

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF ALBANIA
SECTION OF SOCIAL AND ALBANOLOGICAL SCIENCES

STUDIA ALBANICA

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Translated by: Gjon Boriçi Phd

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ISSN 0585-5047

Academy of Sciences of Albania
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MIGRATORY WAVES OF ALBANIANS FROM MOREA TO ITALY, XV-XVII CENTURIES

When is spoken about the Albanian migratory waves during the Middle Ages, above all we intend those of XIV century towards Greece and also the later wave towards Italy and Dalmatia.¹ The massive Albanian emigration waves towards southern Italy and Sicily from the eastern coasts of the Adriatic and Ion, start during the big clashes with the Ottoman Turks in the XV century, and continue with high intensity after the occupation of the Albanian territories until the XVII century. Since 1461, in the letter addressed to the count Giovanni Antonio Orsini of Taranto, Gjergj Kastrioti warned the peopling with Albanians of the territory of Puglia, in that time abandoned and devastated.² In a first

¹Below are presenting the main bibliography exploited from us: Pietro Pompilio Rodotà, *Dell'origine, progresso estate presente del rito Greco in Italia*, vol.III, Roma: Giovanni Salomoni, 1763; Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer, *Das Albanesische Element in Griechenland*, Abhandlungen der kaiserlichen bayerischen Akademieder Wissenschaften, III.Cl.IX.Bd.II. Abteilung, München: 1860; Denis Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, vëll.II, Athènes: 1953, p. 29-36; Kostas Mpires, *Arbanites, oi Dorieis tou neoterou ellenismou*, Athenai: 1960; Apostolos Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou neoterou helenismou*, vol. I, Thessalonike: 1961, p.25-33; Titos Jochalas, *Über die Einwanderung der Albaner in Griechenland*. Dissertationes Albanicae 12. Band, München: 1971; Peter Topping, "Albanian settlemeents in the Medieval Greece: some venetian testimonies", in *Charanis Studies*, ed. A. Laiou-Thomadakis, New Jersey: 1980; Pëllumb Xhufi, "Migrimet shqiptare në Greqinë shek. XIV", in *Studime historike*, nr. 3-4, Tiranë: 1991, p. 3-33; Alain Ducellier, "Les Albanais en Italie central à la fin du Moyen Âge: del'émigration à l'intégration", in *L'Ethnographie, Revue della Société d' Etnographie de Paris*, 85/2, 1989, p. 76vj. ; Alain Ducellier, *Oi Albanoisten Ellada (XIII-XV aiona): emetanasteuse mias koinotetas*, Athena: 1994; Alain Ducellier (ed.), *Les chemins de l'exil*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1992; Paolo Petta, *Stradioti, soldati albanesi in Italia (sec.XV-XIX)*, Lecce: Argoed., 1996; Paolo Petta, *Despotid' Epiroepincipidi Macedonia*, Lecce: Argoed., 2000; Brunehilde Imhaus, *Le minoranze orientali a Venezia 1300-1510*, Roma: Il Veltro ed., 1997; Shkëlzen Raça, *Shtegtimet dhe ngulimete shqiptarëve në Greqi shek.XIII-XVI*, Prishtinë: 2004; Lucia Nadin, *Migrazioni e integrazione: il caso degli Albanesi a Venezia (1479-1552)*, Roma: Bulzoni ed., 2008.

²"et etiam bisognando andaremos personalmente con tanta gente che non solamente con

evidence of the Albanian exodus beginnings towards the shores of Puglia, is given by the letter of the pope Paul II addressed to the duke of Burgundy on 1467. "It feels like crying", wrote the Pope, "when you see those refugee ships at the harbors of Italy and entire families in a very bad conditions, stripped off everything, penniless, that land on the shores and raised the hands towards the sky and filling the air and the world around them with their weeping".³ Still living is the testimony of Marino Sanudo of 1499. According to him, the mind of Lezha's inhabitants was occupied by "the disease of leaving" (*malattia difluxo*), that urged the leaders of the city to ask to the Venetian administrator Piero Nadal, to send in Lezha an administrator and military enforcements to stop the exodus towards Puglia, which moreover was causing many victims.⁴ The same panic overwhelmed that time the city of Tivar, even why the city would fall at the hands of the Ottomans nearly a century later, on 1571. As it's read in an archival source, on 1478 "the city of Tivar that is the first bishopric of Albania, was totally abandoned and remained deserted because of the fear from the Turks".⁵ This information contains understandable notes of exaggeration, because the human hemorrhage continued in Tivar also a few years before the city was captured by the Turks. On 1566, it's spoken on noble families that were leaving for good the city (*zintilhomini che scampano fuor della Terra con la fameglia*).⁶

Indeed, the Albanian nobles from the city or from village, were among the first who decided to leave in face of the Ottoman invasion

lo ayuto de Dio credeamo reaquistare Puglia ma bastiamo depopolarla tutta essendo despopolata", Jovan Radonić, *ura Kastriot Skenderbeg I Arbanija u XV veku*, Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1942, p.121.

³*"e fa scappar le lagrime l'osservar le navi de 'fuggiaschi nell'approdar I porti ell'Italia ed anche le stesse famiglie, ridotte bisognose, e nude, e spogliate delle loro sedi, d'itratto intratto sedersi nelle spiagge, e distender le mani al cielo e d'empiredi afflizioni ogni cosa"*, Nicolò Chetta, *Tesoro di Notizie su de' Macedoni*, ed. Matteo Mandalà, Contessa Entellina: Università degli Studi di Palermo, 2002, p.371.

⁴Marino Sanudo, *Diarii*, acura di G.Berchet, vol.II, Venezia:1879, col.1143. From his part, Gjon Muzaka in his chronicle written on 1510, narrates full of coloring his own and his family escapement from Durrës on the board of merchant ship. See: Giovanni Musachi "Historia della casa Musachia", in Charles Hopf, *Chroniques gréco- romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin:1873,p.273-277.

⁵*"la città de Antivari, la quale è il primo vescovato dela Albania, è stato habandonata in tutto dalli abitanti et relicta inhabitata per paura desso Turco"*, Vikentii Makushev, *Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol.I, Warsaw:1874, p.180.

⁶*Archivio di Stato di Venezia* (më tej: ASV), *Sen.Mar.*, filza 37(marzo-agosto1567): information from Thomaso Pasqualigo, Mayor of Tivar, October 25, 1566.

advancement. Since 1387, for the prince Karl Topia, was impossible to face the Ottomans, so he made a proposal to Venice to surrender the city of Durrës to it in exchange of some kind of property in the island of Crete or in that of Euboea, that were possessions of the Republic.⁷ Other Albanian lords, as Konstandin Balsha in north, or Vlora's Rugina Balsha and Gjon Zenebishi of Gjirokastra in the south, entered in negotiations with Venice to surrender her their possessions, in compensation of another calm life in some Venetian possession.⁸ From the other side, in June 1451, the agreement between Gjergj Arianiti and the king Alfonso V of Naples previewed that in case of necessity, Arianiti could be displaced with his assets and family in the Kingdom of Naples.⁹ This tragic chapter of the Albanian history of the XV century is masterfully pictured with a single phrase by the chronicler Gjon Muzaka, when writes: "like this acted all the lords of Albania, somebody left the country, somebody else converted to Islam: and so everything was doomed" (*e così fecero anco quell'altri Signori d'Albania, ch'ifuggì e chi se fê Turco: il tutto andò in roina*)¹⁰.

The Albanian Stratiots of Morea

In the eve of the XIV-XV centuries, an unseen wave of the Albanian emigration included the region of Peloponnese, and also Corinth, Itea, Elida, Arcady, Argolis, Messenia, Laconia and also the islands near Salamis, Evia, Andros, Poros, Hydra and Specie.¹¹ The first notification about the massive gatherings in the Peloponnese of approximately 10 thousand Albanians, organized in family groups and chaired by strong warriors (ἀγαθοὺς στρατιώτας) belongs to the first centuries of the XV

⁷*Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia* (hereinafter: *Acta Albaniae*), ed. L. Thallóczy, C. Jireček, M. Šufflay, vol. II, Wien: 1918, nr. 409, p. 98.

⁸*Ibid*, II, nr. 503; "Et ulterius in dicta terra et insula nostra Corphoy emere aliquas possessiones", *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars II, tom 7, nr. 1890; Pëllumb Xhufi, *Nga Paleologët te Muzakajt: Berati dhe Vlora në shek. XII-XV*, Tiranë: 55, 2009, p. 301-338.

⁹*et la predicta Maestà promote a lo dicto Aranito assignare ad ipso Aranito o ad cui vorra pro su aparte alcuna terra o castello inquisito Reame, in lo quale possa tenere la sua famiglia, robe e bestiame franco e libero de herbagii e alter angarie pertinente alasua Maestà*", J. Radonić, *ura Kastriot Skenderbeg i Arbanija u XV veku...*, nr. 48, p. 29.

¹⁰G. Musachi, "Historia della Musachia...", p. 276

¹¹Ioannis Poulos, "E epoikesis ton Albanon eis Korinthian", *Epeteristou Mesaionikou Archeiou*, 3, Athinai: 1950, p. 51; D. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée...*, vol. II, p. 32 vj.

century.¹² However, the coming of the Albanian emigrants from Albania had previously started and continued after that date. When the Ottoman Turks started to conquer the territories of Peloponnese, there they have found a different ethnic situation from what have been until the last decades of the XIV century. In an Ottoman register of 1461, that marks some Central and Northern Peloponnese regions, presents an impressive framework of the Albanian colonization of those territories. Since 198 registered settlements, 155 are distinguished as Albanian settlements.¹³

To the year 1461 belongs another Ottoman register, that of Corinth region. Also there, from 20 registered localities, 16 were defined as Albanian.¹⁴ In that time, the Byzantine despot of Morea, Manuel Kantakouzene, apparently was ruling on subject of Albanian majority because he was called as "*the despot of Albanians*" (ὁδεπότης τῶν Ἀλβανιτῶν).¹⁵

Densely dwelled from Albania was especially the Mani region, the most southern region of Morea. It was the region that was mostly destroyed from the wars and anti Ottoman rebellions of the local Albanian population. It's understandable that Mani was the region who more than any other region of Morea was affected from the exodus of its inhabitants towards the Aegean islands, Ionian islands, to Italy and Dalmatia. Nevertheless, even why the Ottoman rule on Morea was totally established in the XVI century, foreign voyagers prove that Mani was inhabited from Albanians, speaking Albanian and refused to subdue to the Ottoman power.¹⁶ From its part, on 1638, the Ottoman voyager

¹²S. Lambros, "Georgiou Gemistou eis Epitaphion Manuel tou Palaiologou", in *Palaiologia kai Peloponnesiaka*, 3 Athina: 1926, p. 4 vj.; Julian Chrysostomides, *Manuel II Palaiologus, Funeral Oration on his brother Theodore*, Tessalonike: 1985, p.119 vj.

¹³P. Assenova, R. Stojkov, Th. Kaçorri, "Selistni lien e familni omena ot severozapaden Peloponez prez sredata na XV vjek", në *Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet, Fakultet po Slavjanski Filologii*, tab. 68/3, Sofia: 1977, f. 213-297.

¹⁴N. Beldiceanu & J. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Corinthe et sa région en 1461 d'après le registre TT 10", në *Südost-Forschungen*, 45, Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1986, f. 41.

¹⁵Peter Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vëll. I, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975, f. 273.

¹⁶"*Le 6e (juin) vismes, à gauche le port delle Quaie, ainsy appellé à raison du nombre de cailles, qui se trouvent en la dicte contrée. Ce port est pres du susdict Capo di Matapan, auquel endroit le pays est nommè Brazzo di Maina, et les habitants Mainati, lesquelz jusques à present se sont garantis du joug du Turc; ils parlent albanois, et demeurent dans des cavernes ça et là par les montagnes ayant bruict d'estre fort belliqueux*". Marrë nga: A. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou Neou Helenismou*, vëll. I, Tessalonike: 1961, f. 284.

Evliya Çelebi noted that "the inhabitants of the regions from Kalavryta, Voshtica and Tripolico to the Corinth, are Albanians that speak Albanian".¹⁷ According a French informer, Mani at that time had one thousand villages and cities with 100 thousand inhabitants and disposed 12 thousand warriors, most of which were Albanians.¹⁸ On 1690, when in the devastated country by the long Turkish-Venetian war huge groups of Albanians have left, the Venetian administrator Corner informed that in Morea were still 1170 villages inhabited from Albanians which according to him could present 20123 warriors of the age 18-45, without including here also 4427 warriors that would come from the military region of Mani.¹⁹

In these conditions, it's not surprising the fact that the Peloponnese and especially its extreme region, Mani, became the hub that nourished a good part of the Albanian emigration to the west side, towards the islands of Ion and beyond, towards the territories of the Kingdom of Naples, in Sicily and Southern Albania. The very rich Venetian documentation, unveils us also the mechanism that favored the displacement of the Albanian element from the Albanian territories into the Greek ones, and further in those of Aegean, in Dalmatia, Italy and everywhere. The creator of this mechanism was the Republic of Venice herself, which as comes out from a letter of Marin Sanudo on 1325, had realized that the emigrated Albanians in Greece could become a powerful ally of the Republic to protect its possessions there, in the beginning against the attacks of the Catalans of the duchy of Athens and Neopatras, and against the Byzantine rulers of Thessaly, and later against the Ottoman Turks.²⁰

The essence of this mechanism is clearly discovered in a document of 1402, that speaks on the Negroponte (Euboea) colonization from the

¹⁷ Hubert Pernot, *Introduction à l'étude du dialecte tsakonien*, Paris: 1934, f. 505; D. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée ...*, vëll. II, f. 36.

¹⁸ Demos N. Mekses, *E Mane kai oi Maniates*, Athinë: 1977, f. 34 (që citon nga: P. Kanellides, "Mane kai Maniatai", në *Ebdomas*, f. 23, 4 korrik 1887).

¹⁹ Sp. Lambros, "E peri Peloponnesou ekthesis tou Venetou pronoitou Corner", në *Deltion tes Istorikes kai Ethnologikes Etairias tes Ellados (AIEE)*, 2, Athinais: 1885, f. 299

²⁰ Gottlieb L. Tafel & Georg M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, vëll. I, Hof und Staatsdruckerei, Wien: 1856, f. 495-501; Aldo Cerlini, "Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il Vecchio", në *Bibliofilia*, 42, 1940, f. 348-354; "Albania graeca: përmasat e migrimeve shqiptare në Greqi në shek. XIV", në *Pëllumb Xhufi, Arbërit e Jonit, studime për Shqipërinë mesjetare*, Tiranë: Pegi, 2006, f. 338, 349, 350.

Albanians coming there from Thessaly or from the possession of the Duchy of Athens. On 20 April 1402, the Senate of Venice decided about "the peopling of our island of Negroponte" (*pro apopulando insulam nostram Nigropontis*). In that occasion, every Albanian or other individual, that would not be a Venetian national, which within two years from the publication of that decision wanted to come and to be settled in that island along with his family, could do that with the privilege of the permanent exclusion from every feudal or national obligation (*et sint eterunt perpetuo liberi et absolute ab omni angaria reali et personali*). Moreover, to the Albanian emigrants would be given lands from the public fund, fallowed but fertile soils when labored (*et sibi donabuntur de terrenis nostri comunis incultis, que tamen sint apta ad laborandum*).²¹ Every head of a family should be equipped with a horse, with which had to be presented for the defense of the island any time was required from the Venetian authorities. If the subject in word died, the land and the privileges together with the military obligations were inherited from his son.²² Indeed, this measure gave immediate outcome, because on 1425 in Negroponte, under the encouragement of the Venetian authorities, continued to enter big groups of Albanian colons.

This is the first document that proves to us the birth of an emblematic figure in the history of the Western Balkan and Europe in the XIV-

²¹ *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV* (hereinafter: *Acta Albaniae Veneta*), ed. G. Valentini, pars I, tomus 3, Rudolf Trofenik Verlag, München: 1967, nr. 949, f. 306; Freddy Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Senat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, vëll. II, Paris: 1959, nr. 1051, f. 26

²² "*Intellectis literis vestris, quibus nobis significastis, quod certa capita Albanensium ducaminis et diversorum locorum numero familiarum trecentarum intraverunt insulam et illam volunt habitare, quorum adventus videtur summe placere comunitati nostre Nigropontis... quod dicti tales Albanenses et alia gens equestris, teneantur tenere tot equos, quor homines capita familie erunt nunc, nec possint recedere de dicta insula sine licentia dicti Regiminis, sed teneantur et debeant omni vice qua erit necesse equitare et ire ad deffensionem insule, et offensionem quorumcumque volentium dannificare insulam nostram predictam*". Apparently, towards this big mass of people, bringing in their families, the living stock and every other asset of theirs (*complures Albanenses... cum familiis, animalibus et aliis bonis suis*), the Venetians governors of the island didn't lack to try to gain the profits from the occasion, by burdening the new colons with arbitrary taxes, what brought the reaction of the Senate, who ordered its administrator in Euboea to immediately give back to Albanians every asset, stock and money that unjustly was taken from them. *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars I, tomus 3, nr. 949, pg. 306; F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Senat ...*, vol. II, nr. 1051, f. 26.

XVII centuries, that of Albanian "*Stratiot*" ²³. Very soon, this term became of the day and the Albanians started more and more to be identified with it. With this system, mainly from the Albanian colons established in the continental Greece, Peloponnese and in the islands at the end of the XIV century, Venice achieved to mobilize many strong military forces that defended its possessions. Establishing the military service as a condition to allow the settling in a territory of its jurisdiction, the Venetians contributed a lot in the militarizing of the Albanian society and in the Albanian colonization orientation towards a military colonization.²⁴ In the beginning, the principal activity of the coming Albanians was evidenced the work in agriculture and farming. A Byzantine source of the XV century describes how the Albanian emigrants deforested and placed under other cultures entire abandoned territories of Peloponnese. The same source also speaks on the ability of the comers in farming, while describes the innumerable herds of cows, horses, sheep and pigs of the Albanian farmers in the fields of Ioulida²⁵. However, in the circumstances of war in Greece and Peloponnese, aggravated with the manifestation of the Turkish menace, made that the coming Albanians to be moreover oriented towards military exercises. Since 1425, a verdict of the Senate of Venice sanctioned that "the Albanians should secure us the rule on all of Morea and must protect every our possession from the Turks and from any other enemy".²⁶ Anyhow, the military activity of the Morea Albanians was accompanied from that of farming and these activities were harmonized one to another. In fact, do not lack the information that show how these farmer-warriors

²³Indeed, the *Stratiots*, as warrior-farmers, also existed in the last century of the Byzantine Empire, nonetheless their importance was negligible. See: Georg Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes de l'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine*, Paris: 1956, p.22vj.; Božidar Ferjančić, "Quelques signification du mot stratiote dans les chartes de basse Byzance", in ZRVI, 21, Beograd: 1982, p. 95-102; Angeliki Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Later Byzantine Empire*, Princeton: 1977, p.140, 142; David Jacoby, *Laféodalité en Grèce médiévale. Les Assises de Romanie*, Paris:1971,p.248.

²⁴"Albania Graeca": përmasat dhe pasojat emigrimeve shqiptare në Greqi në shek. XIV", in Pëllumb Xhufi, *Dilemat e Arbërit*, Tiranë: Pegi, 2006, p.364.

²⁵ S. Lambros, "Georgiou Gemistou eis Epitaphion Manueltou Palaiologou ...", p.5, 40-42,195; D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée...*, vol. II, p.32.

²⁶Constantinos Sathas, *Documents inédits ou peu connus relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyenâge*, vol.I, Paris:1880, p.176.

sometimes abandoned their task to take care about their families²⁷, or to work in the fields²⁸.

When starting from the half of the XV century, the pressure of the new Ottoman invaders became irresistible, the Republic of Venice was forced to surrender these possessions and to displace many of the Albanian Stratiots together with their families in its possessions in Crete, Cyprus, Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Corfu and also in other possessions in Albania, Dalmatia and Italy. Outside Morea, these groups of Albanian soldier-colons were identified according to their origin, as "Albanians from Korona", "Albanians from Modona", "Albanians from Nauplion" and "Albanians from Malvasia or Monemvasia"²⁹.

The extraordinary dynamics that involved the Albanian element in Greece in the half of the XV-XVI centuries, is materialized in a concentrated way on the bibliography of some of the most distinguished Albanian leaders of Morea (Peloponnese). Thus, in the 1470s a certain Krokodil Klada from Korona was under the service of Venice in defense of the Venetian castle of Bardhuna and further that of Korona, in the region of Mani³⁰. The peace signed between Venice and the High Porte after the surrender of Shkodra on 1479, was not welcomed from the Albanian captain, who the same year raised the flag of rebellion by refusing to obey to the Republic and continuing to attack the Turkish garrisons and convoys in Morea. With him joined also the other Albanian Striot leader as Teodor Bua and Meksha Buziki³¹.

In accordance with the clauses of peace, the Turks asked to the

²⁷ "non debbia ripossar suxo i Stratioti, perche a questo ponto gran parte de quelli si ritrasse di campo, zioè Albanexi per andar a guardar le loro fameie et remaxeno pochi in campo", Constantinos Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen âge*, vol. VI, Paris: 1885, f. 14.

²⁸ "lassar essi Stratioti a tagliar et recoger le sue biave", "i detti Stradioti, lavorando i terreni", C. Sathas, *Documents inédits ...*, vol. VI, p. 133, 159.

²⁹ S. Lambros, "Metanasteusis Ellenon idios Peloponnesion apoikon eis to Basileion tes Neapoleos", in *Neos Ellenomnemon*, tomos II: 31 dicembre 1911, teuchos 4, Athens: 1911, f. 413-414, 441-442 (*Albanesi Coronei*); ASV, *Sen. Mar.*, f. 30: 29 qershor 1564 (*Napoletani, Malvasiotti*); ASV, *Sen. Mar.*, filza 58: 10 April 1574 (*Albanesi Napolitani et Medonei*).

³⁰ On Krokodil Klada and other Albanian Stratiots in Peloponnese see: C. Sathas, *Documents inédits ...*, vol. I, p. XXII; *ibid.*, vol. V, Paris: 1984, p. 31, 152; *ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 120, 129, 211, 237, 244, 153; Franz Babinger, "Albanische Stratiotenim Dienste Venedigs", in *Studia Albanica*, nr. 2, Tiranë: 1964, p. 101 and the following. From the report of Jacob Barbarigos, 1465, we learn that the commander of the castle of Bardhuna at that time was Epifan Klada (C. Sathas, *Documents inédits ...*, vol. VI, 48).

³¹ C. Sathas, *Documents inédits ...*, vol. VI, p. 148, 159.

Venetian authorities of Korona to punish the rebel Stratiot. The Senate of Venice decided on 8 January 1480, that Klada to be proclaimed enemy, to be arrested from the governor of Korona and to be executed.³² Indeed, the one who was captured from the Venetian governor of Malvasia was Teodor Bua³³, meanwhile Krokodil Klada together with his family achieved to escape and to be settled in the Kingdom of Naples, rival of Venice. Together with many other Albanian leaders, Klada fought for the protection of Otranto from the Ottoman attacks. In the spring of 1481, the position of the Ottoman forces engaged in the expedition in Otranto, had become difficult and in the summer of that year, the King of Naples sent in the shores of Vlora, Gjon Kastrioti, the son of Scanderbeg in supporting an anti Ottoman rebellion erupted in the areas of Kurvelesh and Himara. Together with Gjon Kastrioti, in this expedition the king Ferdinand sent another Gjon's cousin, Kostandin Muzakë Karli, and also Krokodil Klada of Korona, that one who was above mentioned and a year ago had arrived in Naples from Morea's Mani (*etiam mandò Clade de Coron, el qual era fugido dal Brazo de Maina*)³⁴. It's known in that occasion the rebellion forces liberated nearly 50 villages of that territory and on August 31st captured the castle of Himara and took as prisoner Vlora's Sulejman Bey. But, a year later, the effects of this victory were faded and during a battle in Himara, Krokodil Klada was taken prisoner from the Turks and was dismembered by them.³⁵ For his services, Krokodil Klada was rewarded from the King Ferdinand with the title "*magnificus*" and with a pension of 300 ducats.³⁶

A greater family and more known than that of Krokodil Klada, represented its friend in arms in the rebellion of 1479 in Peloponnese, Teodor Bua. According to an information of November 1480,

³²C. Sathas, *Documents inédits* ..., vol. I, f. 273-274.

³³C. Sathas, *Documents inédits* ..., vol. VI, f. 180.

³⁴"*quello insieme con un suo cusin et molti Albanesi havea conlui, homeni valenti, mandò con alcune galie dell'armata sua Regiain ditte parte, con le quale ti ammandò Clade de Coron, el qual era fugido dal Brazo de Maina*", C. Sathas, *Documents inédits* ..., vol. VI, p.229; Injac Zamputi, *Dokumenta të shekullit XV për historinë e Shqipërisë*, vol. 4 (1479-1506), part I (1479-1499), Tiranë, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë, 1967, p.70.

³⁵"*detto Capitano Concordilli fù da Turchi tagliato à pezzi alla Cimera*", ASV, *Sen. Mar*, filza 25: memorial of Teodor Klada, 18 December 1561; K. Sathas, *Ellenika Anekdotia*, vol. I, Athens: 1867, p. LV.

³⁶ Injac Zamputi, *Dokumenta të shekullit XV për historinë e Shqipërisë*..., vol. 4 (1479-1506), part I (1479-1499), p.70.

Teodor Bua rebelled against the Venetian authorities and together with some loyal men fled to Argos, where captured a number of Turkish soldiers working the land. From there, Teodor went in the region of Mani, where joined Krokodil Klada and both troubled the peace of Venice with the Sultan.³⁷ To their group also joined the other leader of the Stratiots, Meksha Buziqi. Venice send other Stratiots to capture them and to chain them, but the latter turned back with the justification that "didn't want to do such a thing because were of the same nationality with the rebels" (*excusandose non li haver possuto prender, e questo per esser de una nation non li ha voluto prender*)³⁸. Nonetheless their familieis were taken hostage, Teodor Bua and Meksha Buziqi, as the Venetian governor reported, "continued to kidnap and kill Turkish nationals that are our friends and neighbors and putting in danger with this behavior the peace between us".³⁹ The situation seemed to have been improved for the Venetians and for their relations with the Ottomans when during a clash, TeodorBuawas encaptured from the Mayor (Podestà) of Monemvasia.⁴⁰ Except Teodor, the Venetians sources mention other leaders from this family as Pirro and Gjin Bua, also a cousin of theirs converted to Islam, HamzaBua(*Cacamusa Bua Turco, zerman cusin deli spectabili Piro e Ghini Bua*)⁴¹. From this family was renowned also Pjetër Bua, who on 1559 gained an important post in the Venetian administration of Corfu, while on 1571 was celebrated in the famous battle of Lepanto.⁴² Still more known is the fact that Pjetër was his relative, Mërkur Bua. Leading of cavalry troops of Albanian Stratiots (*capitaine decent homes de guerre à cheval albanays*), as he says in an open statement of 17 June 1506⁴³, Mërkur Bua was engaged at the service of some European countries, starting from the Republic of Venice the Kingdom of Spain, that of France and concluding with the

³⁷C.Sathas, *Documents inédits...*, vol. VI, p.148.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p.175.

³⁹"non cessa ala giornata de predar et amazar Turchi et suo subditi, nostri amici e vicini, con la deturbation de la pace", *ibid*, p.175.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.180.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.84.

⁴²Émile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique, ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, vol.I, Paris: Ernest Leroux éd., 1885, p.CCV.

⁴³*Ibid*.

Papacy and the German Empire itself.⁴⁴

From Morea towards other fronts

The peace of 1479 with the Ottoman Empire made possible for Venice to move away from Morea a unit of Stratiots and to place them in other possessions, where were required enforcements with supplementary troops. Thus, in the case of the Ottoman expedition in Otranto, which sailed from the base of Vlora, the Senate feared a possible attack against the Venetian Durrës, therefore on 22 September 1480 decided to establish in this city 300 Stratiots from the Morea's Korona under the command of Dhimitër Bokali⁴⁵. Enforcement with supplementary troops were demanded in that time also from the islands of Ion. On 1487, were required to be brought in Zakynthos approximately 400 new colons, which had to be able for war, therefore should have been Stratiots. As the Albanian colons of Negroponte on 1402, also to these Stratiots, Venice offered "*terrena ad culturam pro alimento eorum ac familiarum*" (arable lands when they could feed themselves and their families). From the other side, the colon-Stratiots were sure that will not give a penny to the Venetian noble also the task (*absque angaria contribuenda dominio decimam aliquam*) and finally, for the months they would serve in the army, would be paid three ducats per month.⁴⁶

On 1499-1503, the Republic of Venice waged war to the Sublime Porte and her possessions in Morea which became a harsh war theatre. In July 1500, the Ottoman troops by attack conquered the castle of Modona, one of the main bases of the Venetian rule in Peloponnese and in the entire East.⁴⁷ On 16 August surrendered to the Turks the other Venetian baluard in Peloponnese's Mani, Korona and further Xonkio.⁴⁸

⁴⁴P.Petta, *Stradioti, soldati albanesi in Italia (sec. XV-XIX)...*, p.100.

⁴⁵A little bit later he was wounded during a battle against the Turks near Kruja, see: C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, vol.VII, Paris: 1888, p.24.

⁴⁶I. Zamputi, *Dokumenta të shekullit XV...*, vol.4, part I (1479-1499), p. 102.

⁴⁷Gaetano Cogo, "La guerra di Venezia contro i Turchi (1499-1503)", in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 18/1-2, Venezia: 1899, p. 374-379; Alberto Tenenti, "I corsari in Mediterraneo all'inizio del Cinquecento", in *Rivista Storica Italiana* LXXII, 1960, p. 251.

⁴⁸Marino Sandnudo, *Diarii*, vol. III, Venezia,: Formi Editore, 1880, col. 770.

Earlier, the Venetians have lost Lepanto and Cephalonia. This last island of Ion, the Republic conquered again from the Turks on 24 December 1500, thanks to the help received from the Spanish, Neapolitan, French and Papal fleets.⁴⁹ Only a few days after, on 18 January 1501, the Senate decided that in that island to be urgently brought in the biggest possible number of Stratiots from Morea.⁵⁰ On the bases of that decision, during all the first half of the XVI century, from the region of Mani came to be settled in Cephalonia many Stratiot families. Thus, on 1535 three Albanian Stratiots, Gjon Kutuvali, Donato Peta and Gjon Snati, after served Venice in Modona, were allowed to be settled in Cephalonia, as they had required, where would be granted lands to work.⁵¹ From Modona were settled in Cephalonia also the Stratiots of the family Këmbëthekra (*Cambotechra*)⁵². Their leader on 1548 was Andrea, Stratiot captain (*capostratioti*)⁵³. His two sons Aleksandër and Nikolla, and another Helia Këmbëthekra, certainly their relative, also served as Stratiot captains in Cephalonia during 1550⁵⁴. On 1568, Andruco Këmbëthekra served in that island with a company of 50 Stratiots.⁵⁵ Offspring of the families Lëkurësi (*Licuressi*), Fuga (*Fuca*), Frassina, Bineri (*Vineri*), Kokla, Galanxhi (*Calenci*), Vllami (*Valami*), Kasneci, Snati, Bua, Barbati and also direct descendants of the families Reçi, Dajçi (*Daiça*), Kelmendi, that likely would come from the Upper Albania, have left Modona, Korona, Nauplion and Monemvasia (Malvasia) taking shelter in the islands of Ion, in Cephalonia and

⁴⁹*Ibid*, col. 1272-1277; G.Cogo, "Laguerra di Venezia contro i Turchi...", p.406- 407.

⁵⁰ "vadano a stantiar alla Cephalonia, siccome hanno ricercato per habitar più che si può quell'isola nostra con darli di quelli terreni che si suoleno dare a quelli vanno ad habitare de lì, juxta la parte del 1501 adì 18 genaro", ASV, *Sen. Mar*, reg. XXIII, f. 91, 92.

⁵¹"vadano a stantiar alla Cephalonia, siccome hanno ricercato per habitar più che si può quell'isola nostra con darli di quelli terreni che si suoleno dare a quelli vanno ad habitare de lì, juxta la parte del 1501 adì 18 genaro", ASV, *Sen. Mar*, reg. XXIII, f. 91, 92.

⁵² ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 32: in Senate, 2 June 1565.

⁵³ ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 5, fol.552^r: in Senate 27 April 1548.

⁵⁴ ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 5, fol.552^r: in Senate 27 April 1548; ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 8, fol. 312^r: in Senate 21 November 1551; ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 5, fol.551^r: in Senate 27 April 1548. On 1578 it is spoken for a son of Aleksandër Këmbëthekra, Benet, who was distinguished for bravery during the recent war against the Turks (1571) and since then was captain of a company with 50 knights in Cephalonia. See: ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 71: in Senate, 10 May 1578.

⁵⁵"io Andruzo Combotechra...fiol del Capitano Alessandro suo capo de cavalli 50 destinato alla custodia della Ceffallonia", ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 39: in Senate, 3 July 1568.

Zakynthos, where most of them continued their odyssey as military at the service of Venice or Naples, in Dalmatia and in Italy.⁵⁶ The flowing of the Albanian refugees in the Ion's islands at Venice possession, continued also in the later decades. On 25 June 1615, the doge Memo instructed the administrator Grimani, to show attention towards the refugees arriving in the Ionian islands from Morea's Mani: nonetheless their number was limited, he had to try to accommodate them. If their number was big, he secretly had to displace them towards other countries, likely towards Southern Italy.⁵⁷ At that time, the Republic was enjoying a long peace with the Ottoman Empire and the demand for Albanian Stratiots has visibly fallen.

According to Corfu, there was located a company of Stratiots from Nauplion and from Modona, all of them Albanians (*tutti Albanesi Napolitani et Medonei*), which were distinguished in the fighting against the Ottoman Turks during 1571-1572 both in Corfu and Sopot (Borsh) and Margëlliç of Lower Albania.⁵⁸ On 1545, Gjergj Buziqi (Zorzi Busichio), that once has been a commander of Stratiots in Nauplion, served in Corfu in the company of his brother, *Repossi Busichio*.⁵⁹

Aleks Kambera was on 1558 commander of a unit of 15 Albanian stratiots in charge of defending Corfu (*alla custodia dell'isola nostra di Corfù*)⁶⁰. Another Albanian commander of Stratiots, *Zorzi Barbat*, on

⁵⁶ ASV, *Senato Mar*, reg. 22, fol. 152^r: në Pregadi, 28 August 1532 (*Andrea Licuressi, Pietro Frassina*); ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 70: In Senate, 4 November 1577 (*Fuca, Vineri*); ASV, *Senato Mar*, filza 39: in Pregadi, 8 May 1568 (*Bitri Cocla, quondam Gigni da Malvasia*); ASV, *Senato Mar*, reg. 15, fol. 87^v: in Pregadi, 3 July 1501.

⁵⁷ “*ma se qualcuno si ricovrasse, mostrar di non avvedersi et essendovi passati in numero considerabile, sieno segretamente licenziati*”, Injac Zamputi, *Dokumente të shek. XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë*, vol. III (1603-1621), Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Tiranë: 1989, p.323.

⁵⁸ “*è à tale termine redutta la sua povera stratia de Corphu tanto valorosa et sua benemerita quanto gli è noto poiche sono tutti Albanesi Napolitani et Medonei che per la sua fideità hanno voluto lassare la patria et beni loro, et ne la passata guerra turchesca hanno fatto tal servitù che si fussero stati 500 più non haverebbero fatto poi che pochissimi fecero strapazzo grandissimo de Turchi quali in tutte le isole mettendo l'armata in terra dismantavano senza cavalli 23 in Candia, Zante et Zaffalonia et à Corphù mai ossorno dismantar per il gran travaglio c'havavano da ditta cavallaria salvo quando ricondussero cavalli 800 con quali la sua stratia combatete a S. Rocho valorosamente et con tutti gli altri de l'armata sempre è stata la prima à combater si ne le isole di Corphù, Margaretin, Sopotè et ogni altro loco come sano gli suoi Cl.mi generali, proveditori, Baili et Capitani*”, ASV, *Sen. Mar*, filza 58: 10 April 1574.

⁵⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, reg. 28, fol. 80^v: 24 September 1545.

⁶⁰ ASV, *Senato Mar*, reg. 34 (1558-1559), fol. 46^v: 22 October 1558.

1597 replaced Spiro Barbati, his brother to the leadership of a Stratie in Corfu.⁶¹ The Barbati had come to Corfu from Korona of Mani (Morea)⁶². Apparently, Corfu was not their last station. Vincenzo Dorsa reveals to us that the Barbati family results to be one of the founding families of Piana degli Albanesi (Palermo, Sicily).⁶³

On 1576, the Venetian bailos, Fabioda Canale, informed that he had trusted the defense of Corfu to a unit of 50 Stratiots under the command of the captain Muzaka⁶⁴. This should be the same captain *Tomaso Musachi*, who after some years commanded in Corfu 65 Stratiots, "*tutti valorosi soldati et molto fidelissimi*".⁶⁵

Except the Stratiots units coming from Morea, in Corfu is continuously registered a big presence of the Albanian population, which was systematically fulfilled with refugees coming from the shores of Delvina sandjak. On 25 February 1616, the Venetian captain-administrator, Antonio Ciurano, informed the Senate that in the island were counted approximately 4 thousand Albanians. That year in Corfu had come from the front coasts entire groups of Albanians, "which brought to that country a great benefit, cultivating the lands left fallow and doing other useful jobs".⁶⁶

As in the neighboring Cephalonia, also in Corfu, the Venetians decided to reduce at the minimum the number of the Albanian Stratiots when the tensions with the Sublime Porte reached their lowest point.

⁶¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, reg. 57, fol. 11^r: 31 March 1597.

⁶² S. Lambros, "Metanasteusis Ellenon idios Peloponnesion apoikon eis to basileion ...", f. 456. Nevertheless, on 1537 we find an offspring of Barbati family, serving in Corfu, but was of Nauplion origin (*Gionni Barbati da Napoli di Romania*), shih: ASV, *Sen. Mar*, filza 5, fol. 178^{rv}

⁶³ Vincenzo Dorsa, *Su gli Albanesi. Ricerche e pensieri*, Napoli: tipogr. Trani, 1847, p. 74.

⁶⁴ "haver alla custodia di quell'isola cinquanta cavalli levantini...la qual strattia è stata retta ed disciplinata nel mio reggimento dal fedelissimo cavalla Musacchi suo governatore", Gerasimos D. Pagkrates, *Oi ektheseis ton Veneton bailon kai pronoeton tes Kerkyras (16 aionos)*, Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, Athinë: 2008, p. 172.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Some years later this company was compound of 77 knights chaired by 4 Albanian captains and one governor called Nikollë Vllami: "un governor et 4 capitani Albanesi con 77 cavalli, compresi regazzi, il governatore Nicolò Vlami", G.D. Pagkrates, *Oi ektheseis ton Veneton bailon tes Kerkyras*...p. 221.

⁶⁶ "... senza toccar punto gli Albanesi, i quali sono circa à quattromille anime, et questo anno ne sono molte famiglie venute ad habitar quà, colche ne riceve questa isola un notabilissimo servitio per la quantità de terreni che riducono à coltura et per altre buone opere, che fanno, e spero che ogni giorno più si veniranno ad accasare per il buon trattamento che loro vien fatto, et l'utile che cavano dal lavorar la terra", ASV, *Dispacci Corfù*, b. 10 (1615-1616): raport nga Korfuzi i proveditor-kapitenit Antonio Ciurano, 25 February 1616.

Thus, on 1638, the administrator-captain of Corfu received orders from the Senate, to not engage new Stratiots and to not replace those who were dead. In this way, reasoned the Senate, by diminishing them, "the day would come when this troupe would e self extinguished" (*In maniera che sempre diminuendosi essa soldatesca, alla fine cadesse da se stessa*).⁶⁷

Beyond the case of Krokodil Klada from Mani's Korona and others like him that ended in the Kingdom of Naples after the conflicts they had with the Venetian governors of Morea, was the Republic of Venice itself that paved the way to the organized establishment of Albanian Stratiots in the territories of that kingdom. This happened in the occasion of the campaign in 1494 of the King Charles VIII of France in the Southern Italy. The Venetians, which until then had have conflict relations with the other Italian states, as to be accused as " *auctores malorum Italiae* " ⁶⁸, this time joined the Aragon of Naples and their allies to stop the invasion of the French towards the shores of the Adriatic, where directly were affected the interests of the Republic. For the contribution given in pushing back the offensive of Charles VIII, the Venetians were rewarded from the king Ferdinand of Naples by granting them the coastal hubs of Monopoli, Polignano, Mola, Trani, Brindisi, Otranto, which remained for some years under the Venetian jurisdiction.⁶⁹ There, by order of the Senate were brought many companies of Stratiots from Morea, where on 1500 the Turks have occupied Korona, Modona and other Venetian castles. Among the captains coming from Morea and the islands of Ion that were established since time ago in the Kingdom of Naples, was also Gjon Muzaka, who on 1502 was carrying the duty of the admiral (*amiraro*) on behalf of the Brindision Republic.⁷⁰

After its inclusion within the empire of Charles V, the Kingdom of Naples, already with the status of the subkingdom, took the role of an vanguard of the Catholic Europe in the clashes with the Ottoman Empire,

⁶⁷ASV, *Dispacci Corfù*, b. 19 (year 1635-6): report of the administrator-captain Pietro Loredano, Corfu, 2 February 1638.

