p. 104.

Calabria.<sup>148</sup> The duke of Calabria transports Gjon with the army with some of his royal navy galleys and together with Gjon was also one cousin from his mother side, Konstantin Muzak Karli (*Constantinus Musachi Karli*) and Klada from Majna living in Corona.<sup>149</sup> After some partial successes in facing the Ottomans, in September 1481 he tried to take Kruja, but he failed because the castle was guarded by a big number of well armed Turks.<sup>150</sup>

In the aftermath, Gjon with the army headed towards the region of Himara and Sopot that were temporarily freed, causing the death of nearly 1.000 Turkish soldiers. About the losses in Gjon's side are not given evidences. Then he tried to get some other region, among them even Stelush which once belonged to Scanderbeg.<sup>151</sup> Nevertheless, his successes didn't had continuity because the operation of the Turkish armies continued along the years 1482-1483 and made possible the recapture of these regions and re-established their rule on 1484 even in the castle of Himara.<sup>152</sup>

Gjon Kastrioti (*Johannes Castriota*) was forced to go back to Italy,<sup>153</sup> and seems that he mentally collapsed because some years later a preaching monk friar Franciscus of Kruja, on whom we would speak in the following lines, informs that Gjon has become crazy and stayed in a castle of Otranto, and for this reason he was not anymore loved by the Albanians.<sup>154</sup>

### **Lezha and the expedition of the Young Scanderbeg**

Further, it can be mentioned the organized rebellion from the assemblies of 1494-1495, at the time when the king of France was Charles VIII who has landed in Italy and was planning to jump into the

<sup>148</sup>*Dokumente të shekullit XV për historinë e Shqipërisë...*, vol. IV, nr. 79.

<sup>149</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup>*Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke ...*, p. 105; see also: S.Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus*, p. 105.

<sup>153</sup>*Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke ...*, p. 105.

<sup>154</sup>*Burime të zgjedhura për historinë e Shqipërisë*, vol. II, (shek. VIII-XV), prepared by Aleks Buda, Injac Zamputi, Kristo Frashëri, Petraq Pipo, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Tiranë: 1962, nr. 259.

Balkans.<sup>155</sup> The assemblies mainly through Durrës' archbishop Martin Firmano, were trying to get in contact again with the Kastrioti family in Italy, especially with the Young Scanderbeg (the nephew of the hero), and the latter was trying to bring to Albania weapons for 30.000 rebels<sup>156</sup>, but these efforts were obstructed from the Venetians which were not satisfied only with the arrest of the archbishop Firmano, but through Alvise Sagondino informed Istanbul about Albanians rebellions, affirming before the High Porte that these rebellions were not Seignory's goal.<sup>157</sup> As a consequence, the rebellion failed.

Meanwhile, the Turkish aims and especially the creation from their side of a fleet in the Adriatic, troubled the Republic of Venice, and suddenly needed the rebellion of the Albanians. She released from prison Durrës' archbishop Marin Firmano and envoyed to Albania its emissaries to encourage Albanians.<sup>158</sup> Firmano returned to Durrës and is place in one of his villages. In August 1499, the Venetians contact again Firmano through the Durrës' bailos. There went aldermen of other villages, where openly manifested the sadness for the taxes paid to the sultan, thus "many from that country were ready to rebel against the sultan"<sup>159</sup>. The name of the village where this meeting took place is not given in the document, and also are not mentioned the names of the aldermen.

Venice aimed to establish a local rebellion in Albania, concentrated around Lezha, where she planned to land. The Albanians from the other side, wanted a general rebellion to free the country. This caused big disagreements that were exarcebated in that point that the Republic through Durrës' bailos, poisoned Martin Firmano on 1499.<sup>160</sup>

The role of the clergy to organize anti Ottoman rebellions is met in many documents. Except Firmano's case, is mentioned another case.

Thus, for example is mentioned the case of the preaching father of Saint Francis of Vinja order, friar Françesk(Franciscus) of Kruja, whom first has left and was established in Zara. He went again in Albania, preaching the war against the Turks, goes to Venice and informs that Albanians have assembled in a very big number, more than 20

<sup>155</sup>S. Pulaha, "Vështrim mbi historinë e Lezhës ...", in *Lissus*, p. 105.

<sup>156</sup>*Burime të zgjedhura për historinë e Shqipërisë*, vol. II, nr. 257.

<sup>157</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup>*Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke ...*, p. 107.

<sup>159</sup>*Burime të zgjedhura për historinë e Shqipërisë ...*, vol. II, nr. 258

<sup>160</sup>*Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke...*, p. 107.

thousand.<sup>161</sup> They would love to have as leader the son of Scanderbeg's son, and if so, they would rebel against the sultan and as friar he said that the young Scanderbeg would come with pleasure in Albania and so for the sake of Christianity, to win Albania and begged Seignory to act.<sup>162</sup> The actions of friar Franciscus of Kruja should have occurred between 1498-99.

This is exactly the time when on 1499 in the surroundings of Lezha erupted a rebellion against the Turkish garrisons and the Turkish officials were banned and the rebels called to lead them the son of John (Gjon), Scanderbeg's nephew, who had the same name as his grandfather, George (Gjergj) Kastrioti and was called the Young Scanderbeg.<sup>163</sup> Lezha's inhabitants impatiently were waiting for his arrival. Related to this expectancy, the minorit franciscan friar Bernardinus of Shkodra, guardian of Shën Mëria in a letter of 4 June 1500, written in Lezha, informs that "there is awaited Scanderbeg as Messia from the Hebrews, together with lord Span Dukagjini (*Spanus Duchaginus*) and as soon as Ishull-Lezha is taken is going to be fortified, he will encircle Shkodra and Kruja and all the other countries".<sup>164</sup>

So the expectancy for this descendant of Gjergj Kastrioti was higher and he was welcomed as a personality with a great name.<sup>165</sup> The Young Scanderbeg, after staying for a year in Venice, started his voyage to Albania with an army of 150-200 Stratiots and landed in the Ishull-Lezha on 5 March 1501, accompanied from a Venetian administrator called Anton Bon, who has brought his own secretary, Jacobo Trevizan.<sup>166</sup> On March 1501, except Ishull-Lezha, was freed also Lezha, falling again in the hands of the Venetians.<sup>167</sup>

A greater role in fully seizing Lezha at the hands of Venice played the above mentioned secretary Jakob Trevizan. He departed towards Lezha for negotiations, in the beginings masked as merchant and first he went at the home of Dom Pjetër Malonsi, Lezha's bishop to negotiate

<sup>161</sup>*Burime të zgjedhura për historinë e Shqipërisë...*, vol. II, nr. 259.

<sup>162</sup>*Ibid*, nr. 259.

<sup>163</sup>Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke ..., p. 108.

<sup>164</sup>*Burime të zgjedhura për historinë e Shqipërisë...*, vol. II, nr. 260.

<sup>165</sup>*Ibid*, nr. 261.

<sup>166</sup>*Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë (1479-1506)*, Part II (1499-1506), prepared for publishing by Injac Zamputi, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Tiranë: 1979, nr. 206.

<sup>167</sup>M. Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 28.

with the aldermen how to take the city.<sup>168</sup> From an internal organization was made possible to take as prisoner sultan's emin.<sup>169</sup> All this event seems to have occurred in Ishull-Lezha rather than in Lezha, because these events extracted from the diaries of Marino Sanudo, and in this case are not very clear. Nonetheless, the Flag of San Marco was raised the Sunday of 7 March and there were found 1.500 staio wheat, half of which the Young Scanderbeg distributed to the people for the payments they have delivered to the sultan and the other half was kept by him for his own expenses.<sup>170</sup>

Young Scanderbeg takes Lezha in a miserable situation, as for parts of the city as for example the old city reaching until Drin's shores was ruined and deserted. In a very bad shape was also the castle.<sup>171</sup>

Nevertheless the successes of the beginning, the Albanians seem that were disappointed from the Young Scanderbeg and were not giving the proper importance to him because he has arrived with a small army and with few equipments.<sup>172</sup> Except the fact that the Venetian aids were very few, between the Young Scanderbeg and the Venetian administrator existed disagreements which lowered the burst of the rebellion and as consequence since the first clashes that the Stratiots had with the Turkish soldiers suffered harms and big losses.<sup>173</sup>

Immediately after these events, the Turks occupied on 13 August 1501 Durrës, which already prior the occupation was in a miserable state and with ruined fortified walls,<sup>174</sup> on which even the German pilgrim Arnold von Harff, who passed there during his voyage to Jerusalem, writes that was a big and troubled city (*dit is eyne groysse verstoerte stat*).<sup>175</sup> After the occupation of Durrës, Venice started the negotiations

<sup>168</sup> *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë (1479-1506) ...*, Part II, nr. 206.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.* (Note: An emin was an officer in the Ottoman empire- E.M.).

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, nr. 210, ref. 9.

<sup>172</sup> "... et il Sig. Scanderbecho infra in Alexio ma per voler in quella reputacion si credeva e venuto con poca zente e Albanesi non fanno quel caso ec.". *Ibid.*, nr. 213.

<sup>173</sup> Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke ..., p. 108.

<sup>174</sup> M. Šufflay, *Städte und Burgen...*, p. 22.

<sup>175</sup> *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich, und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat. Nach den ältesten Handschriften mit deren 47 Bildern in Holzschnitt herausgegeben von Dr. E. von Groote. Cöln: Heberle (H. Lempertz) 1860, p. 65.*

with the Ottomans, because aimed to avert the lost of other cities still in its possession as Lezha, Ulqini and Tivari and on 14 December signed a peace after which abandoned the Albanian rebels.<sup>176</sup> Some months later, in February 1503 left also to Italy Gjergj Kastrioti (Georgius Castrioti), the Young Scanderbeg and in July 1506, Lezha fell again at the hands of the Ottomans.<sup>177</sup> Here how is mentioned from Marino Sanudo, in his diary the surrender of Lezha at the hands of the Ottomans:

"From Lezha [letter] of the Captain of the bastard galleys of signor Dominico Dolfi and of the sopracomitus and vice captain of the Bay signor Almaro Pizani. [They say] that according to the orders, we showed them [Lezha's inhabitants] the opinion of our Seignory for the country to be given to the Sultan. They wanted to be protected. Finally, the artillery was removed and they [the inhabitants?] burned the entire place. And the inhabitants, a part demanded and were carried to Dulcigno, and a part somewhere in Puglia. Thus, that country was burned and deserted and was awaited sultan's envoy and there was even a galley of the sopracomitus signor Sebastian Foscari ...."<sup>178</sup>

So, as we have learned from the above mentioned document, as in many other cities, even in Lezha the previous population almost didn't existed anymore, and after they left, the city took an Ottoman military-administrative character,<sup>179</sup> becoming smaller and smaller, as in the following centuries would seem more like a village rather than a city. To become a city again, Lezha had to wait until XX century.

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As conclusion we can say that this was the end of the medieval city of Lezha, or of Lis, which very slowly recovered, losing once and for all its cultural and intellectual heritage that has achieved in the Middle Ages. The harms that were made were extremely high, as from the frequent occupations and also from the frequent burnings from the Turkish invaders,<sup>180</sup> or from the inhabitants themselves.<sup>181</sup> Thus, today except some walls belonging to the different periods of history, we do not

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<sup>176</sup>Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke ..., p. 108.

<sup>177</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë (1479-1506)*..., Part II, nr. 449.

<sup>179</sup>Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu dhe Lufta shqiptaro-turke..., p. 109.

<sup>180</sup> J. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*... 2, p. 164.

<sup>181</sup> *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë (1479-1506)*..., Part II, nr. 449.



inherit complete buildings from the medieval age and nor can we build a complete medieval story of the city, because of the lack of documents and other evidences.

**Hasan BELLO**

**THE REACTION OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY AND THE  
VATICAN TOWARDS THE APPROVAL OF THE NEW CIVIL  
CODE ON 1928-1929 (ACCORDING TO THE ITALIAN  
DIPLOMATIC SOURCES)**

In the framework of reforms of Western character, but also for the emergent necessities the Albanian society was facing in the '20s, was believed as utmost to be established a working group of affirmed jurists, to draft a new Civic Code. This was seen as an emancipating project which would introduce the Albanian people into the path of the European influence and would definitively detach the influence of the Ottoman legislation. The application of Mecelle (the Ottoman Civil Code), already was considered remote. The construction of modern state apparatus after the example of the European countries, couldn't be understood without the elaboration of contemporary judicial corpus.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the jurists appointed for this matter from the Ministry of Justice took into consideration some of the Civil Codes of the most advanced countries. However, still without ending this process, the reports that would be created from the new Civil Code concerning the issue of the marriage and divorce, brought dissatisfaction among the church's leaders.<sup>2</sup> According the information of the Italian consulate in Shkodra, the Catholic clergy was preparing a turmoil against the divorce institution previewed from the project of the new Civil Code. The

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<sup>1</sup> Beqir Meta, "Procesi i ndërtimit kombëtar në vitet 1920-1930", in *100 vjet pavarësi. Aktet e Konferencës Shkencore Ndërkombëtare Tiranë, më 26-27 nëntor 2012*, Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë: Kristalina-KH, 2014, p. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Fatmira Musaj, *Gruaja në Shqipëri në vitet 1912-1939*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë: 2002, p. 202-203; Arben Puto, *Shqipëria politike 1912-1939*, Tiranë: Toena, 2009, p. 474.

archbishop had drafted a demand signed from the Catholics with authority which he would present to the President of the Republic. Renown personalities from the lines of the Catholic MPs and senators were urged to undertake this effort near Ahmet Zogu, but they didn't succeed. This situation arised the concern of the Italian authorities, which tried to approach the government with the clergy.<sup>3</sup>

The newspaper *Rilindja shqiptare/Albanian Renaissance* wrote with critic notes against the Catholic clergy. She took as examples France and Italy, countries in which the clergy was much more powerful than in Albania and have not manifested the single opposition towards the Civil Code. A similar stand was seen in all Europe. Therefore, was sought from the leaders of the Catholic church clergy in Albania to give up from the intransigent argue that the marriage or the divorce were social aspects and had nothing to do with the religious norms.<sup>4</sup> The stand of the Catholic clergy was opposed from the press of the time, and even some papers published outside Albania argued that when the woman was immoral what should her husband do? Was more moral for her husband to divorce her or to kill her with two bullets according the Albanian custom? If the Shkodra's Jesuits advice the husbands to forgive their wives even when they were cheating on them, than this advice according an author, could come from unmarried people. Therefore, he called for Albania to not be led from the religious influence.<sup>5</sup>

In the grave situation between the clergy and the government, the apostolic delegate Della Pietra transferred some Catholic priests of Zadrima dioceses which were known as supporters of Ahmet Zogu. In the middle of these transfers was that of Gaspër Thaçi, brother of the minister Kol Thaçi, from Dajç in Qelëz with the function of the dean and with the title of Monsignor, and that of Dom Nikollë Deda from Nenshat in Dardha. According the Italian consul in Shkodra, Deda also was to receive the decoration with the title of Monsignor, but such a title was

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<sup>3</sup> Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror i Republikës së Shqipërisë (hereinafter: AQSH), Fond (hereinafter: F.), Legata italiane, Year (hereinafter: V.) 1928, File (hereinafter: D.) 143,p8. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli, to the Italian legation in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, 15.2.1928.

<sup>4</sup> “Kodi i ri Civil dhe jeta klerikale e Shkodrës. Kleri katolik kundër martesës civile”, in *Rilindja shqiptare*, nr. 55, Tiranë, 28.1.1928, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> “Divorci. Protestat e klerit jezuit të Shkodrës kundër divorcit që përmban Kodi Civil shqiptar”, in *Shqipëri e re*, nr. 315, Constanța, 25.3.1928, p. 2.

nothing more than a "sugared pill" from Dardha's parish, lost somewhere in the mountains of Puka, and was considered one of the worst residences. This measure was explained with the desire to obstruct Deda, renown supporter of Ahmet Zogu, but subsidized until a few times ago from Yugoslavia to be involved in the politics. Della Pietra, held in Shkodra a meeting with all Albania's bishops. It has as object mainly the divorce issue and the proposals that the President of the Republic has made to Monsignor Bumçi to convince the clergy to accept the governmental subsidy, nevertheless would be the outcome of the Concordat.

The conclusion of this meeting, in the opinion of the Italian consul of Shkodra, taking into consideration the views of Della Pietra and Mjeda, had a negative outcome.<sup>6</sup>

The activity of the Catholic clergy against the dispositions of the new Civil Code came intensifying. In the function of this campaign was prepared a leaflet against the divorce, drafted from a Jesuit priest, which the apostolic delegation Della Pietra sent to the President of the Republic and to the members of parliament. Such a request drafted from the archbishop Mjeda and signed from the Shkodra's clergy distributed to all the dioceses aiming to be signed by all the parsons. While the majority of the Catholic senators and deputies was send also to be signed by them, in the quality of the Catholic regional representatives, but some of them refused. So, Ejëll Serreqi rejected the proposal of the deputy Kol Mjeda, living free all the present to signed it as free citizens in case that all the renown Catholics would sign. The Italian consul was scared that the situation might precipitate in an open conflict between the clergy and the government. He asked the apostolic delegation and the archbishop Mjeda to contain the opposition in reasonable limits, to moderate the tone of the request and to not seek something contrary what they sought. Also, was drawn the attention to be careful that in Albania and abroad were not lacking the people that were interested to create disagreements between the clergy and the Albanian state. Also, alarmed from such a situation, he asked the intervention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome and

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<sup>6</sup> *AQSH*, F. Italian legation, V. 1928, D. 143, p. 9. Letter of the Italian general consul, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 26.2.1928.

of the Italian legation in Durrës.<sup>7</sup>

Nonetheless the tense situation between the two parts, existed communication lines. This role was mainly played by the Catholic personalities of the time. As principal intermediary between the archbishop and the President of the Republic Ahmet Zogu, was the deputy Kol Mjeda.<sup>8</sup> To ease the situation, was also organized a meeting of the archbishop Lazër Mjeda with Ahmet Zogu where was discussed on the legislative dispositions connected to divorce. Even why were approved by the Parliament, A. Zogu achieved to "soften" the archbishop with the cordial treatment and with a certain promise on the possibility of adding amendments in the period between law's approval and application. According to the Italian consul in Shkodra, Mjeda was received twice by Ahmet Zogu. Once with the representatives of the Shkodra's clergy where they have spoken only on divorce. While the second time was received alone and the discussion was focused on the Concordat. During the talking, Ahmet Zogu was very irritated with the Vatican, whose pretentions according to him violated the sovereignty of the Albanian state. He has proposed that the clergy should accept the subsidy of the Albanian government, nevertheless Concordat's conclusion or not, Mjeda replied that he approved it in principle, but only with the preliminary approval of the Vatican.<sup>9</sup>

However, both Ahmet Zogu and the Albanian government were determined on the divorce question. This element was considered as an important topic of the new Civil Code. Therefore, the President of the Republic asked the deputy Kol Mjeda to not publish anymore papers against the divorce in the newspaper *Zani i Popullit*,<sup>10</sup> because his articles openly supported the line of the Catholic church and clergy. This publishing organ was forced to interrupt the polemics with the newspaper *Gazeta e Korçës* against the divorce which was inspired head over heels

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid*, p. 10. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 28.2.1928.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid*, p. 17. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës, Shkodra, on 10.3.1928.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid*, p. 18. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 18.3.1928.

<sup>10</sup>"Nji pyetje e një lutje. Kleri katolik i drejtohet A. Zogut për ligjin e divorcit dhe për moszbatimin e tij për popullin katolik", in *Zani i popullit*, nr. 138, Shkodra, 8.4.1928, p. 2-3.

from the archbishop.<sup>11</sup> A part of financing to the newspaper *Zani i Popullit* was granted from the Italian legation, while the other part from the church, playing the defender role of the Catholic clergy interests.<sup>12</sup>

The efforts of Della Pietra to weaken the supporters of A. Zogu or those clerics, mainly Franciscans that were standing for a compromise with the Albanian government were not easy. Thus, the proposals of the apostolic delegation to appoint the successor of Monsignor Kolec and for a better regulation of the diocesan districts of Albania, faced the opposition of some bishops, which wrote to the Vatican about this problem. Also, some of the prelates informed other religious and civilian persons on the propositions of the apostolic delegation, provoking against him the dissatisfaction and the anger of all the candidates. Especially of the Mirdita inhabitants that didn't wanted to remain without their bishop, and the less to be under the dependency of Monsignor Bumçi. This forced Della Pietra to modify his proposals. He insisted to transfer Monsignor Gjonali from Mirdita in Zadrima, but instead to unite Mirdita with Lezha, united Lezha to Mirdita, making that the new bishop had to stay during the summer in Mirdita and during the winter in Lezha.<sup>13</sup>

Ahmet Zogu saw with great concern the intransigent stand of the Catholic clergy. He tried to avoid the conflict situation, nevertheless was decided to approve the new Civil Code, fully aware what price had to be paid. This is seen from the meeting that he had with Ugo Sola, whom he stated that the clergy by order of the respective archbishops, was gathering signatures against Code's dispositions. He declared to the Italian minister, that the Albanian government considered such a propaganda as anti constitutional action that would be prosecuted penally.

Ugo Sola begged A. Zogu to suspend every action that might have

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<sup>11</sup> *AQSH*, F. Italian legation, V. 1928, D. 143, p. 20. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 23.4.1928.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p. 24. Letter of the Italian minister in Tirana Ugo Sola for the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli, Tirana, on 27.5.1928. This newspapers was partially financed with 10 napoleons per month, also from the Italian consulate in Shkodra; *ibid*, p. 39/1-39/2. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legate in Tirana, Shkodra, on 4.7.1928.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 27. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 20.6.1928.

consequences on country's tranquility and was ready to intervene to convince the clergy authorities to interrupt this "not only fruitless but even harmful" propaganda. He asked for the help of the Foreign Minister in Rome, whom he suggested to urgently communicate with the apostolic delegation and the archbishop Mjeda. Sola was convinced that the clergy's propaganda couldn't help to establish a meditating spirit to restart the negotiations for the Concordat signature.<sup>14</sup> He talked to the archbishop, whom he asked to interrupt every initiative against the dispositions of the Civil Code. Here made part also a encyclical of Mjeda addressed to his dependents to collect all the religious, social and political arguments against the divorce, arguments that he has started to elaborate in editorials of *Zani i Popullit* in the form of a polemic with the *Gazeta e Korçës*, which publishing was interrupted by presidential order. Sola didn't hesitated to put in evidence to the archbishop that the irritation with the government was in opposition with the Catholics' interests. This stand would push the Albanian state to take repressive measures on Church's schools and properties. Such a conflict above all would not serve the good will from the President of the Republic to sign a Concordat with the Vatican.

This intervention had a positive effect. It prevented the escalation of the conflict between the church and the Albanian government. The archbishop Mjeda promised to the Italian consul that would suspend the circulation of the encyclical. However, he declined to interrupt the gathering of the signatures against the divorce, because he couldn't present himself in front of the believers because he has changed his mind. The gathering of the signatures had started a month ago in all the dioceses and continued with more speed, according the fear of the parishes members. The Italian consul was reserved to the role of the apostolic delegation, who if was not the inspirer of this initiative, had seen it with a good eye. This according to the consul, to not lose the few popularity he enjoyed on the Albanian Catholic clergy.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile the campaign of gathering the signatures didn't had the wanted outcome. In the meeting that Faralli held with Gaspër Thaçi,

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<sup>14</sup>*Ibid*, p. 30-31. Letter of the Italian minister in Tirana Ugo Sola for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Tirana, on 23.6.1928.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid*, p. 32. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës, Shkodra, on 25.6.1928.

administrator of Zadrina Diocese, he took from his the assurances that the collection of the signatures wouldn't be carried from those priests, at least until the appointment of the Diocese's office-holder. The priests of Mirdita hadn't take no initiative to collect the signatures. Faralli wrote to Sola that would convince Mjeda and the Franciscans parochial to stop such a initiative. Meanwhile, he asked him to try influence on Monsignor Bumçi, who was in Tirana. In Shkodra's archdioceses, the majority of the priests didn't took seriously the collection of the signatures and Mjeda's encyclical as rightly emphasized the Italian consul shake the sluggish.<sup>16</sup>

Della Pietra's relations with the Italian minister Ugo Sola incurred a sort of aggravation because the church authorities pretended that the Albanian government and Ahmet Zogu enjoyed the Italian support.

According to them, this encouraged to grow the pressure for the approval of the new Civil Code and the reforms that interfered with the canonical principles. The legitimizing of the divorce was considered as a point that gravely harmed the principles of the Catholic faith. "In the Moslem circle, in which we find ourselves,- wrote Della Pietra, - we don't want that because of the vigilance of our people, the religious deposition might seem like an eroded cheese by the rats. The small nucleus of the weak Catholics might easily evaporate in the compact dirty law measure of Mohammed".<sup>17</sup>

Noticing that some clerics of non Albanian origin were more contentious towards the Civil Code, Ahmet Zogu insisted on the necessity that all the bishops should be Albanians. According the Italian consul Faralli, both the proposal on the subsidies and the insistence on bishops' nationality were impetuses aiming to create disagreements between the Albanian clergy and the Vatican, or at least with the apostolic delegation. This has encouraged Mjeda to undertake a series of meetings with foreign priests, which has declared that they would not support him.<sup>18</sup>

The Italian diplomacy tried to obstruct the precipitation of the

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p. 33-34. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Tirana, Shkodra, on 26.6.1928.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 35. Letter of the apostolic delegate Della Pietra for the Italian general consul in Shkodra Faralli, Shkodra, 1928.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 36. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legate in Tirana, Shkodra, 1928.



situation. In its optic, this tense situation wouldn't serve neither the state and nor the Albanian Catholics. In such conditions, was out of question to reach some kind of agreement with the Vatican. The Italian consul in Shkodra convinced the archbishop to address an encyclical to all the priests to interrupt every signature collection against the divorce. At this time, most of the priests even haven't started the collection of the signatures. Monsignor Mjeda was very indignant about the fact that his initiative, was considered from the President of the Republic as punishable from the Penal Code. He stated to the consul Faralli that he was only stepping back because of the respect he had for the Italian minister and with the hope that his gesture to positively influence in the concluding the Concordat. Such a similar stand was approved even by the Franciscan Parochial. However, this wouldn't guarantee that the situation between the clergy and the government would be entirely calm.

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Faralli's interventions at the apostolic delegation had a positive effect. He was convinced that the perception of the situation wouldn't serve to the Catholic element and to the church interests.<sup>20</sup> Also the apostolic delegation demanded that Ugo Sola exercised his personal influence towards Ahmet Zogu to convince him to restart the negotiations on the Concordat. This was seen with a good eye from the President of the Republic, who was ready for Sola to exercise the friendly mediation near the apostolic delegation to clean the ground from every obstruct of prejudicing character on the new Code. These stands convinced Sola to play the role of the mediator. On this role, he demanded the approval from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, having in mind the extraordinary interest that presented for Italy for avoiding the hostilities between the Catholic clergy and the new regime. According to him, the President was aware about the utility that would had the support of the clergy and thus, he wanted very much to be concluded the Concordat with the Vatican before September.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless on the leaders of the Catholic clergy and especially at

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p. 37. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Tirana, Shkodra, on 28.6.1928.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 37/1. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Tirana, Shkodra, on 27.6.1928.

<sup>21</sup> *Archivio Storico Diplomatico di Ministero degli Affari Esteri*, Roma (hereinafter: *ASD MAE*), Fond: Serie Politica 1919-1930, Albania, Pacco 737, fasc. 77. Telegram of the Italian legation in Durrës addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, 27.6.1928.

the apostolic delegation was noticed a sort of fear towards the Albanian state. Della Pietra asked the consul Faralli if the President A. Zogu would have been too harsh against the Catholics and if he would have taken coercive measures in the sensitive points as in the education etc., did he believed that could be made efforts from the Catholics near the league of Nations, perhaps supplicating to be treated as a minority in a Moslem state? Would Albanian state and the president gain the prestige after that? On the contrary, if they would sincerely respect what for the Catholics was sacred, would have been there a greater element of progress rather than the Catholics? Could be made something for the President to understand this?<sup>22</sup> The proposals of the apostolic delegation were rejected from the Italian consul. He considered those as preliminary and tried to calm down Della Pietra.<sup>23</sup>

Mussolini approved the request of Ugo Sola to play the role of the intermediary between the Albanian government and the apostolic delegation, to find an understanding ground on the case to apply the new Civil Code and to smooth out the ground towards the conclusion of the Concordat. Nevertheless, he suggested to Sola that in case he noticed that the understanding ground was still far and he ascertained that the agreement left dissatisfied the Catholic clergy, he must find the way to withdraw in the proper time.<sup>24</sup>

On 20 June 1928, in Shkodra arrived a papal letter from Vatican, wherewith Monsignor Gjonali was appointed bishop of Zadrime. This appointment didn't satisfied the archbishop, who wanted to appoint a candidate of his own, the bishop of Shkodra, Monsignor Gjura. These movements openly showed that between the archbishop and the apostolic delegation, but also between the Jesuits and the Franciscans existed open disagreements, which were expressed in the influence of the decision taking authorities in the Vatican to fulfill their demands.<sup>25</sup> The archbishop of Durrës Francesco Melchiori was one of those clerics that

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<sup>22</sup>*AQSH*, F. Legata italiana, V. 1928, D. 143, p. 39. Letter of the apostolic delegate Della Pietra for the Italian general consul in Shkodra Faralli, Shkodra, on 3.7.1928.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid*, p. 39/1-39/2. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Tirana, Shkodra, on 4.7.1928.

<sup>24</sup>*AMAE*, Fond: Serie Politica 1919-1930, Albania, Pacco 737, fasc. 77. Telegram of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome addressed to the Italian legation in Durrës, 3.7.1928.

<sup>25</sup>*AQSH*, F. Legata italiana, V. 1928, D. 143, p. 42. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës and for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 4.7.1928.

was subsidized both from the Italian legation and from the President Ahmet Zogu. Also, he expressed his consideration for the support the latter gave for charity activity to the archbishop helping the poor families.<sup>26</sup>

In this period didn't lack the cases when was openly shown the pressure of the local authorities on the clergy about the propaganda the latter was making against the Civil Code. Thus, the priest of Milot complained that the local official has called him in his office and shown to him a governmental order which had to be communicated to all the special priests and to the archbishop of Kurbin. The government warned that in case they would demand to the people signatures against the divorce allowed by the Civil Code and approved from the President, they would be imprisoned. This frightened very much the archbishop Francesco Melchiori, that has been forced to distribute Mjeda's circular letter that according him should have been approved even from the apostolic delegation. Therefore, he was forced to ask for Ugo Sola's protection.<sup>27</sup>

These events paved the path to different disinformation. from a church source, was informed the MFA in Rome that the Albanian Parliament, which was dissolved to make way to the Constitutional Assembly, from now on would included only those deputies who enjoyed the trust of the President of the Republic. While the Catholic deputies that have opposed the approval of the Civil Code, wouldn't be included in the election lists. According this informer, the Albanian government, would be concentrated in two points to fight the Catholic doctrine: 1) by supporting the divorce; 2) by supporting the national schools against the private ones, indirectly trying to stop them; by declining to recognize the passing from one class to another and favoring those who frequented national schools.

In this direction the Albanian state would multiply the convicts or the dormitories where the poor highlanders and the local Catholics would have found themselves in ceaseless contact and under the direct supervision of the Moslems. This has brought the reaction of the

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 44. Letter of the Archbishopric See of Durrës in Delbinisht (Kurbin) for the Italian minister in Tirana, Ugo Sola, Kurbin, on 26.7.1928.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 45. Letter of the Archbishopric See of Durrës in Delbinisht (Kurbin) for the Italian minister in Tirana, Ugo Sola, Kurbin, on 28.7.1928.

Episcopacy which since September 1922, had issued strong orders that the Catholic parents (or relatives) to not sent their sons in such convicts, otherwise they couldn't be accepted in the Church sacrament. But such an open call could urge the governmental authorities to undertake punitive measures against the clergy. Therefore, the apostolic delegation thought that was better to limit the common step of the Episcopacy, by recommending that every priest who tried to make known to the Catholic priests about the dangers and harms coming from the mix schools, in which their sons would never receive sane knowledge on the spiritual world, but also for their terrestrial good. According to the informer, to find a way out between two presented evils, very hard for the Albanian Catholics, was appropriate: 1) that the divorce shouldn't be accepted for the Catholics; 2) that the national convicts shouldn't be mixed, but apart for the Moslems and apart for the Catholics; as was made from the great countries that had powerful hubs of citizens exercising different religions.

He also suggested to be drawn the attention of the President of the Republic that by accepting these two points, the bishops, the clergy and all the Albanian Catholics would prove by facts that how profitable would be for the nation and his government, more than what is being offered even with Vatican's guideline, which insisted to be given to the Catholics this right.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, the Albanian government considerably behaved towards the apostolic delegation. It considered him as representative of a neighboring country with direct spiritual interests in Albania. This was almost noticed in all the official ceremonies where Della Pietra enjoyed an undisputable status. Such an appreciation was noticed even in the occasion on monarchy proclamation. The Albanian government instructed the prefect of Shkodra to make officially known and with courtesy to the apostolic delegation on the regime change and the sublimation on throne of Zog I.<sup>29</sup> This would be extremely appreciated even by Ugo Sola, who on this action informed the MFA in Rome, as an act expressing the will to overpass the dead point of the relations between

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 47-48. Letter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome for the Italian legation in Durrës, Rome, on 13.8.1928.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 49. Letter of the Italian minister in Tirana, Ugo Sola for the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli, Durrës, on 31.8.1928.

the King and the clergy. Nevertheless, according to him, the apostolic delegation extremely likened the gesture and immediately telegraphed the Vatican.<sup>30</sup> By permission of the Holy See, the apostolic delegation demanded that together with the archbishop Mjeda and some representatives of the Catholic clergy, to be granted an audience with the king Zog.<sup>31</sup> He wished to congratulate him for his crowning and to show that he was predisposed to continue the cooperation for averting the disagreements.

By Ugo Sola's intervention, king Zog decided to welcome in a special audience the apostolic delegation, together with the bishops. Sola suggested to the King and Mjeda and to the influential representatives of the Catholic clergy to be given each a medal and to be welcomed with all the military honors.<sup>32</sup>

On 9 September 1928, the apostolic delegation, the bishop and three provincial bishops and the rector, came from Shkodra to present their regards to His Majesty, King Zog I.<sup>33</sup> In this courtesy visit to the King, Mjeda kept a short speech, based on the religious principles and respect towards the supreme authority. In the aftermath, together with the bishops, he had planned to pay a visit to Ugo Sola to negotiate with him the following questions:

1. The question of the Concordat and divorce;
2. Subsidy on the clergy;
3. About the construction of Shkrel's parish.<sup>34</sup>

This meeting had a positive outcome for both sides. After the return from Tirana, Mjeda didn't lacked to express his pleasure on the outcome of meeting the King and Ugo Sola. He had the impression that after his speech, Zog has remained pleased and had promised to him that he would use all his strengths for the nation's prosperity by always appreciating the aspirations of the Catholic clergy. The archbishop hoped in the fulfillment of this promise and believed that Sola would help to fix the

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid*, p. 53. Letter of the Italian minister in Tirana, Ugo Sola for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Tiranë, on 5.9.1928.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, p. 51. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës, Shkodra, on 3.9.1928.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid*, p. 52. Letter of the Italian minister in Tirana Ugo Sola for the Italian general consul in Shkodra Faralli, Tirana, on 4.9.1928.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p. 55. Letter of Melgusci for the Italian legacy in Tirana, Shkodra, on 9.9.1928

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid*, p. 54. Letter of Sceldia for the Italian legation in Tirana, Shkodra, on 9.9.1928.

relations between the Holy See and the Albanian government. After returning to Shkodra, the priest Dom Nikollë Sheldia and Dom Nikollë Deda confidentially stated that King Zog has given assurances that he would make everything to satisfy the Catholic clergy about the Civil Code on the marriage and the Concordat.<sup>35</sup>

However, this approach was not seen with a good eye from the lines of the Jesuits which in big majority was compound of foreign priests. In their optic, the majority of the Albanian executives were registered in the Masonic orders and acted according their principles. They thought that in Albania, the Catholic element was with more developed culture and therefore was not to be surprised that the laws were direct especially against the Catholics.<sup>36</sup> While the Belgrade's newspaper *Politika* published on 10 October 1928 an article informing that the Albanian colony in Vienna was informed from Tirana that King Zog was converted to Catholicism and his Christened was celebrated from the apostolic delegation Della Pietra. This act, continued the article, was in the line of marriage plans of King Zog. The Italian consul in Skopje informed that the news had caused a very bad impression among the Albanian colony and the Albanians of Yugoslavia. In truth it was a disinformation of the Serb press to diminish the enthusiasm from the crowning of Ahmet Zog as King of Albanians. In the Serb political circles, this title has raised extraordinary dissatisfactions.<sup>37</sup>

The news on the negotiations about the Concordat question was followed with interest even from the international press. Italy's ambassador in Spain, De Peppo, wrote to the MFA that the Madrid's *ABC* newspaper write that according the information coming from Vatican, soon would be signed the Concordat between the Holy See and Albania, zealous supporter of it was King Zog.<sup>38</sup>

Anyway, King Zog relations with the Catholic clergy were sensitively improved. This also came because the clergy was frightened a possible

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<sup>35</sup>*Ibid*, p. 56. Letter of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legation in Durrës, Shkodra, on 12.9.1928.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid*, p. 58. Memorandum presented to the Holy Congregation Secretary for the Propaganda Fide Monsignor Marchetti Selvaggianni, Shkodra, October 1928.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid*, p. 64. Telex press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in rime for the Italian legation in Durrës, Rome, 29.10.1928.

<sup>38</sup> *AMAE*, Fond: Serie Politica 1919-1930, Albania, Pacco 737, fasc.77. Telegram of the Italian legation in Madrid addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, 13.10.1928.

revanchism of the Moslem population, which according to the regent of the Italian consulate in Shkodra V. Gulli, was not less dissatisfied against the government but also against the Catholics. The Apostolic Delegation, Della Pietra confirmed to Gulli that the Catholics were very much pleased of the respect shown from King towards them since his ascendance to throne. Nevertheless, he added that the clergy was not properly directed and as consequence nor the Catholic population. He thought that in case of a turmoil from the Moslem element against the government, the Catholics should take the side of the latter, if would be certain that their movement would be protected. According to Della Pietra, V. Gulli concluded that the Catholics would give to the government their help in case of turmoil. However, before doing this, they wanted to be fully sure that would not face a setback and revenge. Therefore, they wanted to base their trust to Italy rather than to the Albanian government. During the conversation, Della Pietra also stated to V. Gulli that the Catholic element was against every movement favoring Yugoslavia. This because a Yugoslav breakthrough in this region would seriously harm the Catholic interests.<sup>39</sup>

The Catholic Clergy was sure that his effort to convince the Albanian government against the divorce was totally useless. Nevertheless all this, they thought that expect other means, to order every priest to invite the members of his parish, men and women, 15 years old and above to sign on the demand that reflected the refusal of the divorce law. In this way, they aimed that the Catholic population to leave for the future a clear sign that have refused this law.<sup>40</sup>

What is noticed, nevertheless high and lows of relations between the clergy and A. Zogu, is his vicinity with the Franciscans. The good relations of King Zog with the Franciscans had their specifics. This fact, started before the proclamation of the Monarchy. Therefore, they modified their stand and tried to come closer both with the government and the King himself. The Franciscans liked the attention that Zogu, even in the position of the President of the Republic, had always had towards them. They had in mind especially the material and moral aids that the

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<sup>39</sup>*AQSH*, F. Italian legation, V. 1928, D. 143, p. 65-66. Telex press of the Italian consulate in Shkodra, V. Gulli for the Italian legation in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 4.11.1928.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid*, p. 67. Telex press of the Italian consulate regent in Shkodra, V. Gulli for the Italian legacy in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 4.11.1928.

Albanian government had given to their high school in Shkodra. Here are to mention the governmental scholarships for the students who finished the Franciscans high school, which were considered a sign of benevolence by the government. The Italian consul of Shkodra informed his superiors: "In essence, I have the impression that the Franciscans are inclined in the actual moment towards a sincere approach with the regime and the King in person".<sup>41</sup>

The Catholic deputies and senators thought that if they would add the pressure towards the government, the archbishop's effort should have been done during the presentation in the Parliament of the known legislative measures about the divorce. However, because the presentation has already happened and was approved in principle their passing for examination before the Commission, they thought that Mjeda should present as soon as possible their reserves, by going immediately the next day to Tirana.<sup>42</sup> On behalf of the Catholic clergy and people, he addressed a demand to King Zog.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>*Ibid*, p. 68-69. Telex press of the Italian general consul in Shkodra, Faralli for the Italian legacy in Durrës and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Shkodra, on 16.12.1928.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid*, p. 71. Letter of Cortese for the Italian consulate in Shkodra, 1928.

<sup>43</sup> "To His Excellency Mr. Ahmet Zogu  
Excellency,

*We the undersigned Archbishop, Bishops, priests and the Catholics of Albania, basing on the well-known benevolence of Your Excellency, take the freedom to present You this paper humbly asking a favor that we have very dear in our heart. In the new Civil Code, that soon will be proclaimed to fix the behaviors of the Albanian people, we have noticed that has been made a law, according to which in some specific circumstances was given freedom to all the Albanian citizens to free themselves from the marriage, in other words to divorce.*

*Excellency! We are certain that the drafters of this law as in other cases, even in this have as aim the progress of the people and not its detriment; and perhaps for our Moslem brothers the mentioned law improves the family situation by diminishing the divorce causes. But, for us Catholics, as Your Excellency knows very well, it's totally a different case. For us, the marriage except a civil contract, is also a sacrament, viz a very sacred thing that belongs to the religion's treasury. To us, Jesus Christ said: quod Deus coniuxi, homo non separat: what God has joined together, let man not separate. And Saint Paul says to us: who married a divorced woman becomes a concubine.*

*Therefore, the law of divorce for us is not only a devastation because weakens and destroys our families, but also is an offence towards the religion because directly violates a very important instruction of Jesus Christ.*

*Excellency! To preserve untouched this religion, during the Asian rule, we have lost our wealth and have suffered insults and other troubles, also to see free and independent Albania we have suffered and sacrificed even our own lives; Please don't permit that the free Albania so much wanted and assisted by us to reward us with such a big insult.*

*With insisting hope that this request of ours would be welcomed by Your Excellency, with*



The interruption of the negotiations and the complication of the situation because of the new Civil Code, didn't definitively suppressed the hopes for the Concordat. The Apostolic Delegation demanded once more the intervention of Sola to the King. He aimed that for the contacts to began as soon as possible hoping for future negotiations. While the clergy was urged to start a dense propaganda to explain the Catholics the dangers on the divorce, Sola kept a balanced stand. From one side, he assuaged the archbishop taking advantage even from the MFA authorization he has received, talked to the King who was ready to restart the negotiations. He appointed one of the ministers to take contact with Sola to examine together an appeasing formula, capable to overpass the questions who brought the failure of Rome's negotiations.<sup>44</sup> His predisposition was noticed also from the fact that the approval of the Civil Code in the Parliament was not immediately done. Quaroni wrote to the consul in Shkodra that King Zog had postponed by six months the date aiming that Catholic clergy to be unified in agreeing to the law on divorce.

During this period, he aimed to restart the negotiations on the Concordat and to call in a meeting Mjeda to talk on this issue.<sup>45</sup>

In bases of the Italian consulate suggestions, the apostolic delegation demanded from the archbishop Mjeda, to obstruct the irritation of the Catholic clergy and population about the divorce. The intervention of the Italian legation to calm down the situation was decisive. Its role together with Shkodra's consulate influenced to prevent a clash between the Catholic population and the gendarmerie. Confidentially, Mjeda had declared that Monsignor Bumçi, in the conversation he had with the King on the Concordat question, the latter has told him that such a case was left in the hand of the Italian minister in Tirana. Therefore, Monsignor Bumçi, had the impression that the King left to understand that the signature of the Concordat wanted by him now was at hand of the Italian minister. He also added except that, Sola had a wide freedom for an agreement with the Vatican, to ask a formula that would not touch the

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*respect we do present to You our deepest feelings of gratitude". AQSH, F: Italian legation, V.1928, D.143, p.76-77. Letter of the Archbishop, Bishops, priest and the Catholic people addressed to Ahmet Zogu concerning the stopping of the law on divorce.*

<sup>44</sup> AQSH, F. Italian legation, V. 1929, D. 146, p. 2. Letter of the Italian minister in Tirana, Ugo Sola for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, Tirana, on 7.1.1929.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, p. 4. Letter of Quaroni for the Italian consulate in Shkodra, Tirana, on 29.8.1929.

new Civil Code and at the same time, to exclude the Catholics of Albania from the law on divorce. However, the eventual spread of these statements according to the regent of the Italian consulate in Shkodra, would give an excuse to different interpretations which might be exploited from those who have interest to turmoil the mind of the people and the public order in Albania.<sup>46</sup> In the reply for the regent of the Italian consulate in Shkodra, Ugo Sola wrote that was true that the King Zog begged him to examine the issue not with the Vatican but with the Albanian authorities, in order to find a conciliatory formula to give a solution to the complicated questions of Concordat and divorce. He also informed him even for the fact that with the Albanian government was making preliminary negotiations, the outcome of which for the moment was reserved to make known both the apostolic delegation and also to Mjeda. Nevertheless, he asked from them that this intervention, which he simply considered a friendly gesture, to be kept fully confidential.<sup>47</sup>

The archbishop Mjeda was very pleased on Sola's mission and thought that this fact was a guarantee for the Albanian Catholic clergy and population. He explicitly wrote to V. Gulli: If His Excellency, Minister Sola wouldn't have been certain to bring by his work a pleasant definition about Catholicism in Albania, of course he wouldn't had accepted the job". While the latter, repeated to Mjeda once more that the Italian minister has very dear to his heart every question belonging to the Albanian religion and the Catholic clergy. At the same time, he left to understand the great need to keep secret the role of the Italian legation in this affair.<sup>48</sup>

The contradictions who aroused after the approval of the Civil Code between the state and the Catholic church marked another incident. In January 1930, Vlora's priest Dom Marko Vasa, celebrated the marriage of the Italian national Antonio Pano with an Albanian woman, but of the Orthodox religion. The spouses took care to be made prior their marriage all the proclamations in the Italian consulate and in the city's parish.

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<sup>46</sup>*Ibid*, p. 5-6. Letter of the Italian consulate regent in Shkodra, V. Gulli for the Italian minister in Tirana, Ugo Sola, Shkodra, on 5.1.1929.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid*, p. 7. Letter of the Italian minister in Tirana, Ugo Sola for the regent of the Italian consulate in Shkodra, V. Gulli, Tirana, on 10.1.1929.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid*, p. 8. Letter of the Italian consulate regent in Shkodra, V. Gulli for the Italian minister in Tirana, Ugo Sola, Shkodra, on 16.1.1929.

However, this was considered from the part of the national authorities as a violation of the laws. Few days after, Dom Marko Vasa was called to be present himself before the court because he has violated the obligations dictated from the new Civil Code, by celebrating the marriage without asking a certificate from the mayor to prove that the proclamations were made even in the municipality of Vlora.

The priest justified himself by stating that he didn't knew that the obligation of the proclamations in the municipality was an obligation even for the foreigners. Nevertheless, the court took the verdict by condemning Dom Marko with 15 days in prison and a fine of 150 golden francs and denied him the conditional. This verdict according to Quaroni has caused a very bitter impression in Vlora. This because that the priest has acted in full confidence. Here was reflected even the predisposition of the Albanian government which was resolute to rigorously apply the new legislation. This was noticed from the prosecutor justification, by stating that he had received orders from Tirana to be severe, because the case belonged to a foreign national. The intervention of the Italian legation in supporting Dom Marko Vasa who always has shown himself deeply connected to Italy as the tolerance of the King Zog, taking into consideration the good faith of the above mentioned priest, had their effect. The king ordered that the Vlora's court verdict to not be applied. The Albanian government demanded that Dom Marko should receive the notice of his pardon both from the side of the prefect and the prosecutor.<sup>49</sup> This event shown that the Albanian state nevertheless misunderstandings he had with the clergy, was not for exercising repressive measures.

The archbishop Mjeda in his negotiations with the Albanian government, was flexible about the civil marriage. The only insurmountable point remained the question on the divorce,<sup>50</sup> which he

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<sup>49</sup> AMAE, Fond: Serie Politica 1919-1930, Albania, Pacco 737, fasc. 77. Telex press of the Italian legation in Tirana for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, 25.2.1930.

<sup>50</sup> The Catholic clergy considered the question of divorce as one of the main points where should be fought to preserve the moral integration of the society and of the Catholic doctrine. Lazër Mjeda, "Letër e Arqipeshkvit të Shkodrës përmbi Sakramendin e martesës", in *Fletorja e klerit katolik të Shqipynis*, nr. 9-12, Shkodër, September-December 1929, p. 76-77; "Fjala e Papës përmi kunorë të shejtë. Mbi enciklikën e Papës Piu XI që dënon letërsinë e artin që ndikojnë në divorcin e prishjen e kurorës", in *Zani Shna Ndout*, nr. 2, Shkodra: February 1931, p. 17-19; Papë Piu XI, "Enciklika e shejtut atë papë Piu XI mi martesën e krishtenë (31 dhjetor 1930)", in *Lajmëtari i zemrës së Krishtit*, nr. 8-9, Shkodër, August-September 1931, p. 116-

proposed that the respective articles of the Civil Code to not be applied among the Catholics. This request was declined from the government, which couldn't exercise double standards on its subjects. The Albanian authorities were convinced that Mjeda had informed the Vatican in favor of their view. They were hoping that soon this matter would take the definitive solution.<sup>51</sup>

Anyway, the approval of the Civil Code had no tendency against the Catholic clergy, church and population. On the contrary it aimed the emancipation of the country and society. It was only one of the priorities of the Albanian government to apply the contemporary legislation in accordance with the western orientation of the country. This was reflected even in the political program of the government chaired by Koço Kota.<sup>52</sup> The entering in force of the Civil Code was considered an important step towards the civilization path, to modernize the Albanian nation and society.<sup>53</sup> It was seen as a necessary tool which would pull out Albania from the social backwardness and would culturally connect it with Europe.<sup>54</sup>

This was accompanied with a new organization of the judicial system by selecting and appointing an educated judge, with experience and the necessary mentality to apply the modern legislation. Of course this process met difficulties of the technical character, which would be gradually fulfilled in accordance with the problems that would be met during the practical application of the new Civil Code. The press of the time considered the justice as a mirror where should find reflection the nation's civilization, progress and happiness.<sup>55</sup> The approval of the new Civil Code was welcomed and echoed almost in all the important newspapers of the time.<sup>56</sup>

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119; *ibid*, nr.10, October 1931, p. 136-137; *ibid*, nr. 11 November 1931, p. 153-154; Lazër Mjeda, "Letër e Argjipeskëvit të Shkodrës kundër një shpifjet. (Akte të diocësave). Kleri katolik dhe Kodi Civil", in *Fletorja e klerit katolik të Shqipërisë*, nr. 1-3, Shkodra, January-March 1932, p. 6-7.

<sup>51</sup>AMPJ, V. 1930, D. 326, p. 1. Letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rauf Fico for the Albanian legation in Rome, Tirana, on 20.5.1930.

<sup>52</sup>"Programi i kabinetit të ri", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 170, Durrës, on 22.1.1929, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup>T.H, "Kodi Civil i ri", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 175, Durrës, on 26.1.1929, p. 1.

<sup>54</sup>"Kodi Civil në Shqipëri", in *Shqipëri e re*, nr. 365, Durrës, on 14.4.1929, p. 2.

<sup>55</sup>I. L, "Fillimi i prillit inaguron fakte përparimtare me rëndësi. Mbi zbatimin e Kodit të ri Civil", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 208, Durrës, on 3.4.1929, p. 3.

<sup>56</sup>"1 Prill 1929. Hyrja në fuqi e Kodit të ri Civil", in *Demokratia*, nr. 200, Gjirokastër, on

The Minister of Justice, Hqmet Delvina in a letter addressed to King Zog on the occasion of entering in force of the Civil Code, considered 1 April as a historic date for Albania. According to him, this had made to vanish the norms of the civil law connecting the Albanian society with the mentality and the customs of the Asian peoples, incompatible religious dogma with the Albanian tradition and in contradiction with the liberal principles of the advanced Europe. This Code had succeeded to create a unified a law corpus for all the Albanian nationals, nevertheless their religious and regional appurtenance. He laid the foundations of the Albanian state consolidation, having in principle secularity and the equality before the law. The Code unified the relations between the individuals and the family relations, without taking into consideration the religious dogma, by also recognizing the right of divorce; the right of heritage on the kinship bases etc.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, he rightfully was considered as an "immortal" and "great" monument in the history of the Albanian people since the time of Scanderbeg.<sup>58</sup> In different prefectures of Albania were organized festive ceremonies where jurists and well-known lawyers highly appreciated the new wind that was blowing for the Albanian justice and society.<sup>59</sup>

The new Civil Code was mainly based in the Roman Law (*Corpus Juris Civilis*). Therefore the reaction of the old lass of jurists coming

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30.3.1929, p. 2; "Kodi Civil. Me rastin e hyrjes në fuqi të Kodit Civil të ri", in *Gazeta e re*, nr. 125, Tiranë, on 31.3.1929, p. 1; "Dit'e shënuar për Drejtësinë Kombëtare. Nga telegramet me rastin e hyrjes në fuqi të Kodit të ri Civil", in *Gazeta e re*, nr. 126, Tiranë, 3.4.1929, p. 1; N.E.T, "Kodi Civil që sot hyri në fuqi. Rëndësia e tij", in *Gazeta e Korçës*, nr. 597, Korçë, on 1.4.1929, p. 1; "Kodi (Fjalë rrumbullake). Për Kodin e ri Civil", in *Gazeta e re*, nr. 162, Tiranë, on 16.5.1929, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup>Hqmet Delvina, "Nalt Madhënia i Tij Zogu I. Mbretit të Shqiptarëve në Tiranë. Me rastin e hyrjes në fuqi të Kodit të ri Civil", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 208, Durrës, on 3.4.1929, p. 1; "L'applicativën du nouveau code civil. Telegrami që i ka drejtuar Hqmet Delvina Mbretit Zog me rastin e hyrjes në fuqi të Kodit të ri Civil", in *Shqipëri e re*, nr. 366, Kostancë, on 21.4.1929, p. 1; "Hyrja e Kodit Civil në fuqi", in *Gazeta e re*, nr. 126, Tiranë, on 3.4.1929, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup>"Monument madhështor. Mbi Kodin e ri Civil", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr.183, Durrës, on 5.2.1929, p. 1.

<sup>59</sup>"Telegrame falenderimi për Kodin Civil të ri", in *Gazeta e re*, nr. 128, Tiranë, on 5.4.1929, p. 1; "Festimi për hyrjen në zbatim të Kodit Civil. Ceremonia e zhvilluar në Elbasan", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 128, Durrës, on 5.4.1929, p. 3; "Kodi Civil i ri. Përshtypjet për vënien e tij në zbatim. Në Gjirokastër", in *Gazeta e re*, nr. 133, Tiranë, on 11.4.1929, p. 3-4; "Telegrame që iu dërguan L.M.T. Mbretit, Parlamentit dhe Qeverisë me rastin e hyrjes në fuqi të Kodit Civil të ri", in *Zëri i Korçës*, nr. 385, Korçë, më 2.4.1929, p. 1; "Populli e prit me gëzim zbatimin e Kodit të ri Civil", in *Zëri i Korçës*, nr. 386, Korçë, on 6.4.1929, p. 1

from an Ottoman education was likely. Also, didn't lacked articles which considered them as "mecelle persons".<sup>60</sup> Kristo Floqi published a cycle of articles where he argued the advantages that would have the application of the new Civil Code. He criticized the conservatives, which prejudiced it because of the inability to be adapted.<sup>61</sup> The new code nevertheless the reservation of the some Moslem circles in the city of Shkodra, was welcomed from the majority of the Albanian muezzins.<sup>62</sup> Also the Synod of the Orthodox Church decided to shown its solidarity with the government in the application of the Civil Code.<sup>63</sup>

*Gazeta e Korçës* appreciated the big importance that the dispositions of the Civil Code had on the civil marriage, which facilitated the union of different elements. With the civil marriage, according this newspaper, was dropping the religious influence and its place was taken from the state, that was for everybody and not only for a part as the beliefs have been.<sup>64</sup>

The intransigent stand of the Catholic Church in relation with the Civil Code provoked to be written many articles urging the government to forcefully act to subdue every cleric and religious subject within state's laws.<sup>65</sup> However, nevertheless these calls, the Albanian state kept a soft stand waiting to come into an understanding with the clerical circles.

<sup>60</sup>"Mbi zbatimin e Kodit Civil të ri. Ndryshimi i Kodit me "Mexhelenë" antike", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 178, Durrës, on 30.1.1929, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup>Kristo Floqi, "Mbi zbatimin e Kodit Civil të Ri (Studime e mendime)", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 180, Durrës, on 1.2.1929, p. 2; Kristo Floqi, "Mbi zbatimin e Kodit Civil të Ri (Studime e mendime)", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 184, Durrës, on 6.2.1929, p. 2; Kristo Floqi, "Mbi zbatimin e Kodit Civil të Ri (Studime e mendime)", in *Shekulli i ri*, nr. 185, Durrës, on 7.2.1929, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> The Albanian Moslem Community stand towards the Civil Code was explicitly expressed. According to it, the members of this community do not opposed the Civil Code because they understood that in a country with several religions, the case of making and applying laws do not belonged to the religion but to the nation. This Code didn't brought no obstruction in the conscience inspired from the Islamic religion and could be applied by every Moslem.

<sup>63</sup>"Sinodhi vendosi që kisha ortodhokse të tregohet solidare me qeverinë në zbatimin e Kodit Civil", in *Gazeta e Korçës*, nr. 596, Korçë, on 30.3.1929, p. 1; "Telegrame që iu dërguan L.M.T. Mbretit, Parlamentit dhe Qeverisë me rastin e hyrjes në fuqi të Kodit Civil të ri", in *Zëri i Korçës*, nr. 385, Korçë, on 2.4.1929, p. 1; "Edhe Sinodhi i Shenjtë në favor të Kodit Civil", in *Gazeta e re*, nr. 126, Tiranë, on 3.4.1929, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup>"Kodi Civil i ri", në *Gazeta e Korçës*, nr. 595, Korçë, më 28.3.1929, f. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Taraboshi, "Shkodra çerdhe fanatizmi. Kleri katolik i Shkodrës mundohet t'i imponojë popullit katolik dogmën se feja e kisha janë ligji i tyre", në *Shqipëri e re*, nr. 409, Kostancë, më 23.2.1930, f. 1.

**Eduart CAKA**

## **THE CADASTRAL REGISTER OF PËRMET AND KORÇA AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN ALBANIA DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE XV CENTURY**

### **Introduction**

The establishment of the Ottoman rule and the space time of nearly five centuries, occupy an important place both in the history of Albania and in the action field of the Albanian historiography. Based on to date studies about the Ottoman invasions towards the territories inhabited from the Albanians, it can be said that first contacts belong to 1380 when their armies led by Lala Shahin would attack the possessions of Gjin Zenebishi.<sup>1</sup> After this year, the Ottoman armies would continuously organize attacks towards the Albanian lands that would continue during 1381, 1382 and 1384.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, during that period, the Turks had

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<sup>1</sup> In this year, the Ottoman armies called from the Ioannina's Serb despot, Thoma Prelubivić to fight against the Albanians. For more data see: KoçoBozhori, "The Albanian-Turkish war in the works of the Byzantine historians of the XV century", in *Studime për Epokën e Skënderbeut*, nr. 3, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë: 1989, p. 380; Pëllumb Xhufi, *Dilemat e Arbërit*, Tiranë: Pegi, 2006, p. 320. Also, it should be stressed that about the date of first clash between Albanians and the Turkish soldiers, there are previous occasions when in the period of Andronikos III, the soldiers of Umur Bey came in the spring of 1336 towards the Albanian territories to crush a revolt of the latter. See: Bkz. *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, vol. I, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë: Toena, 2002, p. 275; *Burime të Zgjedhura për Historinë e Shqipërisë*, vol. II, prepared by Aleks Buda, Injac Zamputi, Kristo Frashëri, Petraq Pepo, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1962, p. 161; Milan Shuflaj, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët*, prepared for publishing by Ilir Ibrahim, Tiranë: Shtypshkronja KUMI, 2002, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Hammer, J. De, *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman*, vol. I, Bellizard, Barthes, Paris: Dufour et Lowell, 1835, p. 249-250; Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi, *Moti i Madh, Përmbledhje Shënimesh e Dokumentesh për Historinë Shqiptare të Viteve 1379-1479*, Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese Dituria, 2006, p. 13-16; Selami Pulaha, "Shqiptarët dhe Beteja e Fushë-Kosovës e vitit 1389", in *Beteja e Kosovës 1389; Përmbledhje Studimesh*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2005, p. 18; Pëllumb Xhufi, "Shqiptarët e Jugut në Betejën e Fushë-Kosovës", in *Beteja e Kosovës 1389; Përmbledhje Studimesh*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti

possessed since time ago territories and castles which were positioned on the roads leading towards the territories inhabited from Albanians. As Pëllumb Xhufi puts in evidence, the conquest of Kostur by them during 1384-85, paved the way to their advance towards the field of Korça and not only.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the breakthrough of the Turkish armies within the territory would occur on 1385 when as consequence of the clash between the Topia and Balsha families, Karl Topia would require the help of the Turkish armies which under the command of Beylerbey of Rumeli province, Timurtaş, would enter in the possessions of the Albanian nobles.<sup>4</sup> This big clash between two Albanian big families, marks at the same time the first establishment of the Turks in this geographic space.

Another important event that conditioned the definitive establishment of the Ottomans in the Balkans, is beyond any doubt the Battle of Kosova. In this bloody war, would almost participate the entire nobility of the Balkans and among them many Albanian dignitaries.<sup>5</sup> The defeat of the Balkan coalition would definitively open the doors to the Ottoman armies which would intensify the invasions putting under their rule many cities and castles. Thus, the geographical space occupied by them, the Ottomans would name as Rum-ili which was an administrative territory

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i Historisë, Tiranë 2005, p. 105; Halil İnalcık, *Kuruluş Dönemi Osmanlı Sultanları (1302-1481)*, İstanbul: İSAM Yay., 2010, p. 96-97; *Burime Tregimtare Bizantine për Historinë e Shqipërisë (shek. X-XV)*, prepared by Koço Bozhori, Filip Liço, Akademia e Shkencave e RPSH, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1975, p. 246-247; Selami Pulaha, "Luftërat shqiptaro-turke në veprat e kronistëve dhe historianëve osmanë të shekujve XV-XVII", in *Studime për Epokën e Skënderbeut*, nr. 3, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1989, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup>Pëllumb Xhufi, *Nga Paleologët te Muzakajt; Berati dhe Vlora në shekujt XII-XV*, Tiranë: Shtëpia Botuese 55, 2009, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> For more data on the Ottoman incursions during this period see: Aşık Paşazade, *Osmanoğullarının Tarihi*, Hazırlayan Kemal Yavuz, M. A. Yekta Saraç, MAS Mat baacılık A. Ş., İstanbul 2003, p. 123; Münecçimbaşı Ahmet Dede, *Münecçimbaşı Tarihi*, Çev. İsmail Erünsal, vol. I, Kervan Kitapçılık A. Ş., İstanbul 1974, p. 115-116; İnalcık, *Kuruluş Dönemi...*, p. 98; Xhufi, *Dilemat e Arbërit...*, p. 320-321.

<sup>5</sup> About the participation of Albanians in this battle and the role they played see: G. Musacchi, *Historia e genealogia della casa Musachia*, in: Charles Hopf, *Chroniques Greco-Romanes*, Librairie de Weidmann, Berlin 1873, p. 273; Luan Malltezi, "Beteja e Fushë-Kosovës (1389) dhe kontributi i shqiptarëve", in *Beteja e Kosovës 1389; Përmbledhje Studimesh*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2005, p. 70-77; *Historia e popullit shqiptar...*, p. 376; Hammer, *Histoire...*, p. 281-285; Shuteriqi, *Moti i Madh...*, p. 19-20; Pulaha, *Shqiptarët dhe beteja...*, p. 22-24; Xhufi, *Shqiptarët e Jugut...*, p. 110-112; *Burime të Zgjedhura...*, p. 206.



that would be continuously enlarged until the first half of the XVI century.<sup>6</sup>

The same destiny with their Balkan neighbors would also suffer the spaces inhabited from the Albanians, where immediately after the battle of Kosova, the Ottomans would attack the southern and southeaster areas of the Albanian space achieving to establish there a rule which according to the archive documents, and also by the studies on this space time, we came to learn that are established during the period of the sultanate of Bayezid I. Among the main sources on the Ottoman invasions towards the Albanian territories during this period, can be mentioned a series of Byzantine and Ottoman chronicles.<sup>7</sup> In this context, an important source shedding light on the Ottoman establishment in the southeastern areas, and also of the economic and demographic situation of these geographical spaces in the eve of the XV century, is also the Ottoman register of the areas of Përmet and Korça which we are presenting in this paper.

### **The source and the classification of Përmet and Korça register**

The classification of the archive documentation has had a direct influence in the development of the Ottoman period studies. The increase of the scientific papers has made possible to shed light on the aspects of different political, economic and social changes of the peoples which were part of this empire. The English edition of the Arvanid Sandjak entitled *Hicri 835 Tarihli Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*<sup>8</sup> on 1954 from the Turkish scholar Halil İnalcık, can be considered a milestone in the development of the defterology in particular and on that of the Ottoman studies in general. The publishing of the register in word, not only paved

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<sup>6</sup> On 1530, eyalet of Rumelia included the parts of Thrace, Bulgaria, the space of the Romania's shores, Moldavia included the parts of Thrace, Bulgaria, Romania's, Moldavia's and Ukraine's coastal shores, Greece and the islands around Albania, the shores of Dalmatia and a big part of Serbia. For more see: *370 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-İli Defteri (937/1530)*, I, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Defter-i Hakani Dizisi: VII, Ankara 2001, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> On the Ottoman attacks mainly in the southern territories see: *Burime të Zgjedhura...*, s. 206; Shuteriqi, *Moti i Madh...*, s. 22-25.

<sup>8</sup> Halil İnalcık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Sûret-i defter-isancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954. For the translation in the Albanian language of this register see: *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit i vitit 1431, prepared for publishing by Halil İnalcık, translated by Mykerem Janina, introduction's translation and the preparation for publishing by Eduart Caka, Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike, Tiranë 2017. On the above-mentioned register see: Historia e Popullit Shqiptar...*, p. 380-381.

the way to similar editions in Turkey and also in other Balkan countries, but at the same time forestalled in the methodological aspect the preparation of the Ottoman tahrir defters.<sup>9</sup>

Is worth to be emphasized the fact that the above-mentioned register as the other cadastral registers that are earlier and until now discovered, belong to the geographic space where the Albanians lived. From their side, also the Albanian historiography has dedicated a special importance to these cadastral registers by studying them and used in their publications. These registers, very important, being presented to us as first-hand sources about the economy, society, toponymy and the history of the Albanian space starting from the beginnings of the XV century and on. Within this context, the Albanian historians during the 1960-70 achieved to translate in the Albanian language a considerable Ottoman chronicles and documents among which also some cadastral registers belonging to the XV century.<sup>10</sup> One of them was that of Shkodra's sandjak published on 1974 from the scholar Selami Pulaha.<sup>11</sup>

Along with the above mentioned register also exists a considerable number of registers of cadastral character, most of which are not published, but belong to the Albanian space of XV-XVI centuries.<sup>12</sup> Also, again about the geographic space that is included in the register of

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<sup>9</sup> He gave response to many questions about the kind of Timar, its parts, the divisions of the Timars and other aspects of this system. Nevertheless, it should be stressed the fact that in the aspect of Ottoman cadastral registers publication, Inalcık's publication it's not the earliest. Prior the publishing of Arvanid's Register are also realized other editions of the same character as can be mentioned: L. Fekete, *Az esztergomis zandzsak 1570, eviadoöss zeirasa*, Budapest: 1943; C. C. Djikia, *Defter-imufassal-i vilayet-i Gurcistan*, Tbilisi: 1947.

<sup>10</sup> Between the translated cadastral registers during this period are found four registers which belong to the XV century and are found in the Archive of the Institute of History (AIH). Except these tahrir defters, three are not published. These are the register of the Arvanid Sandjak translated by Mykerem Janina –published on 2017-, the icmal defter for Përmet and Korça (AIH: A. III. 323) which we are presenting in this paper and has been translated by Vexhi Buharaja and the register of Dibra of 1467 translated by Selami Pulaha and Vexhi Buharaja (AIH: A. III. 315).

<sup>11</sup> Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, Akademia e Shkencave e R. P. të Shqipërisë, Tiranë 1974.

<sup>12</sup> Both Inalcık and Pulaha in the long introduction they respectively manifest of the Arvanid Register and the mufassal defter for the Sandjak of Shkodra, also present a long list of tahrir defters which belong to different Albanian sandjaks and are found in the funds of the premiership archive in Istanbul and in the General Office of Archives and Land Patents in Ankara. For more see: Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. V-VI; Pulaha, *Defteri i Regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës...*, p. 3-4. See also: Nicoara Beldiceanu, *XIV. Yüzyıldan XVI. Yüzyıla Osmanlı Devletinde Timar*, Çev. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, Teori Yay., Ankara: 1985, p. 103-106.

Përmet and of Korça<sup>13</sup> we are presenting in this paper, areas which seem that in the time of this registration were separate administrative units.<sup>14</sup> The archives also possess several tahrir defters and kanunnames, which belong to the subsequent decades and a part of them are already published and are at the service of the scholars.<sup>15</sup> Seen from this aspect, the publishing of this register belonging to the first half of the XV century it's important to understand the economic and social situation of the territory in the register.

About the administrative relevance of the areas which are in this registration and we are presenting, we don't have some accurate data. It's certain that these were not part of the Arvanid Sandjak, which was registered at the same time with the defter of Përmet and Korça. In this aspect, the areas taken in the registration as are Përmet, Korça, Konica and Grevena, are settle in the south and southeast of Arvanid Sandjak and seem to refill it.<sup>16</sup> From the other side, İnalçık says that at the same time with the drafting of the Arvanid sandjak register, were also registered some other smaller areas around Përmet, the lands of Gjon (Yuvan-ili) and those around Prespa (Presbe-ili). Also, according the same scholar, the above-mentioned territories once were taken as divided and once connected with the Arvanid sandjak bey.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the lack of the first pages of this register except many other data, hides from us also the information about the administrative denomination of this area taken from the registration. Certainly, this finding is valuable for the

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<sup>13</sup> All the references about the icmal defter of Përmet and Korça are used in this paper and are given in the bases of the page numbers of the same register which is typed and found in the Archive of the Institute of History, file number A. III. 323.

<sup>14</sup> İnalçık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. VI.

<sup>15</sup> See: *167 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937 / 1530)*, I, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Ankara: 2003. Again, on the Moslems status of Korça's castle of 1530 see: Dritan Egro, *Ligji Osman ndër Shqiptarët e Mesjetës së Vonë*, Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike, Tiranë: 2012, p. 194.

<sup>16</sup> Other areas that is mentioned in this register is that of Ashtin-ili. Indeed, this toponym passes also in the icmal defter of Arvanidsandjak but here is met as Ishtin-ili. Today is difficult to be localized the clear position and space of this area but according to İnalçık this administrative unit was found in the southern part of Albania. According to İnalçık, Ishtini or Ashteni has been a renown Albanian noble after whom was named the above mentioned area. While on his descendants we are informed that were converted to Islam by achieving high ranks in the Ottoman administration and possessing Timars. For more data see: İnalçık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler...*, p. 148.

<sup>17</sup> For more data see: Halil İnalçık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkiklerle Vesikalar*, I, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1954, p. 159.

time when has been drafted this register because later, we know for sure that Korça as sandjak was part of the Manastir vilayet,<sup>18</sup> while on 912 Hijri (1506-1507) we find that Përmet together with Gjirokastra, Tepelena, Berat, Skrapar, Kanina and Delvina were part of the just established sandjak of Vlora.<sup>19</sup> For this reason, all scholars that have worked on the Ottoman cadastral registers of the XV century, refer to this one as "the defter of Përmet and Korça"<sup>20</sup> for the fact that these are the two main centers on which starts the timars registration of this space.

The register of Përmet and Korça, is found registered with the indication MAD. 231 in the General Office of the Council of Ministers Archives in Istanbul. As a part of the earlier defters of the XV century, also this one is in the dimensions 11:29 cm and as the kind of letter used in its writing has great similarity with the tahrir defter of the Arvanid Sandjak. Also starting from the date of the registration, sideline notes, the style of writing or other marks, Inalcık thinks that both registers could have been written together.<sup>21</sup> To the cadastral register lack many pages in the beginning and in the end. This is shown by the fact that the register immediately starts with the setting of some timars on which we don't know which unit belong to then continue with the presentation of Përmet vilayet. The next part of the register is compound of 162 pages of which the pages 64-67 are empty. If we would take into consideration the setting of timars in the register and also in that of the Arvanid, this aspect shows that the register of Përmet and Korça registration, has serious impairs and lack of many pages, an element that makes impossible the complete study of this register.

The timars in the analogue tahrir defters have been settled according their size and revenues where in the beginning has been marked the sandjak bey and his vilayet followed from the subaş, serasker and other timar holders. While in the following are marked the muaf, musellem and voynuks. This is the methodology followed the authorized persons to draft the register. Because of the similarities of the elements presented in the registration of this register icmal (summarized) is also the

<sup>18</sup>Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. VII.

<sup>19</sup>Inalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler...*, p. 162.

<sup>20</sup> See: Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXI, n. 77; Beldiceanu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar...*, p. 15; Selami Pulaha, *Pronësia feudale në tokat shqiptare (shek. XV-XVI)*, Akademia e Shkencave e R. P. S. të Shqipërisë, Tiranë: 1988, p. 32.

<sup>21</sup>Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXI.

preparation of this register compiled after the used methodology for preparing for publishing of the Arvanid sandjak register. All the timars of the register are settled with numbers aiming that the register and the data that he holds could be as much as practical and understandable for the scholars. Also, the notes about the villages, hisse, mevkufs and the changes this timar has occurred since the time of its first registration are marked with the form (SH).

### **The timing of registration drafting and its value as historic source**

Unfortunately, the first pages of this tahrir defter have not reached our days. For this reason, it's impossible to say something accurate about the data when this register has been drafted. Nevertheless, from the sideline notes, the data of the different registrations and of changes made in that register and the names of the Ottoman officials mentioned in this register, allows us to present an approximate data about its compilation. Starting from this point of view, the earliest data that we meet in this register belongs to the month of October 1431<sup>22</sup> what shows that the process of registration was made in an earlier data then this. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the scholars who have studied the Ottoman registers of the XV century, give different versions about the date of this register compilation.<sup>23</sup>

What we other know by certain has to do with the fact that the tahrir defter has been drafted at the time of the sultan Murat II. This element is clearly put in evidence not only from the data of the notes but also from

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<sup>22</sup> See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Pulaha, who wrote the respective part on the first cadastral registrations in Albania in the first volume of *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, the icmal defter of Përmet and Korça he considers as part of the Arvanid Sandjak Register of 1431 saying that "*this copy is casually divided in two parts from which only one is published on 1954 from the Turkish historian Halil İnalcık.*" See: *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar...*, p. 380. İnalcık himself admits the similarity between the registers, but claims that they are separated as the administrative units when were registered. See: İnalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXI. While Beldiceanu gives later the data of drafting of Përmet and Korça registers, postponing it during 1434-1435. See: Beldiceanu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar...*, p. 15. The lack of the first pages of this register definitively leaves open the discussion on the fact that these areas compounded a single register or were part of an tahrir defter is divided in two parts, and for both claims is possible to be found arguments. The division of many timars of this register from the Sandjak bey as part of the administrative unit called Arvanid makes us understand that these two have been in a single register seems more logical. About the decisions of the Arvanid sandjak bey for dividing the timars in Përmet and Korça see: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 24, 28, 43, 47.

the denominations that are used for the Ottoman sultans, as the Arvanid register and even here we meet in different notes for example "the today sultan" intending Murat II or "the late sultan" that in this case is Çelebi Sultan Mehmet.<sup>24</sup> Registrations, changes and other notes of timars in this register have marked the qualities we have mentioned above where catches the eye a big number of timars given in the time of Çelebi Mehmet (1413-1421). In the defter, also we meet in some earlier timars distributed in the time of the sultan Bayezid Yildirim (1389-1402).<sup>25</sup> Thus, the registers in word, show that in some areas the registration of timar was established since the end of the XIV century.<sup>26</sup>

Another name that is distinguished in this register is that of Emir Sulejman Çelebi, who was one of the sons of the sultan Bayezid. With the sultan's death after the battle of Ankara, the Ottoman state faced an authority vacuum that was accompanied with the clash between Bayezid sons in a military rivalry to take the throne. Emir Sulejman passed in the part of Rumelia<sup>27</sup> being in the position of the ruler of his geography for some time. This is also seen in the register of Përmet and Korça where we see that some timars are given during the time of this ruler.<sup>28</sup> Seen in this context, the existence of the granted timars in the time of prince Sulejman, also shows that in these areas the established system since the

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<sup>24</sup> Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XIV.; Beldiceanu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar...*, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> According to Chalkokondyles, at the time of Bayezid I, the Ottomans had conquered a considerable part of Albania's southern parts including here Gjirokastra. See: *Burime tregimtare bizantine...*, p. 326-327. The same thing is also mentioned in the *Ioannina Chronicle*. See: *Burime tregimtare bizantine...*, p. 249; Apparently the Ottoman invasions with the passing for the time have been shrunk by remaining limited only with those part registered as timars during that sultan rule. For more data see: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 28, 53, 58, 73, 74, 75. See also: Beldiceanu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar...*, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> Pulaha gives the year 1492 as the date of the regular establishment of the Ottoman administration in the southeastern part of the today Albania. For more see: Pulaha, *Pronësia feudale...*, p. 30.; *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar...*, p. 378.; Beldiceanu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar...*, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Aşık Paşazade, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi...*, p. 146-151; F. Taeschner, "The Ottoman Turks to 1453", *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Volume IV, The Byzantine Empire, Part I, Byzantium and its Neighbors, Ed. J. M. Hussey, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1966, p. 768.

<sup>28</sup> More concretely see: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 51, 57, 72, 73.

time of Bayezid continued uninterruptedly until the time of Murat II, period which has been drafted the cadastral register in word.<sup>29</sup>

As in the time of the Arvanid sandjak cadastral register also in this register, seems that the definitive drafting and registration of the timars have been fulfilled in the city of Edirne, which at the same time served as the see where resided the Beylerbey of Rumelia. Even in the case of Përmet and Korça cadastral register, we notice that a considerable part of the registrations and notes made in the register, are drafted in the city of Edirne, which in the respective defter is also mentioned with the words "center" or "see". The city was the capital of the Ottomans until the taking of Constantinople on 1453, but even later would remain their strongest point in the part of Rumelia.<sup>30</sup>

About the cases who brought the drafting of such a registration can be given different versions. Only a few years ago, the Ottomans achieved to take the city of Thessaloniki (1430), a territory with an important economic and strategic position and geographically close to the areas taken under the registration. Another cause might have been the rebellions of the '30ies in the XV century occurred in the areas of the Arvanid Sandjak, because in connection with these events exists notes in this register as is shown to us by a registration of the year H. 837, where a village has been given to three castle lords at the time when "the pashas attacked the land of Albania".<sup>31</sup> As it seems, the rebellions of the '30ies in the XV century, caused many problems to the rulers which spent many energies to crush the rebellions. This is seen in the notes of this register where those spahis which were not aligned with the army to crush the rebels would be punished by taking from them the given timars.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The continuity of the Timar system in these areas in the period 1402-1413 is worthy to be separately analyzed for the fact itself that during the above-mentioned years, the Ottoman authority in these zones must have been very weak if we would take into consideration that the sons of Bayezid were in rivalry among each other to get the throne. This point of view asks for more consideration if we think that majority of the timar holders, as it seems even in this register, were Christians. For more see: Beldiceanu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Timar...*, p. 14-15.

<sup>30</sup> See: M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası; Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul 1952, p. 6-7.

<sup>31</sup> It's about the Arvanid sandjak but Buharaja in the translation mentions it as "the Albanian sandjak" or "the lands of Albania". See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 45.

<sup>32</sup> "After the news that Tugan didn't presented himself on time within the army and until now has not fulfilled the respective service (kullukun), was taken from him the Timar and was given to the sons of Inbeki, Jakup and Sulejman in a collective way; both them were exploiting it together. In case of near campaigns as those against Albania, both should present themselves,

Except the other data on timars' distribution, which we would speak in the following lines, the register is important because of the data that gives us about the state of the Albanian nobility in the earlier periods prior the establishment of the Ottoman rule in the spaces inhabited from Albanians. As it's known, the majority of the Albanian noble families accepted the sultan's vassalage since the end of the XIV century and the beginning of the XV century. While, around the half of the XV century, thus fifty years after the establishment of the Ottomans in these spaces, we see that a part of this aristocracy was integrated in the Ottoman governmental apparatus and so converting in the new religion, the Islam. In this context, an example that we can present according to the defter of Përmet and Korça, has to do with the famous Muzaka family, which possessed a big space including here part of the fields of Korça, Devoll and further.<sup>33</sup> From this big family we learn that the son of Teodor Muzaka converted to Islam and change the name to Jakup reaching the position of sandjak bey in the Arvanid administrative zone.<sup>34</sup> Thus, in the register of Përmet and Korça is found a note issued in the months April/May 1437 in the city of Edirne, where we learn that Jakup Bey received a raise in the Arvanid sandjak from the timar of Përmet's subash.<sup>35</sup>

### **The register's content and drafting**

In the introduction chapter of Arvanid's tahrir defter, İnalçık presents us detailed data on the timar, its kind, structure, terminology and other compounding elements of this system.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, the detailed definition of each aspect related to the timar has been established from the extracted kanunnames by the Ottoman sultans where the earliest is that of the

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*while in the case of campaigns in distant countries they will participate alternately.*" See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 56. In the same icmal defter see also the pages nr. 45, 58, 106.

<sup>33</sup> The history of Muzaka family occupies a special place to understand the situation of Albanians and of their aristocracy in the first half of the XV. In the case of our defter, the chronicle of Gjon Muzaka has a great importance for the fact that as part of the territories included in the register have been properties of this family. For more see: Hopf, *Chroniques...*, p. 280-281; Xhufi, *Nga Paleologët të Muzakajt...*, p. 441.

<sup>34</sup> See: İnalçık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. 187, 208; Also see: Xhufi, *Nga Paleologët të Muzakajt...*, p. 359.

<sup>35</sup> "Was given as augmentative on the sandjak of Albania, to Jakup Bey, son of Todor Muzaka." See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> For more see the data on the parts of timar, see: İnalçık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXXI-LV.



Sultan Mehmet Fatih.<sup>37</sup> Also, already the scholar has a detailed literature on the timar system, its compounding parts and the application of this system in different periods of the Ottoman state, also including here Albania, and we put in evidence the paper of S. Pulaha published on 1988. For this reason, here we do not deal with the timar as unit or system, but we would present special aspects of its application in the areas taken in the registration within this defter.

Despite the opinion that the timar was granted to only those serving in the army, the study of the cadastral register has shown that the distribution of the timars, except those of military character, was also granted in bases of the contribution given for the state.<sup>38</sup> Seen from this aspect it can be better understood the fact that among the possessors of the timar, except the pashas, spahis and guards of the castles, there are kadis, imams, priests, secretaries (yazıcı), stablemen (mir-ahur) where, such a distribution is noticed even in the Defter of Përmet and Korça what shows that among the profiteers are also those persons whose job was related to duties serving the community and spiritual life.

As in the other cadastral registers, also in this one the timars are marked from the greatest belonging to the sandjak beys to continue with the subash, seraskers, dizdars, kadis, musellems, vojnuks and so on if they existed in the area where the registration has been made. In the cadastral register of Përmet and Korça, we don't have any data on the timar of sandjak bey because of the fact that the lack of first pages makes impossible for us to learn on this aspect and because the defter starts with the timars of the Castle of Konica guards.<sup>39</sup>

According to Tayyip Gökbilgin in this period we have imperial cambric in parts of Rumelia<sup>40</sup>, but both in the Arvanid sandjak and also in the register of Përmet and Korça we do not notice the existence of such timars. Starting what was said above and also from the lack of the first

<sup>37</sup> Except the many publishing that are made in the Turkish language, the kanunname in word has been also published in Albanian aiding the work of the local scholars with interest on this item. Except kanunname, the scholar Egro has presented in the Albanian language other kanunname belonging to the Albanian sandjaks and those of Albanian majority. For more see: Egro, *Ligji osman ndër shqiptarë...*, p. 49.

<sup>38</sup> For more data on the other categories who took advantage from the timars partition, but their profession was not directly connected with the military service, see: Beldiceanu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar...*, p. 34-43.

<sup>39</sup> See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası...*, p. 73.

pages what makes impossible to learn of in this administrative unit, existed cambric belonging to viziers, pashas or other high officials of the state, in our defter the biggest timars are those belonging to the subash of Përmet and of Korça where the timar of the principal, Sunkurxha Bey is valued 33458 akçe while the cambric of the other subash was over 40 thousand akçe.<sup>41</sup>

The term *cambric*, as in the other registers of this period, also here is mentioned together with the great timars. In the defter of Përmet and Korça, it is met only in the case of Përmet's subash and that of Korça's subash who in our register we see that has remained mevkuf.<sup>42</sup> While the word *ziamet*, as in the icmal defter of the Arvanid sandjak, also here does not pass. As in the similar registers, also here *kist-i bazar* is noticed on the subash of Përmet and Korça, what implies that both in Përmet and Korça existed local markets. The same thing happens even in the case of the *nijabet-ivilajet* that is met in Mborje where we learn that had a market. According the above-mentioned register, the tax collections from *kist-i bazar* together with the same of the *nijabet*, reached the amount of 10045 akçe.<sup>43</sup>

The registrations made in this cadastral register and the division of the timars presents big changes if to be compared with the division of the timars in bases of the revenues where the given timar on those to serve in the army start with the amount of 1000-2000 akçe in the value of annual revenues.<sup>44</sup> However, in the case of the registers made in the areas of Përmet and Korça, we notice the existence of some timars whose revenues are under 1000 akçe.<sup>45</sup> This is connected with the very difficult geographic relief of these areas, and also with the weak economic situation of the space taken into account. This element is ascertained from the fact that if we would compare the revenues of the timars of this register with those of the Arvanid register drafted at the same time, the timar holders revenues of the second defter are higher compared to those of Përmet, Korça and the space around them.

<sup>41</sup> *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 5, 42.

<sup>42</sup> For more see: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 42.

<sup>43</sup> *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 42.

<sup>44</sup> About the revenues and the timar categories see: Beldiceanu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Tımar...*, p. 46-47; Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXXI, XXXIII-XXXIV.

<sup>45</sup> For example, the timar of Dido, Meladin and of Gjon Nazha which have taken this place to invigorate it, had an annual revenue of 515 akçe. See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 52.

As in the register for the Arvanid sandjak, even in this one we meet a considerable number of timars at the hand of the Christians. As it seems from the notes, the timars in word seem that were granted in the earlier times of the regime establishment in these areas. By the passing of time, we notice that the above mentioned timars are alienated passing at the hands of the new timar holders belonging to the Islamic religion.<sup>46</sup> Also, there are cases when the timar remains again at the hands of the same Christian holder, but to keep the property we notice that are introduced the earlier possessors of the timar that now are converted to Islam, as in the case of Mesir Pavli's timar.<sup>47</sup>

From the other side, the greatest timars and at the same time the most important are those which have been granted to the officials which in the most of cases have come from other countries of the Ottoman Empire, among which we see that there is a converted considerable part to Islam integrating within the ruling class. In our register similar examples are presented in the timars of Jakup Bey (Muzaka) or of the Arnavud Dogani, which we learn that was the son of Ostojó and on the year Hijri 841 (1437-1438) possessed the post of Ternovi's sandjak bey.<sup>48</sup> Also, we have other important timars granted to Christian timar holders which had mainly the duty as castle guards, dervendjis, etc. As an example, we can show the case of Kushta's timar on whom we notice this note: *"The Timar of Kushta: (dead) in the beginning in the village was enjoyed by a castellan, but the village was dissipated. To the above mentioned Kushta, the Pasha granted him Biti with the conditionsto reinvigorate it and carry the guard duty in the border's post (derven) of Korça. He reinvigorated it. Therefore he received another Biti from the Pasha through which he became eshkundji"*.<sup>49</sup>

Other timars that attracted the attention in the register of Përmet and Korça are also those belonging to the clerics. Here an important place

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<sup>46</sup> As example can be given the timar of Zhupan on which we read this note: *"The timar of Zhupan, is an old timar. Was taken from the first timar who has been in his possession since long time ago and given a part to Turkish administrator [kadi] and a part given to Tejlu - Hysen. The new upper timar, has been given from the above-mentioned Ismail's tahrili which has in his possession sultan's Berat"*. See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 13.

<sup>47</sup> *"This timar is earlier (kadimi). Through the son of his daughter, Muhammediu, received Berat from the present sultan. However, today (this) timar is in the possession of three persons: Pavli, the son and Muhammediu."* See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 88.

<sup>49</sup> *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 59.

occupy the persons exercising the profession of imam and on them where distributed timars that can be considered as reward or payment towards the service and contribution given from these clerics. In our register there are two timars granted to the imams,<sup>50</sup> but the defter presents many villages and lands which are distributed in the form of cambric on the imams serving in different castles or in the cities of Përmet and Korça. As example we can give here the village Izgari, which is taken from the Sunkur's timar and is granted in the form of cambric to the appointed imam in Përmet.<sup>51</sup>

Similar distribution of the timars we have also to the members of the Christian clergy. In this case, unlike those of the Islamic belief to whom were increased the timars, on the Christians were granted as custody of what belonged earlier to them. If a property belonged to the metropolis, even during the time when these lands or villages passed at the hands of the Ottomans, we notice that they have respected the religious element by granting the timars again to the priests to administer. Nevertheless, we have to stress here the fact that the timars of administrators and imams and also those of the bishops in the Ottoman consideration enjoyed a special status. On them we find notes as "used from the previous administrators" what shows their approach towards the timar holders when these were clerics. From these arguments, also Inalcık says that the similar timars enjoyed the same status, as those of the cambric of sandjak beys or subashs.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the above argument is based on another similar case we notice in our defter. Thus, in the register of Përmet and Korça, we see that in the Bishop's timar on which the drafter stresses that this timar has been continuously possessed from the bishops since earlier times and they had in their hands Berat about this right they were enjoying.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, in the later periods we will see that even in the timar would occur changes.

Another term that is presented to us in the system of timars' distribution is also the *hisse* which in our language can be translated as "part/cambric" and refers to a part of timar, which can be a village or even

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<sup>50</sup> Respectively the timar of Nefes and of Mesud Fakih (the second with the profession of imam) and the timar of Ahmed Fakih. See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 38, 117.

<sup>51</sup> *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXXII.

<sup>53</sup> *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 54.

much more.<sup>54</sup> Of course the hisse's possessor enjoys this right only by taking a Berat and as he exploits the respective part of the timar, he also had to pay the obligations towards the state – implying the participation in the military campaigns – in bases of the revenues collected from his hisse (cambric). Another term that is connected with the hisse, is the word *mushterek* what undermines the exploitation of a timar from two or more persons. In this context, the cadastral register of Përmet and Korça has in its content a considerable number of common timars or divided in parts, a phenomenon connected with the geographic-economic aspect of the territories taken under registration and also with the methods the Ottomans were following to be established in the newly occupied territories.<sup>55</sup>

In the register we notice timars that have been not included in the *defter* (*haric-ez-defter*) but are found and marked. There are also subsidiaries (*zevaid*) which are marked because of different causes and has to do with the discovery of the places or revenues previously unmarked, part of data in the form of reward, countries or villages that are found in the old *defter* and in the following not given to any other person etc.<sup>56</sup> All these we find marked in the register where another element are the villages or places that have been empty or ruined and were granted to the timar holders to reinvigorate them (*shenletme*) as about the timar of Andrea who demanded to vitalize the village called Leshnicë previously ruined by order of Arvanid's sandjak bey, Is'hak Bey.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXXIII.

<sup>55</sup> One of the reasons of pursuing such a method of partitioning the timars in hisse [cambric] had to do with the fact that in those areas where existed a potential possibility of rebellions, the timar was partitioned among some people to prevent the being of the entire area in the hands of a single person, what would be easy for him to organize the people to rebel. While when the timar was partitioned in some parts, the potential of similar organization was minimized. For more see: Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXXIII-XXXIV.

<sup>56</sup> See: Inalcık, *Regjistri i Sanxhakut të Arvanidit...*, p. XXXV.

<sup>57</sup> The note in the text for the timar in word is: "When Is'hak Bey was Albania's sandjak bey had ordered this village of Leshnicë to be attacked and destroyed. Now was being demanded from the above mentioned non-Moslem to vitalize it again". See: *Defteri i Përmetit dhe i Korçës...*, p. 50. Also in the same register the vitalized villages and places are noticed in the pages nr. 29, 45, 52, 53, 59, 60, 86, 94, 99, 101, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111.

## Conclusion

As conclusions, it's worth to emphasize the fact the cadastral register of Përmet and Korça and also that of Arvanid's Sandjak are first hand sources as belong to the economic and demographic situation of this areas in the first half of the XV century. Starting from the contained data in the register, for the scholars of this period is easier to understand not only the economic situation of Korça, Përmet and other areas under registration, but also toponymy and ethnicity aspects of this regions' population. For more, both the Arvanid Sandjak register and that of Përmet and Korça are the earliest examples of the timar system and its application in the institutional level in the entire Ottoman Empire. This made that, historians from all the world having as field of study the earlier period of the Ottoman state, in a way or another, introduced themselves on the history of Albania through research of the above mentioned of the cadastral registers.

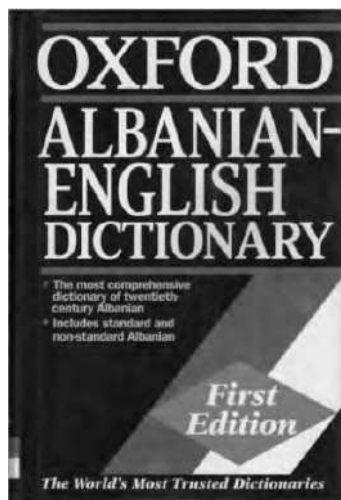
The register also bears the importance to understand the first decades of establishment of the Ottoman rule in these spaces and the methods they followed towards the local population. Here are introduced the division of the timars among the old elites and the new, the timar holders coming from other countries and geographies, the religious character of the population and of the timar holders that were established etc. The notes of the timars belonging to the period of the sultan Bayezid Yildirim, are at the same time the earliest signs of the timar system and Ottoman rule establishment in these areas to follow after that in all the spaces inhabited from Albanians.

The lack of first pages of this register seems that will leave forever – at least until the finding of another possible copy of the cadastral register or other documentary data that can give a response to these questions as: the mentioned defter was a separate administrative unit or part of the Arvanidsandjak? If was separate, then which part of the sandjak was in it and what areas were included in it? Nevertheless these unknown aspects from the defter for Përmet and Korça, it remains one of the most earlier sources of the Albanian spaces under the Ottoman rule in general and of the southeastern areas in particular.

**Jani THOMAI**

## **On Leonard Newmark's "OXFORD ALBANIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY"**

*A brief note: I came to know on this dictionary since prior it's publication, in its manuscript, following its drafting process and offering to the author the possible assistance and my opinions since then, by writing. I have had the possibility to know professor Leonard Newmark in the beginning through "Gramatika strukturale e shqipes/Albanian structural grammar" and then through other books for the Albanian language<sup>1</sup>, kneaded full of love for Albania, Albanians and for the Albanian language. However, I had a beautiful chance to meet him on 1994, when I and my*



*colleague, professor Xhevat Lloshi, were participating in the VI Congress of EURALEX in Amsterdam. The day after our arrival, in the morning approaches to us a healthy man, of medium stature, together with the professor Betyl Sue T. Atkins, which I firstly came to know in the III Congress of EURALEX in Budapest, on 1988 at that time she was president of this Association. She, a longtime friend of the professor, introduced us to L. Newmark: "Here there are your Albanians". I remember professor's first benevolent smile and with merry eyes: "I was*

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<sup>1</sup> *Structural Grammar of Albania*, 1957; *On outline of Albania (Tosk) Structure*, 1969; *Readings in Albanian – Albanian language* (+ Peter Prifti, Philip Hubbard), 1979; *Standard Albania – A Reference Grammar for Students* (+ Peter Prifti, Philip Hubbard), 1982, 368 pages; *Read Standard Albania online*, 1982, 347 pages; *Spoken Albanian*, 1997; hereinafter *Albanian Handbook: With English to Albanian Glossary*, 2000, 360 pages.

*looking for you. I am here also for this, when I came to know that in the Congress would participate two Albanians". It was the time, as he said, when he was trying to find a sponsor for his dictionary to publish. The time we stand and talked with him was truly fruitful and pleasant. I came to know about his dictionary's nature, through the late Vladimir Dervishi, former scholar on terminology in the Institute of Linguistic and Literature in Tirana, but had left to help professor Newmark in UC San Diego (University of California San Diego) for this dictionary. He brought to me time after time in Tirana, in the Institute of Linguistic and Literature, some printed quires of the dictionary, along with the professor's appeal to present my suggestions, and also some lists of words to be verified in the Albanian lexicon card index on forms, meanings, sources, geography and the fields of use etc. We have fulfilled all his requests without hesitation, by giving him information to specify many lexemes.*

*Since 2000, this dictionary is also published in Albania, already indexed in our lexicographic scientific literature. However, we have to affirm that in Albania this dictionary lacked a satisfactory distribution and the scientific critique has not paid the proper attention as it really deserves, first of all for the scientific assistances as proof of the Albanian words with all their values and then after the identification through their meaning in English.*

### **Albanian – English Dictionary / Fjalor shqip – anglisht edited by Leonard Newmark<sup>2</sup>**

In the presentation of the "Dictionary" has become known that it contains over 75.000 lexicographic units (words, locutions, expressions and idioms with scientific explanations) from the standard, nonstandard, speeches and the technical glossary. He provides encyclopedic and cultural information, especially on the specific cultural elements of terminology. It's an understandable dictionary of the modern Albanian, an essential reference for students, researchers, translators and for every study in the Albanian language. The "Dictionary" contains thousands of phrases that are in use in the today Albanian, makes the complete treatment of the idioms, proverbs and of figurative expressions, gives

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<sup>2</sup> Albanian edition: *Albanian – English Dictionary – Edited by Leonard Newmark / Fjalor Shqip – Anglisht*, Albin, Tiranë, 2000.



details in the spelling, a description of Albanian language alphabet, a *vademecum* of the essential Albanian grammar and of dialectical variants, of the irregular verbs in alphabetic order with identifying texts and an updated supplement of the suffixes with unknown endings. The "*Dictionary*" is also suitable for the postgraduate students<sup>3</sup>. This is a general presentation of structure's authorship and of the Albanian subjects that the "*Dictionary*" contains.

On the "*Dictionary*" have been published few papers, - a general weakness of our scientific critique, - that have discovered its values and have brought the opinions of the authors about this work achievements and gaps. A special attention attracts the paper of professor Hajri Shehu<sup>4</sup>, a renowned lexicologist and lexicographer, with a good command of English language and of precise scientific opinions on this dictionary. By examining the edition of the Oxford University Press, "*Oxford Albanian-English Dictionary*", 1998, Hajri Shehu describes its content, the subject's sources, the lexicon stratum, the lexicographic presentation way, the ways of semantic and stylistic identification of Albanian language units with those of English, the "*Dictionary's*" bringing and absences, its destination etc.

The paper's author praises the "*Dictionary*" for the reasoning exploitation of the Albanian explanative glossaries, mainly of the "*Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe*" (1980), of the "*Fjalor i shqipes së sotme*" (1984) and of the terminological dictionaries, for consulting the card index of Albanian lexicon, on also picking the works of diaspora authors etc., presenting like this "the positive potential values on the today Albanian language lexicon". The "*Dictionary*" also widely reflects the compound words, the non-simple denominations, the phraseology etc. There are included words that mark notions and phenomenon from all the fields of the social activity, of life, science etc., and also from the lexicon-semantic classes.

Thus, the dictionary is seen as a work that fulfills the author's aims and serves as a useful book of reference. But, Hajri Shehu puts in evidence some flaws of this dictionary in the light of contemporary lexicographic principles and criteria, about the reflection on it of the

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<sup>3</sup>See also the index of *Leonard Newmark* in internet.

<sup>4</sup> Hajri Shehu, *Oxford Albanian – English dictionary*, in *Studime filologjike*, Tiranë, 1999, 1-2, p. 187- 197.

proper nouns, of affixes, of grammar forms, of phonetic regional variants (even peripheral), concerning the lack of symmetry in reflecting the terminology of different fields, of motion nouns, of saying and phraseology etc.

Certainly, the first thing in a study is to define the type of this dictionary. According the lexicographic typology the "*Dictionary*" clearly aims to be bilingual, but we cannot go further to qualify it as general or dialectical, normative or no normative, lexical (only with words) or also with other units (phonetic forms, syntagma and word-groups, proper names of people, toponyms etc.), or simply bilingual or with explanative elements and references of Albanian words on Albanian words etc.

The "*Dictionary*" can be examined in the lexicographic plane by following two main lines: a) What brings from the lexicon, phraseological, semantic assets of the Albanian language, and b) how is achieved the identification of their values through confronting time with the English meaning. Here, we shall follow only the first line. In the second line, that requires scholars with complete knowledge on both languages, Albanian and English<sup>5</sup>, we are remembering only that for every bilingual dictionary something is missing from the primary language, because it's not possible that into the first language to be presented with all the (semantic, stylistic, syntagma, paradigmatic etc.) values, with a word of the second language, thus with all the semantic meanings and nuances, with the finest emotional connotations, expressive and stylistic, with the complete lexemes and all the possible paradigmatic connections, with the speech situations of use and other specifications that every word presents only in the course of the proper speech, even in movement, in continuous development and change. Also in the most perfect translation we lose something from the translated language, but anyhow in translations there is a bigger space for additional circumlocution and explanations, which are not possible to be exploited in the dictionary in those dimensions or forms of expression according the principle that "between different languages there are more discordances of concepts rather than comprehensions". The taste of

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<sup>5</sup> H. Shehu in the quoted paper has been focused even in this second lexicographic line, see p. 193-195.

reading the original text cannot be such complete even in the best translation.

Among the distinctive characteristics of the "*Dictionary*", two are the most visible: a) the terms' plurality and diversity of the lexicographic units<sup>6</sup> of mainly information value and, b) the non complete system of the lexicographic units typologically the same or similar, therefore with absences that can be explained by causal selections from the subject's sources and by understanding can be simply seen as same or similar intended units from models or examples as those given in the "*Dictionary*". Both these characteristics have not made easier the author's research work, on the contrary, show how explanative and tiresome has been, no matter how relatively long extended in time for research and study.

The main principle of lexicographic units definition, that permeates the Albanian corpus in "*Fjalor shqip-anglisht*" of L. Newmark, considering the concept of the English concept on lexicographic unit, mainly in the explanative dictionaries, but also in those bilingual, - a concept in accordance with the inner nature of the English language structure, expressed also by M. Webster<sup>7</sup> in the great dictionary, according to which such are not only the "compact" words, but also the "*open word*", as *blind-man's buff*, *prison breaking*, *room-mate*, *school age* etc. In the English linguistics, because in this language as analytical one "the theme and the word are identified, the word group units which are taken as also "open words"<sup>8</sup>, nevertheless in the English, because of the lack of the grammar inflection, the criteria of the closed or open structure to qualify the word or the non-word of the linguistic units, does not take effect. Therefore, in the writing are possible three ways about the interpretation or spelling: together *bedroom*, with line in between *bed-room* and separate *bed room*. But the writing does not influence in the semantic and nor in the use of the lexicographic unit when the inner structure of the unit is closed, a matter that is not presented for the English, because the parts of the word group are grammatically neutral because of inflection. We believe that in influencing this concept, theoretically accepted in lexicology and practically in lexicography, L.

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<sup>6</sup>Or: *lexicographic index*, *lexicographic paragraph*, *title unit in the dictionary*.

<sup>7</sup> M. Webster, *Webster's third new international dictionary*, New York, 1961, p. 30 v.

<sup>8</sup> Agron Duro, *Termi dhe fjala në gjuhën shqipe*, Tiranë, 2009, p. 73-74.