⁶⁸ ASV, *Sen. Mar.*, b. 35, c. 28: 24 September 1494

⁶⁹Giovanni J. Cassandro, "Contributo alla storia della dominazione venetian Puglia", in *Archivio Veneto*, Real Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, anno LXV, 5serie, nr.33, Venezia:1935, p.13; Pëllumb Xhufi, *Arbërit e Jonit Vlora, Delvina e Janina në shekujt XV-XVII*, Tiranë: Onufri, 2017², p.287.

⁷⁰M. Sanudo, in: Injac Zamputi, *Dokumente për Historinë e Shqipërisë 1479-1506*, pj. II (1499-1506), Tiranë: 1979, p. 324.

whose borders started in the eastern coast of the Adriatic.⁷¹ For nearly a century the Spaniards tried to encourage in Albania and Morea armed rebellions, to do sabotage acts and to convolve a wide net of informers.⁷² Starting from 1530, at the head of these activities was appointed Alfonso Kastriot Vranaj, marquis of Atripalda and nephew of Scanderbeg. Such a choice was evidence of the fact that the Spanish of Naples counted on Albanians may those be settled in the territories of the Kingdom of Naples or may they continue to people the countries of the Western Balkan, as the principal factor for their actions in those parts. This was imposed not only by their big presence, from the Bay of Kotor to the Peloponnese, but also from their military spirit that they have proved in their ceaseless rebellions against the Ottoman invaders. Not in vain, the Italian humanist Francesco Filelfo stated that the Albanians were the only nation who stood against the Turks.⁷³ In these conditions, the selection of Atripalda's marquis, nephew of Scanderbeg, was also a wish of Albanians. In their letter of 14 August 1532, the leaders of Himara-Labëria informed the marquis that "the people of those parts, old and young, enjoyed when came to know that Your Lordship are Albanian".⁷⁴ Even after Alfonso Kastriot Vrana, on 1571 his role was undertaken from another Albanian, this time from the diaspora of Morea, captain Jeronim Kombi. Kombi belonged to those families of Albanian Stratiots from Monemvasia and from Nauplion (*Napoli di Romania*), that on 1541 were transferred by the Venetians from Morea to Cyprus, were granted lands and ordered to defend the island⁷⁵. After the occupation of Cyprus from the Turks on 1570, Kombi passed at the service of the Spanish along with 200 knights recruited in Albania. With them, Kombi carried different

⁷¹Peter Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen spanischer Monarchie und osmanischem Reich*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, f. 37 ongoing.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p.38; P.Xhufi, *Arbërit e Jonit...*, p.1107-1114.

⁷³"*soli ex omnibus nationibus intra Istrum et Hadriam ad Italiae fines et fortissime Turcos semper substituerunt*", Odorico Rinaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno MCXVIII*, bot. J. D. Mansi, vëll. X, Lucca: Leonardo Venturini, 1753, p. 365; Fan Noli, "Histori e Skënderbeut", in *Vepra* 4, edit. in chief, P. Bogdani, Akademia e Shkencave, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë: 1989, p. 235.

⁷⁴"*li havemo facto cognoscere como la Signoria Vostra è Albanese, de questo sta più gaudente lo paese et piccoli et grandi*", José M. Floristan, "Los contactos de la Chimarra con el Reino de Napoles", në *Erytheia*, 11-12, Madrid: 1990-1991, f. 122-123, 133-134.

⁷⁵"*...l'anno 1541 fu dato ordine et conces so per parte presa nell' Ill.mo Senato a questo Regimento, che a Napoletani et Malvasioti fussero assignati tanti terrenida publico in questo Regno*", ASV, *Sen. Mar.*, filza 30: 29 June 1564.

missions in Milano, Savoia, Ferrara, Piedmont and "in Albania's Himara" (*enla Cimarra de Albania*)⁷⁶. Under his command were the captains Nikolla Renësi, Gjon Golemi, Pal Karuka, Dhimitër Golemi, Stefan Krizia (Kryeziu), Gjon Skura, Gjon Plesha, Guljelm Arianiti, Mihal Bua, Zef Muzaka⁷⁷. On 1592, Kombi the head of his Stratiots was sent at Pope's aid in Rome when he achieved to put the order in the city which was seriously harmed from the turmoil.⁷⁸ Further, Kombi was ordered with the delicate task that had carried before him Alfonso, marquis of Atripalda. The documents of the time qualify him as "the head of the informers...that organizes every action carried in Albania" (*capo dellespie...per lemani del quale passano tutti imaneggi di Albania*)⁷⁹. Kombi was the person that welcomed the escaped Albanians from the eastern coasts of the Adriatic and Ion, and many of them he organized and sent with military or intelligence missions in Albanian and Greece. It's awesome that this cosmopolitan character, born and raised away from Albania, the same as the above mentioned marquis of Atripalda, declared that was "Albanian" and fellow compatriot of Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg.⁸⁰ The king of Naples preferred him for the intelligence missions in Albania and Greece, because as it's said in a decree issued on him, "he spoke the Greek and the Albanian language and also wrote them".⁸¹ In a memorial of 1619 on the King of Spain, Jeronim Kombi evokes the great services the Albanians had done to the Crown of Spain and especially "at the time of the prince Scanderbeg, when he arrived with ships in the territories of that kingdom and marched towards Barlettato free king Ferrante from

⁷⁶José M. Floristan, *Fuentes para la política oriental de los Austrias: la documentación griega del Archivo de Simancas (1571-1621)*, vëll. I, Leon: Universidad de Leon, 1988, f. 94, nore. 48; P. Xhufi, *Arbërit e Jonit ...*, p. 705.

⁷⁷P. Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen spanischer Monarchie ...*, p. 151, note. 27.

⁷⁸José M. Floristan, "Jeronimo Combis, capitán de estradiotes y superintendente general del servicio español de espionaje en Nápoles", në *Erytheia* 36, Madrid: 2015, p. 179, 180.

⁷⁹J. Tomić, *Graća za istoriju pokreta na Balkanu protiv Turaka krajem XVI i početkom XVII veka*, vol. I, Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1933, p. 703.

⁸⁰J. M. Floristan, "Jeronimo Combis, capitán de estradiotes ...", p. 186, 187; P. Xhufi, *Arbërit e Jonit ...*, p. 704, 706.

⁸¹"si esperienze per simil negotio poiche li conveniva per simil negotio non solo à saper la lingua grecha, et albanesa come lo sa, ma anche scriverle", P. Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen spanischer Monarchie...*, p. 148.

the encirclement of his French enemies".⁸² We recall that on 1557, a certain Gjon Herakli, also he Albanian from Morea, in a letter for the King of Naples proudly refers to Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg and also pretending to be his cousin.⁸³ The examples show that at least in the Albanian diaspora elite in Greece, Scanderbeg's figure was very known even why the Albanian emigration in Greece belonged to the end of the XIV century and has not lived in the age of Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg.

After the XVI century, the Kingdom of Naples, daughter kingdom of the Spanish crown, seemed that outnumbered Venice in recruiting Albanian warriors. The presence of these warriors in the military structures of the kingdom, is proved by a post mortem inscription of 1608 in the Orthodox church of Saints Peter and Paul in Naples, which speaks for two commanders of an Albanian Stratiot unit of 300 persons.⁸⁴ Exactly, in the beginning of the XVII century is noticed a feverish campaign of recruitments from the part of the Neapolitans in all the coastal extension from Dhërmito Parga (*da Drimades fino alla Parga*)⁸⁵. By no doubt was related to the active role that the Spanish undertook in that time in the war against the Ottoman Empire. In their war plans, the Albanians occupied a first hand place.⁸⁶ Based on the Venetian experience, the Spanish of Naples could not avoid to praise in those moments of clashes with the Ottomans, the role of the Stratiots, of these soldiers on horses (*soldatià cavallo*),⁸⁷ that once on 1498, have astonished the French chronicler Philippe de Commines who has seen them in action.⁸⁸

⁸²"nell'epoca del principe Scanderbeg, quando passarono con le navi nei territori di quel regno per andar a Barletta e liberar il Re Ferrante dall'assedio dei suoi nemici francesi",

⁸³J. M. Floristan, "Jeronimo Combis, capitan de estradiotes ...", f. 186.

⁸⁴"Qui riposano i due fratelli Capitani di una Compagnia ordinaria in questo regno, di trecento soldati a cavallo, nominati Sdradiotti, concessa dalla Real Corona di Spagna alla casa dei detti nobili Capitani Albanesi nell'anno 1608", see: *Dissertazione storico-cronologica del Regimento Real Macedone*, in Bologna: presso il Volpe, 1767, f. 46-47; Attanasio Leh, *cenno storico dei servigi militari prestati nel regno delle due Sicilie dai greci epiroti albanesi e macedoni in epoche diverse*, Corfù: 1843, p. 7

⁸⁵ASV, Dispacci Corfù, b. 10 (1615-1616): Report from Korfuzi of the administrator Vincenzo Grimani, 5 prill 1616.

⁸⁶P. Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen spanischer Monarchie ...*, passim.

⁸⁷ASV, Dispacci Corfù, b. 19 (year 1635-6): report of the administrator-captain Pietro Loredano, Corfù, 2 February 1638.

⁸⁸Ph. Commines, *Memorie*, Torino, 1960, p.477 and the following.

From Stratiots migration to communities' migration

On 1531, the Albanian inhabitants around the castle of Korona, in Morea's Mani, rebelled and after banning from there the Ottoman garrison, proclaimed that would put the castle and its territory under the sovereignty of king of Spain, Charles V. However, what is learned from a Memorandum of 1619 by Jeronim Kombi, after two years, the emperor decided to grant to the Turks Korona in exchange of the Nagyvarad castle in Hungary, that the Turks had captured from the imperial troops a few times ago⁸⁹. The news is confirmed also by a quotation that M. Mandalà has cited from Sicilian author of the XVI century, Tommaso Fazello⁹⁰. Thus, after giving up the castle, on 1533, the Albanian defenders of Korona sailed the ships of Andrea Doria, which were sent from the Viceroy of Naples, Pedro di Toledo, and headed towards Italy's shores.⁹¹

On this migratory wave from Mani towards the territories of the Kingdom of Naples, also speaks the Arbëresh author of the XVIII century, Pietro P. Rodotà.⁹² According to him, on 1532, the Albanians who had come times ago from Albania and established in the region of Korona in Morea, rebelled against the Ottoman invaders and with the help of the Spanish troops coming there to their aid, led by the fleet admiral Andrea Doria, could detach from the Turks the castle of Korona and all the villages around it. However, didn't pass much time and enormous Ottoman forces came there and after severe fighting, the Spanish decided to abandon the castle. A big fleet of 200 ships saved the

⁸⁹ “y los griegos en este mismo tiempo en la ciudad de Coron, de donde sacaron los Turcos y entregaron la dicha ciudad y dieron vasallaje al dicho emperador, y de alli a dos años haviendo capitulado la dicha Magestad Cessarea devolver la dicha ciudad de Coron a los Turcos para que ellos volviessen la de Varadino que avian ocupado in Ungria, eligieron los nobles, y con ellos muchos vezinos, más presto privarse de sus propios vienes y hazienda que quedar debaxo del dominio tiranico, por lo que se embarcaron en la armada de vuestra Majestad y vinieron a residir en el dicho reyno de Nápoles”, José Floristán, “Jerónimo Combis, capitán de estradiotes y superintendente general del servicio español de espionaje en Nápoles”, *Erytheia* 36, Madrid: 2015, f. 189.

⁹⁰ Matteo Mandalà, *Mundus vult decipi. I miti della storiografia arbëreshe*, Palermo: Mirror, 2007, f. 168.

⁹¹ P. P. Rodotà, *Dell'origine, progresso e stato presente ...*, vol. III, p. 54-58; Michelangelo Mendella, “Arruolamenti militari albanesi nel Regno di Napoli durante il Seicento”, në *Archivio Storico delle Province Napoletane*, XC, Napoli: 1973, p. 375

⁹² P. P. Rodotà, *Dell'origine, progresso e stato presente ...*, vol. III, p. 54-58.

Albanian rebels and their families from Sultan's revenge and brought them to the Italian shores. Their groups were settled in Barile, dioceses of Melfi, in San Demetrio (Shën Mitër) in the dioceses of Rossano and in San Benedetto Ullano, dioceses of Bisignano.⁹³ Rodotà also writes that as locality where were settled the refugees from Korona was also the village of Maschito, in Basilicata⁹⁴. Exactly there, the data of Rodotà as belong to the coming of the refugees from Korona of Mani (Peloponnese) and their establishment in the locality of Maschito, find support also in the documents of Naples' Archive, respectively in the account book of the Kingdom of Naples (Regie Camere Summarie). In the registrations that belong to 1583, is spoken for a certain Mërkur Maneshi and his brother Andrea Maneshi, which in the registers is marked as "Greek from Korona born in this Kingdom, son of a refugee from Korona" (*Andrea Manes greco Coroneonato in Regnoda padre venutoda Coron*)⁹⁵. Together with him is also registered a certain Dhimitër Xhamataon which also is said that was "Greek from Korona born in this Kingdom", viz in the Kingdom of Naples (*Demitre Giamatta greco Coroneo nato in questo Regno*)⁹⁶. However, in the same document, the presentation of Dhimitër is further explained giving data on his father, Aleks. He, differently from his son, is presented as "Albanian koroné" (*Albanese Coroneo*): "Aleks in question was from a village called Kodon, situated ten miles away the castle of Korona, and at the time of its siege from the Turks got inside the walls, and fought until as many other Korona inhabitants were forced to leave and, sailing on the ship landed in the territory of the Kingdom of Naples, in Otranto, and from there went to Moschito, where was established and there was married and had two sons, Dhimitër and Karl"⁹⁷. The way how is registered the first generation of Maschito's inhabitants, Aleks Xhamata (*Albanese Coroneo*) clearly shows that in the case of Maschito, we have

⁹³Ibid, p.54-55.

⁹⁴Ibid, p.56.

⁹⁵S. Lambros, "Metanasteusis Ellenon idios Peloponnesion apoikon eis to Basileion ...", p. 444.

⁹⁶Ibid, p.441.

⁹⁷ "il detto Alesio padre di esso Diomitre era Albanese Coroneo de uno suo casale detto li Chodonì distante da detta città circa dece miglia, et che al tempo dell 'Assedio se ritirò dentro di essa, et che abandonata detta città se ne venne in questo regno sopra uno vascello in Otranto, et dopo passò in Maschito, dove se accasò et fè doi figli nomine Diomitre et Carlo", Ibid, p. 441-442.

to do with a colony of Albanians coming from Mani's Korona (Peloponnese) on 1533. "The Greek" attribution with which is presented his son Dhimitër Xhamata in the register of 1583, clearly refers to the "Greek" Byzantine rite that he and the other Albanian comers from Korona of Mani applied. As was noted above, in the same register in the acts of 1583, is also issued the certificate in favor of both brothers sons of refugees from Korona, belonging to the noble family of Maneshi, Andrea and Mërkur Maneshi. These, the same as Dhimitër Xhamata, are identified in the register after the religious belief: "Mërkur, brother of Andrea Maneshi, koroné Greek, born in the Kingdom of Naples from a father coming from Korona".⁹⁸ It's known that the Maneshi family was one of the distinguished families from Middle Albania. A man called Pal Maneshi has been cavalry commander and one of the most loyal generals of Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg in his battles against the Ottomans.⁹⁹ Even after the fall of Albania in the hands of the Ottomans, around 1608, a certain Idar Maneshi, a descendant of this family converted to Islam, ignited the spirit of the anti Ottoman rebellion in the territories of Mat and Mirdita.¹⁰⁰ There is no doubt that Mërkur and Andrea Maneshi, sons of a refugee established in Maschito from Morea, has its origin of its ancestors in the Middle Albania.

An earlier evidence issued from another inhabitant of Maschito, Gjon Madhi (*Giovani Mathes*), informs that Aleks Xhamata has been as soldier under his command during the siege of Korona, and both with many other Albanians left to be established in Maschito of Basilicata.¹⁰¹ About this family also speaks a memorial of 1588, written by Angelo Madhi, where is said that the grandfather of Angelo, *Lazzaro Mates*, left Albania at the end of the XV century and entered at the

⁹⁸ "si è comparso in questa Regia Camera per parte di Mercurio fratro di Andrea Manes greco Coroneo nato in Regno da padre venuto da Coron", *Ibid*, p. 444.

⁹⁹ "Paulus Manessi notus equestri gloria bellator", Marinus Barletius, *Historia de Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi, Epirotarum Principis*, Roma: Bernardinus de Vitalibus, s. a., p. 42

¹⁰⁰ "come dunque il fù detto potiano i Albanesi impatronirsi di quello luogo di sito forte et con tanto pressidio, risposero tutti duoi un dopo l'altro che si faria con intelligentia di figlioli di Albanesi fatti Turchi nominando per principale uno Ider Manessi Turco figliuolo di Albanese, il qual Ider che è fratel giurato di quel vescovo Steffanense si faria Christiano et è potente di dipendentie et faria lui solo più di 500 cavalli", dokumenti në: Gligor Stanojević, "Dokumenti o zavjeri Albanskih prvaka iz 1602 godine", in *Balkanica* 3, Belgrade: 1972, p. 313.

¹⁰¹ "ha mostrato patente del quondam Magnifico Giovan Matthes, per la quale appare Alexio Giamatta essere suo soldato", *Ibid*.

service of Naples' Ferdinand as cavalry captain. On 1507, in exchange for his services, the king Ferdinand granted him the village of Maschito, near Potenza (Basilicata), which the emperor Charles V confirmed to him with a special decree on 1519¹⁰². It comes out that the establishment of the refugees from Korona of Mani in the village Maschito of Basilicata, on 1533, was not a coincidence. The village in question was "discovered" since 1507 by L Lazar Madhi, coming from Albania, before going there from Korona another Madhi, the captain Gjon Madhi. He, together with "the koroné Albanian " Aleks Xhamata and other defenders of the castle of Korona, on 1533 were placed together with their families in the village of Maschito, which since 1507 was a feud of L Lazar Madhi from Albania. The Albanian colonisation of Maschito presents us an interesting case of the Albanian migration typology in Southern Italy, where in the same village, are established different waves of Albanian refugees, coming in different times, but also from different places. The fact that the village of Maschito was established from a member of the Madhi family coming from Albania, is not without importance to explain the arriving there years later from another area very distant from Albania from Mani of Morea of another member of this family the captain Gjon Madhi, likely kinship of this family. This shows that the belonging and the family connections compound an important line defining the direction of the Albanian emigration in the Middle Ages, as in the present days.

The history of the Albanian from Korona of Mani, Aleks Xhamata and of his captain Gjon Madhi, was a story of many other inhabitants of Maschito, his fellow contrymen, fellow warriors and fellow in misery, on which the Spain and Naples emperor Charles V, on 13 July 1534, proclaimed a list with privileges and rights.¹⁰³ From the fund of the Naeapolitan archive "Comune Sommarie" is also learned that in

¹⁰²José M. Floristán, "Societad, economia y religion en las comunidades griega y albanesa de Napoles y Sicilia: nuevos documentos ineditos", në *Erytheia* 37, Madrid: 2016, p. 132, 133.

¹⁰³"di privilgi franchezze, concesse per la felice memoria della Cesarea Maiestà di Carlo V all'università homeni et particolari persone della città di Coro ordinati per lo quondam Illustrissimo Don Pietro di Toledo olim Vecerè locotenente et Capitano Generale in questo Regno osservansi alli Greci Coronei venuti dopo l'impresa de'Turchi in questo predetto regno mediante suo opportuno privilegio ad beneplacitum Cesarearum et catholicarum Majestatum sotto la data nel Castello novo di questa città di Napoli a 13 Luglio 1534", S. Lambros, "Metanasteusis Ellenon idios Peloponnesion apoikon ...", p. 444.

July 1534, the emperor Charles V proclaimed the privileges also for the comers from Korona and established in Lipari (Sicily). I *Coronenses* living there, in this occasion enjoyed the same rights and immunities enjoying since 1502 also the inhabitants of Lipari.¹⁰⁴ On 1562, these privileges were reconfirmed to the Lipari's *Coronenses* after the demand presented by Nikolla Bartini, a noble *koroné* (*nobile Coronese*)¹⁰⁵. In the registers in question also was spoken about *Coronenses* settlements in Mesagne and in Massafra (Puglia).¹⁰⁶ All these facts, encourage us to see with doubt the affirmations of Paolo Petta and Matteo Mandalà, which are inclined to redimension the *Coronenses* problem in the Southern Italy, and also considering them of Greek and Latin origin.¹⁰⁷ That the Mani's *Coronenses* pretended to enjoy a special status, this is proven by the following episode. On 1570, the inhabitants of Mani with epicenter Korona, rebelled against the Sublime Porte and achieved to conquer a ruined castle controlled by the Turks. After that, a delegation of Mani's inhabitants was presented in Venice, promising that very soon would liberate all of Morea, which would surrendered to the Republic. As a reward, on 4 May 1571, the Senate decided to please their request and accepted them as Venetians nationals of Mani and recognized them the inherited title of "Morea's noble" to all the leaders of that region, by granting them all the honors, the advantages, the gains and every other benefit that the other nobles of that province enjoyed by freeing them from any other obligation and burden".¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴S. Lambros, "Metanasteusis Ellenon idios Peloponnesion apoikon ...", p. 413-414.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. 415.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p. 420, 456.

¹⁰⁷Paolo Petta, "L'esodo dei Coronei. Una pagina della storia degli Italo-Albanesi", in *Incontri Meridionali, rivista quadrimestrale di storia e cultura* 1/3, Cosenza: L. Pellegrini, 1996, p. 53; Matteo Mandalà, *Mundus vult decipi. I miti della storiografia arbëreshe*, Palermo: Mirror, s. a., p. 164, 180.

¹⁰⁸"che li detti fidelissimi nostri di Mayna siano accettati per nostri carissimi sudditi et figliuoli, et occorrer che per gratia della divina maestà favoriti dalla bona intentione col molto suo valore, s'impatronissero per nome nostro della Morea, et così deliberamo col Senato che li primarii della predetta Mayna et li loro heredi et dessendenti in perpetuo, siano nobeli d'essa Morea, et godino tutti li honori, preheminentie, utili et ogni altro beneficio c'hanno li altri nobili d'essa provintia, senza obbligo di pagar gravezza di sorte alcuna et oltra ciò", ASV, Sen. Mar, filza 48 (mars-gusht 1571): 4 May 1571, in Rogatis. But, on 14 May, the members of the Mani's envoy that continued to be in Venice, where also made part a certain Kalopet Fuga (*Calopeto Fuccha*), presented to the Senate the demand that all the inhabitants of Mani and not only the leaders, to be excluded from the burdens for the state of Venice. *Ibid.*

However, this was not the only evidence showing that the leading elite of the Coronenses enjoyed the tradition of a special treatment from the allied countries. Indeed, above we have mentioned the case of Nikolla Bartini, Coroneo of Lipari, that is registered as "*nobile Coroneo*".¹⁰⁹ Are enough the names of some other Coronenses in Morea and in the Ionian islands, in Italy and Dalmatia to judge their social status, at least to a consistent group of Albanians from Korona. Except the surnames Maneshi, Madhi, Bartini, Kunani that were quoted above, we also have a Gjergj Niksha from Korona, settled in Mesagne (*Giorgio Nichiscia*).¹¹⁰ On 1569, is mentioned a certain *Bardi Darada Coron*, Stratiot, who served in the company of Agostino Barbati, Trogir of Dalmatia.¹¹¹ We can guess that the captain Agostin Barbati was also like Bardhi Dara, from Korona. Anyhow, certainly from Korona was another offspring of Barbati family his contemporary, Luca Barbati (*Luca Barbato Coroneo*) who at that time lived in Masafra¹¹². The families Barbati and Dara are recognized as founders of Albanian settlements respectively of Piana degli Albanesi and of Palazzo Adriano, in Sicily¹¹³. Meantime, in Korona and Mani have remained not few descendants of renowned families, as we are left to understand by the case of Mani leaders among which was also Kalopet Fuga, which on 1571 received from the Senate of Venice the title of "noble of Morea". The name of a distinguished Albanian family from the Lower Albania also carried on 1570 the merchant Lekë Malakasi (*Lecca Malacassa da Coron*).¹¹⁴

A documentary source published by S. Lambros, and some earlier author like Pietro Pompilio Rodotà on 1758, speak for late migratory wave (1670), coming again from Morea's Mani but not ending in the territories of the Kingdom of Naples, but in those of the Big Duchy of Tuscany. The cause of it as it's understood was the inclusion of warrior inhabitants of Mani during the War of Candia (Crete) (1645-1669). In that occasion, the men of Mani took the arms against the Ottoman Turks aligning themselves at the side of the Republic of Venice. But as had

¹⁰⁹S. Lambros, "Metanasteusis Ellenon idios Peloponnesion apoikon ...", p. 415.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 420.

¹¹¹ASV, *Sen. Mar.*, filza 42 (August-October 1569).

¹¹²S. Lambros, "Metanasteusis Ellenon idios Peloponnesion apoikon ...", p. 456.

¹¹³V. Dorsa, *Su gli Albanesi. Ricerche e pensieri...*, p. 74.

¹¹⁴ASV, *Senato Mar.*, filza 46: in Pregadi, 25 September 1570.

previously happened¹¹⁵, with the ending of the war, the Mani inhabitants were abandoned from the Venetians. Were not included in the peace treaties and were left alone to face the Sultan's vengeance. As consequence, on 6 October 1663, a delegation of theirs addressed a letter to the Great Duke of Tuscany, stating that wanted to migrate in his territories, "to escape the vengeance of the enemies" (*per sottrarsi dalla fierezza dei loro nemici*)¹¹⁶. It was about approximately 300 families, in total 1500 persons, which went to Tuscany and there should be equipped with land plots to secure their living. The refugees had to take with them seeds and food, to live till the first harvesting. They would bring to Tuscany their "Greek" priests which they had to feed them with their own expenses (*che il sacerdote o sacerdoti greci che dovranno assistere alle cose divine, saranno da essi supplicanti pagati et soddisfatti del proprio*)¹¹⁷. The expenses of the voyage, 4 ducats for those who travelled without baggage, and 8 real for those who would carry with them livestock and foods, had to be principally liquidated to the Duke from the interesting in nature or cash. The inhabitants of Mani undertook to liquidate all the feudal obligations, as every other farmer. They also promised that would use the weapons only in favor of the Duke, and this only when were to be asked from the Duke. Finally, they begged to put at their disposal a ship with which they could exercise piracy, promising that would give to the Duke his share (*di poter navigare et andare in corso liberamente da per loro..., con riconoscere però Vostra*

¹¹⁵Braktisjen veneciane e denoncon Gjon Muzaka në "Kronikën" e tij: "ma il detto Turco fando poi pace con Venetiani, quando li donaro Scutari, non me volsero comprendere in quella, anzi promisero in lor mano venisse", Giovanni Musachi, "Breve memoria de li discendenti de la nostra casa", in Charles Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin: Librairie de Weidmann, 1973, p. 276. Also as shown a letter of the bishop of Kurcola of 1595, of the rebellions of Himara inhabitants in 1570, encouraged from the Republic of Venice herself, the latter abandoned the Himariots in question "where they needed her the most" and allied with the Porte (*tanto più che fino l'anno 70 haveanno trattato insieme fino alla Cimara la sollevatione, et quando li Venetiani non li havessero tradito nel più bello*), P. Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen spanischer Monarchie ...*, p. 218.

¹¹⁶S. Lambros, "O katà ton dekatan ebdomon aiona eis ten Toskanan eksoikismos ton Maniaton", në *Neos Ellenomnemon* 2, Athene: 1905, p. 399, 402.

¹¹⁷In another letter of theirs, without date, that apparently "rectifies" the first, the inhabitants of Mani insist on their right to exercise their Greek-Byzantine rite and to have a bishop, the same as was acted in Venice with the Orthodox community of that city. This time was also asked that those of Mani origin to be excluded for 15 years from the tithes and from any other obligation. S. Lambros, "O katà ton dekatan ebdomon aiona...", p. 405.

Amatissima Signoria delle prede ch ene faranno)¹¹⁸. Among the 15 signatories of the letter, five belonged to the Stefani (Stefanopulli) family.¹¹⁹

On May 1670, when the War of Candia was already concluded and the situation of the inhabitants of Mani was unbearable,¹²⁰ the new duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III d. i. Medici, envoys in Mani with mission two captains, Gjergj Mikeli and Nikolla Arvaniti (Niccolò Arvanitti). The surname of the second clearly speaks on his Albanian origin. So, both two emissaries of the Duke, which certainly were familiar with the territory of Mani, met their leaders with which they signed the terms of the agreement that would set their settlement in Tuscany.¹²¹ The text of the agreement contained, *grossomodo*, to the demands previously presented by the residents of Mani. Therefore, here we are mentioning only the chapter that speaks on the religious belief, who determined that the refugees from Mani in Tuscany "had to live according the rite of the Greek church united with that Catholic a form that is practitioned in the city of Livorno" (*vivere secondo il rito della Chiesa Greca unita alla Latina nella forma che si pratica in Livorno*)¹²². Now, Pietro Rodotà informs us that on 1572 and later in 1593, respectively the dukes of Tuscany, Cosimo I and Francesco I, granted to the established "Greeks" in Livorno the church of Saint Jacob of Acquaviva. Later on 1628, "the Greeks" in question built with their expenses the church of Santa Maria of the Greeks, as also proves the inscription copied and published by Montfaucon in the diary of his journey in Italy.¹²³ Going back to the text of the agreement of 1670 between the leaders of Mani and the envoys of the Duke of Tuscany, draws the attention the fact that the agreement in question this time does not contains the signature of the Stefanopulli

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹¹⁹S. Lambros, "O katà ton dekaton ebdomon aiona ...", p. 403, 404.

¹²⁰Robert Mantran, *Historia e Perandorisë Osmane*, Tiranë: Dituria, 2004, p.233, 235. After conquering Crete, the Great Vizier who in that time was the Albanian Fazil Ahmet Pasha Qyprilliu (Koprulu), had sent an army to definitively subdue the Albanian of Mani and to build new fortresses at the sea shores.

¹²¹S. Lambros, "O katà ton dekaton ebdomon aiona ...", f. 423, 424

¹²²In Livorno was build since 1628 the church of Saint mary of the Greeks, which was frequented from the big community of migrants of Orthodox faith that has taken shelter with special privilege by the duke Cosimo I starting from 1572. See: P. P. Rodotà *Dell'origine, progresso estate del rito Greco in Italia...*, vol.III, p.229.

¹²³*Ibid.*, p.229.

family which had played the principal role in establishing the first contacts with the Great Duke of Tuscany. Likely, the Stefanopulli family were earlier displaced to Tuscany, perhaps immediately after the first letter sent to the Duke on 1663, anyhow prior 1670, when the Duke's envoys reached the agreement with the Mani's leaders. Indeed, in the XVIII and XIX century they are always seen living in Italy, and also as representatives of the Mani community coming from Morea. Starting from similar precedents¹²⁴, we think that the Stefanopulli family was the first to be settled in Tuscany, and from there they encouraged the Duke to send in Mani two envoys with the text of the agreement, where certainly they had put their hand there, and further organized the pulling along their fellow compatriots in the Great Duchy of Tuscany.

Indeed, the Stefanopulli family is seen after a century in the locality of Cargese (Ajaccio) in Corse, where at that time belonged to the peers of that country.¹²⁵ One of them published in Paris 1826, the book "

¹²⁴We are shortly describing here the story evidenced by a notary act of 1655 from the Archive of Lecce, where in the quality of the declarers are manifested *Antonio Mazzareca* (Mazreku) from the village Mazrek "in the province of Epirus" and *Dhimo Maneshi* (*Dima Manesi*) from the neighboring village Smokovinë, in the area of Margëlliç, Lower Albania. According to their narration, the inhabitants of Luarati, that the declarers qualify as (*città di Luvaratta*), after the construction of the castle of Margëlliç from the part of the Turks on 1571, were facing their continuous pressure and persecutions. Finally, the Turks converted the inhabitants of Luarati in their "cursed" religion (*e ridusse perodiosuo antico alla sua maledetta setta*). Nevertheless, a group of inhabitants of Luarati (the notary calls them "*Livarotti*") reconstructed an old church, two miles away of Luarati, which dedicated to Santa Veneranda. But also there, the Turks have not left them alone, and 35 years before that document to be drafted, thus on 1625, this small community of Christians from Luarati escaped and landed in Italy's Lecce, exactly where many decades before was settled Gjon Livarotti, a fellow peasant of theirs. Has been exactly him that two years after the inhabitants have left Luarati and were settled in the place where was build the old church of Santa Veneranda, returned in his birthplace to save them from the Otoman yoke and to settle his fellow peasants to Italy. The declarers precise that Gjon acted in this way, "because the old custom was to be respected" (*due anni dopo la loro fuga da Luvarotta, il suddetto Giovanni tornò al suo paese per salvar gente conforme al suo antico costume*)¹²⁴. Certainly, in that occasion he took with him a number of fellow peasants, before the entire community of Luarati inhabitants to be definitively displaced in Italy. As can be easily ascertained, the history of abandoning the village of Luarati was done in phases and towards the territories already explored, recalls a scheme of family and community migration that is repeated *tale- quale* also in the new histories of the Albanian emigration. See: Salvatore Panareo, "Albanesi nel Salento e Albanesi al servizio del Regno di Napoli", in *Rinascenza Salentina* year VII, nr.4, Lecce: 1939, p.9-10.

¹²⁵George Finley, *Istoria tes tourkokratias kai tes Venetokratias sten Ellada*, Athinë: 1972, p. 157; Nicolaos Stephanopoli, *Histoire de la colonie grecque établie en Corse*, Paris: A. Thoissniet-Desplaces, 1826, p. 19.

Histoire de la colonie Grecque établie en Corse", where shows how the Stefanopulli family were of origin from Mani of Peloponnese. From there, in 1675, were settled in the Great Duchy of Tuscany and after a certain time were definitively established in Cargèse (Paomia-Corse).¹²⁶ Another distinguished descendant of the Stefanopulli family, Nikolla, who served in the French embassy to the Sublime Porte, and after that became member of the French Senate, also has written a book entitled, "*Génie des colonies grecques, spartiates et peuple indigène de la Corse*, Paris, 1843", where affirms among others that his birthplace Cargèse, was also the birthplace of Napoleon Bonaparte, whose ancestors like the Stefanopulli family have been established there in the XVII century from Tuscany.¹²⁷ The Stefanopulli family had friendly relations with Bonaparte, who addressed with the words "my fellow citizens and compatriots".¹²⁸ On 1797, as soon as captured the Ionian islands, Napoleon Bonaparte envoys there in Mani with intelligence mission two brothers, Dhimo and Nikolla Stefanopulli. Dhimo narrates his experience in the country of his ancestors in the book "*Voyage en Grèce pendant les années 1797-1798*, vol. I, Paris, 1800". According to his narration, the details of the mission in Mani were explained to Dhimo by Napoleon Bonaparte himself, at the presence of the general Beauharnais, which in a specific moment asked Stefanopulli: "Are you a Corsican?" (*Etes-vous corse*)? Dhimo couldn't open his mouth because instead of him replied Napoleon Bonaparte: "It's more than Corsican: it's Spartan". Napoleon entrusted to Dhimo Stefanopulli two letters: one for the leaders of Mani and another that was a recommendation letter written in Greek, addressed to the Bey of Mani, who was converted to Islam. Indeed, Napoleon's letter of recommendation begins with the words: "I recommend you the bearers of this letter which are the same as You descendants of the Spartans". Dhimo writes that in the moment of the meeting addressed the Bey these words: "I and my brother, as long as we

¹²⁶P. Stephanopoli, *Histoire de la colonie Grecque ...*, Paris: 1826; G. G. Papadopoulou, *Chronographia perì tes katagoges ton en te Mane Stephanopoulon*, Athinè: 1865; S. Lambros, "O katà ton dekatan ebdomon aiona ...", p. 396.

¹²⁷Nicolaos Stephanopoli de Comnène, ancien attaché à l'ambassade de France près la Porte Ottomane, *Génie des colonies grecques, spartiates et peuple indigène de la Corse*, Paris: L. Mathias, libraire-éditeur, 1843, f. XXXVII.

¹²⁸Dhimo Stephanopoli, *Voyage en Grèce pendant les années 1797-1798*, vol. I, Paris: 1800, p. 30.

are Corsicans, we feel adopted French; but we are also Greek, and not only Greek by also from Mani. You, maybe have noticed this from the way we speak Your language". Indeed, the story narrated by Dhimo Stefanopulli continues with the Bey's indescribable admiration by only learning that the envoyees of the Napoleon spoke so well the vulgarism". What meant Stefanopulli with the word "vulgarism with which he spoke to his Moslem compatriote, the Bey of Manu? If would be the Greek language, he would have said it, because above he speaks about the two letters of Napoleon written in Greek. Could have been the Albanian language on which another French traveller before him wrote that was the language of the inhabitants of Mani¹²⁹?

We are inclined to believe such a thing. If the worst comes to the worst, Dhimo Stefanopulli himself in his book more than once calls Mani "Greek Albania" (*l'Albanie grecque*)¹³⁰. And in one occasion he tries to explain the origin of the toponym Mani (he wrote Maini) and says that in the language of "Mainotes" the word "Maina" means brigand, thief. However, he adds that for the locals the word has not negative meaning but on the contrary means "brave". There is no doubt that when he tries to do the etymology of his first homeland, Mani (Maini), Stefanopulli intends the word "Hain" (hajn), that according to him was used to show not that much a thief, but a person that doesn't fears death. The loan word from the Turkish, seems that was in use among the Albanians of Mani as it was in all the Albanians.¹³¹

Certainly remains the question why Stefanopulli, or Napoleon Bonaparte himself does not refer directly to the possible Albanian origin. Perhaps the Mani residents of Corse were deeply Hellenized when they landed in Corse, after nearly three centuries in the south of Peloponnese. Also, should not be left out of consideration the fact that we are dealing with the time of Romanticism, when the individuals and the peoples were hastening after the glorious origins. In this sense, as Stefanopulli writes, to Napoleon Bonaparte and to him were squeezed by the definition as

¹²⁹D. N. Mekses, *E Mane kai oi Maniates*, Athinë: Estia, 1977, p. 34 (që citon nga: P. Kanellides, "Mane kai Maniatai", në *Ebdomas*, p. 23, Kiprou: 4 July 1887).

¹³⁰D. Stephanopoli, *Voyage en Grèce pendant les années 1797-1798 ...*, vol. I, p. 218; vol. II (Paris: 1800), p. 167.

¹³¹Tahir N. Dizdari, *Fjalor i orientalizmave në gjuhën shqipe*, Tiranë: Instituti Shqiptar i Mendimit e Qytetërimit Islam, 2005, p. 325

"Greek", nevertheless the ancient Greece and her heroes were in fashion as never before. More than "Greek" they preferred to be called "Spartans". At the end, for soldiers and conquistadores like them, was more worthy to be kept as offspring of a people of "thieves", viz. brave men, rather than descendants of a people of "philosophers".

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THE EVOLUTION OF ALBANIAN

One of the latest attested of all Indo-European languages, with just traces before the 16th century and the first full text only in 1555 (Buzuku's "Missal"), Albanian is also one of the most evolved, having undergone continuous and far-reaching changes in all areas of its linguistic system, including even its name. The Albanians call themselves *shqiptar* (= *lfciptar*), a derivative of *shqip* denoting their native language. But before the 15th century they generally called themselves *arbëresh* / *arbëresh* (= [arbənɛʃ / arbərɛʃ], showing effects of the southern [Tosk] dialect sound change of *n* > *r* intervocalically), a derivative of *Arbën* / *Arbër*, which owes its origin to a Southern Illyrian tribal name that was early generalized to all the Illyrian tribes speaking the same idiom. This denomination was also adopted by foreigners: compare Italian *Albania* - *albanese*, Greek Ἀλβανός, Ἀρβανός, Ἀρβανίτης (showing the effects of two Greek sound changes, *l* > *r* before a consonant and *b* > *v*), Serbian *Arban* / *Raban* (with Slavic metathesis of VR to RV), *Arbanas*, Bulgarian *albanec*, Turkish *arna(v)ut* (via a metathesized form of the Greek term), etc. Albanian is now the official language of two nations (Albania and the Republic of Kosovo) and is spoken in five other countries (Greece, Italy, [North]Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia), with enclaves in yet others (especially Bulgaria, Croatia, and Turkey) and a more recent diaspora population in the United States and Western Europe.

The numerous changes characterizing the evolution of the Albanian language cover all the Albanian-speaking areas, including those of the Albanian settlements in Greece and Italy, which took place not later than the 15th- 16th centuries CE. The phonological system of Albanian has been almost entirely reorganized compared to that of reconstructed

Proto-Indo-European. It suffices to mention that, with the exception of short (late) PIE */a/ and short 1E */i/ and */u/, all the other 1E reconstructed long and short vowels have undergone change in Albanian. Thus, as in Germanic, the IE long vowels */ā/ and */ō/ have evolved to /o/, whereas */a/ and */o/ have merged to /a/. Remarkably, PIE long */e/ has become /o/ and long */ō/ shows up as /e/, a pair of developments seen nowhere else in Indo-European. Albanian has also developed a front rounded vowel /y/ common to all dialects as well as an unstressed /ə/ which, however, may be stressed in southern Albanian (Tosk). The northern dialects (Geg) retain nasalized vowels that developed in Proto-Albanian, and were systematically denasalized in Tosk dialects. Finally, it is to be noted that Albanian has replaced the free PIE accent by a fixed one, which generally falls upon the penultimate stem syllable in substantives and the final stem syllable in verbs. All such changes took place prior to the contacts between Albanian and Balkan Slavonic, i.e. before the 7th century CE. Moreover, Albanian has lost not only the 1E reconstructed long ~ short vowel opposition, but also the new long ~ short vowel opposition which appeared in the course of its own development.