Newmark has extended in his dictionary also the Albanian corpus, as in the principle also proposes professor Agron Duro, mainly in terminology, that in collaboration with the specialists, the terminological word groups of set phrase connection and very established, to be given in the Albanian dictionaries and in the explanative bilingual dictionaries, especially in the great dictionary as a single unit, therefore as a lexicographic unit, same as the words, e.g. *punë dore*, *dhomë gjumi*, *bar blete*, *yll deti*, *rrënjë katrore* etc.<sup>9</sup> Of this idea is partially the given solution in the "*Fjalori i gjuhës së sotme shqipe*" on some non-simple denominations, mainly of plants and animals, by putting as lexicographic sub-indexes (but again as lexicographic units) under the first terms ad by typologically explaining as following the words; e.g. te **bar,-i** (bot.): *bar argjendi*, *bar balsami*, *bar bero- nje*, *bar bibe*, *bar blete*, *bar brengje*, *bar breshke*, *bari i dalës*, *bar delli...* (107 such units); on **kal/ë,-i** (zool.): *kali i detit*, *kali i qyqes*, *kalë shtrigash* (*shtrige*); on **kasht/ë,-a**: *Kashta e Kumtrit* (astr.); on **lul/e,-ja** (bot.): *lule akulli*, *lule alle*, *lule argjendi*, *lule balsami*, *lule blete*, *lule bore*, *lule breshke*, *lule bretku*, *lule bualli...* (83 such units); on **yll,-i**: *yll deti* (zool.); on **zog,-u** (zool.): *zog bari*, *zog blete*, *zog bore*, *zog dimri*, *zog i dhenve*, *zog ferre*, *zog i natës*, *zog nuseje...* etc.<sup>10</sup>

From L. Newmark's "*Dictionary*" we are further examining some lexicographic units, selected after the category of the Albanian glossary units, to see the similarities and distinctions with the "*Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe*" through comparing on each the lexicographic units.<sup>11</sup>

The Albanian subject in the "*Dictionary*" we can classify in three lexicographic unit groups:

1. Lexicographic units **words (lexical units)**: general words, dialectical and regional words, terminological words, new words (unfixed neologisms), archaic words and forms (archaisms, historicisms, ethnographic and folklores), loan words from the passive lexicon, proper names, word formations variants, grammar variants.

2. Lexicographic units **sub-words**: letter of the alphabet, affixes, abbreviations, onomatopoeia, grammar forms, dialectical and regional

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid*, p. 74.

<sup>10</sup>See *Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe*, Tiranë, 1980, respectively in the pages 96-98, 764, 796, 1021-1022, 2204, 2246.

<sup>11</sup>In this presentation are brought many examples in every group to certify the phenomenon from every letter and from every structural type within the respective group.

phonetic variants.

3. Lexicographic units **supra-words**: syntagma and lexeme connections, (stable) word groups, phraseological units, wisdoms and proverbs.

As its seen, these three groups are compound of five subsystems language units: phonetic, lexical, morphological, word grouping and syntactical.

I. Lexicographic units of the first group, **words (lexical units)**, are nine sub groups:

1) **General words**: *ai, akull, ar, baba, bëj, bie, i bukur, cekët, çaj, dardhë, darkë, dua, edhe, dhëmb, eci, erë, ëndërr, fal, fik, fisnik, fushë, gabim, gur, i gjerë, harron, im, iki, jam, ju, kam, këmbë, kuq (i), kur, kush, lart, lyej, marr, mbi, me, mirë, ndez, ngurtë (i), njomë (i), orë, për, po, prap- tas, qaj, i qeshur, ruaj, rrafsh, si, sot, shaj, shoh, shqip, ti, tokë, tret, trim, thaj, thartë (i), them, thyej, urtë (i), varfër (i), vete, vij, xixë, xham, ylber, ynë, zemër, ziej, zhvesh* etc. Such words belong to the general and active lexical stratum, of all lexical-grammar categories, are of tens of thousands and are naturally reflected in the "Dictionary", as in every explanative or bilingual dictionary. They compound the main stuff of this dictionary and generally are words of the standard Albanian.

2) **Dialectical and regional words** (some also without the respective abbreviation *Reg*): *agjapis, agjivonjë, aikugjë (arb.), ajnik, babauk, blogurë, bubëzuem (i), cabik, callangur, cerfuq, ciplidhe, curak, çuçull, dremkë, dromis, dugajë, dhëmbajkë, esh, fakurgji, furfullacë, gjanosh, herm.on, hulluveqkë "kuku- vajkë", etnor, ide, kâmbgjithkuri, korí, lepitkë, linjyrë, llomitun (i), mahí, mëryershëm (i), mëshil, mëshkall, mrul.et, ndoruem, piturbasë, pothue, rusica, spërk, shit.on, shkag.on, shotan, tangar, tubanik, thinisht, ukëm, voka, zymn.en, xërxalla, xixar, xhulliorë, zgal, zhugull* etc. The author has been sparing to limit all the regionalisms with the abbreviation *Reg*.

3) **Specific terms**: *afazi (Med), afoní (Med), akantore (Bot), baja- mor (Med), barisferë (Geol), bukurzaní (Ling), cirkus (Elev), dikotiledone (Bot), djathaç (Ethno.), drejtshqiptimor (Ling), dubël (Cin), dhanore (Ling), eliptik (Med), enklitik (Ling), freshkull (Bot), hidroksid (Chem), imperfekt (Ling), jodur (Chem), karbit (Chem), korrekt.o.n (Publ), kryekrushk (Ethno- gr), kukudh (Folklore), larghedhës (Mil), leshtakësi (Med), monolog (Lit), mykzë (Agr), neolit (Archeol), njiël (Ichth), oshtë*

(Agr), *qelbës* (Zool), *palk* (Theatr), *prapagjuhore* (Ling), *raportor* (Geom), *rondelë* (Tech), *rrolbë* (Bot), *strabizëm* (Med), *stramastik* (Bot Zool), *shkakësi* (Philos), *tangjente* (Geom), *trotil* (Chem), *thërroke* (Bot), *Uranium* (Chem), *vanadium* (Chem), *vals* (Mus), *valutë* (Fin Econ), *xhaul* (Phys), *xhaz* (Muz), *zgjebor* (Med), *zo- rrë çapokore* (Anat), *Zorrë e prapme* (Biol), *zhuzhaku i misrit* (Entom) etc. Seems that the author has had something special in mind in this subgroup and as he affirms in the *Foreword*, he sees the terms as "specific cultural elements".

Meanwhile, not all the conceptual fields are reflected in the same way in this dictionary. There are fields that are more widely reflected, almost entirely. We are presenting here some data from the denominations of the religious world (beliefs, objects, concepts, ceremonies, rites, functions etc.), that are terms, non-terms or proper nouns, mainly of the first order of denomination. Naturally, in concordance with the type of the specific volume of this dictionary, the denominations for the second order concepts and more specific are not included. In the "Dictionary" are found: *abdes/ avdes*, *Ajodhimë*, *Allah*, *ashure*, *autoqefal*, *autoqefalí*, *Bajram*, *Baj- ram i madh*, *Bajram i vogël*, *bektashí*, *bektashian*, *bektashizëm*, *bibël*, *bib- lik*, *blatë*, *blatoj*, *budist*, *budizëm*, *çallmë*, *dioqezë*, *dhjak*, *dhjakoní*, *fe*, *fe- tar*, *fetari*, *gjyshatë*, *hoxhë*, *islam*, *islamizëm*, *kamillaf*, *katedrale*, *katolik*, *katolicizëm*, *kishë*, *kishar/ kishatar/ kishtar*, *kreshmë*, *kreshmët e gushtit*, *kreshmët e vogla*, *kreshmët e mëdha*, *Kreshma e Këshnellavet*, *kreshm.on*, *kreshmor*, *Kreshnella*, *kristian*, *kristianizëm*, *Krisht*, *Krishterë (i)*, *krishterim*, *Krishtlindje*, *Krishtngjallje*, *kryegjysh*, *kryegjyshatë*, *kryepeshkop*, *kryeprift*, *kuran*, *kungatë*, *kungatës*, *kungë*, *kungore*, *kungim*, *kungoj*, *lumnim*, *lu- teran*, *lutësore/ lutjesore*, *medresë*, *meshar*, *meshë*, *mesh.on*, *meshtar*, *meshtari*, *minare*, *muhamedan*, *muhamedanizëm*, *mysliman*, *myslimani- zëm*, *naforë*, *ortodoks*, *ortodoksi*, *pagëzim*, *pagëz.on*, *pagëzimore*, *pagëzimtar*, *pagëzor*, *pagëzore*, *pagezues*, *papat*, *papë*, *pashkë*, *Pashkët e vogla*, *Pashkët e mëdha*, *patrik*, *patriark*, *patrikanë*, *Pentakostë*, *perëndi*, *pe- trahil*, *peshkop*, *peshkopatë*, *përshpirtje*, *potina*, *purgator*, *rrufai*, *rrëfe- hem*, *rrëfyesh*, *rrëfyestore*, *sarëk*, *sinagogë*, *sure*, *syfyr*, *synet*, *synetllëk*, *sheh*, *shenjtëri*, *shenjtëror*, *shenjtëro.het*, *shenjtërore*, *shentorteolog*, *shël- besë*, *shëlbo.het*, *shenjtërore*, *shentor*, *teolog*, *teologji*, *teologjik*, *teqë*, *tropar*, *thimjaton*, *ungjill*, *ungjillëzim*, *ungjillëz.on*, *ungjillor*, *uratë*, *uratar*, *xhami*, *xhybe*, *zot* etc. The

terminological meanings are also given in the words with wider semantic structure, as: *babá* (semantic. 2), *çallmë* (semantic. 1), *rrë-fe.hem* (semantic. 3), *rrëfyesa* (semantic. 2), *shëlbim* (semantic. 1), *shëlbo.n* (semantic. 1), *shërbesë* (semantic. 1 e 2), *teqë* (semantic. 1) etc., while some denominations of the same type of the first order are given without the note *Relig* in none of the meanings, thus are not characterized as genuine religious terms, as: *atë*, *Buda*, *grigjë*, *gjakon*, *gjysh*, *kardinal*, *kryq*, *minare*, *motër*, *Muhamet*, *murg*, *murgë*, *murgeshë*, *nënë* /e.g. ~ Tereza/, *norie*, *pader* /e.g. ~ Gjergj Fishta/, *pa-rajsë*, *potir*, *prift*, *qirí*, *rrëfenjëtar*, *rrëfim*, *sarrëk*, *shenj*, *trisaí*, *vakëf*, *Va-tikan*, *xhybe...*; thus they seem to belong the general lexicon, but of course also carrying the religious meanings, viz, the religious meanings are part of their semantic structure; except these, there are some words derived from religious terms, that in the "Dictionary" are presented without the note *Relig*, as: *bekim*, *besim*, *besimtar*, *blatim*, *blator*, *blatues*, *fale.t*, *iko-nostas*, *kambanore*, *kuranor*, *lutje*, *meshim*, *priftëreshë*, *priftëri*, *priftër.on*, *priftëror*, *priftërim*, *rrëfim*, *shenjterim*, *shenjteruar* (i), *temjanicë*, *temjanis*, *Ujë e bekuar* etc. The religious meaning on these words is intended from the word forming terms where they derive, which in the "Dictionary" are regularly accompanied with the note *Relig*.4)

**Neologisms (unfixed):** *Afërlindje* "Near East", *afërmëni* "nearness; kinship", *agullor*, *ajërngjeshës*, *ajërtransportueshëm* (i), *ajraní/ajroanije*, *babasor*, *babësjellë*, *babitës*, *barbërës* "barnatar/farmacist", *bollësisht*, *cungulluar* (i), *çndershëm* (i), *çlyrësues*, *dashatar* "admirues/admirer", *djathore* "baxho/dairy", *dorëhartuem* (i) "artificial", *dorëlëvizje* "gjest/gesture", *drejtrreshto.n*, *drubirues*, *dhëmbëtar*, *dhëmbëtarí*, *dhuratisht*, *efshueshëm* (i), *fajfalës*, *faqesí*, *grushtar* "boksier/boxer", *gjelbërisht*, *hanar* "hanxhi/inn-keeper", *haliqshëm* (i), *hi-jelutës* "supersticioz/superstitious", *hundo.het*, *ishullan*, *jakatar*, *jetëngathët*, *këmbëtul*, *kokrro.n*, *kryepërprjetësi*, *lepurore*, *leshtakësi*, *malsheshe* "pllajë/high plateau", *mbu-rrësi*, *mbushtar*, *mendtarisht*, *mënyrësi*, *mjalshëm* (i), *ngjetshëm* (i), *ni-sesos* "gjithnjë/always", *ngjyrëzezë* "karabojë/black shoeshine", *njëmendo.n*, *ofertues*, *panomërisht*, *papërfundshëm* (i), *pemëso.n*, *përcepët* (i) "diagonal", *përanës* "përkrahës/supporter", *përcipje* "sipërfaqe/surface", *përcukë* "parukë/wig", *përçkëmbesë*, *përhyrje* "parathënie/foreword", *përkrejcë* "tregues, indeks/index", *përkrejtëm* (i) "i skajshëm, ekstrem/extreme",

*qimerruar, rëndëso.n, rudëzo.n, rrebesho.n, rrumbullakur (i), si- përsí, sufro.n, shpërgo.n, shthërret, tufshak, thjeshëm (i), ullukuar (i), veshatore, vjeshto.n, zbulor, zhytore* etc.

5) **Archaisms, historicisms, ethnographic and folklore.** The "Dictionary" has included as lexicographic units not a small number compared to his dimensions, as: *Borëbardhë (Folklore), bukëto.re, buz.m (Ethnog), çidikë, çifçi (His/share), Fruer "shkurt/February", heshtar, hobetar, kapsollaqe (His), kolendër (Ethnog), kollozhëk "janar/January", mburues, pobratinë (Reg Ghedg), shëndrë "dhjetor/December", shishane (His), verore (Ethnog), xhumá (e) "e premte/Friday"* etc. As the unfixed neologisms, also the archaic formations and words generally belong to the passive lexicon. The "Dictionary" has included them motivated after the informative function, but it cannot "be a tool for the readers and not a historic archive of the language", as is written in its *Foreword*, when such lexical stratum together with the archaic loan words, peripheral regionalism, dialectical and regional phonetic variants, the limited special terms, the proper names etc., cover the active stratum of the Albanian lexical, in a number beyond the dimensions of this type of dictionary.<sup>12</sup>

6) **Loan words (mainly archaic Turkish loan words)**, as: *abá, abolla, açik, arabaxhí, adyqar, aferim, afif/ hafif, ahçi/ akçi, ahçillëk/ akçillëk, ajan, avaz/ havaz, ezhderhá, faizçi, havá, havadan, havalé, havllí, haxhillëk, hazër, hazërxhevap, iqindí, javashllëk, kollozhëk, mahmur, qylyk, se- vap, sevdá, shehër, xhaba, xhanan, xhanavar, xhelep, xhaphané, xherah, xhevap, xhumá (e), ymër, yshyr, zahmet, zaif, zaman, zap* etc.; from other languages: *abordazh, absent/ absint, acidik, açuge, adezion, adiabatë, adonik adhiqi, adhjëse, aeropankë, afendikó, afel, afinitet, bluming, blum, dro- medar, ezhektor, finte, sempël "thjeshtë/simple"* etc.

7) **Proper nouns.** A general lexical typological dictionary, usually does not contain proper nouns, but the choice in this case is at author's hands. In this "Dictionary" the proper nouns, divided in groups, also discover the asymmetry of the lexicographic reflection:

7a) **People's names (personal and patronymic)** there are some of Albanian source, mainly derived from the general lexicon: *Afrim,*

<sup>12</sup> See also on H. Shehu, *op. cit.*, p. 189.



*Agim, Bajame, Bekim, Besart, Besim, Bukurosh, Drita, Dhurata, Dhurime, Festim, Fitore, Flutura, Liri, Luan, Lulash, Luli, Lulzim, Lulzime, Lumturí, Majlinda, Manu-shaqe, Mira, Miranda, Mirash, Rinush, Shega, Valdete, Vjosë, Yllka, Zamir, Zana etj., ose të tjerë me prejardhje të huaj: Aidin, Eno, Faik, Hamza, Mahmut, Qamil, Ramiz, Rustem, Sanie, Seit, Sulejman, Xhemal, Zarik etc.*

**7b) Names of countries, cities, regions, mountains and rivers of the Albanian word:** *Berat, Burrel, Bushtricë, Butrint, Çamëri, Dardhë, Dibër, Drin, Dropull, Dukagjin, Durrës, Elbasan, Erzen, Fier, Frashër, Fushë-Krujë, Gjakovë, Gjirokastër, Ilirí/Illyrí, Kavajë, Kolonjë, Korab, Korçë, Kosovë, Krujë, Kukës, Labëri, Lezhë, Librazhd, Lushnjë, Mallakastër, Mat, Maliq, Mirbardh, Mirditë, Myzeqë, Nartë, Pejë, Peqin, Pogradec, Prizren, Pukë, Sarandë, Seman, Skrapar, Shkëlzen, Shkodër, Shkumbin, Shkup, Shpirag, Tepelenë, Tiranë, Tetovë, Tropojë, Tërbuf, Tomor, Thumanë, Ulqin, Vjosë, Vlorë, Voskopojë, Zadrimë, Zagori etc.;* but are not given such names as: *Albaní, Cukal, Çikë, Dajt, Dardaní* (exists *dardan* and *Dardan* "mal/mountain"), *Devoll, Dumré* (exists *dumrejas*), *Enkelejdë* (exists *enkelejas*), *Ersekë, Gjilan, Ishm, Kallmet, Këlcyrë, Kir, Konispol, Laç, Manastir, Milot, Mokër, Ohër, Peshkopi, Përrenjas, Preshevë, Prishtinë, Rrëshen, Rrogozhinë, Strugë, Sheper, Shtoj, Tetovë, Tomorricë, Tropojë, Tërbuf, Thumanë, Valbonë, Vermosh* etc.

**7c) Names of countries, cities, regions, mountains and rivers in the world:** *Abisini, Adrianopojë, Afganistan, Afrikë, Aman, Anglí, Atikë, Athinë, Austerlic, Australí, Austrí, Babiloni, Bagdad, Bahrejn, Barbados, Barbarí, Bashkimi Sovjetik, Baskí, Belgjikë, Bengal, Benin, Beograd, Bermude, Bernë, Bjellorusí, Bosnjë, Bukuresht, Bullgarí, Çekosllovakí, Danimarkë, Egjë, Egjipt, Elladhë, Esthoni, Finí/Finlandë, Francë, Gjermaní, Hagë, Havá, Hispaní, Holandë, Hungarí, Irlandë, Islandë, Italí, Japoní, Kamboxhia, Kili, Kinë, Kirkiz, Kongo, Kopenhagë, Koré, Kroací, Letoní, Lisbonë, Lituaní, Londër, Luksenburg, Malajzí, Mali i Zi, Maqedoní, Malbor, Mesdhë, Moskë, Napoli, Norvegji, Poloní, Portugalë, Pragë, Rumaní, Rusí, Selenik/Selanik, Serbí, Sllovení, Sofje, Spanjë, Suedí, Ukrainë, Varshavë, Vietnam, Vjenë, Zvicër etc.;* but there are not: *Amsterdam, Ballkan, Barcelonë, Berlin, Budapest, Dublin, Katalonjë, Kiev, Kishiniev, Lubljanë, Madrid, Milano, Minsk, Mol-daví, Oslo, Paris, Pekin, Pfenian, Rejkjavik, Rigë, Romë, Sarajevë, Stokholm,*

*Seul, Talin, Tokio, Vinus, Xhakartë, Xhamajkë, Zagreb* etj. Ja dhe disa emra planetesh, yjesh e yjësish: *Jupiter, Kashta e Kumtrit/ Udha e Qumështit, marsi, planet, Shenjëza, Udha e Qumështit, Ylli i dritës...*, but are not given *Afërdita, Dorëzat, Neptuni, Plutoni, Saturni, Venera (Venusi), Ylli i Mën- gjesit, Ylli Polar* etc. Thus, is clearly seen the inequality between the Albanian and foreign names of the same plane in the "Dictionary".

8) **Word forming variants:** *afër/ afërmas/ afras/ afrazi, afërsisht/ afrisht, agëzotllëk/ agzotës, ahishte/ ahishtë, babëlok/ babëlosh, balticë/ baltishtë, ballaballas/ ballaballë, ballafaqes/ ballafaqe, carrua/ camërdhok, çafkëlore/ çafkore, çapejak/ ecejak, duarzbrazët/ duarzbrazur, faqe- zezaj/ faqezezë, fytyrërrumbullak/ fytyrërrumbullakët, gjahtar/ gjahtor/ gjuetar, harraman/ harraq/ harrestar, jashtëm (i)/ jashtësëm (i), koc/ kockë, kryedukë/ arkidukë, lëndët (i)/ lëndor, mollamuç/ mushmollë, mu- shkash/ mushkët (i), ngatërrac/ ngatërrestar, ngjitas/ ngjitë/ ngjitur, pen- dimas/ pendueshëm, qytetarësi/ qytetari/ qytetëri/ qytetësi, recenzent/ recensues, rrëmihës/ rrëmimtar/ rrëmitës/ rrëmojës/ rrëmues, skëterrte (i)/ skëterrshëm (i), sharrëtar/ sharrok/ sharrues, shipfacak/ shipfaman/ shpifarak/ shpifarraq/ shpiftar/ shpifës, tanithi/ taní, tjerres/ tjerretar, thatik/ thatiq/ thatush/ thatanik, uthullare/ uthullicë/ uthullirë/ uthullish- të/ uthullnike, vetëti.n/ veto.n, vockaran/ vogëlosh/ vogëlush, xhampu- nues/ xhamtar, zgjebanik/ zgjebash/ zgjebët (i)/ zgjebarak, zhulan/ zhu- lanos, zhytas/ zhytthi* etc.

9) **Grammar variants:** *abetar/ abetare, alarmë/ alarm, bac/ bacë, bajam/ bajame, cakul/ cakule, djep/ djepe, koll/ kollë, mykje/ myk, mustaqe/ mustak* etc.; are not many, also in the "Dictionary" are not presented some categorical similar variants in two genders, as: *furr,-i (furr/ë,-a), fus- tan,-i (fustan/e,-ja), gjë,-ri (gjë,-ja) mjalt/ë,-a (mjalt/ë,-i), gjytet,-ja (qytet,-i), uj/ë,-a/ ujë,-t (uj/ë,-i), vath,-i (vath/ë,-a)* etc.

II. Lexicographic units of the second group, **sub-words**, are six subgroups. Are units outside the boundaries of the word (as lexical units), phonetic units, lexical- word forming or lexical-syntactical, but are connected with the composition of the word or are given similar to it and can be substantivised:

1) **Alphabet's letters:** *a, b, c, ç, d, dh, e, ë...*, *y (ip-si-lon), z, zh* etc.

2) **Affixes:** *ç-, jo-, mbi-, mos-, nën-, neo-, pa-, për-, pro-, ri-, sh-, z-, zh-, xhv- / zhv-* etc. However, are lacking here many other prefixes with

the same word forming invigoration.<sup>13</sup>

3) **Abbreviations:** *ABC* "abëcë", *ABD* "coastal artillery", *ADN*

"Allgemeine Deutcher Nachrichtendienst", *agr.* "agronom/agronomist", *AFP* "Agence France Press", *AGERPRES*, *AGROEKSPORT*, *akad.* "akademik/academician", *ALBKONTROLL*, *ALBTRANSPORT*, *ALBTURIZËM*, *BENELUX*, *dr.* "doktor/doctor", *d.m.th.* "domethënë/viz",

*dr. shk.* "doktor i shkencave/doctor of sciences", *FMN* "Fondi Monetar Ndërkombëtar/International Monetary Fund", *KGB*, *Khs.* "krahaso/compare", *KOSMET*, *NATO*, *NP*, *NPA*, *NPB*, *NPM*, *NPN*, *NPV*, *NRNMP*, *NRSh*, *NSh* (there are such 39 abbreviations with the first letter N... "Ndërmarrja..."), *prof.* "professor", *e.g.* "për shembull/for example", *RFGj*, *SMT*, *ShBA*, *UNÇHs* and some tens of others that as it's known, in the Albanian language many of them are substantivised (*ABDë*, *ADNë*, *AFPë*, etc.); but here are not included many other abbreviations, very much known, widely used even today.<sup>14</sup>

4) **Onomatopoeias:** *bam*, *bum*, *ciu*, *ciu-ciu*, *cq* (*cëq*), *ga-ga-ga*, *gëk*, *gërrh-gërrh*, *hë*, *kri*, *kr-ra-kr-ra*, *kukú*, *mu*, *xëc*, *y* etj.

5) **Word grammar forms.** a) Nouns plural forms: *aga-llarë/aga*, *ahra/ahër*, *babagjyshër/babagjysh*, *baballarë/babá*, *baba-pleq/*

<sup>13</sup>A. Xhuvani – E. Çabej, *Parashtesat e gjuhës shqipe*, BShSh, 1956, 4, present 68 suffixes.

<sup>14</sup>The abbreviations have already formed linguistic identity, with typological structural system: scriptural abbreviations as *BE* "Bashkimi Europian/European Union", *FMN* "Fondi Monetar Ndërkombëtar/International Monetary Fund", *KLSH* "Kontrolli i Lartë i Shtetit/Albanian Supreme Audit Institution", *MAS* "Ministria e Arsimit dhe e Sportit/Ministry of Education and Sport", *VKM* "Vendim i Këshillit të Ministrave/Decision of the Council of Ministers" etc.; syllabic abbreviations, as *BENELUX*, *KOSMET* etc.; single-lexemes abbreviations, as *akad.*, *agr.*, *d.m.th.*, *dr.*, *p.sh.*, *prof.* etc.; mixed abbreviations, as *ALBKONTROLL*, *ALTURIZËM* etc. Consequently, having many of those, also the substantivisation possibilities and inclusion in the category of inflectional units, the abbreviations have also gained the status of the lexicographic units in general dictionaries or in special dictionaries of abbreviations. In the Albanian language field we have such a work drafted by professor Valter Memisha and Manjola Bregasi: *Emërtimet e shkurtuara në shqipe*, Vlorë, 2008, 226 pages, nearly 2500 abbreviations, with a content of measuring units, with another content of horoscope signs and with a study as introduction, in which the abbreviations are treated as lexical units (p. 24-35). On the type, content, lexicographic treatment and the values of this dictionary, the co-author V. Memisha has written since prior its publication, on 2007 (see Valter Memisha, *Rreth një fjalori shkurtësash në gjuhën shqipe*, in "Studime për fjalën shqipe", Tiranë, 2011, p. 198-207). The possibility to draft an abbreviations' dictionary makes that these units to be included in a limited way in the genuine lexemes dictionaries or in the general and normative dictionaries, mainly in the end of the dictionary.

*babaplak, baça/ baçë, bahëra/ barëra/ bar, bakej/ bakall, carronj/ carrua, drapinj/ drapër, fillime/ fillim, fiq/ fik, gjerdhe/ gardh, gjarpërinj/ gjarpër, hoxhallarë/ hoxhë, lëmizhda/ lëmizhdë, njerëz/ njeri, pënj/ penj/ pe, pleq/ plak, priftërinj/ prift, qënë/ qen, trarë/ tra...; pronouns' cases forms: atyre/ ata, juve/ ju, këtyre/ këta (këto), mua/ unë, tënd/ yt, tën- de/ jote...; reflexive-passive forms and of verbs' inflection: abono.het/ abono.n, abstrakto.het/ abstrakto.n, acido.het/ acido.n, balto.het/ balto.n, ballafaqo.het/ ballafaqo.n, janë/ jam, ke/ kam, kishte/ kam, përcolla/ përcjell, shini/ shi.n, themi/ them, thëntë/ them, thënjç/ them, ujëso.het/ ujëso.n, vemi/ veni/ vete etc. Regularly, according the known lexicographic criteria, the forms of the inflected verbs are given in special grammar contents or as complementary forms in turn with the word's theme, not in a special lexicographic index.*

6) ***Dialectical, regional or speech phonetic variants (orthoepic-orthographic)*** (with \*), in parallel the normative variants: â "ënjt/swell", *abanos/ aba- noz, abdes/ abdest/ avdes, abdesanë/ abdeshanë/ avdesanë, abdhelë/ abdhellë, abrazh/ abrash, abses/ absces, acar/ acër, adhër/ adhr/ adhur, aeror/ ajror, afërmënç/ afërmënç/ afërmendsh, afjon/ afion, agrep/ ak- rep, agushí/ zagushí, agjosh/ agosh, ahenk/ aheng, ahere/ ahiera/ atëhere, ahër/ ahur, ajazmë/ ajasmë, aji/ ai, ajropllan/ aeroplan, ba/ mba, bâ/ bë, bâ.het/ bë.het, babë/ babi/ babá, babazí/ babëzî, bagël/ bajgë, bactkocë/ bretkosë, baçe/ bahçe, baçkë/ backë/ dackë, badhër/ badër, bae/ bahe, bajazë/ bajëzë/ bajzë, bajtë/ baltë, bajth/ baqth, bajtë/ mbajt, bakalá/ bakallaro/ bakalaro, bakra/ bakëre, bakti/ bagëti, ballancë/ ba- lancë, balcam/ balsam, badakçi/ batakçi, badakçillëk/ batakçillëk, badia- va/ badjava/ badihava, bajë/ banjë, cap/ cjav, cipër/ sipër, cinema/ sine- ma/ kinema, cingare/ cingarë/ cigare, çapí/ zhapí, digjon/ dëgjon, fam- brikë/ fabrikë, fenuk/ fënduk, fyçi/ fuçi, fyshek/ fishek, harritje/ arritje, ha- shure/ ashure, haur/ ahur, kllasë/ klasë, javash/ avash, kajherë/ nganjë- herë, majde/ madje, maqinë/ makinë, menton/ mendon, nemec/ memec, naní/ taní, nap/ jap, nëkon/ rënkon, nëmër/ numër, njelbët (i)/ njelmët (i), pamuk/ pambuk, panajir/ panagjir/ panair, penell/ penel, pso.n/ mëso.n, qëndizmë/ qëndismë, qëpallë/ qepallë, Qërshor/ qershor, qërr/ qer, qim- panzî/ shimpanzé, rrapat/ rropat, rrende/ rende, rrëmen/ rrëmben, senk- ser/ sekser, shambet/ shëmbet, shembëll/ shembull, shëndan/ shandan, shka/ çka, shandan/ shëndan, tapall/ topall, temel/ themel, tëmallë/ dhëmballë, teori/ teori,*

*umbrella/ ombrellë, undyr/ yndyr, ungj/ ul, xa- mare/ zamare, xâ/ zë, xânës/ nxënës, xen/ nxeh, xërron/ rrëzon, xjerr/ nxjerr, xvat/ zhvat, xverk/ zverk, xhapí/ zhapí, xhygym/ gjym, yjtí/ ujtí, za- nzar/ xanxar, zjarm/ zjarm, zhgul/ shkul* etc. The phonetic variants occupy a very wide place in this dictionary (with the abbreviation *Reg* or without it, sometime also with the note on the respective dialect or spoken language), as to cover the normative lexicographic units and give to the "Dictionary" a noted regional color. Meanwhile, the author has the attention that the regional phonetic variants to be presented in Albanian and usually connected with their normative replies, therefore with the reference on the standard words, excluding the many derivative and composite words from them. This lexicographic characteristic of the "Dictionary" is its main feature, also visible in reflecting the dialectal and categorial regional phonetic variants, which also are not entirely given and neither in the system; this is enough to be proven with examples even only on characteristics that contain the great phonetic developments, as alternations *â(a)/ë(e)*, *e/ë*, *n/r*. We are bringing here some examples from them:

With phonetic alternations *â(a)/ë(e)*: *âmbël (i)/ ëmbël (i), âmë/ ëmë, ândë/ ëndë, ândërr/ ëndërr, ândshëm (i)/ ëndshëm (i), âsht/ është, bâmës/bërës, çashtje/ çështje, dâm/ dëm, dâmçor/ dëmtues, dâmto.n/ dëmtun, dhamb/ dhëmb, dhandërr/ dhëndërr, fang/ fëng, fangishtë/ fëngishtë, gjândër/ gjëndër, gjânë (i)/ gjerë (i), gjânësi/ gjerësi, gjâní/ gjerí, gjâ/ gjë, hanë/ hënë, hanger/ hëngër, hanor/ hënor, kambanë/ këmbanë, kând/ kënd, kâng/ këng(ë?), lâ/ lë, lâmë/ lëmë, lâmje/ larje, lâmsh/ lësh, landë/ lëndë, lânë/ lënë, lâng/ lëng, mâ/ më, mâmë/ mëmë, man/ mënë, mândeshë/ mëndeshë, mândëz/ mender, mângë/ mëngë, mângore/ mën- gore, mâno.n/ mënon, nândë/ nëntë, nanë/ nënë, nanëmadhe/ nënëmadhe, nanuris/ nënuris, njajshëm/ njëshëm, njapërnja/ njëpërnjë, qândër/ qendër, ramë/ rënë, rândë (i)/ rëndë (i), rânë/ rërë, tamth/tëmth, shandan/ shëndan, vang/ vëng, vangët (i)/ vëngër (i), vath/ vëth, zâ(n)/ zë(r), zanë/ zërë, zamadh/ zëmadh, zamër/ zëmër* etc.

Without phonetic alternation variants *â(a)/ë(e)*: *bën, dëmprurës, dëmshpërblim, dëmtar, dëmto.n, dhëmbëdalë, dhëmbëkatrosh, dhëmbës, dhëmbëzim* (over 40 derivative words and compound of *dhëmbë-*), *dhëndëri, dhëndëro.n, dhënë, dhënës, ëmbëlsi, ëmbëlsirë, ëmbëlson, ëmbëltore, ëndërrim, ëndërro.n, ënjtje, gjëmë, gjëri, gjëmshëm (i), hamam,*

*këmbë* (and approximately 100 derivative words and compound of *këmbë*), *këmb-je*, *këndshëm (i)*, *këngëtar*, *lende*, *lëngët (i)*, *lëngshëm (i)*, *mângët (i)*, *maj- tas*, *majtë (i)*, *nëm* "mallkoj/curse", *nëndor/nëntor*, *njëra*, *njëri*, *ranishtë/-e*, *rrë- një*, *rrënjës*, *rrënjësisht*, *rrënjor*, *rrënjos*, *shembë*, *shëmtí*, *tamam*, *them*, *thanishtë*, *thëllëzë*, *thënie*, *zanafill*, *zanor/-e*, *zhëng* etc., viz, are not given the dialectical phonetic variants or non-normative *ban*, *damprurës*, *damshpër- blim*, *damtar*, *damton*, *dhambdalë* etc.

With the phonetic alternation *e/ë*: *dënd/ dend*, *dhemb/ dhëmb*, *dhëmbje/ dhembje*, *dhën/ dhen*, *dhënar/ dhenar*, *ënd/ end*, *ërgjënd/ ergjënd*, *ënjt/ enjt*, *gjëmb/ gjemb*, *gjëmë/ gjëmë*, *lëndinë/ lëndinë*, *leng/ lëng*, *memelike/ mëmëligë*, *mënd/ mënt/ mend*, *mëndje* (and 5 composite)/ *mendje* (and 60 derivative words), *nën/ nën*, *pëndë/ pendë*, *pë(r)/ pe(r)*, *qem- ton/ qëmtor*, *qemotí/ qëmoti*, *qënë (pj.)/ qenë*, *qëndër/ qendër*, *qëpallë/ qepallë*, *rëmb/ rrëmb/ rremb*, *rendom/ rëndom*, *rrën/ rren*, *rrënë/ rrenë*, *sembim/ sëmbim*, *sëmbër/ sembër*, *shëmb/ shemb*, *shëmbje/ shëmbull*, *shëmbull*, *shëmbullor/ shembullor*, *shenjstër/ shënjstër*, *shënjë/ shenjë*, *shënjt/ shenjti*, *shënjtë (i)/ shentë (i)*, *shënjtëro.n/ shenj- tëro.n*, *tëndë/ tendë*, *ve/ vë*, *vemend/ vëmend*, *vënd/ vend* (and 47 derivative or composite words with *vend-*), *vëndor/ vendor*, *zëmër* (only two derivative words with the variant *zëmër-*)/ *zemër* (approximately 90 words derived and compounded with the word *zemër-*) etc.

Without phonetic alternation variants *e/ë*: *derr*, *gjendet*, *gjendje*, *lë*, *mençur (i)*, *mençurí*, *mëndërisht*, *qen*, *qenësishëm (i)*, *qengj*, *qëndis*, *qëndisje*, *qëndismë*, *qëndistar*, *rëndë (i)*, *rëndësi*, *rëndo.n*, *rremb*, *rrëndës*, *she- mër*, *Shenjëza*, *tenjë*, *tëposhte*, *thembër* etc., viz, are not given the dialectical or non-normative phonetic variants *dërr*, *gjëndet*, *gjëndje*, *le*, *mënçur (i)*, *mënçurí*, *mëndërisht*, *qën* etc.

With the phonetic alternation *n/r*: *asnjeni/ asnjëri*, *burrëreshë/ burrneshë*, *burrëri/ burrni*, *burrëro.het/ burrno.het*, *burrëror/ burrnor*, *dhelpnak/ dhelparak*, *dhelpní/ dhelperi*, *grunë/ grurë*, *grunishtë/ grurishtë*, *grunore/ grurore*, *gjânë (i)/ gjerë (i)*, *gjylpânë/ gjilpërë*, *kanp/ kërp*, *llanë/ llërë*, *mëni/ mëri*, *rânë/ rërë*, *rrëpinë/ rrëpirë*, *sy(n)/ sy(r)*, *shalqí(n)/ sharqí(r)*, *shënjtneshë/ shenjttëreshë*, *shëjtní/ shenjttëri*, *shëjtnim/ shenjttërim*, *shëm- tinë/ shëmtirë*, *tanë/ tërë*, *tanësi/ tërësi*, *tërshanë/ tërshërë*, *thëni/ thërije*, *unor/ uror*, *unshëm (i)/ urshëm (i)*, *zâ(n)/ zërë(r)*, *zanë/ zërë* etc.

Without variants of phonetic alternation *n/r*: *burrërisht, burrërishte, dhel- për, gjerazi, gjerësi, gjerësisht, ranishtë/-e, ranor, sëmurë, verë "pije nga rrushi..."*, *urí* etc., viz are not given phonetic or non normative variants *burrnisht, burrnishte, dhelpën, gjanazi, gjansí, gjansisht, rërishtë/-e, smunë, venë, uni* etc.

III. Third group of lexicographic units, **substantivised**, there are four sub-groups. Are lexemes and syntagma units, with wider structure than the lexical units (words):

1) **Lexeme and syntagma connections**: *në ballë, ballet e arkës, ballet e dhomës, balli i krevatit, balli i oxhakut, ballë i tunelit, ballet e vozës, në është se..., në krah të..., nën armë, nën banak, nën dorë, nën dhé, nën gunë, nën një kulm, nën rrogos, nën sjetull, nën thua, nën vërejtje, në mos sot nesër, prapa gardhit, xham i pastër, xham qorr, nuk zë, zog dhensh, zonë e vdekur* etc.

2) **Word groups of stable connection** (with \*): *aeroplan bombardues, aeroplan gjuajtës, aeroplan ndjekës, aeroplan reaktiv, aeroplan udhëtarësh, aeroplan vëzhgimi, babil uji, badër e bardhë, badër fyle, badër uji, bagëti e imët/~ e hollë, bagëti e leshtë, bagëti e trashë, bajame e egër, bajram i vogël, bar argjendi, bar balsami* (82 such word groups with *bar ~* from the botanic field), *gjuha letrare (kombëtare/national), gjuhë dreri (bot.), lule agrepi, lule akshami, lule akulli* (140 such group words with *lule ~* from the field of the botanic) etc.

3) **Phraseological units**: *baballarët e kombit, bahçe me lule, ballë e fund, balli i kazanit, ballë për ballë, ballë qorr, fjalë ari* (40 word groups with the term *fjalë ~*), *e hedh kësulën mbi sy/~ mënjatë, ta hedh kopilin në prehër, e hedh lumin pa (u) lagur (këmbët)* (approximately 140 phraseological units with the term *hedh ~*), *vë re* (on 270 word groups with the term *vë ~*), *zë në gojë* (176 word group with the term *zë ~*) etc.

4) **Maxims and proverbs (not all as genuine lexicographic units)**: *fjala e burrit pesha e gurit, fyti është vëlla i detit, gjuha çan gurin/~ shkëmbin, gjuha kocka s'ka kocka thyen, kali i huaj të lë në mes të udhës, sheh fiku fikun e piquet, sheh me syze të errëta, sheh qimen në syrin e tjetrit dhe nuk shikon/sheh trarin në syrin e vet, ruaje zogun sa e ke në dorë, sheh tym e bën konak, ujku qimen ndërron, por zakonin s'e harron, nuk zi- het dielli me plisa* etc. Are pure syntactical units, with structure beyond the word group limits.

In the latest two groups, according the many used signs for the

lexicographic treatment, there is a mixture of different units or division of the same units.

### ***Statistical essay***

On units proportions after the language subsystems or after the typology of the lexicographic units, as example we are taking here the letter *Gj*, - one of the most neutral letters towards the limited or categorical lexical clases (dialectiacal and regional, archaic, word forming etc.), - which might represent the "*Dictionary*" in this compostion, being in the median of all the letters of the different lexicographic units dimensions. In this letter of 29 pages there 2320 lexicographic units, from which:

***Dialectical and regional words***, over 1290 lexicographic units: *gaberr*, *gabë/ gafë/ shkabë*, *gaborre*, *gabrieç*, *gabrrec*, *gabzhar*, *gac*, *gacatore*, *gacë*, *gackavit*, *gackavitës*, *gacon*, *gacullinë*, *gacullon*, *gaç*, *gafërr*, *gaf- rruar (i)*, *gagjarí*, *gagjaf*, *gajdher*, *gajdhur*, *gajganá*, *gajgë*, *gajretshëm*, *gamer*, *gazmend*, *gandall*, *gërgëlac*, *grah* etc.

***Special terms***, on 140 lexicographic units: *gabarite (Tech.)*, *gabrröllë (Ornit)*, *gaçkë (Bot.)*, *galexhant (Tech)*, *gallium (Chem)*, *galvanizim*, *galvanizo.n*, *galvanometër*, *galvanoplastikë (Phys)*, *gamile (Zool)*, *gang- renë (Med)*, *gangrenizim (Med)*, *gangrenizoj (Med)*, *gazometër*, *geizer (Geog.)*, *gencianëzë (Bot.)*, *germanium (Min.)*, *gnoseologji (Phil)*, *grethatel (Bot)*, *grykore (Ling)*, *gurthyese (Constr)* etc.

***Neologisms (unfixed)***, over 90 lexicographic units: *gabimtar*, *gaforre-shegë*, *gardhëtar*, *gdhentarí*, *gënjeshtrazi*, *gënjeshtro.n*, *gishtso.n*, *gojavis*, *gojësuër*, *grykzum (i)*, *gushosh* etc.

***Archaic Turkish loan words***, over 50 lexicographic units: *gafil*, *gajle*, *gaxhí*, *gaxhorr*, *gazep* etc.

***Word forming variants***, over 100 lexicographic units: *gabimtar/ gabues*, *gacm/ ngacm*, *gangrenor/ gangrenoz*, *gushacak/ gushak/ gushan/ gusharak/ gusher*, *gëlqerebërës/ gëlqerexhi*, *gërgas/ gërgërat*, *gopçar/ gopshor/ goptar*, *grathatë/ grathatël*, *guros/ nguros* etc.

***Word forms and grammar variants***, over 80 lexicographic units: *gabo.het/ gabo.n*, *gackavis/ gackavit*, *gafrro.het/ gafrro.n*, *gagaris/ gagarit*, *grazhdar/ grazhdare* etc.

***Phonetic (orthopedic-orthographic), dialectical or speech variants***



(usually with the sign \*), over 210 lexicographic units: *gaçe/kaçe, gaçëm (i)/ gatshëm (i), gadal/ngadal, gadë/gate, gadi/gati, gadosh/kodosh, garrumbull/grumbull, geolog/gjeolog, gëdhirë/gdhirë, gëlbazë/këlbazë, gërbaç/kërbaç, gërxxhep/kërçep, gërshanë/gërshërë, gojambël, gojëçthu-run/gojështhurur, gojëdhanë/gojëdhënë, grukë/grykë, gthetër/kthetër, gufomë/kufomë, gumushë/gëmushë, gurbet/kurbet, gyrbetxhi/kurbetçi, gzhep/këthep* etc.

**Proper people and toponyms names**, over 30 lexicographic units: *Galí/Gallí, Gazmend, Genc, Gegëri, Gent, Gentian, Gëzim, Gërqí/Greqí, Grekní, Glina, Gramsh* etc.

Outside the calculation we are also adding:

**Sub-words**, over 10 lexicographic units: **shkronja**: *g*; **shkurtesa**: *GES- TAPO*, **onomatope**: *ga-ga-ga, gëk, gërrh-gërrh* etc.

**Word groups, lexeme and syntagma connetions or phraseological connections**, over 180 lexicographic units: *gabim personal/ ~ vetjak, gabim i trashë, ga- cë e mbuluar, gacë në para, gaforre bregu, gaforre lythore, galop i thatë, galop i vogël, gaz fisnik, gaz lotsjellës, gaz mbytës, gaz i tokës, godit në shenjë, godit në zemër, gojë ari, është gojë e bark, gojë pas goje, lë me gojë hapur, në gojë të ujkut, guri i besës, gur kali, gur gur bëhet mur, gur ndezës* etc.

All the subgroups of the limited lexicographic units are more than 2180, but from the general number of the lexicographic units can drop to approximately 1750 lexicographic units from 2320 of this word present in the "Dictionary" and that according to us, does not match with its type; therefore comes that only 570 lexicographic units are of the general lexical stratum. The calculation for the entire "Dictionary", that nonetheless is too approximate and is made only to define its typology, shows that it contains over 90 000 limited lexicographic units and over 30 000 general lexicographic units, by all means a very big and useful asset. Rightfully, Hajri Shehu emphasises that if "was lacking to be established the dialectical or regional phonetic variants, if was not to be exaggerated with the Turkish loan words totally peripheral (b.f. *gjefshek*), and also with others passive lexicon, the Dictionary would not resemble nearly its half to a passive dictionary and of an archive to be preserved and researched in its essence"<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

### *About some technical and lexicographic criteria*

In this "Dictionary" are not given the complementary of the inflected forms, also is not divided with an italic line the unchangeable part from the changeable part (*noun nm*); by full stop is divided the ending e of the active verb in the III person and the passive-reflexive ending of the verbs (*kullo.n vt, kullo.het vpr*); with italic line are divided wordforming terms on derivative or composite words (*bluar/je nf, hop/a/kal/as adv*). This personal choice of the "Dictionary's" author has brought the giving of some grammar forms of the words as a single lexicographic units, like the passive-reflexive forms, some participles, forms of the II, III person or the the verbs' plural, nouns' plural forms, pronouns case forms etc. On feminine nouns ending with *ë*, this vowel is given with italic small letter (*javë*), what intends a weak spelling of it(also in the word's body: *punëdashës*), also in the ending position during the forming, thus is a data on orthoepy. On irregular verbs the representative form is kept at the III person (*la.n/la.het*<sup>16</sup>); on irregular verbs are given the first forms with vowel mutation (*marr... < merr*); on suppletive verbs, the suppletive form is given after the alphabetic order (*shoh... < sheh/ pashë Ist sg pdef < sheh; jap... < jep / dhashë Ist sg pdef jep*) etc. The type of characters here as is -e- on *merr, sheh, jep* (smaller italic), is used to draw the attention on the phonetic vowel mutation change. These and other practical and lexicographic solutions and the special notes, mostly and regular for the majority of the words that punctually characterize them, by all means make that this dictionary to be distinguished for a rich system of data, in detail for the special values and their use, what distinguishes it even more by the "Dictionary" speech character. However, in many cases the dictionary's author has left at the hand of the user that through notes with abbreviations on any lexicographic unit and with the good knowledge of the Albanian grammar, to construct himself their paradigmatic form, which is a difficult linguistic procedure for a foreigner. It should be stressed that in the "Dictionary", through abbreviations and other contemplary notes, is made the lexicon stratification from the linguistic norm point-of-view, according to speech styles etc. On the latter are used many abbreviations as: *Book, Fig, Folklore, Colloq, Lit, Old, Pej, Poet*, except the abbreviations on terms: *Anat, Bot, Hist, Ling, Ornit, Zool* etj.,

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<sup>16</sup>This lexical-grammar solution is also accepted by Oda Buchholz - Wilfried Fiedler - Gerda Uhlich, in *Wörterbuch Albanisch – Deutsch*, Berlin, 1992.

or on the lexical fields: *Food, Reg, Relig, Prov, Spec* etj.

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The separately observed lexicon can be stratified as it's known nowadays: Albanian words <> loan words, standard words <> dialectal and regional words (non standard), lexeme words <> phonetic or grammar variants, general lexicon words <> terminological lexicon words, simple words <> derivative and composition words etc. From all these groups in this "*Dictionary*" a wide space occupy the borrowed words (especially the Turkish loan words), dialectal and regional words and the phonetic variants (orthographic and orthoepic), in proportion also with the normative lexicon, making the dictionary a lexicographic speech reflection and not of the Albanian lexicon as system, nor a single variant (dialectal, regional). With this content and lexicographic treatment, the dictionary has intertwined the standard with the non standard lexicon, the lexeme words with the dialectal and regional speech, words with word groups and phrases etc., thus, typologically seems that is a speech dictionary and not of the standard lexicon as system. The notes and the answers in English do not change it typology. A strong colloquial color to this dictionary is given by many speech words, marked with the abbreviation *Colloq.* This coloring is enforced by the regionalisms, the many phonetic regional variants, the phraseology and maxims and proverbs, all in a very high number.

For all the lexicographic units in the "*Dictionary*", from the letters to the maxims and proverbs, except thousand units that are presented here, there are thousand other units of the same plane, and many of them with a wider usage extention, which the "*Dictionary*" has not included and couldn't include, nevertheless mixed it might be, because is twofold typologically limited: from the volume and the nature of the subject, - is not a big thesaurus dictionary and nor a genuine dialectal or regional one, neither terminological, of the archaic words, of borrowings, onomastic, abbreviations, syntagmatic, phraseological etc., - but also their inclusion in these dimensions has increased very much the volume and demolished the proportion of the lexicon stratum classes, has created inner assymetries between them and between the dictionary as a whole and as a lingusitic reality. Meanwhile, exactly on that subject that it

makes on the lexicographic treatment, it compounds a special type of great lexicon and information asset not only for the lexicon units, but also for the phonetic-orthoepic, word forming, morphological, syntactical, phraseological data etc. The "*Dictionary*", if has been sensitively moved away from the classical lexicography, has gained with the typological width of the lexicographic units, what serves more to the scholars of the Albanian language rather than those who want to learn Albanian.

**Rami MEMUSHAJ**

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF PROF. SHABAN DEMIRAJ ON  
EPIRUS ILLYRIAN ORIGIN**

1. One of the gaps of the Albanological research is the lack of studies on antiquity and the Middle Age of the territories west of Vjosa river and the Pindus ridge to the Arta bay, that the ancient Greeks called Epirus. Except three or four cities of antiquity, in the other hubs of these inhabited territories have not been made archaeological researches; nor does exist an interdisciplinary publication or even a single publication from the Albanian scholars on this area in antiquity or Middle Ages, as is the reliable book "Epirus" of the English historian N. Hammond.

Meanwhile, our southern neighbors possess a very rich historic literature, not only in the Greek language, but also in the international languages. One of these editions is the voluminous summary in English "Epirus – 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization, Athens, 1997), a book mainly addressed to the foreign reader. In this summary with contributions from renown Greek and foreign historians, is defended the theses of the Hellenic character of the ancient Epirus and on this bases, the Greek claims on our country's southern territories.

In its foreword, the Greek historian Sakellariou defines as northern border of Epirus the peak from mountain Ivan in Akroceraunian mountains. For him, the Epirus and other Albanian lands have been the cradle of Greece. "Generally, – writes Sakellariou in the last part of the foreword, – that from the seventeenth century to the Greek War of Independence, Epirus was the most dynamic area in many spheres... Epirote territories, however, were only included in the new Greek state later and in stages... In the end, the southern part of what was historically

Epirus reverted to Greece and its Greek inhabitants were united with the body of Hellenism."<sup>1</sup>

The other Greek historian Haxopulos, for whom the most northern Greek speaking villages are Vlora's Narta and Zvërnec, "isolated remaining of the ancient Horikioi and Ballaiitai", goes further in distorting the written testimonies of the ancient Greek authors, by calling their assertion on the non-Greek character of Epirus as surprising. According to him, "the question of the Greek character of the ancient Epirotes wouldn't be raised if was not presented from the Greek ancient authors themselves which referred to the Epirotes as barbarians and have placed Epirus outside Greece's borders." Thus, the ancient Greeks have caused troubles to the new Greeks, and the latter should rectify and manipulate their assertions! The manipulation has to do with the meaning of the term "barbarian", that according to the present Greek historians, "might be simply referred to cultural criteria", viz has been used to demonstrate the Epirotes cultural backwardness<sup>2</sup>.

To support their claims on Epirus, the Greek historians do not like to refer the Greek historians of antiquity, whose testimonies on non-Hellenic belonging of the Epirotes tribes cover a period of 6 centuries, from Herodotus to Strabo. Surprisingly, in assistance to the new Greek historians comes one of the best experts of the Epirus, the English historian N. Hammond, a savant of deep knowledge of Epirus, on whom is based Sakellariou.

The first manipulation of the Greek historians has to do with the term "barbaria". According to them, this term "can be referred to simply cultural criteria", viz has been used from the ancient authors to show the cultural backwardness of the Epirotes<sup>3</sup>. On this issue, also Hammond starting from the Molosses and the tribes depending on them wrote the decisions in Greek, reaches the conclusion that "these tribes spoke Greek exactly at the time when Thucydides called them barbarians". This ceases being a paradox, – he writes, – if we understand that the contrast in the term *barbaros* was not linguistic but cultural."<sup>4</sup> Viz, the Epirus

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<sup>1</sup> *Epirus – 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*, Athens, 1997, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 60.

tribes differ from the Hellenic tribes not ethnically but culturally as uncultivated and uncivilized Helens.

For the manipulation about the ethnicity of the Epirus tribes, the Greek historians are based on Hammond's hypotheses that "Central Albania and Northern Epirus in the Middle Bronze Age, were mainly inhabited from Greek speaking peoples"<sup>5</sup>. This expressed opinion in the book "Epirus", is further explained by Hammond in the paper published within the summary of the book "Epirus – 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization", on which the author speaking about the Bronze Age, writes: "The basin of the Greek speaking peoples from where happened some invasions towards Greece, were Western Macedonia, Central Albania and Epirus. Exactly there, in the conditions of a mainly pastoral economy, were practiced in the middle Helladic age (2100–1550 B.C.) the patriarchal and tribal institutions of the Greek people, their dialects and rites, including the heroes burial in mounds".<sup>6</sup>

For not moving away from the theme, it's enough to put in evidence that this assertion of Hammond serves also the middle bronze age, but not for the period since the late bronze age 1550–1200 B.C. Based on the archaeological findings, the Albanian historians and archaeologists, also including many foreign scholars, have achieved the conclusion that in this age, these territories were inhabited from Illyrian population<sup>7</sup>. The period since the end of the bronze age and the beginning of the iron age matches with the formation of the historic Illyrian peoples"<sup>8</sup>. At this time, the Greeks, the Illyrians and the Thracians were definitively established in their territories in the Balkans: the Greeks in the south, the Illyrians in the west and the Thracians in the east. Thus, if in the middle bronze age, the Central Albania and Epirus were inhabited from Greek tribes, during the late bronze in these territories were living Illyrian tribes. And from here, we are not far away the historic period, which we have the testimonies of the antiquity authors.

2. With such distortions of our history and with such claims of our neighbors towards our territories, the Albanian science had to face it since the proper beginnings. The situation where has found itself our

<sup>5</sup> N. Hammond, *Epirus*, London, p. 406.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. I, 1967, p. 50.; M. Korkuti, *Parailirët, Ilirët, Arbërit*, TOENA, 2003, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996, p. 39.

science resembles with what is happening to the legal owners, which have to prove in the court if possess their properties, and after doing this, they have to prove that those who have occupy it, are not the real proprietors. However, the Albanian historic studies on Epirus are too few, with exception of a number of papers written from our archaeologists.

As a modest effort to fill this gab on ancient Epirus studies and the Albanian southern territories, we can refer the work of Prof. Sh. Demiraj, "Epiri, pellazgët, etruskët dhe shqiptarët/Epirus, Pelasgians, Etruscans and Albanians" (2008). This book was written in the context when the Greek politics and science in unison are zealously working to present Epirus, viz Southern Albania and the territories from the bay of Arta to the national border of Albania, as Greek land inhabited since antiquity from ethnic Greeks and when in the city of Himara the Greek elements declare that the inhabitants of Himara are a Greek minority and Himara is Hellas. Exactly in this period, Prof. Demiraj proposed to the chairmanship of the Academy of Sciences in 2004, to be prepared a publication on Epirus and Himara. As his demand remained unanswered, he alone undertook the effort and achieved to present us this priceless work.<sup>9</sup>

To shed light on the origin of a people are useful a series of sciences as history, archaeology, ethnography, linguistics, anthropology etc. However, the role of these fields it's not the same for all the periods. For the prehistoric age, archaeology assisted from anthropology and ethnography, remains among the main fields of research; when we enter the historic age, in front are history and linguistics<sup>10</sup>.

Exactly starting from the historic age, the contributions of the historic linguistics in shedding light on Albanians origin have been not less important than the archaeological and historic evidences. In this field have been distinguished for their contribution a series of foreign linguistics and among Albanian scholars, Eqrem Çabej and Shaban Demiraj.

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<sup>9</sup> Indeed, Prof. Demiraj had in his plans to write a book on the Messaps and Messapic language. for this he had started to collect the literature, but understanding that writing on this issue, should be made further researches on the ground (in Southern Italy, where are preserved the Messapic inscriptions) and in libraries, things that were out of his material reach and age, he gave up this plan.

<sup>10</sup> M. Korkuti, *Parailirët, Ilirët, Arbërit*, TOENA, 2003, p. 53.



Differently from E. Çabej, that working all the time in the field of the language history, tried to shed light on the autochthony of Albanians' origin, Shaban Demiraj started the scientific activity as morphologist of the present Albanian, transiting from it to historic morphology and concluding in the historic problems of our people. This passage on the issues of language's history and of our people has nothing extraordinary. The historic analyzes and the comparison of the linguistics fact of the Albanian language with the facts of other languages, naturally leads in the gates of history. It's quite a step to be found within. Like this, has also happened with this scholar. In parallel of the university text in two volumes "Morfologjia historike e gjuhës shqipe/Historic morphology of the Albanian language", followed from the masterpiece "Gramatikë historike e gjuhës shqipe/Historic grammar of the Albanian language" and "Gjuhësi ballkanike/Balkans linguistics", Prof. Demiraj has given us three monographs that directly deal with the history of our people: "Gjuha shqipe dhe historia e saj/Albanian language and its history" (1988), "Prejardhja e shqiptarëve nën dritën e dëshmive të gjuhës shqipe/Albanians' origin in the light of Albanian language evidences" (1999) and "Epiri, etruskët dhe shqiptarët/Epirus, Etruscans and Albanians" (2008).

Nevertheless their different content, what unites these three books is the author's effort to shed light with historic linguistic data on the people who speak the Albanian language, thus how "can help the lively evidences of the Albanian language to shed light on some disputable issues of the ancient history of the Albanian people"<sup>11</sup>. The effort of this linguist from the questions of language's history on the questions of Albanians' history is gradual. Thus, the book "Gjuha shqipe dhe historia e saj/Albanian language and its history" is presented as synthesizing work on the history of "Albanian mother tongue evolution on the Balkan ground", on which the linguistic facts are established in the historic degree, indirectly helping in enlightening the issues of the history of the people that speaks this language. While in the last two books the attention is placed from the history of the Albanian language, to the history of the people who speaks this language. In them is aimed to be shown as the author says, that "how can help the lively evidences of the

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<sup>11</sup> Sh. Demiraj, *Prejardhja e shqiptarëve nën dritën e dëshmive të gjuhës shqipe*, Shtëpia Botuese "Shkenca", Tiranë, 1999, p. 35.

Albanian language to enlighten some disputable issues of the ancient history of the Albanian people"<sup>12</sup>.

Both are synthesizing works, in which in accordance with the logic of scientific research, before presenting the personal opinions, the author presents a detailed presentation of the contributions from other authors. Characteristic of his style is that he is not categorical in his affirmations. His opinion is objective, stripped from the patriotism notes or from the passion of a novice in science, that makes more credible and more sustainable the conclusions. This way of writing not as a monologue with oneself, but as a dialogue, also intends the presence of the opponent, and also this one has to think well before replaying. Thus, during all the work, when achieved the specific conclusions, the author raises hypotheses that fall in open contradiction also with his conviction, by yielding ground and to suppose the impossible, but finally asks these hypotheses to be proven.

3. The definition of language borders extension of Albanians predecessors is the object of the first chapter of the book "Prejardhja e shqiptarëve.../Albanians' origin..." from the antiquity Balkan languages, the author stays on Illyrians and Epirus inhabitants language, by not focusing on the Greek and Thracian languages, and also with the Macedonian language. On the latter says that "remains open the debate if this has been a dialect of the Greek, or a proper language"<sup>13</sup>, by carrying the same reclusive stand as Çabej and other Albanian scholars, that has left at the hand of the Greeks the Macedonians, even why on the Greek ancient authors they are called "barbarians" and Strabo says that their habitudes, the way they are dressed and how keep their hair are the same as Illyrians and Epirotes, without speaking on the Illyrian element and other testimonies that prove that the Macedonians were neither Greek and nor Thracians.

Concerning the name of the ancient Epirus inhabitants, the author says that wouldn't know how they have called themselves. In his opinion, he thinks that "is likely that the inhabitants of the so-called Epirus in the biggest part could be of Illyrian origin"<sup>14</sup>, while on their language says that "the ancient inhabitants of that territory, in the biggest part, have

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<sup>12</sup> Sh. Demiraj, *Prejardhja e shqiptarëve...*, p. 35.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 51.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 56.

spoken one language, which through its gradual evolution has presented the southern variant of the today Albanian"<sup>15</sup>. Because the borders of the ancient Epirus with the Hellenic tribes have been clearly distinguished, we don't agree with the moderate stand expressed with the words "in the biggest part". The ancient Greek authors, precisely define the Epirus' borders, with the lake of Arta in the south, with Pindus mountains and Vjosa in the East, and Amantians north. While for their language we can base on Strabo (63 B.C.–24 A.D.), the safest source on the period when the Greek influence was substituted since two centuries ago from the Roman influence, which says that the whole country from Macedonia to the Island of Kerkira is called by some Macedonia and its inhabitants, their language, customs, way of dressing and how cut their hair are the same<sup>16</sup>. Ibidem, Strabo adds on them that some are bilingual, but is not mentioned any tribe of Epirus who spoke only Greek. Thus, if we come to know that with "inhabitants" are the members of the Epirus tribes, not in the major part, but all the Epirus tribes were Illyrians and have spoken a common language with the Illyrian tribes north of Vjosa. According to the author "a considerable part of this population, thanks to their mainly highlander character and mainly their generally closed tribal life, succeeded to preserve the language of their ancestors and its identity"<sup>17</sup>. This language was predecessor of the today Tosk dialect, which was the southern variant of the Illyrian language.

If the goal of the book "Prejardhja e shqiptarëve nën dritën e dëshmive të gjuhës shqipe" is to prove with linguistic arguments the Illyrian origin and the Albanians' autochthony, the book "Epiri, pellazgët, etruskët dhe shqiptarët" has another goal: to prove the Illyrian origin of Epirus and to show that the ethnic Albanian territories that lately have been trying to be presented as Greek, have been inhabited since antiquity from Albanians' predecessors and in the new times have been and are inhabited from Albanians. As consequence, the main part of this book is dedicated to the issues of ethnic character in antiquity, in Middle Ages and in the new times of what is called Epirus and of the mother tongue of its inhabitants.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, VII, Book VII.8.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 63.

Characteristic for the way of author's reasoning is that he raises hypotheses that are in open contradiction with the known truths and with his conviction, and even yielding as to suppose the impossible. Then, basing on the facts, he rejects these hypotheses, by proving the opposite of what he firstly presents. Thus, he is not categorical in his affirmations. His opinion is objective, stripped by all patriotism notes or from the passion of a novice in science and this makes more credible and more stable the drawn conclusions after concise analyses by not presenting them as axioms without evidence.

The arguments that the author presents in these books in defending the Illyrian origin of the population that once lived in the Illyrian and Epirotes territories, are of different planes: the borrowed Greek and Latin lexicon, the Latin church terms, the ancient onomastics (toponyms, hydronyms, anthroponyms) and linguistic characteristics. From these arguments, we will leave aside those who are worth for both sides of the Illyrian areas and would focus in those who specifically have to do with Epirus. Thus, the fact that the Latin and Greek loan words, including the church terms have the same form even in the territories south of Vjosa, and also in the territories north if it, are a strong evidence that the inhabitants of Illyria and Epirus have spoken the same language and have been of the same race.

As a consequence of the Roman occupation, the ethnic map of the Balkan from the II century to the eve of the Slavic invasions had occurred big changes: the Dalmatians in the north and the Dacians in the east were Romanized. The influence of the Roman language and culture have partially affected the population living in the territories where today the Albanians live. Nevertheless, the Latin and then the Slavic influence on the language of the Southern Illyria and Epirus territories was not small. A big part of the Illyrian toponyms were substituted with the Latin denominations and then those with Slavic denominations, but a part of the local onomastics was preserved. In absence of written testimonies of the language of our ancestors, both the first and the seconds become object of analyses to prove how the Roman and the Slavic denominations have pass through the Albanian spoken language.

In conclusion of examining the borrowings from the ancient Greek and Latin, of the church terminology of the old Christian names and of ancient toponyms and hydronyms, Demiraj draws the conclusion that

"the present forms of the examined names, approached with their earlier forms, are presented with such changes that are in compliance with the Albanian language phonetic evolution laws. And this proves that those names are uninterruptedly used from the Albanians and the Arbëresh since the ancient times. Thus, seen in the light of the Albanian language evidences comes out that the predecessors of the Albanians have been the northwestern neighbors of the ancient Greeks"<sup>18</sup>.

From the most important linguistic phenomenon presented in his book, we are mentioning the rhotacism phenomenon of *n/r* and the darkening *a > ě*, *e > ě* (*ranë / rërë*, *Vlonë / Vlorë*), that have happened in the territories south of Shkumbin river. In our opinion, rhotacism itself and the changing *a > ě* accompanying it, as two essential distinctive dialectic elements, are of great importance on Albanians antiquity and the dialects of their language. The fact that the Slavic loan words are not submitted these two phenomenon, means that in the VII century they ceased to act. This proves that the Albanian language dialectical division is much older and this division has happened in this soil, at least two-three centuries before Slavic invasions. The author notices that the dialectical division of the Albanian language, "also presupposes the geographic spaces where have been developed the dialects and sub-dialects of this language"<sup>19</sup>. These two characteristics that individualize both dialects of the Albanian language "couldn't be developed elsewhere but in the present Albanian speaking territories"<sup>20</sup>, because is out of logic and with no historic base the opinion that these phenomena could be developed in other territories and carried in the present areas where the Tosk dialect is spoken.

When we speak on antiquity of these two dialectical characteristics, we should have in mind the historic circumstances of the first centuries A.D., during which the administrative divisions of the Illyrian territory from the Roman invaders brought the extinction of the tribes and in establishing the Albanian community substituting the Illyrian communities. This should have happened at least since the V century A.D., when happened the extinction of the tribal communities. Thus, the Arbëresh community who spoke two dialects of the same language,

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<sup>18</sup> Sh. Demiraj, *Prejardhja e shqiptarëve...*, p. 174.

<sup>19</sup> Sh. Demiraj, *Epiri, pellazgët...*, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 75.

exists in this territories at least since the V century. But, when we speak for division, this automatically intends a previous period in the same areas when these distinctions were not yet manifested (as proves in the Gheg dialect the presence of *n* by the Greek loan words *lakën*, *mokën* and Latin *kurpën*, *shullan* etc., that in the Gheg spoken has remained unchanged), which goes from the V century towards Illyrian antiquity.

4. The authors who deny the autochthony of the Epirus tribes as the strongest argument present the displacement of the populations, by establishing and displacing to their wish the ancestors of Albanians and Albanians from their ethnic territories. Exactly the main part of this book is dedicated to the issues of ethnic character of the Epirus in antiquity, in the Middle Ages and in the modern times and also to the mother tongue of its inhabitants. Engaging into polemics with Greek authors that the Epirus population "could have come and replaced a previous Greek speaking and Hellenized population"<sup>21</sup>, Demiraj noticed that lack the historic evidences that might shed light for such displacement and secondly, a coming population couldn't Hellenize a Greek population that was favored from the Byzantine rule and the Greek church.

In absence of historic evidences, to defend the Illyrian character of the Epirotes tribes, Demiraj focuses on linguistic facts, evidences of the Albanian language herself: according the way how are presented the sounds of the classical languages in the Albanian language onomastics and dialectical division. An evidence of the autochthonism of the Epirus ancient inhabitants, he finds on the way how are reflected the sounds of the ancient Greek and Latin loan words in Albanian. As the ancestors of Albanians have been in direct contacts with the ancient Greeks, he refers to the words *lakën*, *bretk*, *mokër* etc., whose lack in the Latin or are manifested in this language in another form. Thus, *lakën* and *bretk* lack in the Latin and this is an undeniable evidence that these words have entered in the language of the Albanians' ancestors directly from the Greek. While the word *mokër*, with origin from the Latin in the form *makina*, the Albanian mother tongue has not borrowed it from the Latin, because the Latin /a/ has never given /o/ in Albanian; except that, the group *chi* of Lat. would have given /q/ in Albanian as on *cicer* > *qiqër*, *facies* > *faje*. Thus, *mokër* has been borrowed from the Doric *mâkhaná*, where we have the exchange *ā* > *o*, exchange that has occurred in the

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 74.

words as i.e., *mater* > *motër* etc. This shows that the Doric loan words is very old. As other evidence of the linguistic contacts of the Albanians' predecessors with the Greeks presents the transition of /k<sup>h</sup>/ pronounced in Greek /k/ at *bretëk*; and also the spelling of the word βρόταχος "bretëk" with /b/ shows that the word has been borrowed prior when /□/ started to be spelled /v/ in Greek, viz, before the II century B.C.<sup>22</sup>

As belongs the contacts of the Albanian mother tongue with the Latin, the author brings a series of arguments. First, the reflection in Albanian of the vocal and consonant sounds of the Latin. Thus, the guttural occlusive *k* before the vowels *i* and *e* of the Latin words has been preserved unchanged in the Albanian language, as e.g. in the words *peshk*, *qiell* etc., sonorous reflex of only the Albanian language that reflects "the Roman spelling of Augustus period" (Gaius Octavius, Roman emperor, 63 B.C. –14 A.D.) of the guttural sounds. This means that we have to do with very ancient borrowings in the Albanian language from the Latin, that have extension in the entire Albanian territories. Also other examples, as the reflection of a vowel *o* of the Latin words in the Albanian *e*, as in the words *pomum* > *pemë*, *hora* > *herë*, prove that the influence of the Latin on the Albanian mother tongue has started very early, since the II century B.C. This from that side, means that the inhabitants of the ancient Epirus have directly taken these words from the Romans in the territories where today live they successors.

As another evidence that the inhabitants of the Epirus are not comers in the today territories, the author presents the way how are pronounced the church terms, the old Christian names as, *Lekë* (Aleksandër/Alexander), *Gjon* (Joannes/John), *Gjin*, *Pal* (Paulus) and *Pjetër* (Petrus; the way how the Greek names of the cities *Aulon*, *Oricum*, *Hadrianopolis* have concluded as *Vlorë*, *Orik*, *Dropull*, same as the names *Durrës*, *Lezhë* etc. in the northern territories of Albanian language. Even in this cases, the sonorous changes of the words prove that they have passed generation to generation in the spoken Albanian. Otherwise, would have been the Greeks the inhabitants of these cities, would not have occurred the rhotacism of Vlora's *n* and nor of the Dropull's *d*, but *dh* as in the Greek spelling *Dhropolis* of this word.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, *Prejardhja e shqiptarëve...*, op. cit., p. 127.

Very interesting is the name of the river Vjosa, on which Prof. Demiraj has been focusing for a long time, by presenting all the phases of its evolution from the oldest form *aoō* to the present. He sides with the hypotheses that the transition *Aoō* > *Voós* > *Viosë* has occurred in an Arbëresh environment, but leaving open the problem for further research. On the oldest forms of this name, *Aeas* on Hecataeus (approximately 550 B.C. – 476 A.D.), *Aoiūs* on Strabo (63/64 B.C. – 24 A.D.)<sup>23</sup>, *Aous* ("flumen Aous, a quibusdam Aeas nominatum") on Plinius (23 B.C. – 79 A.D.)<sup>24</sup>, *Aoo* (Vjosa) and *Aoi stena* (gryka e Ujit/Water's mouth), gryka e Këlcyrës (Këlcyra's mouth, today) to Titus Livius (59 B.C. – 17 A.D.), *Aóo potamo* on Cassius Dio (II–III centuries A.D.)<sup>25</sup>, we firmly believe that have the Illyrian spelling of the Albanian word *ujë/water*. The fact that a river is called with an appellative name, compounds something normal not only for the Albanian language. Even the names in Albanian of some of the Albanian territories rivers as Vardar, Buna, Shkumbin, derive from appellative names.

Analyzing and explaining in convincing way the above mentioning facts, the author draws the conclusion that "...the today forms of the examined names, seen in approach with their earlier forms, are presented with such changes matching the Albanian language phonetic laws. And this proves that those names have been used without interruption from Albanians or the Arbëresh since the ancient times. Thus, seen in the light of the Albanian language evidences, comes out that the predecessors of the Albanians have been the northwestern neighbors of the ancient Greeks".<sup>26</sup>

5. On the ethic situation of Epirus and about the language of its inhabitants after the Ottoman occupation, the author refers to the onomastics data of the Ottomans exercise books of the XV–XVI centuries about the extreme settlements of Epirus Albanians, as ancient Molossia's Arta and Ioannina, Preveza, Ajdonati (Paramithia) and Mazaraku in Çamëria (1551 and 1583), and also within the borders as Dropulli (1519–20), Vurgu (1431–32), Himara (1583) and Vlora's Narta

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<sup>23</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, VII.V.8. In the note 23, Strabo referring to the word *aea* seen on Homer, says that this word does not mean "land", as some people thought. According to him, *Aea* is the name of a spring near the ancient city of Amydon flowing into the river *Aksus* (Vardar).

<sup>24</sup> Plinius, *Historia naturalis*, Liber 3.XXIII.145.

<sup>25</sup> See: Hammond, *Epirus*, 1967, p. 232.

<sup>26</sup> Sh. Demiraj, *Prejardhja e shqiptarëve...*, op. cit., p. 174.



(1583). In the lists of the head of families in these exercise books are first found, proper names and surnames deriving from Albanian appellative names as *Babi, Bardhi, Çuni, Bukëvala, Buzi, Buzëmadhi, Dreri, Lakra, Lula, Prifti, Prushi, Zoto* etc. Second, in these exercise books is found a big number of surnames that though of foreign origin, in the spoken Albanian have ended with the same form both in the country's south and north as *Gjon, Gjokë, Gjijn, Lekë, Pal, Pjetër, Dhimë, Kolë, Kond, Ndre* etc. Both classes of these names undeniably prove that these territories have been inhabited from Albanians.

However, in any case the authors does not leaves without putting in evidence that in parallel of the Albanian forms of the second group names, in the Ottoman exercise books are seen with a density that by passing of the centuries comes increasing, also the Greek forms, a thing that is taken as an evidence of the Greek influence increase in the Albanian Southern territories.

Not a minor place is left in this book to the three Greek speaking villages of Himara which is as it's known an Albanian territory. Basing on the data of the ottoman registers, in the Basilian monks testimonies which acted in the XVI–XVIII centuries in this region, especially of those of Greek origin, in the Himariots habits and customs and in the characteristics of Himara's spoken, the author reaches the conclusion that the mother tongue of the inhabitants of these three villages is the Albanian, while the Greek is a learned language thanks to the economic and trade contacts with the Greeks, especially after the proclamations of Greece's independence, and the great influence of the Greek church and school during the last three centuries<sup>27</sup>. Anyway, the author stresses the necessity of studying the Greek language of these three villages to define its connections in the Greek dialectical division, that would help in the better clarification of this problem. As another argument on Albanian as mother tongue of Himara region, the author presents the fact that the spoken of the villages of this region is nothing else but a branch of the Lab dialect. According to him, the same characteristics of the Himara coastal spoken with those of the inner territories of Labëria can only be explained through the dialectical characteristics that happen only when the inhabitants are local and in uninterrupted contacts one to another.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 146.

<sup>28</sup> Sh. Demiraj, *Epiri, Pellazgët...*, op. cit., p. 147.

These contributions of Prof. Demiraj, which we tried to put in evidence in this paper, compound a solid ground for the Albanologists to base and to further pose the studies on Epirus Illyrian origin and to fill the gaps remained in this field.

Shaban SINANI

## MIGJENI, ESAD MEKULI AND SREČKO KOSOVEL

### I.

Migjeni's poetry was relatively late translated in the Serbo-Croatian language. The first complete translation belongs to Esad Mekuli and Prishtina's editing house *Jedinstvo*. Times ago prior this publication that belongs to 1968, Esad Mekuli tried to present the readers of this language two Migjeni's poems, *Parathânja e parathânjeve* and *Kangët e pakëndueme*, both published in Belgrade's *Književne novine*, respectively on 1958 and on 1959<sup>1</sup>. Later, on 1961, some poems of Migjeni (*Kanga skandaloze*, *Lutje*, *Vetmia e Dy buzë*) were published in Belgrade's periodical *Stremenje*, translated by Mihajlo Zvicer and Ekrem Kryeziu<sup>2</sup>. The translation of Esad Mekuli contains only the poems, as were published by Migjeni himself, presented with the same title and in another language, *Slobodni stihovi*.

To this publication, compared with that of Migjeni (*Vargjet e lira*, 1936), might be considered *authorized*; and with that of Gjovalin Luka (Migjeni, *Vepra*, 1954), lack four poems: *Rima e tretun*, *Shpirtent shtegtarë*, *Dy buzë* and *Mbas tryezës*. The translator does not gives any explanation why has left these poems out of the volume. While the cycle *Kangët e fundit* has been fully added and with the same order as 1944 edition. A complete translation of Migjeni's work, including the prose with the title *Prekinuta melodija* (*Melodi e këputun/Broken melody*), taken from the homonymous author's poetry, was translated a year later on 1969, from Hilmi Thaçi (Hilmi Thaçi) and the Belgrade's editing house *Rad*, in the series *Reč i misao* (*Fjalë dhe mendim/Words and thoughts*).

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<sup>1</sup> Esad Mekuli (prevodilac), *Pogovor në Slobodni stihovi*, izd. *Jedinstvo*, Priština 1968, s. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *ibid*.

It can be called a relatively late translation because Migjeni's poetry in Russian was published earlier, since 1954, under the attention of the poet and scholar David Samoilov and of Roza Koçi, with the title *Vepra të zgjedhura/Selected works (Izbrannoje)*. The Russian edition had encouraged also other translations in other languages, including the Latvian, translated and published in Riga on 1958, exactly in what we know as ironise character in the novel of Ismail Kadare *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës*, Jeronīms Stulpāns. In Italian, Migjeni was entirely translated and published with the title *Poesie e prose*, since 1962, from Jolanda Kodra. Also in Romanian Grigore Brâncuș had translated it earlier (1967) the author of north's novels and published in the framework of university literature with the title *Fructul oprit (Mollë e ndalueme/Forbidden apple)*. Also in Albanian, in Belgrade, Migjeni was published since 1963, from Serbia's school texts corporation.

In Albanian, in Prishtina were Idriz Ajeti and Hasan Vokshi which first included Migjeni in a literary anthology, one of the first books in Albanian published there. In the anthology with the title *Nga letërsia shqipe/From Albanian literature*, Migjeni was presented with this titles, four pomes and two prose: *Të lindet njeriu*, *Kangët e pakëndueme*, *Lagja e varfun*, *Vuejtja*, *Legjenda e misrit* and *Në kasollen e ftoftë*<sup>3</sup>, a title selected from the collectors for the sketch *Bukuria që vret/The killing beauty*. Again would be Idriz Ajeti and Anton Çetta that would consider Migjeni on 1954, as *author representing*, not only in the framework of the Albanian literature, but to the world, making it part of a school text for the high schools, where were selected *Luli i vocërr*, *Kanga e rinis* and *Në kasollen e ftoftë (Bukuria që vret)*<sup>4</sup>. Only a decade later, in the period 1975-1980, among the first titles published in Prishtina on Brail writing, for the pupils of limited view, also make part the translations of Esad Mekuli from the book entitled *Vepra* of Migjeni, in parallel with selected parts from S. Hamiti, E. Gjerqeku and Rr. Dedaj. The editions in this alphabet, for understandable reasons, are printed only 150 copies<sup>5</sup>. It is

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<sup>3</sup>Hasan Vokshi and Idriz Ajeti (collected from), *Nga letërsia shqipe*, edit. Mustafa Bakija, Prishtinë 1951, p. 219-227

<sup>4</sup>Idriz Ajeti dhe Anton Çetta (translated and adapted by), *Libër leximi për klasën V të shkollës tetëvjeçare dhe për klasën I gjimnaz*, edit. Mustafa Bakija, Prishtinë 1954, p. 63, 103, 119.

<sup>5</sup>Tahir Foniqi, *Poezia shqiptare në Kosovë 1953-1980 (vështrim historik)*, paper presented in the national conference of library-economy *Biblioteka dhe kujtesa kombëtare*, organized and published from Biblioteka Kombëtare dhe Universitare e Kosovës and Biblioteka Kombëtare e

likely that this could have been the only publication of Migjeni on *Brail* writing.

*Migjeni* of Esad Mekuli is of research importance not because is known his role as one of the most successful intermediate of the Albanian literature in the Serbo-Croatian language and vice versa. It can be said that have been lucky the Albanian writers and poets that were inaugurated in this language through him: Besim Bokshi, Ismail Kadare, Azem Shkreli, Ali Podrimja, Fahredin Gunga, Enver Gjerqeku, Rexhep Qosja, just to mention some of them.

The Serbo-Croatian language was for Esad Mekuli a creativity work language for nearly two decades, during 1930-1940. The translations from this language turned him into an important name not only for the Albanian reader in Kosova. During the second half of the past century, for the reader in Albania, in the conditions of complete control of the book in foreign languages, the translations of *Rilindja* were a very important window. Through that window, through the translations of Esad Mekuli, this reader came to know no matter the difficult conditions, Petar Petrović Negoš, Ivo Andrić, Branislav Nušić, Meša Selimović, Miroslav Krleža, just to mention some of the big names of *Mekuli's* library, as would call his heritage in the field of the translations in the Serbo-Croatian language and vice versa.<sup>6</sup> Except being a translator, Esad Mekuli has also positively influenced for a worthy presence of the Albanian world in the second edition of *Enciklopedia e Jugosllavisë/Yugoslavia's Encyclopedia*, being its editor in chief for Kosova. He proudly mentioned this contribution, especially the fact that the first editor in-chief of Yugoslavia's encyclopedia has been the writer Miroslav Krleža<sup>7</sup>.

It should be affirmed that the authority name of Esad Mekuli as translator in the frontispiece of the translated books, facilitated in some

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Shqipërisë, Prishtinë 2008, p. 88: *During this period (1975-1980) are published the first titles on Brail, also poems [translated by] Esad Mekuli, entitled "Vepra e Migjenit". The titles on Brail are printed in 15-150 copies.*

<sup>6</sup> For more see: Fadil Grajçevci, *Vepra letrare e Esad Mekulit dhe kritika e saj*, edit. of Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtina, 2013, p. 273-281.

<sup>7</sup> *Yugoslavia's Encyclopedia was a great event for all the nations of Yugoslavia. Many people today do not possess their encyclopedia. We, in this not so big land of the Balkans that are being published in the second edition of the Encyclopedia - the first edition was prepared by the first editor in-chief Miroslav Kerleza. Hazbi Gashi and Tahir Desku, Interview of the poet and academician Esad Mekuli for the student newspaper Bota e re, Prishtina, 15 June 1983.*

way the introduction of these editions in Tirana's libraries. In the beginning, *in the period of cultural and ideological neo-emancipation of the Albanian language in Kosova, through the translation, Mekuli encouraged the strengthening of literary aesthetics*<sup>8</sup>. Worth to be noticed that in the last decades of his life, Mekuli wished more to evoke the names of the antifascist and Bolshevik friends as Ivo Lola Ribar, Rifat Burđević, Veljko Vlahović, Jeremije Živanović, rather those of creativity which joined in the literary trends in the 1930, and with which has published the first poems in such tribunes as *Venac* (Belgrade), *Podmladak Jadranske Straže* (Split), *Mladost* (Zagreb), *Novi Behar* (Sarajevo) and above all *Beogradski Student*<sup>9</sup>. Seems unbelievable, but with Mekuli has happened the same thing as to Migjeni, only with a distinction: while Migjeni's society was ideologically purified by his editors, Mekuli seems that even under the influence of this process, purified himself and his youth past. Through the translation *Slobodni stihovi* from Esad Mekuli, becomes possible to verify in another way, through the text and with the genuine literary tools, the relations author-translator and creator/re-creator and further to be made recessive observations for the earlier historic-literary positions of Migjeni and Mekuli about each other. Exactly this is the aim of the paper, whose object is not the translation in itself and its quality.

The parallels between the two poets, that more than a half decade lived in creative contemporaneity, in the plane of the motives and concerns, in theme's cut and in the poetic vocation, mainly in the compositional-ideological plane, are made clearly known through the times from the Albanian scholars in Kosova. In front of a studies tradition from Albanian biographers and editors of Migjeni in Tirana, in Kosova and from the Albanian scholars in the West, by time have been exposed the questions if his work was in the courses of the Albanian literature modernity, of surrealism and expressionism<sup>10</sup>, and also decadentism<sup>11</sup>. On the work of Esad Mekuli, the inclination of the

<sup>8</sup>Nysret Krasniqi, *Letërsia e Kosovës (1953-2000)*, bot. 99 AIKD, Prishtinë 2016, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup>Hazbi Gashi and Tahir Desku, *ibid*.

<sup>10</sup>Ali Aliu, *Tregimi shkurtër i viteve tridhjetë (A mund të flitet për ekspresionizmin e Migjenit?)*, in *Rrjedhave të letërsisë*, edit. Rilindja, Prishtinë 1977, p. 7-24; Hysni Hoxha, *Lirika e Migjenit dhe ekspresionizmi*, in *Jeta e re*, nr. 3, Prishtinë 1984, p. 425-435.

<sup>11</sup>Arshi Pipa, *Le mythe de l'Occident dans la poesie de Migjeni*, Sonderdruck aus., Südast-Forschungen, Bd. XXX / 1971, p. 157; gjithashtu Giuseppina Norcia, *Sulla poesia di Migjeni*, in

studies has been more comparative, above all with Migjeni. Seems for terminological facility, the connecting means between them have sometimes been called *similarities* or *coincidences*<sup>12</sup>. It should not be excluded that his terminology might have been influenced from some kind of dismay towards the term *influence*. If the earlier poetry of Esad Mekuli and that of Migjeni are close *for coincidence*, simply because of chronology, the question would have been very simple and without some literary interest, because the coincidences do not play any comparative role. In this case, the calendar and the biographical data, also would not compound an argument to unite both of them with the *Generation of the 1930*<sup>13</sup>, that is more a literary notion rather than historic. And to behave more scientifically about this issue comes to our aide *Migjeni* of Mekuli in Serbo-Croatian. The similarities and the *coincidences*, without *knowing each other*<sup>14</sup>, are put in doubt if we pose the question: *Migjeni* has been translated in the Serbo-Croatian language searching an answer within the text, by approaching or distinguishing them both and their creativity in the 1930?

## II.

Here deserves to be mentioned another marking biographical and literary fact of Esad Mekuli. After Migjeni, in 1982, he translated and published in Albanian, with *Jeta e re*, he chaired for some decades, another similar poet for both: the Slovenian Srečko Kosovel. We don't know the reasons why he chose to translate the volume *Pesmi*, with which not only Migjeni, but also he, was very close with the earlier creativity phase, often also called of *Migjeni's style*, but *Integralet*, poems remained manuscript, that would belong to the second phase of the trend *cons*, as *constructivism* would prefer to be called<sup>15</sup>, published many years after Migjeni passed away. That cloudy are the reasons why the translation into Albanian of Srečko Kosovel rarely is mentioned in

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*Atti del 2° seminario internazionale di studi albanesi*, Università di Calabria, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica, nr. 14, Roma 1997, p. 291-303.

<sup>12</sup>Idem, *Rreth koincidencave dhe ndikimeve*, ibid, p. 77 and the following.

<sup>13</sup>Idem, p. 81.

<sup>14</sup>Rexhep Qosja, *Dialogje me shkrimtarët*, bot. Rilindja, Tiranë 1979, p. 247.

<sup>15</sup>Arturo Cronia, *Storia della letteratura serbo-croata*, secondo edizione, ediz. Nuova Accademia Editrice, Milano 1956; also David Brooks, *Srečko Kosovel - Life and Poetry*, in Srečko Kosovel, *The Golden Boat: Selected Poems of Srečko Kosovel* (translated by Bert Pribac & David Brooks), edit. Salt publishing, London 2008, 2011, p. 3-15

the many contributions of Esad Mekuli as *brilliant medium* between two languages and two literary systems.<sup>16</sup> These three poets: Migjeni, Srečko Kosovel and Esad Mekuli, in the present historic-literary research of some foreign scholars, also comes closer not without reason Giuseppe Ungaretti, the Italian poet that later exiled from futurism to hermetism.<sup>17</sup>

Do they knew each other, Migjeni and Esad Mekuli? To be affirmed that Esad Mekuli and Migjeni were manifested as creative individualities *without knowing each other*<sup>18</sup>, understanding with this only a partial, later retrospective of post Second World War recognition? To give an answer to this question, the assumptions are not enough. Together with them and more than those, are required the biographical and literary facts. The same reasoning stand also for the question if Migjeni had read or not the poem of the Slovenian Srečko Kosovel (his volume *Pesmi* was published in Ljubljana in 1927). The answer could have been convincing if would have been proven by literary evidences.

It's true that Migjeni's *Vargjet e lira* were forbidden (or more precisely, confiscated). It's the same true that all this volume's poems were published in the magazines of that time (*Illyria, Shkëndija, Bota e re, Përpyjekja shqiptare*), some of which were also known from the progressive writers of the former Serbs, Croats and Slovenes kingdom. The puritan biographers of Migjeni, in an ahistoric way, have cleaned the past from the friendships he had in the years of formation as seminarist, by leaving in a narrow circle of activists with Bolshevik-Komintern orientation. However, the facts speak differently. Among others, in the years when he wrote *Vargjet e lira*, Migjeni had friendship with the renown Croatian composer *Kosta Manojlović*, an expert of the Albanian traditional music, author of *Pesme zemlje Skenderbegove* (*Këngë të tokës së Skënderbeut/Songs of Scanderbeg's land*) - selection of six parts for chorus based on Albanian folk songs (*zbirka od 6 horova*

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<sup>16</sup>Fadil Grajçevci, *Përkthimet në shqip, në Vepra letrare e Esad Mekulit dhe kritika e saj*, edit. of Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtina, 2013, p. 274-278. Also compare and Rexhep Qosja, *Përkthimet e letërsisë shqipe në serbishte dhe në kroatishite*, presented in the international scientific conference *Letrat shqipe dhe gjuhët e tjera të letërsisë shqiptare*, organized from Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 9 November 2015. Mekuli would be felt bilingual until his last years of life, when he would write the poem with the same title.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen Schwartz, *Under Empty Skies Falconers Weep, A Personal Survey of Modern Verse in Ex-Yugoslavia and Albania*, Part II, in *Contemporary Poetry Review*, July 2010; idem, *Migjeni dhe Fishta*, in *Fakti*, 25 prill 2003, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>Rexhep Qosja, *Ibid*.



*komponovana po albanskim narodnim pesmama*, 1933)<sup>19</sup>. One of the Migjeni's close friends from the clerics and theologians was Levko Arsovski, who played a primal role on organizing and developing the proceedings of the first Macedonian church-national assembly in 1945 (*prvi makedonski crkveno-narodni sabor, Skoplje 4 marta 1945*), also on the foundation of the theological faculty (*Bogoslovski Fakultet*)<sup>20</sup>. Petro Janura, in his monograph study on Migjeni, systematizing the data of his life during the seminar years, after distinguishing as one of his closest friends Pandi Papanastasi and *Petar Kadić*, also mentions the seminarists Tihomir Antić, Jovan Velimirović, Branislav Kovačevski, Nikola Popovski, Božidar Stanković<sup>21</sup>. Many data that were made known in the Albanian studies in the passage of two times (1992), by referring the unknown archival sources, have been already proven by other scholars. Migjeni knew the poetry of the physician Stefan Stefanović, that was ruled from the Nietzschean rule of Superman. In the areas of the seminar he discussed with friends and relatives on Miloš Crnjanski's creativity, in the context of the time's literary trends: surrealism, Dadaism, futurism. Migjeni himself speaks about similar poets of the time as, Vukasović, Spiridonović-Savić, which was considered as Rilke of the former Serbs-Croats-Slovenes kingdom.<sup>22</sup> While Arshi Pipa, later would insist that also *Migjeni's programmatic poetic, based on the free verses*, was an influence from Miroslav Krleža-s<sup>23</sup>. However, rightfully the scholars have started to think that might have been Miloš Crnjanski whom that with the theoretical part (*teorijsko-programski deo*) of the explanation letter (*Objašnjenja*) addressed to the editor of the *Srpskog književnog glasnika* magazine, the articles 3 and 4, reminded to Migjeni *the free verse: We are torn apart from this form of life, because we have found a new life. We write with free verse that is a consequence of our*

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<sup>19</sup>K. Manojlović knew in first person the Albanian world during the First World War, being part of the Serb army (*za vreme prvog svetskog rata, 1915. sa srpskom vojskom prelazi Albaniju*). *Ishte a slav monk*, he addressed university lectures in theology and widely studied the Albanian folk music. See also on Eno Koço, *A Family of Songs: Reflections of Albanian Urban Lyric Song in Mediterranean*, in: *The Mediterranean in Music: Critical Perspectives, Common Concerns, Cultural Differences*, USA, Sacrecrow Press, 2005, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup>Veljko Đurić Mišina, *Letopis srpske pravoslavne crkve 1946-1958*, Beograd, 2000-2002, s. 1306-1393.

<sup>21</sup>Petro Janura, *Migjeni*, edition of *Flakës së vëllazërimit*, Shkup 1982, p. 21.

<sup>22</sup>Rinush Idrizi, *Migjeni*, shtëpia botuese *Enciklopedike*, Tiranë 1992, p. 72-74.

<sup>23</sup>Arshi Pipa, *ibid*.

*opinion content. Without the character of the ordinary daily and the music of metric tambourine that has existed until now, we give a pure form of ecstasy. We tend to express the mood changeable rhythm, which have been discovered before us. To give a precise image of the thought, with the possible spirituality. We ask to give the happy colors of our dreams, of our presages, the sound and the whisper of the things till now neglected and dead,* he wrote in this letter through which he had to protect the new poetic of the still unpublished poem *Sumatra*<sup>24</sup>. This happened a decade prior that Migjeni started to publish his poems in free verse. Meanwhile, Miloš Crnjanski approached the city where Migjeni learned the religious teachings even in poetry: on 1927 he published two known poems *Naše plaže na Jadranu (Plazhet tona në Adriatik/Our beaches in the Adriatic)* and *Boka Kotorska (Kotorr's Boka)*. As to Mekuli, he never spoke neither on Migjeni's techniques, nor those of Srećko Kosovel, and either for the futurists Balkan treaty followed by Miroslav Krleža and Miloš Crnjanski. However, in the aesthetic valuation of the free verse he wouldn't change his attitude even in the last decades of his life: *To write the poem in free verse is more difficult, rather than to write a poem with rime, because it has to have the rhythm, the musicality. This kind of poetry, is not banal, but has special legality.*<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Teorijsko-programski deo *Objašnjenja Miloša Crnjanskog o urednik Srpskog književnog glasnika Bogdan Popović pri štampanju Sumatre* (Beograd 1920): 3. *Za nove vrednosti u književnosti, kidanje sa tradicijom, okrutnost budućnosti. Mi sad donosimo nemir, prevrat, u reči, osećanju, mišljenju... Prekinuli smo sa tradicijom, jer se bacamo strmoglavo u budućnost. Odbacili smo bivše zakone... Ne postoje nepromenljive vrednosti!... 4. Stih se oslobađa metričkih stega jer treba da izrazi nove sadržaje, promenljivi ritam raspoloženja, estazu stvaralačkog nadahnuća, zvuk i boju stvarnosti i snova. Pišemo slobodnim stihom, što je posledica naših sadržaja! Bez banalnih četvorokuta i dobošarske muzike dosadašnje metrike, dajemo čist oblik ekstaze. Pokušavamo da izrazimo promenljivi ritam raspoloženja... Da upotrebimo sve boje, leljave, boje naših snova i slutnji, zvuk i šaputanje stvari, dosad prezrenih i mrtvih.* See on Blerina Suta, op. cit.

<sup>25</sup>See on Hazbi Gashi and Tahir Desku, *ibid*.



Portray of the poet Antun Simić (1898-1925) in the today banknote of Bosnia Herzegovina

Antun Simić expressed his ideas on modernity poetics in the theoretical papers *Namjesto svih programa* (*Program on all programs*); *Anarhija u umjetnosti* (*Art's anarchy*); *O muzici forma* (*On musical forms*).

Same as Migjeni, his verses he called *Pjesma*. One of them carries the title *The Song of the songs* (*Pjesma pjesnika*). In the poetry *Smrt i ja* (*The Death and me*) there are verses as: *Smrt nije izvan mene / Ona je u meni: Death is not out of me, it is on me.*



Portray of the Croatian poet Đuro Sudeta (1902-1925)

Đuro Sudeta, Croatian poet, with the same personal destiny as Migjeni. He wrote the poem of pain, not of a proud pain as that of Migjeni, but full of humanism and protest. In one of his poems, entitled *Osamljenim stazama* (*Through forced trails*), Đuro Sudeta become spokesman of the social and civic desperation in the period between the two wars. Some of his poems since the title come closer with the spiritual register of Migjeni: *Misao na smrt* (*Thought on death*), *Mrtvo sunce* (*Sun's death*); *Ugasio se dan* (*Day's end*); *Kad umrem* (*When I die*).



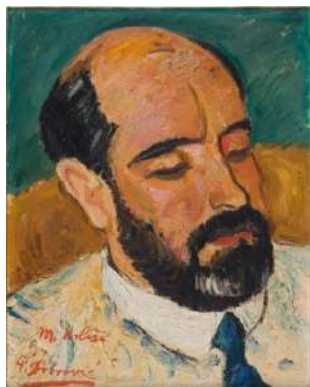
Hristo Smirnenski (Христо Смирненски),  
Bulgarian poet (1903-1927)

Migjeni and Hristo Smirnenski had the same personal destiny. His poem *Зимни вечери* (*Winter evening*) is very similar with Migjeni's *Poema e mjerimit* (*The poem of misery*). Like Migjeni, the Bulgarian Hristo Smirnenski (Христо Смирненски) turned the literature in the city. His poem *What a divine joy to be human* (*Какво по-божествено щастие от бляна да бъдеш човек*) is another form of desperation on man's fall, that reminds at the same time the poem "If" of R. Kipling. From the same troubled world as that of Migjeni come his verses *Dining with the devil* (*На гости у дявола*); *Yellowish guest woman* (*Жълтата гостенка*); *At the end of the day* (*Да бъде ден*).



**Kosta Racin - Коста Апостолов Солев**  
(Kočo Racin, Кочо Рацин: 1908-1943)

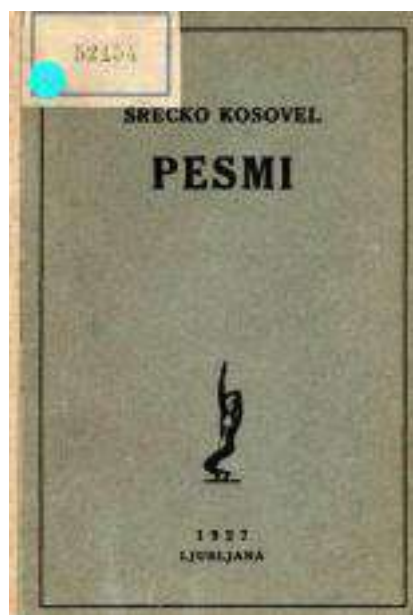
Had the same personal destiny as Migjeni, but not because of an illness. The end of his life on 1943 even today is a war enigma. His poems entitled *To the last worker* (*До еден работник*) and especially *Konachume* (*The suffering*), are typical for the Balkan social literature between two world wars.



**Miroslav Krleža**

Migjeni's Poem of misery and *Bijeda svojim rukama dotiče se svega* (*The misery has everything in its hands*) mark the closest point that unites both poets in the poetic and thematic point-of-view.

The three his first volumes, same as all the Balkan poets that belong to the social literature, he called them *Pjesme* (Songs). Miroslav Krleža is the only of the Balkan's social poets that had not a similar personal destiny as Migjeni. He lived in the period of the second Yugoslavia, where the phenomenon of socialist realism was an important inclination, but he refused it. In the second phase, M. Krleža stands closer to I. Kadare.



**Srečko Kosovel (1904-1926), Slovenian poet, by certain the most similar to Migjeni in the entire context of the Balkan social literature.**

He had the same personal destiny as Migjeni, died of tuberculosis in a very young age. His songs (*Pesmi/Songs*) are comparable with those of Migjeni in the endocosmic plane.

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### The content of the volume *Pesmi*, Srečko Kosovel.

In the content of his only volume *Pesmi* with yellow are marked the titles that are closer to Migjeni's poems. While the concern of the Albanian poet added in the Albanian language lexicon the word *kens*, Kosovel added in the Slovenian the word *kons*, abbreviation of the constructivism trend name.

### Titles

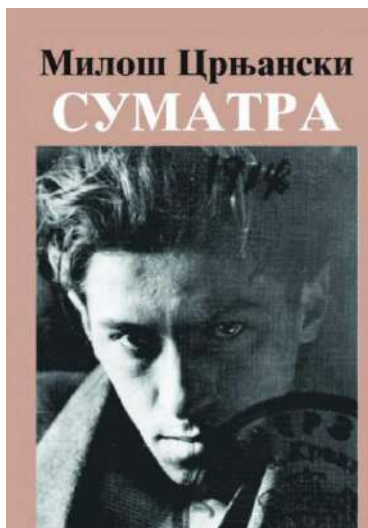
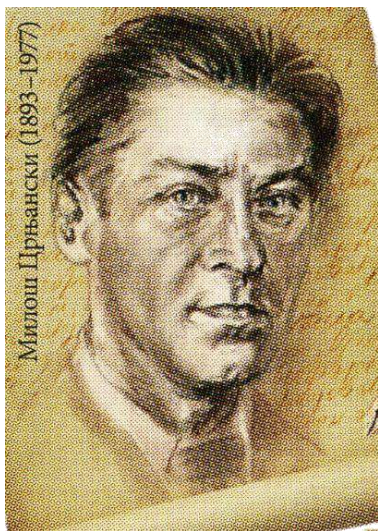
#### Srečko Kosovel

*Balada*  
*Melanholija*  
*Pesem o vrenju / Pesem o ponižanih*  
*Molitev*  
*Krik po samoti*  
*Novoletni sonet*  
*Vstajenje - smrt*  
*Predkosilni sonet*

#### Migjeni

*Baladë qytetëse*  
*Nën flamujt e melankolisë*  
*Poema e mjerimit, Zgjimi*  
*Lutje*  
*Vetmia*  
*Urime për 1937-ën*  
*Kangët e ringjalljes*  
*Kangët e pakëndueme*





**Miloš Crnjanski, Serb poet and thinker, author of the Balkans futurists' treaty, portray in the Serb philately.**

In the foreword of his well-known volume *Sumatra* (name of an island in Indonesia), nevertheless close with the zeniths, that saw the savior of the civilisation from provincial cultures. Miloš Crnjanski called for *slobodne stih*, *free verses*; to ruin the rime, the rhythm, the rhapsodic style, and the people's tradition.



**Official document of the editing house *Naim Frashëri* addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the request to be published the work of Migjeni under the attention and as protected heritage and valued by UNESCO (1961).**





The front cover of the Migjeni's book *Vargjet e lira*, published by *Reč i misao* (*Words and thoughts*) in Serbian with the title *Prekinuta melodija*, after the poem *Melodi e këputun*.

Migjeni was not without connection in the literary system that was developing in the former first Yugoslavia, he lived with the concerns of the former Yugoslav social-civic literature. Esad Mekuli, also not: for during two decades his creativity is connected with the Serbo-Croatian language. In a certain way, on 1955 when he published the volume *Për ty/For you*, it can be said that he recreated it, following the same tradition of De Rada, the tradition of auto translation. During the 1930 and later, the poems of this volume were published by him in the Serbo-Croatian language periodicals. The Yugoslav literature of that time, not only wasn't foreign and distant for him, but he also had made friends and friendship. It's not by case that to his invitation to protest against the Stojadinović-Ataturk agreement to displace (Moslem) Albanians, joined Montenegrins, Croats, Serbs of the society he participated in. Srećko Kosovel, for the same reasons, as long as he lived and created, was found between two languages, between two literary systems. And the second system was common for the three of them: the Serbo-Croatian language and the social literature that was developed in this language.

Migjeni, Esad Mekuli and Srećko Kosovel have not lived as self separated islands. The evidences of an inter-textual degree that overpass the inspiration, the motives, the themes, the spelling of the civic protest, prove that the coincidences are not that much. And in this case Mekuli's *Migjeni* takes another value, because is *common text*, of the creator and re-creator. Except two poets of small peoples, except formed in languages and schools that could had not been their selection in many views; the unfortunately first two not only in the complex of the societies

where they lived on, but also in their personal life: with TBC and short living; except poets of those who are ruled, of the society's poor and despised; except city poets and of protest, the three of them wrote even in Serbo-Croatian, the three of them read Russian literature and had affirmed connection with what is known as *left futurism*, *левый футуризм*, *futuristi di sinistra*, as were defined by Leon Trotsky since 1923<sup>26</sup>. The autobiography, in the literary courses and homoglottic linguistic environments where they lived, the common orientation in poetics and aesthetic principles, could have been approaching factors as much as their distance recognition as *reading recognition*.