Similar remarks can be made for the consonantal system as well. Thus, the three-way IE reconstructed voiced ~ voiceless ~ voiced aspirated system of obstruents has been reduced, as in many 1E dialects, to a double opposition: voiced - voiceless; and the outcomes of the three dorsal series suggest that Albanian, like Luwian, may have originally retained this three-way opposition intact and therefore is neither centum nor satem, despite the clear satem-like outcome of its palatal dorsals in most instances. The evidence for this is the palatalization of original PIE labiovelars, but not plain velars, before front vowels (as in *si* 'how' < *k^wi-, compare Latin *quia*, and *kohë* 'time' < *kēskā-, compare OCS *casъ*). Other satem groups like Indo-Iranian and Slavic also show palatalization of velars before front vowels, but in these instances both plain velars and labiovelars undergo this development together. Even in its satem-like treatment of PIE palatal dorsals, Albanian shows an original feature found elsewhere in Indo-European only in Old Persian: the development of voiceless palatal *ḱ to *th* [θ] and palatal *ǵ(h) to *dh* [ð] ~ d. Other peculiarities of Albanian are its possession, on an apparently ancient level, of a set of voiceless ~ voiced palatal plosives

/c/ ~ /j/ (<q>~<gj> in the modern orthography), without exact parallels in other IE languages. On the other hand, its opposition of voiceless and voiced hissing and hushing affricates [ts] ~ [dz] (<c> ~ <x> in the modern orthography), and [tʃ] ~ [dʒ] (<ç> ~ <xh> in the modern orthography), is reminiscent of Armenian as well as many Slavic languages.

The grammatical structure of Albanian has also undergone ancient profound changes compared to that of reconstructed PIE. It suffices to mention here that both its nominal and verbal inflections have been entirely reorganized. Like some other IE languages, Albanian has developed a double (indefinite ~ definite) substantive declension by opposing indefinite case forms to definite ones, the latter having been created by the postposition of a definite article, as in Rumanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Armenian, and Danish together with the other Scandinavian languages. Its case forms have been reduced by the ever-growing use of prepositions. Albanian has also created an inflected prepositive "article" used particularly to form a class of adjectives opposed to another class of article-less adjectives (compare *i mirë* 'good' ~ *trim* 'brave'). Something similar has occurred in Rumanian as well, where, however, each adjective may be pre-articulated in certain syntactic contexts. In both of these languages, the adjectives usually follow their head nouns.

A general reorganization has also characterized the Albanian verbal conjugation. Like most IE languages, Albanian has developed new tense and modal oppositions and has gradually moved away from the ancient aspectual oppositions. Its tense system distinguishes present ~ imperfect ~ aorist ~ analytical perfect, and analytical past perfect (the last two by means of the *have* ~ *be* auxiliaries). Moreover, Albanian, like the other Balkan languages, has created an analytical future by means of the prepositive particle *do*, which is in origin the third person singular form of the modal verb *dua* 'will', followed by the present subjunctive. A second analytical future of necessity is also used in Albanian, formed by the auxiliary *have* followed by the infinitive in the northern dialect (Geg) or by the subjunctive present in both Geg and Tosk.

Albanian has also developed a modal form having no parallel in other Indo-European languages. This is the so-called admirative mood, expressing astonishment or any action not vouched for by the speaker.

The admirative present has been formed through an inversion and univerbation of the components making up the analytic perfect (cf. admirative *qenkam* < *qenë kam* 'one says that I am' vs. perfect *kam qenë* 'I have been') and has parallels in Macedonian and Bulgarian, as well as Turkish, among Balkan languages. Like Indo-Iranian and Greek, Albanian possesses both an optative and a subjunctive; and like Latin, it has developed a formal subjunctive tense opposition of present ~ imperfect ~ perfect ~ past perfect (the same may be said of the admirative). All of its subjunctive tense forms are preceded by a particle (*të* 'that'), as in the other Balkan languages. It is to be noted that Albanian, like the other Balkan languages, has developed the tendency to use subjunctive forms instead of the infinitive. In fact, Albanian has no infinitive formed by means of special suffixes, as in all the other IE languages with the exception of the Celtic branch. Formally its attested infinitive coincides with its past participle preceded by the prepositional particle *me* 'with'. Such an infinitive has been securely attested only in the northern Geg dialect, this being the most striking grammatical difference between that dialect and the southern dialect Tosk. The other differences between these two dialects of Albanian are mostly of a phonetic character, the most remarkable of which is the rhotacism of (-n- > -r-) in Tosk noted above regarding *Arbën(ë)* > *Arbër(ë)*. Denasalization of vowels in Tosk also differentiates the two dialects, again as noted above. The northern ~ southern dialectal separation within Albanian dates back to its pre-Slavonic stage of development.

The convergence with other Balkan languages in such grammatical features as the future tense, the admirative, and a preference for the subjunctive in place of an infinitive surely involves contact of a particularly intense and sustained kind between Albanian speakers and speakers of the other languages in the Balkans. Such convergences extend into the nominal system, as the postpositive marking for definiteness mentioned above shows, and are seen as well in the merger of case-marking for genitive and dative functions, a trait also found in Greek and Romanian in their case marking, and in Bulgarian and Macedonian through prepositional usage (*na* for both functions).

Of course, still more remarkable is the evolution of the Albanian lexicon with its numerous loanwords from various languages, specifically ancient Greek, Latin, Slavic, and Turkish (as well as recent

loans from Italian and now English), dating to various known periods of contact with these other languages in the Balkans. Moreover, these loans can be shown to fit into an orderly chronology not just by extralinguistic information concerning periods of contact but by their interaction as well with known sound changes. Thus, *mokërë* 'millstone', from ancient Greek *μᾶχανᾶ* 'instrument', shows the effects of rhotacism, and *mjek* 'doctor', from Latin *medicus*, shows the effects of the loss of medial voiced stops, a change which inherited words also underwent (e.g. *erë* 'smell' < **od-ro-*, cf. Latin *odor*); however, Slavic loanwords, coming after the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans in the 6th century, show the effects of neither change, and neither do Turkish loans, borrowed during the period of Ottoman rule. A further telling point lexically is the fact that in the reconstruction of the PIE word for '100', every Indo-European dialect has input to offer except for Albanian and Armenian. In the latter case, the term *hariwr* is of unknown (but surely foreign) origin, whereas the Albanian term (*një*)*qind* (Tosk {*nji*}*qind*) (*një/nji* 'one') is manifestly a borrowing from Latin *centum*.

Thus in its evolution over the many millennia since Proto-Indo-European, Albanian shows significant effects from language contact as well as numerous internally motivated changes, in both instances leading it away from the prototype of PIE.

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Note: The article was first published with some changes in: (J. Klein, B. Joseph, M. Fritz ed.) „Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics”, in the series: „Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft. Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science...“. Bd. 41.3. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2018, pp. 1812-1815.

Ardian MUHAJ

SLAVE TRADE AMONG ALBANIANS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

Slavery and the dilemmas that this social phenomenon has presented to human societies, goes far earlier in time compared to the age of European colonization and the enslavement of the African black people. According to C. Meillassoux, slavery composes a period of world history that affected all continents, sometimes at the same time or in different periods.¹ Nevertheless, the slavery is a world phenomenon and is found more and more in a deeper treatment in the historic studies, still remains a question not clearly treated from the Albanian authors. Foreign authors have included the phenomenon of slavery in the Albanian territories during the Middle Ages in their wider research papers in the framework of migration history between both Adriatic shores.²

Have existed different characteristics of distinguishing and inferiority that have stayed at the foundation of this phenomenon. Such characteristics have been the race, the ethnicity, the culture, the religion, the guilt (criminality) etc. The main sources of slavery have been by no doubt the wars and piracy, but also the enslavement for debts that was widely extended. A characteristic that can be considered as general and permanent, is that the compelling of slavery in different societies have perceived their victims as non-component factors of the society and

¹ Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie de l'esclavage. Le ventre de fer et d'argent*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986, p. 20.

² Indirectly is treated in the framework of the migration history in the summary *Italia felix. Migrazioni slave e albanesi in Occidente. Romagna, Marche, Abruzzi secoli XIV-XVI*, edit. Sergio Anselmi. Ancona: Tecnostampa, 1988; Alain Ducellier, Bernard Doumerc, Brühilde Imhaus, Jean de Miceli, *Les Chemins de l'exil Bouleversements de l'Est européen et migrations vers l'ouest à la fin du Moyen*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1991; *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: studi in onore di Geo Istarino*, a cura di Laura Balletto, Genova: Brigati, 1997.

inferiors. O. Patterson, has qualified this situation as "social death" of the slave.³ In the classical Athens, the slavery of the Greeks was not seen as something acceptable. On the contrary, was considered as something normal that they should be masters of the slaves "barbaroi".⁴

From the other side, speaking about the place that slavery occupied in the social structure, D. Turley divides the societies in which has existed this phenomenon, in: *societies with slaves*, and *slavery societies*. The distinction among them stands in the fact that in the first case the existence of the phenomenon is limited. The paths of supplying with slaves and their keeping were in such a degree that usually were informal, not necessitating to have an organized system. While in the second case, the freedom of the dominant group in society depends from the control and possession of the material goods created by the slaves.⁵

Terminology questions

The different ways of exploiting the forced labor during the human history, have also brought the problem of précising as much as possible the definition of slavery. According the League of Nations Convention on Slavery, of 1926, which has been also ratified from the Albanian state in 1957, slavery is defined as: the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.⁶

Among the scholars may those be historians, anthropologists or sociologists, the question of defining the different terms used during history to name the slavery, have inspired discussions. Meillassoux, thinks that the data we possess on antique societies does not guarantees

³ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study*, Harvard University Press, 1985, p. 3-9. The concept of the social death has been examined from sociologists as Zygmunt Bauman. This is seen as the being of people who's from society are not completely accepted as people. The idea that the slavery was equal with death is somehow more ancient in the writings of Ulpiani, but also of the antiquated idea that the victory in war gave the right to the winner to take the decision to enslave the defeated instead of killing him.

⁴ David Turley, *Slavery*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, p. 2

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 4-5.

⁶ While the trade of slaves as concept includes all the actions that lead to capture, bought or the selling of a person with the goal his enslavement. League of Nations, *Treaty Series Publication of Treaties and International Engagements registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations*, volume LX, 1927, no. 1414, p. 263, article 1/a, 1/b.

no criteria that we could do a clear distinction between the slaves and all the other components of these societies.⁷ As a selling stock, the slave is simply an asset belonging to somebody. The fact is that at the same time, nobody heads against this meaning. The slave, simply is a stock of a special nature, or as it says Aristotle "a kind of living stock".⁸ The slave as consequence of his status, entirely loses control not only on his job, but also on his person. The essence of slave's status stands in what precisely the slave himself is considered in all the aspects of a selling stock, and not simply his labor or work hand.

About the origin of the word *slave*, Ch. Verlinden emphasizes that the word *sclavus* has taken for the first time the legal meaning in Germany around the X-XI centuries. The term was used against the pagan slaves captured in a very big number during the campaigns undertaken in the X century from the Saxon kings.⁹ In the XIII century as consequence of reviving the Balkan slaves' traffic towards Italy the denomination 'slave' goes losing its ethnic meaning, taking like this the meaning of the Latin word *servus*. Thus, there is a wide matching between the history of Slavic slaves' traffic and the word *sclavus*=slave.¹⁰ Like this is also explained the lack of use of the word *sclavus* in the Statute of Shkodra, because is evident that as ethnic name in Shkodra, differently from Venice could not how to denominate an enslaved stratum, because on the contrary, in Shkodra the Slavs were masters of the city at the time when the Statutes were drafted. Thus, in this Statute, is used only the denomination *servus* and *ancilla*, nevertheless if it was about for slaves "proprie dicti" or for servants.¹¹

⁷ *L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale*, ed. Meillassoux, Maspero: 1975, p. 20.

⁸ Aristotle, *Politics*, in Aristotle in 23 Volumes, vol. 21, translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1944. 1253b 32, "and property generally is a collection of tools, and a slave is a live article of property".

⁹ Charles Verlinden, "L'origine de *sclavus*=esclavage", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, t. XVII, 1942, p. 125.

¹⁰ "Le coste orientali del Mar Adriatico sono quelle che hanno alimentato più considerevolmente la classe schiava del mondo mediterraneo nel basso Medioevo". Charles Verlinden, "Le relazioni economiche fra le due sponde adriatiche nel basso medioevo alla luce della tratta degli schiavi", in *Momenti e problemi della storia delle due sponde adriatiche: Atti del I° Congresso internazionale sulle relazioni fra le due Sponde adriatiche* (Brindisi, Lecce, Taranto, 15-18 ottobre 1971), ed. Pier Fausto Palumbo, Le Edizioni del Lavoro, Roma: p. 24.

¹¹ *Statutet e Shkodrës në gjysmën e parë të shekullit XIV me shtesat deri më 1469* /

Except these data, it is also important the distinction between slavery and salary or servitude. In the works of many authors, the slave has been identified or confused with the servant or the employee.¹²

Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the medieval slavery was generally limited in domestic servitude and didn't compound the main work labor power as happened in antiquity.¹³ Nonetheless, the legal status of these servants couldn't be imagined as essentially different from that of slavery.¹⁴ According to Susan Mosher Stuard, the different terminology used to describe the domestic servants in Ragusa during the Middle Ages such as *famuli*, *famulae*, *homines*, *servientes*, *pueri*, *puellae*, *ancillae* more darken than clarify their legal status.¹⁵

In the beginning, the contingent of the slaves in Europe has been only filled with non-Christians. Here were included the pagan slaves east of Germany, the Moslems and the pagan population of the northern coast of the Black Sea. The XI century in Sicily also with the Moslem Spain was a period of confusion and disunions. This led to Sicily the Norman occupation and the structure of slavery in southern Italy changes. Yet the area of slave supplying that was limited in the XIII with the Moslem

Statuti di Scutari della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469, translated into Albanian by Pëllumb Xhufi, Vjollca Lisi, Tiranë: Onufri, 2010, chap. 2, 71, 202, 220, 221. For the same reason seems that this word is not used nor in the Dalmatian documents with the same meaning as in the Italian ones. According to A. Teja, the Dalmatian documents made a clear distinction between the term *sclavus* and *servus*, in the meaning that only the latter shows a condition of slavery. Antonio Teja, "Aspetti della vita economica di Zara dal 1289 al 1409", *Rivista Dalmatica*, II, Zara: 1941-1942, p. 23-24.

¹² An extended edition of the works these two institutions are identified one to another, especially the papers of the Late Antiquity and Middle Age period, can be seen on Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, De Tempel, Brugge, p. I, 1955, p. 9-12.

¹³ Jacques Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques au Moyen Âge dans le monde méditerranéen*, Paris: Fayard, p. 15; Charles Verlinden, "Venezia e il commercio degli schiavi provenienti dalle coste orientali del Mediterraneo", in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, vol. I, ed. Agostino Pertusi. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1973, p. 927; Susan Mosher Stuard, "Ancillary evidence for the decline of Medieval slavery", *Past and present*, 149, 1995, p. 4.

¹⁴ According to Marc Bloch, nonetheless the slavery was annihilated in the West during the Middle Ages,

but a strong hub continued to be present even in this time. Marc Bloch, "Personal liberty and servitude", in *Slavery and serfdom in the Middle Ages. From slavery to feudalism in South- Western Europe*, ed. Pierre Bonnassie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 33-92.

¹⁵ Susan Mosher Stuard, "Urban domestic slavery in Medieval Ragusa", *Journal of Medieval History*, 9, 1983, p. 162.

Spain and North Africa, will pass to be in the XIV century that of the Eastern Mediterranean, of the Balkan and of the Black Sea.¹⁶ In general, the Papacy in accordance with the circumstances tried to limit the slavery of the Greek orthodox.

Thus, the Pope Urban V, who was an ardent supporter of approach with the Constantinople's Church, on 1369 called to be released all the Orthodox of the Greek rite after seven years of slavery.¹⁷

The phenomenon of slavery, nevertheless is reflected in the verbal tradition of the Albanian people, has also its documentation in the time's legislation. The most typical example to understand how spread was this phenomenon in the area of Shkodra, is the Statute of this city, which is thought to have been drafted in the first part of the XIV century, when this phenomenon of slavery in the shores of Eastern Adriatic was taking its fullest development. Since the first article of this Statute, comes totally in light the atmosphere of the time and indeed matches with the data of other areas. Thus, in the first article is written: "If somebody would like to stay in our city... *In case that one of our citizens, or Slave or Albanian, would try to make him his property*, he will pay to the king 50 hyperpers".¹⁸

The same situation describes the article 262, from which is created the idea that the slavery of the people in Shkodra has taken such dimensions that anybody who was not from the city, was defenseless from the possibility of becoming slave from the inhabitants. Also, seems that the administration employees and the judges took profit from this situation of uncertainty. In this article is written: "The foreigner that comes from abroad ... *nobody can appropriate him as the proper man*".¹⁹ On how has been this slavery, if has been genuine or not, comes out clearly in the second article, where the killing of the slave and slave woman (servant and maid), was attached to the horse murder.²⁰ Also in the article 202, comes out that this slavery can be inherited, viz the son or the daughter of the slave would be the slave of the same master. "If somebody raped the slave woman of somebody else and if the slave

¹⁶ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 155.

¹⁷ J. Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques...*, p. 78.

¹⁸ "Et se alcun de li nostri citadini, voy sclavo vou albanese, vulissi lupir voy apropiar a sé, che paghi perperi L a lo re". *Statuti di Scutari...*, p. 207 (299).

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 278 (373).

²⁰ "de servo et de ancilla, de cavallo et de questi cosi... ". *Ibid*, p. 207 (299).

*woman dies during the laboring, the rapist is forced to give the master of the slave woman another slave woman. The son or the daughter born from the slave woman, would be the slave of the master in word".*²¹

Indeed, in this article nothing is said on some possible punishment of the person who raped the slave of somebody else, but simply treats only the damage claims of the master in case of dying during laboring. On what the term "ancilla" shows that a woman having a lower social status than all the statuses of the women, and even of prostitutes, proves that to the rape of the free woman was given a special article in the article 201.²²

If in Pisa according the dispositions of 1376, to the child's father was granted the right that within 15 days to buy the child with the price of 10 florins and after 15 days to have again the right of taking his child, but in this case the price was settled between the owner and the father of the child.²³ In Shkodra to the father wasn't given chance to have his child, but was automatically kept by the owner. In the Statute of Shkodra, not only the slave had not right to move away from his master's house, but even them who have encouraged the slave to leave simply by advising him, were punished with a fine.²⁴ Moreover that in the following article 222 it is clearly stated that the servant was not a free man and was a clear distinction among them.²⁵

Venice

The presence of Albanians in Venice goes making more and more sensible especially starting from the second half of the XIV century, exactly when Venice loses Dalmatia and for more coincides with the grave consequences of the demographic crises after the plague of 1348-1350.²⁶ Nevertheless, even why on 1358 becomes a "sovereignty"

²¹ *"chi la sforzasse sia tenuto de dar a lo parone de la ancilla una altra ancilla". Ibid, p. 264 (358).*

²² *Ibid, p. 264 (358).*

²³ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 715.

²⁴ Article 221: *"zaschaduna persona chi straponisse cervo over ancilla over fioli de li dicti e concilio li desse a fuger del suo parone e provar si podesse, chi paghi per pena perperi VIII". Statuti di Scutari...*, p. 269 (363).

²⁵ Article 222: *"De furto servo cum libero". Ibid, p. 269 (363-364).*

²⁶ The period from 1350 to 1450 compounds the period in which the phenomenon of slavery takes wider dimensions in all the history of the Republic of Venice. Pompeo Molmenti,

passage of Dalmatia to the Hungarians, which started to claim the Anjou heritage in the Dalmatian-Albanian coast, and after starting from 1420, Venice succeeds to reestablish its influence in Dalmatia. A part of these Albanians going to Venice to find a job with their wish even why after their arrival often fell in the status of the slave or of the servant. However, there are many of them that were bought as slaves since their living in the Albanian lands and naturally were aware of the slavery status that they would have in Venice.²⁷

An interesting text presents details on this traffic.²⁸ On 22nd May 1391, the Venetian Senate examined a demand previously made towards Pesaro's ruler in which demanded to him a compensation of 250 ducats for "Anthonius de Dulcigno, subditus noster" who three years ago when was transporting 100 Albanians from Durrës to Venice, during a stop in Pesaro, the soldiers of the ruler have let off the Albanians from the ship and the unfortunate Anton was forced to ship with no Albanian. From this document we learn that it's about for some not free persons because this is proved from their forced let off in Pesaro, as would be stock for selling.²⁹ It's not excluded the possibility that we have to do with recruits or oarsmen.

Even after the northern Albanian coast occupation from Venice, this phenomenon continues to be evidenced in the documentation of the time. Thus on 19 June 1421, Alexius de Tarvisio, inhabitant of Venice, sells to a Venetian widow an Albanian young woman of 19 years old. The seller engaged the right to re-buy the slave after 15 years with the same price. A similar clause comes out from an act of 6 July 1428, where Bortalano Nicholai sells to Troilo Superancio a slave girl "de genere Albanensium", called Filipa, 22 years old. After six years and half, she

Venice its Individual Growth from the Earliest Beginnings to the Fall of the Republic. The Middle Ages, Part I, p. 124-126.

²⁷ "From the middle of the fourteenth century Albanians had been taken in fairly large numbers and sold as slaves in Italy". John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, University of Michigan Press, 1994, p. 511.

²⁸ *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* (hereinafter: ASV) *Senato Misti*, XI, 1, p. 138v; *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, vol. II, nr. 469, p. 116-117.

²⁹ Alain Ducellier, "Les albanais a Venise aux XIV^e et X^{ve} siecles", in *Travaux et Memoires* 2, Paris: 1967, p. 408, where affirms in connection to this that "les conditions de traversée ne devaient donc être guère différents de celles qui mposaient les negriers du XVIIIe siècle".

had to be liberated.³⁰

These clauses of liberation with no doubt should have had connections with the dispositions of Consiglio dei Pregadi of 1387 and 1388 which had to do with the infants (anime, little children under 18 years) imported from Durrës' hinterland and for which was demanded their slavery to be limited to 10 years. Through an act of 1448, we learn that a Venetian merchant, had bought on account of Paolo from Treviso an Albanian woman called Eudoksi, only 13 years old with the price of 32 ducats.³¹ During the XIV century, many Albanian slaves of Epirus (Despotate) were sold as slaves in Crete,³² but the Albanian slaves that are met in Venice in the XV century, usually come from the Central and Northern Albania territories. In a document of 13 May 1388 comes out that a woman called Menega de Durazzo, was servant of a Venetian lady.³³

Slavery in the areas of the Venetian colonization took special characteristics from that of metropolis. Since the destruction of the Byzantine Empire on 1204, the Venetians and the Genovese established a colonial situation through possessing the strategic points of trade in the East. The eastern coast of the Adriatic is the area closer to the big Italian cities in the middle of eastern territories which would be established a supremacy realm of a clearly colonial type, in which the economic resources would be exploited in favor of the profiting power from the colonial situation. Between these resources, an important place takes the working hand, where the exploitation of this labor power would take the characteristics of slavery. "The first Africa" of this colonization as was called by Ch. Verlinden, have been the Dalmatian and Albanian coasts.³⁴ On the slavery condition and the slaves' status in Venice there have been contributions from different authors which document the first

³⁰ ASV, Notai della Cancelleria inferiore. Notaio Alberto Cecchini; notaio Ambrogio de St. Vidal (Register of the notary Alb. Cecchini and the Register of the notary Ambr. de St. Vidal); Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 657.

³¹ The buyer could "eam habendi, tenendi, possidendi, gaudendi, baratandi, permutandi, dandi, donandi, vendendi, alienandi" F. Zamboni, *Gli Ezzelini, Dante e gli schiavi*, Roma-Torino: 1906, p. 423.

³² Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 834 (year 1329), p. 839, 870 (year 1381-1383).

³³ ASV, *Avogaria de Comun*, Raspe IV, p. 114v; A. Ducellier, "Les albanais a Venise...", p. 407.

³⁴ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 713.

dispositions that shed light on the conditions and the way of slaves' treatment only during the XIII century.³⁵

Nevertheless, the efforts to limit, the traffic of slave children continued during all the XV century. After the middle of the century is not spoken anymore for them as a special category of slaves and this is explained with the fact that already they have changed by falling at the same status of eternal slaves.³⁶ As concerning the women, except their presence in Venice as house maids or slaves when are mentioned or used as prostitutes, as is the case of an Albanian called Anjeza (Agnes), in a document of 16 September 1401.³⁷

A series of provisions approved during 1386, 1387 and 1388 had to do with the slave children called *anime*.³⁸ Their enslavement created space for many abuses, thing that was in contradictions with the divine laws and with the Republic's honor. Most of these children came from Albanian territories (de partibus Duracii) and also from other coastal areas of Adriatic. Ch. Verlinden compares the situation of the enslaved Albanian children in Venice with that of the children and young men that would be exploited in the following centuries in the English and French colonies of America.³⁹ Also, they could be called as their predecessors.⁴⁰

³⁵ V. Lazari, "Del traffico e delle condizioni degli schiavi in Venezia nei tempi di mezzo", in *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, t. I, Torino, 1862; A. Valsechi, "Bibliografia analitica della legislazione della repubblica di Venezia. Della Schiavitù", in *Archivio Veneto*, t. 13, 1877, p. 108-119; L. Cibrario, *Della schiavitù e del servaggio*, t. I. Milano: 1868.

³⁶ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 719.

³⁷ ASV, *Avogaria de Comun*, RaspeV, fl. 142. "Agnes de Albania"; A. Ducellier, "Les albanais a Venise...", p. 409.

³⁸ "multe anime de istis que conducte fuerunt Venetias et conducentur de cetero de partibus Duracii et de aliis partibus deinde tam de intra quam de extra Culphum que leviter vendite sunt et vendi possent et tractari pro sclavis, quod esset pessime factum et contra Deum et honorem nostri dominii". ASVV, Consiglio dei Pregadi, Capitolare del magistrato capitum sexteriorum, 22 November 1386, p. 25. Published in Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, t. II, p. 674-676.

³⁹ The company of Virginia transported to America people which had not the possibility to pay the voyage expenses and thus signed an agreement with them according to which this company had the right to sell to the third parts aiming to get the requested amount. Most of them were young and poor forcefully taken from extortionists. Charles Verlinden, "Modernità e medioevalismo nell'economia e nella società coloniale Americana", in *Annali dell' Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale*, nr. 4, Napoli, 1965, p. 55 and following.

⁴⁰ The company of Virginia transported to America people which had not the possibility to pay the voyage expenses and thus signed an agreement with them according to which this company had the right to sell to the third parts aiming to get the requested amount. Most of them were young and poor forcefully taken from extortionists. Charles Verlinden, "Modernità e

The undertaken measures from the Venetian power to limit this phenomenon were in contradiction with the direct economic interests of specific groups. From the presented reasons comes out that their owners called unjust that the exploit of infants to be only four years, because they couldn't cover even the expenses to nourish them. In this effort for not allowing the diminishing of the revenues, the merchants and the owners of the slave children didn't hesitate to present the argument that the slavery of these children was a salvation for them, because they came from areas menaced from the Turks.⁴¹ The stopping of children exportation outside Venice had to do also with the fact that in the other cities the situation of these children was even more exacerbated. For this reason, on 1459, *the Council of the Prayers* undertook severe measures because the slave children bought in Istria, Dalmatia and Albania to not be sold in Florence, Siena and Bologna, because their enslavement became perpetual in these cities.⁴²

The Albanian have not been always victims of slavery, but in some cases have taken as prisoners or have enslaved the others. We can mention in this case the attack held from the Albanian on the castles and the suburbs of Coron and of Modon in February 1418, whereas pretext seemed to be the brutal behavior of the Venetian administrator Bernabo Loredan against Albanians living in the suburbs of these castles. In this case the Albanians took a considerable number of prisoners.⁴³

medievalismo nell'economia e nella società coloniale Americana", in *Annali dell' Istituto di Storia Economica e Sociale*, nr. 4, Napoli, 1965, p. 55 and following. "*Les anime de Venise sont, de toute évidence, des précurseurs des intentured servants et des engagés de l'Amérique coloniale*". Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 679-680.

⁴¹ Affirmed by Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 680, this "*dose non négligeable 'hypocrisie que contient cet exposé de motifs*", but interests to the author to define the area of supply with slave children that comes to be extended in "*nord du Epire, del'Albanie et du Sud de la Yougoslavie actuelle*".

⁴² L. Cibrario, *Della schiavitù e del servaggio...*, p. 185. Decision of 17 August 1459 "*nei qual luogi le roman in perpetua servitu*". V. Lazari, "Del traffico e delle condizioni degli schiavi in Venezia...", p. 490.

⁴³ "*Avesemo per nuova dai Retori nostri in questo tempo dele parte da Coron e Modon chomo infiniti Albanexi eser vegnudi a daniziar per fina soto i casteli dele parte de Modon, e robado, molte aneme e menandonde via*". Antonio Morosini, *Cronaca Veneta*, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. Ital, VII, p. 127-128; A. Ducellier, "Les albanais dans les colonies venitiennes...", p. 48.

Crete

In Crete the majority of Albanian slaves came from the area of Epirus (de partibus Despotatus) even why the majority were qualified as Greeks, the clarification that was made that they were from the areas of Epirus Despotate, intends that we have to do with Albanians. Thus, on 1st July 1329, an inhabitant of Kana sells to a Cretan and Albanian, whose he bought from a Venetian for 20 hyperpers and a bushel of wine. On 1st October 1332, Guillelmus Simon, Catalan, inhabitant of Thebes, sells to Johannes Gerardos, a notary from Crete, a slave woman "de partibus Despotati", brought from Thebe with the price of 36 hyperpers. At the same day he also sells Nicolas "de Despotatu" for 31 hyperpers. Emmanuel, also Greek "de Despotatu" for 25. Also, a priest buys from the same merchant the slave Nicolas "de Despotatu" for 27. On 19 December, Franciscus de Brubrin, from Barcelona and Bernard de Castigelo from Perpignan arrive from Theba and among others sell a slave woman called Marie "de Despotatu", a Marie from Kastoria for 47 and another Marie also from Epirus for 40 hyperpers. On 24 March 1333, again the Thebe's Catalan Guillelmus Simon sells among others a slave from Epirus for 22 hyperpers. Also, "Maria de partibus Despotati de loco vocato Episcopato" (Peshkëpi?) for 38 hyperpers.⁴⁴ It can be said that the Catalans in these times had as hunting zone for slaves, Greece, especially Boeotia, Epirus (Despotatus), Attica and the shores of Patras Bay. A part of these campaigns' victims undertaken from the Catalans arrived in many Mediterranean ports to the Egypt. The notary registers prove the very intensive activity of the Catalan slave traders in Crete. Among the contingent of slaves trafficked in Crete from the Catalans there is not a big number of Slaves and Albanians, but even those seems that have been caught in the territories of Greece, where the presence of Albanians was becoming always stronger.

In the registers of the Cretan notary Manoli Bresciano for the years 1381-1383 studied by I. Sakasov, which in fact has had as aim to shed light about the presence of the Bulgarian slaves from Macedonia to Crete, we also met Albanians. Among the 222 acts, 130 have to do with Bulgarians, while the other part with Greeks, Tartars, Albanians, Cercassians, Vlachs and Russians. Thus, on April 15, 1381, a Venetian

⁴⁴ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 834-837.

sells an Albanian woman "de loco vocato Despotato" for 30 ducats. Three days after, on 18 April the same notary registers the selling of an Albanian woman called Kali, "de genere Arbanorum". On 13 May, Constantin Kalotheti from Negroponte sells to Petrus Barbos from Crete an Albanian woman called Irini, for 50 hyperpers. Some days later, on 22nd May 1382 Barbo sells Irini to Kosta Kypreo for 60 hyperpers. On 10 July, the Venetian Giacomo Nani buys from Marko Maçamurdi from Crete the Albanian Teodora, for 45 ducats, which was pregnant. Two days later, on 12 July, Petro Dono buys from Nicolai Venier, an Albanian woman called Irini, for 108 hyperpers. On 9 August the Cretan Johannes Cavalario buys from the Catalan Jacome Gerardo and Albanian "de loco vocato Situni", called Gjergj for 28 ducats. To the same notary, on 18 September, the Cretan Guillelm de Ferraria sells to a Venetian an Albanian woman for 91 hyperpers. Without passing a week, on 21 September Oliesa de Ripa, widow from Crete buys from a merchant and Albanian called Marie, for 100 hyperpers. On 13 October the same person sells to Johannes Contarini from Crete, another Albanian for 65 hyperpers. The next day, on 14 October, to the same notary is declared the act of sale of another Albanian woman from Ioannina, with the name Marie, for 90 hyperpers. In this case the seller is Nicola Maçamano while the buyer is Johannes Danduli, both from Crete.⁴⁵ On January 16, 1383, Johannes Cavalarius sells to Georges Moscos, an Albanian called Gjergj, for 65 hyperpers. This Albanian is the same that Cavalarius had bought from the Catalan Jacome Gerardo on 9 August, for 28 ducats. Few days later, on 27 January, Petro Bartholomei sells to Urso Justiniani an Albanian woman called Kali, for 100 hyperpers. Two weeks later, on 10 February, Olyosa de Ripa from Crete sells to a Greek an Albanian woman called Marie, for 96 hyperpers. It's interesting the fact that this Albanian called Marie, in this case is sold for 96 hyperpers, was bought from Oliesa on 21 September for 100 hyperpers. On 14 February, Emmanuel Maçamurdi sells to Stephano Saglichì, the Albanian woman called Kali, for 80 hyperpers.⁴⁶ On 14 May of the same year and at the same notary, is signed the selling of Mariza (Mariça), an Albanian woman for 100 hyperpers. In this case the seller was Georges Mudacius and the buyer is Petro Gradonico, both from Crete. Four days later, on

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 399-400, 850-856.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 860-861.

18 May the buyer Petro Gradonico sells Mariza for 100 hyperpers to the other Cretan Emmanuel Fecha.⁴⁷

In total according to the calculations comes out that only the analyze of these 452 acts of the Crete notary Bresciano, the Albanians occupy nearly 3% of the total, immediately classified after the Bulgarians (31 %), Greeks (29%) and Tartars (22%), having the same number as the Russians and the Cercassians. From the other side, they overpass the Serbs, Vlachs (1.4%) and the Turks (0.7%).⁴⁸

Southern Italy and Sicily

In a document of 6 December 1274, the Anjou king of Sicily Charles, aiming to get the support of Albanians and Greeks in the Albanian territories, ordered the judge of Bari, that all the Albanian and Greek prisoners to be released, otherwise the offenders would be severely punished.⁴⁹

On 10 May 1349, the noble Nicolas de Lubisio was selling "operas et servicia" of a slave Albanian woman called Milika. The buyer is a citizen of Camerata called Guillaume de Arcudio. Also, on 2 December 1353, Passatutto de Gambolino de Castronuovo sells to the noble Ignazio de Auria "servum suum de genere Albanorum" for 2 ounces. According to Ch. Verlinden the formula "opera et servicia" used in the first case and lacking in the second, leads to the conclusion that Milika was Orthodox while the other unfortunate not.⁵⁰

With the beginning of Albanians emigration towards Sicily by the end of the XIV century, the possibility of enslavement was higher because the overwhelming majority of those coming as migrants in the island were poor and work hand workers. Thus, the contract in which is presented the Albanian Milanus Kapunigru is evidence of this fact. In the

⁴⁷ Ivan Sakasov, "Documents récemment découverts datant de la fin du XIV^e siècle et concernant les Bulgares de la Macédoine vendus comme esclaves", *Makedonski Pregled*, t. VII, Sofie: 1932, p. 1-62.

⁴⁸ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 996.

⁴⁹ *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, vol. I, nr. 334, p. 97. In connections to the motives that pushed Charles to do such a thing, see more widely Deno John Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West. 1258-1282. A Study in byzantine-latin Relations*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1959, p. 279-280.

⁵⁰ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale ...*, p. 187-188.

document is clearly stated that this Albanian (de partibus Albanie) was given to a notary from his other owner for four years, to do every service (ad omnia servicia).⁵¹

Florence

On 8 March 1364, an administrator of the municipality of Florence allows the import of slaves from any direction or area with the condition to not be Catholics,⁵² viz, in this permission were also included the Orthodox. R. Livi, studying this register of sales of slaves that have been sold in Florence from 4 July 1366 to 2nd March 1397, with a total of 357 sales and informs that the Tartars compound the majority, 274 or 78.7 % of the total. The Greeks 8.6% of the slaves to whom is mentioned the ethnicity or the religion. In this register there are also Albanians.⁵³

The Balkan slaves arrived in Florence mainly through Ragusa.⁵⁴ The published documents from M. Dinić prove that the Florentine merchants were very active in this trade in Ragusa,⁵⁵ mainly in cooperation with the merchants from Ancona, which also did the transport of the slaves beyond the sea. The advance of the Ottomans in the Balkan would become a factor that would go increasing and gradually influencing in this traffic. Seems that the economic interests overwhelm the religious feelings. Thus, if a slave was bought by the Ottomans from the Italian or Dalmatian merchants or owners, he remained a slave even if he was Christian.⁵⁶ Such is the case of 1421 when Benedetto di Matteo Schieri from Prato, selling to the Florentine Giorgio di Giorgio Gucci a ten years girl from Prishtina called Milica (*Milliza*), for 10 ducats, which he bought from the Ragusan Nikola Glavić. The latter according to the

⁵¹ Henri Bresc, "Pour une histoire des Albanais en Sicile. XIVe- XVe siècles", in *Archivio storico per la Sicilia Orientale*, nr. 68, Catania: 1972, p. 531-532. Seems that this service was equal for four years with the price of freedom.

⁵² G. Mueller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI*, Florence: 1879, p. 120.

⁵³ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 361.

⁵⁴ Paola Pinelli, "L'argento di Ragusa"; *Storia Economica*, Rivista Quadrimestrale, 3 (2005), Edizioni scientifiche italiane, pp. 549-573 ; eadem, *Il Carteggio Marcovaldi (1401-1437) nell'Archivio di Stato di Prato. Inventario*, a cura di Paola Pinelli. Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 2006. Paola Pinelli, "L'argento di Ragusa".

⁵⁵ Mihailo Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog arhiva*, Beograd: Naučno delo, 1967, knj. III, p. 34-35, doc. 85, etc.

⁵⁶ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 775.

Florentine merchant had bought Milliza from a Turk.⁵⁷ The mentioning of such a long chain and detailed selling and always ending on the Turks, was becoming indeed a fact to hide the true origin of the slaves that were sold.

Genoa

The Balkans slaves in Genoa as in Venice have occupied a higher percentage. These mainly were coming from the territories of Thrace and the Black Sea. Among the Balkan people during all the XV century, the Bulgarian slaves were majority. However, with the fall of the Genovese colony of Kaffa, the majority are not anymore, the Bulgarians among the Balkans, but the Bosnians and in a smaller degree the Albanians, that occupy the first place. 93% of the Balkans slave were women. D. Gioffré has found five trafficked Albanians between 1400 and 1450, three from 1451 to 1475, but what results meaningful is that has identified completely 29 cases for the years 1475-1500.⁵⁸

The documentation of the XV century has registered a growing number of demands for liberation addressed to the secular and church authorities from these slaves. Almost always in their demands, their requests tried to prove that prior the enslavement have been Christians and were not born from slave parents, but from free parents. Thus, on 1443, *Syndikatores* of Genoa took into consideration the demand of a slave woman called Sofia, that was declared to be Albanian, but from Ragusa city. In the demand made in her defense was stressed that her captivity was unfair, because Sofia is Albanian and Catholic. The prosecutors vindicate Sofia's demand for liberation, after her master accepted that she already have liquidated the price of being bought.⁵⁹

Ragusa

Ragusa was the main center for the passage of the Bogomile and

⁵⁷ M. Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog arhiva ...*, III, 2 May 1421, p. 97-98, doc. 208

⁵⁸ D. Gioffré, "Il commercio d'importazione genovese alla luce dei registri del dazio (1495-1537)", in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, völl. V, Milano: 1962, p. 48.

⁵⁹ J. Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques au Moyen Age...*, p. 80-81.