The affirmation that Migjeni and Esad Mekuli were found close to each other without *knowing each other* comes as contradiction with the view that meantime Migjeni and Mekuli were *representatives of a creative generation*, of a generation not in the chronological view of their manifestation, but of the aesthetic and civil. The approximates in the text, in motives and in the inspiration between Migjeni and Esad Mekuli are noticed times ago from the scholars.

*Migjeni and Esad Mekuli were distinguished by the social themes and the protest.*<sup>27</sup> *Millosh Gjergj Nikolla is the leader of the new Albanian social literature.*<sup>28</sup> Both they were poets of a nation, that *approach so much to each other at the vocational side forms and the way how they saw the reality because in their consciousness leads the historic social development and the psychological imperative, founded within that social atmosphere*<sup>29</sup>. As the woman highlander that comes into the city to sell the coal and the body in Migjeni, also on Mekuli is manifested *the man who has exit the code, the highlander out of Kanun*, the lumberman in the city (of the same typology as *wood to cut*, on *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe/The great winter* of I. Kadare)<sup>30</sup>. In any case, the resemblance of Esad Mekuli's poetry with that of Migjeni has been

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<sup>26</sup> Лев Давидович Троцкий, *Формальная школа поэзии и марксизм*, në *Литература и революция*, Moskva 1923.

<sup>27</sup> Ali Podrimja, *Poeti i guximit njerëzor*, in Esad Mekuli, *Malli për të pambërritshmen*, bot. i ASHAK, Prishtinë 2006, f. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Esad Mekuli, op. cit., s. 83.

<sup>29</sup> Rexhep Qosja, ibid, p. 247.

<sup>30</sup> *The topos of this poem (O vlla, me sharrë në krah) ... is a big and white city, according all the odds is Belgrade. There the Albanians made simple and hard works to keep alive their big families in Kosova.* See Nysret Krasniqi, *Letërsia e Kosovës*, edit. 99 AIKD, Prishtina 2016, p. 36.

left as an intended possibility only for ideological engagement.<sup>31</sup> As for the inspiration, concerns, civic pledge, meaning of life, social content, spirit of protest<sup>32</sup> and the ideals' power for another society, the same resemblances can be proved between the volume *Pesmi* by Srečko Kosovel and the volume *Vargjet e lira* by Migjeni. Observing the inter text of these two volumes only in the degree of structure, in the beginning we mention that both have build they books divided in four parts, preceded by a single poem. Both call their creation *kangë/këngë/songs* and not *vjersha/poezi/poems*. Both write to express the disagreement with the reality, the refusal how society has been settled, the searching for more just world, the rebuke of the evil. Both the half of their work didn't achieved to saw it published while they were alive: Migjeni *Novelat e qytetit të Veriut* and Srečko Kosovel *Integralet*.

### III.

Of the same age with Esad Mekuli and Migjeni was another poet, Emrush Miftari<sup>33</sup>, that one can call it *Kosovar* also as much as *Albanian*, in the meaning of belonging in sub literary system. Nevertheless they were a sort of kinship<sup>34</sup>, we have not found any data for Mekuli to evoke the name of his contemporary Emrush Miftari. On him are very few data in the studies. Except Petro Marko, his former co-warrior in Spain, that extracted his name from the silence since early, evidencing his contributions as man of letters, that together with him carried in the pocket the manifest of the Albanian antifascists *Vullnetari i lirisë/Freedom's volunteer*, and dared to debate even with Luigi Longo, who chaired the battalion *Garibaldi*, on issues of press and of antifascist thought, and who was almost forgotten by all.<sup>35</sup> Surprisingly, he didn't exists even in the memories of the other fellow warrior, Skënder

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<sup>31</sup> Idem, p. 38: *The social engagement poetry of Esad Mekuli ... gave life to a type of writing, of reflecting the utopia, becoming model of the ideological engaged literature*. Also compare the affirmation of Esad Mekuli himself: *how not to write on the Albanian workers from Macedonia and Kosova, working hard as lumbermen, coal carriers in the highest floors of skyscrapers, cleaning Belgrade's WC*. Hazbi Gashi and Tahir Desku, *ibid*.

<sup>32</sup> Odile Daniele, *Un écrivain des années 1930: Migjeni. La tradition albanaise d'une littérature de combat*, in *Cahiers Balkaniques*, nr. 9, édit. Inalco, Paris.

<sup>33</sup> He uses the last name *Myftari*. In this paper his surname is used as in the document's source. The most precise form would have been *Myftari*, but the most dense form is *Miftari*.

<sup>34</sup> *My uncle, Esat Mekuli, took good and big care on us*, in *Interview of Luljeta Bajri in Nën radar: kujtimet e Luftës së Dytë Botërore në Kosovë*, organized from *Iniciativa për histori gojore*, 11 May 2015.

<sup>35</sup> Petro Marko, *Retë dhe gurët - intervistë me vetveten*, bot. OMSCA, Tiranë 2000, p. 216, p. 444-446.

Luarasi<sup>36</sup>, that could have been more careful towards him, even because of Migjeni and of poetic relations. The other fellow warrior, Veli Dedi, that being for some years the chair of the national archives in Albania, also should have thought to shed light earlier on this character, but we don't have no trace of attention from him.

Emrush Miftari was formed in the Lycée of Korça, in the same environment where Migjeni has found better himself with *Bota e Re*, where he published most of his creativity. Another writer, not only of the same generation, but also of an orientation with Migjeni, became his friend during the period of the European antifascism, Petro Marko, the only who didn't forget him in his writings. His name is not found either in the writings of Mehmet Shehu, where are mentioned many Albanian contributors from Kosova in the antifascist brigades in Spain. When he wrote poetry on Kosova in 1932, Mekuli hasn't started to wrote yet.<sup>37</sup> Emrush Miftari closed his life very early not because of tuberculoses, but because of his political stands.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless in the first essays of Kosova's history of literature the name of Emrush Miftari is not found, he makes part among the founders of the Albanian literature in Kosova, classified in the composition of the Albanian social literature groups in Kosova and Albania<sup>39</sup>.

He was the founder of the first bookshop in Albanian language in Peja (and perhaps the first in all Kosova), which he called *Skënderbeg-Myftari*. The bookshop was a certain way a work studio of his. There he kept his manuscripts, the typing machine and rare works. In the 1930, after concluding the Lycée together with Zekeria Rexha, opened in Lyon the newspaper in Albanian *Sazani*. By the end of the war, when Emrush Miftari had made known his stand in relations with the sides in the war,

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<sup>36</sup>Skënder Luarasi, *Në brigadat internacionale në Spanjë*, edit. Toena, Tiranë 1996. In this summary very few data are found on Emrush Miftari. Perhaps in the next book, still a manuscript, *Ç'kam parë e ç'kam dëgjuar (kujtime autobiografike)*, could be more.

<sup>37</sup>Shefqet Canhasi, *Emrush Myftari, poet i panjohur deri më sot, në dritën e të dhënave të reja*, në *Alternativa*, nr. 9-12, Lubllanë 1990, p. 83-93.

<sup>38</sup>Without author (but Shefqet Canhasi), *Ferri jugosllavo-çetnik për shqiptarët - dëshmi nga burime të dorës së parë: letra e kapiten Emrush Miftarit*, in *Drita*, nr. 10, Trelleborg, Suedi 1997, p. 5-6.

<sup>39</sup>In the manual *Letërsia e Kosovës (1953-2000)* by Nysret Krasniqi, nevertheless is widely spoken for the return of *night of long knives* (edit. 99 AIKD, Prishtina, 2016, f. 21), the name of Emrush Miftari, the poet of the national protest is not mentioned.

his house was burned and destroyed from the Yugoslav secret service OZNA, including the garden, where was thought he kept hidden original materials, with the claim that there could have been a *secret radio station*. The intellectual formation in Albania (after was refused to him the education in Belgrade), the speaking of French and English, the participation in Spain's antifascist war, the friendship with Flavia Kingston (an activist in the resistance against the invaders), were sufficient arguments to proclaim him *Intelligent Service* agent.<sup>40</sup>

After a long silence of over half a century, the name of Emrush Miftari has remained aside not only from the literary studies, where the preserved heritage is modest, but also in the story of participating of the Albanian volunteers in the Spain's civil war. One of the latest editions dedicated to this history, entitled *Vullnetari i lirisë, Petro Marko, Hasta la Vista* and *Brigadistët shqiptarë në luftën civile spanjolle*, his name only is evoked through the press illustrations and that's it.<sup>41</sup> Not only, but in some commemorations his name does not exists.<sup>42</sup> And there is no chance to exists when as notice the Spanish visitors of the Albanian museums, that in their bill-boards has returned the picture of Mehmet Shehu, but not that of Emrush Miftari and Justina Shkupi.<sup>43</sup> It's not to be surprised at all, that meanwhile the Serb historiography of the XXI century has started to promote the name of Emrush Miftari as an antifascist Yugoslav participant in the international brigades in Spain's war.<sup>44</sup> The trajectory of his life is very complicated. In Korça's Lycée he came to know about Bolshevik ideas and with *Bota e re*. In the years of his stay in France, he had official contacts with Komintern. Not with the eastern branch that of Moscow, but with the western one, that of Paris, and also the same as Gjovalin Luka, which after the publishing of Migjeni's *Veptra* (1954), would get political punishment. As convincing

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<sup>40</sup> Luljeta Bajri, *ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> *Voluntarios de la libertad: Petro Marko, Hasta la Vista y los brigadistas albaneses en la Guerra Civil Española*, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, Madrid 2008.

<sup>42</sup> No author, *Yugoslavos y albaneses en la Guerra Civil Española*, in the magazine *Balcanes, revista de actualidad, cultura y viajes*, 1 dicembre 2013.

<sup>43</sup> No author, *Y se llamaba Justina Shkupi*, in *Hija de las Águilas*, 7 de febrero de 2016.

<sup>44</sup> See for example the paper of the scholar Avgust Leshnik (Август Лешник), *Крв и живот за слободу - Југословенски интербригадисти у Шпанију (1936–1939)*, in *Vojno istorijski glasnik*, изд. Институт за Стратегијска Истраживања, бр. 1-2, 2007, st. 43.

antifascist, he would show himself as volunteer in the international brigades in defending the democracy in Spain. As antifascist he would start his national activity in Kosova during the Second World War. Later he would think how could be implanted antifascism as the most progressive inclination of the world with the national idea of taking profit from the new world order that would be established after the war, when for sure would be a change of borders. And so, little by little he joined the *irredentist antifascists*.

Except antifascist and revolutionary, except firm in his national convictions, what brought him serious problems even during the participation in the international brigades in Spain's war, Emrush Miftari, after the recollection of the friends was a person of delicate soul, that has expressed it not only in his creativity, which the main part has been lost, but also in the correspondence. He wrote Albanian, French, Turkish and Serbo-Croatian. Emrush Miftari is one of the earliest collector of Rugova folklore, if not the earliest, at the same time that two American Homerologists Milman Parry and Albert Lord were studying bilingual rhapsodists of Sandjak. The few data that exists around this activity of his, speak about the collection and the transcription of tow volumes of Rugova's rhapsodists folklore, that he specifically entitled *Kangë populllore të trimnisë* and *Kangë populllore të dashunisë*. Interesting is his attention towards the folk lyric, having in mind that the entire period between the two wars was almost entirely ruled from the cult of the legendary epos. In the close circle of known and men and with influence, as the convictions of Emrush Miftari among others was also, Selman Riza, while during the war in Spain is believed that he had known the reporter-writers Ernest Hemingway, Pablo Neruda and George Orwell.<sup>45</sup>

Communist, internationalist and nationalist at the same time, Emrush Miftari, when realized that the war who started was remaining only libratory, was one of the people that was chosen from that part of Kosovo intelligentsia who started to think about the postwar. He joined that trend which Selman Riza would define as *irredentist antifascism*, meaning: *resistance against the invaders, popularizing the allies*,

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<sup>45</sup> Muhamet Sadiku, in his book, *Qëndresa nacionaliste e Pejës 1941-1946*, edit. European College Dukagjini, Pejë 2013, to the personality of Emrush Miftari is dedicated a separate subchapter.

*antifascist war not as part of the same war in Yugoslavia, not within that state, on the contrary, out that framework and even in rebellion against that state.*<sup>46</sup> Exactly this, might have been the essential reason why Emrush Miftari was banned from the official historic memory during half a century, both in Kosova and Albania. The terms *irredentism* and *irredentist* were scary both for Tirana and Prishtina: for Tirana, because was taking shelter from Belgrade's accusations for interference in internal affairs of the Yugoslav state; for Prishtina because the irredentism was considered a violation of the constitutional order and effort to dissolve the former Yugoslav federation.

In the composition of the delegation of four persons, a month prior the Conference of Bujan, where would be proclaimed the right of self-determination to the detachment, he came to Tirana to meet the leaders of the two biggest Albanian political organizations and to verify from them in what degree have seriously pledged for the destiny of the Albanians in the former Yugoslavia. For this mission, he also had a mandate of representation. In a document of 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1943, is proved that Emrush Miftari has been mandated to take contacts and to held negotiations with the most important representatives in Tirana, to influence the changing in their attitudes towards the Yugoslav allies: *Through our envoy Mr. Emrush Myftarit we are sending a box with the medical relations where are found a part of the massacres that have committed the Montenegrins cetniks against the Albanian population of Bihor in the river's shore. Through these documents the whole world can be informed that these are the actions of the XX century undertaken from the Montenegrin cetniks against a territory for being simple Albanian and in their veins flows the Albanian blood. These brothers have been massacred from the enemy even because are fewer in number rather than the enemy who has attacked them and unarmed. These brothers, nevertheless are Albanians, unfortunately have remained out of the demarcation line as neutral zone nonetheless their demands to mother Albania, unfortunately their demand couldn't be fulfilled because the enemy has wiped them out for good. After this territory is threatened the Albanian population in Petnicë, Peshter, Senicë, Suidoll and Delimegjë, if the Albanian government would not come to their aide, and of course they have learned what happened to their brothers in Bihor*

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<sup>46</sup> Letter of Selman Riza addressed to the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Tirana on 20 October 1969, published in Rexhep Ismajli, *Pasionet dhe pësimet e Selman Rizës*, bot. ASHAK, Prishtinë 2009, f. 366.

*and it's not a surprise that this destiny might also occur on them.*<sup>47</sup> The meetings he had as comes out from the documents, produced no outcome.<sup>48</sup>

Many questions of Emrush Miftari's life as activist and thinker, have been presented in a monograph study dedicated to this personality, a very difficult enterprise from the author, but the literary creativity part has remained the most unlit. The author of the only monograph dedicated to this personality, presenting the difficulties of his job, has said: *I didn't had the chance to turn over the party pages, where as I have been told by many people, there are plenty of memories and testimonies from Emrush's former collaborators, collected under the care of Mehmet Shehu, his former fellow warrior in Spain, and for a long time prime minister of communist Albania.*<sup>49</sup> It can be imagined what kind of recognition could have been to research the personal fund of Emrush Miftari that still today is preserved classified in the Komintern archives (INCOMKA)<sup>50</sup>. On Emrush Miftari, according credible data, files and documents that contained his creativity have been at the hands of the scholars of Prishtina's Albanological Institute and of researchers in the Archives of Kosova. Sources on him, also were beyond any doubt also in Belgrade's archives, both for activity as antifascist and his activity as irredentist<sup>51</sup>. It's not possible for us to give a precise opinion on Emrush Miftari's orientation in Albanian and Yugoslav poetics and literary trends during the 1930, because on his creativity has been too few written and have been made even fewer researches. However, is not without importance the fact that in the time when he was writing in Albanian

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<sup>47</sup> Arbër Gashi, *Masakra e Bihorit, në Shqiptari*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2017.

<sup>48</sup>In a reply letter that Sadri Doçi wrote to Emrush Miftari on 28 November 1943, when was made known the disagreement between the Albanian nationalists and partisans in Mukja, that in Kosova has caused big doubts on the future, to invite him to make part in a delegation that would had as duty to present these doubts and concerns both sides in Tirana, among other things is said: *For us, the irredentists, the national liberation war has the character of the war against the invader and against the old border of Yugoslavia.* In the following is said: *I am connected to you by the seriousness and attitude, from words to the action. To the political groups there and here we had to manifest our irredentist opinion: If your national liberation war is worthy, it should contain these two components: 1. War against every foreign invader; 2. War against the old borders of Yugoslavia, as unjust border for us Albanians; 3. These two wars had to be fought at the same time, not one after another. Then, we will be with you - why we wouldn't be?* The document has been published complete from the historian Hakif Bajrami and is preserved at: Arkivi i Kosovës, Fondi i Komitetit Krahinor të LKK, year 1943. See also and compare: Hakif Bajrami, *Kritikucët me injorancën e tyre po e degradojnë luftën e ushtrisë çlirimtare*, in *Kosova sot*, 20 January 2016.

<sup>49</sup>Esat Myftari, *Emrush Myftari* (monograph), Tiranë 2011; idem, *Mehmet Shehu fshehu dokumentet e dëshmitë për shokun e tij*, in *Gazeta shqiptare*, 26 November 2011.

<sup>50</sup> INCOMKA Archive, Fond 495-188, Albania, Personal/Biographical Files, 230 files, reviewed by Stephen Schwartz and Shaban Sinani.

<sup>51</sup>Luljeta Bajri, quoted interview



the poems *Of Kosova*, Esad Mekuli wrote in Serb-Croatian the collection with poems *Šcriptar ti peva, Metohijo, from which were preserved only some poems, because it has been lost without trace during the war*.<sup>52</sup> Not only antifascist activist could have been put in evidence from Komintern archives. We had the chance to prove this during a process of cooperation with the National Council of Archives for the digitalization of these archives collections, where was found that the name of Emrush Miftari belongs to one of 230 Albanian personalities with personal, biographic and creative funds. This fund is not yet unknown.<sup>53</sup> Interesting is that the name of Emrush Miftari does not exist in the Albanian list of Komintern activists, a list of 50 individuals, if it is still hidden in one of the ten names that result with nicknames. Also the published biographies on the international volunteers in Spain's antifascist war have kept their notes on Emrush Miftari, also including those on his postwar destiny, without excluding *the surveillance from the Yugoslav secret services (UDB): esecuestrado por los servicios secretos (UDB) de Yugoslavia*.<sup>54</sup> In this process could have influenced the limited degree of the possibility to consult the funds of *INCOMKA Archives*, as much as the difficulties of identifying the sources because of transcriptions of his name in different alphabets.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> See Hazbi Gashi and Tahir Desku, quoted interview.

<sup>53</sup> INCOMKA Archive, Fund 495-188, Albania, Personal/Biographical Files, 230 files, reviewed by Stephen Schwartz and Shaban Sinani.

<sup>54</sup> See on Fernando Rodríguez de la Torre, *Bibliografía de las brigadas internacionales y de la participación de extranjeros a favor de la República (1936-1939)*, edit. Instituto de Estudios Albacetenses Don Juan Manuel de la Excm. Diputación de Albacete, Albacete 2006, p. 126. Krhs dhe Veiz Bajo, *Dëshmorët shqiptarë që ranë heroikisht në Luftën e Spanjës (1936-1939)*, edition on the 60 anniversary of Spain's War, Kujtime; edit. Marin Barleti, Tiranë 1996, where Emrush Miftari is mentioned as officer in the rank of *captain (capitán)*.

<sup>55</sup> Bernhard H. Bayerlein, on whom we have worked to unify the names of the personalities with personal funds in INCOMKA Archives, five years after this process was closed, in his bibliography for the Komintern activists published in *The International Newsletter of Communist Studies (Международный бюллетень исторических исследований коммунизма)*, vol. XIII, nr. 20, University of Mannheim, Germany 2007, p. 79, marks: *Miftari, Emruš*.

**The Fund of Emrush Miftari in the collection 495, list 188, Albania, at INCOMKA Archives<sup>56</sup>**

Nr.	Name of the fund after our review (2003)	Possible variant of the name of the fund (prior 2003)	The name of the fund in the source	INCOMKA (with Russian alphabet)
140	Myftari, Emrush	Muftari, Emrush	Муфтари, Эмруш, алб	
141	Myftiu, Manush	Muftiu, Manush	Муфтиу, Мануш, алб	
142	Niazi, Islami	N'iazi, Islami	Ньязи, Ислями, алб	
143	Neziraj, Ram Sadik	Nezirai, Ram Sadyk	Незирај, Рам Садык, алб	
144	Ngjela, Kiço	Ngzhelia, Kicho	Нгжеля, Кичо, алб	
145	Nishani, Omer	Nishani, Omer	Нишани, Омер, алб	
146	Nushi, Gogo	Nushi, Gogo	Нуши, Гого, алб	
147	Olldashi, Petro	Oldashi, Petro	Олдаши, Петро, алб	

To understand the eruption of Emrush Miftari in the following letter, addressed to his brother, is appropriate to be read the drafted record and signed in details from the physician of the forensic medicine Hasan Lluqaqi, at the same date with his delegation to make known the situation and to discuss about it in Tirana. The Četnik violence against the Albanians in Rožaje on 6 January 1943, was certified as the following:

**1.** Head of a boy nearly 13-15 years old, beheaded through a white weapon (sword-knife) and this with one strike, from which is seen that the wound signs are totally flat, and also the sides of the lower jaw are totally flat; **2.** head of a woman nearly 22-26 years old, beheaded with a white weapon, which is seen in the limits of the wound that are totally flat. The hair of head burned and the skin carbonized, from which is seen that the she was beheaded while she was still alive and then burned; **3.** Palm of the hand of a little boy nearly 10 years old, cut with one strike from a white weapon, from which is seen that the limits of the wound in the bone and flesh are flat; **4.** Leg of a man, cut with one strike as its seen from the limits of the wounds in bone and flesh; **5.** Right hand cut to

<sup>56</sup> Ordinal number is at the same time the number of the fund with the signature in the source. The Fund of Emrush Miftari is given in the Collection 495, list 188, Albania, INCOMKA Archives.

*the elbow and then thrown into the fire and carbonized, from which is seen that to the unfortunate the hand was cut as he was still alive and then thrown into the fire. The hand is of a boy; 6. Right hand cut to the elbow and carbonized, from which is seen that has been cut while the person was alive and then thrown into the fire. The hand belonged to a grown person; 7. Left hand cut under the elbow and carbonized from which is seen that has been cut while the victim was alive and then thrown into the fire. The hand belonged to a grown person; 8. Left and right ears of an adult. Both ears have been cut with one strike through a white weapon, from it are seen the limits of the cut which are totally flat. Both ears have been previously cut; 9. Right ear cut with one strike and with a white weapon, from which are seen the limits of the cut totally flat; 10. Nose with the upper lip with all the moustaches cut over the nose's bone. The limits of the wound are flat; 11. Right and left eyes, rolled out from their socket. Rožaje, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1943<sup>57</sup>.*

These were the circumstances in which during the conclusion of the antifascist war, where was clearly evident that was concluded even the question of the borders, Emrush Miftari went beyond every ideological primate in favor of a national solution. Except making part in the delegation that was sent to Tirana to negotiate with the political parts that likely could take over the power, he was also part of the delegation of Kosovo Albanians in the end year 1944 meeting with J. B. Tito to ask as representative or Peja: the rebuke of the agrarian law (who put in danger the possessions of Albanians in Kosova); the establishment of a local administration that would use as official language the Albanian and the languages of minorities; the establishment of a national education system with the presence of teachers from Albania; to interdict the state into interfering in land buying and selling; the amnesty of all the prisoner without proven guilt; the recognition of the Albanian national flag; reconfirmation of Albanians rights for self-determination after the decision of Bujan's Conference.<sup>58</sup>

Emrush Miftari wrote in Albanian, Migjeni wrote in Albanian and read in Serbo-Croatian, Esad Mekuli for two decades wrote in Serbo-Croatian and had Albanian as mother tongue, Srečko Kosovel wrote in Slovenian and was involved in the Yugoslav literary system. To

<sup>57</sup> Quoted after Arbën Gashi, op. cit.

<sup>58</sup> From the secret diary of Josip Gjergja, considered as official record of the meeting. Is preserved at: AVIIB, dok. secret pov., nr. 41-45. Krhs dhe Hakif Bajrami, *A ka ngjashmëri situata politike në Kosovë me atë para gjatë dhe pas Mukjes më 1-3 gusht 1943?*, in *Kosova sot*, 4 February 2016. Unexploited sources on this are also found in ACKSKJ, Fondi SKJ, IX-8-V/218.

understand all these connection comes to our aide the theory of Itamar Even-Zohar on poly-systems, systems and literary subsystems.<sup>59</sup> The literature of Albanians in Kosova in the first half of the past century continued to be a sub-system in the framework of the literatures with oriental writing<sup>60</sup>, a sub-system in the framework of the developed literatures in the former Serbs-Croats-Slovenes kingdom, also a sub-system in the framework of the Albanian literatures. This allows us to understand in what degree existed a systemic superposition in the creativity of Migjeni, Esad Mekuli, Emrush Miftari and some other authors of that time.

#### IV.

Migjeni's poetry and that of Esad Mekuli, as has properly been asserted from the scholars, also unite in figurative. *Many censorships that have been made to them have dictated the often use of pause.*<sup>61</sup> Migjeni and Mekuli are the only poets of the Albanian literary tradition that use the parentheses within the verse, the form of thinking in brackets or of the intermediate sentence (intercalary), that are considered not only in simple speech, as prosaic narration tools, but also killing attempts for the poetic and rhetoric, destructive for the classical stanza. The opinion in brackets on Mekuli is manifested since 1934, with the poem *Prej fëminisë*, than in the same years with the poem *Gjykimi*, to not give up till the end of his life with the poem *Popullit tim; Në liqenin e zanave; Kangë intime; Plepat me jetë fëshfërijnë; Verë, mesditë; Butrinti; Grykëza* (1986); *O vlla, me sharrë në krah; Okupacioni; Në rrugën e jetës*<sup>62</sup> Migjeni and Mekuli go as far as in *de-aesthetics of the classical*

<sup>59</sup> Itamar Even-Zohar, *Polysystem Theory*, në *Poetics Today*, nr. 1 (1-2, Autumn) p. 287-310, 1979; idem, *Poly-system Studies*, edit. Duke University Press, North Carolina 1990.

<sup>60</sup> Between the most distinguished poets of Kosova that continued to use oriental alphabets even in the XX century are the following: Sheh Mala, Dervish Veseli and Shaip Zurnaxhiu (of Rahovec); Hafiz Imer Shemsiu and Faik Efendiu (of Prishtina); Dervish Idrizi of Gjakova; Sheh Osmani of Junik; Vesel Guta of Zaskok, Hysni Statovci of Batllava. For the survival of the imperial oriental writing of Albanians in Kosova in the XX century, see also Idriz Ajeti, *Najstariji dokument kosovskog arbanaskog govora na arapskom pismu*, in *Gjurmime albanologjike*, nr. 1, Prishtinë 1962, st. 9-71; idem, *O jeziku Divana šejha Maliqija*, in *Gjurmime albanologjike*, nr. 3, Prishtinë 1966, st. 27.

<sup>61</sup> Xh. Aličkaj, *Përkimet letrare ndërmjet Esad Mekulit dhe Migjenit*, në *Fjala*, nr. 20/1984, p. 4.

<sup>62</sup> Esad Mekuli, op. cit.

*stanza*, or on *aesthetic verse*, that starts with the relative pronoun *i cili/which*, or on the verse that arbitrarily divides the adjective's article from the adjective itself, by letting it in the previous verse:

### Migjeni

Ka ardhë një kohë  
**në të cilën** njerëzit po kuptohen fare  
 mirë  
 për me ndërtue Kullën e Babilonit  
**Parathânja e parathânjeve**

Tash shëgjetat e flakta të shprehjes  
 s'uej zharitse  
 drejtoni kah qiella, në ball të hyut a  
 dreqit  
**i cili** fatin t'onë mbytte në mnijë të vet  
 përpise  
**Zgjimi**

Pranë saj zemra liget  
 Zemra e një plaku  
**i cili** del te praku.  
**Shkëndija**

Thellë në veten t'eme flejnë kangët e  
 pakëndueme  
**të cilat** ende vuetja as gëzimi s'i  
 nxori  
**të cilat** flejnë e presin një ditë ma të  
 lumnueme  
**Kangët e pakëndueme**

### Mekuli

Prej shkopit t'nanës së zemrueme, të  
 motrës apo xhaxheshës,  
**mbi t'cilat** kish ra barra e randë e  
 jetës.  
**Prej fëminisë**

Më kujtohet: porta e oborrit tonë ka  
 qenë ma e nalta n'lagje,  
 Por shumë e vjetër, pak e  
 shtrembnueme, me pullazin mb'lue  
 prej myshku,  
**nën t'cilin** ishte si n'ndonji dhomë  
 t'vogël.  
**Po aty**

E ti, sikur të ishte dhënë i tëri pas saj:  
 posa nis Dielli  
 të nxehë - vë çallmën e përhirtë të  
 reve që, **të**  
**dashurën** ta mprosh: kurse retë  
 mirënjohëse  
 ...

### Alltau

Vetëm nga vjeshta e vonë dhe dimri,  
 sa degët  
 zhvishen, shpërthejnë reflekset e  
 rrezeve **të**  
**praruara** të diellit e ato të argjendta  
 të hënës.  
**Drejt diellit**

The details are those that can give an answer to the question from what source derived the coincidences in the creativity of both poets: maybe from a direct recognition, or from a common aesthetic orientation,

as for example futurism<sup>63</sup>, which in its treaty carries the runaway from the classical, the ruin of the grammar, the destruction of the rime. In this case would de-ideology the traditional meaning of the free verses as a political protest expression on both poets, by placing it in the framework of poetic techniques and principles.

Migjeni and Srečko Kosovel have a visible cut of inter-text that except the structure of their two volumes with poems, also continues with the titles of the poems and is concluded with the key-words. From a simple compare can be seen that often the sounds of the *songs* in *Pesmi* of Srečko Kosovel and in the *Vargjet e lira* of Migjeni, are the same, or are conceptually the same, or at least figuratively the same. Without entering in more detailed comparisons, only from the common or circumlocutioned titles of Srečko Kosovel and of Migjeni's poems, it can be ascertained that both poets belong to the same trend:

#### Srečko Kosovel

*Balada*  
*Melanholija*  
*Pesem o vrenju / Pesem o ponižanih*  
*Molitev*  
*Krik po samoti*  
*Novoletni sonet*  
*Vstajenje - smrt*  
*Predkosilni sonet*

#### Migjeni

*Baladë qytetëse*  
*Nën flamujt e melankolisë*  
*Poema e mjerimit, Zgjimi*  
*Lutje*  
*Vetmia*  
*Urime për 1937-ën*  
*Kangët e ringjalljes*  
*Kangët e pakëndueme*

Except the common personal destiny: both were short living poets, both died from tuberculosis without getting to their thirties, the Albanian Migjeni and the Slovenian Kosovel are united by the same theme register. The poem *Ringjallje/Resurrection/Prerojenje* of Srečko Kosovel, published in his book *Pesme* (1927), reminds Migjeni's *Kanget e pakëndueme*:

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<sup>63</sup> On Srečko Kosovel connections with futurism and his stand against zenithism see among others Janez Vrečko, *Srečko Kosovel in evropska avantgarda, në Kosovela poetika* (ured. Janez Vrečko, Boris A. Novak, Darja Pavlič), posebna številka, Ljubljana 2005, s. 45-51; ibid, Darja Pavlič, *Kosovel in moderna poezija: analiza podobja*, s. 31-32.

### Ringjallje / Prerojenje/

*Vetë, vetë, vetë duhet të jem,  
çdo trup të padukshëm në të dukshëm ta bëj  
dhe tingujt e pianos pastaj do të jenë  
ndoshta veç yje të dimrit të syve të mi.*

*Vetë, vetë, vetë duhet të jem,  
të harroj të mendoj e të flas,  
dhe të ndiej në vetvete veç një madhështi  
gjithësie të qetë: lartësim.  
Vetë, vetë, vetë duhet të jem,  
gjithçka që ka qenë mbuluar, duhet ta zbuloj,  
jo me mendjen time, me timen heshtje,  
si me lutje para më të shenjtit kërkim.  
Vetë, vetë, vetë duhet të jem,  
në amshim veten dhe në vete amshimin ta zbuloj,  
krahët e mi të tejdukshëm në amshim t'i mbyll  
dhe qetësinë nga bota tjetër me vete ta marr.*

Half a century before, the savant Arshi Pipa, had mentioned that on Migjeni is felt because a kind of affinity of poetic character, the influence of Miroslav Krleža. Some characteristics of his style as eloquence, sarcasm, erotic, are also found on Migjeni. Also some of his stands as: anti-conformism, atheism, the refusal of tradition, are of the same source. M. Krleža is an important knot of the Balkan social literature subsystem, of that literature that often is cultivated from the disappointed poets (*pisateli razočarani*), is the Croatian Miroslav Krleža, with his three first volumes of poems, *Pjesme I*, *Pjesme II* and *Pjesme III*, belonging to the three first decades of the XX century. The personality of the poet M. Krleža, is important because identifies the intermediate position of the social literature in the Balkan compared to greater systems: The Social literature with moderate Balkan futurist poems, *levnij futurizam* and the European progressive literature. The Great world Depression of 1929, was also expressed in the literature of desperation, that was clearly manifested with the lost generation. In the Balkan, in the period between two wars, the literature of desperation was manifested more in the form

of protest literature, of civic literature with harsh criticism. The three volumes of Miroslav Krleža, with the same title, *Pjesme*, and a later volume with the title *Knjiga pjesama*, but especially the poem *Gospoda u posjeti kod bolesnog djeteta svoje sluškinje*, have their influential trace in Migjeni's *Poema e mjerimit*, both in versification and inspiration. From the other side, *Poema e mjerimit* is easily comparable with *Зумху бечепу* of the Bulgarian Hristo Smirnenski. The short poem of Miroslav Krleža, *Bijeda svojim rukama dotiče se svega*, not without cause reminds Migjeni's *Poema e mjerimit* in inspiration and verse:

*Me fytyrën e tij të zbehtë, të qelbur, dhe me duart e tij të thara,  
Mjerimi shtrin vetveten mbi çdo gjë që hamë e pimë:*

*Në fytyrat e pluhurosura si klouni me miell, që duhet të ushqehet,  
Mjerimi*

*dhe mundimi qendron mbi vuajtjet e tyre të heshtura.  
Gjërat nuk ndryshojnë, nuk ka asnjë tavolinë të bardhë rrethore,  
Që të mos jetë prekur nga mjerimi me leckosjet e tij të qelbura,  
Kësulatat tona, shtrojet, enët, muret dhe pllakat,*

*Të gjitha në ngjyrë jeshile, prej urisë, rrethuar prej mjerimit.  
Dyshemenë lëpin mjerimi, si dyll të na shkëlqejë,  
Hijet e mjerimit mbi të gjitha pushtojnë shtratin e gjumit,  
Me prangat e veta, me armë shtrënguar, nënshtron mjerimi,  
Fëmijët e minatorit të gjorë heshtin si konserva të zbrazëta.*

### BIJEDA SVOJIM RUKAMA DOTIČE SE SVEGA

Bori Prodanoviću

Svojim bljedim sagnjilim licem i svojim suhim rukama  
bijeda se dotiče svega što jedemo i što pijemo:  
pod brašnjavim licem pajaca kome se siti smijemo  
umorna bijeda kunja u svojim nijemim mukama.

Stvari ni predmeta nema ni bijele kružnice stola  
što je ne dotaknu bijeda svojom smrdljivom prjonom;  
košulje naše, sagovi, posude, sobe, tanjiri,  
iz svega zeleno, gladno oko bijede viri.

*Fragment from Miroslav Krleža's poem Gospoda u posjeti kod bolesnog djeteta svoje sluškinje.*



In the following we have selected the titles of those poems of M. Krleža published in three volumes with the same title, *Pesme*, closer to the titles of Migjeni's poems:

### Miroslav Krleža, Pjesme I, Pjesme II, Pjesme III

PJESME I (1918)	5
PIETÀ	5
PJESMA	6
TRI PJESME IZ NOVEMBRA GODINE HILJADU DEVET STOTINA I PETNAESTE	7
PODNE	7
KIŠA	8
NEDJEJNA PJESMA	9
SMRTNI DAN RUJNA	10
NAŠA KUĆA	11
PLAMENI VJETAR	12
JESENJA PJESMA	13
PJESME II (1918)	14
CRVENI SUTON	14
PREDVEČERJE	14
NOKTURNO	15
SMRT KARNEVALA	15
PJESME III (1919)	16
RAT	16
PJESMA ČOVJEKA I ŽENE U PREDVEČERJE	17
VEČERNA PJESMA U BOLNICI	18
NA TRGU SVETOGA MARKA	19
VELIKI PETAK GODINE HILJADU DEVET STOTINA I DEVETNAESTE	20
LEKKA (1919)	21
RJEČ MATI ČINA	21
U OČEKIVANJU NKČEGA	21
U PREDVEČERJE	22
CRNO UMORNO POPODNE	23
DAN CRVENIH OBLAKA	23
VELIČANSTVO SVIRNJA	24
PREDVEČERJE	24
PJESMA MRTVOM ČOVJEKU	25
KNJIGA PJESAMA (1931)	26
GOSPODA U POSJETI KOD BOLESNOG DJETETA SVOJE	26
SLUŠKINJE	26
PJESMA SVJETLOŠĆARA	29
SAT	29
SEOSKA CRKVA	30
SRCE	30

Mëshirë/Mercy  
 Këngë/Songs  
 Kënga e së dielës/Sunday's song  
 Ditë vdekjeje në shtator/Death day in September  
 Këngë vjeshte/Autumn songs  
 Prag mbrëmje/Evening eve  
 Nokturn/Nocturn  
 Vdekja e karnevalit/Carnival's death  
 Lufta/War  
 Këngë mbrëmje në spital/Evening song in the hospital  
 Pasdite e zezë, e lodhur/Black afternoon, tired  
 Kënga e njeriut të vdekur/The song of the dead man  
 Një zonjë viziton shërbëtoren me fëmijë të sëmurë/A lady visits the maid with a sick child  
 Kënga e fardezësit/The song of the lantern lighter  
 Kisha e fshatit/Village's church  
 Zemër/Heart

MILOSTINJA	31	Mëshirë/Mercy
BQJEDA SVOJIM RUKAMA DOTIČE SE SVEGA	32	Mjerimi me duar e veta të ndyta pushton gjithçka/The misery with its dirty hands takes on everything
STARI NASLONJAC	33	Gjethet vjeshte/Autumn leaves
VJETAR U NOVEMBRSKOJ NOCI	33	I vdekuri që ëndërron qytetin/The dead man dreaming the city
KONJE PRED KRÇMOM	34	Vajtim mbi trupin e vdekur të G. Matosh/Wail on G. Matosh dead body
JESENJA SAMOČA	34	
ČOVJEK POSLIJE SVOJE SMRTI HOĐA GRADOM	35	Këngë për këngët/Song for songs
O SNOVIMA	36	
TUŽALJKA NAD MRTVIM TJELOM A. G. MATOŠA	37	Doreshka të zeza zonje mbi tryezë/Lady black gloves on the table
SAMOUBOJSTVO NOČNE DIJEVOJKE U BARU	39	
PJESMA O PJESMI	40	Natë në provincë/Night in the province
CRNA ŽENSKA RUKAVICA NA STOLU	40	Nocturn në vetminë e dhomës/Nocturne in the room's solitude
SUTON NA POSTAJI MALOG PROVINCIJALNOG GRADA	41	
NOĆ U PROVINCIJI	42	Resignatë/Resignation
MLADIĆ NOSE SVOJE PRVE PJESME NA OGLED	43	
USPOMENE U NAMA	45	Dëbora/Snow
NOKTURNO U SAMOTNOJ SOBI	46	Erë mbrëmjeje/Evening wind
REZIGNACIJA	47	
SNIEG	48	Vdekja e barit në pragmbrëmje /Grasse death in the evening eve
VEČERNJI VJETAR	49	Prag Krishtlindjesh/Christmas eve
SMRT TRAVE U PREDVEČERJE	50	Kënga e raftit të vjetër/The song of the old shelf
BADNJAK	51	
PJESMA STARINSKOGA ORMARA	52	Një mjek tek varfanjaku/A doctor at the poor man
LIJEČNIK KOD SIROMAHA	53	
PJESME U TMINI (1937)	54	Këngë në terr/Song in darkness
GOLA ŽENA NA STAROJ SLICI	54	Grua e zhveshur në tablo të vjetër/Naked woman in an old painting
PISMO	54	Letër/Letter
LOZA	55	
U PREDVEČERJE	56	
Stari crkveni tozanj kao svetionik stoji	56	
Zemlja pod nogom starog crkvenog tornja leži i diše	56	
Tiho se ljaska sjaj nadičnih voda	57	
S neba mlazovi modri sjetljih potoka lepte	57	
Daljine se gledaju s tornja ko razlitanu vrijeme	58	
Pod tornjem je starinsko groblje: razgovor lubanja	58	
Pod tornjem cvate kačk amine krotinje	59	
Pod tornjem cvrče pjesme cvetaka	59	
Oko tornja luna tiho šuti, u visine stremi	60	
Struži nad šumom tornaj nad šumom napocem ljadi	60	
Struži tozanj nad krajem ko heljonom ovita kula	61	
Dimnjak se pali ko lada nad talasom modrine	61	
U nama vrije vratak vruće lave	62	
Čudi se prastari tozanj i pali svjetlost od mirisa loja	62	
Krotinje sa stroja svakodnevnice i jase	63	
Dimnjaci izvančidi plove ko prednoćenje lada	63	
Pjesa nam dimnjak, čadavo, olavno, mračno	64	
Kako je Zemlja astra usjanih meteorita	64	
ZIMA NA ODLASKU	65	

Dimri në ikje/Winter on the run

Golgota/Golgotha

Monolog i njeriut të kalbur/Monologue of the rotten man

Natë në spital/A night in hospital

JERUZALEMSKI DIJALOG	65	Këngë në natë pranvere/Song in a spring night
LIRSKI MOTIVI U PROZI	66	
GOLGUTA	66	Vajza mes bishave/The girl among the beasts
LIRSKA VARIJACIJA O JESENJEM SUTONU	66	
MONOLOG GNJILA ČOVJEKA	70	
NOĆ U BOLNICI	70	
PJESMA U PROLIETNOJ NOĆI	71	Trazim/Perturbation
DJEVOJKA MEĐU ZVJERIMA	71	
ČEŽŃJA	72	
NEMIR	72	Të vdekurit/The dead men
MRTVI	72	
SAMOĆA POSLJEDNJA	72	
PJESMA UMOĆA, TUĞE I NESPOSOBNOSTI	73	Vetmia e pasdites/Afternoon's solitude
ŽENE NA KOŠI	73	
PJESME IZVAN ZBIRKE	76	Këngë lodhjeje, trishtimi dhe paralize/Song of tiredness, sadness and paralyze
IZ KNJIGE "DVA NI DAN" 1914-1919: SANJAM O SJERNI	76	
IZ LEGENDE O MICHELANGEU BUONAROTIJU		
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IZ DNEVNICA 1942: EVROPA GODINE TISUĆU DEVET		
STOTINA ČETIRISET I DRUGE	78	Gruaja në shi/Woman in the rain
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Migjeni's poetry could be compared with the work of the Croatian Đuro Sudeta or of the Bosnian Antun Simić: his contemporaries, with the same personal destiny of his, desperation poets, of protest and of the collective poetic ego, of identification with the destiny of the defenseless part of the society. However, we chose that the fifth poet to be the Macedonian Kočo Racin (Кочо Рацин), with his only poetic volume *Pesni* (Skopje 1939). If the comparison would be deducted in the degree of key-words, then the three poets would unite in a single identifying nest not only as social poets, but also as poets with inclination towards a common poetic: *kangë/sings*, *vdekje/death*, *natë/night*, *dhunë/violence*, *pranverë/spring*, *zgjim/weakening*, *ringjallje/resurrection*, *vlm/ebullience*, *njeri/man*, *fat/destiny*, *shenjë/sign*, *lypës/beggar*, *të mjerët/the miserable*, *të untit/the hungry*, *të poshtëruarit/the humiliated*, *melankoli/melancholy*, *vuajtje/suffering*, *të pakëndueme/unsung*, *e pambrrijtshme/unreachable*.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Later, in the high classes of high school, with the ideal maturity, they created poems with social themes - for the beggars and lumbermen, while in the seventh and eighth grade of high school and especially in the first year as student, the poems were directly engaged in revolutionary themes. See on Hazbi Gashi and Tahir Desku, *ibid*.

Migjeni, Srečko Kosovel and Esad Mekuli, even if they had not known or read each other, were within the same trend, that usually is identified as social literature, but in the case of the Balkan would be better to be separated for what has not been. The three of them resolutely refused one of the strangest and retrograde cultural developments of that time in this part of Europe, *zenithism*, the anti European trend of the first half of the XX century, that was based in the concept that the civilisation of the West had exhausted its possibilities, and also such a civilisation had no chance of progress, therefore the peasant and peripheral cultures must awake for saving the future.<sup>65</sup> *Madame Europe* was nothing but a resemblance of the defeat. The West had nothing more to give. The world needed a *manifest of the spirit and of the barbarian thought*, to rule the whole continent (*manifest varvarima duha i misli na svim kontinentima*)<sup>66</sup>. *Hands up, anti barbarians! Hand up, anti zenithists (Ruke u vis antivarvari! Ruke u vis antizenitisti!)*. The aggressive of the greatest anti European movement in the Balkan achieved to this call. Zenithism was also presented as an original form of futurism. Fortunately, in Albania didn't had any form of zenithism, the less in the form of an anti European program, as those of the zenithists, exactly proclaimed when the European thinkers have founded the concept of *Pan Europe* (Aristide Briand, Romain Rolland, Robert Schuman).

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<sup>65</sup> For the attitude that the Albanian literature has shown towards anti European zenithism see Arben Xhaferi, *Zenitizmi dhe neo-shqiptarizmi*, in *Mendimi shqiptare dhe shkolla shqipe*, edit. of the Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike, Tiranë 2009, p. 37.

<sup>66</sup> Ljubomir Micić, *Manifest varvarima duha i misli na svim kontinentima*, izd. Zenit, br. 38, Beograd 1925.



Poem of Ljubomir Micić, that is known as *the treaty of the zenithists* (1921).

As concerning to a possible disappointment or outburst against Europe, also expressed in the form of protest against her, especially in the poem *Lahuta e Malcës/Highland Lute* by father Gjergj Fishta, these also do not have connection with Zenithism, but with the punishable destiny of Albanian in a time when they were asking for their national state. Migjeni, and also Srećko Kosovel and Esad Mekuli, went closely of losing confidence to the individual. And this led them to denounce the decadence of the West.<sup>67</sup> However, in no case, *the negative ideals* and *the low rhythms* mentioned by E. Koliqi since 1934, had not moved him from the human love: *This kid poet, with twisted heart in a social inspiration, can give us the form of subject's possession when he finds the sober form of the human love rewarding the poem*<sup>68</sup>. For Koliqi, that part of Migjeni's work, that might have a place in the *Albanian hospitable literature, does not stands that much in his vigorous literature of social background, rather than for some low rhythms (intimate), which remind Corazzini, where is expressed the anxiety for the slow melting of vital lymph that, cutting the feelings, are discovered by a brilliant beauty,*

<sup>67</sup>Dritëro Agolli, *Очерки и рассказы революционного албанского писателя Мидьени - Skicat dhe tregimet e shkrimtarit revolucionar shqiptar*, diploma thesis from the author in the University of Saint Petersburg on 1957, off print by Akademia e Shkencave, Tiranë 2016, p. 34; see also Shaban Sinani, *Migjeni i Dritëro Agollit*, ibid, p. 115 and following.

<sup>68</sup>Ernest Koliqi, *Në lulishten letrare*, edit. in *Illyria*, 1934, p. 3.

*unseen before to world from which is condemned to detach fast.*<sup>69</sup> Ernest Koliqi approached Migjeni's poem with some *elements of the Yugoslav intimate trend* known as *pisateli razočarani*, or of *the disappointed poets*, reminding the *lost generation*, whose essence was the proclamation of the individual's defeat as the failure of the society. However, this disappointment never turned into anti European and lesser in a myth of barbarity and in elevating the peasant and peripheral cultures. Always according to Ernest Koliqi, the distrust of the poet on man's power and his questions in facing his destiny with the fate *are similar characteristics with the Russian futurist messianic poetry.*<sup>70</sup> Also Arshi Pipa, that insisted on a visible decadent character of Migjeni's poetry, he didn't saw the decadence as West's failure, on the contrary the West was its essential myth.<sup>71</sup> Messianism and the so-called *negative ideal* of Migjeni's poetry, that often is identified also with the bourgeoisie way of life,<sup>72</sup> from E. Koliqi, to A. Pipa, have called it a form of futurism. Neither Migjeni, nor E. Mekuli, nor S. Kosovel; nonetheless their pessimism in the limits of despair, they have not equalized *the great depression* of capitalism during 1929-1932 with the definitive failure of the society and civilisation and either with the danger the world was facing as menace from fascism and Nazism, they have not considered it as the unavoidable fatality for the mankind. The three of them suffered for the man, reported the situation, turned to be harbingers of the worst that was coming, but at the same time the first spoke on *Superman*, the second on *three holy sevens* and the third the perfection, *Ecce homo*.

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<sup>69</sup> Ernest Koliqi, *Evoluzione storica della lirica albanese*, in *Shëjzat - Le Pleiadi*, Roma 1962, p. 12

<sup>70</sup> Idem, *Le nuove correnti della letteratura albanese*, op. cit., p. 225-226: *The origin around 1935-1936, of the literary trend that stressed the social motive until reached a violent verbal violence, was very promising and attractive. One of the most meaningful voices was that of Migjeni.*

<sup>71</sup> Arshi Pipa, op. cit., p. 157: *Stands the fact that the crepuscular and decadent elements exists in Migjeni's poetry, which should be taken into consideration of we want to better understand the complexity of West's songs.*

<sup>72</sup> Paolo Chiarini (a cura di), *Introduzione, në Chaos e geometria: per un regesto delle poetiche espressioniste*, ediz. *La Nuova Italia*, Firenze 1964.

Already is manifested before the scholars the question in what degree the three poets were similar to one another even because of their tract orientation towards futurism. For S. Kosovel, the question is more simple: the posthumous volume *Integrale* clarifies his main relations with futurism, in the form of protest towards the grammar and the linguistic order in general. Now comes the question of those tens of mistakes and linguistics uncertainties that have been noticed by Petro Janura (in the dictionary of deviations are noticed over 300 cases) on Migjeni are as has been affirmed, questions of linguistic competences, ordinary technical mistakes, or are conscientious futurist attitudes towards *serfdom* and *dictatorial arrogance* of the linguistic order?<sup>73</sup> The same question would be also posed on Esad Mekuli's poems in Serbo-Croatian, but to take an argued answer would be necessary to be verified the degree of text affection during auto-translation of the earliest poems, in Albanian in the edition of 1955 in Prishtina, within the poetic summary entitled *Për ty/For you*.

*Migjeni* of Esad Mekuli can serve as one of the keys to decipher the earliest phase of his creativity. In the translation of 1968, he didn't followed the tradition of the previous translations, that were nearly all accompanied with explanative marks of orienting character - if not coercive - to discipline a way of reading, excluding that of 1936. E. Mekuli didn't followed the way of Gjovalin Luka, nor that of Skënder Luarasi, or David Samoilov or some other kind of model. Also with this fact, of severely giving up from tradition of noted publications, E. Mekuli shows a personal relation with Migjeni's poetry: for many people it may required context, explanations, adding information, but nor for him. Therefore was enough for him with a short sketch of poet's profile, two

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<sup>73</sup> Stephen Schwartz, *Migjeni dhe Fishta*, in *Fakti*, 25 prill 2003, writes: *Migjeni (1911-1938) is the founder of the Albanian modern style, a priceless contemporary, in the regional context with Srećko Kosovel the most courageous experimentalist among the poets of southern Slavs. Both died young. Both have common things and share many things in the biographic and literary aspect with other vanguard poets, which were presented to the world during that time. They tried to move around all the existing values, to write against every canon and literary convention and bringing down the barriers between the thought and language, between dream and reality. Meanwhile, Migjeni and Kosovel stand divided from the others for two reasons. The first, is because they harshly presented modernism in their literature. Neither Albanians, and nor the Slovenians have not gone through the intervening phases of symbolism, and of the most gentle kinds of aesthetics experiments. The second reason is that they achieved an extraordinary success in co-duplicating the vanguard with the language's refined feeling.*

pages, at the end of the volume, where among others, he informs that have thought for a translation of Migjeni's work since the end of the 1950.

The translation of Esad Mekuli, by escaping the trap of text's slavery through interpreting the text out of it, as was inherited in the previous publications of Gjovalin Luka and Skënder Luarasi, but also in the translation of David Samoilov, meanwhile didn't escaped some ideological readings. *Parathânja e parathânjeve* is translated *Predgovor predgovora - Hyrja e hyrjeve/The introduction of the introductions*, meanwhile the meaning of the poem is *Profecia e profecive - Proročanstvo proročanstva/Prophecy of the prophecies*. In most of the cases is followed the same model of the ideological use of the big letter, to overstress an oriented reading something that does not sources from the text itself: **Jetë e Re/New life** (*Da našim guslama Novom Životu pesme da se poju, Neka ce čovjek rodi*); **Dielli/Sun** (*a mi volimo ljubavlju koja Sunce čini milije, Pisma mladosti*); **Epope/Epopee, Ditë e Re/New Day** (*Da Novi Dani izgreju / Da stvori Epopeju, Neka ce čovjek rodi ...*); **Njeri i Ri/New Man, Epokë e Re/New Epoch, Kohë e Re/New Time**. In parallel, Esad Mekuli returns the use of the big letter for *Hyj/God* and *Perëndi/Lord*, obstructed from an ideological orthography (*I do vrha Njena, do samo vrha trona - Predgovor predgovora; Pod nogama pazblešnelog Boga, Pisma bede*). In this case could have influenced the intervention of Tirana's editors (in Migjeni's manuscript is clearly seen an editing hand for the most of the cases of the ideological use of the big letter), also what Ali Podrimja would call *ideological deception* of the translator himself.<sup>74</sup>

Migjeni and the social literature in the Balkan would unite in the subsystem having as reference: the theoretical concept of the *free verse* of Miloš Crnjanski; the non grammatical usage of the Balkan futurists (including Kočo Racin); reporting the misery and the power of protest: Miroslav Krleža, Hristo Smirnenski; the spiritual register of the inner experience: Srečko Kosovel, Đuro Sudeta; the thematic ideological plane: Miroslav Krleža; the key-words: Kočo Racin, Srečko Kosovel, Hristo Smirnenski, Miroslav Krleža; the marginal characters and the definitive division with romanticism: Kočo Racin, Hristo Smirnenski, Miroslav Krleža; the breakthrough from cosmic centrism in

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<sup>74</sup> Ali Podrimja, op. cit., f. 7.



anthropocentrism; the passing from heroes' literature to the ideas' literature; the messianic spirit and promethium, the concept for a missionary literature.

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**Poezi nga Srečko Kosovel*****Këngë për vlimin***

*Si vera kur pluskon,  
valon dhe kullon,  
tej mureve të buteve, gjithandej,  
valon, valon e shushurin  
dhe nuk don që të ndalet -  
Njerëzit janë të dehur në ëndërrimet e tyre  
Dhe, nga tmerri dhe sëmundjet,  
secili endet i magjepsur dhe i dehur,  
sikur vdekjes t'i ishte shitur tashmë  
dridhet, nuk mund të mashtrohet.  
Dhe unë mes tyre jam vetëm, tërësisht,  
me vlimin e turmës bie dhe ngrihem;  
një vajze që kalon, mezi i jap të njohur,  
me flokët valëvitës, mezi i qesh buza,  
dhe me sëmundjen time i dehur dehem,  
dhe shtëpitë rrënohen, shemben çatitë,  
mbi turmën që jashtë në rrugë bërtet,  
dhe zemrat e frikësuar në heshtje dridhen,  
Dhe shpirtënt e hidhur, për vdekjen këndojnë,  
Në mua i shuajnë fuqitë e fundit.*

***Lutje***

*Eja, Ati i mirë, Shpëtimtar,  
mes nesh, në tragjedi të botës mbuluar,  
ku vdesim të mjerë, të përbuzur,  
në zemër dashuri në vend të hakmarrjes.  
Na jep fuqi ne të poshtëruarve,  
Që nga dashuria vdesim para dyerve.  
Tërë bota të lavdëron, tërë bota të do,  
Dhe tërë bota prapë ne na përbuz.  
Eja në mes vetvrasësve të mjerë,  
Që me te vërtetë nuk kemi merita në zemër*

*Përpos asaj, që nga zemra kemi jetuar,  
Dhe që kemi vdekur nga mundimet e tmerrshme.*

### ***Melankolia***

*Do të mbyllesha në dhomë,  
Oh, mbyllur,  
Që të vdes,  
Oh, që të vdes.*

*Në dhomën e ngushtë do të vdisja,  
Vëllai im!  
Ah, çka mendon bota,  
Dhe çka pranvera.*

### ***Natë e qetë***

*Ka ëndërruar e gjithë krahina  
se si dashuria jonë  
e heshtur vjen atje poshtë,  
dhe si në një ëndërr për rreth  
dynden para nesh njëmijë yje,  
por për tek asnjëri nuk ka rrugë ...*

*E dashur, le të harrojmë,  
që shpirtin tonë mbulon  
trup i lodhur.*

*Atje, pa trup nxitojmë,  
atje ku dashuria derdhet  
në qiellin blu.*

### ***Baladë***

*Ja ku vjen këngëtari i tokës sllovene,*

*Ja ku vjen këngëtari, nga largësi e largët,  
Në akordet e tij sa këngë janë derdhur,  
Në një, me gëzim dhe me dhimbje.*

*Ka kënduar për malet, që janë aq të blerta,  
Shihja lotin si pasqyrëzë në syrin plot mirazhe,  
Ka kënduar për vdekjen, dashurinë dhe gruan,  
Për vendlindjen nuk mundi dot t'ia marrë.*

*- Na këndo, na këndo për vendin tonë,  
Që dielli dhe shëndeti ta rrezojnë atë,  
Për shtëpitë e bujqve, për këngën e lumtur,  
E cila natën bashkë me hënën derdhet.*

*- E fortë është zemra, e fortë dhe e re,  
Shpresat dhe kuraja j japin guxim,  
Por është e lodhur sot (oh, çudi absurde!)  
Qetësisht kur kujton atë baladë.*

*Njëmijë herë njëmijë, edhe më shumë kishim qenë,  
Njëmijë herë njëmijë, shërbëtorë dhe skllevër,  
Njëmijë herë njëmijë, të përulur, të frikësuar,  
Njëmijë herë njëmijë, në mallkimin e të fundosurve,  
Njëmijë herë njëmijë, me tëmthin e të kënduarve.  
Na kanë goditur në krahun e djathtë*

*Është tronditur dhe është thyer,  
Dhe nga e majta është përkulur -  
Njëmijëherë njëmijë, edhe më shumë kishim qenë.*

*Do të këndoje, se si janë shpërndarë nëpër botë,  
Dhe gjaku nga zemra do të vlonte,  
Vëllezër, nuk mundem me këtë këngë t'ju gëzoj,  
Vdekja po vjen, është pranë dymve.*

*Gruan ma mori, ma mori sëmundja  
Dhe atdheun ...Tani eci dhe shikoj,*



*Si yjet shpërndahen mbi parrugën e errët...*

*Ka ardhur këngëtari i popullit slloven,  
Zemrat janë prekur nga kujtimet për të,  
Zemrat na i ka mbushur me pelin të zi...*

**Valter MEMISHA**

## **DRITËRO AGOLLI'S PHRASEOLOGY IN THREE DRAMAS**

Dritëro Agolli's literary universe has and makes possible analyzes, observations and many studies, special or inclusive, expository or thorough, connected on linguistic content or expressive. In the realized commentaries as everywhere and also for everybody that belongs to the field of creativity, the content of the works of this author is the most thoroughly debated and analyzed, because the studies are never finite and naturally never exhaustive. The language of the literary-artistic works in our studies, generally has remained a little bit orphan, because recently have been efforts to overpass the established gap (have been written some books and are presented some PhD thesis).

The language of Agolli has been already self-possessed, as has been self-possessed all his literary-artistic work, and all this for the versatile values that carries. The academician J. Thomai emphasizes that "On what writes Dritëro? For everything human, for every people's reason: for the good man, for the fathers, for our ancestors and the young men of today, for the white hearts and the spirits in love, for the heroes, for the gents and friends, for human and pure love towards Albania, for the green fields and the fields sown with maize, of the village clay, for the streets full of life, for the flowers and the birds, and for everything that is around us and makes compositions of life..."<sup>1</sup>. The same scholar, when focuses on the linguistic nature of the poet's creativity says that, "Dritëro's literary speech is a people's one, not regional, it cannot be said that he writes "in Devoll's dialect", as can be said for another writing in

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<sup>1</sup>J. Thomai, *Aromë popullore në ligjërimin poetik të Dritëro Agollit*, në "Dritëro Agolli *Doctor Honoris Causa*" (Collection of the Conference's materials dedicated o the writer and the academician D. Agolli in the occasion on granting him the title *Doctor Honoris Causa* from the University "Fan S. Noli" in Korça in his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday)", Korça, 2012, p. 18.

Lab, Dibra or Shkodra's dialect. The popular coloring of Dritëro's poetic speech can be also affirmed even with the characteristic lexicon he uses".<sup>2</sup>

In many interviews, Dritëro Agolli has spoken for the many inexhaustible values of our people language. He himself stresses that: "The songs, dances, sounds and the rhythms that have to do with the language, in them is also heard in the Albanian word. This is to be always in the writer's mind, if he wishes to not dry up his language. He has to keep the language liquid and the liquid derives from the people. I always note in my notebook words from the people, phrases and phraseologies".<sup>3</sup>

In this line also walks our paper, which would focus in phraseology as constructive unit of the linguistic cohesion of the three drama presented to the reader in October 2016, during the 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations of the writer's birthday: *Fytyra e dytë/The second face*, *Mosha e bardhë/The white age*, *Baladë për një grua/Ballad for a woman*<sup>4</sup>. The drama were presented to us after a devoted job from Prof. Shaban Sinani, who made the impossible that those be published and to not remain in the shelf of institutions libraries of mise en scene. (also *Baladë për një grua* was never put on stage, because of the text missing).

From a direct work on the texts of these dramas, we have picked 437 phraseological units in nearly 500 usages (more precisely: 491), with the following statistics: in the drama "Fytyra e dytë" (85 pages): 209 units; in the drama "Mosha e bardhë" (111 pages): 177 units (nearly 25 pages more voluminous compared to the first drama, but with 32 phraseological units less); in the drama "Baladë për një grua" (84 pages): 105 units (on this drama the number of the phraseological units falls drastically, fifty-fifty. Perhaps more than anywhere in this work we have an artistic lignification, as when you read it, you get tired, although artistically the conflict (the intrigue, - says the scholar Sh. Sinani) has been well resolved.

Let us stop on some characteristics of this phraseology:

1. Already we do not say anything new, if we stress that the phraseology is inseparable part of the linguistic cohesion of every literary

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<sup>2</sup>J. Thomai, *ibid*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup>D. Agolli, in "Jeta në letërsi", Tiranë, 1987, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup>D. Agolli, *Tri drama: Fytyra e dytë, Mosha e bardhë, Baladë për një grua*, Tiranë, 2016.

work. However, on Dritëro's work, the phraseology has not a small weight, compared to his carryings I would call approaches with the carryings of Martin Camaj in this field. However, in the three dramas we do not find that phraseological asset, that has the next part the creativity of this author, especially in the prose and works as *Shkëlqimi dhe rënia e shokut Zylo*, *Arka e djallit*, *Njeriu me top* etc. The dramas of Dritëro Agolli, without entering in details in the content plane of values, linguistically do not have the level of his poetry and prose. I think perhaps that the author has wanted to enter in the drama more encouraged from the institutional demands that he had to create in this field, for more to fulfill the lack of the drama works in the literature of socialist realism, what is easily seen in the schematization of the subjects' construction or on the often lignification of the characters. We are giving one example of this lignification:

FATBARDHA *You are a remote-controlled robot from Kaman. Yes, Arsen, yes. Harmony means to have the same opinions, the same ideals, the same tastes, the same friends. We, unfortunately we don't have them anymore. Love is when husband and wife emit to each other beautiful feelings and respect. You Arsen do not emit anymore. You have extended your personality under the feet of Kaman Kalaja. You forget that you have become a distinguished scientist not because you had Kaman's friendship. On the contrary, Kaman has become your friend as soon as you became illustrious. He has taken you with him in the international conferences in Europe not because you are his friend, but because you deserves it. Your discoveries for the country, the people and not for the friendship of Kaman. You have lost your bearings. Some minutes ago you declined the invitation that the old friends from the village has sent to you for the celebrations of the new station. They do not know that you are not anymore the first there. Now you like to spend the evenings with comrade Kaman. You forget that in these heights you are thanks to your achievements, of living close to simple farmers, of village's specialists and other scientists. You forget that in maze root you have sweat and dewed as the rain falling from the skies. And now forgetting all these, you are afraid that if you lose his friendship, you lose everything. And in this small world where you have entered now, you live as a coward, without thought and without courage. An in this small world you tried to pull me in. But I do not come, and this is our conflict. This is*

*our cooling. Because I do not obey in the same sofa with Kikia, where the ladies complains that why this our state does not builds more cosmetic factories and ateliers for underwear with laces.*<sup>5</sup>

2. A literary work asks not only writing black on white of what is in your brain, but also the polishing and re-polishing, the weeding out and the currying, the gratification for starting on the reader the voyage and, linguistically well equipped. From this side, in the dramas of Agolli they differentiate not less. "Fytyra e dytë" is more accomplished compare the other two, also for the fact that has been reviewed from the author as a literary text. Linguistically, on this work we find a considerable number of phraseological units, because is more connected with the other two drama with the popular speech nature of the author.

3. Dritëro has written himself that "the linguists know very well that the language study of an artistic literary work gives the image of a whole period of society's development, of people's culture, of the spoken word in that time, of the way of living and thinking of the classes and strata and social groups, because the language is not superstructure. The way of living and thinking of the classes, the strata and of social groups in the literary works has left its traces, especially in the expressive color of the word, in alternating the coloring according the time. The drama bring lexicon and phraseological assets that takes us in the '70 of the past century.

The dramas' language is very often colored with the people's color. I would distinguish only two phenomenon that catches the eye:

a. There we find a stressed coloring and this is revealed, especially when the author uses loan words: *zorzop* (Mrs. Zyhra, what's this **zorzop** who plays the guitar in the night, as he summons all the jinnee? (p. 16); *karagjoz/jester* (Don't be **karagjoz/jester**.) (p. 15); *kaparos/paid up* (We have fixed the weeding day, we invited everybody, **kaparosëm/we paid** also the folk instrumentalists.) (p. 18); *aguridhe/greenhorn* ("Get out with you, **aguridhe**, to put shame on Halil Shkoza!) (p. 18); *hergjele/herd* (And we have to give a free rein to these **hergjeleve/herds?**) (p. 19) etc., etc.

b. He also brings dialectical words and spelling: *mollokrepsem, sojzezë, elektrixhi, qitharë* (*Me kë je mollokrepsur, moj sojzezë, me*

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<sup>5</sup>D. Agolli, *Tri drama: Fytyra e dytë, Mosha e bardhë, Baladë për një grua*, Tiranë, 2016, p. 230.

*elektrixhiun që ka filluar t'i vijë rrotull shtëpisë?; Zonja Zyhra, ç'është ky zorzopi që i bie qitharës tashti natën, sikur mbledh të gjithë xhindet?*) (p. 16).

4. However, the people's coloring is revealed in phraseology. The 500 picked units, nonetheless stylized, enlarged or condensed, sometimes used as neuter and sometimes emotionally over marked, they in essence have been picked from people's mouth and are artistically used. The phraseology is concocted from generation to generation and the capability of their creation from an author (differently from the word creation), may it be of Dritëro's dimensions, is very minimal. In drama come phraseologies, that also show the author's origin and also its competence to use them with art. The academician Gj. Shkurtaj writes that "Devoll's area presents a big linguistic interest. Devoll is a region of rich folklore, thing that affirms the high sensitivity of this people. The lexicon, the phraseology the proverbs of that region, together with its diversified toponymy, beyond any doubt compound values of the people's culture and of the Albanian language, which Dritëro not felt nourished, but remained eternally connected and never ceased to research and select the words as the bee in the spring flowers".<sup>6</sup> The following subject, even why has classifying and typology nature, shows this remarkable value of Agolli's pen.

5. The collected phraseology in the three dramas taken as a unique text, can be grouped according the appurtenance source of the motivating terms:

a. Phraseological units with a single term for a part of human's body: *Ti vetë ia prishe zemrën të birit të botës për vogëlsira.* (p. 26); *Gjisht të bukur që paska!* (f. 16); *Iu bënë sytë ujë, të ziut!* (p. 17); *Qëkur na ndodhi ajo gjëma, iu prish gjaku e mori poshtë e më poshtë.* (p. 17); *Po ti, moj çupë e xhaxhait, ç'm'i ke varur buzët?* (p. 21); *Ke punuar me mend, i ke gjetur një basho vend, me forcën e krahut tënd!* (p. 21); *Të lumshin këmbët.* (p. 22); *De, mos e prish gojën, zoti Halil, është çupa e shokut të ngushtë të Bektashit.* (p. 24); *As Andrea, as Kristina, nuk ka pse merren nëpër gojë.* (p. 24); *Ngadonjëherë miqësia që kemi na zë sytë*

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<sup>6</sup>Gj. Shkurtaj, "Balta e arave" si shtegu i prurjeve gjuhëpasuruese dhe gjuhëdashëse të Dritëro Agollit, in "Dritëro Agolli Doctor Honoris Causa (Collection of the Conference's materials dedicated to the writer and the academician D. Agolli in the occasion on granting him the title Doctor Honoris Causa from the University "Fan S. Noli" in Korça in his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday)", Korça, 2012, p. 20.

dhe nuk na le të shohim fenomenet që na rrethojnë. (p. 24); **M'u hap koka.** (p. 132); **Djali i sëmurë, nusja sa them unë një fjalë zë e zbardh dhëmbët.** (p. 132); **Të shoh si të prishur në fytyrë.** (p. 133)

b. Phraseological units with a single term from the animals' world: **Prit gomar të mbijë bar.** (p. 14); **Demek, t'ua lëshojmë frerët e të kullosin nga të duan!** (p. 19); **Me sa duket, mbrëmë ke rënë të flesh që me pulat.** (p. 267)

c. Phraseological units with a single term from the culture's sphere: **Mos u jep ngjyrë komike** problemeve. **Bektash, po më flet nga kulla e lartë e njeriut me përgjegjësi.** (p. 12)

d. Phraseological units with a single term from the country's industrial, scientific contemporary development etc.: **Fakt i pamohueshëm, njeriu qenka një minierë e thellë.** (p. 14); **Hë, më të keqen Halili, si qenka ngjitur fitili!** (p. 21); **Ti je një robot i telekomanduar nga Kamani.** (p. 230); **Gjendja jote shpirtërore është në një pikë të vdekur.** (p. 172); **Arianën e sjell unë në binarë!** (p. 31)

e. Phraseological units with a single term, a single denomination, a single indicative word (denominating a phenomenon of dictatorship period): **Nga një derë me biografi të mirë.** (p. 18); **Tani le ta mbajë, se, po ia mora, më prish biografinë!** (p. 239); **Unë në këto çaste jam një i pushkatuar politikisht.** (p. 268)

f. Phraseological units with a single term, a denomination from the craftsmanship field: **Do t'i ngelet gozhdë xhaxhait po s'të njohu!** (p. 22); **Na bluan ky qerrata mulli, na bluan dhe nuk e dimë se ç'miell nxjerrim.** (p. 27); **Njeri me dërraskë në kokë!** (p. 30); **Dru u regjur domethënë, i stazhionuar.** (p. 154)

g. Phraseological units with a single term from a Turkish loan word: **Për çupën e Andreas u fol kot. Ujë në havan.** (p. 12); **Drejtoni ju, apo tundni zinxhirin?** (p. 14); **Çorbë nuk do t'i bëjmë mbledhjet.** (p. 12); **Ne duam që vajzat tona t'i fusim në kallëpin e rehatit.** (p. 11-12); **Mos u bëj karagjoz.** (p. 15); **Na bëre çirak me këta limonë, Ndreko!** (p. 133)

h. Phraseological units that are connected with the religious field: **Ju kujtoni se Kaman Kalaja u demaskua nga fryma e shenjtë?** (p. 274)

#### 6. The concept group of the phraseological units:

##### A. Phraseological units with positive coloring.

a. Units that are connected with a moral valuation: **Fejuar de, fejuar, me një djalë nga derë e mirë.** (p. 18) :**Po ku gjen djalë më të mirë se**

*Hyska i Selos, moj: me familje të mirë, me vëllezër të martuar, me një baba që nxjerr mjalte nga goja". (p. 18); Por ajo është një grua që i ka shoqet të rralla.*

a. Units that are connected with the job: *Më mirë t'i vëmë shpatullat punës dhe të mos merremi me vogëlsira.* (p. 77)

c. Units that are connected to love: *Po dashuria nuk ka brirë.* (p. 26)

d. Units that are connected with *the courtesy ethics*: *Emrin e Arianës nuk e shoh të nevojshme ta zëmë në gojë.* (p. 77); *Ajo ty do të të mbajë në pëllëmbë të dorës.* (p. 114)

e. Units that are connected with *an advice*: *Ti duhet të shëroresh nga mendtë, moj bijë.* (p. 32); *Thuaji se ka luajtur mendsh.* (p. 33) *Ti me Muhametin do të bësh jetë, me tërë kuptimin e fjalës.* (p. 34);

d. Units that are connected to *a wish*: *Të bëftë mirë, zoti Halil!* (p. 39)

B. Phraseological units of *negative valuation*.

a. Units that show *a curse*: *I ardh të qafa mbrapa!* (p. 16)

b. Units that show *rancor, anger*: *"S'je bërë akoma ti, aguridhe, që t'i nxish faqen Halil Shkozës!"* (p. 18); *Drejtoni ju, apo tundni zinxhirin?* (p. 14)

c. Units that show *regret*: *Qëkur na ndodhi ajo gjëma, iu prish gjaku e mori poshtë e më poshtë.* (p. 17); *Ti vetë ia prishe zemrën të birit të botës për vogëlsira.* (p. 26); *Do t'i bjerë të mirës me shqelm.* (p. 34); *Kalli pa bukë!* (p. 40)

d. Units that show *superstition*: *Zonja Zyhra, ç'është ky zorzopi që i bie qitharës tashti natën, sikur mbledh të gjithë xhindet?* (p. 16); *Çupa e Andreas nuk hodhi fall se do emërohej në Laç.* (p. 11); *Ky Hyska, moj Zyhra, si i rënë nga qielli.* (p. 18)

e. Units that show *frustration*: *Po ti, moj çupë e xhaxhait, ç'm'i ke varur buzët?* (p. 21); *Ti derën tonë po e vulos me një vulë të ligë, që s'fshihet kurrë.* (p. 32); *"Me kë je mollokrepsur, moj sojzezë, me elektrixhiun që ka filluar t'i vijë rrotull shtëpisë?"*. (p. 18)

f. Units that show *derision*: *M'u ngritën mustaqet përpjetë!* (p. 239); *Pyll pa derra s'ka...* (p. 239); *Prit gomar të mbijë bar.* (p. 14)

g. Units that show *disgust*: *"Ai që më keni zgjedhur ju mua më kall krupë", më thotë.* (p. 18)



h. Units that show *gossips*: *Ariana ka kohë që bën dashuriçka me një pizeveng në kantierin e ndërtimit, me një farë Aleks Kola.* (p. 29)

7. In the three dramas of D. Agolli, have been placed many proverbs that are seen with the function of a phraseological unit. These proverbs, often are stylized, their limits broken, their structure ruined, and are circumlocuted: *Edhe sikur t'ia ketë vënë vetë zjarrin mjekrës, ne nuk duhet të ndezim cigaren.*; *Mua kjo s'm'u durua pa e thënë, për të treguar atë që karvani të shkojë përpara, pa qentë le të lehin.* (p. 242); *Kur e ke tokën të lëruar, e gjen dhe farën.* (p. 42) *E lëron tokën dhe e humbet farën* (hedh sytë nga shishja e rakisë, Zyhraja përgatit tavolinën). (p. 42); *Atij i digjet mjekra, unë shkoj të ndez cigaren!* (p. 268); *Kripa në tokë, peshku në det, po një tigan i bashkon.* (p. 42)

By leaving the place to the picked phraseological units from the drama of the great writer, we are concluding these outlines for a further and more complete study, by presenting an appraisal of it, written by the academician Floresha Dado: "Agolli's work, being classified in the group of the most distinguished authors of the Albanian literature, always carries human messages, principles of a morality and civilized relationship. Through an original communication, sometimes through humor and sometimes through human despair, sometimes through social ideas affirmation, our writer builds a very special relation with his Albanians, where overwhelms from one side the simplicity, the direct way of expression, and from the other side the deep human philosophy on life's and man's essence. It's exactly this inner philosophy, that comes simply and without ado, that runs through our spirit".<sup>7</sup>

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In the following we are presenting the phraseological subject, picked from the publication "D. Agolli, *Tri drama: Fytyra e dytë, Mosha e bardhë, Baladë për një grua*, Tiranë, 2016". Generally, the units are known to the reader, thus semantically are clear and understandable, almost occupying their place in the standard Albanian normative phraseology. Therefore, to not aggravate the material we are publishing,

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<sup>7</sup> F. Dado, *Vlerësim mbi personalitetin e Dritëro Agollit*, in "Dritëro Agolli *Doctor Honoris Causa*" (Collection of the Conference's materials dedicated to the writer and the academician D. Agolli in the occasion of granting him the title *Doctor Honoris Causa* from the University "Fan S. Noli" in Korça in his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday)", Korça, 2012, p. 8-9.

we thought that those should be not given in the explanatory meaning. The phraseological units (but also some units that are not such, but are included because are figuratively marked and are in the process of phraseology) become index of a remarkable phenomenon of linguistic cohesion of the three dramas and of the author's work artistic language. At the same time they, could serve as subject on which can be undertaken further enterprises from anybody who wants to deal or is dealing with this characteristic of D. Agolli' works.

**(Di) si kapet bilbili:** *E di xha Halili si kapet bilbili!* (p. 47)

**(Dhembini) si gishtat e dorës:** *Edhe dhjetë të kesh, njësoj të dhembini, si gishtat e dorës.* (p. 130)

**(Jam) një i pushkatuar politikisht:** *Unë në këto çaste jam një i pushkatuar politikisht.* (p. 268)

**(Jam) i zhytur në punë:** *Dhe kjo ndodh ngaqë unë jam i zhytur në punë dhe nuk kam kohë që të merrem me fenomenet e vogla të jetës.* (p. 29)

**(Është) i dorës së dytë:** *Gabimet e tua ndaj meje janë vërtet të rënda, edhe pse janë të dorës së dytë.* (p. 278)

**Me soj e sorollop:** *Premë ditën e dasmës, ftuam soj e sorollop, kaparosëm edhe sazexhinjtë.* (p. 18)

**(Ngjajnë) si dy pika uji:** *Ky dhe Fatbardha ngjasin në bisedë si dy pika uji!* (p. 218)

**(Shkrin) si dëbora në pranverë** *Një filozof ka thënë: "Kur dashuria e gjen fatin menjëherë, shkrihet si dëbora në pranverë".* (p. 88)

**Ai që hyn në ring, duhet t'i mendojë grushtet.** *fj. u. Ai që hyn në ring, duhet t'i mendojë grushtet.* (p. 222)

**Aq ma pret:** *Po ty aq ta pret!* (p. 38)

**As hiqesh, as ngjitesh:** *Ti as hiqesh, as ngjitesh.* (p. 79)

**As në të thatë, as në të njomë:** *Unë nuk desha të ta thosha, por me Arianën nuk jam as në të thatë, as në të njomë.* (p. 58)

**Bëhem bilbil nga goja** *Të jetë si ty dhe Halili, nga goja bëhet si bilbili...* (p. 20)

**Bëhem karagjoz:** *Mos u bëj karagjoz.* (p. 15)

**Bëhem merak:** *Po ti mos u bëj merak.* (p. 36)

**Bëhem qengj:** *U bë qingj Fredi im!* (p. 181)

**Bëhem sebeb:** *Unë u bëra sebeb.* (p. 26)

**Bëhet gruaja e dikujt:** *Se nuk do të bëhem kurrë gruaja e tij.* (p. 33)

**Bëhet qaraman:** *Omer, mos u bëj qaraman.* (p. 256)

**Bëj be e rrufe:** *Ka bërë be e rrufe!* (p. 73)

**Bëj bujë:** *Unë lexoj vetëm autoritete e vetëm pasi kanë bërë bujë, kurse kjo i hap librat pa iu tharë boja e shtypshkronjës.* (p. 201)

**Bëj celebrimin:** *E kam fjalën më shumë për Martinin, meqë edhe vetë më je hapur para se të bënim celebrimin.* (p. 131)

**Bëj çirak:** *Na bëre çirak me këta limonë, Ndreko!* (p. 133)

**Bëj dashuriçka:** *Ariana ka kohë që bën dashuriçka me një pizeveng në kantierin e ndërtimit, me një farë Aleks Kola.* (p. 29)

**Bëj dy koqe muhabet:** *Po ulu të bëjmë dy koqe muhabet, jemi të njëri-tjetrit.* (p. 22)

**Bëj estradë:** *Dëgjo, Temo Konduri, me mua mos bëj estradë!* (p. 252)

**Bëj gabim:** *Mendohu prapë, mos i thuaj gjë Muhametit, mos e bëj këtë gabim.* (p. 34)

**Bëj hatanë:** *Eh, i urtë, more i urtë, po ka ca damarë njeriu që, po i kërcyen, bën hatanë (çiften e ka harruar në dorë).* (p. 235)

**Bëj jetë qeni:** *Të rrish te xhaxhai do të thotë të bësh jetë qeni.* (p. 110)

**Bëj jetë:** *Ti me Muhametin do të bësh jetë, me tërë kuptimin e fjalës.* (p. 34)

**Bëj kërdinë:** *Thashë de, se meazallah hapet ndonjëra e bën kërdinë...* (p. 130)

**Bëj muhabet:** *S'na le të bëjmë muhabet me këtë të shkretë kitarë.* (p. 186)

**Bëj naze:** *I bën ca naze Kamber Shtikës dhe ai luan mendsh.* (p. 108)

**Bëj ndonjë proçkë:** *Të bëjë ndonjë proçkë kjo çupa jote një javë para dasmës, pa llafosemi bashkë.* (p. 27)

**Bëj punë me mend:** *Do të bëj një punë me mend: do të të lë një copë herë dhe me familjen.* (p. 201)

**Bëj punë të liga:** *Një palo inxhinier, një nul para tyt eti, po bën shumë punë të liga.* (p. 38)

**Bëj shaka me kripë:** *Bëj shaka, por jo pa kripë.* (p. 132)

**Bëj shaka:** *Mos bëj shaka, se po më luan mendsh.* (p. 51)

**Bie erë:** *Ne jemi pak rrëmujë si beqarë, / Do rrjedhë koha, s'do rrojmë në rrëmujë, / Se gra të mira kemi për të marrë / Dhe apartamentet do bien erë ujë!* (p. 87)

**Bie në dashuri:** *T'i shohë njeri që nuk i njeh, kujton se këta të dy kanë rënë në dashuri.* (p. 110)

**Bie në krahët e dikujt:** *Mos mendo se ti je yll dhe ne femrat presim sa të hapësh gojën e të biem në krahët e tu:* "Aman, o Agush, na puth me buzët e tua, se plasëm!" (p. 109)

**Bie në kurth:** *Zalo Zangali nuk bie në kurthe dëshenerimi!* (p. 102)

**Bie nga shkallët:** *Do të bija nga shkallët?* (p. 164)

**Bie poshtë:** *Ku ke rënë, Fredi, ku ke rënë!* (p. 142)

**Bie të fle me pulat:** *Me sa duket, mbrëmë ke rënë të flesh që me pulat.* (p. 267)

**Blej mend:** *Fshesën e blen, po mendtë s'i blen, Bato Barmashi.* (p. 93)

**Çelësat e kasafortës:** *Rita e rrëzoi perandorinë e Marikës, i mori qeverisjen e shtëpisë, çelësat e kasafortës së shtëpisë i shtiu në dorë Rita, se ajo është forcë prodhuese.* (p. 160)

**Çështje kalibri:** *Qenka çështje e kalibrit!* (p. 20)

**Ç'më sheh syri, më bën dora:** *Ç'i sheh syri, i bën dora.* (p. 120)

**Dal nga tema:** *Kot u përpoqët që të dilni nga tema.* (p. 56)

**Dashi me rudën:** *Dashi me rudën- na prishin mbrëmjen dhe gjithë humorin, Omer!* (p. 212)

**Derdh djersë:** *Dëgjo, Agush, unë e kam ndjerë aromën e punës dhe kam derdhur pak djersë.* (p. 113)

**Derë e mirë:** *Fejuar de, fejuar, me një djalë nga derë e mirë...* (p. 18)

**Diktatura e proletariatit:** *Domethënë, diktatura e proletariatit s'po na vjen.* (p. 216)

**Djalë pa mend:** *Aleksi nuk është djalë pa mend.* (p. 49)

**Dobësimi i nervave:** *Përveç të këqijave të prishjes së gjakut dhe dobësimit të nervave, objektivisht asgjë të mirë nuk sjellin këto thashetheme.* (p. 62)

**Doçkë e hekurt:** *Kjo tregon se grua e Omerit duhet të jetë doçkë e hekurt në shtëpi.* (p. 219)

**Dogmë e gjallë:** *Unë jam ftohur më ty, se ti je një dogmë e gjallë.* (p. 229)

**Dredh bishtin:** *E dredh bishtin, e dredh.* (p. 41); *Ja, kjo Bajramja që sheh ti, kjo grerë e fshehur nën këmishë, e dredh bishtin, e dredh!* (p. 41)

**Dru i regjur:** *Dru i regjur domethënë, i stazhionuar.* (p. 154)

**Dru i stazhionuar:** *Dru i regjur domethënë, i stazhionuar.* (p. 154)

**Dy e dy bëjnë katër:** *A mund të thuash: "Nuk e di pse dy e dy bëjnë katër?"* (p. 170)

**Dhëmb për dhëmb:** *Ky njeri, që lufton dhëmb për dhëmb me bllokadën dhe triumfin e socializmit, ka bërë aktin më të madh moral.* (p. 221)

**E bardha zemër:** *Kur të të dojë e bardha zemër.* (p. 65)

**E bëj çorbë:** *Çorbë nuk do t'i bëjmë mbledhjet.* (p. 12)

**E bëj perëndi:** *Këtë Martinin tënd mos ma bëj perëndi!* (p. 179)

**E bukur te zoti:** *Të them të drejtën, e bukur te zoti!* (p. 92)

**E do vjehrra:** *Të paska dashtë vjehrra.* (p. 22)

**E hedh në dorë:** *Madamë Hi-hi e ka hedhur në dorë Kamber Shtikën!* (p. 108)

**E heq për dore:** *Ti më hiqje për dore mua.* (p. 237)

**E ka derën hapur:** *Derën hapur e kanë, le të urdhërojnë.* (p. 131)

**E ka origjinën nga ngjala:** *Sikur ta kish origjinën nga ngjala.* (p. 70)

**E kam krah të fortë:** *E ke krah të fortë të zotit e shtëpisë.* (p. 45)

**E kam mendjen top:** *Edhe sikur të mblidheni të gjithë, unë mendjen e kam top.* (p. 262)

**E kam rrugën të hapur:** *Rrugën e ka të hapur.* (p. 102)

**E kam të butë pëllëmbën:** *Ti e ke mjaft të butë pëllëmbën.* (p. 241)

**E kap demin për brirësh:** *Sidoqoftë, ti duhet t'i shkruash Aleksit që t'i vërë gishtin kokës, të mbledhë mendjen e të punojë, ta kapin demin për brirësh!* (p. 49);

**E kap për brirësh:** *Kështu thotë dhe kryetari i kooperativës sonë, ta kapim për brirësh.* (p. 49)

**E kërkon nga goja ime:** *A kërkon të dish të vërtetën nga goja ime?* (p. 89)

**E marr me mend:** *Eh, Agush, ti nuk e merr me mend sa gjë të keqe bën duke trilluar konflikte të paqena!* (p. 180)

**E marr më qafë:** *Mua më ka marrë më qafë Kamani.* (p. 265); *Edhe Arsenin ai e ka marrë më qafë!* (p. 265)

**E marrtë dreqi!:** *Dreqi ju marrtë!* (p. 102); *Gjithë shtëpia në tension, dreqi ta marrë!* (p. 140); *Të marrtë dreqi!* (p. 237)

**E mbaj në pëllëmbë të dorës:** *Ajo ty do të të mbajë në pëllëmbë të dorës.* (p. 114)

**E mbulon një hije e errët:** *Kot së koti e mbulon njeriun një hije e errët.* (p. 96)

**E mori mortja:** *E marrtë mortja* Bektashin me këto kritika! (p. 67)

**E mori Shkumbini:** *Dhe vërtet të mori Shkumbini.* (p. 157)

**E pjek kokën me dikë:** *Po e poqi kokën me Niko agronomin, hajde të ndahet.* (p. 200)

**E prish me dorën time:** *Dhe tani çdo gjë e prishe me dorën tënde.* (p. 34)

**E prish me duart e mia:** *Në të vërtetë ne nuk u bëjmë mirë, se ua prishim të ardhmen me duart tona.* (p. 12)

**E prishi gojën:** *De, mos e prish gojën, zoti Halil, është çupa e shokut të ngushtë të Bektashit.* (p. 24)

**E sjell në binarë:** *Arianën e sjell unë në binarë!* (p. 31)

**E solli kokën:** *E solla, që mos e sjell të kokën!* (p. 39)

**E vë në pozicion të vështirë:** *Jam një i përjashtuar nga partia dhe nuk dua t'i vë shokët në pozita të vështira, prandaj...* (p. 268)

**E zë demin nga brirët:** *Po ta zemë njëherë demin nga brirët.* (p. 207)

**E zhdëp në dru:** *E kam zhdëpur në dru.* (p. 41); *Ta zesh Arsenin e ta zhdëpësh në dru...* (p. 242)

**Edhe speci është i vogël, por djeg fj. u.:** *Edhe speci është i vogël, por djeg.* (p. 41)

**Është gjithë nerva:** *More, po çfarë ke, që je gjithë nerva.* (p. 28)

**Është në të:** *More, ky Agushi është në të apo ka lajthitur?* (p. 94)

**Është ngritur shkalla e termometrit:** *Dale, thashë, s'është ngritur shkalla e termometrit gjer në atë pikë!* (p. 92)

**Është shëruar nga mendtë:** *Ti duhet të shërohesh nga mendtë, moj bijë.* (p. 32)

**Fjalët i merr era fj. u.:** *Fjalët i merr era, shifrat mbeten!* (p. 192)

**Flas me thumba:** *Vetëm Martini me Faten në një moment nuk më pëlqyen, se flisnin me thumba për ty e për mua.* (p. 114)

**Flas nga kulla e lartë:** *Bektash, po më flet nga kulla e lartë e njeriut me përgjegjësi.* (p. 12)

**Flas prapa krahëve:** *Dhe Martini nuk foli keq prapa krahëve për ty.* (p. 183)

**Fryma e shenjtë:** *Ju kujtoni se Kaman Kalaja u demaskua nga fryma e shenjtë?* (p. 274)

**Furrik i ngrohtë:** *Është një zog që ëndërron furrik të ngrohtë.* (p. 95)

**Fut hundët në punët e të tjerëve:** *Fate, të vish mik në shtëpi nuk do të thotë të futësh hundët në punët e të tjerëve.* (p. 154)

**Fut hundët:** *Ne nuk do të fusim hundët edhe në fenomenet thjesht shpirtërore...* (p. 63); **Ti i fute hundët** në projekt. (p. 156); **I fute hundët** pasi ishin hedhur themelet. (p. 156)

**Futem në vrimë të djallit:** *Edhe në vrimë të djallit të futesh ti, të gjejnë.* (p. 205)

**Gënjem sy ndër sy:** *Ti ke aftësi të gënjehesh sy ndër sy.* (p. 156)

**Goditje përqendruar:** *Tani bëj një goditje të përqëndruar për të prishur atë që fillove me goditjen e parë të përqëndruar.* (p. 157)

**Grerë e fshehur:** *Ja, kjo Bajramja që sheh ti, kjo grerë e fshehur nën këmishë, e dredh bishtin, e dredh!* (p. 41)

**Grij fjalë:** *Por njerëzit grijnë fjalë, na thurin dhe ne thashetheme, jo më juve, të rinjve.* (p. 36)

**Gjej gjuhën e përbashkët:** *Ç'gjuhë të përbashkët gjen me Agushin?* (p. 94); *Vërtet, ç'gjuhë të përbashkët gjen?* (p. 94)

**Gjen cipën e hollë:** *Mbeturinat gjejnë cipën e hollë, e çajnë dhe futen...* (p. 26)

**Gjen qimen në vezë:** *Ky kërkon të gjejë qimen në vezë!* (p. 217)

**Hedh fjalë:** *Unë ta përmend këtë sepse për atë shoqërinë tuaj budallaqe janë hedhur ca fjalë.* (p. 132)

**Hedh një hap të gabuar:** *Po hedh një hap shumë të gabuar.* (p. 51)

**Hedh sytë:** *E lëron tokën dhe e humbet farën (hedh sytë nga shishja e rakisë, Zyhraja përgatit tavolinën).* (p. 42); *Fredi (hedh sytë nga shishja): Do t'ia shtrojmë sonte, ë?* (p. 99)

**Hedh vickla:** *Në vend që të gëzohesh për ikjen e Martinit, hedh vickla.* (p. 184)

**Hedhë themelet:** *Pas diplomave ngrihet niveli ynë ekonomik dhe mbi këtë bazë hedh themelet martesë.* (p. 88)

**Heq keq:** *Tani Rita nuk do të heqë keq për të kuq buzësh, madamë Elizabeta do t'i dërgojë të kuq buzësh francez.* (p. 189)

**Hidhem degë më degë:** *Mos u mundo të hidhesh degë më degë dhe t'u hedhësh pluhur fenomeneve.* (p. 62)

**Horr i horrave:** *Ku më gjete ti, more horr i horrave, që më thua "xhaxha"!* (p. 46)

**Humbas toruan:** *Ti e ke humbur toruan.* (p. 230)

**Hyj në jetën dikujt:** *Ka hyrë në jetën time.* (p. 108); *Ndoshta shkëndijat e dashurisë kanë qenë, por ato u shuan qëkur hyre ti në jetën time.* (p. 116)

**I bëhet bisht:** *Në mbledhje këtyre problemeve iu bë bisht: ju lutem shumë, po na pengoni, ka një kufi.* (p. 14)

**I bëj gjyqin:** *Dhe e solla këtu, t'i bëjmë gjyqin.* (p. 234)

**I bëj kokën:** *Po për ne, moj, që të kemi bërë kokën; për babanë tënd, që ka gjithë ato halle, nuk të vjen keq?* (p. 33)

**I bie fyellit në një vrimë:** *Dhe shiko, Agush, mos i bjerë fyellit në një vrimë, se unë kam vesh muzikor dhe mërzitem.* (p. 185)

**I bie gërnetës:** *Po nuk e ndjeve kënaqësinë në punë, bjeri gërnetës sa të duash!* (p. 187)

**I bie më qafë:** *Të bien më qafë si në konvikt?* (p. 154)

**I bie në duar:** *Ti, Agush, duke më parë të qeshur, mendon se mund të bie lehtë në duart e burrave!* (p. 108); *Një zuzar elektriçist i bie më qafë vajzës sime.* (p. 47); *Ti i bie më qafë më tepër se duhet.* (p. 120)

**I bie të mirës me shqelm:** *Do t'i bjerë të mirës me shqelm.* (p. 34)

**I çaj kokën:** *Mos më çaj kokën dhe ti!* (p. 35)

**I çaj kryet:** *E ç'më çan kryet!* (p. 31)

**I doli e tija:** *Patjetër duhet të dalë e tija!* (p. 38)

**I doli flaka mbi çati:** *Rri, moj të marrtë morti në qoshe, ha një copë bukë si qeni dhe leri të nxjerrin sytë: flaka s'dalka mbi çati?!* (p. 140)

**I erdhën mendtë:** *Por kur t'i vijnë mendtë Ritës, do të jetë vonë!* (p. 95)

**I është bërë koka për brirë:** *Koka jote është bërë tamam për brirë.* (p. 135)

**I fryn kandilit dhe kandili shuhet:** *I fryn kandilit dhe kandili shuhet.* (p. 149)

**I fus në një kallëp:** *Ne duam që vajzat tona t'i fusim në kallëpin e rehatit.* (p. 11-12)



**I futet krimbi:** *Ma futi ai mua këtë krimb, Martin.* (p. 168)

**I gjej fundin diçkaje:** *Fundin nuk ia gjen dot dynjasë.* (p. 134)

**I ha bishtin:** *Bërr, or të hëngsha bishtin!* (p. 72)

**I ha t'ëmën:** *Dil, Arsen Burimi, ku je futur, se ta hëngra tët'ëmë!*  
(p. 235)

**I hamë dasmën:** *Po dasmën, zonja Zyhra, kur do t'ia hamë çupës?*  
(p. 42)

**I hap syrin:** *Ka faj ky, që të hap synë!* (p. 19)

**I hap sytë:** *Yt atë të ka dhënë shkollë, të ka hapur sytë, dhe ti na...*  
(p. 38); *Rinisë t'i hapen sytë.* (p. 60)

**I hedh benzinë zjarrit:** *I hodhe zjarrin benzinë.* (p. 183)

**I hedh një sy:** *Faleminderit (e merr gazetën dhe i hedh një sy).* (p. 245)

**I hedh pluhur (diçkaje / dikujt):** *Mos u mundo të hidhesh degë më degë dhe t'u hedhësh pluhur fenomeneve.* (p. 62)

**I hedh sytë:** *Sa i hodhi sytë i tha: "Mëlçia e zezë".* (p. 125)

**I hedh trutë në erë:** *Bektash, koburen, se do t'ia hedh trutë në erë!*  
(p. 46; *Koburen, Bektash, se do t'ia hedh trutë në erë!* (p. 46)

**I heq kapelën:** *Ai është inxhinier dhe specialist i zoti, për këtë secili nga ne i heq kapelen.* (p. 23)

**I humbas mendjen:** *Ma humbi mendjen babai!* (p. 238)

**I hyj vendçe:** *I hyra vendçe dhe e mbylla në shtëpi.* (p. 18)

**I hyn krimbi:** *Më hyri në shpirt krimbi i Agushit.* (p. 168)

**I hipën kalit me shalë:** *Më dukesh si djalë që i hyp kalit me shalë.*  
(p. 73)

**I jap fjalën:** *Të jap fjalën.* (p. 251)

**I jap një shuplakë:** *Se më ka dhënë një shuplakë që do ta ndiej deri sa të vdes.* (p. 261-262)

**I jap shkëndijë:** *Por ato janë si mjet për t'i dhënë bisedës shkëndijë, për ta bërë më interesante.* (p. 222)

**I ka duart të lyera deri në bërryl me gjak:** *"Për këtë poet reaksionar rendi ynë socialist është një rend burokratik dhe burokratët i kanë "duart të lyera deri në bërryl me gjak", "rrëmojnë themelet, lajnë gjakun e dëshmorëve etj. etj."* (p. 282)

**I ka shoqet e rralla:** *Por ajo është një grua që i ka shoqet të rralla.*  
(p. 114)

**I kalon kufijtë:** *Pas asaj poshtërsie që po bën, poshtërsi që kalon tej kufive të ngushtë, një njeri që përpiqet të prishë një familje dhe kërkon të marrë nëpër gojë njerëz të ndershëm...* (p. 64)

**I kam lotët në majë të qerpikëve:** *Ja, ju lotët i keni në majë të qerpikëve.* (p. 123)

**I kam punët përshesh:** *I kam përshesh punët e mia në kantier, ti flet për Fredin e për Ritën!* (p. 160)

**I këpus gjuhën:** *Bato Barmashi, do të ta këpus gjuhën.* (p. 103)

**I kthej krahët:** *Ty nesër do të të kthejnë krahët të gjithë dhe do të mbetesh atje në një qoshe.* (p. 180)

**I lumshin këmbët!:** *Gëzuar e iu lumçin këmbët që erdhët (e ngre gotën).* (p. 217); **I lumshin këmbët!:** *Të lumshin këmbët.* (p. 22)

**I marr erë:** *U ka marrë erë të gjithëve...* (p. 47)

**I marr hua mendimet:** *Ti u ke marrë atyre hua mendimet!* (p. 229)

**I marr mendjen:** *Ia more mendjen Meribanit dhe s'e le të bëhej nusja e djalit tim!* (p. 102)

**I marrë hua sytë:** *Arsen, ti ke marrë hua sytë e Kikisë për të më parë mua?! (p. 229)*

**I mbeti (i vjen) kopili në derë:** *Dhe vjen kopili te xha Halili...* (p. 20)

**I mbush mendjen:** *E di që Agushi ia mbushi mendjen se ti gjoja ke biografi të zezë, se ke pasur një kleçkë.* (p. 96); **Do t'ia mbushim mendjen.** (p. 96); **Ai ta mbushi mendjen** *ty për të të shpënë në kantier pranë Martinut?* (p. 142)

**I mbush trupin me mornica:** *Rrëmbimi yt, Rita, ma mbushi trupin me mornica.* (p. 181)

**I morroçit kokën:** *Lëre hapur, e mos na morroçit kokën.* (p. 259)

**I ngeli gozhdë:** *Do t'i ngelet gozhdë xhaxhait po s'të njohu!* (p. 22)

**I përhap nëpër pazar:** *Omer, mos i përhap nëpër pazar këto që po të shkruaj.* (p. 276)

**I pres krahët:** *Mendimeve nuk duhet t'u presim krahët.* (p. 221)

**I prish biografinë:** *Tani le ta mbajë, se, po ia mora, më prish biografinë!* (p. 239)

**I prish gjakun:** *Na prish gjakun kot!* (p. 29); *Kur më prishet mua gjaku, ju qëndroni sehirxinj.* (p. 29)

**I prish mendjen:** *Aman se na prishi mendsh.* (p. 28)

**I punoj qindin:** *Unë do t'i punoj qindin atij Arsenit.* (p. 236)

**I punon gjuha: *Të punon gjuha, o Bat o Baramashi, të punon!*** (p. 111)

**I rendit të fundit: *Njeri pa perspektivë, inxhinjer i rendit të fundit.*** (p. 30)

**I tërheq vëmendjen: *Për këtë ka tre muaj që të kemi tërhequr vëmendjen.*** (p. 241)

**I thyej hundët: *Martini ty t'i thyen hundët, prandaj kërkon ta largosh!*** (p. 179)

**I vesh me duart e saj: *Me duart e saj i vesh.*** (p. 120)

**I vë brirë: *Do t'i vërë brirë Fredit!*** (p. 111)

**I vë gishtin kokës: *Sidoqoftë, ti duhet t'i shkruash Aleksit që t'i vërë gishtin kokës, të mbledhë mendjen e të punojë, ta kapin demin për brirësh!*** (p. 49)

**I vë gjoksin diçkaje: *T'u vemë gjoksin punëve të mëdha!*** (p. 103)

**I vë kapak: *Ky i vuri kapak kësaj mbrëmje.*** (p. 228)

**I vë paterica: *Po i vini paterica, ë?*** (p. 76)

**I vë shpatullat punës: *Më mirë t'i vëmë shpatullat punës dhe të mos merremi me vogëlsira.*** (p. 77)

**I vë zjarrin mjekrës, ti ndez cigaren: *Po fundja ai vetë ia vuri zjarrin mjekrës.*** (p. 268); ***Edhe sikur t'ia ketë vënë vetë zjarrin mjekrës, ne nuk duhet të ndezim cigaren.*** (p. 268)

**I vërshon mërzia në zemër: *Doemos në zemrën e saj do të vërshojë mërzia.*** (p. 160)

**I zë furrikun: *Ia zuri furrikun xhaxhait.*** (p. 95)

**Ia bëj me të pabesë: *Aleksit babai ia ka bërë me të pabesë dhe çndershmërisht.*** (p. 38)

**Ia bëj mendjen dhallë: *De ore shejtan me brirë, se ma bëre mendjen dhallë.*** (p. 73)

**Ia lëshoj frerët: *Dhe t'u lëshojmë frerët këtyre hergjeleve?*** (p. 19); ***Demek, t'ua lëshojmë frerët e të kullosin nga të duan!*** (p. 19)

**Ia marr shpirtin: *Ajo që thua ti, sa të jem unë gjallë, nuk ndodh, se ia marr shpirtin.*** (p. 58)

**Ia marrë një dueti: *Para dasmës ia ke marrë një dueti me një zorzop, me një...*** (p. 32)

**Ia mbyll gojën: *Edhe për hir të asaj që shokët ta mbyllin gojën, unë e pranoj.*** (p. 59)

**Ia ngul sytë si dervish: *M'i ke ngulur sytë si dervish.*** (p. 237)

**Ia ngula sytë:** *Më kujtove kur të yshta unë, më kujtove ku t'i ngula sytë.* (p. 237); *Unë edhe gurit po ia ngula sytë e bëj të lëvizë.* (p. 237)