Orthodox slaves towards Italy.⁶⁰ The phenomenon of slavery in the Dalmatian shores has been a theme that in distinction with the case of Albanian territories has been relatively early treated.⁶¹ In Ragusa having a slave in possession was considered something that normal as having a precious clothing. For the geographical vicinity itself, the relations of Ragusa with the Albanian territories occupy an important place in the geography of demographic exchanges. Since the XIII century, is registered the emigration of Albanian in Ragusa. This emigration was mainly compound by merchants, craftsmen, and especially by clerics.⁶² The presence of Albanians in Ragusa for the vicinity itself was something normal, and that normal was the enslavement of Albanians going there with no richness and without recommendation letters from the authorities they were coming from. In the notary registers of this city exists many transactions of Albanian slaves, even since the XIII century. However, except the fate of slavery, a very small part of Albanians is shown as owners or slave traders. Thus, according an act of 18 May 1283, a certain Basil Bonakose from Durrës had bought from a certain Muscus Petrarius a slave called Simon de Vsora with the price of 8 solds.⁶³ Another case is that of an Albanian called Andrea de Spandensia Albanensis, who since 1352 sells his daughter Donika (Dominica) forever to Ragusa's goldsmith with the condition to only feed and dress her.⁶⁴

The slavery of Albanians heading to Ragusa as for work or any other

⁶⁰ Bariša Krekić, "Dubrovnik as a pole of attraction and a point of transition for the hinterland population in the late Middle Ages", in *Migrations in Balkan History*, ed. Dimitrije Djordjević. Beograd: SANU, 1989, p. 67-75; Charles Verlinden, "Patarins ou Bogomiles réduits en esclavage", *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, 38, 1967, p. 683-700; Paola Pinelli, "From Dubrovnik (Ragusa) to Florence: Observations on the recruiting of Domestic Servants in the fifteenth Century", *Dubrovnik Annals*, 12, 2008, p. 57-71.

⁶¹ The Croatian bibliography on this phenomenon starts since the end of the XIX century, in a paper limited only to Split: G. Alacevich, "Mercato di schiavi a Spalato nel 1540", *Cronaca Dalmatica*, nr. 15, Zara: 1888, where the author marks 66 acts of sale. To continue in the '40 es: Antonio Teja, "Aspetti della vita economica di Zara dal 1289 al 1409", *Rivista Dalmatica*, Zara, 1941-1942.

⁶² Francis W. Carter, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa). A classic City-state*, Seminar Press, London: 1972, p. 20-21.

⁶³ G. Čremoćnik, *Istorijski spomenici Dubrovačkog arhiva. Kancelariski e notarski spisi*, Beograd: 1932, nr. 300

⁶⁴ This Albanian sells his daughter with no deadline "definite usquead mortem". M. Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog Arhiva...*, III, 26 March 1352, nr. 22, p. 12.

reason, was made a discussion issue in the Ragusa's Councilium Rogatorum, where on 26 July 1388 was decided to be released the escaped Albanians taken from the Ragusans⁶⁵ and was forbidden the selling of Albanians in Ragusa or in its district.⁶⁶ On 1416 the Ragusan authorities undertook the step of banning the selling of slaves with the exception where they would be used in Ragusa, starting from the pressure of the neighboring princes, but this traffic stop zone was only until in Montenegro (north until Split), from the bay of Kotor to that of Neretva.⁶⁷ Because this ban didn't involve the Albanian territories, Ragusa except an emigration place for a number of workers, craftsman and Albanian soldiers, continued to be even after this banning a supply market with Albanian slaves which the Ragusan merchants usually exported towards Puglia and Marche. Moreover, this step of Ragusa Municipality, was only partially applied and B. Krekić has argued that this ban resulted partial and not complete.⁶⁸ In May and July of 1436, it's spoken about Ragusan ships transporting Albanian slaves in the shores of Marche, in Ancona. Not only from the north territories, but also from the southern ones as happened with two slaves that the Ragusan merchants bought from the Albanians of Himara on 1439.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Državni Arhiv u Dubrovniku (hereinafter: DAD), *Reform. XXVII*, fol. 88; A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime d'Albanie au Moyen Age-Durrazzo et Valona du XI^e au XV^e siècle*, Selanik: 1981, p. 545, 627: "*de faciendo libere relaxori omnes Albanenses fugientes captos per nostros Ragueseos*".

⁶⁶ Jahja Drançolli, "Prania e shqiptarëve në Raguzë gjatë shekujve XIII-XV", in *Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e shkencave historike*, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, 16-1986, Prishtinë: 1987, p. 57.

⁶⁷ *...considerantes talem mercantiam esse turpem, nefariam et abominabilem et contra omnem humanitatem... statuimus et ordinamus quod decetero nullus civis noster.. aut forensis... audeat vel presumat emere aut vendere servum aut servam vel esse mediator huiusmodi mercantie*. M. Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog arhiva*, III, 27 January 1416, p. 89-90, doc. 200.

⁶⁸ Bariša Krekić, "L'abolition de l'esclavage à Dubrovnik (Raguse) au XV^e siècle-mythe ou realite?", in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, nr. 12, p. 309-317; Bariša Krekić, "Contributo allo studio degli schiavi levantini e balcanici a Venezia (1388- 1398)", in *Studi in memoria di Federico Melis*, vol. II. Napoli: Giannini, 1978, p. 379-394.

⁶⁹ DAD, *Lamenta de Foris XI*, p. 116v, date 12 May 1436, where is stressed that these slaves were bought from the Albanians ("ab Albanensibus") in Himara; Alain Ducellier, "L'économie albanaise au Moyen Âge: Une traite coloniale", *Albanie*, nr. 11, Paris: 1981, p. 30.

Spain

In the framework of the Catalans activity in the Mediterranean is included in details the trade of slaves from the territories of Greece falling at the hand of the Great Catalan Company. As a supply area with slaves, either through buying or through capturing, is distinguished Thebe, while as trade place comes in evidence the role of Crete. This trade reaches its peak until 1330, also continuing for a long time during the XV century.⁷⁰ In the Albanian territories, the Catalan presence also has been sensitive, especially starting from the second decade of the XIV until the middle of the XV century. The Aragon kings tried to follow the directives of the papacy, aiming to approach the church of Constantinople through better treatment of the Greek slaves or their liberation. In Barcelona and in all the cities of Catalonia from the end of the XIV century was achieved an agreement supported from the church that previewed the immediate or after some years the liberation for all the Greeks and Albanians.

This agreement was indeed a short-lived one even why was achieved after a long and harsh conflict between the religious authorities and the representatives of secular service. On 1396, the conflict between the Barcelona's bishop Ramon de Escales and the bailos Sabatista and municipalities counselors, reaches its peak. The bishop had made an entire campaign in favor of setting free the Orthodox slaves especially those Greek and Albanian. The efforts of the bishop were forcefully opposed from the Barcelona municipality which represented the interests of the merchants what for them the work of the slaves and their trade was very lucrative.⁷¹ The conflict lasted until 1403 when the king Martin I, aligns himself with the municipality's demands. Thus, with the order of 8 July 1401, issued by the demand of the municipality council, was added that the demands for setting free the Greek, Albanian, Russian, Bulgarian, Vlachs slaves and all the Byzantine citizens wouldn't be taken into consideration if was not accompanied with the demanded amount requested by the slave's owner to free him and if preliminarily these slaves refused to convert to Catholicism. Then, the conflict reached that peak that Barcelona's bailos ordered to forcefully taken out a slave who has taken shelter in the Episcopal palace. The bishop from his side,

⁷⁰ Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale ...*, I, p. 400-401.

⁷¹ J. Miret y Sans, *La esclavitud...*, p. 24.

excommunicates the bailos. Even why the church authorities never questioned the legitimacy of this institution, in this case we clearly see that were trying to ease the adversity of the slaves.⁷²

In this document from Barcelona, in parallel with the Catholic Albanian slaves that were not granted the freedom, there is also a big number of other Balkan people which are mentioned as converted. Naturally their conversion was from the Orthodox faith, which nevertheless had no special treatment compared with the slaves of Islamic origin. Thus, a widow from Barcelona sells on 23 November 1413 to a fellow citizen a converted Albanian woman of 44 years old for 13 lira.⁷³ It has been an usual practice the forceful enslavement of the Balkan Christians from their Christian countrymen fellows, which would be forced through threats to be declared as Moslems.

On 10 June 1390, a citizen from Barcelona, Bernard Simon, buys from a Ragusan four slaves, which even why were considered of the Tartar race, indeed two of them were Christians' sons. The Ragusan from his side had bought from and Albanian that was taken in Kostur "of Albania".⁷⁴ Also, on 1434 an Albanian from Shkodra sells a 22 years old Turk to two Catalans.⁷⁵

Thus, the justification that one Christian slave was bought from the Turks goes being made an usual alibi for a shameful practice encouraged from the gains presented by such a practice.⁷⁶

Onofre Vaquer Bennàssar, studying the registers of Mallorca ports, emphasizes that until the middle of the XIV century, most of the slaves there were Arabs, but from the half of the XIV century, most of the slaves were beginning to come from Eastern Europe, mainly Russian, Tartars and Cercassians. Another group according to this author were the slaves of Balkan origin among which were included Bulgarian, Greek,

⁷²Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale* ..., I, p. 464-465.

⁷³*Ibid*, p. 457.

⁷⁴"qui eos ceperat in Castoria de partibus Albanie". M. Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog Arhiva...*, knj. III, nr. 141; Nenad Fejić, "Notes sur le traite des esclaves de Bosnie a Barcelone au Moyen Age (D'après les documents des Archives de Protocoles", in *Estudis historics i documents dels Arxius de Protocols*, nr. X, Barcelona: 1982, p. 109-110.

⁷⁵M. Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog Arhiva...*, III, 11 November 1434, p. 100, nr. 213.

⁷⁶Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale...*, p. 791, compares this practice with that of the Catalans selling in the XIII century Greeks of Crete forcing them to be declared as Turks from Anatolia.

Albanian and Serb slaves. By all means, these Balkan slaves for the period 1448-1499 do not pass the 2%.⁷⁷ In the fiscal registers for 1451 is found an Albanian woman belonging to the Mallorca citizen Jaume Torrella.⁷⁸ In 1458 also an Albanian woman called Elena, 45 years old, which her master Pere Donadeu has sold her to a certain Ambros Serra.⁷⁹

Egypt

About the presence of the Albanian slaves in Egypt we have an interesting testimony from a written treaty by Emmanuel Piloti on 1420 and containing precious data on the traffic developed by Genoa with Egypt. After the testimony of Piloti, the Genovese and also other Christian merchants were supplied with slaves not only from their colonies in the Black Sea, but directly bought them from the Ottoman possessions, especially in Gallipoli and Edirne and from there towards Egypt. Important data that Piloti presents us on how were valued the slaves of different ethnicities in Cairo. According to him, when the slaves arrived in Cairo, in the sultan's court were some specialized persons to value them, according to their ethnicities. The most precious were the Tartars, therefore a Tartar was usually valued 130 to 140 ducats. The Circassians were valued 110 to 120 ducats, the Greeks 90 ducats, The Albanians, the Bosnians and the Serbs from 70 to 80 ducats.⁸⁰

We can conclude emphasizing that the slavery as an ubiquitous social phenomenon in the Middle Ages, couldn't left unaffected the territories inhabited from the Albanians. The troubled situation in the Balkan and in the Albanian territories, especially after the beginning of the XIII century and after the fall of the Byzantine power, brought as consequence the turn of the Albanian and Balkan territories into the most envied areas for the interesting powers in trading the enslaved work hand.

⁷⁷ Onofre Vaquer Bennàssar, *L'esclavitud a Mallorca: 1448-1500*, Mallorc: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1997, p. 10-12.

⁷⁸ This Albanian woman had as slavery status the name Margarita and in this time was 50 years old. O. Bennàssar, *L'esclavitud a Mallorca...*, p. 15, 32.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 221.

⁸⁰ "ung Tartre vauldra cent et trente ou cent quarante ducas, un Charcas vaudra cent et dis ou cent et vint ducas; ung Grec LXXXX ducas, Albanois, Esclavons, Serves de LXX jusques LXXX ducas". Emmanuel Piloti, Ed. H. Dopp, *Publications de l'Université Lovanium*, Louvain-Paris: 1958, p. 52.

Beqir META**THE ALBANIAN-BRITISH NEGOTIATIONS ON
THE QUESTION OF THE GREEK MINORITY SCHOOLS
DURING 1935**

During 1933-1934, the Albanian government undertook an educational reform to strengthen the national character of the education, which also included the nationalization of all private schools within the country. This nationalization was also extended in the schools of the Greek minority, what brought a new tension in the relations with Greece. The question was further referred to the League of Nations and the International Court of Justice in Hague. At the end of the January 1935, the Albanian government agreed to ask an opinion from the Permanent International Court about the measures that she has undertaken to close the minority's private schools and their replacement with public schools, where the lessons were taught in the Greek language with texts mainly published in Greece.¹ In April 1935, the Court of Hague issued her opinion with a majority of votes (8 against 3) for the minority's private schools to be allowed again.

The Albanian government, after a hesitation of nearly two-three months, stated that would respect this verdict, but nonetheless the relations with Greece were still tense.

The British carefully followed the situation established after the verdict of the International Court Justice. They were preoccupied to avoid a possible Albanian-Greek exacerbation of relations. These preoccupations were especially strengthened after the meeting that the

¹ *The National Archives*, London (hereinafter: *TNA*), Public Record Office (hereinafter: *PRO*), Foreign Office (hereinafter: *FO*) 371/19476. W. Malkin to O'Malley in Foreign Office, Geneva, 12 January 1935.

British minister Hodgson had with King Zog immediately after being made known the verdict of Hague.

King Zog was seriously shaken from the opinion of the Court of Hague. In an audience with the British minister in Tirana on 13 April 1935², he resolutely emphasized that the opinion of the International Court was not only dishonest, but also carried the possibility to cause a catastrophic consequence for Albania. It was such because was not convincing and didn't represented the views of the responsible judges. After the King's conviction, the judges who had issued that verdict, supported it not in the presented arguments, but in the instructions that they have received from their governments. This verdict could be fatal to Albania, because the principle he was based on, if would have been applied according to his logic, would give a deadly blow to the efforts to reach the national unity.

Zog stressed that the opinion of the Court of Hague "was black", but considering the established situation, he promised that it would be respected. Albania had different racial, linguistic and religious groups. Giving them a privileged status in relations to the majority, as was defined from the International Court, exactly as the Greeks wanted from the Greek speaking population in the south and the Italians for the Albanian Catholics in the north, whose schools were shut down, and therefore Albania was in a very bad position.

In this moment a signed petition from some bishoprics north of Albania, was in the offices of the League of Nations. It raised the voice for the Catholic "minority's" situation. Zog declared to Hodgson that, in true the Catholics which were a pure Albanian population, would be the first who will reject the suggestion to be called a minority. If things would go to the end, also Geneva would state that those were a minority. The King declared that in this case would organize a plebiscite. The conclusion of this plebiscite was clear and thus the Geneva's intervention only would create a conflict between the faithful and their religious leaders.

The king also put in evidence that except the Greeks, in Albania existed other minorities as was the ethno-cultural Vlach minority and the ethnic Bulgarian minority, which might ask the same treatment as the

² TNA, FO 371/19477. Sir R. Hodgson to Sir John Simon, Durrës 25 April 1935.

Greeks. However, he expressed the conviction that was unlikely they to become a serious danger for the state.

The displeasure of the King from the Hague's verdict was so deep that he as seldom ever, loosened his tongue by stating that he would undertake some actions against the privileged positions of the Greek minority in Albania. He threatened that would take punitive revengeful measures for this challenge the Greeks has made upon him. "Approximately 400 Greek speaking officials of different categories in the administration, including here a number of officers in the Albanian army would be fired. There was no reason why Albania had to spent her revenues by granting wages to the persons that were not faithful to her. How could he find support in the loyalty of such officials when the money for their education were coming from a foreign source? He said that his right to apply this measure wouldn't be contradicted. Zog had carefully studied the Albanian Declaration of 1921, about which was concentrated the entire debate and, nowhere was written that was forbidden to fire the officials whose services were not liked"³.

Hodgson didn't welcomed this reaction and reminded to the King a very positive statement that he has made during a previous discussion between them about the minorities' problems. Zog, has then stated that Albania being a small country with big minorities outside her borders, would gain a lot by generously and visionary treating the minorities she had inside. By acting like this, she would not only gain the general sympathy, but would be placed in a strong position to efficaciously intervene when was necessary on behalf of her fellow nationals abroad.

Hodgson further told to the King that unfortunately the Albanian administration had "miserably" failed to apply this principle in the practice for the Greek speaking persons and now she was facing the consequences of not a smart policy. This critic of his was addressed only to the closing of private schools and was very exaggerated on the way how was articulated, because the Albanian government had rigorously respected all the other rights belonging to the Greek minority in bases of the documents of the League of Nations. Hodgson told to the King that if "the reasonable demands of the Greek speaking people would have been fulfilled with a spirit of sympathy and the minister of the Public Education would have shown an elementary attention, when started the

³ *Ibid.*

application of the national education last year, it can be said for sure that the things wouldn't have reached this point, even why was not shown a big attention to apply the international obligations that Albania has undertaken in the Declaration signed by her on 1921". He also didn't forget to remind to the King that "moreover, time after time, from the British were given the advices for moderate stand, but was not paid attention to them". Hodgson openly rebuked Zog's goal to fire all the Greek speaking employees, by presenting three reasons: First, it would be inevitably estimated as a revenge act, which would be harmful to Zog; secondly, it would deprived the administration from the useful employees so much necessitated; third, according to Hodgson, the meaning of the 1921 Declaration was different what Zog thought about it. He told to the King that was obstructed to take such an action because was forced to give equal employment opportunities to all Albanian citizens in the national administration without distinction of race, language and religion.⁴

Zog admitted that there have been made mistakes, both from the Albanians and the Greeks, but he expressed the opinion that the Greeks being certain on the support of the other members of the League of Nations, would strengthen in any case their intervention, nevertheless Albania had demonstrated an exemplary generosity in her attitudes toward the Greek speaking people.

The King added that those who have signed the opinion of the Permanent Court, seemed that were opposing the establishment of a Moslem state in the center of the Balkan. He clarified that the efforts of the Albanian state and of the King himself have been headed to extinguish the religious differences among the compounding parts of the Albanian people. While the judges of Hague, have had as aim exactly the opposite. Their verdict was calculated to further deepen the religious differences, to weaken the connections between the minorities and the majority and to give the independent status to minorities because their religion was different from that of majority.

These remarks of the King, cannot be said that were totally baseless. The Verdict of Hague, together with the Declaration of 1921, were a potential threat for the national unity of a modern state after the western model, where the religious differences weren't reflected in the political

⁴ *Ibid.*

institutions and in those cultural and educative. The International Court of Hague, the Council of the League of Nations and also the Great European Powers standing behind them, weren't fully and clearly interested on this thing. They have often conceived Albania as a Moslem state and have obstructed in some cases the efforts of the Albanian nationalists to build a secular state divided from the religion, with political institutions out of religious influences and relations. Also, in some circles some European powers of that time without mentioning here the neighboring countries, have strong prejudices against the Albanian state as a Moslem state, who had to be kept under strong control and to whom should be imposed specific clauses in the process of the national establishment.

However, from the other side, the Albanian government had a strong need for mediation and moreover for the British good understanding and support. Hodgson informed London that in general the opinion of the International Court has caused dissatisfaction in Albania. The King Zog, watching that the Council of the League of Nations would approve the opinion of the Court, was trying to achieve an agreement with the Greek side, which would save the Albanian government from the public condemnation. He would be grateful if the British government would help by mediating at the Greek government by starting a non-official discussion to achieve a practical solution that would please the Greek demands in essence without embarrassing Albania.⁵

Also, Zog demanded to the British to influence in the Council of the League of Nations to recommend to the Albania government the application of the Article 5 paragraph 2, for Albania to accept these recommendation was this to be the end of the debate.

Hodgson based the achievement in a Greek-Albanian agreement. He thought that the Albanians in the present situation would obey to a imposed solution, but in this way was not possible to be reached a long term outcome. Such a solution would be unavoidably sabotaged and endless discussions would follow. On the contrary, the solution through a bilateral agreement, nevertheless would contain in essence the opinion of the Permanent Court, would save the honor of Albanians and would

⁵ TNA, FO 371/19476. Sir Hodgson to the Foreign Secretary, Durrës, 17 April 1935.

have been a good chance to be stable. The first step towards this solution should have come from Greece.⁶

This suggestion was truly reasonable and farsighted. Apparently he had a certain support also from the Foreign Office. One of the high British officials, wrote that was against to be studied on what the British diplomacy could do, but he stressed that apparently the Greeks would not be ready for an understanding solution, until Albanians withdrew their counter accusations addressed to the League of Nations' Council on the Albanian minority in Greece.⁷ Hodgson continued to insist that was inclined to support the intervention in the Council of the League of Nations for this organization to recommend to the Albanian government how to be applied the paragraph 2 of the Article 5 of the Albanian Declaration of 1921.⁸

However, in the Foreign Office also existed another view, which seemed to be in minority. Carr suggested that the Albanian simply restored the previous situation of the schools by abolishing the actual law. In this would be allowed to be reopened the private schools which would operate in the previous conditions, including the comeback of the Greek abuses which according to Albanians made possible the shutdown of the private schools.⁹ But W. Malkin affirmed that this solution would be hard for Albanians and he thought not to go that far. He suggested that the Reporter of the League of Nations in order to put the issue in discussion that he would have with the Albanian representative in Geneva, immediately the Council would take the respective decision. He believed that were more chances to achieve a solution through agreement, wanted by the Albanians. After the agreement had been reached, it should be applied the Hague's verdict with the consent of the Albanian government. Nevertheless, he suggested that the best way would be for Albanians to go in Geneva prepared with different proposals, based in the Court's opinion which they should be ready to apply. If the Albanians would do that, then there was no reason to despair, because they would come out from this matter with a certain appreciation. He previewed that could be necessary a strong discussion

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ TNA, FO 371/19476. Notes of a Foreign Office official, whose signature was impossible to identify.

⁸ TNA, FO 371/19476. Notes of Hodgson, 18 April 1935.

⁹ TNA, FO 371/19476. Notes of William Malkin, 23 April 1935.

with the Greeks, but this was the duty of the Reporter and not of the British representatives. Concluding he wrote: "I agree for us to not intervene at the Greek government, nonetheless we could be able to give a hand during the negotiations in Geneva".¹⁰ With this suggestion also agreed R. Stevenson.¹¹

R. Hodgson informed London that in Albania was since early understood that the opinion of the Permanent Court would conclude in defeat for the Albanian state. He had talked with some educated Albanians, which insisted that the punishment was not deserved and they put in question the righteousness of the verdict. This was also the view of the Foreign minister Xhaferr Vila, who was described from the British minister as a sensible official, with an open mind, nonetheless he lacked the energy to act openly. He everywhere recommended the propitiatory methods, the consultation with the Greeks for not too severely treating the Greek speaking persons, as the best tool to avoid a tour de force trial with the Greeks which of course would end with the defeat of Albania. His advices and of other observers were continuously ignored.

The British minister understood that the outcome of this battle was painful for Albania. She was already punished for a undefined period, to remodel her education system "for a considerable part of the population", in a way that was defined by a neighbor of hers and to allow this neighbor country to indirectly influence in the way of heading the internal affairs of Albania. "When King Zog speaks badly for this situation of affairs, added Hodgson, his remarks of course cannot be considered unreasonable. Nevertheless, it should be accepted that he has done everything in his responsibility to fall in a tutelage position which now is unpleasant for him. It's a characteristic of King Zog that just he sees that has fallen in a position from which he cannot avoid, he is completely subdued. In the present concrete case, he immediately was convinced that everything was lost and subdued the unavoidable. Nevertheless he is convinced for the harmful outcomes that would be for his personal position and the stability of the government, the capitulation towards Greece and is preoccupied for finding a solution which nonetheless wouldn't ignore the essence of the Hague's verdict, will allow him escape

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

embarrassment, by being proclaimed guilty from the League's Council".¹²

These were the verifications and the acid remarks of the British minister on the policy that has followed the Albanian government in the matter of the schools. These remarks make think on their value and accuracy. Certainly, Hodgson somehow increased the guilt of the King and the harm that have caused the measures taken from the Albanian government for the nationalization of the schools. He also, partially judged this matter, ignoring the fact that the Court's verdict has been politically motivated and was not a pure product of the impartial international justice. However, some of his remarks should be carefully seen because in them, nonetheless not clearly, there is something to be valued as a mistake of the government:

First, the Albanian government, nonetheless was right and aimed to strengthen the national unity, didn't calculated good the forces, facing at the same time two her powerful neighbors, Italy and Greece on the matter of the private schools. In our opinion, this has been one of the rare cases when A. Zogu has made wrong political calculation.

Secondly, one of the mistakes of the Ministry of Education was that was found unprepared in applying the law for the nationalization of the private schools in the area of the Greek minority. In the beginning, she couldn't fulfill the new public schools in the necessary education framework and with the necessary didactical tools. Nonetheless in the second year, this situation was overcome and was visibly improved thanks to the energetic and expensive measures of this Ministry, but this didn't helped to stop the Greek political and legal offensive to subdue the Albanian government. The Greek action was further assisted from an euphoric tendency with nationalist colors of the Ministry of Education to diminish the lesson hours of the Greek language in the minority national schools. Nonetheless, this mistake was swiftly rectified, but the damage it has been made and increased the alarm in the minority population. It gave a powerful weapon to the Vorio-Epirus circles to intensify their movement against the Albanian government.

Third, after the verdict of the Court of Hague, Zog and his government was immediately subdued and as we would further see didn't took measures that would apply the Court's opinion in such a form to

¹² TNA, FO 371/19477. Sir R. Hodgson to Sir John Simon, Durrës, 25 April 1935.

efficaciously legally obstruct the Greek intervention in the minority schools and to stop the Greek nationalist propaganda in these schools. Also, the Albanian authorities were not able to present to the foreign diplomats and institutions any evidence of fact for this intrusion, nevertheless they possessed many evidences.

Four, the Albanian government was totally found unprepared to change the process of the Hague's verdict in a useful and essential dialogue for the engagement of the League of Nations institutions in the efficacious protection of the many Albanian populations living in Greece and Yugoslavia.

Interesting was also the reaction of the Foreign Office towards the above mentioned telegram of Hodgson, presented in a project-answer which is not certain if was sent to the British minister in Albania.¹³ In it was written: "We won't become warrantors for the verdict of the Permanent Court on which as you know, Hurst and two other judges voted against. However, the King's opinion is that the majority of the judges have voted according the political motivations is absurd. Do whatever you can to convince the King and the other Albanians that share the same opinion which even why continue to think that have been victims of an unjust verdict of justice, at least should be convinced that the hypotheses of a political combination against Albania, doesn't stands. The main aim of my letter is to stress that nevertheless the Court's opinion has been fair or not, the Albanians should have been more fair by accepting it, because any other stand would make their position totally defenseless. How could be solved the issue, in this moment couldn't be said anything. But, we do not think that the Council would wanted a humiliating or non applicable solution towards a part that went in the Council's table and was ready to accept its verdict. We are ready to do everything we can to fulfill a soft solution". In the above mentioned project, in the beginning were also placed these two paragraphs: "we are sorry for the position in which the Albanians are now" and the other stressed that "until the Albanians have accepted the Court's verdict, we would do everything in private in Geneva to ease their position and to achieve a right solution for all the parts". But, these phrases were later deleted in the text of this material.

¹³ TNA, FO 371/19477. Project-answer of Foreign Office to Hodgson, London 13 May 1935.

Foreign Office denied that political motivation of Hague's verdict, but didn't presented any evidence or argument to prove how it was politically unmotivated. From the analyses of the events, comes out clearly that a combination of two most powerful neighbors of Albania, Greece and Italy, which have also mobilized their allies, have forced the Albanian government to go in Canossa. But, London was not interested now to do the right analyses of this issue. She wanted only for Albania to show herself soft and to apply without making a sound the verdict. While the British masters in the League of Nations would take care that formally in the eyes of the world, the Albanian government should not be that ashamed. It's understandable that this interested to London because would stop a counteroffensive of Albanians to ask equal treatment for the Albanian populations in Greece and Yugoslavia. Also, would stop their further resistance to argue the Greek intervention and to engage the League on this matter, a thing that the British didn't wanted at all.

Hodgson discussed again the matter with Xhaferr Vila and made known to him London's attitude. The Foreign Office had made it clear that the Albanian government could not hope to be treated with sympathy in Geneva, without applying the opinion of the Court of Hague.

Hodgson expressed his personal opinion that was better for the King to send in Geneva as special representative Xh. Vila himself, because his stand during this debate has been more moderate and could gain the trust of the Greeks, which knew he has worked for a friendly solution. Therefore, he was more suitable for a mission, whose objective was to be achieved an understanding with the Greek government.

Vila replied that he appreciated a lot the explanation of the British government about the reasons that had made impossible its intervention, as was required from the Albanian side and affirmed that would explain this to the King. He assured the British representative that the Albanian government would apply Hague's verdict. Vila added that he doesn't saw any alarm about King's assertions to fire all the Greek speaking persons, in case that the Court of Hague verdict would be confirmed from the Council of the League of Nations. The King has spoken a lot with him on this idea, but he has been under the influence of having been hurt from this verdict. This dissatisfaction has quickly passed, just as he seriously

saw the case. He fully understood that was obstructed from the definitions of the 1921 Declaration even if he wanted to do such a thing.

The British minister was already convinced that Albania would continue to equally treat the minorities in the liberal way, aiming that the neighbors would follow her example. This opinion was resolutely expressed by also Xh. Vila. Hodgson affirmed that after being clear to him, when he spoke for two decisions that has been lately taken from his government. First the Vlachs schools that were closed two years ago, would be opened again and two of them were functioning; second a Yugoslav minority school would be allowed to function again in Vrakë, where have remained 60 Montenegrin families, from 150 families that were before.

Hodgson met again with Vila on 10 May 1935. Already Vila had talked to King Zog and was drafted a new plan on the actions to be undertaken. Would be made every effort that the League's Council to postpone its pronouncement on this issue until the fall's session. Meanwhile, would be taken urgent measures in accordance of Hague's verdict. Was hoped that for four months would be taken such measures to avoid every critique. Thus, when the Council would be convened in September, it only would assert this fait accompli. Albania would realize the awaited reforms with her own will. The Albanian Foreigner Minister stated that has been his government earlier wish that this method of action to find the approval of the British representative in the Council of the League of Nations.

Hodgson asked Xh. Vila if he could guarantee that this immediate change of tactics will not be accompanied with a government's weak of will to apply the Hague's verdict. He added that, was concerned from a report who has come from a credible source, in which was said that the Albanian government aimed to install in the Greek speaking areas a population of 1 500-2 000 families from Kosova. The British minister asked if was something true in this report. He warned that such a plan to fill the Orthodox regions with Moslem emigrants, except other visible disadvantages would overthrow that sympathy that the Albanian question has enjoyed for a long time in England. Xhaferr Bey was felt insulted from this lack of confidence from Hodgson and said that he has to be certain that such a maneuver was out of question. King Zog already had decided that the Hague's verdict would be applied and fulfilled.

While as belonged to the case of establishing Kosovar emigrants in Southern Albania, he never has heard even a single word and believed that this history lacked any bases. Nevertheless, he promised that would inquire the source of this information (that according to Hodgson, was the Bureau Secretary of Emigration, Sali Vuçiterni) asking the King if he could give any explanation about this question.

Hodgson told Vila that the suggestion about the postponement of the decision in the schools issue until September belonged to the reporter in Geneva. He expressed the opinion that this procedure has as aim to give the outcome on which was working the British representative in Geneva. He promised that was prepared to inform the Foreign Office in favor of solving this minority issue, in a way to avoid Albania's "embarrassment".¹⁴

The next day, Vila informed the King that the meeting with Hodgson has been tense. The cause was the news he has received that the Albanian government would settle 1500 Kosovar refugee families in the area of the Greek speaking minority.¹⁵

When the Albanian Foreign minister transmitted to the British representative the suggestion that the King Zog has made on the question of the Greek schools, the British minister liked it and promised to telegraph the Foreign Office. But he expressed his doubts and asked minister Vila, if the Albanian side was sincere in this proposal, because on the contrary, the situation would be worsened, the Albanian government would lose all the trust and sympathy of the British government and thus, the question would take a more serious shape.

The Albanian Foreign minister gave assurances on the seriousness of this proposal. Then, the British minister affirmed that if was acted in this way, the Albanian government would gain the previous sympathy of the British government and would be in the position to promote this treatment of the Greek minority as a model also for the Albanians living outside the border.

Nevertheless, he made some harsh remarks. Though laughing, he said that "His Highness has previously stated to me some opinions in

¹⁴ TNA, PRO. FO 371/19477. Sir R. Hodgson to Sir John Simon in Foreign Office, Durrës, 11 May 1935.

¹⁵ *Arkivi i Ministrisë së Punëve të Jashtme të Republikës së Shqipërisë/Archive of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania* (hereinafter: AMPJ), year (hereinafter: Y.) 1935, file (hereinafter F.). 94, p. 7-9. Letter of Xhaferr Vila to Mbretin Zog, 11 May 1935.

favor of minorities, but in practice was done the opposite". He expressed doubts also the for the possibility of softening the stand of the Education minister Ivanaj. Also he expressed a kind of dissatisfaction for the appointment of Mehdi Frashëri to defend the case in Geneva, on whom he said: "C'est tres mal, c'est de la folie, il gâchera les affaires".¹⁶ (It's too bad, it's crazy, he will ruin the affair).

Then the British minister affirmed that Sali Vuçiterni had stated that His Highness would bring 1500 Kosovar families, which he would settle in the Greek speaking areas. The Albanian Foreign minister replied that he was not briefed of such a plan, but added that if the Kosovar refugees would come, Albania would not close the doors to them. He asked to the British representative that his government to intervene to the Yugoslav government to leave the Kosovars alone. However, the British minister not only didn't replied on this demand, but sharply stated that: "I don't want to reply on this issue, because if you have such a project, would be unfortunate and will be created many complications. Thus, you will lose forever the sympathy and the good dispositions that the British government has on Albania".¹⁷

Further he made some critic comments on Sali Vuçiterni, whom he accused that had spent all the emigration money more on his interest. Hodgson stated full of irritability: "Why His Highness doesn't makes use of young good elements. The old ones are corrupted. Tell to His Highness my opinion on the project of installing Kosovars in the Greek speaking regions. We consider the situation very serious. It might occur conflicts between the Moslems and the Christians. We cannot stay indifferent. I talk with the minister of Foreign Affairs, I have the best of impression. With this impression I remind that the affairs of Albania would walk under the sunshine, but we see the rain falling. We are used with the principles of the western administration, we have difficulties to understand the spirit of the Albanian administration. I wish to repeat one point. If we would make a comparison between the statement His Highness has made to me that would banish all the Greek speaking, and the words spread from the Director of the Agrarian Reform to install the Kosovars in the south, to make life impossible to the Greek speaking people, I bitterly ascertain a secret project. It's my duty to ask you

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

explanations and you are obliged to clearly reply on this matter. In bases of your reply, the British government would confirm its behavior. Tell me who is responsible here in Albania for the statements and the actions that are done?"¹⁸

This stand of the British minister and the strong pressure that he was exercising towards the Albanian government helped a lot to stop an action which might deepen the conflict with Greece. Nevertheless, he noticed with the indifferent stand of London towards the demands and the continues appeals of the Albanian representatives to intermediate in Athens and Belgrade, that both these countries had to stop the ethnic cleansing policies following against the Albanian population. Thus, it can be said that London always adapted two standards, from one side tried to stop every measure of the Albanian government that affected a little bit the interest of both Albania's Balkan neighbors and, at the other side tolerated the policies of assimilation and ethnic cleansing of Greece and Yugoslavia against Albanians.

Some days later, King Zog invited in a meeting the British minister and affirmed to him after the Court of Hague has made her pronounciation, that he has widely discussed the matter with the ministers and has decided to accept the opinion of the Court.¹⁹ The King added that he haven't a clear idea on the obligations Albania had towards the national minorities and he blamed himself for not having the knowledge about what the Albanian state had in bases of the 1921 Declaration. His exaggerated self confidence in his abilities to lead the foreign policy, cause disillusion. Hodgson said that some mistakes can be attributed to the King on this matter about the uncertainty of that Declaration text. This was the reason that the 11 jurists of the Court of Hague had interpreted it not unanimously. Further, Zog stated that in one point he would be intransigent: If the Council of the League would ask to Albania to accept that Greece developed espionage among the Greek speaking people and would stop Albania to take the necessary measures for its protection, the King would refuse the acceptance of such a unjust demand and would withdraw from the League. His ministers agreed with him and the minister of Foreign Affairs would draft a project to solve the established situation. The King demanded to Hodgson also to give his

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ TNA, FO 371/19477. Sir R. Hodgson to Sir John Simon, Durrës, 24 May 1935.

assistance on this issue. According this project, the Greek speaking minority would be treated in the most liberal way in bases of the 1921 Declaration and at the same time, would be secure the interest of the state by controlling the appointed teachers from the Greek speaking communities, which could be agents working for the Greek interests.²⁰

The British minister told to the King that his terminology was wrong. He has seen the references in some foreign misinformed newspapers as for example in "The Near East", that some persons after being appointed as teachers in the Albanian schools, were registered in the Greek army, but he had no information for such an incident. Also, Hodgson added that he could not seriously take the claim that Greece was interested towards Albania in the military plan. He accepted that existed the propaganda of the Northern-Epirus organizations, which was oriented to establish a subversive movement. It helped to spread the Greek influence, but didn't existed an espionage in the real meaning of it. Zog accepted that this was right.²¹

Hodgson stated that if was proved that Greece has recruited agents for her own propaganda among the teachers of the Greek speaking minority in the past, this behavior deserved to be examined during the discussions on the actual matter of the schools. He asked the King if the Albanian government could give evidence proving this assertion. Except vague data that the Greek speaking teachers have encouraged the children to dress with the colors of the Greek flag, King Zog had nothing to say, but promised that the Foreign Minister Xh. Vila would prepare a memorandum on this question. Hodgson wrote to Foreign Office that he believed that the Albanian government wanted to have evidences to prove that the anti Albanian agitation in the Greek speaking region was encouraged from Greece, but it didn't possessed proves. According to him, the enmity against Tirana that without doubt prevailed in this moment among a convinced population, was not provoked from the foreign agencies but from the mismanagement of the Albanian officials.²²

Nevertheless the denial made from Xh. Vila about the existence of the project of placing Kosovar emigrants, Hodgson mentioned again this

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

matter to the King. A. Zogu denied the existence of this project and promised that would inquire the source of this information, but again this didn't convinced Hodgson. He informed Foreign Office that he realized the King was not sincere. He had the impression that his intervention on this matter has been at the right time and efficacious, because there were many things in this story than those the King was ready to accept. This conviction was enforced later from a remark that has made the Foreign minister. He believed that the idea to place on the Greek speaking regions emigrants, at least has been previously discussed. Hodgson expressed the pleasure that now was abandoned as idea.²³

Hodgson informed London that the Foreign minister would present to the King his proposals for solving the conflict, in accordance with Hague's opinion, with some reserves which allowed the Albanian government to exercise a certain control on the teachers' activity that would be appointed. The Chairman of the State Council, Mehdi Frashëri who has assisted the lawyer M. Gideli, engaged from the Albanian state to protect the issue of nationalization of the schools in Hague, has been already sent to Geneva aiming to postpone until September the decision of the Council. During the summer months, the schools in all Albania would be closed and the debate would be under control. When the schools would open again, was hoped that the Albanian government scheme would have been accepted in Geneva and would be inaugurated an education system which would fulfill the demanded conditions.²⁴

Hodgson's telegrams towards Zog were positively appreciated from Foreign Office as a smart action of his. Also the change of attitude from the Albanian government was called positive and as an action that would improve its relations with the neighbors. The British Foreign Ministry affirmed that "Albania has received a good lesson and was predisposed to take advantage of it, thus could be hoped that Xhaferr Bey has spoken with the authorities when he denied the rumored plan of placing Albanians in the Greek speaking areas".²⁵

Some days later Hodgson sent another letter to London when informed that Zogu had expressed his views on the opinion of the Permanent Court, has been to a certain point elaborated from somebody

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ TNA, FO 371/19477. Notes of Foreign Office officials, 27 May 1935.

else and there is no doubt that he went beyond rather than compared to an objective stand. Now the King had clearly understood the necessity of applying the verdict of the Court of Hague. He now has created the deep conviction that was unfruitful to oppose the international justice, where he had little chances to win, when the interests of a larger Albanian population outside the borders of Albania were questioned. According to Hodgson, now the King had many reasons to understand that his previous idea that the Hague's judges have conspired to harm Albania, was hilarious.²⁶ However, if there was any doubt among the lines of the Albanian governments, Hodgson thought that the letter sent from the high official of the Foreign Office, O'Malley would help to remove any doubt from the King when the matter would be again discussed. He wrote to London: "When I saw him the last time, the belief that he has been a victim of a conspiracy didn't existed anymore on him. The sensible person as Xh. Vila didn't need to be convinced". The British minister reached this conclusion: "Watching the episode as a whole, it's not a bad thing for Albania that she was defeated in Hague. This will be, at least I believe so, a useful lesson for the future. It's a good thing that King Zog for the first time since the period I had contact with him, has admitted that he wrongly oriented his people. Perhaps now he will allow the Foreign minister to do something more constructive, rather than to continue with the confusions the others have made for him"²⁷.