**Ia prish zemrën:** *Ti vetë ia prishe zemrën të birit të botës për vogëlsira.* (p. 26)

**Injorancë e lustruar:** *Injorancë e lustruar.* (p. 93)

**Jam nisur për në Qabë:** *Martin, ti pse je nisur për në Qabë, për t'u pastruar?* (p. 175)

**Jap mend:** *Ne të tjerëve dimë t'u japim mend, po për vete...* (p. 31); *Kujt i kam dhënë mend, moj fantazore?* (p. 31); *U kam shfaqur mendimin tim, por nuk u kam dhënë mend.* (p. 31)

**Ka ca damarë:** *Eh, i urtë, more i urtë, po ka ca damarë njeriu që, po i kërcyen, bën hatanë (çiften e ka harruar në dorë).* (p. 235)

**Ka gisht të bukur:** *Gjisht të bukur që paska!* (p. 16)

**Ka një dërrasë mangët:** *Zaten shkencëtarët e kanë një dërrasë mangut.* (p. 240)

**Ka një kufi:** *Në mbledhje këtyre problemeve iu bë bisht: ju lutem shumë, po na pengoni, ka një kufi.* (p. 14)

**Ka qejf:** *Por ke parë ti, si vetë, si gruaja, të gjithë e kanë qejf kitarën.* (p. 16)

**Ka rënë poshtë:** *Sa poshtë ke rënë, Arsen.* (p. 229)

**Kalli pa bukë:** *Kalli pa bukë!* (p. 40)

**Kam diplomën në xhep:** *E nxit diploma që ka në xhep.* (p. 30)

**Kam mendjen diku:** *Kushedi ku e ka pasur mendjen (heq kitarën nga qafa dhe shikon në dritaren e ndezur): T'u jap një sinjal me kitarë?* (p. 144)

**Kam mendjen time:** *Kam edhe unë mendjen time.* (p. 261)

**Kam qejf:** *Unë i kam qejf ujërat të pastra.*

**Kam turp:** *Të kesh turp!* (p. 38)

**Kam vesh muzikor:** *Dhe shiko, Agush, mos i bjerë fyellit në një vrimë, se unë kam vesh muzikor dhe mërzhitem.* (p. 185); *Edhe vesh muzikor kam pasur, por nga dembellëku s'i jam vënë ta mësoj.* (p. 187)

**Kam zemrën si të zogut:** *Si të zogut e kam zemrën.* (p. 141)

**Kërkon qimen në vezë:** *Ky kërkon të gjejë qimen në vezë!* (p. 217)

**Koburja e varur duhet të zbrazet.** *fj. u.: Koburja e varur duhet të zbrazet.* (p. 152)

**Kripa në tokë, peshku në det:** *Kripa në tokë, peshku në det, po një tigan i bashkon.* (p. 42)

**Ku e lyp nevoja:** *Njeriu duhet të shkojë atje ku e lyp nevoja.* (p. 37)

**Kulturë e dështuar:** *Ik more, kulturë e dështuar.* (p. 93)

**Kulloj nga sytë:** *Kullove nga sytë moj e gjorë.* (p. 214)

**Kur e ke tokën të lëruar, e gjen dhe farën** *ff. u. Kur e ke tokën të lëruar, e gjen dhe farën.* (p. 42)

**Lan gjakun e dikujt:** *"Për këtë poet reaksionar rendi ynë socialist është një rend burokratik dhe burokratët i kanë "duart të lyera deri në bërryl me gjak", "rrëmojnë themelet, lajnë gjakun e dëshmorëve etj. etj."* (p. 282)

**Leri, Shero, nazet, s'të kanë lezet:** *Leri, Shero, nazet, s'të kanë lezet (i reciton si vargje).* (p. 159)

**Lë në baltë:** *Ti, i dashur Bektash, së bashku me Muhametin, e keni lënë Aleksin krejt në baltë.* (p. 63)

**Lëron tokën dhe e humbet farën:** *E lëron tokën dhe e humbet farën (hedh sytë nga shishja e rakisë, Zyhraja përgatit tavolinën).* (p. 42)

**Luaj mendsh:** *Liza, lojte mendsh?* (p. 107); *Nuk lojta!* (p. 107); *I bën ca naze Kamber Shtikës dhe ai luan mendsh.* (p. 108); *Lojte mendsh, Fredi?! (p. 135); Mos bëj shaka, se po më luan mendsh.* (p. 51); *Thuaji se ka luajtur mendsh.* (p. 33); *Ai Aleksi, për të cilin po luan mendsh ti, ia ka bërë me të pabesë tyt eti.* (p. 38)

**M'u prish gjaku:** *Bereqet kemi, o kusho, po na është prishur gjaku me këto vajza që kemi.* (p. 40) *Sa herë të priset gjaku, ti vjen në Tiranë.* (p. 40)

**M'u thaftë këmba!:** *Oh, m'u thaftë këmba m'u thaftë.* (p. 231-232)

**Ma do zemra:** *O kolopuçi i xhaxhait, sa ma dashka zemra!* (p. 76)

**Ma mbush mendjen:** *Pastaj Agushi ma mbushi mendjen se puna jote e re në kantier do të të ngjallë kënaqësi.* (p. 177)

**Ma merr mendja:** *Ma mori mendja që do të përfundonte keq.* (p. 112); *Ma mori mendja se do të ishte dhëndri.* (p. 22); *Meriban, si ta merr mendja, do të jetë dobësuar Rita?* (p. 145)

**Malli i babait:** *Se mos ne po diskutojmë për mallin e babait!* (p. 80)

**Marr frymë:** *Prit, bre, merr frymë!* (p. 241)

**Marr me mend:** *Nuk e merrja me mend të të prisja sonte!* (p. 211)

**Marr mendjen e dikujt:** *Mora mendjen tënde.* (p. 200)

**Marr nëpër gojë:** *As Andrea, as Kristina, nuk ka pse të merren nëpër gojë.* (p. 24); *Pas asaj poshtërsie që po bën, poshtërsi që kalon tej*

*kufijve të ngushtë, një njeri që përpiqet të prishë një familje dhe kërkon të marrë nëpër gojë njerëz të ndershëm...* (p. 64)

**Marr vesh (diçka):** Gjërat që ndodhin në këtë shtëpi unë **i marr vesh** i fundit. (p. 29); Çfarë **ke marrë vesh** ti, Bektash?; (p. 29) Qëkur u fejua me Muhamedin, dhe unë sot **e marr vesh!** (p. 30); Po Muhameti, moj, po sikur **ta marrë vesh** Muhameti? (p. 33); Po ti xhaxha, u nxehe kur **more vesh** se unë u martova me Aleksin? (p. 75); Seç the sot, asnjëri **nuk e mori vesh**. (p. 15); Po **ku e morën vesh** që u ktheva në shtëpi! (p. 20); **E le ta marrë vesh** dhe ky! (p. 203); **E more vesh** vendimin tim? (p. 181); Edhe kur i lexoj, edhe kur i dëgjoj, unë **mezi i marr vesh**. (p. 223); **I kam marrë vesh të gjitha**. (p. 231); **S'të marr vesh!** (p. 239)

**Mbaj erën e dikujt: Mbajti erën tënde.** (p. 100)

**Mbaj mendjen time: Mbaje mendjen tënde.** (p. 262)

**Mbledh mendjen:** Sidoqoftë, ti duhet t'i shkruash Aleksit që t'i vërë gishtin kokës, **të mbledhë mendjen** e të punojë, ta kapin demin për brirësh! (p. 49)

**Mbledh xhindet:** Zonja Zyhra, ç'është ky zorzopi që i bie qitharës tashti natën, **sikur mbledh të gjithë xhindet?** (p. 16)

**Me biografi të mirë:** Nga një derë **me biografi të mirë**. (p. 18)

**Me biografi të zezë:** E di që Agushi ia mbushi mendjen se ti gjoja **ke biografi të zezë**, se ke pasur një kleçkë. (p. 96)

**Me forcën e krahut: Ke punuar me mend në kokë**, i ke gjetur një basho vend, **me forcën e krahut tënd!** (p. 21)

**Me goditje të largët:** Nuk janë si të llafazanëve, janë **me goditje të largët**. (p. 48)

**Me gjak të ftohtë:** Rishikojeni **me gjak të ftohtë** si historinë e fejesës së Arianës dhe historinë e mundimeve që i keni shkaktuar asaj, dhe keni për të kuptuar diçka. (p. 65)

**Me gjithë mend: I thua me gjithë mend** a i thua me shaka. (p. 236)

**Me marrtë dreqi: E mori dreqi** këtë punë, thashë me vete. (p. 18)

**Me mend në kokë: Ke punuar me mend në kokë**, i ke gjetur një basho vend, **me forcën e krahut tënd!** (p. 21)

**Me një të lëvizur të stilolapsit:** E di se ku e degdis atë unë, **me një të lëvizur të stilolapsit?** (p. 50)

**Me sy të qeshur:** Fatbardha nis të tundë lehtë karrocën e, pasi **ndjek me sy të qeshur** plakun që largohet avash sikur trembet se mos thyejë vezë, e kthen vështrimin nga libri e thellohet në të. (p. 200)

**Me tërë kuptimin e fjalës:** *Ti me Muhametin do të bësh jetë, me tërë kuptimin e fjalës.* (p. 34)

**Merr erë:** *Kam frikë se kjo punë do të marrë erë dhe Martini do të ndëshkohet rëndë nga organizata, nga komiteti e nga të gjithë!* (p. 162)

**Më bëhen sytë ujë:** *Iu bënë sytë ujë, të ziut!* (p. 17)

**Më bën mirë:** *Të bëftë mirë, zoti Halil!* (p. 39)

**Më bie bretku:** *Jo, jo, ne na binte bretku në punë.* (p. 119)

**Më bie tavani mbi kokë:** *Na ra tavani mbi kokë!* (p. 228); *Po mua nuk më ra tavani mbi kokë, kur tha ky Kamani yt se shkenca u bëka këtu dhe në fshat u merrkeshin me vogëlsira?* (p. 228)

**Më bluan mulliri:** *Na bluan ky qerrata mulli, na bluan dhe nuk e dimë se ç'miell nxjerrim.* (p. 27)

**Më del nga mendja:** *S'ju kam thënë deri tani se më doli nga mendja.* (p. 22)

**Më digjet lëkura:** *Ai e provoi një herë se sa i dogji lëkura dhe nuk besoj ta ndezë përsëri.* (p. 268)

**Më doli inati:** *Do t'i dalë inati.* (p. 74)

**Më duket çudi:** *Të duket çudi?* (p. 29)

**Më dhemb koka:** *Sa më dhemka zemra, moj mbesë!* (p. 75)

**Më hapet koka:** *M'u hap koka.* (p. 132)

**Më hëngri veshët:** *Kjo plaka ime më hëngri veshët: "Të shkojmë te Rita, të shkojmë te Rita" (ulet në poltron).* (p. 146)

**Më hipën xhindet:** *Më hipin xhindet e fillojnë të më dridhen këto të shkreta (tregon mustaqet).* (p. 18); *Ç'dreqin ju hipën xhindët në kokë?* (p. 184)

**Më hyn në zemër:** *E si të mos ndodhte, more Bektash, kur ty filloi të të pëlqejë vetja; kur ty filloi të të hyjë në zemër më tepër karrigja se sa preokupimet e punës së njerëzve!* (p. 80)

**Më ka hyrë në palcë:** *Metodat e vjetra të punës na kanë hyrë në palcë.* (p. 56)

**Më kall krupën:** *"Ai që më keni zgjedhur ju mua më kall krupë", më thotë.* (p. 18)

**Më kërcen gjaku i lashtë:** *Ç'të kërcëu ky gjak i lashtë!* (p. 235)

**Më marrsh pleshtat:** *Na marçi pleshtat.* (p. 108)

**Më mbeti koka:** *Më mbeti koka nga dera.* (p. 186)

**Më mbliidhet rreth kokës diçka:** *M'u mblodhën rreth kokës mbeturinat borgjeze dhe më trazuan shumë.* (p. 75)

**Më mbush mendjen:** *Ti e di që unë ia mbusha mendjen...* (p. 184);  
*E di si ia mbushe mendjen.* (p. 184)

**Më mbushet mendja top:** *Duhet të të mbushet mendja top ty dhe kujtdo tjetër që Aleks i asnjë poshtërsi nuk ka bërë.* (p. 64)

**Më ngrihen mustaqet përpyjetë:** *M'u ngritën mustaqet përpyjetë!* (p. 239)

**Më ngjitet fitili:** *Hë, më të keqen Halili, si qenka ngjitur fitili!* (p. 21)

**Më nxu faqen:** *"S'je bërë akoma ti, aguridhe, që t'i nxish faqen Halil Shkozës!* (p. 18)

**Më nxjerr miell mulliri:** *Na bluan ky qerrata mulli, na bluan dhe nuk e dimë se ç'miell nxjerrim.* (p. 27)

**Më prish mendsh:** *Na prishe mendsh, dreqi të martë!* (p. 239)

**Më prishet gjaku:** *Edhe unë nuk ua vë veshin, por kur përsëriten ditë për ditë më bëjnë nervoz dhe më prishin gjakun.* (p. 137); *Qëkur na ndodhi ajo gjëma, iu prish gjaku e mori poshtë e më poshtë.* (p. 17)

**Më rreh mendja diku:** *E dini se ku më rreh mendja mua?* (p. 89)

**Më shkon mendja diku:** *Ku të shkon mendja, Agush!* (p. 161)

**Më shkon mendja për keq:** *Unë ty të dua dhe ndoshta prandaj mendja më shkon gjithnjë për të keq.* (p. 143)

**Më vete gjuha:** *Më fal, Bato, por pa dashur na vete gjuha, sepse jemi marrë shumë me këtë çështje dhe nuk na hiqet nga mendja.* (p. 185)

**Më vete mendja për diçka:** *Nuk më vete mendja në femra.* (p. 154)

**Më vërtitet mendja:** *Mendja ime nuk vërtitet vetëm rreth tavolinës.* (p. 226)

**Më vjen e hidhur (diçka):** *Tani do të t'i numëroj të gjitha dhe do të të vijë hidhur e vërteta.* (p. 29)

**Më vjen në majë të hundës:** *Në majë të hundës më ka ardhur!* (p. 126)

**Më vjen rrotull:** *"Me kë je mollokrepsur, moj sojzezë, me elektrixhiun që ka filluar t'i vijë rrotull shtëpisë?"* (p. 18)

**Më vjen turp:** *Tani më vjen turp kur më thonë.* (p. 238)

**Më zënë sytë:** *Ngadonjëherë miqësia që kemi na zë sytë dhe nuk na le të shohim fenomenet që na rrethojnë.* (p. 24)

**Më zien koka:** *Mua, Bato, më zien koka nga problemet e ndërtimit.* (p. 154)

**Më zien koka:** *Po ç'të bëjmë, më zien koka!* (p. 57)



**Më zien në gjoks:** *Inati i mbledhjes ende po të zien në gjoks.* (p. 49)

**Minierë e thellë:** *Fakt i pamohueshëm, njeriu qenka një minierë e thellë, sa më tepër...* (p. 14); *Ti vetë e ke thënë se njeriu është një minierë e thellë.* (p. 52)

**Mori poshtë e më poshtë:** *Qëkur na ndodhi ajo gjëma, iu prish gjaku e mori poshtë e më poshtë.* (p. 17)

**Mos e dhëntë zoti!** *Mos e dhëntë zoti!* (p. 140)

**Mos t'i pafsha sytë:** *Dhe mos të t'i shoh sytë!* (p. 135)

**Mu bë ferrë:** *Hë, more Astrit shkencëtari, që më je bërë ferrë.* (p. 240)

**Mua më digjet mjekra, ti do të ndezësh cigaren:** *Atij i digjet mjekra, unë shkoj të ndez cigaren!* (p. 268)

**Ndërroj mendje:** *Edhe parmbremë nuk doje të dilje me të zotrote, ndërrove mendje.* (p. 25)

**Ndizet e shuhet:** *Ndizet e shuhet.* (p. 149)

**Ndjek rrugë të dëmshme:** *Se ti je një nga ushqyesit moralë të saj për të ndjekur një rrugë të dëmshme.* (p. 29)

**Në fund të fundit:** *Në fund të fundit, njeriu duhet të shkojë atje ku e lyp nevoja.* (p. 37)

**Në nerva e sipër:** *Njeriu, në nerva e sipër, çdo gjë mund ta thotë.* (p. 58)

**Në një pikë të vdekur:** *Gjendja jote shpirtërore është në një pikë të vdekur.* (p. 172)

**Në sy të të gjithëve:** *Hajde të të puthë Bato Barmashi në sy të të gjithëve!* (p. 97)

**Ngre dorë:** *Tani nuk më lejojnë parimet e mia morale të ngre dorë mbi ty, pasi ngre dorën mbi postin që ti mban.* (p. 158)

**Ngre në këmbë:** *Ngrite në këmbë mëhallën!* (p. 31)

**Ngre një gotë:** *Kiki, hajde se do të ngremë një gotë për të zotin e shtëpisë.* (p. 214)

**Ngre veshët:** *Skutash e qoshesh ata ngrenë veshët, / Skutash e qoshesh pritë ju zënë.* (p. 105); *Të dashura vajza, / Ruhuni nga mblesët, / Mblesët e dhjamur, / Mblesët thatimë, / Mblesët që ngrenë skutave veshët, / Dhe skutave tjerrin të zeza mendime.* (p. 106)

**Ngul këmbë:** *Ka ardhur shoku Omer Kreshta dhe ngul këmbë me të madhe që t'ju takojë, kërkon t'ju japë një dokument shumë të rëndësishëm.* (p. 270)

**Ngul këmbë:** *Ne bëmë gabim që ngulëm këmbë për ta fejuar.* (p. 30); *Dhjetë kërkesa ju kemi bërë dhe ju ngulni këmbë në tuajën.* (p. 56); *Dhe ju ngulni këmbë që të mos bëhet asnjë ndryshim, sikur ta kishit bërë vetë projektin.* (p. 56); *Unë ngul këmbë.* (p. 66); *Pse ngul këmbë të ikim?* (p. 191)

**Nuk e çaj kokën:** *Ja, thotë se nuk po e çajmë kokën për të.* (p. 130)

**Nuk e vras mendjen:** *E po unë nuk po e vras mendjen.* (p. 206)

**Nuk hedh fall:** *Çupa e Andreas nuk hodhi fall se do emërohej në Laç.* (p. 11)

**Nuk i hedh sytë:** *Të jem unë, as sytë nuk ia hedh.* (p. 92)

**Nuk i kam frikën:** *Ngadalë xhaxha, ngadalë, se nuk ta ka njeri frikën!* (p. 46)

**Nuk i kam parë as në ëndërr:** *Problemet e tyt eti nuk i ka parë as në ëndërr...* (p. 38)

**Nuk i pi ujë:** *Ai duhet ta kuptojë se kjo nuk i pi edhe aq ujë.* (p. 253)

**Nuk ia vë re:** *Muhamet, të keqen, mos ja vër re zotit Halil.* (p. 23)

**Nuk ia vë veshin** *diçkaje:* *Në përgjithësi nuk ua vë veshin thashethemeve.* (p. 137); *Edhe unë nuk ua vë veshin, por kur përsëriten ditë për ditë më bëjnë nervoz dhe më prishin gjakun.* (p. 137)

**Nuk ka brirë:** *Po dashuria nuk ka brirë, mor kushëri.* (p. 26)

**Nuk ma mbush mendjen:** *Po nuk bëjnë katër nuk ma mbushin mendjen.* (p. 171)

**Nuk ma merr mendja:** *Nuk ma merr mendja që ju me Kristinën të keni vepruar në këtë mënyrë...* (p. 48); *Por që të arrinte deri këtu nuk ma merrte mendja.* (p. 69); *S'ma merrte mendja të të shihja këtu.* (p. 71); *Që të arrinte Arseni gjer në këtë shkallë, nuk ma merrte mendja.* (p. 234)

**Nuk mbaj inat:** *Xhaxhait iu martua çupa me dashuri, por nuk mban inat.* (p. 74)

**Nuk merr vesh:** *Atij i thotë Engelsi, ai s'merr vesh!* (p. 256)

**Nuk më del inati:** *Jemi soj që nuk na del kollaj inati.* (p. 74)

**Nuk më hiqet nga mendja:** *Më fal, Bato, por pa dashur na vete gjuha, sepse jemi marrë shumë me këtë çështje dhe nuk na hiqet nga mendja.* (p. 185)

**Nuk më hiqet nga mendja:** *Mua s'më hiqet nga mendja fytyra e tij, gjithë qenia e tij, me tërë peshën e dhimbjes së madhe.* (p. 247)

**Nuk më mbajnë nervat:** *Nuk më mbajnë nervat.* (p. 258)

**Nuk ngre kokën:** *Dhe si i pushkatuar nuk mund ta ngre kokën.* (p. 268)

**Nuk të merren vesh:** *Nuk të merren vesh fjalët ty, baba!* (p. 236)

**Nxjerr mjaltë nga goja:** *“Po ku gjen djalë më të mirë se Hyska i Selos, moj, i them unë: me familje të mirë, me vëllezër të martuar, me një baba që nxjerr mjaltë nga goja”.* (p. 18)

**Nxjerr nga shtëpia:** *Yt atë, katrani, më nxirrte nga shtëpia po të gjente rrëmuje.* (p. 119)

**Nxjerr sytë:** *Rri, moj të marrtë morti në qoshe, ha një copë bukë si qeni dhe leri të nxjerrin sytë: flaka s'dalka mbi çati?! (p. 140)*

**Njeri me dërrasë në kokë:** *Njeri me dërraskë në kokë!* (p. 30)

**Njeri pa gjak:** *Je pa gjak, Vili!* (p. 173)

**Njeri pa zemër:** *Vili, ti je njeri i thatë, njeri pa zemër!* (p. 171)

**Një lehonë nxjerr nëntë binjakë:** *Mirë xhanëm, po kjo më duket sikur thonë një lehonë nxori nëntë binjakë.* (p. 206)

**Pa din e pa iman:** *Yh, tradhtar, pa din e pa iman!* (p. 262)

**Pa iu tharë boja e shtypshkronjës:** *Unë lexoj vetëm autoritete e vetëm pasi kanë bërë bujë, kurse kjo i hap librat pa iu tharë boja e shtypshkronjës.* (p. 201)

**Pemë e madhe me degë të gjata:** *Pemë e madhe me degë të gjata.* (p. 41)

**Për faqe të zezë:** *Po e kemi dhomën për faqe të zezë, mor vëllezër!* (p. 87)

**Pështyn në çorbë:** *Po na pështyn në çorbë ky, more Bektash!* (p. 53)

**Pi gotat e hidhërimit:** *Kam pirë gotat e hidhërimit tënd.* (p. 182)

**Po të zihesh me burimin, vdes për ujë f.j.u. Po të zihesh me burimin, vdes për ujë.** (p. 41)

**Poet korbash:** *Me keqardhje ky poet korbash thotë se “topa, himne e valle ka kundër armiqve” por “kundër burokracisë s’ka konsuj”.* (p. 282)

**Pres ditën e dasmës:** *Premë ditën e dasmës, ftuam soj e sorollop, kaparosëm edhe sazexhinjtë.* (p. 18)

**Prish shtëpinë:** *Eh, moj nuse, ç’na e prishe shtëpinë!* (p. 135)

**Prish vetë Pejgamberin!:** *Ju prishni vetë Pejgamberin e jo Zalon e shkretë.* (p. 102)

**Prishja e gjakut:** *Përveç të këqijave të prishjes së gjakut dhe dobësimit të nervave, objektivisht asgjë të mirë nuk sjellin këto thashetheme.* (p. 62)

**Prit gomar të mbijë bar:** *Prit gomar të mbijë bar.* (p. 14)

**Pyll pa derra nuk ka fj. u.:** *Pyll pa derra s'ka...* (p. 239)

**Qentë le të lehin, karvani të shkojë përpara fj. u.:** *Mua kjo s'm'u durua pa e thënë, për të treguar atë që karvani të shkojë përpara, pa qentë le të lehin.* (p. 242)

**Robot i telekomanduar:** *Ti je një robot i telekomanduar nga Kamani.* (p. 230)

**Romantik i vetmuar:** *Po më dukesh si ata romantikët e vetmuar, Omer.* (p. 208)

**Ruaj nderin:** *Nuk dua të më ruash ftesat, por nderin.* (p. 32)

**Rrah ujë në havan:** *Për çupën e Andreas u fol kot. Ujë në havan.* (p. 12)

**Rreh diku:** *E di unë ku rreh ai!* (p. 107)

**Rreh ujë në havan:** *Ujë në havan...* (p. 210)

**Rrëmon themelet e diçkaje:** *"Për këtë poet reaksionar rendi ynë socialist është një rend burokratik dhe burokratët i kanë "duart të lyera deri në bërryl me gjak", "rrëmojnë themelet, lajnë gjakun e dëshmorëve etj. etj." (p. 282)*

**Sa të hap gojën:** *Mos mendo se ti je yll dhe ne femrat presim sa të hapësh gojën e të biem në krahët e tu: "Aman, o Agush, na puth me buzët e tua, se plasëm!" (p. 109)*

**Sa të piqet buka në saç:** *Të presim derisa të piqet buka nën saç!* (p. 57)

**Sa të pish një paketë cigare:** *E di ti, shoku drejtor i fabrikës së tullave, se për pesë-gjashtë fillon drenazhimin e tokave në fushë dhe ato që ke planifikuar ti mbarojnë sa të pish një paketë cigare.* (p. 240)

**Sa vë buzën në gaz:** *Fredi sa vë buzën në gaz dhe përsëri merr pamje serioze, aq sa mund ta marrë këtë pamje një njeri i bërë më qejf nga rakia.* (p. 151)

**S'e marr vesh:** *S'e marr vesh!* (p. 158)

**Sfungjer me qindra sy:** *Sfungjer me qindra syçka.* (p. 42)

**Si buka që hamë:** *Është e vërtetë si buka që hamë.* (p. 59)

**Si çobani pa balon:** *Batua pa Zalon, si çobani pa balon!* (p. 105)

**Si dashi pa këmborë:** *Njeriu pa dashnore, si dashi pa këmborë.* (p. 105)

**Si hënë pesëmbëdhjetëshe:** *E vërtetë e plotë, si hëna pesëmbëdhjetëshe.* (p. 57)

**Si i prishur në fytyrë:** *Të shoh si të prishur në fytyrë.* (p. 133)

**Si i rënë nga qielli:** *Ky Hyska, moj Zyhra, si i rënë nga qielli.* (p. 18)

**Si kalë bashkie:** *Ti e merr kallëp, si kalë bashkie.* (p. 123); *Më fal se të thashë “si kalë bashkie”.* (p. 123)

**Si lugat i zi:** *Më del Batua si lugat i zi nga tymi e bloza: “T’u bëftë Batua, më thotë, hajde të të verë Batua pak pomadë të zezë në faqet e tua të bëshme”.* (p. 150)

**Si macja me miun:** *Grindet me mua si macja me minë dhe nuk ka qejf të ndahet me ngrohtësi e humor nga unë.* (p. 183)

**Si stivë drush:** *Unë dua kurajo, ju rrini si stivë drush.* (p. 172)

**Si shihet macja me miun:** *Një filozof ka thënë: “Gruaja me burrin, në çastet kur jeta e vrullshme kthehet në monotoni, mërzhiten dhe e shofin shoku-shokun siç shihet macja me minë”.* (p. 147)

**Sikur të hidhesh majë trarit:** *Edhe sikur ti të hidhesh majë trarit, unë do të zgjedh punën time, pasionin tim.* (p. 143)

**Sjell nëpër mend:** *Eh, mor Zeqo, ç’kohëra po sjell nëpër mend.* (p. 45)

**S’jemi si këmbët e dhisë:** *Dale-o, se s’jemi si këmbët e dhisë!”* (p. 151)

**S’më ka marrë malli për sytë e tu:** *Edhe mua s’më ka marrë malli për sytë e tu!* (p. 135)

**Soletë ferrobetoni:** *Jo tra, por soletë ferrobetoni.* (p. 45)

**Shejtan me brirë:** *De ore shejtan me brirë, se ma bëre mendjen dhallë.* (p. 73)

**Shfletoj me mendje diçka:** *Në prita shfletojnë me mendje kanunë, / Kafën e pinë me të liga mendime.* (p. 105)

**Shkulen gazit:** *Kështu flet ky, nuk e ke dëgjuar më parë pa do të shkuleshe gazit.* (p. 23)

**Shtie në dorë:** *Rita e rrëzoi perandorinë e Marikës, i mori qeverisjen e shtëpisë, çelësat e kasafortës së shtëpisë i shtiu në dorë Rita, se ajo është forcë prodhuese.* (p. 160)

**Shtrij nën këmbë diçka** *Ke shtrirë personalitetin tënd nën këmbët e Kaman Kalasë.* (p. 230)

**Të ardhhtë qafa mbrapa:** *I ardhhtë qafa mbrapa!* (p. 16)

**Të lumtë gisht!:** *Të lumtë gishti, Bato Barmashi.* (p. 186)

**Të lumtë goja:** *Të lumtë goja, Bato Barmashi.* (p. 186)

**Të marrtë mortja!:** *Rri, moj të marrtë morti në qoshe, ha një copë bukë si qeni dhe leri të nxjerrin sytë: flaka s'dalka mbi çati?! (p. 140)*

*Të punoni për vendin e për pushtetin që ju hapi sytë.* (p. 102)

**Tjerr mendime të zeza:** *Të dashura vajza, / Ruhuni nga mblesët, / Mblesët e dhjamur, / Mblesët thatimë, / Mblesët që ngrenë skutave veshët, / Dhe skutave tjerrin të zeza mendime.* (p. 106)

**Trazoj plagën:** *Vetë e trazon plagën dhe pastaj thua "më dhemb".* (p. 48)

**T'u mbylltë e mendjes!:** *Po telefonin në shtëpi, pse e ke, moj t'u mbylltë e mendjes!* (p. 68)

**Tund zinxhirin:** *Drejtoni ju, apo tundni zinxhirin?* (p. 14)

**Thatësirë pa pikë uji:** *Thatësirë pa pikë uji!* (p. 170)

**Thyej vezë:** *Fatbardha nis të tundë lehtë karrocën e, pasi ndjek me sy të qeshur plakun që largohet avash sikur trembet se mos thyejë vezë, e kthen vështrimin nga libri e thellohet në të.* (p. 200)

**U jap ngjyrë:** *Mos u jep ngjyrë komike problemeve.* (p. 15)

**U ngopa gjer në fyt:** *Aman, more shoku Bektash, se u ngopëm gjer në fyt me përrallat tuaja!* (p. 56)

**U pres rrugën:** *Dhe jo vetëm që nuk ka ndërhyrë tek Aleks, që t'u presë rrugën këtyre meskiteteve, por, me sa më duket mua, i ka inkurajuar.* (p. 59)

**Udha e mbarë!** *Na dhe ti një gotë me verë dhe na uro udhë të mbarë.* (p. 102)

**Ujëra të pastra:** *Unë i kam qejf ujërat të pastra.* (p. 210)

**Ushtar i thjeshtë:** *Për dy vjet Agushi u bë shef, kurse ti, edhe njëqind vjet të jetosh, ushtar i thjeshtë ke për të mbetur.* (p. 148)

**Ushtar i thjeshtë:** *Ushtar i thjeshtë, Kaman, ushtar i thjeshtë.* (p. 214)

**Vafsh në djall!:** *Nuk ke vajtur në djall!* (p. 231)

**Var buzët:** *Po ti, moj çupë e xhaxhait, ç'm'i ke varur buzët?* (p. 21)

**Vë këmbë:** Çdo gjë në këtë dhomë ka një rregull të ftohtë, aq sa ke frikë të vësh këmbët, se kushedi mund të prishësh simetrinë, mund të çrregullosh diçka. (p. 118)

**Vë kujën:** E po nuk do të vërë kujën për hiçgjë! (p. 130)

**Vë në buzë:** Ky s'e paska vënë fare në buzë! (p. 25)

**Vë në dyshim:** Mirëpo ftohja e saj më ka vënë në dyshim. (p. 36)

**Vë në jetë:** Nuk është vonë, ato propozime mund t'i vësh në jetë. (p. 51)

**Vë në lojë:** Ti je aq i zgjuar sa t'ua vesh në lojë megalomaninë e tyre të padurueshme dhe nihilizmin meskin. (p. 213)

**Vë re:** Këtë e kam vënë re edhe unë, si koleg i vjetër i tij. (p. 209)

**Vras mendjen:** Dëgjomë mua ti, mos e vrit mendjen shumë. (p. 134)

**Vulë e ligë:** Ti derën tonë po e vulos me një vulë të ligë, që s'fshihet kurrë. (p. 32)

**Zbardh dhëmbët:** Ç'zbardh dhëmbët, moj pipiruke! (p. 102); Dhe burrat si guakë i shkojnë dhe zbardhin dhëmbët... (p. 119); Djali i sëmurë, nusja sa them unë një fjalë zë e zbardh dhëmbët. (p. 132)

**Zbardhja e dhëmbëve:** Po, po, shoqërore janë edhe zbardhjet e dhëmbëve me Martinin në mes të mapos së qytetit, në mes të njerëzve! (p. 143)

**Zë mend:** Akoma nuk kemi zënë mend?! (p. 55)

**Zë në gojë:** Bato Bermashi, po ta them që ta dish: nuk dua të ma zësh në gojë Ritën! (p. 96); Kemi objekte më të rëndësishme për të zënë në gojë. (p. 49); Ju jeni bërë pengesë e madhe për këtë hap që zutë në gojë. (p. 55); Edhe Bektashi i zë në gojë këto mbeturinat. (p. 76); Emrin e Arianës nuk e shoh të nevojshme ta zëmë në gojë. (p. 77); Mos ma zërë në gojë atë qen. (p. 139)

**Zë vend:** Dhe shef Fatja, apo shef Agushi, do të zinin vend në krye të tavolinës! (p. 101)

**Zjarr për çibuk:** Zjarr për çibukun, Bektash! (p. 43)

**Zog nga vendet e ftohta:** Zog nga vende të ftohta! (p. 153)

<b>Ludmill STANKOV</b>
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## **THE SECRET LANGUAGE OF THE BRICKLAYERS IN BULGARIA**

### **Dictionary**

The secret language of the bricklayers is called in Bulgaria also as *méshterski*, *méshtrenski*, *meshtregánski* and *meshtrugánski*- from *\*mjeshtë́r/master*. In the past this language has been also called as *dylgjérski* (*i dylgjerit*)- from the Turkish, *dülger* - carpenter, woodworker. This secret language has been used among the bricklayers to communicate one to another, without being caught from the Ottoman administration official representatives, and from the others, in this way protecting their professional and economic interests.

\*On the origin of the word *mjeshtë́r*- see *Eqrem Çabej*: *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes V*, Çabej editions, Tiranë: 2014 and *Gustav Meyer*: *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe* - 1891, Çabej editions, Tirana: 2007.

The Albanian word *mjeshtë́r* and the Bulgarian word *ма̀йстор/májstor* = *mjeshtë́r* have the same origin – from the Latin. On the word *ма̀йстор/májstor* and also the word *ма̀цтор/mástor-sh*. Български етимологичен речник IIВторо издание София 2012.

The secret language of the masters has been brought in the today Bulgarian territories from Bulgarian constructors, of Christian religion from the Western Macedonia (Debar, Tetovo), and from some villages around Korça (Albania) and from the region of Kastoria (Greece) in the XV - XIX centuries. They spoke a different language of the Bulgarian they possessed or possessing and understood too little the Albanian language, because of the contact with the Albanian population. In Bulgaria, they better came to be understood with the locals by speaking the proper language.



The Bulgarian exile from the Western Macedonia and Albania towards the eastern Bulgarian territories during XV - XIX centuries has been also described from Prof. *Dimitër Arnaudov* in his book: „Преселническо движение на българи от Македония и Албания къмъ източните български земи през XV до XIX вѣк” - списание „Македонски прегледъ”, година VII (1932) кн. 2 - 3, стр. 63 – 118.

The bricklayers from the Western Macedonia, Albania and Greece formed a society of constructors to work in Southwestern and Southern Bulgaria - during the appropriate months for this activity. During the winter they returned to their origin birthplace. Some have remained in Bulgaria and created their families.

In this language there is a diversity if words mainly of Bulgarian, Albanian, Greek and Turkish origin. The Albanian words occupy the second place as number. Then follow those from Greek, Turkish and others - more or less from the Romanian, Aromanian and the gipsy language. Often the used words have another meaning compared to the original - a special role in this field have played the re-semantic, the metaphor, and less metonymy, the adjectives' substantive, the deformation, the spelling of the words in reversibly, the interposition of the syllables. An important place occupy the metathesis and the cryptology. Are introduced many words from the Bulgarian spoken language of Western Macedonia, from the Bulgarian villages around Korça and from the region of Kastoria in the today Greece. The bricklayers from Macedonia, Albania and Greece have transmitted to the Bulgarian bricklayers the lexicon from the Albanian language.

In the secret language of the bricklayers there are not cases because dominates the analytical character of the Albanian language. The sentences are build according the principles of the Bulgarian language. At the verbs of Albanian origin are usually used Bulgarian prefixes and endings. There are many examples with the construction *da + verb* to form the subjunctive mood. The future tense is formed with *shte* or *sha* (dialectal form), from *shta* - want. Usually is used the interrogative particle *-li?*

Often is met the dialectal definite article *-na*: *nuska-na* - *nusja*/bride (when she is far) and *-sa*: *nuska-sa* - *nusja*/bride (when she is near). This phenomenon exists not only in the Rhodope Mountains,

but also in the Western Bulgaria (Trën, on the border with Serbia) and the western part of the Northern Macedonia.

(On the postposition of the definite article *see* for more details including also this phenomenon - *Shaban Demiraj*: Gjuhësi ballkanike Shkup, 1994, pp. 99 – 108).

From the linguistic point-of-view, the language of the masters does not possess characteristics of one language. Indeed, it can be qualified as a social intellect used among the bricklayers. The word of the masters is also spread in different territories of the Northern Macedonia.

Today the secret language of the bricklayers stays in a relict status.

The words in this paper are collected from the literature where has been treated this issue since the end of the XIX century and during the past century, mainly in the following settlements: **Smóllsko**- in the region of Pirdop; **Mráčeník** - in the region of Kárllovo; **Lléski/Láski, Illínden, Lléshten, Kovácevica, Osíkovo, G`ërmen, Satóvça, Skrébatno**- in the region of Goce Dellçevo; **Pávellsko, Gélla, Momçillovci, Oréhovo**- in the region of Smólani; **Báčkovo, Dobrostan, Óreshec** - in the region of Asenovgrad; **Júgovo** - in the region of Lî ëki; **Górno Sahrané** - in the region of Kazanll`ek; **Bracígovo** (city near Plovdiv).

The best and the more accurate study from the linguistic point-of-view of the bricklayers' secret language has been made from Thoma Kacori, Ute Dukova and Petja Asenova - *see the Bibliography*.

In our study we will give the precedence to the words of Albanian language origin that are used in the master's spoken. Are not included words as *shépúrtu* - shpirtu/darling, *lónka*- lehonkë, *pitár* - mud-brick introduced in the Albanian from the Greek language.

## A

**açkivam** - kuptoj/understand < shikoj nga shikova/see from saw

**akataú** - këtu/here

**akjú; akjúshti**- ky/this; personi ose sendi në fjalë/the person or the thing in word

**allamán**- pronar/proprietor, zot/master, çorbaxhi/meddler < Turkish, alaman - gjerman/German

**allamánka** - 1. pronare/owner(lady) 2. zonjë (shtëpie)/housewife  
3. grua turke/Turkish woman

**angórdam**- vdes/die < ngordhnga *A ngordh (unë)?* = angórdam \*  
**angrévam** - ngrihem < ngre/rise from *A ngre (unë)?* =  
 angrévam\*

**apunúvam** - punoj/work < punoj from *A punoj (unë)?* =  
 apunúvam\*

\* (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

## B

**babíta** -mëditje/daily pay <mbëditje dial.: with dialect change  
 mb > b and with assimilation b - d > b - b (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**bala**- baltë/mud

**ballavéza** - dhjamë/fat < bálo - meat (food for dogs) *sh. Dogançe*  
 - *Haxhihasani* 1964, p. 150 (bálo + vezë) (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**ballta** - 1. baltë/clay *Meraj balta, shule!* - *Jep baltë, o djalë!*  
*Dovetaj ballta, shule!* - *Sill baltë, o djalë!* *Izpunovaj ballta!* - *Bëj*  
*baltë/prepare the clay!* 2. gëlqere/lime 3. llaç/plaster

**balltárka**- pajisje për të ngritur materiale ndërtimi/equipment to  
 erect construction material

**balltaxhíja**- ai që bën baltë/the person who prepares the clay

**bara** - sanë < bar/grass

**baránka**- dele < berr/sheep

**besa** - 1. besë/faith (betim/oath) 2. Turkish, em. 3. besinka -  
 Turkish em. besinska - Turkish mb. besinska nuska - grua turke  
 mb./Turkish woman adj.

**b`ëram** - punoj/work < bëra from bëj/do

**bik** - mish derri/porc meat, dhjamë derri/lard < bic, bicë (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**bóram, bóruvam** - ndërtoj/build; bëj < bora dial. = bëra/did (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**breki** - 1. brekë/underpants 2. poture/bloomers

**brîç** - bukë/bread < *Ivan Shishmanov*: from *mbruj, brumë* (*Thoma Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*: from *brica/бpица*- a kind of white stone in Bulgaria)

**brîçájko** - bukë/bread see, brîç

**buka** -1. bukë/bread *Da haem buka. - Të hamë bukë/to eat bread.*  
*Haj mu bukasa. - Ha bukën e tij/eat his bread.* 2. ushqim/food<  
 bukë/bread

**bir** - bir/son

**brendu** - brenda/inside

## C

**cácko** - i mençur/wise, i zgjuar/clever < çaçkë - maja e kresë/top of the head (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**cépi** - kec/goat kid < cjepe *shumës*, from nga cja/ from billy goat (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

## Ç

**cápe** - kece< cja/ goat

**çekan, çékan, çékançe**, - çekan/hammer, çekiç *Vepi mi çékana. - Më jep çekanin/give me the hammer.* (with v- expounded)

**çkivam** - shikoj/see <shikova/saw nga shikoj/from see (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

*note: the verb çkivam - shikoj/see is also found in the study of Prof. Tolle Bellçev (2016) from the university in Štip of Northern Macedonia, entitled "Turqizma, arkaizma dhe fjalë dialektore në gjuhën maqedonase".*

**çull** - organ seksual mashkullor/ male sexual organ < çule (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**çupa, çupe, çjupella, çupella** - çupë/girl

**çuzhd** - organ seksual mashkullor/male sexual organ (Bracigovo) < çuçe (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

## D

**dalla** - qumësht/milk < dhallë/buttermilk (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**dasma** - dasmë/wedding

**dera**- grua e moshuar/old lady <derë

**dg'jovam** - di/know <dëgjova/heard from hear (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**dija** - di/know, mbaj mend/recall

- dijam se** 1. kuptoj/understand *Kena se dije*. - *Pronari kupton*. 2. kujtohem < di *se*-reflexive particle in Bulgarian
- dito** - ditë/day < ditë/days, (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)
- dívam** - di/know < di
- djahta-** djathë/cheese
- djálle, djállence** - djalë/boy, djalë i vogël/little boy
- dora** - dorë/hand
- dosa** - dosë/sow; dósishko - mish dose/pork
- (da) dovetam** 1. të vij/come *Dovetal e da mu flasate meshtrenski*. - *Ai ka ardhur që t' i flitni në gjuhën e muratorëve/he has come for you to speak to him in the bricklayers language*. 2. *Shule, dovetaj ballta!* - *O djalë, bjer baltë!* 3. kthehem/return < vete/go
- drasa** - dërrasë/bred
- draska** - dërrasë/bred
- drasóvinki** - dërrasa të vogla/small planks
- drihta** - drithëd'ëllga drihta - thekër/rye, *note: d'ëllga - e gjatë/long rye*
- druna** - 1. dru/wood *Pulli si punata, da ne haesh drunata!* Púlli (ti) - *Vështro!*, dial. *as* - reflexive particle in Bulgarian - *Shiko punën tënde/mind your own business, të mos hash drurin/to not be beaten*. 2. dërrasë/plank 3. tra/beam 4. shkop/stick < dru/wood
- drúnaxhija** - druvar/woodcutter < dru
- drunát** - prej druri/of wood, i drunjte/wooden < dru
- druni** - drurë *Meraj druni!* - *Merr drurë. Kendram druni*. - *Pres drurë. Da ne haesh druni*. - *Të mos hash drurin!* < dru
- druno** - tra < dru
- duán** - duhan/tobacco
- dugjóvam** - mbaj mend/remember < dëgjova < from dëgjoj
- duhan** - 1. duhan variante/tobacco, smoke: dúhan, dúhall, dúan, dúëll
- dushika** sa - (Ai) u kujtua/he remembered. < shikojsa- *reflexive particle in the Bulgarian language*

## E

**ellpa** - elb/barley

**F**

**feta** - (unë)vete/(I)go < vete v > f

**fénkam** - bëj fenda/fart

**fishósam**- vjedh/to sneak in; humbas/lose < fsheh/hide (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**fishósvam**-vras/kill, in Bracígovo (*Part`ëçev*) < fsheh/hide

**flasa** - fjalë/words

**flasam, flasa** - (I) flas/speak *Flasam meshtrenski. -Flas gjuhën e muratorëve/I speak the language of the bricklayers. Dovetal e da mu flasate meshtrenski. - Ai ka ardhur që t'i flitni në gjuhën e mjeshtërve. Mus flas! - Mos fol/don't speak!Mos foli! Mósfoli! - Mos fol!Foli na nuskata da mara g'jalletu. (-tu = to definite article on the neuter gender) - Thuaji nuses të marrë djalin. (nuse = nusja e djalit/son's spouse) < flas/speak*

**flásanica** - përrallë/fairytale

**flásaç** - që flet shumë/who speaks to much, llafazan/talkative

**flásane** - bisedë/negotiation

**flésam**-( unë/I) flas/speak

**fl`ësallka** - radio

**flija** - (unë/I) fle/sleep

**flijáshka** - shtrat/bed, krevat/bed; dremitje/nap. *Fllijashka me potiska. - Gjumi më“shtyp”. Më flihet/I'm sleepy.*

**flívam** - fle/sleep < fli from fle (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**fúla** - djeg/burn < furrë/oven (pronominal verb) *sh. fura*

**folúvam** - flas/speak < fola from flas/spoke

**ftúvam** - them/say < thúa from them/told (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**fúra** - gjeg/ < furrë/oven (pronominal verb) (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**G**

**gadálja** - ngadalë/slowly

**góe**- gojë/mouth

**glulf** - oxhak/chimney < gllofkë/cavern (zgavërë/cavity, shpellë/cave, strofkë/lair; gropë/hole)

**gllúva** - tyfek < gllofkë/cavern

**granísam, gramísuvam/granísuvam** - 1. bie/fall 2. rrëzoj dikë a diçka/making something fall < gremis/to push down, *compare*: greminë/abyss; gremisje/tumbling down; i, e gremisur/ tumbled down. *Stísët se e gramisal.* - *Muri ka rënë/the wall has fallen. see stis se -sh.* Bulgarian

**grip** -gjysh/grandfather, i moshuar/old man < gjuha arbëreshe/Arbëresh language; grip = me flokë të bardhë/white hair (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**grévam** - ngrihem/raise < ngre

**grúe** - (ai/he) ha/eat < grykësi/gluttony, grykë/throat

**gumar** - 1. gomar/ass, 2. tulla të vëna shtrembër gjatë një ndërtimi/ bricks laid crookedly during a construction

**gúraç, góraç**- gur/stone < gur

**guráçki** - dhëmbë/teeth < gur/stone

## G'J

**g'jálle** - djalë/boy < djalë(dj > gj)

**g'jahta** - djathë/cheese

**g'jusma**-1. gjysmë/half, 2.hije/shadow - in Bracígovo (*Vlladimir Part'ëçev*)

**g'josko** - qen/dog < gjosul - emër qeni/dog name, (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

## H

**haíçka** - ngrënie/to eat, ushqim/food *Meshtram haíçka.* - *Gatuaj ushqim/cook the food.* < haja - ha/eat

**haíllka**- ushqim/food < haja/ate - ha/eat

**haílka** - ushqim/food < haja/ate - ha/eat

**haja(m)**- ha/eat, *Da ne haesh druni!* - *Të mos hash drurin!Sha haeme mish.* -*Do të hamë mish.Púlli si punata, da ne haesh drunata!* (púlli (ti) - vështro, dial! (Bulgarian) - *Vështro punën e vet, të mos hash drurin! Da haeme bukë!* - *Të hamë bukë!Hajmubúkasa, tóntimunúskasa!* - *Ha bukën e tij, qij gruan e tij! Haj briç!* - *Ha bukë/eat bread!*< hasi - reflexive particle in Bulgarian

**hájam se** - ushqehem/to be nourished, po ha/I/m eating < haja/ate - ha/eat *se*-reflexive particle in Bulgarian

**hájem-** ha/eat, ushqehem/to be nourished < ha/eat

**herdi-** herdhe/testicles

## I

**igrúvam** - ha/eat < ngrënie/feeding, grykësi/gluttony, (Bracigovo - Part`ëçev)

**ipi se/sa!**- hipi! *sa-* reflexive dialectical particle in Bulgarian

**(da) izlúfam-** të lyej/tint <from lyej/tint

**izlúvam** - laj/wash (clothes/rroba) < lava/wash, from laj/wash

**izpunóvaj!** - bëj/do! *Izpunovaj ballta!* - *Bëj baltë/prepare the clay!*  
<punoj/work

**(da) izpúnja** - të bëj/to do, të prodhoj/to produce, *Izpunihte li do nastellenata?* - *A keni bërë deri te dyshemeja/have your finished to the floor?*< punë/work, *nastellenata* - from the Bulgarian verb *nastillam* - shtroj/floor

## J

**java**-1. javë/week 2. e diel/Sunday, 4 javi = 1 muaj/1 month

**jérteto-** herdhët/testicles, jerte-to *to* - definite article

**jóki!** - pres/cut, gdhend/carve < hoqi/took off, from heq/remove  
(*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

## K

**kalem** - kalem/pencil

**kal** - kalë/horse

**kalóf** - kal/horse

**kallauz** - orë/watch, sahat/clock. *Kolko ti veta kallauza?* - *Sa është ora/What time is it?*= *Si të shkon ora? Këdë otvéta kallauza?* - *Sa u bë ora?* = *Ku shkoi ora?*< kallauz

**kandóvam/këndovam-** (unë/I) lexoj/read < këndova (*këndoj* - the old form to "read")

**karkélla** - gëlqere me/lime with (metathesis in distance l > r, r > l)

**karkóvam/kërkovam-** (unë/I) dua/want<kërkova/asked, from kërkuj/ask

**ken** - 1. pronar/owner, zot/lord. *Kena se dije.* - *Pronari kupton.* 2. njeri/man. 3 përfaqësues i pushtetit/representative of power. 4. kryetar bashkie/mayor< qen/dog



**kénçe** - qen i vogël/little dog

**kéra**- kokë/head <krerë/leaders, from krye/lead (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**kesha se** - (unë/I) qesh/laugh *se-sh*.