From the other side, the British minister affirmed that the opinion of the majority of the Court of Hague created a wrong precedent. "In the first line it legalizes the processes that have the tendency to deepen the racial and religious differences; secondly, it forces a country that the legislation within his borders to subdue to a regime similar to that of capitulations; and third, it allows the foreign factors to be called as intervention in the debates and to be used with the aim to introduce those words whose meaning was that clear and was not what they really possess. In a few words, the most of the judges have issued an unbalanced verdict and have kept an immense naïve stand, aiming to demonstrate that the words written in the Albanian Declaration had a meaning that indeed didn't existed. Hurst and the others had it relatively

²⁶ TNA, FO 371/19477. Sir R. Hodgson to Owen O'Malley in Foreign Office, 10 June 1935.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

easy to prove their view". He thought that a minimum of care would have avoided all this matter.

From the other side, the British minister was clear not only for the injustice of Hague's verdict, but also for the deep disproportions between the policies the neighbors were following against the Albanian minorities and the correct and positive policies that the Albanian state has followed towards the minorities within its territory. About that, Hodgson wrote: "The irony of the situation is that the Yugoslavs having a population of over half million of Albanians, which live since the ancient times in Kosova, not only has not granted them any school, but systematically have used all the known tricks from the wild officials aiming to deprive them from their assets and even going further, denying their Albanian belonging. Thus, it's no surprise that Zog is some kind angry".²⁸

The above mentioned remarks of Hodgson presented in a very precise and laconic way the essence of the Court of Hague verdict and the danger it represented for the Albanian state. So, as the British minister in Tirana, also his government or its representatives in the League of Nations were clear and convinced on the unbalanced character of that verdict. Even if it would be applied for the schools of the Albanian Catholics it can be said that was even more dangerous. But, the British did nothing in the League's Council or behind its doors, to rectify this verdict nevertheless their possibilities were big.

The British representative in the League of Nations supported Hodgson's critic about Court's majority opinion. He suggested to the Albanian representatives that were contacted that the Council's verdict could be postponed. However, before making the changes in the Albanian legislation to reflect Hague's opinion they should consult with the reporter of the case, which they should show the measures that they were going to take because he might oppose and had no reason to not accept the postponement of discussion in September. Moreover, was at the interest of the Albanian government to achieve an understanding with the reporter because if she would approve a law which the reporter would consider inappropriate, in September the position of Albania would worsen.

²⁸ TNA, FO 371/19477. Sir R. Hodgson to Owen O'Malley in Foreign Office, Durrës, 10 June 1935.

The British representative has understood that the Albanian government was prepared to give satisfactory guarantees to the reporter. He has seen the project-proposal from the Albanian side to postpone the Council's decision, conditions which were very satisfactory and give to the Albanian government a very good position²⁹. The British official suggested that anyway the Albanians should be supported, because the new proposal they have made was better. In the previous proposal, where they have demanded this postponement, the conditions have been less acceptable than those presented in the new draft. In the first proposal the Albanian government has not shown the nature of the preliminary measures that would take until to be accepted the postponement decision of the League of Nations Council. Thus, the Albanian then have come with less expectancies. Differently would have been if they could have been better advised. Nevertheless, during the meeting of the Council were kept two or three speeches which have improved somehow their position.³⁰

Foreign Office received legal advices about the opinion of the Court of Hague. W. E. Beckett stressed that the opinion of the Court had a general interest seen in three point-of-view:

a) As an opinion for interpreting an article, which existed in all the treaties for minorities, in the same substantial form.

b) As an example in the Court's practice, which was interpreting an article of treaty in a wider form, to be realized the real aim and not the narrow interpretation that was containing its words.

c) The court's opinion was an opinion of majority that was opposed from three members: the Polish and the Romanian, two countries that have national minorities and from the British. This made it somehow doubtful, if the majority had right from the legal point-of-view.

The first question that was laid before the Court was if the Art. 5 of the Albanian Declaration allowed the Albanian government to take a general measure. There was a second question that the Court didn't replied, because has not replied to the first question either: Had the Albanian and the Greek governments exercised the right to oppose the Court's verdict according to its rules?

²⁹ TNA, FO 371/19477. Notes of a Foreign Office official, 29 June 1935.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

The Court has reached the conclusion that the meaning of the second sentence of Article 5 was: a) because the minorities had the right to establish private schools etc., and b) their right in this direction shouldn't be that narrow compared to the right the majority has.

This conclusion which went beyond the article's words, was based in three arguments: Article 4 has previewed "*equality before the law*". Thus the first sentence of Art. 5, guaranteeing "*the same treatment and safety in law and fact*", should had something more. This "something more" was based in the words "in fact" which excluded the formal legal equality, in the meaning of discrimination in law's words.

This "something" more should have been a "notion of equality, special for the relations between the majorities and minorities. *The equality before the law* could left the possibility for a kind of discrimination; while *the equality in the fact* could include a different treatment aiming to achieve an outcome which might decide an equilibrium between the different situations. Applying these arguments in the second sentence of the Article 5, the Court stressed that the mentioned institutions in these sentence were not suitable to make possible to the minority to have the same treatment as the majority, not only in law, but also in fact. The public schools after this judgment, were suitable to fulfill the necessities of the majority, but not of the minority. Consequently, the words "*equal rights*" couldn't be interpreted because had the meaning that the government could close the private schools of minority, even if it made the same thing for the majority. Such an interpretation removed the meaning to a big part from the original text of the Albanian Declaration. The words "*equal rights*" should be interpreted in a way that didn't included rights that could be taken, meaning that the right that was mentioned should always be granted to minorities, and moreover, some enlargement of it could be given to other citizens.

The Court has clarified that this interpretation was confirmed from the history of the approval of the Albanian Declaration of 1921, because when this was under discussion, the Greek government had required to be included other specific predictions except the standard one containing the other treaties. What was else required was also the undefined right for the private schools. The Albanian government didn't opposed at that time the Greek proposal on this point, but was satisfied explaining the

then situation in Albania that first, the minorities possessed this right, and secondly, there was no discrimination. When the definitive project of the Declaration which contained the word "equal" was presented from the British representative as reporter of the Council, he stated that this project has met the Greek demands in this point.

Beckett also presented the view of the Court's minority, which was refused in these arguments:

a) The first sentence of the Article 5 previewed the same treatment of minorities and majority and the second sentence started with the words "in particular", showing that this is a special application of the principle the first sentence contained and consequently, the word "equal" simply meant the equality of the rights about special disputes between majority and minority.

b) The opinion of Court was based in goals which is supposed that the minorities' treaties have into consideration and went away from the then practice of the Court, where in presence of a clause, which meaning was clear, the Court should interpret its words as they were, nevertheless that this clause could not be more effective if was differently expressed.

c) The minority of court agreed with the argument 1 of majority, but strongly opposed the second and stressed that was no argument to prove that the equality in law could be replaced from a system of differentiate treatment for the minority and majority to establish the balance between them. Equality was a sounding and touching thing while "the perfect equilibrium" was an unreachable and uncachable demand.

d) About the argument 3, the minority said that the Court was not competent to prove that the private schools were essential for a community life: they could be important to it, but the monopoly on education could also be important to the state. Such a lack of clear definition, was impossible for a court to say that one interest overruled the other.

e) As belonging the history of the case, was accepted that the Albanian Declaration had to follow the applied principles in the other treaties and its text was such. The Court has examined only the changes which couldn't be important. The most peremptory explanation of the minorities' treaty in general, was Clemenceau's letter addressed to Poland, when the latter was summoned to sign the first treaty on minorities. In this letter, Art. 8 of the Polish treaty, which corresponded

to the Art. 5 of the Albanian Declaration, was explained that aimed only to prevent the discrimination. The then Greek government had made proposals to modify the Albanian Declaration and were the same they who were referring to the paragraph 4 of the Court's opinion, that had the unconditional right on schools etc. These went somehow beyond the usual previews of the treaties on minorities and the League of Nations, approving the Albanian Declaration on 1921, has approved a text which has not been the same with the Greek text, but the same with the Polish text. Consequently, the history of the issue, differently what was said in the opinion of the Court of Hague, didn't confirmed the view of this court.

The Court has applied the principle that "an interpretation, which would deny a treaty of minorities a big part of its value, was unacceptable". In this special example was applied the principle to reach in an interpretation, which went beyond the literal meaning of the words used in the Declaration.

Albania has pretended that the previews on minorities, being an extraordinary regime, in violation of the common law, should be as much as favorable for the Albanian sovereignty, if there existed doubts that was affected. While the Court had emphasized that, because the article defending important rights of minorities, "both in text and spirit", was "unnecessary to further examine this argument of the Albanian government". In other cases, the Court had stressed that this argument would be applied only for interpretation purposes, when every other way of finding understanding has failed.

Art. 71(2) of Court's Rules, which was included in the chapter on Advisory Procedure emphasized: "On a question that relies within an existing debate between two or more countries, members of the League of Nations, it should be applied Art. 51 of the Statute. In case that were doubts, the Court should decide". In this case, the Court (paragraph 6) stressed that the case presented to her, didn't relied in any existing "debate" and consequently, this paragraph (Art. 51) was applicable. Beckett, stressed that on this conclusion were not presented arguments. Indeed, the case was such that interested more to the Greek government which had different views from the Albanian government. However, he thought that this reasoning of the court was based on the fact that the case was never presented before the Council of the League of Nations as

debate between Greece and Albania, but was presented from a report of the Committee of the Three.³¹

This was Beckett's memorandum, legal counselor of the British government. From it, the Foreign Office was informed about the legal shortcomings of Court of Hague's opinion and also for the complicated character of this issue.

An investigation on the minority Greek speaking area was also made by Jocelyn Percy, whose was General Inspector of the Albanian Gendarmerie.³² He reached the conclusion that the Greek speaking people kept an extraordinary silent stand towards the question of the schools. Was truly impossible to make them speak on this question. Seemed that they had no interest to boycott the public schools and even they were not interested at all how all this matter would end. The only thing concerning them was that their children were not going to school.

Percy ascertained that between them were strikebreakers and this passive resistance has no doubt been attributed to a big scale the propaganda of the former teachers, which the Albanian government have replaced a year ago. Also, he informed that the influence of the Greek consul of Gjirokastra was the hub of the strike. Percy believed that many rich Greeks of the merchant strata wanted to abandon the strike and sent to school their children. But they feared that if they would act in that way the Greek consul would counteract by forbidding them to pass the border to Greece to do business. This would hit them hard, because the trade with Greece was a powerful source of profit for them.

Percy affirmed that the governmental schools, already were well equipped and have a staff of teachers who possessed all the necessary qualification for their job. However, the Greek speaking persons as a result of the treatment they suffered, were in an apathetic situation and opposed everything coming Tirana. From the other side, there was no other sign that would show some active hostility from their side against the regime.

From the end of June 1935, R. Hodgson asked again the Foreign minister Vila if he has found any information to prove if Greece has used

³¹ TNA, FO 371/19477. Notes of W. E. Beckett, 14 June 1935.

³² TNA, FO 371/19477. Sir R. Hodgson to Sir Samuel Hoare, Durrës, 24 June 1935.

the Greek teachers in the Southern Albania as tool for her propaganda. Vila replied that was no evidence on that.³³

In the notes of Foreign Office was said that the Greek speaking people were treated not in a smart way and now they were making their game. For this, they seemed to have been encouraged from the Greek consul which didn't allowed them to pull back. Now in London was believed that the Albanians were making real efforts to put order in their home, before the gathering of the Council in September. Therefore, the high British officials thought that in these circumstances could be better that the British representative in Athens Waterlow, to show non officially to the Greek government the report of Hodgson. Also, he had to encourage the Greek government to instruct her consul in Gjirokastra, to not encourage further the minority population in order for them to show compliance when the stand of the Albanian government proved a true desire to solve the matters in the meaning of its engagements. If the Greeks would positively reply, R. Hodgson had to inform on this the Albanian Foreign minister or the King, encouraging them for a satisfying solution. The British Foreign Ministry stressed that this was not a question belonging to her, but the informal action could be useful and may grow the British prestige on both sides.³⁴

Also Greece proved somehow the pressure coming from other Balkan countries which seemed that disliked this victory of hers that she was achieving in the League of Nations against Albania, when was known that Athens has made everything to crush the most elementary rights of the minorities within her rule. The interventions of the Turkish Foreign minister and of the Yugoslav Deputy Foreign minister in the Balkans Conference, somehow influenced the Greek Foreign minister to accept for the sake of appearances to make a deal with Albania, with the conditions that Greek teachers to be paid from the Albanian government. The Yugoslav Foreign minister expressed disbelief about the Greeks' sincerity, but suggested that it has to be made an effort to start the negotiations with the plenipotentiary Greek minister in Tirana.³⁵ Especially, the statements that were made from the Turkish Foreign

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ TNA, FO 371/19477. Notes of Foreign Office, 3 July 1935.

³⁵ AMPJ, Y. 1935, F. 297, p. 373. The Albanian minister in Belgrade, R. Fico to MFA, 16 May 1935.

minister Ruzhdi Arasi in Geneva in favor of Albania impressed the interested circles there, while the Greek delegation was upset from them. Also the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry welcomed Arasi's comments "with a special pleasure" and considered them very fair, nonetheless Greece has not kept her promise given in Bucharest.³⁶

Nevertheless, the Greek government didn't meant to give up the pressure towards the Albanian side. The Greek minister in Albania asked the Albanian Foreign minister about the measures previewed to be taken from the Albanian government in applying the opinion of the Court of Hague. Diamantopulos told later to Hodgson that his intervention was not at the most suitable time and the smartest way for Greece would have been to remain in silence till September. If until then, Albania wouldn't have fulfilled the reforms asked by the Court of Hague, it has to suffer the pressure to apply them. Also Hodgson was fully agree with this opinion.

Diamantopulos was concerned that the Albanian side would require an equal treatment of the Albanian minority in Çamëria. This was the question in which the Greek government wanted to avoid by all means. His conversation with Albania's Foreign minister was prepared to fulfill its engagement to be made all the necessary changes for the Greek speaking schools, but only with the condition that Greece from her side to accept to undertake the same reforms for the Albanian of Çamëria. If the Greek government accepted this proposal, also the Albania side would put an end to this question.

The Greek government wanted as always to gain only privileges and concession in Albania, but was avoiding every demand for reciprocal treatment of the Albanian minority in Greece. Diamantopulos tried to argue to the Albanian minister that the cases of the Greek speaking and Çams were not similar in any direction; because the Çams' complain was now before the Council in Geneva. For this reason, to present this demand in this way was useless. So, he would inform his government for the negative outcome of the negotiations with the Albanian Foreign minister. He was convinced that this stand was not coming from the Foreign minister, but from the King. He always has thought and this incident strengthened his belief that King Zog never aimed to keep his promises about the Greek speaking people.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 296. The Albanian Legation in Belgrade – MFA, 1 June 1935.

Apparently the Greeks insisted to create a political differentiation within the Albanian government, nevertheless was difficult because the situation was totally under the control of King Zog. They were presenting Vila as a reasonable man, while all the strike they wanted to focus against King Zog, trying to convince London for this version of theirs.

After the meeting with the Greek minister, Hodgson asked Xh. Vila for its content. Vila informed him that in the beginning Zogu instructed him to not give any answer to the Greek minister, because Albania was not responsible towards Greece, but towards the Council of the League of Nations. The Albanian government was not intended to avoid the obligations defined by the Court of Hague and her representatives would explain at the due time in Geneva the way of action to be undertaken to demonstrate her good will. The discussion of this matter with the Greek government was totally something else and the King was not predisposed to approve the negotiations with it. However, he had changed his opinion and has accepted Vila's suggestion that the demand of the Greek minister should not be categorically rejected. The Albanian were not prepared to give to the Greeks the information they were searching for if they in reciprocity would tell Albanians what they intended to do with the Çams. The Greeks could be certain that the Albanians would not abandon their obligation in the middle of the road, but would take them to the end. So "let it be a good willing exchange". This was the proposal that Vila has made to Diamantopulos. Hodgson informed the Foreign Office that was not Vila's idea to connect both questions and believed that Albanian would not break the given word.

The British minister believed that Xh. Vila has told him the truth. He thought that nevertheless, was better to not let the chance escape to prove his good intentions. Thus, Hodgson made it clear to the Albanian Foreign minister the harmful consequences for the position of Albania if Tirana would avoid the application of the obligations that has taken before the League of Nations, by creating prejudices which would harm her relations with those countries that have positive feelings towards Albania, and also the profits she would get by securing peace in her borders. Xhaferr Bey received this suggestion as a friendly advice and once again assured Hodgson that Albania would respect her engagements. He begged him to explain to London the position and the

efforts of the Albanian government to rectify the misinformation that was clearly being made by the Greek minister.

The duty to draft a scheme of the reforms in a way to completely fulfill the demands contained in the decision of the Court of Hague, was given to the Foreign minister Xh. Vila. This project was presented to the Education minister Mirash Ivanaj, who accepted it, but begged to the King to not apply it.³⁷

The Albanian government strictly applied this decision. In this way were successfully concluded the efforts of the British government to orient the Albanian government in applying without conditions and objections the decision of the Court of Hague.

³⁷ TNA, FO 371/19477. Sir R. Hodgson to Sir Samuel Hoare, Durrës, 20 July 1935.

Seit MANSAKU

THE ORIGIN OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE AND PEOPLE IN THE WORK OF THE ACADEMICIAN IDRIZ AJETI

It's a special pleasure that we are gathered here today in the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosova to celebrate the 100 anniversary of a distinguished scholar and patriot as the academician Idriz Ajeti is. The hundred anniversary of his birth is a great jubilee. Rarely happens that this great jubilee to belong to a great man and scientist and he himself to be alive and to enjoy it. He is an active participant and protagonist of the essential historic moments of the linguistic, education and cultural developments of Kosova for more than three-quarters of the century and leader in the field of philological and linguistic studies.

To the generation of Idriz Ajeti scholars, who started their activity after the Second World War, the time carried them to fulfill the task of the scientist, and also of the missionary in the field of education, science and national culture. To them belonged the responsibility and the honor to lay the foundations of the scientific and educational institutions for the higher education and they fulfilled this task with great dedication: they established the scientific and high education institutions, they prepared the researchers and the professors which would work in these institutions, mentored them with their activity and example, created and followed an irreversible tradition and proudly present themselves here surrounded with honors from their zealous followers and collaborators that are putting forward and further would enrich the tradition established from them.

For the personality and the work of the academician Idriz Ajeti are made deserved praises in different similar cases, nevertheless for a figure of such dimensions there is always place to talk and write. For a general

appraisal of the academician Idriz Ajeti figure and work I would totally comply with the synthesis appraisal made from the academician Rexhep Ismajli, his best expert and promoter of his work in the occasion of the 90th anniversary of his birth. In the speech kept in this occasion Rexhep Ismajli affirms: "I think that we all agree dear colleagues that the figure of Idriz Ajeti today we can portray in two essential lines: in the line of the distinguished activist for the emancipation of his people, and in the line of the distinguished savant of the Albanian world, of the scholar of one of the greatest identity pillars of this people, that of language. These lines come and stand in the final outcome, that he is a major figure of knowledge, culture and general emancipation of the Albanian people in the XX century and of the beginning of the XXI century. The Albanologist academician Idriz Ajeti enters today in the line of the highest figures of the Albanian public life".¹ Today, 10 years later in his 100 anniversary of birth, the figure, the work and the personality of Idriz Ajeti comes more complete, more kind and more great.

In a big anniversary as this one is, you are not allowed to focus on details, even why they are necessary and important, but you have to focus on the greatest lines of the academician Idriz Ajeti activity and for this reason I have chosen to speak here in a concise manner for the contributions of Idriz Ajeti to enlighten the essential problem of the history of the Albanian language and people, on their origin.

The academician Idriz Ajeti, who has embraced in its totality the problematic of the Albanian language, its history and present developments, almost in the entire timely and space extension, could not be left out of his attention the problems connected with the ethno-genesis of Albanians and their language. Such problems are as we know present not only as a special importance but also national. Especially on Kosova they have been sharp problems, sensible, scientific and social. In the treatment of such problems, the scholar has to preserve a well thought balance between the objective scientist and the involved scientist in defense of national historic values and the national linguistic and cultural identity. I believe that the academician Idriz Ajeti has known to unite in one the qualities of the objective scientist and of the dedicated patriot, sticking to that devise what E. Çabej often repeated for being objective,

¹ Rexhep Ismajli, Figura dhe vepra e Idriz Ajetit, ASHAK, Studime 14, 2007, Prishtina, 2007, p. 9-16

but not indifferent. Not rarely Idriz Ajeti had to keep a critic attitude towards the non-scientific and non-benevolent thesis towards Albanians and the Albanian language, and also towards the good intentional zealots that to defend pro-Albanian historic-linguistic thesis, try to find and use arguments and making valuations that do not stand to the objective scientific truth.

In the treatment of the ethno-genesis of the Albanian people and language, as has also noticed the academician Rexhep Ismajli, Idriz Ajeti is based on the principles, the methods and the achievements of the comparative linguistic history of the second half of the XIX century and on the newest directions of the beginning of the XX century, updated with the achievements of the Albanology during the second half of the XX century in the Albanian world and outside it.

The problems connected with the origin of the Albanian language and people have been at the center of the scientific debate since the beginnings of Albanology as a special field of science to the present days. Distinguished scholars and great names that have studied the Albanian language starting since Leibniz, Thunmann, Georg von Hahn to E. Hamp, A. Desnickaia, E. Çabej, M. Domi, Shaban Demiraj and the present jubilee, the academician Idriz Ajeti. All have put a stone in the castle of the Albanological science that has studied the origin of the Albanian language and people.

The problem of the origin of the Albanian language and people in the work of the academician Idriz Ajeti in the continuity of the most distinguished scholars and savants of this field of study starting since the end of the XVIII century with the work of Johannes Thunmann to the end of the XX century with the work of E. Çabej and of Shaban Demiraj, E. Hamp, A. Desnickaia etc.. it's been exposed and discussed in a wide historic, archaeological, ethnographic and linguistic context. From the other side, the problems of the Albanian language and people ethno-genesis are observed and studied in close connection with the ancient ethnic-linguistic situation of the Balkan peninsula and with the present situation of the Balkans linguistic units. He has dedicated some published works in scientific organs to the problems of ethno-genesis, which are also included in the volumes of the author's works published from the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosova. We are mentioning some of them: *"Mbi origjinën ilire të gjuhës shqipe/On the Illyrian origin*

of the Albanian language", published in Studime gjuhësore në fushë të shqipes III/Linguistic studies in the field of the Albanian language III, Prishtina, 1985, p. 5-11; *Formimi i popullit shqiptar dhe i gjuhës së tij/The forming of the Albanian people and its language*, published in the volume IV, p. 7-12, Prishtina, 2001; *Raportet e shqipes me gjuhët ballkanike/Relations of the Albanian language with the Balkans languages*, published in "Studime gjuhësore në fushë të shqipes" III, Prishtina, 1985, f. ; *Shqipja e vështruar nga aspekti i studimeve ballkanistike/The Albanian language seen from the aspect of the Balkan studies*, published in: Idriz Ajeti, *Vepra IV*, Prishtina, 2001, p.13-21.

The academician Idriz Ajeti has maturely and scientifically defended the thesis of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language and people and their autochthonous origin basing it in stable and credible arguments that succeeded to stand the scientific truth. He has strengthened, fulfilled and enriched these arguments with data from his studies in the field of the Albanian language relations with the Slavic languages, of Balkans linguistics and Roman languages. A good expert of the Slavic and Roman languages, he has usefully exploited the works of scholars in this field as: Franz Miklosich, K. Jireček, H. Bariç, Petar Skok, Ivan Popovic, Radoslav Katicic, A. Desnickaia etc. Has made a critic valuation of their theses, by submitting them to an objective and balanced objective judgment.

On the ethnicity of the Albanians, Idriz Ajeti refers to the savant historian evidences K. Jireček, one of the most competent experts as he affirms, of the history and culture of the Balkan peoples, which from his many years long research in the archive of Dubrovnik, reached the conclusion that the Albanians in the ancient times were established during the Adriatic shores and in the same time since the first centuries of the new era, embraced the Christian religion, before the Slavic invasions in the possessions of the Roman Empire and in the Albanian territories. According to K. Jireček: "In the medieval sources is nowhere spoken for the Christianity of Albanians; they embraced the new Christian religion in antiquity, because the history of Durrës and Shkodra bishopric can be uninterruptedly followed since the first years of the new era to the present days".²

² See further Idriz Ajeti, *Formimi i popullit shqiptar dhe i gjuhës së tij*, Vepra 4, Prishtina, 2001, p. 7, with the bibliography.

To support the ethnicity of Albanian and their Illyrian origin and of the Albanian language, the author has also treated the relations of Illyro-Albanians with the Romanization in the Balkan and the relations of the Albanian language with the Latin and ancient Greek. In a special paper entitled *Formimi i popullit shqiptar dhe i gjuhës së tij/The forming of the Albanian people and its language*, the academician Idriz Ajeti, basing on the studies of E. Çabej, R. Katicic etc, presents in a synthetic way three essential arguments to shed light the autochthony of Albanians in their territories and the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language: 1. The Greek and the Latin overlaid of the lexicon thesaurus of the Albanian language could happen only in the territory of the ancient Balkan. 2. the Albanian language is spoken only in the true Illyrian territory. 3. There is no information on the Albanian emigration in the earlier Middle Ages in their historic homeland. In such a state of knowledge, -affirms Idriz Ajeti-, almost spontaneously comes out the conclusion that the Albanian language presents a modern form of the Illyrian language. To the defenders of the Thracian hypotheses -continues the author -, remains only an "argument": the ancient geographic names of Albanian language are solely explained with the implication of other languages, through the Romanian and southern Slavic languages. The author rejects even this "argument" by accepting the conclusion that the linguistic not only of Albanians has proved that the names of the countries in the Albanian territories have changed in accordance with the phonetic laws of the Albanian language". In a series of studies from the field of onomastics, he has presented arguments in supporting the Albanians' autochthony and especially for the earlier presence of Albanians in Kosova and other Albanian territories of the former Yugoslavia. He reaches the conclusion that compared to the Thracian thesis, the Illyrian thesis is the most credible and there are more historic and linguistic arguments. Quoting R. Katicic, I. Ajeti accepts his opinion according to which "The Thracian hypothesis is only an interesting construction. Supporting the Illyrian theses of the Albanian language and people origin, Idriz Ajeti does not think that his theses has been definitively and irrefutably proved. The supposition that the Albanian language may have Illyrian origin remains because of the circumstances described in the beginning, the most possible alternative, what from the other side has not been proved with certainty. Since the origin of Albanians and of their language to have no

alternative-, he further says -, if it should have existed a half page of text in the Illyrian language because in that way we'll have a bases of comparing it with the today Albanian or with the language of Buzuku to be proved the origin of the present Albanian language form from the once Illyrian language and for the Albanian language to present a modern form of the Illyrian language.³

A special contribution to enlighten the problems of the Albanians ethno-genesis and of the Albanian language, the academician Idriz Ajeti has given in the field of the scientific critic towards the non scientific and many times tendentious theses used for nationalistic and non-benevolent aims against the Albanian people. He has made remarks and suggestions time after time about the methodology of scientific research in this field of studies by emphasizing the necessity of the objective character for the scientific studies, the avoidance of purposeful distortions from the dilettante treatments in science.

Following the efforts to prove with as much as arguments the problem of Albanians autochthony and their Illyrian origin and to reject the opposite opinions, I. Ajeti has dedicated a special attention in his studies of the Albanian language relations with the Latin and on the question of Balkans' Romanization, because are connected with the survival of the Albanian language and of Albanians in front of this powerful leveling and assimilating process. Idriz Ajeti supports his thesis according to which "The religious terminology is of earlier Latin origin and the lack of the Slavic loan words from this field, is a powerful argument in supporting the Albanians' autochthony, at least since the ancient period of their Illyrian origin and of the Albanian language. He affirms that when the Slavs invaded the Albanian territories, the Albanians were conducting an urban life and had a church organization, with a church language and religious terminology from the classic Latin".

As it's known, the Romanization of the Southern Illyria has been used as argument to reject the thesis of Albanians' autochthony and of their Illyrian origin, also for their language. When is treated the problem of Albanians' autochthony and of their Illyrian origin during the process of Balkans peninsula Romanization in the first half of the first millennium of our era, come into light a series of problems that ask for

³ See for these, Idriz Ajeti, *op. cit.* p .20 with bibliography.

solution, but I would distinguish two of them that are very debatable: First, it has to be clarified more thoroughly and without prejudices in what degree were affected the Illyrian tribes of Southern Illyria from the process of Romanization and secondly, if it is accepted that in the Illyrian territories where today live the Albanians, there was not such a Romanization that would bring as consequence deep ethnic and linguistic changes, the change of the local language and its replacement with a Roman language, as happened in Dacia and in Dalmatia. I think that should be more thoroughly clarified who are the historic, linguistic and cultural factors that explain the survival of the Albanian language, its stand in front of Romanization. For the first question has been reached an acceptable conclusion after which: In the Southern Illyria occurred a powerful impact in the lexicon of the local population, but the process of Romanization couldn't succeed to replace it with a Roman language. This is better proved by the survival of the Albanian language as an uninterrupted line of the Illyrian language, which contains in its lexicon a not small number of Latin loan words, but has preserved untouched its grammatical structure and not a small number of inherited words from the Indo-European period. Nevertheless, remains to be further enlighten the degree of the Roman influence in the coastal shores of Illyria.

As concerning to the second question, before every scholar that deals with the history of the Albanian language, having in mind the long Roman rule in Illyria and the intensive pluricentennial contacts of the Illyrian and then the Albanian language with the Latin, naturally is posed the question: How is possible that the Albanian language as non-intermediate continuator of the Illyrian language, could have escaped the complete Romanization and to survive as a special language with many Latin-Roman influences? To this question are given different answers. This problem is also posed by Idriz Ajeti and he tries to give an answer.

Rightfully, Idriz Ajeti notices that in a first view we have to do with a paradoxical situation that in the territories of Southern Illyria where the Roman rule lasted nearly eight centuries, didn't occurred a complete assimilation of the local population of its language, while in an eastern province and Dacia, where the Roman rule was later established and lasted less, the process of Romanization was deeper and led to the change of the ancient Thracian language into a Roman language. The scholars accept that happened the Romanization of the western Balkans and at the

same time defend the theses of Albanians' autochthony and of the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language, try to explain the survival of Albanians and of their language mainly with the geographic factor. They think that the grandfathers of Albanians could escape the Romanization by withdrawing in isolated mountainous areas within the territory of Illyrians. The main representative of this thesis as it's known is the German historian Georg Stadtmüller.

To explain the survival of the Albanian language and people in the Southern Illyria in front of Romanization, I think that the geographic factor has played an important role that cannot be ignored, but this explanation has to be stripped from the negative connotations and comments that accompany this thesis from some scholars which want to present the Albanians as roam and pastoral population without a developed civilization.

The importance of the geographic factor has been very objectively appraised by some scholars. Exactly for these reasons, as has observed the known historian of the Roman Empire Theodor Mommsen, in the inner mountainous areas of Illyria, the local population succeeded to preserve and develop its mother tongue. More concretely he has written: "From such circumstances became possible that the Illyrian nationality to resist better the Romanization in the borders of Macedonian province, rather than that of Dalmatia; where still today lives the Illyrian nationality and at the Imperial time, with exception of the Greek Apolonia and of the Italic colony of Dyrrachium, in parallel of the two languages of empire, in the inner territories, the people should have spoken the Illyrian".⁴

Eqrem Çabej, that has been widely focused on the problem of Albanians' autochthony, with the origin and the place where the Albanian language has been formed, after examining in a critic way the many theses that are formed on this problems, reached the argued conclusion that "the Albanian language has been generally formed in the present linguistic territory including the coastal shore, and this territory has not suffered an essential change during the ages. Dardania and northern Albania together with the region of Mat must be seen as part of the

⁴.Th. Mommsen, *Das Weltreich der Caesaren*, Wien-Leipzig 1933, f. 190-191, quoted after S. Anamali, *Nga ilirët tek shqiptarët*, in "Kuvendi I i studimeve ilire", Tirana, 1973, p. 32.

earliest linguistic territory, and the opposite opinion has been seen very narrowly".⁵

Summarizing with few words what we have presented here, it can be affirmed that the Albanian language succeeded to survive during the rule of the Roman Empire and escape Romanization as a result of the joint action of a series of historic, geographic, ethnic and linguistic factors:

The geographic factor, not narrowly seen, fulfilled from the demographic factor, with the inner movements and contacts of the local population, influenced in different degrees from the process of Romanization.

The linguistic and cultural factor, the local population which represented a total special ethnic and linguistic group from the Latin people and language, was an ancient population that had known the urban civilization and couldn't be blinded from the brightness of the Roman civilization.

The psychological factor. The Roman rule faced in Illyria a population that manifested an insisting will and resistance to defend its language, culture and identity and all these have influenced for the local population to resist the assimilating process of Romanization and to preserve the proper language. The well known French linguist Antoine Meillet, in a paper on the Albanian language since the beginning of the XX century would emphasize: "The strength of the resistance of the Albanian language proves the tenacity of the nation".⁶ The same author some years later, observing the wide influence of the Latin language in the vocabulary of the Albanian language, would affirm on Albanians that "in their country they persistently preserve their language, because their nation has its special characteristics; nonetheless small, their group is resistant".⁷

Except these opinions, we should keep also in mind the different policies that Rome pursued towards the Roman Empire provinces in the Balkans in accordance with its political and economic interests, which have connections with the number of the Roman colons brought in and

⁵ Eqrem Çabej, *Problemi i vendit të formimit të gjuhës shqipe*, in "Kuvendi i I i studimeve ilire", Tiranë 1974, p. 26.

⁶ A. Meillet, *La langue albanaise*, in "Revue hebdomadaire", 7 August 1905

⁷ A. Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*, Paris 1928, p. 29.

of the soldiers that recruited and deployed in these provinces for defensive military purposes.

The today and future generations have a lot to learn from the work and the academic personality of Idriz Ajeti, from the scientific and patriotic dedication, from his methodology and scientific achievements. We wish him all the best and health in life to cherish as long as possible the fruits of his work.

Juljana KUME

THE CLASSIFICATION OF GREEK LEXICAL LOAN ELEMENTS IN THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE BASED ON THE BORROWING WAYS

I. Introduction

The lexicon of the today Albanian possesses a relatively considered number of Greek loan words. The possession of the Greek loan words of the three historic periods in the Albanian language, as it's known, happened thanks the earlier neighborhood and of the continues relations between two autochthonous peoples in their territories, has also extended its range of use in normal density degree, mainly in the daily speech and also in the regional area of the today Albanian lexicon, and also many of them have a sphere of usage in the entire Albanian language; as it's known, their hub of use lays in the Tosk dialect and especially there more often in the speaking border areas with the Greek language or in vicinity with the Greek minority in Southern Albania.

From the approach of the Greek loan words picked by the main etymological and study works in the field of the Albanian language with the "Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe/Dictionary of the present Albanian language" of 1980, are approximately put in evidence *430 lexical Greek units of the modern, medieval and ancient period* with the lexicon of the present Albanian language (see the below the complete list).

The aim of this study is the classification of the Greek element in the present Albanian language according the way of infiltration, respectively in *direct and indirect loan words* (without including the Greek international words), and also the treatment of those Greek loan words following their diachronic migration, especially in those cases when would be felt the need to specify the lexicon unit historicism

(especially in the indirect and the mutual loan words in Albanian from the Greek language). 1. In the direct loan words from the Greek language in the Albanian, are included not only the Greek lexicon units (a), but also those units that source from another language (third) with usage in the Greek language and directly intermediated from it in the lexicon of the present Albanian language (b) e.g.: a. Greek lexicon units: **katua-oi** "ahur/(shed) in the ground floor of a house where are kept the domestic animals, bodrum/basement, qilar/cellar". Or katoq-i "katua i vogël/small shed" < modern Gr. το κατώγι; **kopan-i** "paddle, for beating flax or hemp" < modern Gr. το κόπανο; **gliko-ja** "jam, prepared at home with complete tree fruits" < modern Gr. το γλυκό etc. b. Units with origin from other languages intermediated in the Albanian from the Greek: **alisivë-a** "finjë/lye"< modern Gr. η αλίσίβα, **origin from it.** *lisciva*<**lat.***lix(i)via*, *lixa* (aqua); **alivan-i** "të fikët/faint"<**It.** *alla banda*, through modern Gr. αλλαβάνδα; **caruqe-ja** "green hide shoe decorated with strips"< unit from **Turk.** *çarik* interceded from Gr. Byzantine. τα τσαρούχια; **cingun-i** "koprac/stingy, dorështrenguar/tight-fisted" < originating from **Turk.** *çingene*, interceded from modern Gr. ο τσιγγούνης "koprac"; **dhogë-a** "dërrasë/plank" < modern Gr. η δόγα, this from **It.** *doga*, etc. The direct Greek loan words in the Albanian language are classified according to their lexical-semantic fields. The classification of these units according the respective lexical-semantic fields has been made according the (first) meaning on which was infiltrated the Greek element in the Albanian language and not according the developments, enlargements or semantic coloring that these units have taken after their settlements in the present Albanian lexicon e.g.: the lexicon unit **aguridhe** – first meaning "unripe, green (for the fruits). *Rrush/grape* (fik/fig) *aguridh.* *Kumbull/plum* (dardhë/pear) *aguridhe*". Second meaning "fig. gullible, inexperienced. *Djalë/(boy)* *aguridh.* *Vajzë/(girl)* *aguridhe*". (The study of the fixed Greek loan words in the Albanian lexicon with the semantic developments and enlargements within it, is planned to be treated in a future paper).

2. While in the category of the indirect loan words are included lexicon units with origin from the Greek language, but directly intermediated in the Albanian language from a third language as e.g.: the Latin, the neo Latin languages, Slavic or Turkish etc. The number of these loan words in Albanian is relatively small. Often these units carry

distinctive characteristics and reflect not only the origin of the units, but at the same time preserve the phonological characteristics of the languages they have been directly borrowed from e.g.: **karafil-i** "carnation" < Turk. *karafil*, from this from modern Gr. καρύοφυλλον; **kolibe-ja** "hut, " < Turk. *koliba*, *kaliba*, this from modern Gr. καλύβη; **kaçule-ja** "hood of a cloak" < borrowed from Lat. *casual*, this from modern Gr. κατσούλα "kaçule, kapuc"; **kanun-i** "canon, unwritten customary law, inherited generation to generation" < Turq. *kanun* < modern Gr. ο κανόνας "rregulla/rules", etc.

Between these loan words in Albanian language we have also put in evidence infiltrated borrowings in the present Albanian lexicon from two languages at the same time (two sided borrowings) e.g.:

avlli-a "courtyard wall, build all around the house". Double borrowing: from Gr. avli/η αυλή, from Turq. *avlli*. G. Uhlisch explains that has been infiltrated in Alb. from Gr. "oborr/dooryard". FGjSSH '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej); **varkë-a** "barkë/boat" < from It. *brakë*, in the southern Tosk from modern Gr. *varkë*. (E. Çabej).

Exactly to put in evidence the Greek element included in the present Albanian we are referring the first reliable normative dictionary that has served for the codification of the lexicon, morphological, orthographic and orthoepic normative, "Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe", 1980¹. Meanwhile for putting in evidence and at the same time classifying the Greek loan words according the ways of infiltration, their geographic extension use, we are referring to the best etymological works to-day: a. "Fjalor etimologjik" by G. Meyer, b. "Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes" by E. Çabej; c. "Fjalor i greqishtes së re" by J. Dh. Babinioti²,

¹ After a short diachronic summary of the Albanian lexicography we can say that it starts with the Latin-Albanian dictionary of Frang Bardhi, 1635. While the explanative dictionaries of the Albanian languages start with the Dictionary of the Albanian language of Kostandin Kristoforidhi, who even why lacked to construct a reliable explanative dictionary, established the bases for such a dictionary. The drafting of the reliable Albanian language explanative dictionaries starts with the publication of the Fjalor i gjuhës shqipe/Dictionary of the Albanian language 1954, to further continue with the Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe/Dictionary of the present Albanian language, 1980, Fjalorin e shqipes së sotme/Dictionary of present Albanian language 1984 and its reedited publication on 2002 and with Fjalor i gjuhës shqipe/Dictionary of Albanian language, 2006.

² J. Dh. Babinioti, ΛΕΞΙΚΟΤΗΣΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ (*Fjalor i greqishtes së re/Dictionary of modern Greek*) with comments on the safe usage of the words. Dictionary of explanative, etymological, orthographic, of synonymy and antonymy, of proper names, scientific denominations and of abbreviations, Qendra e Leksikologjisë, Second edition, Athens 2002.

and also the dissertation of G. Uhlich. "Fjalori etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe" by Kolec Topalli, which has been recently published, intentionally has not been included in this study, because based on this dictionary, is aimed to become possible a separate study work about the contribution of the academician K. Topalli on the Greek loan words in the Albanian lexicon according the geographic extension and chronological stratification.

As have we mentioned above, as belonging to the stratification and diachronic classification of the Greek loan words in the Albanian language, in this paper we would not stop on this issue, because the presence of the ancient and Byzantine Greek element has been treated and analyzed in the papers of the national and foreign scholars and academicians in the field of the historic linguistic and all these summarized in the great etymological work of the academician K. Topalli "Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe".

Also, it's worth to emphasize that some of the Greek loan words picked from the forerunners studies and works in the field of the Albanian language (see below their complete list), that are classified according the way of infiltration, direct (especially including here the units of foreign source intermediated in Albanian from the Greek language) or indirect (Greek source intermediated in Albanian from other languages), are confronted with the "Fjalor i greqishtes së re/Dictionary of the modern Greek" by J. Dh. Babinioti aiming that step after step to observe and create a complete panorama of those units according the initial source, migration and also their evolution both internally of the Greek language and also during their migration in other languages; thus, before they could infiltrate in the Albanian lexicon.

In the Dictionary of the present Albanian, 1980, about the lexicon units settled in the present Albanian lexicon (may those be directly or indirectly infiltrated from the Greek language), almost for every unit has been put the note according their sphere of use, respectively in units with *regional use, colloquial speech, terminological, bookish or religious* etc. Let's illustrate some examples of them, to understand in a certain degree the extension of their use within the present Albanian lexicon. **The regional use (mainly in the spoken of the Tosk dialect):** *aplladhe-ja, anangas, patomë-a, patështinë-a, ormis/em, noti-a, nakatos, merudhi-a, mbodhi-a, lavos, lavomë-a, imonik-u, kallamidhe-ja, kallamboq-i,*

igrasi-a, hamurik-u, gjiton-i, cuks, dërmon-i etc.

Usage in the colloquial speech: *andrallë-a, tromaks, thagmë-a, taks, stis/em, sos/em, sihariq, psonis, prokopi-a, porropi-a, plithar-i, pezul-i, mandatë-a, peronë-a, pat-i, nojmë-a, navllo-ja, munxë-a, miros, mballomë-a, llahtaris/em, llahtari-a, lips/em, laparos, honeps, harlis, handakos, farmak-u, farmakos* etc.

Religious usage: *bagëm-mi, ajodhimë-a, ajazëm-ma, petrahil, naforë-a, metani-a, liturgji-a, litani-a, ikonom-i* etc.

Obsolete lexical units: *zullap-i, stagon-i, sinor-i, potir-i, ksombël-mbla, nisi, mëllan-i, llauz-i, gramë-a, frëngji, evari-a, dhiatë-a, dhaskal-i* etc.

The Greek elements of the Albanian language, may those be borrowed directly or not, can serve as word forming themes and could create lexicon nests. However, the established lexicon units created from these themes cannot be called anymore Greek loan words, but Albanian lexicon units, because are completely adapted following the grammar, lexicological and semantic of the Albanian rules and outlook as e.g, *qëndis – qëndisje – qëndismë – qëndistar/i – qëndistare/ja – qëndistari/a – i/e qëndisur*. (The treatment of this theme with the respective subjects and sub-subjects is thought to continue in the future study papers).

II. Direct loan words from the Greek to the Albanian language

During this issue we will try to do a concise presentation of the long list of the direct Greek loan words, that have been settled in the present Albanian lexicon. The direct Greek loan words in the Albanian, we have tried to group according their lexicon-semantic fields. Their classification according the respective lexicon-semantic fields has been made after the initial meaning with which the Greek element is infiltrated in the Albanian language and not after the developments, extensions or semantic colorings that have occurred these units after their settlement in the present Albanian lexicon or what have brought from the Greek language. In this category are also included classified according the lexicon-semantic fields and lexicon units from foreign source, Latin, neo-Latin, Slavic, Turkish etc., but have been interceded directly in the Albanian language from the Greek. Almost for every unit of this category has been evidenced the source and the unit migration e.g.: **AFIÓN,~I** "hashash/opium" < modern Gr. το αφιόνι, Gr. mes. αφιόνιονκ < Turk.

afyon < Arab. *afyun*³; **ALIVÁN,~I** "të fikët/faint". < It. *alla banda*, through modern Gr. αλλαβάνδα; **CINGÚN,~I** "koprrac/stingy, dorështrënguar/ tight-fisted" < sourcing from the Turk. *çingene*, interceded from modern Gr. ο τσιγγούνης; **CÓH/Ē,~A** "woolen stuff" < Turk. *coha*, interceded from the modern Gr. η τσόχα; **FIDHĒ,~TĒ** "vermicelli" < modern Gr. ο φιδές < the Greek word from the Italian dialects *fide* < lat. *fides*, -ium; **MANDATĒ,~A** "news of woe" < Gr. med. μανδάτον < Lat. *mandatum* < from the verb *mando*⁴; **MARÚL/E,~JA** "lettuce" < modern Gr. η μαρουλιά, this from the Lat.; **KSÓMB/ĒL,~LA** obs. "fragment of a book, rare copy" < modern Gr. ξόμπλι "example, model", ξομπλιάζω (medium Gr. εξεμπλιον) < Lat. *exemplum*; **STĒRN/Ē,~A** "cistern, water tank to preserve the water in the places where are lacking the springs" < modern Gr. η στέρνα < Lat. *cisterna* cistern for potable water"; **VELÉN/Ē,~A** "woolen cover" < Slav. through modern Gr. η βελέντσα "thick woolen cover", etc.

DENOMINATIONS FOR

Domestic furniture and settings

APLLÁDH/E,~JA "copper tray" < modern Gr. η απλάδα. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

CÁK/Ē,~A "pouch, handbag of wool" < modern Gr. ο σάκκος "sack". (E. Çabej). FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. Dictionary of modern Greek, by J. Dh. Babinioti from ancient Greek σάκ(κ)ος; through Lat. *saccus* this unit is also passed in many other languages e.g.: French, sac, English. sack, German, sac. etc.]

FANÁR,~I "lantern". FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54 < modern Gr. το φανάρι. (G. Uhlisch).

FAR,~I "lighthouse" < Gr. ο φάρος. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

³J.Dh.Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **αφιόνι (το)** {αφιον-ιού | -ιών} 1. (λαϊκ.) παπαρούνα από την οποία παράγεται το όπιο- (συνεκδ.) το ίδιο το όπιο (βλ.λ.) 2. (μτφ.) καθετί το οποίο μπορεί να προκαλέσει πνευματικό λήθαργο, να στερήσει από κάποιον το δικαίωμα να σκέπτεται και να αποφασίζει ελεύθερα: χαρακτήρισε την τηλεόραση ως ένα σύγχρονο κοινωνικό ~ που ναρκώνει συνειδήσεις. ➔ ΣΧΟΛΙΟ λ. αντιδάνειο. [ETYM. Αντιδάν, < μεσν. άφιόνιονκ τουρκ. afyon < араβ. afyun < μτγν. .ojrtovj.

⁴J.Dh.Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **μαντάτο (το)** η είδηση, το νέο: μας έφερε άσχημα [ETYM. < μεσν. μαντάτον < μτγν. μανδάτον < λατ. *mandatum* < ρ. *mando* παραδίδω, γνωστοποιώ].

FENÉR,~I "street lamp with kerosene" < Turk. *fener* < modern Gr. το φανάρι "far". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 "guide, torch". (E. Çabej).

FRON, ~I "a kind of low chair, usually of wood and without back-rest" < modern Gr. θρόνος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

FURKULIC/Ë,~A "fork" < modern Gr. η φουρκουλίτσα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

DHÓM/Ë,~A "room" < med. Gr. το δώμα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

GALLÚST/ËR,~RA "trapdoor, drop-gate" < modern Gr. γυαλί + the definite suffix ustër. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KAMÁR/E,~JA "recess; open place in the wall of a house where are kept small things" < modern Gr. η καμάρα "vault, the sole of the foot". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KAT/UA,~ÓI "cellar, in the ground floor of a house, where are kept the domestic animals, ".KATÓQ,~I "cellar" < modern Gr. το κατώγι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KREVÁT,~I "bed to sleep" < modern Gr. το κρεβάτι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KOPÁN,~I "paddle, for beating flax or hemp" < modern Gr. το κόπανο. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KSÉST/ËR,~RA "cruse, like a small jar of clay, serving to keep oil, cheese, butter etc." < modern Gr. re ξεστός/ή/ό "carved, dressed (stone)" < med. Gr. ξέση, this from the Lat. *sextarius*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KSIST/ËR,~RA "scraper" < modern Gr. η ξύστρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

KUP/Ë,~A f. "chalice" < modern Gr. κουπαί. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LLOZ,~I "bolt" < modern Gr. ο λοστός. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LUHÁR/E,~JA "large wooden spoon" < modern Gr. χουλιάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PAT,~I bised. "storey, level". < modern Gr. ο πάτος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

PERUSTÍ, ~A see "tripod" < modern Gr. η πυροστιά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PEZÚL,~I colloq. "window still" < modern Gr. το πεζούλι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

PIRÍ,~A colloq. "funnel" < Gr. η πειρία. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

POTÍR,~I vjet. "silver cup to drink wine; glass" < modern Gr. το ποτήρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 (G. Meyer).

QIRÍ,~U "candle" < modern Gr. το κηρί. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

ROGJÉ,~JA "earthenware flask" < modern Gr. ρογί, ροϊ. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

RRÁQE,~T "junk, rubbish, frippery" < modern Gr. ράκιον = ράκος "rags, cast of clothes". FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SKÁR/Ě,~A "grill, griddle, gridiron, barbecue" < modern Gr. η σκάρα, εσχάρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

STAGÓN,~I obsolete. "large copper bowl" < modern Gr. σταγκος "tin", σταγκόνω "to tin, tin pot". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

TALĚR, I "cask" < modern Gr. τάλαρος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

TRAPÉZ/Ě,~A "table" < modern Gr. η τραπέζα "table, bench". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

KANÁT,~I "window shutter" < Gr. η κανάτα also here a foreign word. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

MISÚR,~I "depp (wooden) bowl" < modern Gr. η μισούρα, το μεσούρι, this from the Lat. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

Family, kinship, peoples

EVGJÍT,~I "dark-skinned person" < modern Gr. ο αγύφτιος < ancient Gr. αιγύπτιος. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

FIS,~I hist. "tribe" < Gr. Byzantine. φύσις. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

GJITÓN,~I regional. See "neighbor" < modern Gr. ο γείτονας. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

LAÍK,~E adj. "secular" < Gr. λαϊκός. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

LLAÚZ,~I obs. "people" < Gr. laus/λαός, λαούς. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

BARBÁÇ,~I colloq. "Arbëresh of Greece" < modern Gr. *μπάρμπας* "uncle". FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej). In the Dictionary of J. Dh. Babinoti: in the manner of common people, has the old meaning of "white bearded" sourcing from the Latin *barba* > It. *barba* "beard" – "respected man"⁵

Human body parts (man, animals)

CĒF/ĒL,~LA "skin, peel" < modern Gr. *το τσέφλοι*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

CÍP/Ē,~A "layer, peel" < modern Gr. *re η τσίπα*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. In the Gr. has not derived from ancient Gr.; it should have been infiltrated in the earlier Byzantine era, whereas exists also the Gr. of Southern Italy with the meanings presented by Rohlfs EW 2239, LG 522. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KÁFK/Ē,~A "skull" < med. Gr. *καύκαλον*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KÁFKU/LL,~LLI "shell" < Gr. vulgar *καύκαλον* + ull skull, *shell of a turtle*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KOKÁLL/Ē,~A "bone" < Gr. *το κόκκαλο*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

KURM,~I "body" < modern Gr. *το κορμί*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

MÚNX/Ē,~A colloq. "snook" < modern gr. *re μούντσα, μουντσώνω*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej)G

MUSTÁK,~U "mustache" < modern Gr. *το μουστάκι*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

PATÓM/Ē,~A reg. "sole of the foot" < Gr. *το πάτωμα* "floor". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

PĒLLĒMB/Ē,~A "palm of the hand" < modern Gr. *re η παλάμη*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

NÓJM/Ē,~A colloq. "signal, gesture" < modern Gr. *το νόημα*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej, G. Uhlisch).

KALLO,~JA "corn, callous hands" < modern Gr. *re κάλος*, from this derives Ven. *calo*, It. *callo*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej)

QELÍZ/Ē,~A biol. "cell" < Gr. *κελί* "qel" with the Albanian

⁵ J. Dh. Babinoti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", *μπάρμπας* (o) [ETYM. μεσν., αρχική σημ. γενεοφόρος., <ιταλ. *barba* γενειάδα -σεβάσμιος άνθρωπος. <λατ. *barba*].

diminutive suffix "-zë". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).⁶

ZVER/K, ~KU "scruff, back of the neck" < Gr. ο ζβέρκος, foreign word also in Greek. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

Dressing, fabric, personal tools

GÚN/Ě,~A "cape, mantle, mask" < med. Gr. η γούνα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

FQÓLL/Ě,~A "ring (of smoke)" < Gr. colloq. φακιόλιον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54

KARFÍC/Ě,~A "pin, brooch, hair-pin (tie)" < modern Gr. η καρφίτσα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KOLLÁR/E,~JA "tie" < modern Gr. το κολλάρο. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

KREMASTÁR,~I "clothes hanger" < modern Gr. το κρεμαστάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

MANÁK,~U ethno. "wrist band" < modern Gr. το μανάκι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

MBALLÓMĚ,~A colloq. "patch (on mended shoes)" < Gr. μπαλλώνω, μπαλλώσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

MARGARITÁR,~I "pearl" < modern Gr. το μαργαριτάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

PATERÍC/Ě,~A "crutches" < modern Gr. η πατερίτσα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

SAVÁN,~I "grave cloth" < modern Gr. σάβανον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SKUTÍN/Ě,~A "nappies, diapers" < modern Gr. το σκουτί. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

STOLI,~A "ornament". STOLÍS "to adorn, to trim" < modern Gr. η στολή, στολίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SQÍM/Ě,~A "niftiness, smartness, vainglory" < Gr. Byzantine. το σχήμα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

ÚVJ/E,~A "hem (of cloth)" < modern Gr. ύγια, ούια < ancient Gr. ὠα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

THILÉ,~JA see. "button-hole" < modern Gr. θηλειά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

FÓLL/Ě,~A "metallic button" < modern Gr. φόλα. FGjSSh '80.

⁶ Ibid, see footnote 28.

FGjSh '54. G. Meyer 110 new only the meaning "silver plate of metal in the leather waist-band". In the Tosk dialect also "leather for shoes". (E. Çabej). In the J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary p. 1893, originating from the Lat. *follis* "money, wealth, budget" > med. Gr. φόλλις, -εως⁷

CARÚQ/E,~JA "raw-hide shoe" < Turkish unit intermediated from the Byzantine Greek τα τσαρούχια "green-hide shoe". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

CÓH/Ě,~A "woolen stuff" < Turk. *coha*, interceded from modern Gr. η τσόχα foreign word. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

FJÓNGO,~JA "ribbon" < modern Gr. ο φιόγκος < It. *fiocco*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

FÚST/Ě,~A "wide skirt, petticoat" < modern Gr. η φούστα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej). On the modern Greek Dictionary of J. Dh. Babinioti, p. 1897 from It. *fusta* < Lat. *fustis* "short stick, mace".⁸

FUSTÁN,~I "dress" < Gr. το φουστάνι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch). On the modern Greek Dictionary of J. Dh. Babinioti, p. 1897⁹ the med. Greek unit < it. *fustagni*, this originating from the Lat. med. *f.st.neum*, *fustis*.

KALÍQE,~JA "woolen slippers" < modern Gr. τα καλίκια, this from the Lat. *calina*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

KĚSÚL/Ě,~A. "scull-cap" < Lat. *casual* through modern Gr. κασούλα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

VELÉN/X/Ě, ~A "woolen cover" < Slav. through modern Gr. η βελέντσα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

Food, drinks, sweets

ASKÁTH,~I "sty(e), dry fig" < modern Gr. ο ισχάς. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

ARMÉ,~JA "pickled cabbage" < modern Gr. η λαχαναρμιά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

⁷ J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **φόλα (η)** [ETYM μεσν. < μτγν. φόλλις, -εως < λατ. *follis* .βαλλάντιο.

⁸ J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **φούστα (η)** [ETYM < ιταλ. *fusta*, αρχική σημ. .τσόχα, σκληρό ύφασμα., < λατ. *fustis* .σκυτάλη, ξύλινο ρόπαλο., αγν. ετύμου].

⁹ J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **φουστάνι (το)** [ETYM μεσν. < ιταλ. *fustagni* (πληθ.) < μεσν. λατ. *f.st.neum* .είδος σκληρού υφάσματος, τσόχα., υποκ. τού λατ. *fustis* .σκυτάλη, ξύλινο ρόπαλο., αγν. ετύμου].

GLIKÓ,~JA "jam" < modern Gr. το γλυκό. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

KOKÁR/E,~JA "seed onion" < modern Gr. το κροκάρι.. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 (E. Çabej).

KORÍTH,~I "raisin grape" < modern Gr. καρίθι. FGjSSh '80. Jo në FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PATËSH TIN/Ë,~A reg. "grounds, dregs of pressed olives" < modern Gr. πατητήρι πατω (shkel) + suffix of sll.-tina. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PEKSIMÁDH/E,~JA "hard biscuit" < Gr. το παξιμάδι. FGjSSh '80. PEKSIMADH/I FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

ORÉKS,~I "appetite" < med. Gr. η όρεξις. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

ORÍZ,~I "rice" < Gr. το ορύζιο. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

STAFÍDH/E,~JA "sultana" < modern Gr. η σταφίδα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

TRÀNGU/LL,~LLI "cucumber" < med. Gr. τετράγγουρον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

USHÚJ,~I "lard" < Gr. Byzantine. οξουγγι, αξουγγία. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

CÍPURA,~T reg. "dregs of (grapes, olives etc.)" < also in the modern Gr. το τσίπουρο foreign word originating from another language. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

FËSTËK,~U "pine-cone seed" < the earlier origin ancient Gr. πιστάκη, πιστάκον, the same originating from the Orient. Turkish and Persian word in many languages of the Southeastern and Eastern Europe, until in Russian. The passing of the word was in Latin and from it is spread in the Roman languages and in other present western languages. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

FIDHÉ,~TË "vermicelli" < modern Gr. ο φιδές < Greek word from the Italian dialects fide < lat. *fides*, -ium. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

LLUKANÍK,~U "tripe sausage" < modern Gr. λουκάνικον "suxhuk", this from the Lat. *lucanicum*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

MARÚL/E,~JA "lettuce" < modern Gr. η μαρουλιά, this from the

Lat. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

SÁLC/Ě,~A "sauce, dressing" < modern Gr. η σάλτσα < It. *salsa*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

Professions and mastery

ARKÓND,~I hist. "archon" < modern Gr. ο αρχόντας. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

DHASKÁL,~I obs. "teacher" < modern Gr. ο δάσκαλος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

MAGJËRËSH/Ě,~A "good (skilful) cook" < modern Gr. μαγεί + Albanian suffix -torë, -reshë. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).
MAGJETÓR/E,~JA the woman who cooks food for the entire family".

MESÍT,~I obs. "realtor, mediator" < Gr. ο μεσίτης. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KUSÁR,~I "thieve" < modern Gr. ο κουρσάρος, this from the medieval Lat. *cursarius*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

NIKOQÍR,~I "thrifty housekeeper" < modern Gr. ο νοικοκύρος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

Social, cultural and urban life

GRAM/Ě,~A obs. "schooling, education" < modern Gr. το γράμμα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KANÍS/K,~KU ethno. "wedding present" < modern Gr. το κανισκι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KALLAMÁR,~I "inkstand" < Gr. το καλαμάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KOKÓN/Ě,~A "puppet" < modern Gr. η κοκκώνα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej)

KSILO, KSILOFÓN,~I "xylophone". **KSILOGRAFÍ,~A** "xylography, wood-engraving" < το ξύλο "dru/wood". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 is found in the composite words as *ksilofoni*, *ksilografi-a*. (G. Meyer).

KÚKULL,~A "doll" < Gr. η κούκλα. FGjSSh '80. Not in the FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

LAJM,~I "news" < modern Gr. λάλημα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

(E. Çabej).

MARTÍR,~I "martyr" < modern Gr. ο μάρτυρας, το μαρτύριο. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch. (E. Çabej).

DHRAHMÍ,~A "drachma" < modern Gr. η δραχμή. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

MELLÁN,~I "ink" < modern Gr. το μελάνι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

NÁVLLO,~JA "voyage fare" < modern Gr. ο ναύλος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

ORGJÍ,~A "orgy" < modern Gr. η οργή "anger". FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

PALÉST/ĒR,~RA "training ground" < Gr. η παλαίστρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

PANAÍR,~I "fair" < modern or med. Gr. το πανηγύρι; iron."ado", which is also present in other Balkan languages included the Turkish. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

PĒRQÍ,~A "dowry" < med. Gr. προίκον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

POGANÍ/K,~KU "birthday cake" < modern Gr. πογονίκια. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

PRAMATÍ,~A "peddlary" < modern Gr. ηπραματεία. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

PROKOPI,~A "belongings, prosperity" < modern Gr. η προκοπή "benefit". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

PSONÍS "shopping" < Gr. ψωνίζω, ψωνίσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

QERÁS "treat, entertain (somebody)" < modern Gr. κερνώ, κεράσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

QEVERÍS "govern" < modern Gr. κυβερνώ, κυβερνήσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, the lexicon unit from ancient Gr. vj. κυβερνώ (-άω), has the ancient meaning "to point the gun, the ship". In Lat. *gubernō* borrowing from Gr. and has also passed in other languages as e.g.: Engl. *govern*.¹⁰

¹⁰J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **κυβερνώ** [ETYM. < αρχ. κυβερνώ (-άω), αρχική σημ. .οδηγώ άρμα, πλοίο. (η σημερινή σημ. ήδη αρχ.), < *κυμερνώ (όπως διασώζεται στο κυπρ. ku-me-renai), αγν. ετύμου, πιθ. δάνειο. Το λατ. gubernō είναι δάνειο από την Ελλην. Και πέρασε σε ξέν. γλώσσες, πβ. αγγλ. govern], κυβερνών, -ώσα, -ών αυτός που κυβερνά: το κυβερνών κόμμα || η κυβερνώσα παράταξη.

SIHARÍQ,~I "good news" < modern Gr. συγχαρίκια "congratulations", συγχαίρω "to congratulate". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

FLAMÚR,~I "flag" <from modern Gr. φλάμπουρον, Byz. Φλάμμουρον φλάμμουλον < Lat. *flammula* "little flag" (from *flamma* "flame"). FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

ÁSP/ĒR,~RA obs. "silver peace, coin", used in Albania prior the proclamation of independence < Gr. Byzantine. άσπρα, from the Lat. *asper*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

CING/ĒL,~LI "tip cat (children's game)" < Turk. *çengel*, interceded from modern Gr. το τσιγκέλιον hook. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

JANÁR,~I "January" < originating from the Lat. *ianuarius*, interceded from the modern Gr. γενάρης. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

KSÓMB/ĒL,~LA obs. "fragment of a book, rare copy" < modern Gr. ξόμπλι "sample, model", ξομπλιάζω (Gr. med. εξεμπλιον) < Lat. *exemplum*. FGjSSh '80. Not in the FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

MANDATĒ,~A "news of woe" < Gr. med. μανδάτον, where also here foreign word. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 1043. The lexicon unit in med. Gr. μαντάτον infiltrated A.D. μανδάτον < Lat. *mandatum* < from the verb *mando*.¹¹

MONÉDH/Ē,~A "coin" < modern Gr. η μονέδα, this from the *moned* = It. *moneta*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

PAGÁN,~E adj. "pagan" < Lat. *paganus*, interceded from modern Gr. παγανιά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

QIVUR,~I "coffin" < modern Gr. το κιβούρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 890, the lexicon unit borrowed in the medieval period κιβούριον < Egyptian lexicon unit κιβώριον infiltrated A.D.¹²

¹¹J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **μαντάτο (το)** η είδηση, το νέο: μας έφερε άσχημα [ETYM. < μεσν. μαντάτον < μτγν. μανδάτον < λατ. *mandatum* < ρ. *mando* παραδίδω, γνωστοποιώ.], Dictionary of modern Greek by J. Dh. Babinjotit, p. 1043.

¹²J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **κιβούρι (το)** [ETYM. < μεσν. κιβούριον < μτγν. κιβώριον, δάνειο πιθ. αιγυπτιακής προελ.,όπως επιμαρτυρείται και από την ερμηνεία τής λ. από τον Ησύχιο: .Αίγύπτιον όνομα επί ποτηριού.].

Artisan, agricultural and pastoral tools

DĚRMÓN,~I "riddle, coarse sieve" FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. < modern Gr. το δερμόνι. (E. Çabej).

CÍT/Ě,~A "thin wedge, knitting-needle" < modern Gr. η τσίτα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

GONÉ,~JA "square, L-shaped square" < modern Gr. η γωνιά. FGjSSh '80. Not in the FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KANÍST/ĚR,~RA "basket, hamper" < modern Gr. η κανίστρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KARÍQ,~I "drop-net" < modern Gr. το καρίκι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KOFÍN,~I "crate" < modern Gr. το κοφίνι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

MĚNG/ĚR,~RA "olive oil press" < modern Gr. μάγγανον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary the Greek lexicon unit interceding through the Latin language and in the other European languages e.g.: English, German, French.¹³

QĚNDÍS "embroider" < modern Gr. κεντώ, κεντήσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

Goods, metals, minerals and construction materials

ARGJÍL/Ě,~A see "clay, potter's earth" < modern Gr. η αργίλλα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KALLAMÍDH/E,~JA "cartridge, maize stub, corncob" < Gr. το καλαμίδι "fishing tool". FGjSSh '80. Not in the FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KOLL,~I "starch" < modern Gr. κόλλα, κολλαρίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LITÁR,~I "rope" < Gr. το λυτάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

¹³J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **μάγγανον** [ETYM < αρχ. μάγγανον, αβεβ. ετύμου. Στην Αρχαία συνυπάρχουν οι σημ. .μάγος, φίλτρο. και .ανελκυστική μηχανή. (τεχν. όρ.). Φαίνεται πιθανό ότι η λ. είχε αρχικώς τη σημ. τού .μέσου, μηχανής. είτε ως τεχνικού βοηθήματος είτε ως τεχνάσματος. Στην περίπτωση αυτή, η λ. Θα μπορούσε να συνδεθεί με σανσκρι. manju-.ελκυστικός, αγαπητός.,μέσ. ιρλ. meng .απάτη, δόλος., ρωσ. mengach .ύπουλος, προδότης. κ.ά. Σύμφωνα με άλλη άποψη, η λ. ανάγεται σε I.E. *meng- .μαλάσσω, ζυμώνω. και συνδ. με το συνώνυμο αρχ. μάσσω. Η λ. Μάγγανον πέρασε μέσω τού λατ. manganum .μηχανή. και σε άλλες ευρωπ. γλώσσες, πβ. ιταλ. mangano .σφεντόνα., γερμ. Mangel .έλλειψη. κ.ά.]

MISTRÍ,~A "trowel" < modern Gr. το μυστρί. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

HALÍÇ~I "pebble, small stone, rubble" < ancient Gr. το χαλίκι. FGjSSh '80. HALIQ-I FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

PERÓN/Ë,~A "nail" < modern Gr. η περόνη "hairpin, fork, shin of the leg bone". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

PETÁV/ËR,~RA "shingle, roof slate" < modern Gr. το πέταυρο, hereby also in Turk. *petavra*. The ancient Greek word το πέταυρο. FGjSSh '80. Not in the FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

PEZAÚL,~I "casting-net" < modern Gr. πεζόβολος "bob, lead (of the stone mason)". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PLITHÁR,~I colloq. "adobe, sun-backed brick, cob" < modern Gr. το πλιθάρι, < ancient Gr. πλίνθος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

PÍS/Ë,~A "dirty, hell" < modern Gr. πίσσα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

QERAMÍDH/E,~JA "tile" < modern Gr. το κεραμίδι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

RODHÁN,~I "pern (of the shuttle), bobbin, wheel" < modern Gr. το ροδάνι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SFIN/Ë,~A "wedge, jibe" < modern Gr. σφήνα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SHTÝLL/Ë,~A "pillar" < modern Gr. στύλος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SQEPÁR,~I "combined hoe and fork" < modern Gr. το σκεπάρνι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

DHOKÁN,~I "mousetrap" < modern Gr. το δοκάνι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

STIPËS,~I "alum" < modern Gr. το στύπι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

STRALL,~LLI "flint stone" < modern Gr. στερνάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

VUL/Ë,~A "seal" < modern Gr. βούλλα, βουλλώνω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

DHÓG/Ë,~A "board, plank" < modern Gr. η δόγα, from the It. *doga*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

ALISÍV/Ë,~A "lye" < modern Gr. η αλισίβα, originating from It.

FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch). Also on Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 115., in Gr. < ά- adv. + It. lisciva < Lat. *lix(i)via* < *lixa* (*aqua*) σταχτόνερο "lye".¹⁴

KAJNÁC/Ě,~A "door-latch" < Ven. caenazzo, from the It. *catenaccio*, interceded with the modern Gr. κατινάτσον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KANDÍL,~I "oil lamp" < modern Gr. re or med. καντήλα, το καντήλι < Lat. *candela* "oil lamp". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KAPÍST/ĚR,~RA "halter, bridle" < modern Gr. το καπίστρι, this from the Lat. *capistrum*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PALLÁSK/Ě,~A "slate, slab (of wood)" < Turk. interceded from the modern Gr. η παλάσκα. FGjSSh '80. PALLACKĚ-A FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

PRÍZ/Ě,~A hydro. "water plug, socket" < Gr. η πρίζα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 1464, borrowed from the French *prise*, this unit came A.D. with *prendre* "take" (< λατ. prehendere | prendere)].¹⁵

PRÓK/Ě,~A "hobnail, tag" < originating from Ven. broca, interceded from modern Gr. η μπρόκα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

STERN/Ě,~A "water tank, cistern" < modern Gr. η στέρνα < lat. *cisterna*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

Landscapes, lands, cities, different environments and their component parts

FOLÉ,~JA see "nest" < modern Gr. η φωλιά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

HÓR/Ě,~A "settlement, inhabited center" < modern Gr. η χώρα. FGjSSh '80. Not in the FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

¹⁴ J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **αλίσίβα (η)** {χωρ. πληθ.} 1. σταχτόνερο (δηλ. νερό βρασμένο με στάχτη) που χρησιμοποιούσαν παλαιότερα στο λούσιμο του κεφαλιού ή στο πλύσιμο ή (παλαιότ.) για την παρασκευή γλυκών 2. XHM. Κάθε ισχυρό αλκαλικό διάλυμα ή στερεό (λ.χ. το υδροξίδιο του νατρίου). [ETYM. < ά- προθεμ. + ιταλ. lisciva < λατ. lix(i)via < lixa (aqua) σταχτόνερο.].

¹⁵ J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **πρίζα (η)** κ. (προφορ.) μπρίζα (η) {χωρ. γεν. πληθ.} [ETYM. < γαλλ. prise λήψη, ουσιαστικοπ. μετ. τ. του p. prendre λαμβάνω, παίρνω. (< λατ. prehendere | prendere)].

FRËNGJÍ, ~A "loop-hole (in a bunker, or castle)" < modern Gr. φραγή. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

KALTHÉD/ËR, ~RA "old shoes¹, brushwood²". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 < modern Gr. η καθέδρα "bench, seat, throne, residency". (E. Çabej, G. Meyer).

KUVLÍ, ~A "cage (for wild animals or birds)" < modern Gr. το κλουβί. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

LIMÉR, ~I "hole, hiding place that some animals build in the bushes ..." < modern Gr. λημέρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LIVÁDH, ~I "meadow(land)" < modern Gr. το λειβάδι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

MONOPÁT, ~I "footpath, narrow, path" < modern Gr. το μονοπάτι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

NGÁST/Ë R, ~RA "parcel" < modern Gr. η γάστρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

NOMÉ, ~JA "pasture ground" < modern Gr. η νόμη. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

PIR/G, ~GU "turret" < modern Gr. ο πύργος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

SINÓR, ~I obsolete. "border" < modern Gr. σύνορον, συνορεύω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

USHÉ, ~JA "ambush" < Gr. χωνω, χωστηρι "bury deep in the ground". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54, "hunter's hideout, poacher". (G. Meyer).

VUSH/Ë, ~A. "black beetle" < modern Gr. βούτσα, βουτσιά "barrel". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

PALLÁT, ~I "palace" < modern Gr. or med. το παλάτι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 1303. The lexicon unit *παλάπον* interceded in the Greek language A.D. < Lat. *palatium*, from the Lat. *Palatinus Collis*, where was established the imperial palace of the Roman emperor Octavian Augustus.¹⁶

QELÍ, ~A obs. "cell" < modern Gr. το κελλί. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 876,

¹⁶J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", *παλάτι (το)* {παλατ-ιού | -ιών} [ETYM < μγν. *παλάπον* < λατ. *palatium*, από τον ρωμαϊκό Παλατινό λόφο (λατ. *Palatinus Collis*), όπου βρισκόταν το ανάκτορο του Ρωμαίου αυτοκράτορα Οκταβιανού Αυγούστου]. Fjalori i J. Dh. Babinjotit, p. 1303.

lexicon unif of the period A.D. κελλίον, diminutive. κέλλα < Lat. *cella* "small room".¹⁷

Natural wonders, geographic environments

ÁV/ĒR,~RA "sultry air, heat, chilly wind" < from med. or modern Gr. η αύρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

IGRASÍ,~A regional. "dampness" < modern Gr. η υγρασία. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

HON, ~I "abyss" < modern Gr. η χώνη "funnel, empty". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

NISÍ,~A obs. "island" < modern Gr. το νησί. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej, G. Uhlisch).

NOTÍ,~A reg. "humidity" < modern Gr. η νοτιά "South wind,". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

PORFÍR,~I "porphyry" < modern Gr. η πορφύρα "porphyries". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

STERÉ,~JA "dry land" < modern Gr. στερεά, στερώνω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

STIHÍ,~A bookish. "fury, impetus" < modern Gr. το στοιχείο "element, fig. essential element, fig. special environment of each person". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

VORÉ, ~JA "strong northerly wind" < modern Gr. ο βορέας. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

FURTÚN/Ē,~A "tempest" < from modern Gr. η φουρτούνα < It. *fortuna* foreign word. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

CIKM/Ē,~A "frost, hoar-frost" see "ciknë" < originating from the Turq. *çenk*, interceded from modern Gr. η τσίικμα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

CÍKN/Ē,~A "frost, freezing cold" < interceded from modern Gr. η τσίικνα of foreign origin as many modern Gr. words starting with ts-. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

Plants and trees

AGURÍDH,~E adj. "sour grapes" < modern Gr. η αγουρίδα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

¹⁷J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **κελλί (το)** [ETYM. < μγν. κελλίον, υποκ. του κέλλα < λατ. *cella* .θάλαμος, μικρό δωμάτιο.].

AGULÍÇ/E,~JA "primrose" < modern Gr. το αγούλι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

BORZILÓK,~U "basil" < Gr. βασιλικόν. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

BURBÚQ/E,~JA "blossom, rosebud" < modern Gr. το μπουρμπούκι, μπουρμπούκια. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

DHIÓZM/Ě, ~A "mint" < modern Gr. ο δυόσμος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

EGĚRLĚ,~JA "olivaster" < modern Gr. η αγρελία. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

FOM "milkwort" < modern Gr. ο φλόμος. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

GLIKÁN XO,~JA "aniseed" < modern Gr. το γλυκάνισμο. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

IMONÍK,~U "water melon" < modern Gr. το χειμωνικό. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KADORÍQ/E,~JA "layer (for propagation of plants)". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 < Gr. Byzantium. κατωρύζυχος. (E. Çabej).

KALLÁM,~I "reed, calamus" < Gr. το καλάμι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KALLÁM/E,~JA "field stub, stub-field" < modern Gr. η καλαμιά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KALLAMBÓQ,~I "Indian corn, maize". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 < modern Gr. το καλαμπόκι. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KALLM,~I "rush, pasta-sheet rolling pin" < modern Gr. κάλαμος, καλάμι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KÁRTHJ/E,~A "laburnum" < modern Gr. καρφός. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LASTÁR,~I "offshoot, offset" < modern Gr. το βλαστάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, G. Meyer).

LIVÁND/Ě,~A "lavender" < modern Gr. λεβάντα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

MĚLLÁG/Ě,~A "common mallow" < ancient Gr. η μαλάχη (gr. re μοχολα, μεχολα, αμολοχα). FGjSSh '80. (G. Meyer).

MÉND/ĚR,~RA "mint, peppermint" < ancient Gr. η μίνθη, μίνθ, μίνθος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

MĚRSÍN/Ě,~A "myrtle" < Gr. μυρσίνη. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Čabej).

MERUDHÍ,~A "parsley, spices" < Gr. η μυρωδιά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

MUNK,~U "bot.: claviceps" < Gr. μονγγός. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

ORÍZ,~I < "rice" Gr. το ορύζιο. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

PORTOKÁ/LL,~LLI "orange", < modern Gr. το πορτοκάλι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

RIGÓN,~I "(sweet)marjoram". < modern Gr. το ριγάνι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer E. Čabej).

RÓZ/Ě,~A "knot, knur" < modern Gr. ρόζος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Čabej).

RRĚP/Ě,~A "turnip" < modern Gr. το ρεπάνι, το ραπάνι. FGjSSh '80. RREP/I FGjSh '54. (E. Čabej).

SÉLINO,~JA "celery, celeriac" < modern Gr. σέλινον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SÍNÁP,~I "mustard" < modern Gr. το σίναπι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SURV/Ě,~A "quicken" < modern Gr. η σούρβα, σουρβον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 (E. Čabej).

TRĚNDAFIL,~I "rose" < modern Gr. τριαντάφυλλον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 (G. Meyer).

THERÓK/Ě,~A "thistle". FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. < modern Gr. φροκαλον. (E. Čabej).

URÓV,~I "vetch" < modern Gr. ο οροβος, το οροβι. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

VLLASTÁR, ~I "New (young) shoot (of a tree)" < modern Gr. το βλαστάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

PĚRNÁR,~I "Barbary oak, temptation". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 < modern Gr. το πουργάρι, το πρινάρι < ancient Gr. πρίνος. (G. Meyer).

RÓZ/Ě,~A reg. "dullard, knot, knur". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 < modern Gr. ρόζος. (G. Meyer, E. Čabej).

AFIÓN,~I see "poppy, (see: "opium" < modern Gr. το αफीόνι, foreign word also in Gr. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch). Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 327, popular borrowing of the medieval Greek

language άφιόνιονκ < Turk. afyon < Arab. afyun.¹⁸

JASEMÍN,~I "jasmine" < modern Gr. γιασεμί < Turk. *yasemin*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KANÉLL/Ě,~A "cinnamon, canella" < modern Gr. κανέλα < It. *cannella*, from *canna*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

MAJDANÓZ,~I "parsley" < Turk., this from modern Gr. το μαμεδονησι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

Animals

ASTRÍT,~I "spotted snake" < modern Gr. ο αστρίτης. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

CANGÁDH/E,~JA "milk goat (ewe)" < modern Gr. η τσαγγάδα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

CIKOF/ÚA,~ÓI "oriole, fig-bird" < modern Gr. συκοφάγης, συκοφάγος, συκοφάς. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 (E. Çabej).

FÓK/Ě,~A "seal" < modern Gr. η φώκα < ancient Gr. "fokē", fig. "fat, clumsy person (woman)". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 not figuratively (E. Çabej).

GAFÓRR/E,~JA "crab", < modern Gr. κάβουρας, κάβουρι < ancient Gr. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

GAMÍL/E,~JA "camel" < modern Gr. η καμήλα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

GLIST/ĚR,~RA "earthworm, trichina" < Gr. η γλίστρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

GJERAQÍN/ Ě,~A "sparrow-hawk" < modern Gr. το γεράκι < ancient Gr. "hawk". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

HAMURÍ/K,~KU reg. "hedgehog" < modern Gr. χαμώρυγας. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

HUTÍN,~I zool. "vulture" < Gr. το χουτίνι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

HÓND/ĚR,~RA "coarse silk thread" < modern Gr. χονδρό also fig.

¹⁸J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **αφιόνι (το)** {αφιον-ιού | -ιών} 1. (λαϊκ.) παπαρούνα από την οποία παράγεται το όπιο- (συνεκδ.) το ίδιο το όπιο (βλ.λ.) 2. (μτφ.) καθετί το οποίο μπορεί να προκαλέσει πνευματικό λήθαργο, να στερήσει από κάποιον το δικαίωμα να σκέπτεται και να αποφασίζει ελεύθερα: χαρακτήρισε την τηλεόραση ως ένα σύγχρονο κοινωνικό ~ που ναρκώνει συνειδήσεις. ➔ ΣΧΟΛΙΟ λ. αντιδάνειο. [ETYM. Αντιδάν, < μεσν. άφιόνιονκ τουρκ. afyon < αραβ. afyun < μτγν. .ojrtovj.