**këmba**- këmbë/foot

**këlmisha** - këmishë/shirt

**kíbam** - qijsh. *kívam* - me ndërrim v > m(Momçíllovci - *Pavell Borisov Nikollov: Da mu (ti) kíbam támata!*)mu - dhanore/dative i; ti - dhanore/dative ty; *tamata* - nyjë shqese për gjininë femërore/definite article for the feminine gender *shënim* qij - *bashkoj seksualisht/sexually unite Hajmubúkasa, tóntimunúskasa! Ha bukën e tij, qij gruan e tij! note:tónti!< tóntjam-qij!< lat. inclinare Gustav Meyer*

**kibam se** - formë vetvetorese/reflexive form - reflexive particle in the Bulgarian language

**kivam**- qij<kivanga qij(*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)(Gella - *Pavell Borisov Nikollov: Da mu kívam núskana! Kívaj mu béskata!* (beska - *grua*)

**kjafa** - kokë<qafë/neck

**klémbam**- qijnë/fornicate Momçíllovci (*Pavell Borisov Nikollov*)*Kllémbaj mu támata! Núskata se kllémba.*

**klímbam** - qij/fuck

**koka** - kokë/head

**kókall** - 1. drithë/grain, 2. grurë/wheat<kokall "asht, kockë"

**kokallár** - baba/father < kokallar, kokodhar - secret language *Dogançe Haxhihasani 1964, p. 153 (Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova)*

**kripa** - kripë/salt

**kroja** -defekoj/defecate<krua

**krojácka** - jashtëqitje/excrement< krua

**kumbara**— kumbar/godfather

## L

**lándev** - material ndërtimi prej druri/construction material of wood<wood material (construction, beech, oak, poplar)

**lášhma/léshma** - organ seksual femëror/female sexual organ< lesh

**litárga** - litar/rope

- lófta** -javë/week; e diel/sunday < ylefe (one week payment)  
 (Thoma Kacori, Ute Dukova, Petja Asenova)  
**lopja, lupja** - ha/eat < llup/swallow  
**lúhta** - rrahje/beating, luftim/fight<luftë/war (change ft > ht)  
**lúfam** - lyej/paint<leva/paint, from lyej/paint(leva v > h)  
**lúfane** - veprimi sipas foles lufam?  
**lufáçka** - suva/plaster<lufam  
**luga**- lugë/spoon; lopatë/shovel  
**lúham** - (unë/I) lyej/paint<leva from lyej(leva v > h)  
**lúvam** - (unë/I) lyej/paint<leva from lyej  
**luláçka** - lule/flower

## LL

- llapáçka** - të ngrënë shumë/eating too much. *compare*: shq. llappi  
 or ha shpejt e shpejt  
**llapashar** - që ha shumë/eating too much, llapazhar/sloppy  
**llúmburúk** - grosh/money (monedhë/coin) < i, e rrumbullakme  
 metatezë në distancë r - l > l - r (Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova)

## M

- mahera** - thikë/knife< gr. μαχέρι  
**manáll** - 1. dyfek/rifle 2. armë/weapon< manáll *dial.* - shandan i  
 madh/big chandelier  
**máram, marúvam** - (unë/I) marr/take, blej/buy, vjedh/steal,  
*Marah si pepónllif. - Bleva një pjepër. pepónllif*< gr. πεπόνι-  
 pjepër/capsicum  
**márga** - gomar/donkey< geg. Margaç  
**martóvam** - kurvëroj/to whore < martohem/to get married in  
 Bracigovo (Peju Berbenlliev, Vlladimir Part`ëçev)  
**martóvam sa** - (unë/I) martohem *sa*-dialectical reflexive particle  
**martóvan-** i martuar/married  
**másaç** - pajisje për të matur/measurment< mas/mat/to measure  
**mélko, méllko**-miell/grist< miell(méllko -in Bracigovo, Peju  
 Berbenlliev, Vlladimir Part`ëçev)  
**mentashíja** - veshje prej hekuri mbi një derë ose dritare/hinge <  
 tur. menteşe

**mekra** - 1. mjekër/beard, 2. prift/priest, 3. hoxhë/muezzin, 4. lesh/wool, 5. mustaqe/moustach <. mjekër

**meram** - 1. marr/take, *Meraj druni!* - *Merr drurë!* 2. jap *Meraj ballta!* - *Jep baltë!*<marr

**mervam** - 1. mar/ take, 2. jap/give

**méstra** - nesër/tomorrow < nesër

**meshájku** - mish/meat

**meshtarllëk** - mjeshtëri/mastery < meshtra - mjeshtër/master, murator/bricklayer

**mesh(t)ra** - 1. mjeshtër/master, *Meshtrata punova na çuntata.* - *Mjeshtri punon në qoshe.* 2. murator/bricklayer. 3. zanatçi/craftsman <mjeshtër, note: exis the form *umështra* from meshtra: with *u* prefixed (u-meshtra) to better hide the meaning of the word

**meshttram** - 1. bëj/do, krijoj/create, 2. gatuj/cook *Meshttram haíçka.* - *Gatuaj ushqim.*

**mështrja** - ndërtoj/build

**mështreński** - i muratorit/of the bricklayer, i mjeshtrit/of the master *Dovetal e da mu flasate meshtreński.* – *Ai ka ardhur që t' i flitni gjuhën e mjeshtërve.*< vete/go, flas/speak

**meshtapíja, meshtupíja, meshtopíja-** shtëpi/house < togfjalëshi/phrase *me shtepíja* (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**mënc** - mend/mind *Ne (mu)sa préta mënc(a) u kjáfata.* -*Nuk ka (ndodhet) mend në kokë.*(Bulg. *pretase/sa, dial.* - *ka/has*

**mëncllíja** - i mençur/wise

**mërmórník-** prift/priest < Bulg. *mërmorja -murmuroj/to murmur, flas nën hundë*

**mërtovam sa-** martohem/to get married *sh. sa*

**mínguvu** -kënd/corner, qoshe/nook < mëngë/branch (me kuptimin *skaj*); some scholars by mistake think (*Ivanov 1974, p. 222*) that *mínguvu* derives from the Greek - *αγκών, γωνία(angonë)* (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**mínguváçko** - këndmatës/protractor (vegël e posaçme për të matur këndet/special tool to measure the corners)< mëngë/sleeve

**mirka** - tepër mirë/too good

**mísor** - misur/deep (wooden) bowl

**mish-** mish/meat *Da haeme mish!* - *Të hamë mish/let's eat meat!* <mish

**mishajko** - mish/meat

**motra** - motër/sister

**muço** - i ri/young < ital. mozzo, this word has entered in the Turkish  
- muço sh. *U bë muçoja të pijë kafe. Këtu muço është djall.* (Th. Kacori,  
U. Dukova, P. Asenova)

**mur**- mur/wall

**murta**-lesh/wood < i, e murtë/wooden (Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova)

**murtovam sa** - martohem/to get married *sa* -sh.

**mútaf** - mutaf/wool(le)n

**mútuve** - jashtëqitje njerëzore dhe shtazore/human and animal excretion < mut

## N

**nunko** - nun/godfather, kumbar

**naháen** - i ushqyer/nourished< ha/eat

(da) **nahája** - të ushqej/to nourish< haja/ate - ha/eat

**neizpunóvan** - i pambaruar/undone< punë/job

**nuska** - 1. grua/woman *Núskana punova.* - *Gruaja punon.* 2.

bashkëshorte/wife 3. grua e re/young woman <*nuseuskanúne* - with metathesis nuse! - thirrje/call

**njónkam** - fle/sleep < nánkam (from the children language) sh. ninullë/lullaby

## O

(da)**oprésam** - të pres/cut <pres(preva/cut)

(da) **otvétam**-të iki/to leave, të largohem/to move away. *Llázaricata si otveta.* - *Viti iku, mbaroi. Rajço si otveta.* - *Dielli iku, perëndoi.* <

vetam - vete, note: *llázaricata* - viti/year

**oflásvam** - diskutoj/discuss, negocioj/negotiate < flasam/speak, flas/speak

**ohájvane** - dëmtim/harm < haja/ate - ha/eat

**olláçka se**- u la/washed (ai/he, ajo/she) < laj/wash, (Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova) *se* - sh.

**orálllo**- orë/watch <orë/clock, (Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova)

## P

**partalle** - veshje/clothing <partalle/old things, < tur. partal, parsal  
**pepelláshka** - libër/book - in Bracigovo (*Peju Berbenlliev, Vlladimir Part`ëçev*) <leçkë për të kapur tenxheret (Korça) (< pépell hi).  
 Figurative use on the book/përdorim figurativ për "libër".

**pepellashkár** - mësues/teacher, in Bracigovo (*Peju Berbenlliev, Vlladimir Part`ëçev*)

**pepónllif** - pjepër/melon < gr. πεπόνιπερόνι - dialectical form on  
*pjepër*

**peshka** - peshk/fish

**pënúvam** - (unë/I) punoj/work < punova/worked from punoj/work,  
*pënoj*

**pënuvác** - punëtor/worker < punova nga punoj, *pënoj* + Bulg. -aç

**pënuvácika** - punëtore/worker (woman) < punova nga punoj, *pënoj*  
 + Bulg. -aç

**píngell** - pinjall/poniard

**pirindija** - perëndi/God, zot/Lord

**plak** - 1.baba/father, 2.burrë/man < plak/old

**plaka** - plakë/old (woman), e vjetër/elder

**plakandóra** - vjehrra/mother-in-law

**plako** - plak/old man, i vjetër/elder

**pleka** - grua e moshuar/elderly <plakë/old woman

**plot** - i plotë/complete

**plota** - (unë/I) mbush/fill

**plúvec** - qerpiç/adobe, plithar/cob < pluhur/dust

**prama** - sonte/tonight, gjatë natës/during the night

**presam** - (unë/I) pres/cut; ther/slaughter

**presuvác** - thikë/knife < pres/cut + Bulg. -aç

**preta sa** - vij/come; ka/has (ndodhet/it is) *sa-sh*.

**prëma** - sonte/tonight, gjatë natës/during the night

**priht** - prift/priest < prift/priest, ft > ht

**prift** - hoxhë/muezzin < prift/priest ft > ht

**príftov** - i mirë/good (e paqartë/unclear)

**príshen** - i prishur/broken, i shkatërruar/ruined < prish/break

**privépjuvam** - shes/sell (unë/I) jep/give, dial. (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**pergjel** - këmbësh. këmbalec/tripod

**puna** - punë/work, *Ne e za vétane na puna.* - *Nuk është për të shkuar në punë/it's not to go to work. Puni si punata!* - *Bëje punën tënde/do your job!*

**púnjam** - 1. punoj/work, 2. bëj/do < punë/work

**punjáshka** - punë/work < punë/work

**punóvam** - 1. punoj/work < punova/worked from punoj/work.  
*Meshtrata punova na çuntata.* - *Mjeshtri punon në qoshe. Nuskata punova.* - *Gruaja punon.* 2. ndërtoj/build < punë/work

## R

**rija** - (unë/I) rri/stay

**rij!** - ulu/sit! **ríjni!** - uluni/please be seated! (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**rush** - rrush/grape

**rushájko** - rrush/grape

**rúshët** - rrushi/grape < rrush

**rúshka** - rrush/grape < rrush

**rúshku** - rrush/grape < rrush

**ramazan** - uri/hunger *Karam ramazan.* - *Vdes urie/starve* < tur. Ramazan

## S

**skepar, skepárna** - sqepar/adze

**sprëmi sa** - u bë natë/has become night < prëma - mbrëmësa-sh.

**skállá** - shkallë/stair

**skánte** - koprac/stingy in Prilep (Manastir) < Skante Shishmanov: name of one tailor in Prilep known for his avarice < skanti < s' ka (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**skívam** < shikova/saw from shikoj/see (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*) (note: the verb *skívam* is mostly used amongst the youth slang in Bulgaria)

**skivállo**-pasqyrë/mirror < shikova/saw from shikoj/see (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**stis** - mur/wall < gr. κτίζω - ndërtoj/build *compare*: κτίση - ndërtim/construction, κτίστης - murator/bricklayer, ndërtues/constructor

**stísha** - ndërtoj/construct < stis/to build

## SH

**shat, shatu, shjat**- fshat/village

**shepétájka** - pulë/chicken < shpes + **-ajë** për nomina collectiva (Çabej 1976, p. 197) + ka (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**shëtkam** - (unë/I) shes/sell < shita/sold from shes/sell (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*). *note*: **shítkam** - shes në mënyrë të paligjshme/sell illegally; *zhargon*: ia hedh, ia kall (dikujt) < shita from shes *note*: is used among the youth slang

**shinik**- shinik/shinik

**shitósuvam** - shes/sell < shita/sold from shes/sell (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**shirap** - verë/wine < shurup/syrup

**shkej** - ushqej/feed *Shkeva li úbavo núska?* - *A ju ushqen mirë grua?* / *Does your wife feed you well?*

**shkeparë, shkeprë** (ë- is spelled) - skeparsh. also shkipar

**shkéram** - vë/put < shtjerë nga shtie (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**shkímovi**- arnaut

**shkipar** - sqepar *sh.* skepar, shkipar, shkeprë

**shkja** - njeri/person < shkja - sllav/Slav

**shkreta** - 1. morr/lice 2. tartabiqe/bedbugs < i, e shkretë/poor

**shkrófa**- bashkëshorte/spouse(woman) < shkrofë - grua e shëmtuar/ugly woman from gr. *σκρόφα*- 1. derr/swine, 2. prostitute (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*) *note*: the word *skrofa* is used in the spoken language to insult/sharë një grua/to insult a woman (pejorative)

**shkurtála**- pallto/coat < i, e shkurtër/short from *shkurt*- + *-ale* compare: *shkurtalaq njeri i ulët/louse* (pejorative) < \**shkurtal*- + *-aq* (Çabej 1976, p. 200) (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**shtapíja**- shtëpi/house

**shtepíja**-shtëpi/home

**shpitíjna**- shtëpi/home

**shtevam**-ha/eat < ushqej/nourish *Shtevam bukë.* - *Ha bukë/eat bread.*

**shtisha** - ndërtojsh/build. stisha < stis

**shtrapíja**-shtëpi/house

**shtróvam se** - vështroj/see, shoh/saw < vështrova/saw from vështroj/see (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**shtruvállo** - pasqyrë/mirror < vështrova/saw from vështroj/see (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**shule-** djalë/boy (për porosi?) shule<sllav. е вјетѣръсьль - lajmëtar/messenger, i dërguar/envoyed, verb сьльзати rus. посылать- dërgoj/envoy, посоль -ambassador; Bulg. посланик- i dërguar/envoyed, ambassador

**shuleníshta** - djem/boys

**shumá-** tepër shumë/too much

## T

**tama** - 1. mëmë/mother 2.besë/faith < t' ëmë *sh. Ai erdhi me t' ëmën.* (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**tápo** - stap/hook(shepherd's)

**terzíja** - terezi, ujësi i muratorit a i zdrukthëtarit/bricklayer's or carpenter's millweir < Tur. terzi

**tëma-sh.** tama?

**trasha, trashja** - trastë/bag

**toska** - lopë/cow < toskë?

**trápam** - dua/want, kërktoj/ask < trapít - kërktoj dikë në çdo vend/search for somebody everywhere (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*) *note:* In the spoken language is used *drapam* + (da) + verb - *bëj shumë përpjekje për të arritur diçka/do much efforts to achieve something.*)

## U

**(da) uhaja** - të ha/to eat, *sh. haja(m)*

**uja** - ujë/water

**ukuvávam** - kuptoj/undertand, flas/speak < kuvendova/conversed from kuvendoj/converse (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**ushidóne** - shi/rain < perhaps from shi + dino *ujë* at the secret language *dogançe* - sh. *Haxhihasani* 1964, p. 152 (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**ushtrovam-** (unë/I) vështroj/see, shoh/see < vështrova/saw from vështroj/see *Da gi ushtrovam. - T' i shoh.*



**ushtevam-** (unë/I) gostit/to treat (the guest) < ushqeva/fed from ushqej/feed with change of *shq>sht* (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

## V

**váhra** –vjehtërr/mother in law (vjehtërra/mother in law)

**vaj**-vaj/oil

**vájziçe**- vajzë/girl

**vepi/vipe!**- jap/give; *Vepi mi çékana!* - *Më jep çekanin!* (with prefixed v) *Vipe mi edná çúçella!* - *Më jep një raki!*

**vépjuvam** - jap/give < (unë/I) jep/give with prosthetic v (*Th. Kacori, U. Dukova, P. Asenova*)

**vetam** - 1. shkoj/go, *Veta pod manáll sh.manáll* - (Ai) *vete nën armë. (i arrestuar/arrested). Vetaj rajço, vetaj!* - *Shko, o diell, shko!* *rájço/rajçu/rajko* - *diell Rajço doveta.* - *Dielli doli, lindi. (erdhi) Rajço si otveta.* - *Dielli perëndoi (iku). Rajçu udvétva.* - *Dielli perëndon. Vetaj Rajço, vetaj!* - *Ec, o diell,ec! Rajço veta.* - *Koha e punës mbaron.* (note: In the Bulgarian folklore *Rajço* means *Sun*. Some Bulgarian researchers think that this word has Iranian origin.)

2. *vete Vetam da punja.* - *Vete të punoj.* 3. *vij Vetam si ot puna.* - *Vij nga puna. Veta meshtrana.* - *Mjeshtri vjen.* < *vetevétane* - *vajtje Ne e za vetane na puna.* - *Nuk është për të shkuar në punë.* < *vetam* - *vete(na - në) as reflexive particle in Bulgarian*

**vetam sa** - iki/go, largohem/ move away *sa-* *dialectical reflexive particle in Bulgarian, instead of se*

*note:* In the region between Kyustendil (city) and the border with Northern Macedonia is used the verb *vitósuvam se* -*largohem/move away, ik* < *vete Vitósaj se!* - *Ik! Largohu! Qërohu! Zhduku! On se vitosá nékade (dial.)* - *Ai iku diku.* - *Ai u zhduk diku.* - *Ai humbi diku.* I think that here we don't have to do with the bricklayers language. Perhaps this verb has entered with the spoken of Kyustendil region from the Bulgarian spoken in the Eastern Macedonia - from the Albanian as an outcome of earlier contacts between the Bulgarians and Albanians. (In the border between Bulgaria and Northern Macedonia there is mountain - *Malleshévska pllaniná* - from *mal*. According to Prof. *Jordan Ivanov Malleshevska pllanina* derives from highland (*malësi*) - *mal i zi. compare: Malishevë* (in Kosova), *Malësi*

**voglu** - diçka e vogël/something small < i, e vogël  
**vtúvam** - them/say (in the city of Bracígovo) (*Peju Berbenlliev, Vlladimir Part'ëçev*) see. *ftuvam*  
**vúja** - ujë/water  
**vúllxha** - rrah/beat < vulos/seal  
**vuram** - vë/put

## XH

**xhájko** - prift/murg(priest/monk)<mbase/perhaps xhaj/ë/uncle, -  
*jash. xhaxha compare: Xhajko* - name of a person: xháek - prift/  
 klerik(priest/cleric), xhajkínja - gruaja e priftit/priftëreshë(priest's  
 wife/priestess), xhájkovica - gruaja e priftit/priftëreshë

## Z

**zgrúsallu** - natë/night, errësirë/dark, mugëtirë/twilight < ngrys,  
 ngrysje, ngrysurit (të), ngysët (vonë, kur është ngrysur)zgróçen mb. -1.  
 njeri i vrenjtur/gloomy man, i zymtë/grim, 2. mot i vrenjtur/cloudy  
 weather, vranësirë/cloudiness< zgrúsallu

*note:* in the Rhodope Mountains is used to day the dialectical  
 adjective *nagróçen* - meaning of the adjective *zgróçen*, for man: *Toŭ*  
*излезе нагрóчен.* - *Ai doli i vrenjtur/he came out dark in his face.* Thus,  
 the word *zgróçen* originates from the secret bricklayers' language, has  
 entered in a wider framework in the Rhodope spoken under the form of  
*nagróçen*. It is used to-day also in the spoken language not only in the  
 Rhodope region.

We should stress that *nagróçen* is met in the book of *Zahárij*  
*Stojánov* "Христо Ботѣвъ. Опытъ за биография", 1888, p. 66

On the bases of the word *nagróçen* has been created the verb  
*nagróçvam* -accumulate hatred in my soul against somebody (dialectical  
 form).

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**Scientific information****EIGHT DECADES OF SCIENTIFIC CREATIVITY AND  
ACTIVITY**

**(Few words on the digital bibliography of the academician Kristo  
Frashëri)**

Kristo Frashëri published his first paper, when was very young, in the first months of 1933. The last was published on 2015. Without taking into consideration the unpublished part of his studies, that is considerable and will continue to be published in the following years, he wrote and published for over eight decades, in four historic ages: during the kingdom, in the period of antifascist war, during the ideological and national totalitarianism and for over twenty five years during the age of free society.

Does not exists in the history of the Albanian letters and opinion making a similar case as belongs to the time of a scholar creativity. Except Jeronim de Rada and perhaps Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi, there were few those who came close to him.

During more than eight decades, Kristo Frashëri travelled through papers without fearing the limits that often the savant has to face: the limits of the subjects, the limits of the kinds and sub-kinds, the limits of the historic ages and of ideological obstructions and refusals. he fulfilled himself as he wanted to.

He pronounced his first public tidings in literature as sentimental and romantic poet (an issue that remains to be studied); to soon manifest himself as a political writer of antifascist and revolutionary convictions in the press of the communists, and nonetheless expelled from *his party* because of ideological reasons, he never showed regret. Later, in a surprising way, he meets again with the reader as *school texts author for the bank credit*, to then definitively standing in the field of the national history.

"To take the place" is a way of saying because within this field, after he detaches himself from creativity, he stands in the science; after detaching himself from the duties tasks in economy and finances and enters in the historian's order; again he travels fearless and totally indifferent towards the dividing walls in this field: from humanism centuries with the figure of Gjergj Kastrioti - Scanderbeg in center, to the first serious and organized anti Ottoman resurrection, the League of Prizren; from Albanians ethno-genesis to the Proclamation of Independence; from Illyrian earlier Christianity to the identity of the brave heroes Milosh Kopiliqi and Musa Arbanasi in the legendary cycle of the Battle of Fushë-Kosova; from the role of the great patronymic Albanian families in the centuries of the European humanism, that affected the land of Albania, to the Frashëri brothers; from the history of the Albanian left Bolshevik history seen from inside with the eye of the participant and of scholar to re-evaluate the historic protagonists of the political life in Albania in the different cities and regions.

The bibliography of Kristo Frashëri, in the version published from the Academy of Sciences (is believed exhausted), contains 634 units: poems, sketches and narrations, coverage, memorial papers, scientific polemics, questionable issues, school texts on polytechnic, albums, illustration promotional books, synopses, prospects, scientific papers in Albanian and foreign language, projects of academic and university texts, books on Albania for foreigners, studies on the issues of the Albanian identity, on periodisation of the national history and typology of the Illyrian-Albanian civilisation, monographs dedicated to the personalities and events of primal character on inter-centennial survival of Albanians, collection of articles and papers of thematic and chronological mintage, memorial literature, biographical papers and auto biographical, reviews and auto reviews, documentary and scientific critic.

The activity of Kristo Frashëri is extended in all the periods of the Albanian historiography. He is the first *drafter of a history of Albanian civilisation* and can be also called the first Albanian scholar who tried to displace the historian's attention from the war to the culture, from the conflict to the survival through work and development, from the sword's merits to the mind' merits. Kristo Frashëri wrote important papers for the history of religion (especially of Paleochristianity and of the inter

religious cohabitation), in the cultural anthropology and in the Albanians' ethno-genesis, in mythologies and rites, in the history of scripture and of alphabet, in the tradition of manuscripts and in text philology, in folklore and ethno-judicial tradition.

During his last 25 years, Kristo Frashëri was a primal voice in the most important Albanian discussions, including the debate on Albanian identity typology, of ethnicity of the bilingual population south of Albania and of many other crafty secrets of the Albanian history. In this category of his contributions, is united the historian's responsibility and that of the witness, giving a very high credibility to the presented conclusions.

Kristo Frashëri, nevertheless self-oriented from the epoch of Gjergj Kastrioti - Scanderbeg and his age, as the most important station of his research; followed by the Albanian League of Prizren and its personalities, never detached the issues of history in small and big. He gave up the elitist academic anytime that the public's questions and uncertainties were waiting for his opinion: on the destiny of the Independence Proclamation's Document, on the history of the founding meeting of the Communist Party, on 5 May and, 4 February, on the congress of Helmës and the meeting of Berat.

The same path and methodological behavior follows the studies of Kristo Frashëri on great issues of the Albanians history from one century to another. With the same insistence and patience he dealt the question if Saint Paul preached within the Illyria or until Illyria, the reader sees him totally engaged when classifies the argues on the question that who was Durrës' Caesar mentioned in the Apostles' Acts and could be thought that the ancient Illyrian city since the middle of the century had an *adhelfia*, a secret church and a bishop, with the name of the Roman sovereign. *In maioris order* Kristo Frashëri is above all interested on Gjergj Kastrioti and his age, on his connection with the centuries of the European humanism, for the secular and religious alliances, on kings and kingdoms that stood by him. However, in another order, in an *order minoris*, he examines with the same responsibility also those questions that since the earlier known tradition with the name *studia humanitatis*, to the modern times, are considered small: how tall was Scanderbeg, where is Torvioll, is buried the great Scanderbeg in Shën Koll' cathedral, was celebrated his marriage in Ardenica's Monastery, what languages he

spoke and wrote, which is his earliest portrait, where might be the painting that the Habsburgs gave to Prince Wied to decorate his just established court and many other similar issues.

The academician Kristo Frashëri belongs to a school of savants that worked for himself and the others. At this point is united the *historian* and the original, the archivist, the witness. Were not few the historians who have worked on others' sources, mainly of cleric translators and of many orientalis with biographical flaws. Kristo Frashëri was till the end of his life the man of archives. He has been witness of the essential meeting of the Communist Party of Albania, but didn't wanted to wrote on this event without finding evidence in the archives about the minutes of this meeting, as was preserved, in fragmentary form, a translation in Italian from the interrogation from the fascist police headquarters of one of the participants, Zef Mala, to whom were confiscated all his notes kept in the meeting. But, the most distinctive case of the perfect crossbred of the cabinet's historian who knew blindfolded his card index, with the archivist of documentation, is the series of nine volumes on Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg, that should accompany his monograph *Skënderbeu: jeta dhe vepra/Scanderbeg: life and work*. From these nine volumes, has been published only one - from the Academy of Sciences, together with the monograph - while the other eight would be published in the pan national year dedicated to the central figure of Albanian in the end of Middle Age.

Kristo Frashëri, with his job, during his life created some models. With his monograph study on Himara he inaugurated the tradition of listening each-other on issues that complicate two nations, in this case the tradition that the Albanian scholars and those Greek before contradicting each others, first have to know on each other views and facts and then the attitudes can be defined from the scientific conscience of them. With his study about the thesis of the Austrian Albanologists Oliver Jens-Schmidt on Gjergj Kastrioti's ethnicity, religion and aims, he re-established a missing discipline since the time of Frang Bardhi in the Albanian studies, *the discipline of the historiographic scientific critique*. With the contribution he gave in the debate on the identity between Kadare and Qosja, he served as mind cooler from hot passions, by moving away the protagonists and especially their followers from the pre-scientific support.



Kristo Frashëri, as would be ascertain from this bibliography, offers an example that how a true scientist, far from every not surprising pride, almost writes for every tribune that expresses the interest about his opinion, since the *Almanaku* i dibranëve to *Fletore e mendimit për Çamërinë*, from the folkloric leaflets festivals to the conference leaflets to the monthly Albanian local and regional publications that wish to promote their ethno-folkloric identity.

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This is the first digital bibliography of a personality belonging the Albanology knowledge, prepared from the Academy of Sciences' scientific library employees, based on the international program of book codification COBIS, that today is applied in over twenty Albanian libraries. The project of this library that operates in the function of the scientific and academic inter-communication, previews that within a short time, all the bibliographies of the Albanian scholars to be freely found and searched online and to be used for thorough studies in distance, from nationals and foreigners.

The main goal is that in the earlier studies of the Albanian academicians to re-enter in circulation, to be unavoidable in the studies of younger generations, to be re-spiritualized and to further enrich the Albanological sources and knowledge.

A second but not less important is that the contributions of the academicians to be open and in this way to face the opinion of the scientific world. This is part of watching beyond the activity, a condition to better function the democratic societies: in a certain way to verify the intellectual integrity of the members of the Academy of Sciences, a loaded and overloaded duty, because the lack of recognition and prejudices, with many rebukes of all kinds. However, the main aim is establish a *network of Albanological knowledge*, to put in communication every contributor not only academicians, but very soon the entire Albanian sciences. The online bibliography of Kristo Frashëri is the evidence that how necessary is to be established and function this *network*.

**Shaban SINANI**  
**Albana VELIANJ**

**AN IMPORTANT WORK FOR THE ALBANIAN HISTORIC  
CALENDAR  
FOREWORD OF THE SECOND EDITION**

**I.**

To the history of the Albanian word, Dh. S. Shuteriqi dedicated four works: "Shkrimet shqipe në vitet 1332-1850" (1976); "Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800" (2005), "Dëshmi parabuzukiane të fjalës shqipe" (2010) and "Fjalor i Naim Frashërit" (2017). In all these three works the Albanian language is witnessed to the limits of meeting the proto Albanian, only a century after the hurdling between them.

In distinction from the pre-Albanian, that does not pass more than one thousand lexemes and in their entirety are almost proper denominations: names of cities, mountains, rivers, tribes and kingdoms, the Albanian word found by Dh. S. Shuteriqi has the character of the linguistic unit of general use. This property of words, found as micro texts or inter texts mainly in aloglot linguistic environments, compounds one of the primal important reserves in the studies for a historic dictionary of the Albanian language, on the relations of the written Albanian with the pre-written, for the interval evolution and for its alphabetization in the centuries after the European humanism.

The Albanian word through the centuries was a vital goal for Dh. S. Shuteriqi. He made research starting from inscriptions and iconography to the regest, seals and exercise books, in the writings of western and eastern tradition. With approximately 320 Albanian words or expressions identified in these sources and in the written books of the neighboring languages: Latin and Greek and their direct derivatives of them, and also in the farthest languages, as French, German, Spanish, Shuteriqi established a necessary and irreplaceable data base for the

etymologists, language historians, philologists and scholars of other fields.

Through his half century researches to certify the historic process of the Albanian language evolution, Dh. S. Shuteriqi achieved to collect every possible testimony to prove the existence of the Albanian language through the centuries to its literary period. He believed that could prove even in the century of passing from the mother tongue to the new language, at least a century more in depth of time, referring to the form Gion of the name of Christ's evangelical found in a church of earlier Christianity beginnings in the surroundings of Pogradec. The Albanian word was searched and selected by Dh. S. Shuteriqi from the western and eastern chronicles and the pilgrims books, exotic travelers, religious missionaries, apostolic envoys and of the secular notary, that have touched in the course of centuries the Albanian space because of their duties to know other languages and cultures.

Dh. S. Shuteriqi has worked with three categories of sources, direct and indirect, published and unpublished: 1. The evidences that are selected and mentioned in the publications of original source on the history of the Albanian people and of the neighboring countries, specifying their content and establishing them in chronological and logical connections with other data; 2. The casual evidences that are found in foreign missionaries, clerics or secular manuscripts and books, that have passed through the Albanian space for their own goals (envoys, visitors, administrators, merchants, pilgrims); 3. Evidences of the Albanian literary period, starting with the classical humanism and becoming more often to the modern times, when the Albanian language becomes an equal linguistic reality with the other languages and cultures. He succeeded to certify the complicated process of separating the Albanian as language of a people with ancient historic identity; its identification process through observing the language of the other; the process of passing from verbal Albanian in the written one and then writing Albanian in the Albanian letters.

## II.

Three decades after the publication of "Shkrime shqipe" (1976) by professor Dh. S. Shuteriqi, a philological work with multilateral original sources on the history of the writing in the Albanian space, about the

history of the Albanian writing, on certifying the historic process of the written Albanian evolution since 1332 until the IX century, the Institute of Linguistics and Literature of the Academy of Sciences prepared and published the book "Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1850", that unfortunately the author couldn't see its publication while he was alive.

Works like "Tekstet shqipe" and "Shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800" can be achieved only by becoming life's aim. Professor Dh. S. Shuteriqi started to work in this book more than a half century before. Three times he edited it, twice he saw it published (without counting a re-edition in Prishtina). This edition represents his most mature work, a work that was his primal concern.

There is a well-known tradition of publishing of the kind of regest, with reference data on the history of the Albanian people, starting from "Illyricum sacrum" by Farlati and Colleti, then following with "Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia" by Thałowczy, Šufflay and Jireček and with "Acta Albaniae Venetae" of 24 volumes by G. Valentini. However, the work of Dh. S. Shuteriqi, published from the Institute of Linguistics and Literature, under the scientific auspices of professor Jorgo Buló, establishes a new tradition: the tradition of regest and thematic publications, on the history of the Albanian writing and of the traces she left during the history, with critical view, selected and with analytical and comparative descriptions in the Albanian language.

In the first view, similar with a bibliographical work, the book "Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800" is indeed more than philology in the terminological meaning. Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi has worked with an extraordinary responsibility and patience to search every possible evidence to prove the existence of the Albanian language from the earlier centuries to its literary period. The first evidence according the chronological order is that of 879, that means not more than a century and half after has occurred the passing from the Illyrian to Albanian language (VI-VII centuries). Only this evidence which Prof. Shuteriqi thought to bring it at least a century before, referring to the form Gion found in an ancient sanctuary in Pogradec surroundings, takes a historic importance (that perhaps can be more connected with the Greek, *agyon/αγιον*, meaning sacred. The data that his book contains have to do

with the gratifying and précising the historic development calendar of the Albanian language and her literary tiding.

Though "Shkrimet shqipe" and the work that is being re-published have the same character and aim the same content, "Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1850" cannot be considered re-edition, and neither completed edition of the first, because overpasses in many views these terms.

The first and the most important overfulfilment is as puts in evidence the edition's caretaker, Prof. Dr. Jorgo Buló, the postponement in time of the earliest evidence of the Albanian language also approximately by five centuries, comparatively with the earliest evidence mentioned in the first book. Until on 1976 the author of the book had identified, classified and described 176 document titles and other sources belonging the period until the end of the XVIII century, while in the present edition are 312 titles, what expresses not only the change in the chronological continuity, but also important quantitative changes. As is stressed in the foreword, except the numerical increase, two thirds of the document titles that are also found in the edition of 1976 are fulfilled, determined with precision or reinterpreted by being classified in another data cultural calendar.

Qualitative overfulfilment that are noticed through comparing the two books and what belongs to the sources character. Rightfully, the publisher has preferred that the work be entitled "Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes", because the author himself has been referring to a wider concept than the previous one about the meaning of the written Albanian.

The book can be qualified as interdisciplinary work where is united the culture and the formation of the written word history's specialists; the passion of the source's researcher and paleographer, the ability of the transcriber and polyglot. The author has selected data from the pre-bookish writing, from other written inscriptions and tidings found in urban environments; from the most important editions of the data on the history of the Albanian people; from the edition corpuses of the same character on the history of the Balkan neighboring peoples, from the rare bibliopole and bibliographies editions data, from the archival indexes and references of the metropolitan metropolis where are preserved sources on Albania and Albanians (direct and indirect), from the western and eastern chronicles and the pilgrims' books, exotic travelers, religious

missionaries, apostolic envoys and of the secular notary, that have touched in the course of the centuries the Albanian space because of their duties or the passion to learn other languages and cultures. From the book of Dh. S. Shuteriqi are seen that the opinion on Albanian as a language that is not divided as a separate language and cannot be explained without being translated in other languages, has been very early formed than the direct evidences of its typology. Has been enabled to the author the recognition of the history of some civilizations and culture, dead or alive; the scientific communication with the languages where the Albanian has left the proper traces; the classical encyclopedic formation. It's a priceless luxury for the Albanian philology and for the Albanological knowledge the publishing of this book. Such works and initiatives cannot be undertaken without having a feeling of self-sacrifice, that means you have to choose the most important for the national culture and not the most favorable to give life to personal knowledge. This was exactly the choice of Prof. Shuteriqi. And now his book "Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800" is at the hand of the scholars to lead through secure sources their researches and to make easier the evaluation of the historic facts.

Since 1976 until his last breath, Prof. Shuteriqi achieved to add in the selected sources 136 new titles, nearly as much as he achieved to identify till then. It can be said that with his work he succeeded to certificate the complicated process of identifying the Albanian language as a language belonging to a people with ancient historic identity; the process of its identification by observing the language of the other; the process of passing from the verbal Albanian into the written one and then the passing from the Albanian scripture to the Albanian letters. This is a brilliant achievement of the Albanology, not only of the author. This savant deserves our gratitude and also deserves the highest recognition those who worked to make it part of our libraries this rare work.

"Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800" is a book that comes in the form of encouragement to the linguistic, culture, writing and literature scholars, where the essential references are ready and spontaneously encourage the spirit of research and verification. All this process is facilitated from the scientific apparatus that this publishing contains: bibliography and sources, the index of personal names (authors, scribes, historical figures), the index of the institutions (and

their abbreviation, used for methodological facility during the preparation of the book): of archives, libraries and bibliopoles or other private subjects that possess special cultural-linguistic values, as also the index of the countries and events. Separately are briefly presented the names of the publishers and of typographies (the places of publication).

The re-edition of the book "Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800" became necessary because of the demand from the Albanian savants and would influence for an improved understanding of the Albanian language tradition development in the academic and university circles within and abroad, and everywhere in the schools where Albanology is developed. In this book, the author is presented a brilliant expert of the Albanian ethnicity and of its historic development, of the civilizations that have affected since antiquity to the modern times and of their languages, dead or alive, the proper typology that the Albanian language has preserved during the centuries, facing many influences mainly coming from the historic and geographic contact, because of neighborhood or historic touch, rather than the origin.

The data for the recognition and the writing of the Albanian language, the author of the book "Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800", Prof. Dh. S. Shuteriqi has selected from western and eastern sources. The earliest eastern source for the existence of the Albanian scripture, according to the author, is an Ottoman document of 1511, with the authorship the chronicler Ruhi Çelebi, which manuscript is preserved in the Boldeian Library. However, the indirect evidences of this fact are earlier, at least since 1431, that is the year of the first cadastral and demographic registration of the Arvanid Sandjak from the Ottoman authorities. Referring the data of this registration, that the researcher presents with the title "Defter i regjistrimit të vilajeteve të Korçës, Përmetit e Konicës/Registration exercise book of the vilayets of Korça, Përmet and Konica", with no author, that is originally preserved in Başvekalet Arşivi Istanbul. The scholar informs also for an older registration of 1419, whose traces disappear. As one of the earliest scribes of some words in Albania in the Ottoman documents, mainly homonyms and toponyms, Shuteriqi mentions the Albanian Zaganjozi of Mankola, drafter of Albania sandjak Exercise Book (1431). The Albanian lexicon with the same content (proper names of people and places) the author finds it also in the sandjak of Dibra Exercise book

registration of 1467. For the scribe Sulejman Abdullah of Shkodra sandjak Exercise book registration (1485), where the Albanian linguistic subject is transliterated in the Ottoman writing, is precious. Shuteriqi is seen shaken if was an Albanian or a clerk of the Ottoman empire who wrote the Albanian language as a foreign language. To the XV century also belongs the testimony of an Ottoman anonymous in the registration Exercise book of some Albanian villages of Peloponnese. Meanwhile, as is noticed from the book's content, in the XVI century the evidences on the Albanian writing are very rare, to be manifested again in the XVII century, with a popular song from Elbasan region (1650), and then following with a poem in Albanian of religious content (ilahi) written with Arab alphabet from an anonymous from Kosova. The first complete creation in Albanian with Ottoman alphabet is mentioned the poem of Muçi Zade "Imzot mos më ler pa kahve/May God don't leave me without coffee" (1725). Only 5 years later is marked the poem "Teferiçi në Bilçë" by Ibrahim Nezim Frakulla (1732). To the same author belong two other important manuscripts for the history of Albanian scripture with oriental alphabets, "Divani shqip" and a "Listë fjalësh të rimuara shqip-turqisht/Rhymed list word Albanian/Turkish" (1760). Less known is a poem of Ismail pasha Velabishti (1763). While on the manuscripts of Sulejman Naibi (1771), the scholar mentions also a second surname, Ramazani. Is added to the bibliography of versifiers a song on the war of Karamahmud pasha Bushati against Ahmet pasha Kurti of Berat, by mullah Hysejn Dobraçi from Shkodra (1785). The tradition of poetry with historic motives is enriched by the manuscript of an anonymous from Gjirokastra, containing a poem on Ali pasha Tepelena's war against Gjirokastra (1793). A year later is marked the first poem of Hasan Zyko Kamberit, a versifier, with religious content (ilahi). To the XVIII century also belong an ilahi in Albanian with Arab alphabet of mullah Beqir, another author Hadji Ymer Kashari, a poem in Albanian for the money with the author the Turkish poet Vaxhidi, the poems of mullah Sali Pata and of Hysejn efendi Shkodra, of Sulejman pasha Elbasani (Vërlaci) and of Ibrahim Elbasani, of Sulejman Temani and Myslim Hoxha, of Omer Sadedin efendi and of Ahmet Hoxha. These evidences are important not only for the history of the Albanian language development, culture and literature during the Ottoman period, but also about the way of



interpreting its phonological assets with graphemes of syllabic alphabets of the Eastern peoples.

Concluding a many years long work, it can be said that Prof. Dh. Shuteriqi, with this book, whose second volume was projected to include the Albanian scriptures since the beginning of the XIX century and on, realized in the same degree with the Dictionary of Naim Frashëri, completed the essential passion of his life. Is right the definition of the publisher that this is the lifetime work of Dh. S. Shuteriqi and a firsthand publication for the history of the Albanian language and of the culture expressed from it.

**Shaban SINANI**

**A. DELIKARI, *Η Αρχιεπισκοπή Αχριδών κατά τον Μεσαίωνα. Ο Ρόλος της ως Ενωτικού Παράγοντα στην Πολιτική και Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία των Σλάβων των Βαλκανίων και του Βυζαντίου*, Thessaloniki 2014.**

The book focuses on a region inhabited by ethnically, linguistically and culturally heterogeneous populations. A theatre of political, ecclesiastical and cultural interactions between Byzantium and the Slavic worlds, the Archdiocese of Ohrid has been the object of numerous studies by well-known historians, art historians, theologians and legal historians. To make a meaningful contribution, the author had to master not only the relevant primary sources written in Greek, Latin, old Slavic languages, Spanish and medieval Italian, but also plead of secondary sources in just about a dozen languages. To illustrate the political sensitivity and the magnitude of the endeavour, suffice it to mention that, in the jubilee years of 2014 (1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary from the death of Czar Samuel), 2016 (1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary from the death of St Clement, Bishop of Belica, later commemorated as Archbishop of Ohrid and 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary from the martyrdom of St John Vladimir) and 2018 (1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary from the capitulation of Samuel's successors ending the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict), as many as eight conferences were organized in Thessaloniki<sup>1</sup>, Sofia<sup>2</sup>, Skopje & Ohrid<sup>3</sup>, Elbasan, Tirana &

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<sup>1</sup> A. Delikari (ed.), *Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο "Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος: Το Βυζάντιο και ο κόσμος των Σλάβων"*, 28-30 Νοεμβρίου 2013, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> V. Gjuzelev – G.N. Nikolov (eds.), *South-Eastern Europe in the Second Half of the 10<sup>th</sup> – the Beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries: History & Culture. International Conference Proceedings*, Sofia, 6-8 October 2014, Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> First National Conference on Byzantine and Medieval Studies "Samuel's State - 1000 years later (1018-2018)", Skopje and Ohrid, 25-26 October 2018.

Podgorica<sup>4</sup> and Bar<sup>5</sup>. This is an indication of the processes of contestation over the very historical heritage of this region and beyond, as well as the diachronic politics and pragmatics behind it. The book was compiled on the basis of a number of studies by the author, published in Greek and German. This gave her an opportunity to approach her topics maturely, from a variety of perspectives and over a long period of time; the editing challenges of collating separate studies into a single book were overall successfully handled, save for n. 17 on p. 81, where, by lapsus, the author stated that a part of the ecclesiastical history of the region will be treated “in the second part of my [leg. her] article”.

The book, published by the University Studio Press in its series “Hellenism and the Slavic World,” is structured in two prefaces, the bibliography, the introduction, four chapters, a summary in Russian and a general index. The study is not confined only to narrative and diplomatic sources, but also pools evidence from monuments and supplies relevant illustrative evidence, whose sources are acknowledged on p. 295. The book starts with a preface by Antonios-Aemilios Tachiaos (5-6) and another by the author; (7-9) and continues with abbreviations (13-19) and extensive bibliography (21-63) divided in primary sources (in Greek, Latin, Spanish and Italian) and secondary sources (in Greek and other languages, including Slavic languages). In her introduction, (65-73) the author outlines the idiosyncratic character of the Archdiocese of Ohrid “not only in its ecclesiastical frame, but mostly in conjunction with the politics of the state or the states, in whose territory it was included, in part or in its entirety, at times, until the fifteenth century.” (67) The author suggests that well-known archbishops of Ohrid were distant from nationalist politics and struggled to fuse the Byzantine

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<sup>4</sup> Đ. Borožan (ed.), *The 1000<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Saint Jovan Vladimir. Proceedings from the Scientific Conference October 21, 2016, MASA, Podgorica*, Scientific Meetings vol. 142, Podgorica: Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2017.

<sup>5</sup> *International Scientific Gathering “Saint John Vladimir Through Centuries – History and Tradition (1016-2016)”*, Bar, 15-17 September 2016. For its proceedings, see V. Jovović, G. Perović, V. Čović (eds.), *У Спомен и Славу Светог Јована Владимира*, volume 6-1 (Међународни Научни Скуп “Свети Јован Владимир кроз Вјекове – Историја и Предање (1016-2016),” Бар, 15-17. септембар 2016. Године. Историја, Црквено Предање И Култ Светог Јована Владимира) and volume 6-2 (Међународни Научни Скуп “Свети Јован Владимир кроз Вјекове – Историја и Предање (1016-2016),” Бар, 15-17. септембар 2016. Године. Археологија, Историја Умјетности, Књижевност И Етнографија), Cetinje: Митрополија црногорска-приморска и ину Светигора, 2018.

character of the province with the Slavic (Bulgarian, Serbian and other) elements therein.

Chapter 1 deals with the “Historical Evolution of the Episcopal See of Lichnidos-Ohrid.” (75-103) The author summarizes the literature identifying Ohrid with Lichnidos and emphasizes the importance of Justinian’s Novel 11, issued in 535 A.D., which elevated Tauresium (modern Caričin Grad), his birthplace, to a centre of an eparch and an Archdiocesan see. (75-6) The author concludes that in its 749-years-long history, the Archdiocese of Ohrid managed to maintain the Byzantine identity of the region, in spite of the Bulgarian, Serbian or Ottoman “occupation.” (103)

Chapter 2 (105-54) delves into “The Evolution of the Archdiocesan Title of Ohrid.” Looking at the various Greek and Slavic (not Latin, n. 1 on p. 107) literary, documentary and monumental sources referring to the Archdiocese, the author surveys how the titles of the Archbishop changed over time, since the Archdiocese’s establishment by Basil II (start of eleventh century) and until the fifteenth century. Tracing the evolution of the title reflects, at times, “circumstances from the ecclesiastical and political life of the Archdiocese, the ideology of its representatives, as well as the influence exercised by its Archbishops in neighbouring or near ecclesiastical authorities and political rules.” (107)

Chapter 3 (155-253) builds up on Chapter 2 and investigates “The Jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Ohrid from Its Founding to the Fifteenth Century.” Situated on the fringes of “three states very often at war with each other, Byzantium, Bulgaria and Serbia, it was consequent that its territorial surface suffers changes over time, depending on the balance of powers.” (157) The author concludes that these circumstances compelled the Archdiocese to develop “a dual, ecclesiastical and political role,” (250) which developed in parallel to “the cultural (literary and artistic) and social work conducted within the territory of the Archdiocese.” (252) Although extending up to the fifteenth century, the chapter closes with the observation that “the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans did not hinder the Archdiocese of Ohrid; on the contrary, its jurisdiction expanded over the Balkan lands under Ottoman rule.” (252-3)

Finally, Chapter 4 relates to “The Episcopal Title of Saint Clement and His Retrospective Liaison with the Archdiocese of Ohrid.” (255-90)

In this chapter the author looks at the various titles given to St Clement, Bishop of Belica, at different times, how and why, in collective memory, these eventually associated him with the Archdiocese.

It is beyond doubt that Angeliki Delikari's book manages to maintain balance between opposing viewpoints expressed in vast literature written in a dozen of languages, and successfully handle the objective challenges of dealing with a perplex, hot and difficult topic in the *longue durée*. In reading her book, it is evident that she worked diligently in its writing, from a position of deep knowledge of the relevant literature, in a cautious and self-restrained manner. Yet, reaping the privilege of reading and reviewing an already published work, in whose writing's pains I did not participate, I would like to bring forward five points of criticism, other than those brought forward by Alkmini Stavridou-Zafraza's review,<sup>6</sup> which overall do not weaken the top-quality of this book.

First, although it is understandable that in a complex matter of the sort treated in a very long period of time some time frame might be necessary to tame the vastness of the relevant materials, it is neither clear why the fifteenth century was set as a terminal point, nor has it been specified which fifteenth century date was used as such. I was initially under the assumption that the Ottoman advance and consolidation in the region was set as a terminus, perhaps under the influence of Tachiaos' statement in his preface that the books extends "up to the fifteenth century, when [the Archdiocese] started to fall into decline." (5) Yet, neither the 1385 Ottoman advance in the region, (cf. 238, n. 265) strictly thinking, coincide with the fifteenth century, nor is the author hindered to outline developments or consider sources dating in the sixteenth, seventeenth and even eighteenth century. (e.g. 249, 274 and 275-7) The author clearly disagrees with the aforementioned statement of Tachiaos; (cf. 246-7) hence the rationale behind the fifteenth century being set as a *terminus* of this book remains nebulous.

Second, it seems that the fourth chapter on "The Episcopal Title of Saint Clement and His Retrospective Liaison with the Archdiocese of

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<sup>6</sup> A. STAVRIDOU-ZAFRAKA, "Αγγελική Δεληκάρη, Η Αρχιεπισκοπή Αχριδών κατά τον Μεσαίωνα. Ο ρόλος της ως ενωτικού παράγοντα στην πολιτική και εκκλησιαστική ιστορία των Σλάβων των Βαλκανίων και του Βυζαντίου [Ελληνισμός και κόσμος των Σλάβων, 12. Διεύθυνση: Αντώνιος-Αιμίλιος Ταχιάος], University Studio Press, Θεσσαλονίκη 2014, σσ. 322," *Byzantiaka* 32 (2015) : 351-7.

Ohrid” would have been better fit alongside Chapter 1, as it provides some background on what was at times believed to be an ancestry line of the Archdiocesan throne related to a widely venerated saint of the region.

Third, tracing the ethnic composition of the Archdiocese of Ohrid, the author in my view underrepresents the ethnic, lingual and cultural complexity of the region, as she amalgamates primarily Albanian-speaking populations and primarily Greek-speaking populations in a single Byzantine identity, drawing distinctions only as far as Slavic populations (Serbs and Bulgarians), Vlach and Armenians are concerned. (107-8, n. 2; 125; and 278, n. 87). While the Byzantine identity, in its universalist version, incorporated all ethnically, linguistically and culturally heterogeneous populations of the empire into a single, civic political identity, with regards to the region under consideration, the primarily Albanian-speaking element of the region is implied yet not explicitly mentioned, even though the author took under consideration works that mention it. (166, n. 23) While the majority of Albanians in the region indeed identified as Romans (i.e. Byzantines), as is testified in various sources, on the matter regional cultural differentiations of some members of elite Albanian families, the author could have benefitted from Pëllumb Xhufi's book touching, in his point of view, important developments of the Archdiocese's provinces<sup>7</sup>

Fourth, the exclusion of Latin sources in treating the evolution of the Ohrid Archdiocese title's name, (107, n. 1) as well as the title of St Clement<sup>8</sup> (260) was, in my view, incomprehensible. Though of lesser credibility regarding the accuracy of names, especially at times of their change, Latin sources account for the titles of the Archdiocese as they were recognised by international diplomatic and espionage chancelleries. As such, they could supply diverse perspectives on this matter, as well as the internationally known titles of St Clement, although on this matter one should notice that his veneration is often confused to the veneration of St Clement, Pope of Rome.

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<sup>7</sup> P. XHUFİ, *Nga Paleologët te Muzakajt. Berati dhe Vlora në Shekuj XII-XV*, Tirana: Shtëpia Botuese "55," 2009.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. for example Krăstănov, Trendafil. "Vatican Sources on Velegrad-Belgrad-Berat: Clement of Velitza's Episcopacy from 906 to 916 and on The Holy Seven Teachers of Bulgaria (Sv. Sedmochislenici)", *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3-4 (1999): 127.

Fifth, the author could have benefitted from additional literature on other topics treated in her book, such as the Seven Saints,<sup>9</sup> the representation of Greek and Slavic saints in the territory of the Archdiocese,<sup>10</sup> as well as church inscriptions of the period from the territories of the Archdiocese in modern-day Albania.<sup>11</sup>

Last, it would have been impossible for a book of this magnitude to entirely avoid spelling mistakes, of the sort I am citing below is a rather cursory way:

1) On p. 127 the author writes “απήυθυνε” instead of the correct “απηύθυνε.”

2) On pp. 179 and 207 the author writes “εκμεταλεύθηκαν” instead of the correct “εκμεταλλεύθηκαν.”

Overall, the book is an excellent reference to the complex and politically puzzling history of the region of Ohrid, which was published in a period ahead of major developments that generated fresh interest in the region. The simple and controlled language of this book makes it easily digestible by both students and scholars in Balkan history. We strongly hope that the book will also be published soon in some standard European language, thereby allowing access to it by a greater readership.

**Konstantinos GIAKOU MIS**

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<sup>9</sup> R. ROUSSEVA, “Нови данни за изобразителния култ към св. Седмочисленици през XVIII-XIX век на територията на съвременна Албания (New Data on the Visual Cult of the Holy Heptarithmoi in the 18<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the Territory of Present-Day Albania)”, *Art Studies Quarterly* 4, 2012, 20-7.

<sup>10</sup> Kissas, Sotiris, “Representation of Greek and Slav Saints from the Central and Western Balkans from the Ninth to the Eighteenth Century”, *Cyrlomethodianum* 11, 1987, 249-255.

<sup>11</sup> T. POPA, *Mbishkrime të kishave në Shqipëri*, edited by K. Gjakumis and N. Nepravishta, Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave – Instituti i Historisë, 1998.

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