"churly, dunderhead". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KARAVÍDH/E,~JA "crab" < modern Gr. η καραβίδα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

KOPÉ,~JA "herd, pack" < modern Gr. η κοπιά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KUKUVÁJK/Ě,~A "(little) owl" < Gr. η κουκουβάγια + kĕ.. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KUNÁDH/E,~JA "marten" < modern Gr. το κουνάδι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KUNÚP,~I "mosquito" < modern Gr. το κουνούπι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

LANG/ÚA,~ÓI "hound" < modern Gr. ο λαγός "lepur". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

LLANGÓS,~I "barking dog; street dog" < Gr. ο λαγός "lepur". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

MILÁK,~U "leveret, young rabbit" < ancient Gr. νj. μελλαξ, μέλλακος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

OKTAPÓD,~I "octopus" < modern Gr. το οκταπόδι, αχταπόδι, that has also gone in Turkish and from there in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian. FGjSSh '80. OKTAPODH/I FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PETRÍT,~I "rapacious bird similar to hawk" < modern Gr. ο πετρίτης. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SKATHÁR,~I reg. "a kind of black insect that harms the vineyards" < modern Gr. ο σκάθαρος = κάνθαρος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SKIFTÉR,~I "hawk" < med. Gr. το ξιφτέρι, ξεφτέρι < ancient Gr. οξυπτεριον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

SKÍL/E,~JA "fox" < modern Gr. ο σκύλος "dog", η σκύλα "mole-cricket". (G. Meyer). FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

SKUMBRI,~A "mackerel" < modern Gr. το σκουμπρί < ancient Gr. σκόμβρος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SPURDHÍQ,~I "cur, sparrow, whipper-snapper" < modern Gr. ο σπουργίτης. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

SORKÁDH/E,~JA "female roe deer" < modern Gr. ζορκάδι, ζαρκάδια, < ancient Gr. ζορκάς. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. On G. Meyer also "zorkadhe".

KUKÚL/E,~JA "cocoon (of the silkworm)" < modern Gr. το

κουκούλι, this from the Lat. *cucullus*. FGjSSh '80. Not in the FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

MANÁR,~I "hand-rear lamb" < modern Gr. το μανάρι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 1040, lexicon borrowing from Arum. manar (u) < Lat. (cent. 3-6 A.D.) *manuarius* the one is fed by the hand of somebody (since cent. 7o meaning pet animal for lamb, horse and goat < lat. *manus* "hand").¹⁹

KUNÉL,~I "rabbit, young rabbit" < Gr. το κουνέλι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlich). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, borrowing of the med. Gr. < It. *coniglio* (in dialect. *cunelo*) < lat. *cuniculus*.²⁰

LUKUNÍ,~A "pack of wolves, angry mob" < modern Gr. λακινια < Lat. *lacinia*, but from one form λικουνια, λυκινια, related to λύκος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

Religion, superstitions and folklore

AJÁZM/Ë,~A "holy water" < Byzantine Gr. ο αγιασμός. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlich).

AJODHÍM/Ë,~A "apse" < modern Gr. το αγιοβήμα "hierore, kungë". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlich).

BÁG/ËM,~MI "ointment, chrisom, chrism" < ancient Gr. βάπτισμα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 - ancient religious word, today reactivated. (E. Çabej).

DHJAK,~U "deacon" < med. Gr. ο διακός close διάκονας. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

DHESPÓT,~I "bishop" < modern Gr. ο δεσπότης. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlich, E. Çabej).

DHIÁTË/A "last will, behest" < modern Gr. or med. η διάτα. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

EPITRÓP,~I "church warden" < modern Gr. ο επίτροπος. FGjSSh

¹⁹J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **μανάρι (το)** {μαναρ-ιού | -ιών} 1. Αρνί που τρέφεται στο σπίτι και προορίζεται για σφαγή ΣΥΝ. θρεφτάρι 2. (ως χαϊδευτική προσφώνηση) για τη δήλωση στοργής ή ερωτικού πόθου. — (υποκ.) μαναράκι (το), (μεγεθ.) μανάρα (η). [ETYM. < αρωμ. manar(u) .οικόσιτο αρνί. < μγν. λατ. manuarius .αυτός που τρέφεται από το χέρι κάποιου. (ήδη τον 7ο αι. η σημ. .οικόσιτο ζώο., για αρνί, άλογο ή αίγα) < λατ. manus .χέρι.. Όμοια η προέλευση τού αντίστοιχου αλβ. manar. Η παραγωγή από τ. *άμνάριον

δεν είναι πιθανή]. Fjalori i gr. së re by J. Dh. Babinjotit, p.1040.

²⁰J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **κουνέλι (το)** [ETYM. μεσν. < ιταλ. coniglio (διαλεκτ. cunelo) < λατ. cuniculus, πιθ. ιβηρ. προελ., πβ. βασκ. kui-untxi (όπου -txi υποκ. επίθημα)].

‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Uhlisch).

IGUMÉN,~I "prior of an orthodox monastery" < modern Gr. ο ηγούμενος. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

IKÓN/Ě,~A "icon". FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54 < modern Gr. η εικόνα. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

IKONÓM,~I "priest of the lower order" < modern Gr. ο οικονόμος "saver". FGjSSh ‘80. Jo nĕ FGjSh ‘54. (G. Uhlisch).

KALLOGJÉR,~I "claoyer". FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54 < modern Gr. ο καλόγερος. (E. Çabej).

KALLOGRÉ,~JA "claoyer (orthodox nun)" < modern Gr. η καλογριά.; FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Uhlisch).

KAMILLÁF,~I "tall hat of the orthodox priest" < modern Gr. το καμηλαύκι. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

KONÍZM/Ě,~A see icon < Gr. το εικόνισμα. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Uhlisch).

KUKÚDH,~I "goblin" < modern Gr. το κουκούδι. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

LITANÍ,~A "litany" < Gr. η λειτανία.. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Uhlisch).

LITURGJÍ,~A "liturgy" < modern Gr. η λειτουργία. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

LLAMBÁDH/E,~JA "candlestick " < modern Gr. η λαμπάδα. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

MAGJÍ,~A "witchcraft, magic" < gr. re η μαγεία. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

MAUTHÍ,~A "fairy" < med. Gr. the name of the nymph Αμάλθεια. FGjSSh ‘80. Not in FGjSh ‘54. (E. Çabej).

MANASTÍR,~I "monastery " < modern Gr. το μοναστήρι. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (E. Çabej).

METANÍ,~A "genuflexion, supplication; penance" < modern Gr. η μετάνοια. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

MÍRO,~JA "ointment" < modern Gr. το μύρο. FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

NAFÓR/Ě,~A "communion bread" < med. Gr. αναφορά "raport/report, relacion/record, lutje/prayer, referim/reference". FGjSSh ‘80. FGjSh ‘54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

PETRAHÍL,~I "stole (of the orthodox priest" < modern Gr. το

πετραχήλι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

PSAL "to psalm, to chant". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 < Gr. ψάλλω (G. Uhlisch).

PSALT,~I "psalmodist" < Gr. ο ψάλτης. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

ZULLÁP, ~I obs. "beast" < modern Gr. το ζουλάπι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

THIMJÁM,~I "incense" < modern Gr. θυμιάμα, θυμιατίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

Physical, psychological and emotional conditions

AGONÍ,~A "agony, throes" < modern Gr. η αγωνία. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

ANANGÁS reg. "to tease" < modern Gr. αναγκάζω, αναγκάσω. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

ANDRÁLL/Ë,~A colloquial. "worry, headache, trouble" < modern Gr. η αντραλα, plu. οι αντράλες. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

AKÓMA adv. "still, more, else" < modern Gr. ακόμα "ende/as yet". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

ANAMES adv. reg. "between, in the middle". < modern Gr. ανάμεσα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

ARGÁS see "to harden, to chafe" < modern Gr. αργάζω, αργάσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

ARRATÍS "to exile" < modern Gr. αρατίζω, αρατίσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

BÁL/Ë,~A "badger" < modern Gr. μάλωμα, μπαλώνω, this from ancient Gr. εμάλλω - mballos "to patch, to cobble". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

BONJÁK,~U "orphan" < extension with *-ak*, *-ar* of modern Gr. πόνος "pain, compassion". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

ÇALLAPATÍS "to wrinkle, to crease" < modern Gr. τσαλαπατώ, τσαλαπάτησα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

CIMBÍDH "to pinch, to nip" < modern Gr. τσιμπώ, τσιμπήσω "nipping". FGjSSh '80. CIMBÍS see CIMBIDH. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

CINGËRÍS "to chafe, to scratch, to poke" < modern Gr. τσιγαρίζω, τσιγάρισα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

CITÓS "to pin down, to fill, to cram" < modern Gr. τσιτώνω, τσιτώσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

CUKS, III person reg. "to tingle, to itch, to burn" < modern Gr. τσούζω, έτσουξα, τσούξω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

EVARÍ,~A obs. see "gratitude" < modern Gr. η ευχαριστία. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

FANÍT/ET "to haunt" < modern Gr. φαν/ερώνω + It. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

FARMA/K,~KU colloq. "poison, adj. very bitter" < modern Gr. το φαρμάκι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

FARMAKOS colloq. fig. "to poison" < modern Gr. φαρμακώνω, φαρμακώσω FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

FEKS, III person "to shine" < modern Gr. φέγγω, φέξω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

FÍR/Ě,~A "waste wastage" < modern Gr. η φύρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

GAJÁS "to wear out, to exhaust" < modern Gr. αγκαλιάζω "embrace", through the meaning of "tighten, choke". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. As word of the southern Tosk dialect (Korça and surroundings) could be a new borrowing. (E. Çabej).

GREMÍS "to push down somebody" < modern Gr. γκρεμνίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

FRIK/Ě, ~A "fear, nightmare" < modern Gr. φρίκη. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

HANDAKÓS colloq. "to hurt, to injure, to damage irreparably" < Gr. χαντακώνω, χαντακώσω. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54 (G. Uhlisch).

HARÉ,~JA "great joy, merriment" < modern Gr. η χαρά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

HONÉPS "to support, to digest", fig. "like, endure (usually with eh negative particle *nuk* or *s'*). *Nuk i honeps fasulet* < Gr. χωνεύω, χωνέψω, δεν το χωνεύω = I don't like him. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

JA part. "here, used to show something or somebody that is usually near" < modern Gr. γιά. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

HARLÍS colloq. "to invigorate, to untether" < modern Gr. χαρλίζω.

FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (V. Orel).

KANAKÁR,~E adj. "dear; favorite" < modern Gr. ο κανακάρης. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KARFÓS "to fasten with pins" < modern Gr. καρφώνω, -ώσω. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

KATANDÍS "to be reduced to a plight" < modern Gr. καταντώ, -ήσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KOLÍT (KOLÍS) see "to paste, to glue" < modern Gr. κολλώ, κολλήσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KÓLM/Ě (i), ~E (e) adj. "fulsome, roundish (of a body shape (usually for girls and women)". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 < modern Gr. κομψός "elegant, gracious". (E. Çabej).

KOMB,~I "knot" < modern Gr. ο κόμπος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

KOPANÍS "to beat, to thwack" < Gr. κοπανίζω, -ίσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

KRÚSM/Ě,~A "ruin, destruction" < modern Gr. το κρούσμα "special case of an illness; case of disobedience". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LAJTHÍT (LAJTHÍS) "to mistake, to err, to drive mad" < modern Gr. λαθεύω, λάθος; FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

LAPARÓS colloq. see "to splash, to bespatter" < modern Gr. λαπαρός "soft", the new formation with -ός, based on "lapër/wattle" (material). FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

LAPS reg. "to be exhausted" < modern Gr. λαψάνα "want". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LAVÓM/Ě,~A reg. see "wound, sore" < Gr. το λάβωμα "wound". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

LAVÓS reg. see "wound" < modern Gr. λαβώνω, λαβώσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

LIPS colloq. neg. "to abandon, to leave"; mainly. III person "disappears" < modern Gr. λείπω, λείψω "absent oneself, lack". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

LLAHTARÍ,~A colloq. "nightmare, dread, awe" < modern Gr. η λαχτάρα "longing, impatience, eagerness". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

LLAHTARÍS colloq. "to terrify, to scare, to overawe" < modern

Gr. λαχταρίζω "to desire sm. passionately". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

LLAMBURÍT "shine" < Gr. λαμπυρίζω, λαμπυρίσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

LLOGARÍT (LLOGARÍS) "to calculate, to reckon". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 > modern Gr. λογαριάζω. (G. Meyer).

LLOJ,~I "kind, sort, type" < modern Gr. λογή, λογής "various, sundry". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LÝPS/EM "to be needed, to be required" < modern Gr. λείπω, έλειψα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

MAGJÉPS "enthral, enchant..." < modern Gr. μαγεύω, μαγέψω magjeps "fascinate sb.". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

MBODHÍ,~A reg. "delay; hitch" < Gr. το εμπόδιο. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

MBODHÍS reg. "to delay" < Gr. μποδίζω obstruct. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

NAKATÓS reg. "to mix, to meddle" < modern Gr. ανακατώνω, ανακατώσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

NANURÍS "to lull to sleep" < modern Gr. νανουρίζω, νανουρίσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

MES prep. "across; used with a name in the ablative case ..." < modern Gr. μέσον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

MÍR/Ë,~A "well" < modern Gr. η μοίρα. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

MIRÓS "to better, to improve" < modern Gr. μυρώνω, έμυρωσα "parfumoj/to perfume, aromatizoj/to fragrance". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

MOLÉPS "to infect, to contaminate" < modern Gr. μολεύω, μολέψω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

MOLÍS "to exhaust, to prostrate" < gr. μολύνω, μολύσω ndot/contaminate, infektoj/infect, përhap mikrobe/spread germs. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

ORMÍS reg. "to prepare, to put in order" < modern Gr. ορμώ, ορμήσω "sulem/hotfoot, vërsulem/to rush in, turrem/to pounce". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

PANDÉH "surmise, imagine" < modern Gr. (α)παντέχω pres, απαντέχεμε το πρωί = pritmë në mëngjes/wait for me in the morning.

FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

PASTËR (i,e) adj. "clean" < med. Gr.. πάστρα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PIKS "clot, to coagulate" < modern Gr. πήγω, έπιξα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

PÉZ/ËM,~MI "inflammation of a wound, vexation, exasperation" < Gr. Byzantine. το πείσμα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

PLEKS "intertwine" < modern Gr. πλέκω, πλέξω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch).

PLAKÓS "to bury under, to cover" < modern Gr. πλακώνω, πλακώσω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch).

PORROPÍ,~A colloq. "misfortune, ruin, disaster" < modern Gr. ροπή "impetus, inclination, tendency, desire and natural capability on something". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

SKALÍT (SKALÍS) "to engrave, to hew (stones)" < modern Gr. σκαλίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SOS colloq. "conclude, put an end to something" < modern Gr. σώνω, έσωσα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

STIS colloq. "to set up, to dash" < modern Gr. στήνω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

TAGJIT (TAGJÍS) "to feed (a horse)" < modern Gr. ταγίζω, ταίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

TAKS colloq. "to promise, to bespeak, to pledge" < modern Gr. τάσσω, έταξα, τάξις. FGjSSh '80. FGjSSh '54. (G. Meyer).

TENDÓS "to stretch, to extend" < modern Gr. τεντώνω. FGjSSh '80. Jo në FGjSh '54.

THÁGM/Ë,~A colloq. "surprise" < modern Gr. το θαύμα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

TRALLIS "to daze, to confuse (with an abbreviated form of the personal pronoun in the accusative case) < modern Gr. αντραλίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

TROMAKS colloq. "to shock, to frighten, to appall" < modern Gr. τρομάζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

VITHIS "to sink, to subside" < modern Gr. βυθίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

ZALÍ,~A "faint, syncope" < modern Gr. η ζάλη, ζαλίζω. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

ALIVÁN,~I "faint, swoon të fikët" < It. *alla banda*, through modern Gr. αλλαβάνδα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

CINGÚN,~I "miser, niggard, parsimonious" < originating from the Turk. *çingene*, interceded from the modern Gr. ο τσιγγούνης "niggard". FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

FAQÓLL,~E adj. "that has one cheek in different color from the other (for the animals)". < the Latin element interceded through med. Greek or modern το φακιόλι "headkerchief, white headkerchief". FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

GËRNJ/Ë, ~A "quarrel" < modern Gr. γρίνια, γρινιάζω is taken as borrowing from the It. *grigna*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KÚJ/Ë,~A "howl, ululation" < modern Gr. χουγιάζω "scream, rebuke". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer). On J. Dh. Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 1960, the Greek lexicon unit from the Slav. *huj(ati)*.²¹

KUMBÍS "to rest, to lean" < modern Gr. ακουμπίζω, this from the Lat. *accumbere*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

RADH/Ë,~A "queue" < originating from the It. *radicchio*, interceded from the modern Gr. το ραδίκι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Uhlisch, E. Çabej).

III. Indirect loan words

In the category of the indirect loan words are included Greek lexicon units interceded in the Albanian language from a third language as e.g.: Latin, the neo Latin languages, Slavic, Turkish etc. The number of these loan words in Albanian is relatively scarce e.g.:

ARNAÚT,~I "Albanian (called like this from the Turks)" < Turk. < modern Gr. αρναβίτης, αρβανίτης. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGJSH '54. (G. Meyer).

ANGARÍ,~A "hard work with no reward" < Turk., this from the modern Gr. η αγγαρεία foreign word: "forced labor". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej, G. Uhlisch).

DEMÉT,~I "sheaf (pl. sheaves)" < Turk. *demet* < modern Gr. δεμάτι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

²¹J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", *χουγιάζω* ρ. αμετβ. {χούγιαξα} (διαλεκτ.) φωνάζω δυνατά από απόσταση. — χούγιασμα κ. χουγιαχτό (το). [ETYM. < σλαβ. huj(ati), με προσαρμογή κατά τα ρ. σε -άζω].

DIMÍ,~TË "slops, loose breeches" < Turk. < modern Gr. δίμιτος, δίμιτον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

EEFENDÍ,~U "mister, sir" < Turk., this from the modern Gr. ο αφέντης < ancient Gr. αυθέντης. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

FENÉR,~I "lantern" < Turk. *fener* < modern Gr. το φανάρι "lighthouse". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54 "guide, torch". (E. Çabej).

FUÇÍ,~A "barrel" < Turk. *fuçi* < modern Gr. το βουτσί. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

GASTÁR/E,~JA "glass" < skr. *gastara* < Lat. mes. *gasterium* < Gr. med. η γαστέρα "fourth stomach of goat kid, of lamb". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KAÇÚL/E,~JA "hood of a cloak" < borrowed from the Lat. *casual*, this from modern Gr. κατσούλα. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

KAMÁT/Ë,~A "usury" < skr. *kamata*, this from Gr. κάματος "tiredness, hardship", Gr. mid. κάματον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KANÚN,~I "canon (unwritten customary law inherited generation to generation)" < Turk. *kanun* < modern Gr. ο κανόνας "rules". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

KARAFÍL,~I "carnation. gilly-flower" < Turk. *karafil*, this from the modern Gr. καρύοφυλλον. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KARÁT,~I "carat (of gold)" < in Turk., Arab. *qirat*, in the common language *karat* < Gr. medieval κέρατο(v). FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KËMB/Ë,~A "foot" < Lat. in people's culture *camb*, *gamba*, originating from Gr. καμπή. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

KOLÉ,~JA "tripe" < skr. *kulen*, *kulenica* "suxhuk", this from the Gr. κόλον "intestine, viscera". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

KOLÍB/E,~JA "hut, dog kennel" < Turk. *koliba*, *kaliba*, this from the modern Gr. καλύβη. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

LEVREK,~U "wrasse, blackfish" < Turk., this from Gr. το λαβράκι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

IV. Multiple loan words

During the picking of the borrowed Greek element in the Albanian language are evidenced borrowed lexicon units from mutual

ways or languages at the same time, with multiple etymology and direction undefined (borrowing path). About the above different relations of lexicon borrowed in the Albanian language, comes out that some of the distinctive characteristics that reflect the origin of the units, which preserve the phonology of the languages they derive from or from where have been directly borrowed e.g.

➤ The forms with **-b-** in **Alb. barkë**<**it. barca**; while those with **-v-** (β) in **Alb. varkë**<**gr. βάρκα**.

➤ The forms with **-d-**<**It. or Turk.**; while those with **-dh-** (δ) <**Gr.** e.g.:

▪ **disk** "discus, rotary stone or metal, thrown from the sportsman in the Olympic games" < **it.**; while **dhisk** "tray" <**Gr. re το δισκίο(v)** (dhiskon). The lexical unit is infiltrated in the Albanian language from two languages.

▪ **digel** "solid ground layer, bifurcal layer to dig the land" <**Turk. dikel**; while **dhigel** <modern **Gr. δικκέλι**. Word with double etymology.

➤ The forms with **-x-** (τζ) from **Gr.**; while those with **-xh-** (c) from **Turk.**

▪ From **Turk. -c-** (xh) > **Alb. -xh-** or from **Turk. -c-** (xh) > modern **Gr. -τζ-** (-x-) > **Alb. -x-**

e.g.: **franxolë** < **Gr. φραντζόλα**, while **franxhollë** directly from < **Turk. francala**.

AMÍN vjet. "ashtu qoftë(so be it)/amen". Two ways of infiltration: from modern **Gr. (medieval) αμήν**, from the **Turq. amin**, religious borrowed word. **FGjSSh '80**. In the dictionary of '54 is an obsolete religious word, today reactivated.²²

ARGÁT,~I "day laborer". Double borrowed word: partially directly from the modern or medieval **Greek ο αργάτης**, partially from the **Turkish**. **FGjSSh '80**. **FGjSh '54**. (**G. Meyer, G. Ulich, E. Çabej**).

²² Many words and religious terms are not found in the Dictionary of '80 or are marked obsolete, because when the dictionary has been drafted, the practice of religion was forbidden, therefore is not been used in the terminology of that field. Today a part of those words marked as obsolete are reactivated and have become part of the terminological lexicon of that field. In the Dictionary of '80 has the meaning "ashtu qoftë(so be it)/amen", which was used in the conclusion of prayers or religious services.

ARMATÓS "to arm". < modern Gr. αρματώνω, αρματώσω. Nonetheless we are not sure for the source and the peregrination of the unit, in Babinioti's Dictionary, p. 276, the borrowed lexicon unit in this medieval period. < Lat. *arma* όπλα "rifle, weapon".²³ FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

ARÓM/Ě,~A "fragrance, perfume". Double origin: In Tosk dialect from modern Gr. η άρωμα. Buzuku in the Greek-Latin plural form originating from the medieval Latin church "pleasant smell". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Ulisch, E. Çabej).

AS,~I "as (Roman copper coin)". Çabej explains: double borrowing. From It. *asso*, modern Gr. άσος; southern Tosk haso from modern Gr., but with initial vowel spelling "nr. one as domino player, card player, number one in one field, distinguished man, abandoned and left alone". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

AVLLÍ,~A "courtyard wall". Double borrowing: from Gr. avli/η αυλή, from Turk. *avlli*. G. Ulisch explains that is infiltrated in the Albanian language from Gr. "yard". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, E. Çabej).

BARBÚ/N,~NI "mullet". It's not known the precise origin of the unit because also in Gr. το μπαμπούνι foreign word. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54.

CIRÓNK/Ě,~A "bleak, spawn (of a fish)" < modern Gr. ο τσιρός. Double origin *cirua*, *gjuhcë*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Ulisch, E. Çabej).

DAFÍN/Ě,~A "laurel". The form *dhafën* directly from modern Gr. δάφνη, while the form with d- **define** from people's Lat. *daphine* "victory, honor and glory". FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Ulisch, E. Çabej).

²³J. Dh. Babinioti, "Fjalor i greqishtes së re", **άρματα (τα)** {αρμάτων} το σύνολο του οπλισμού, τα όπλα: .για να ζωστούμε τ' και τα χρυσά τσαπράζια. (Κ. Κρυστάλλης) || στ'άρματα, στ' άρματα! (στα όπλα!). ΦΡ. ρίχνω τ' άρματα παραδίδομαι. ➔ ΣΧΟΛΙΟ λ. άρμα, ομόηχα. [ETYM. μεσν. <λατ. arma .όπλα.]. **αρματώνω** ρ. μετβ. [μεσν.] {αρμάτω-σα, -θηκα, -μένος} (λογοτ.) 1. εφοδιάζω με πολεμικό υλικό, εξοπλίζω: αρματώθηκε σαν αστακός • 2. (λαϊκ.) (α) (για πλοίο) εξασφαλίζω τον εξαρτισμό ιστιοφόρου πλοίου (αρματωσιά) για ταξίδι: βάρκα θ' αρματώσω ANT. ξαρματώνω (β) (για δίχτυ) προσαρμόζω στο δίχτυ τα σχοινιά, μαζί με τους φελλούς και τα βαρίδια. — αρμάτωμα (το) [μεσν.]. **αρματωσιά (η)** [μεσν.] 1. ο οπλισμός ενόπλου . 2. ο εξαρτισμός ιστιοφόρου πλοίου. αρμέ επίθ. {άκλ.} ΤΕΧΝΟΛ. ενισχυμένος, οπλισμένος. Μόνο για το μπετόν (σκυρόδεμα) (βλ. λ. μπετόν, σκυρόδεμα, οπλίζω). [ETYM. <γαλλ. arm. .οπλισμένος. < p. armer < arme .όπλο. (< λατ. arma)].

DEMÉT,~I "sheaf (pl. sheaves)" < Turk. *demet*, this from modern Gr. δεμάτι. The spread of the word in the Albanian language in the form **demet**, and also in the Balkan languages from the Turkish word. While **dhemat** <modern Gr. δεμάτι (dhemati), directly from Gr., unit of Arbëresh language of Italy. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

DIMISKÍ,~A obs. "damascene". The lexicon unit **DIMISQI** from the Turkish *dhimiski*, while **DHIMISQI** directly from the Gr. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

DIOQÉZ/Ě,~A "bishopric". The form with **d-dioqezë** from the Turk., and that with **dh-dhioqezë** from the Gr. διοίκησις. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

DHIQÉL,~I "two-pronged garden fork". Double etymology. The form with **d-** from the Turk., and that with **dh-** directly from the Gr. το δικέλλι. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Ulisch, E. Çabej).

DHISK,~U m.sh. **DHÍSQE, DHÍSQET** "tray". The form with **d-** from It. *disco*, that with **dh-** from Byzantine or medieval Greek ο δίσκος. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Ulisch, E. Çabej).

FRANXHÖLL/Ě,~A "roll of bread". The form with **-x-** from modern Gr. η φραντζόλα, hile that of **-xh-** from the Turk. *francala*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Ulisch, E. Çabej).

FASÚL/E,~JA "beans" < modern Gr. το φασούλι. Word with two multiple etymologies. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Ulisch, E. Çabej).

IDHU/LL,~LLI "idle". The form with **dh-** from modern Gr. το είδωλον < It. *idol*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej, G. Ulisch, G. Meyer).

MALLÓT/Ě,~A "gown, overcoat". Directly from Gr. η μάλλωτη or Lat. medieval *melota*, deriving from the Turk. reflex, Arab. *malluta*, this from Gr. μάλλωτη, μηλωτή. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

RRÓG/Ě,~A "wage, salary" < modern Gr. η ρόγα foreign word: rrogë = Lat. medieval *roga* from *rogare*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

PALLAMÁR,~I det. "hawser". From different ways: from Ven. *palamaro*, Turk. *palamar*, also in the southern Tosk dialect from modern Gr. το παλαμάρι foreign word even in Greek. FGjSSh '80. Not in FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

SARDÉL/E,~JA "sardine" < modern Gr. η σαρδέλα = It. *sardella*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

SPIÚN,~I "spy" < modern Gr. ο σπιούνος = It. *spione*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer).

PIRÚN,~I "fork". Borrowed from modern Gr. το πειρούνι. Used in the both dialects of Albanian language, on which the Gheg dialect has *pirû-ni*. The Gheg form that is subdued to nasality, could have another earlier origin: It. (Ven.) *piron*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (G. Meyer, G. Ulich, E. Çabej).

SHTUPË,~A "tow (of jute, of hemp, used in padding, as filling of mattresses)". Word with two waves of borrowing, the unit with the form **sh** *shtupë* directly from the Lat.; while the form with **s-** from modern Gr. στουπί, *stupi*. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

THEMËL,~I "foundation, base". The unit with **th-** το θεμέλιον, θεμελώνω, from the modern Gr., that with **t-** *temel* from the Turkish. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

VÁRK/Ë,~A "boat". The unit *brakë* from It., *varkë* in southern Tosk dialect from modern Greek. FGjSSh '80. FGjSh '54. (E. Çabej).

CONCLUSIONS

As noted above, this paper aimed to make us known with the long list of direct or indirect Albanian words loan from the Greek language, mainly of the modern and medieval period, grouped according their lexicon-semantic fields (especially the direct loan words). From the totality of the picked lexicon units from the greatest etymological works in the Albanian language field, comes out that over 90% of the Greek loan words have been directly infiltrate from the Greek to the Albanian language and less than 10% in indirect way (with Greek origin but interceded in the Albanian language from a third language (e.g.: Lat., It., Turk., Slavic., etc.) or of mutual borrowing. For some Greek lexicon units "Fjalor i gjuhës së sotme shqipe" 1980, has marked as lexicon units with a limited range of use, mainly the colloquial, regional, religious and terminological usage speech etc.

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BETWEEN DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR AESTHETIC CHANGES

(Albanian poetry - from 1945, towards '70s)

The contraposition for aesthetic categories and literary territories

Literary studies have shed light on a number of documents proving that *the Beauty*, as an aesthetic category, after the advent into power of the Albanian Communist Party, would get less attention in the face of the goal imposed to the literature in fulfilling its mission within the new political and social life of the country.

Earlier was noted that in order to secure a honorable place among schools, movements, and other trends based on realism, the purpose of the revolutionary art had to be closely connected to the reconstruction of the genealogies of aesthetic heritage, to produce from there a non-living yet form of Beauty.

The faithful and truthful reflection of the details was not enough for the new militant art, because as we find in Engels's letter addressed to Margaret Harkness in 1888, realism for him was not merely a mimetic reproduction but "true reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances".

With these conditions also opens the challenge of re-conceptualizing the aesthetic categories. Over passing the romantic definition of John Keats, "Beauty is the Truth" to art, which became direct producer of that particular form of reality, qualified as "socialism," is noticed that the production of the new aesthetic, as E. Dobrenko says, comes through the refit of the Marxist formula "stock-money-stock" into "reality-socialist realism-reality"¹.

However, neglecting the *Beauty* from the new art, appeared in the

¹ See, E. Dobrenko, *Political Economy of Socialist Realism*, "New Haven", Yale, 2007.

literary horizon, also including here the latest Albanian literature, was not because due to any rejection that made to this concept by the postmodernist factor of the '40s/'50s, which had underestimated the forms of the predecessor beauty, along with its connections and hierarchy.

The rejection of the previous Beauty came as fulfillment of the utopian vision that socialist realism produced, above all because of the inclusion of art in the same structure with ideology and propaganda.

The new beauty, as aesthetic category, would appear as defined by Rainer Maria Rilke in the introduction of the *Duino Elegies*, where he wrote: "... Beauty is nothing but the beginning of terror ...". From the other side, with the acceptance of socialist realism as the only creative method for the Soviet Union, as the founding and codifying country of the method, the era of art function as a cognitive tool with the function of mimetic reflection of reality was terminated.

Consequently, sooner or later, this goal would also end for the satellite literature of the countries of people's democracies, including the literature written in Albania since the beginning of 1945.

However though a decade of delay in the face of the dictated model, the Albanian authors of those years did not go for aesthetic research, but towards a precise and instant reflection of the new life's *Beauty*, with the claim that like this realism was deepening and that they were leading the Albanian literature towards a new phase, as wrote Sejfulla Malëshova about the process in 1950.

The aim was to present an acting world in which the *Beauty* would equate the truth as socialist supreme reality. This view expanded the status of socialism, passing it from the ideal to the material realm and attributing to it the characteristics of a real but at the same time fictitious reality.

In these arguments we meet the initial separation between the authors who came from the war and the authors of the second generation, that would come chronologically after them. The first group of the authors, those of the '45s and '50s, conceived *Beauty* as a faithful reflection of reality. Whereas for the second group, the idea of describing reality was transformed into the idea of transforming reality from the literature, which ultimately, as has been affirmed thanks to the arts, gave material form to socialism.

If for the poets of the '45s-'50s the description of reality was intended to construct it immediately and instantly, for the authors of the '60s this ready literary and factual reality - this "ready-made" of postmodernists - had to be transformed according to the paradigm that transformed the reality of the present into the literary utopia of the future, elaborated as a futuristic scenario. However, this activity was not autonomous, descended from purely poetic inspiration. If we were to use the terminology of the postmodernist theorist Jean Baudrillard to describe the process, it turns out that the first group was simply competed reality by overloading its own resemblance. While the second group of authors attempted to create that form of realism that has nothing to do with any immediate reality, a realism that describes imaginary realities, future and expected, producing a *simulacrum*. In front of them, the authors of the first group had simply created a simulation of reality, as a imitating a process that actually happens in life².

Manipulation through *simulacrum* was influential in the social, political and cultural spheres of Eastern Bloc countries' literature, where socialism was not merely regarded as a social and political order, but as an aesthetic perspective that had a sublime dimension to socialist *Beauty* or that form of beauty that could not save socialism, according to the researcher Hans Günther. The definition of socialism as a superior and absolute category of aesthetics, would be a less known aspect to poets of the '50s, since they would later become familiar with theoretical texts on method and doctrine. In the context of this aesthetic obligation, also for Albanian writers in the '45s-50s becomes understandable why the highest aim was not the creation of the *Beauty* in itself, but the faithfulness towards realism or that form of reality that had not yet been transformed into socialist realism. In the perspective of the poets of the '45s and '50s, the "newborn new world" had to be simply reflected, even in a hurry, as reality moved, fled, the events became obsolete and actuality died, and this creativity remained within the realism framework.

However, this aesthetic and this perspective made the contrast more visible between traditional *Beauty*, which symbolized the good and the truth of postwar reality with the aesthetic concept of the *New Beauty*, introduced by the poets in the middle of 1960s. In contrast to the accumulating and reproducing poets of the '45s and '50s, the successive

² See: J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, "University of Michigan Press", 1994.

generation of the poets appears as the creator of perspective reality, but at the same time also of the prescriptive - imperative reality. This reality could not be reflected and nor transformed with the old literary tools and techniques. To create that new reality, intuitively or knowingly, the 60s generation poets had to borrow the formal tools and techniques that had used the literary vanguards decades before them. At the center of the poets' *Beauty* of the '60s was not the present, but the aesthetic construction of future socialism, elaborated as a futuristic scenario. Exactly here is met a different dimension regarding the perception of reality, which leads to the question: was there a realism in its composition the method of socialist realism?

Whereas the reality of poetry of the '60s, projecting into the future as a fragment of eternity, expands the imagination, increases the doses of hyperrealism, creating areas of similarity with the modernism' aesthetics of mid-twentieth-century. The historiography of similar literatures has reached the conclusion that the art produced under the method of socialist realism appears similar to other trends. As affirms the researcher Boris Groys, the similarities are most visible with trends like surrealism, magical realism, with the Nazi German art, in which elements in the framework of the vanguard appeared not in the literary but in the psychological plane. "The action of eliminating artistic and non-artistic opposition affirmed that a new and eternal empire was under construction..."³ However, this phenomenon should be seen mostly as inclusion of the art into ideology and correspondence between the "voice reality" and the "echoing reality" of a movement not far from similarities.

Traditionalists and innovators like the vanguard demiurge

To implement the strategy of transforming the reality through art, poetry was selected as one of the recital, communicative and illustrative forms. As it listed facts, names, and concrete dates, the poetry of the early years after liberation emerged as the right tool for changing the new political reality. This also explains the reason why poetry, not short prose for example, became the area where the contrast between literary creativity between the '45s-'50s and '60s was totally evident. Are visible the facts of the controversy between the old poets and the young poets, who opposed in some cases without concessions to the traditional form

³ B. Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism...* "Princeton University Press", 1992, pp. 72-73.

of Beauty's appearance, by declaring opposition against "living acting realism", "of the progressive realism" and the tendency to "enrich the world with a new beauty" - a structure of the futurist thinking.⁴ To more clearly find out what areas affected the debate between traditionalists and innovators and the proposal for a different aesthetic, can be examined the atmosphere of literary chronicles of the time, starting since 1945, culminating 15 years later, with the controversy published in the newspaper *Drita*, between August-September 1961.

Within the sayings and evidences it is noted that the opposition between traditionalists and innovators was not merely about metrics, the free verse of youth people and the traditional octosyllabic or decasyllabic. That controversy was about the new aesthetics and especially for the literary territory.

In the published texts for some consecutive issues in *Drita* are shown opinions on the educational and political aims of art, which ended in controversy⁵ and heated debate.⁶ The debate between the "old" and the "young" involved between the parties the highest hierarchy of the state, as well as Enver Hoxha, who for the "happy end" and not to make any of the parties dissatisfied, in a large meeting with writers and artists, stated that "literature and the arts have developed in the right way and that it is getting more and more rich every day".⁷

Everything seems to symbolically fade with the raising of the white flag by Mark Gurakuqi, through his poetry, where also is found the verse "handing over the relay race in safe and secure hand" as part of the poem entitled *Shokëve të rinj poetë/To young poet friends*.⁸ As a less cynical sign of reconciliation after the loss of literary territories, comes the verses of creation entitled *Poetry*, in which Mark Gurakuqi - one of the

⁴ In brackets are met recommending formulations according to the magazine "Bota e Re", No. I, 1945 and Point 4 in the futurist Manifest of Marinetti.

⁵ See: Ismail Kadare, the discussion with the title: "Asgjë tragjike s'ka ndodhur, asnjë traditë s'është mohuar/Nothing tragic has happened, no tradition has been denied" and of Fatos Arapi with the title: "Nuk na e ka fajin vargu/It's not the verse to be blame", published in the newspaper "Drita", July 1961.

⁶ See: D. Agolli, *Traditë, natyrisht, por jo shtampë*, published in the newspaper "Drita" on 27 August and 3rd September 1961.

⁷ See: the newspaper "Drita" of 6 August 1961, as part of Enver Hoxha's word, kept on 11 July 1961, in the great meeting with the writers and artists.

⁸ See two poems from Mark Gurakuqi, *Poezia dhe Shokëve të rinj poetë*, published on 3rd September 1961, in page 2 of the newspaper "Drita", at the same issue where was published the article of Dritëro Agolli, *Traditë, natyrisht, por jo shtampë*.

defenders of the Albanian poetry traditionalism - affirms that "poetry desires today a wider path " and, like to justify this, he uses in his poem the vanguard poetic vocabulary of new poetry. In his lexicon are also met the words *sputnik, antennae, metal corpus, high voltage, battery, mills' lathe, cosmos, spaceship*, dictionary that was met since January 1961, when Ismail Kadare published in the newspaper "Drita" the poems *Skicë e qytetit t'arthmë/Design of the future city* and *Era e lindjes/The wind of east*.⁹

However, if should be sought a starting point to investigate the contradictions and differences between '50s and '60s poetry, a significant beginning could be the mimetic function that conducted the poetry of the '50s. That poetry was established into the role of a reality witness, which gave riming forms to political ideas, events of the day and to the new reality, as noted in the headlines published in the magazines *Literatura jonë*, *Letërsia jonë* after 1947, in the monthly *Nëntori* in 1954 and in the weekly *Drita* after 1961.

Without new stylistic research tools, the poetry between the '45s and '50s observed and reflected the heroism of war¹⁰ and experiencing the first stages of rebuilding the country, formulated in accordance with the "Two-Year Plan of the State and the Duties of the Writers"¹¹, which meanwhile its implementation was announced and expected. Attached to it, from the importance with mimetic function of poetry of the 1950s, stays and function the relation and the description in this creativity. It seems as if the poets of those years have hidden a camera in the middle of a covey of verses and with it photographed the images of a changing new life, offering us diary-type poetry.

The literary calendars of those days classify at the head of fulfilling the documentary purpose of the poetry of that period, the newspaper *Bashkimi/The Union*, where the poems of Aleks Çaçi¹², Lame Kodra, Zihni Sako, Vehbi Bala, and even Petro Marko and others were

⁹ See the edition in the newspaper "Drita", 29 January 1961.

¹⁰ See the literary creativity published in No. 1 të "Literatura jonë", March 1947, Sh. Musaraj, *Një ditë në Kuçovë*, A. Çaçi, or the review on the novel *Si u kalit çeliku*.

¹¹ See "Literatura jonë", No. 6. August, 1949.

¹² See the published poems in the newspaper "Bashkimi": Aleks Çaçi (Prak më prak, Bjeri çekiçit. Tak...Tuk...Po ngrihet fshati më i ri. Afshi i ri); of Lame Kodra (Kremlini), Zihni Sako (Ndalo! Punëtorit.); Petro Markos (Kënga e vendit t'im; Himni i Punëtorëve; 4 Shkurti); Vehbi Bala (Stadium; Muratori; Qumshti i parë) - published in "Letërsia jonë", April 1952, to follow with O Kombajnë!, from Vangjel Gjeçi - published in "Letërsia jonë", June 1952.

published, but they left no trace in the versification until the use of epistolary technique in poetry, as it appears from Dritëro Agolli's verses *Letër Stalinist/Letter to Stalin*.¹³ In front of the mimetic, reporting, and descriptivism of poetry inclination between the '45s and '50s, the poetry of the 1960s manifested other features, appearing as a more complex phenomenon to consider. The poetics of the authors of the 1960s expropriated the previous poets even from the theme of the homeland, that was seen as their safest area.

In the creativity of Ismail Kadare, Fatos Arapi, Dritëro Agolli, this theme has undergone a profound transformation, because the homeland of these poets was not the immediate homeland, but the "gifted, dynamic, heroic homeland that belonged to the future", terms that actually are part of the futuristic spirit and action. Poets of the 1960s also refused to collect simplified impressions from the museum of the previous metrics and stylistic figures. To observation and mimetic of the previous authors, they stood against the "demiurge of vanguards", and therefore their poetry often addresses to the skies rather than the earth and preserves the messianic inspiration of the messengers on the new (communist) planet, who speak to the masses for the future. This generation of poets, therefore, did not only reflected the daily, but also looked at the future of Albania, nevertheless undivided by the fate of socialism.

The attitude of this generation spared nothing, even it was apocalyptic to all the previous traditions carryings, including the classicist, romantic and sentimental carryings, recognizing only the revolutionary art that prophesied the revolution as a way of changing the world, also including here changing the art. This heretical spirit towards the previous creativity, the generation of the 60s would not only manifest in the creativity published in the press or in special books, but also in the controversies and debates that political and cultural institutions opened at that time regarding the relationship between traditional and innovative¹⁴, tradition and stamp¹⁵.

On the one hand, the poetry of the 1960s comes with the traces of a vanguard (qualified as innovative), within the traditionalist cycle of

¹³ See "Letërsia Jonë", No. 9, 1951.

¹⁴ See the titles of the attitude towards this thematic, published in "Drita" during July - September 1961.

¹⁵ See the polemic of Dritëro Agolli, published on 3rd September 1961, with the title "Traditë, natyrisht, por jo shtampë".

Albanian poetry of those years. From the other side, the term "vanguard", with all the iconoclastic spirit, versatile innovations in form and in the elements of content, does not fulfill the meaning of the term. Jacques Derrida or Gilles Deleuze rule out the possibility of absence, as according to them the absence can be considered as a form of presence, as well as the presence as a form of absence. However, Derrida's or Deleuze's views do not provide complete arguments when it comes to the symmetry between the vanguard of the Albanian poets of those years and other literary vanguards involved in the artistic movements outside socialist realism. Even the terms *heresy*, *heretic* or *iconoclasts* and *iconoclasm* are used as instruments that function only within the literary cycle of socialist realism and are comparable to the entities within it, i.e., more heretical or more vanguard or more iconoclastic compared with the dogmatic.

For the lack of matching vanguards and full-fledged functions, it would suffice to mention, not the opposition, but the satisfaction of power over the fact that the artists and the writers had met the expectations. This is, among other things, also evidenced by Enver Hoxha who in the IV Congress of the PLA (Party of Labor of Albania) of 1961, stated that "our writers and artists, with their creativity, have given a great help to the Party in its ideological struggle for the education of the new man"¹⁶.

Alongside such an affirmation, comes further evidences that assert that this period finds published the books with the poems, and the poems of Ismail Kadare's "Ëndërrime/Dreams" and "Shekulli im/My Century" and Dritëro Agolli's, "Në rrugë dola/I went on the road" and "Hapat e mia mbi asfalt/My steps on the asphalt". However, to notice other differences between the aims of poetry of the 1950s and the search for a new aesthetic within the exaltation of a different literature, but nevertheless within the bed and hearths of socialist realism, it has to be observed the relations inherited the poetry of the 1960s from the previous authors, that makes their inclinations more distinct.

At this hearth, the differences between the poetry of the 1950s and that of the 1960s can also be noticed in the matter of perspective. On the 50s poetry is felt the daily not the ordinary, because this situation as individual's intimate life experience, together with the lyric of love,

¹⁶ See the newspaper "Drita", 19 February 1961, p. 1.

almost disappears or is barely distinguished in the poetry of the 50s, leaving all the attention to the more accessible themes, closer, easily conceived even by the simplest reader. Meanwhile, in the poetry of the 1960s is felt the perspective, addressing of long distances, the transformation, the industrial-profile city, technology that is projected into the distant future, sometimes even cosmic, as is manifested in Ismail Kadare's poem dedicated to Russian cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin, published in the newspaper "Drita" in 1961.¹⁷

Free verses and verses connected after the classic rime

Drawn from a broad aesthetic movement dedicated to the discovery and exaltation of the city, it seems that the Albanian poetry of the '60s inherits some features of Russian futurism and similar with some points of the Italian futurism *Manifesto*, of Italian futurism, in areas such as urbanism, self-proclamation, trans-rational language and the form of picture-verses, which manage to place the city at the center of the system, develop the city's experiences and carry the capital's atmosphere as well as capture the instant image of the rhythm's era or explore "the innumerable ways in which poetry can reflect the disorientated speed and rapid influx of modern metropolis".¹⁸

In distinction from the poets of the '50s, which focused on ubiquitous construction sites and the transformation, the poets of the 1960s were inspired from the urban atmosphere and public backdrop of the environments such as coffee-bars, theaters, opera, streets, taxis, boulevards, parks, benches etc. This shift of attention towards the city also brought with it a shift from the monochrome atmosphere of work and construction sites. This aesthetic heritage, originating from the vanguards of the early twentieth century, which the poets of the 60s reactivated, had not escaped unnoticed even by the poets of the 50s. They did not miss the opportunity to criticize the young poets about themes devoted to cosmos, for being detached from reality or above all to what was even more intolerable: the use of "free verses", which was to be seen as a negative phenomenon, as Luan Qafezezi said.¹⁹

¹⁷ See the poem *Komunizmi të ngriti lart*, published in the newspaper "Drita", 1961.

¹⁸ See: T. Harte, F. Forward, *The Aesthetics and Ideology of Speed in Russian Avant-Garde Culture 1910 – 1930*. "The University of Wisconsin Press", London, Printed in USA, 2009, p. 36.

¹⁹ See: L. Qafëzezi gazeta "Drita", the column *Traditë dhe novatorizëm*, 23-30 July 1961.

Along with such remarks, disapprovals and disagreements, came also rebukes on the verses written in a state of half intoxication - understand futuristic ecstasy - of depravity that should not be allowed into the art²⁰, according to Andrea Varfi's remarks or the similar to them, articulated by Mark Ndoja ten years earlier, where was about on "the decadentism' refusal" and treatments of "spiritual [...] surrealistic, futuristic themes" in the Albanian literature of those years.

Certainly the city as a mention and the industrial zone were also present in the poetry of the 1950s, but they have served as the scenography for the development of the events of the socialist present, as part of a poetic diary that was not expressed as a passion towards the city. Compared to its predecessors, the poets of the 1960s liberated the city from its one-dimensional size, from the only political dimension in function to the goal, by offering a human view of the everyday life of cities within a city where everything happens: politics, love and above all free time for entertainment. Not only the day and work, but also the atmosphere of the evening became part of the newest Albanian poetry, in which was not only thought about the socialist tomorrow, but also for the "ad infinitum" feelings, such as love.

In this aspect, are distinguished the poems or special poems of Fatos Arapi, where the intimate and personal line begins to take more place, together with elements of contemporary life, part of which became the music, the fashion, etc. The poetry of the 1960s begins to move away little by little from the "feeling of home", the sensitivity for the old dwelling neighborhood, the sentimental hometown. The new feeling that is felt is the feeling of the world.

The poets experience "the city, the region, the continent" and feel the need not only "for what the predecessors have done ..., but also what their contemporaries are doing in every part of the globe". Such a presence in the poems and poetry of Fatos Arapi, Ismail Kadare and less in Dritëro Agolli, comes as a distant and delayed echo, but new in the Albanian context, of the Marinetti's *Technical Manifesto*, especially of the point 16, signed on 11 May 1913. We have to do with similarities and consistencies not matched in codes and especially in time, because what was considered genuine modern in Albania, such as for example "the free verse", which appears densely in the poetry metric of the 1960s,

²⁰ See: A. Varfi, "Drita", *ibid*.

was denied and attacked by the futurists, which had proclaimed "the death of free verses" as a way of expression, to propose instead "the words in freedom".

The same happens with the lyrical person "I", which is preferred over "we". This "I" lauded as the presence of intimacy and personal in the Albanian poetry, which at that time was ruled by the mass-choral "we", it is attacked by the futurists, qualifying it as "the obsession 'I'", with which the poets have described, sung, analyzed and vomited to this day". From this it becomes apparent that we must clearly distinguish the terminological separation of the term "modern" - as its use within Albanian poetry - and the term "modern", expressed in the broader context of what happened to European and world poetry at the time. What was considered modern in the inner literary circles, had been used and had closed the cycle, was abandoned from the international poetic factor.

In contexts like these, the city and the industrial landscape of the 1960s' poets, manifested shades of futuristic perspective and futuristic city energy, expressed in terms of the future and the utopian promise that before it arrives, is displayed and made visible through literature. The idyllic landscape and natural state of transformations, such as from the morass in the field, which remain within the natural state, in the 1960s poetry were displaced towards the city and to the industrial landscape that putting aside Migjeni's urban poetry and of some other author of the 1930s, were new experiences for the Albanian poetry.

The differences in attitudes between intentional and aesthetics are also observed in the treatment of the issue of instrumentalist, of expressive means and compositional structures. The metric and structural organism of the 1950s poetry, overestimated the traditional metric aspect, remaining faithful to the rime and verse and of stanzas. Meanwhile, the '60s poets, nonetheless in some cases were turning to traditional ballads and song styles of popular metrics²¹, feel more relieved from this limitation, addressing to the free verse which was also part of the poetic memory, at least since Asdreni with the *Psalmë murgu/Monk's Psalms*, Bucharest 1930 and, on Migjeni with *Vargjet e lira/Free Verses*, 1936.

²¹ See the creativity where is felt the influence of the traditional verse of poetry: *Motiv i përjetshëm; Baladë nizamësh* (Ismail Kadare) *Mikja; Zjarret*; (Agolli).

Beyond that, the overcoming of metrics issues also brought shifts in the stylistic figure shaft and throughout the tropes system bringing enrichment and innovation. This difference becomes yet another distinguishing feature between the poetry of the '45s-'50s and the poetic expressions of the 1960s' poetry.

The simple figures of meaning, such as comparison, figurative parallelism, contrast or personifications were sacrificed for abstract forms of expression figures, such as metaphor, metonymy, symbol or allegory. Certainly the apostrophes, the hyperbole, the vocative situations in favor of the bomb and flag goal²² of Siliqi and Varfi, would not disappear either in Dritëro Agolli, Fatos Arapi or Ismail Kadare, especially in the form of their poem. But the epic tones, the euphoria of the victories, the martial rhythms, the epic and appellative tones, the sublime situation would not appear to the same extent as before. The poetry of those years begins the change, becoming more personal, slightly more individual.

From the murder of Eros in the poetry of the '45s-50s to the militant Eros of the 1960s

Mentioning the individual, grinding dimension, also becomes one of the essential differences between what the poetry of the 1950s presented as a purpose and that the poetry of the 1960s, despite having changed compared to its predecessors, could not be completely avoided. It is about the grinding dimension, the distance from the "other" and the ability to transcend the boundaries set by ethics and ideology that as a form of collective utopia, annihilated in man both erotic and the private form of utopia.

The collective experience of love through the forms of plural "I" - the plural I - united the poets of both generations according to a single aesthetic principle: beauty was virtuous, beauty was good, beauty was healthy. The theme of love, as in sentimental and romantic code, continues to be mystified as feeling. But in the place of sentimental love, strong and powerful feeling of love were proposed.

In this carryings there are also parallels with futurism and the "futuristic woman" (the future of the woman in the Albanian case), which presented a very different profile than the catalog of female characters

²² See the poem of Mark Gurakuqi *Letrarëve të rinj*.

that the pre-futuristic literature had brought. The new futuristic woman in the fine arts and literature is found in the trenches and in the front, looking like the "motor body" of the future, filled with "interchangeable and replaceable parts", free from any parental authority that invalidates marriage, proposes free love as the norm and finds solution to the right to divorce.

Entailed in such terms and imaginations, this figure also appears in the Albanian poetry or poetry of the late '50s and early '60s, such as on Dritëro Agolli's "Dashuri dhe ferrobeton/Love and concrete", which justifies the parallel but inconsistent aesthetics in the calendar. Not only the form but also the quality of erotica disintegrates, because love uses the same uniform forms for all expressions of love, whether they are intimate or collective feelings, such as love for the homeland, for the leader, for the comrade at work or for freedom, obliterating the space between mass love and the individual's intimate love.

However, if the poetry of the 1950s intimate person almost completely disappears, in the 1960s, the poetry structure of intimate expression where personal intimacy is manifested in some poems by Fatos Arapi, Dritëro Agolli, Ismail Kadare or Dhori Qiriazhi.²³ With the monothematic and petrified vocabulary of the time, the poetry of the 1950s had offered not a polyphony, but a monody of a single voice, as a representation of the plural voice, where love as Eros is lacking, unless we don't take for granted such a volume of poetry by Mark Gurakuqi *Kangë për dashuninë*²⁴, in which poems' titles challenge the content, the inside, as they have little to do with erotica and the classification as love poetry.

However, though not in equal for and measure, both poetic generations contributed for the Albanian poetry to lose or rarely manifest the erotic or intimate dimension it had inherited from Romanticism lyrics (or even earlier, as Milto Sotir Gurra observes in reproachful way for Nezimi's poems, which he describes *for having an erotic spirit and far from our artistic tastes*) and that of the 1930s, including the intimate lyricism of Naim Frashëri, De Rada, Serembe, Lasgush Poradeci (for

²³ About the argument see the earlier creations of the quoted poets: *Poesia et narratus, U zunë rrugët, Fusha shtrihet e errët, Pellgu është tharë* (Kadare); *Më mori malli, Ti do vish, Edhe sonte, Në vetmi, Akuarel* (Arapi); *Puthja e parë* (Agolli).

²⁴ M. Gurakuqi, *Kangë për dashuninë*, "Ndërmarrja Shtetërore e Botimeve", Tiranë, 1957.

whose creativity Krist Maloki writes that *instead of divine love* [he brings] *some raped eroticism*), of Ali Asllani, Migjeni or the melancholy sensation of Gaspër Pali's maid, "who wept the first love".²⁵

Emerging from a kind of "nudity" or natural sensuality, present, though pale in Albanian poetics, where mostly the model of "sentimental idyll" or that of "the lover put under the feet of love" (as Zamputi notes, when observes a parallel motif developed by Naim - *Beauty* to Lasgush - *Ti po vjen që prej së largu*). The Eros of Albanian poetry of the 1960s does not follow the normal course of erotic lyric developments, but sometimes changes it clothes, sometimes wearing overalls and sometimes provoking with proletarian combination²⁶, as it has transformed into militant erotic in function of the symbolic representation of all that was genuine love poetry as for example on Ali Asllani.

Thus the imposture of erotica shifts from the intimate to the sublime, and the addressing of the expression shifts from the singular - personal person (*I* and *you*) to the massive plural forms (*we*), making even the most lyrical forms to engage within the purposeful of art. But the insistence of the political power on the role that art had to play and the purpose entrusted to it, does not appear in the 1950s and much less in the 1960s without theoretical coverage and an ideological supporting bases. Zeal and perseverance are observed early, immediately after the war, when in February 1945, just three months after the liberation of the country, are published modeling articles on the role literature was expected to play in its future and its goals. From here it becomes understandable the importance that the new power devoted to the symbolic identification of the new life, to which was not simply trusted the publication of life-style mimetic poems, but of writings, translation and publication of theoretical texts, deliberately supporting these literary and ideas practices. Since the spring of 1945, the newspaper *Bashkimi* has been publishing articles with a focus on goals rather than aesthetics. Such are *Intelektualët dhe lëvizja nacional-çlirimtare*, *Letërsia sovjetike në ditët e luftës patriotike*, *Kultura franceze kundër armikut* – the latter

²⁵ See: Gaspër Pali, the poems *Vjeshhtë* and *Kanga e poetit*.

²⁶ See: I. Kadare, *Ëndërr industriale*. Fragment 3. Vjersha dhe poema të zgjedhura, Naim Frashëri, 1966, p. 76.

holds the signature of Louis Aragon, where the emphasis is on the active participation of intellectuals in the war for the resurrection of France.

In this logic and in function of the aesthetics of reality's imitation, in January 1945, Petro Marko writes an article describing emotions while listening to "Ora letrare/The literary Hour" on Radio Tirana; and is also published in press the article *Shtyp dhe Kulturë në Shqipërinë e re/Press and culture in the new Albania* signed with V.D. initials.²⁷ During 1947, in support of the spirit that promoted the purpose of the arts for the benefit of the revolution, a series of other articles of formative value would be published, among them the one entitled *Gorki me realizma socialiste*²⁸/*Gorki with socialist realisms* from which is distinguished the one entitled "*Një bisedim me artistët e rinj/A conversation with the young artists*", where Gorky instructs on how to study the epoch or how to express the characteristics of a heroic character. Meanwhile, the literary competition for young people is announced, where the main themes comes defined with clear goals: the Durrës-Tirana railway, as the central theme.

Almost all militant poets responded to this call. However, in conditions quite unnatural and apparently coercive for their poetics, the theme of country-building under the leadership of the Party, though without devotion, almost ironically, if we examine the meanings and sound games of the word, will devote verses from too distinguished poets as Lasgush Poradeci²⁹ in the poems entitled *Lumturia/Happiness* and *Treni/The train* or even the poet Ali Asllani, who "gave to beauties the faith", as emerges from his verses in the poem dedicated to the changes of the country and Tirana, the drying up of the swamp in Thumana and the farmer's epopee.³⁰ In spite of the many differences and not too few similarities between the characteristics of poetry of the '45s-'50s and 1960s, the ambition to implement a deliberate utopian project, that of remote control reality not only towards the real and realism, but to that

²⁷ See the paper published in "Bashkimi", on 8 February 1945.

²⁸ See the paper with the same title, published in No. 3-4 of the magazine "Literatura Jonë" on 1947.

²⁹ See for this the metric system or the first verse of the poem *Treni*, by Lasgush Poradeci, published in a loaned verse from *Abaz Aliu* of Naim Frashëri that starts the same with the verse: "Ç'është ay që shkon kaluar".

³⁰ See: Ali Asllani, two poems published in the newspaper "Drita", 1961, with titles "Këng' e re" and "Thumani".

particular form of realism, with the "socialist" apposition, constitutes the essence of the culture and literary product of the period under examination which due to developments and dynamism, cannot be ignored, nor superficially presented and nor can it be easily interpreted.

Gjon Boriçi

THE CHINESE LOANS AND ASSISTANCE TO ALBANIA, 1956-1975

The Chinese note of 7 July 1978 for cutting all aids and loans to Albania

On 7 July 1978, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania [hereinafter PLA] Enver Hoxha, the prime minister Mehmet Shehu and the minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania Nesti Nase, received an urgent telegram from the ambassador Behar Shtylla in Beijing informing them about the decision of the Chinese government to cut all the kinds of assistance and loan to Albania.¹ About the note sent to the Albanian embassy, China pretended that have granted assistance and loans to Albania in the amount of more than 10 billion yuan². From this colossal assistance, in Albania were completely build 91 objects, 23 others were near completion and 17 under projection or under examination.³

In the Chinese note was said that since 1954, China has sent innumerable assistances and loans in Albania by request of the Albanian government.⁴ More than two thousand Albanian staff from all the fields

¹ *Arkivi i Ministrisë për Evropën dhe Punët e Jashtme/Archive of the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania* [hereinafter: AMEPJ], File [hereinafter: F.] 283, Year [hereinafter: Y.] 1978, p. 2. Part from the telegram of the ambassador Behar Shtylla: "Top secret from Beijing, to comrade Enver, comrade Mehmet, comrade Nesti Nase 7.7.1978. Y Zhan gave to me the note of 8 pages. Informs that 'the Chinese government interrupts its economic and military aid' and the payments for 1975 to Albania and shall return home the specialists, the military and economic stuff that work in Albania and for all this the responsibility falls on the Albanian side. Expresses the hope that the Albanian government would facilitate their return. The note is full of defamation, distortions and baseless accusations. I rejected all".

² Ibid, p. 5.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid, p. 4

were educated in China and this country [China] has helped Albania in a time when she herself was facing many difficulties.⁵ Also, in the note was stressed the fact that from China has been delivered two Albania over 1.8 million ton of wheat, more than 1 million steel products when China herself was not disposing enough from this mineral.⁶ In the note was also emphasized that China has equipped the Albanian army with weapons and interceptors of the latest technology.⁷ Also, Albania was accused that was trying to blame China for its defects in industry.⁸ At the end of the note, was boldly emphasized that the interruption of the economic and military cooperation between China and Albania was completely caused from the Albanian side, which had to bear full responsibility.⁹ The Albanian communist leadership replied to the Chinese note of 7 July with a long and harsh letter on 29 July 1978, where rejected all those what were written in the Chinese note.¹⁰ The Albanian note signed by Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu considered China's decision as infidel and hostile towards Albania.¹¹ She rejected "the eight facts" presented from the Chinese note and stressed that Albania would continue to protect the Marxism-Leninism principles and the international socialism.¹²

Albania refused to accept that has taken over 10 billion yuan loans from China and 1.8 million ton of wheat, but only 3 billion yuan and 436.000 ton of wheat and everything else was liquidated in trade ways or by clearing.¹³ According to Hoxha and Shehu, Albania has delivered to China over 1.7 million ton of oil, over 1.3 million ton bitumen, nearly 2.7 million ton of mineral chrome and chrome concentrate etc.¹⁴

Also, in the Albanian note was drawn China's attention that the PLA of Albania has protected the Chinese Communist Party from the Khrushchev's revisionist attacks in the meetings of Bucharest and in that

⁵ Ibid, p. 7-8.

⁶ Ibid, p. 9.

⁷ Ibid, p. 11.

⁸ Ibid, p. 40.

⁹ Ibid, p. 44.

¹⁰ *AMEPJ*, Y. 1978, F. 284, p. 73. The letter of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania addressed to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on 29 July 1978.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid, p. 75.

¹³ Ibid, p. 83.

¹⁴ Ibid.

of Moscow on 1960.¹⁵ Albania did this conscientiously to protect the principles of Marxism-Leninism and not to take from China some factories and tractors.¹⁶ When socialist Albania for many years defended China's rights in the United Nations Organization against the American conspiracy, according to Hoxha this was made not for material interests, but to defend a right principled issue.¹⁷ When, the Party of Labor of Albania and its working class supported the strategic aims of China's Cultural Revolution, this according to Hoxha was made not for compensation, but to help the Chinese working class and the Chinese communists and people, to save the country from the capitalist elements that have usurped the power in China.¹⁸ Certainly, this claim of Enver Hoxha is not true because China was "the goose who was making golden eggs" and the friendship with it was more than necessary to preserve his personal power. For the Albanian leadership the true reasons for the cut of the assistance and loans to Albania were not simply technical, but deeply political and ideological.¹⁹

Beyond ideology and both parts claims about the real amount of the Chinese assistance and loans granted to Albania, and out of every prejudice, I'm presenting this study paper to make a precise calculation from 1956 to 1978 about the Chinese assistance and loans for Albania. The several years research in the Albanian archives gave me the opportunity to present the real numbers what I have found to date when this paper was firstly published in the Albanian language in December 2018. In our opinion, the numbers given from both sides, Albanian and Chinese are not precise.

The Chinese assistance and loan to Albania, 1956 - 1960

On 22 October 1956, the First Secretary of the PLA's Central Committee, Enver Hoxha, summoned an important plenum to clarify the visits he has paid as chairman of the high Albanian delegation in China, North Korea and Mongolia.²⁰ Interesting is the fact that before starting

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 75.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 76.

²⁰ *Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit i Republikës së Shqipërisë/Central National Archive of the Republic of Albania* [hereinafter: *AQSH*], fund [hereinafter: f.] 14, Arkivi i Partisë-Marrëdhëniet

the meeting and talk about the visit in China, Enver Hoxha presents a long overview of Albania's relations with Yugoslavia. The Albanian leader considered the relations with the northern neighbor as cold and in his view, for this was to blame the Yugoslav part.²¹ Was not the case that the Albanian communist leader started the meeting by speaking on Tito's Yugoslavia. Has begun the "melting" of ices in the Soviet-Yugoslav relations with the reciprocal visits of Tito and Khrushchev in the respective capitals in the second half of the '50ies. Enver Hoxha couldn't feel safe in the close relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement was the next threat to his power. According to Hoxha, Khrushchev during the visit in Belgrade, encouraged Tito for Yugoslavia to improve the relations with Albania, to stop the espionage work against it and also to give up from the attempts to liquidate the Albanian political leadership.²²

After speaking too long about the relations with Yugoslavia, Enver Hoxha focused then his attention on the visit he paid in China as chairman of the delegation participating in the VIII Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. It's very interesting the fact that in the meeting with the chairman Mao Zedong, Enver Hoxha had to adapt in the possible maximum to Mao's impression about the break of relations with Yugoslavia and on Stalin's figure. About Yugoslavia, Mao told to Enver Hoxha that to blame on this matter was the Kominform.²³ While concerning Stalin, chairman Mao, said that he [Stalin] has make mistakes not only towards Yugoslavia, but also towards China since 1927.²⁴

Considering Khrushchev secret speech in the XX Congress of the Communist Part of the Soviet Union in February 1956, and Mao's speech against his spiritual "father", Enver Hoxha had nothing but to adapt with

me Partinë Komuniste të Kinës/Party's Archive-Relations with China's Communist Party [hereinafter: AP-MPKK], Year [hereinafter: Y.] 1956, File [hereinafter: F.] 28, p. 56. Minutes of the meeting of the Plenum of the Party of Labor of Albania Central Committee on 22 October 1956.

²¹ Ibid, p. 57.

²² Ibid, p. 58. Part from the speech of Enver Hoxha in the Plenum: "You, openly said comrade Khrushchev to Tito, want to annihilate the actual leadership of the Albanian state and party, but we this leadership would help and protect, and you from your part should stop the spying network you develop in Albania".

²³ Ibid, p. 32. On the case of Yugoslavia you haven't gone wrong and nor the Yugoslavs. For the break of relations with Yugoslavia he said that big mistakes has made the Kominform.

²⁴ Ibid.

the situation. Having in mind the Soviet-Yugoslav approach and convinced that the close alliance with Moscow would not last, the Albanian communist leader for the first time said that Stalin was a leader with many merits, but at the same time he has made grave mistakes.²⁵ Enver Hoxha was adapting very well himself to the situation. After the near break of relations with the Soviet Union, he absolutely needed another "shelter" to secure the continuity of his power. Enver Hoxha didn't hesitate to thank Mao for the assistance that the People's Republic of China has started to send in Albania.²⁶

After the meeting with Mao, Enver Hoxha and the delegation he chaired had a meeting with China's premier Zhou Enlai. Hoxha said in his speech in the plenum that the Chinese prime minister was an extraordinary simple man and had expressed the desire to continue the assistance towards the People's Republic of Albania and to pay a visit in Albania.²⁷ Zhou Enlai was interested what could China do to help more Albania and Enver Hoxha replied that the removal of card system (ration) was emergent for Albania.²⁸ Interesting is the fact that nevertheless the big loans and assistance coming from the Soviet Union and from the other countries of people's democracies, again Albania's economy was not giving any sign of recovery. Having another "charitable" person would not be bad for Enver Hoxha's regime.

On 23 October 1956, the Albanian ambassador in Beijing, Delo Balili, informed the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Albania that were ready coming from China assistances and laboratory equipments for the schools and pupils in Albania.²⁹ In his message, ambassador Balili didn't have any detail for some financial bill that Albania had to deliver to China. On 5 January 1957, ambassador Balili

²⁵ Ibid. From the meeting of Enver Hoxha with Mao Zedong: "Then he asked what we thought of Stalin. We told him that Stalin is a great leader with many merits, but at the same time he has also made big mistakes".

²⁶ Ibid. The speech of Enver Hoxha: "Finally I thanked him for the help that has granted us the People's Republic of China. He immediately intervened by saying that was not the case to thank, because the help we have given you is something too small, then he added we are part of the big family of the socialist camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union and it's the same as one hand gives something to the other, part of the same body".

²⁷ Ibid, p. 33.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ *AMEPJ*, Y. 1956, F.139 B/II-2, p. 1. Presents from the Government of the People's Republic of China for our schools.

sent to the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Albania a detailed information about the trade agreements and goods delivering for 1957.³⁰ In this report, ambassador Balili asked for Albania to liquidate all the deliveries from China in order to be closed all the signed contracts.³¹

However, Albania was still very poor and full of debts towards the Soviet Union. To pay the assistances and credits coming from China, the Balkan communist country should ask a financial amount from Beijing to have the possibility of goods delivering. A year later, forced to do so, on 7 October 1958, Enver Hoxha addresses a long letter to China's chairman Mao Zedong, asking a loan of 55 million rubles* (122.221.000 million yuan), for the third quinquennial 1961-1965.³² From his part Mao Zedong accepts Enver Hoxha's demand and grants Albania a loan of 55 million rubles to the government of the People's Republic of Albania.³³ The loan of 55 million rubles would have a year interest of 15% and would become to be liquidated from 1980 to 1990.³⁴ With this credit during the third quinquennial 1961-1965 would be build some works where the most important were the construction of the glasswork factory with capacity 5600 ton of glass production and a factory for packing.³⁵ From the documents I have found when this paper was firstly published in Albanian on 2018, this was the only loan granted from the government of the People's Republic of China until 1960.

³⁰ *AMEPJ*, Y. 1957, F. 130 BII-1, p. 5. Material about the economic relations between our two countries.

³¹ *Ibid.*

* During the currency exchange between the ruble and the yuan was: 1 ruble=2.2222 yuan.

³² *AQSH*, f. 14, AP-MPKK, Y. 1958, F. 1, p. 7. Exchanged letters between Enver Hoxha and Mao Zedong on the demand of the Party of Labor of Albania Central Committee addressed to the Chinese Communist Party to grant Albania a loan of 55 million rubles during the first period of the third quinquennial 1961-1965.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China accept to grant a loan of 55 million rubles to the Government of the Peoples of Albania... As belonging to the issues about the loan and the supply with principal materials, they would be examined from the respective organs of our governments. Communist regards, Mao Zedong, 12 December 1958.

³⁴ *AMEPJ*, Y. 1959, F. 189 BII-2, p. 1. Information on the concluded agreements with the People's Republic of China during 1959.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

The Chinese assistance and loans, 1961-1965

The years 1961-1969 were very successful in the Albanian-Chinese relations. Are exactly these years that made those relations special. Taking advantage from the Sino-Soviet rift, Enver Hoxha's Albania was head over heels related to the People's Republic of China and received from her many assistances and loans. From the other side, being a full member country in the United Nations Organization [hereinafter: UN], Albania masterfully exploited the absence of China in this important international organization to become Beijing's voice in the most important institution of the globe.

From 17 to 30 January 1961, a high Albanian governmental delegation chaired by Spiro Koleka, deputy prime minister of the People's Republic of Albania, held intensive meetings with the prime minister of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai and with Li Xiannian, Finance minister of China [1954-1969], about the works that would be constructed in Albania with China's assistance and loans.³⁶ Three were the main issues discussed in that meeting: The trade for 1961; 2. The trade and the long term cooperation for 1961-1965; 3. Military issues.³⁷

The Chinese premier said in the meeting that for the first point Albania would receive from China 20 million rubles and awaited from Albania to return to China 9 million rubles with a deficit of 11 million rubles.³⁸ The deficit of 1960 that Albania had to give to China was 10 million rubles.³⁹ Anyhow, only for these two years, Albania was obliged to give China 21 million rubles (46.666.200 yuan) according to the Chinese premier, a fact that was not denied from Spiro Koleka.⁴⁰

Concerning the second issue, Albania would receive from China 100 million rubles which would be used for the mechanization of the agriculture and also were demanded the construction of 125 works with the help of the Chinese specialist.⁴¹ Concerning the third and the most sensitive issue to Enver Hoxha, that of military aid, China couldn't fully

³⁶ *AQSH*, f. 14./AP-MPKK, Y. 1961, F. 1, p. 1. The meeting of Spiro Koleka with Zhou Enlai of 17 January 1961.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

satisfy Albania. In the final report drafted by Spiro Koleka, which presented to Enver Hoxha, he concluded that from 700 million rubles asked from the PLA's Central Committee, the Chinese have granted 500 million rubles (1.111.100.000 yuan), which would be divided 100 million rubles for the food stuff, 100 million rubles for the agriculture and the respective equipments and 300 million rubles for the works.⁴²

Because he was not very satisfied from the Chinese loan for 1961, Enver Hoxha sent in China Abdyl Këllezi [minister of Economy], on 23 December 1961 to negotiate on new loan and assistance from China's side.⁴³ In the report of the Albanian embassy in Beijing sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania, are given details from the meeting of Abdyl Këllezi with Zhou Enlai and the demands of the Albanian minister for assistance and loans from China. To fulfill this new desire of Albania, China had to buy from Italy equipments costing 12 million US dollars.⁴⁴ In total, the loan would cost to Albania 40 million dollars.⁴⁵ After long discussions, Zhou Enlai accepted that the loan which would be granted to Albania for 1962 should be 30 million rubles (66.666.000 yuan).⁴⁶

Albania in the first half of the '60 was secretly receiving considerable foreign currency from China.⁴⁷ How was the amount, the documents do not say. However, the considerable assistances and loans Albania was receiving from China would be further consolidated after the two consecutive visits of the Chinese premier Zhou Enlai in the country on 1964 and 1965.⁴⁸ The volume of works for the construction of the objects in Albania until the end of 1964 reached 2 billion and half Albanian lek.⁴⁹

⁴² Ibid, p. 15.

⁴³ *AQSH*, f. 14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1962, F. 1, p. 8. On the visit of Abdyl Këllezi in China on 23 December 1961, sent from the Albanian embassy in Beijing on 14 January 1962 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tirana.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 17.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid. On the economic aid that China grants to Albania and the new loan of 25-30 million rubles for the objects of the third quinquennial.

⁴⁷ *AMEPJ*, Y. 1964, F. 175 B/II-1, p. 16-17. Top secret coding of 26.8.1964 between the director of the Bank of Albania and the Albanian ambassador in Beijing, Nesti Nase.

⁴⁸ *AQSH*, f.14/AP.MPKK, Y. 1965, F. 4. p. 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12. Minutes of the conversations between Enver Hoxha and Zhou Enlai on 27-29 March 1965.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 115.

Communist Albania has finally found a "sponsor" who was fulfilling all her wishes. As was not enough of all these credits and loans, the Albanian communist went further when on 1964 with order of the Central Committee, Hysni Kapo instructed the Albanian ambassador in Beijing, Nesti Nase, for China to sent money to Albania to finance the revolutionary struggle in the countries of Latin America and Africa.⁵⁰ The amount Albania was asking from China to make possible the "sponsorship" of the revolutionary movements in Latin America and Africa was US\$1 million.⁵¹ To this improper demand from the part of Albania, China didn't reply.

The Chinese assistance and loans, 1966-1970

After the visit of Zhou Enlai, Albania with the new agreement would be granted a new loan from China for the fourth quinquennial 1966-1970.⁵² For this quinquennial, Albania's demands would have a significant increase. With the new Chinese loan, was previewed that for the fourth quinquennial plan with the assistance of the People's Republic of China, to be build completely 13 industrial works, 12 different units close to existing mills and factories and to be fulfilled enlargements in three existing objects.⁵³ Among the most important works that would be build were: the hydroelectric station of Vau i Dejës on the Drin river, the metallurgical mill for melting the iron-nickel ore and rolling of metal sheet, and also the mill for the production of refined ferrochrome.⁵⁴ The new loan that was asked to be granted from the People's Republic of China should be usable within 1966-1970 and to be liquidated after 1990.⁵⁵ From the calculations of the indexes and relations presented by Mehmet Shehu, Albania demanded 33.3 million rubles.⁵⁶ After the third visit of Zhou Enlai to negotiate the new loan to be granted to Albania in June 1966, four months later on 20 October 1966, the Chinese government approved the loan in the field of industry and oil in the

⁵⁰ *AQSH*, f.14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1964, F. 24, p. 9. Letter of Hysni Kapo to Nesti Nase.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁵² *AQSH*, f.14/AP.MPKK, Y. 1965, F. 25, p. 28. Letter of Mehmet Shehu to Zhou Enlai about Albania's demand for a new loan from China for the fourth quinquennial 1966-1970, 22 January 1965.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 29-42.

amount of 14.300.000 rubles⁵⁷. The same year, China granted to Albania another loan of 32.596.000 rubles for the construction of the great industrial works.⁵⁸

Meanwhile, the international situation in 1968 was extremely tense because of the military intervention of Warsaw Pact under the leadership of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia. The Soviet intervention gave Albanian an excuse to exit the Warsaw Pact on 13 September 1968.⁵⁹ Because has remained without military protection and fearing an invasion from the Soviet Union, Enver Hoxha sent in China economic and military delegation chaired by Adil Çarçani, first deputy prime minister of the People's Republic of Albania and Beqir Balluku, minister of the People's Army. Both high governmental Albanian officials signed important agreements for the defense and the economy. As the economic questions, Adil Çarçani signed on 20 November 1968 two long term and without interest agreements in the amount of 1.056.300.000 yuan and 86.100.000 yuan in free currency.⁶⁰ With this big loan with the help of China would be completely build 34 works in Albania.⁶¹ For the goods and the equipments Albania would receive from China, were required another 146.300.000 yuan as credit which will start to be delivered starting from 1970 to 1975.⁶² The most important works would be the Steel Mill in Elbasan and the Hydroelectric station of Fierza.⁶³

The Steel Mill would have a capacity to melt 800 thousand ton of manufacturable iron-nickel ore, also including the mill of melting the iron-nickel of manufacturing capability 100 thousand ton per year.⁶⁴ The

⁵⁷ *AMEPJ*, Y. 1966, F. B.II-1, p. 51. Different matters of the economic cooperation between China and Albania.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 148

⁵⁹ Statement of the Party of Labor of Albania Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, 28 August 1968. Main papers of the PLA, vol. V, Tirana: Institute of History, 1982, pp. 412-413.

⁶⁰ *AQSH*, f. 14, AP/MPKK, Y. 1968, F. 4, p. 21, 24. Agreement between the People's Republic of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of China on granting a loan to Albania from China.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 26.

⁶² *AMEPJ*, Y. 1968, F. B/I-10, p. 45.

⁶³ *AQSH*, f. 14, AP/MPKK, Y. 1968, F. 4, p. 30, p. 37. Reference of protocol between the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of China on granting technical assistance and supplying the complete equipments to Albania from China.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 30.

Steel Mill would be constructed in two phases: the first phase previewed to have a melting capacity 300 thousand ton of mineral per year, while the second phase would have a melting capability of 500 thousand ton of mineral.⁶⁵

As concerning the construction of Fierza's hydroelectric station, the principal power was previewed to be 360-400 thousand kw.⁶⁶ In the first trimester of 1969 would come to Albania the first group of the Chinese specialists for the study and the design where would be definitively specified the power of this hydroelectric station. According to the plan, the preliminary project would end in the second trimester of the 1971.⁶⁷ The Chinese side would supply the necessary equipments and the materials for the respective studies.

Within this loan was included another extraordinary quantity of armament that was required in the secret meeting between Beqir Balluku and Zhou Enlai on 6-7 October 1968.⁶⁸ The negotiations to convince Zhou Enlai to grant Albania an extraordinary quantity of weapons lasted from 21:40PM of 6 October to 02:00AM of 7 October.⁶⁹ After Albania's exit the Warsaw Pact, the minister Beqir Balluku presented as very serious the situation to the premier Zhou Enlai, as an imminent attack would occur the next day and the country would face aggression from all parts. Albania had listed 746 indexes in the field of defense which required an armament of 50 thousand ton.⁷⁰ Except the armaments, Albania had also demanded 6000 ton ferroconcrete to start the process of country's bunkerization.⁷¹ In vain was trying the Chinese premier to convince his interlocutor for the impossibility of such a large scale war for Albania, but was nothing he could do. At last, the high Chinese officials accepted to sent to Albania 108 double-barrel cannons of 37 mm, 600 tanks, 72 planes, 30 helicopters, 24 missile boats, 180 torpedo, two groups of land-air rockets "Thunder 2" and also 200 million shells.⁷²

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 37.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ *AQSH*, f.14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1968, F. 8, p. 1. On supplying with weapons the People's Republic of Albania and the new demands for strengthening the defensive capability.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 3.

⁷¹ Ibid. From the speech of Zhou Enlai: "Except that you have requested also 6000 ton of iron-concrete. This demand we shall fulfill to you".

⁷² Ibid, p. 15, 16.

How much would cost this quantity of ammunition the documents do not show, but we think that a large part of the above mentioned loan was to pay all this armament. In the framework of a frontal war, as Balluku presented it, and also having all this armament, Albania had no chance of victory and either stopping a possible invasion from the armies of the Warsaw Pact or NATO. The paranoia to defend by all costs his power was turning into a suicide weapon for the Albanian people, which had to carry on his back not only the cruel dictatorship of Hoxha, but also the hard loans. It has been spoken a lot on the so-called Albania's financial independence during the Cold War. The papers presented in this paper prove the opposite.

Without passing two years from the approval of the 20 November 1968 loan, in 1970, the Albanian premier Mehmet Shehu sent a letter on 12 March 1970⁷³ to Zhou Enlai with a new demand to be granted another loan for the fifth quinquennial 1971-1975.⁷⁴ The amount the Albanians were asking this time was 335 million rubles.⁷⁵ Interesting is the fact that all the demands for credit, Albania tried to justify that "was surrounded from the enemies". The decision for granting to Albania a new loan, was eight months long and was granted as present for Enver Hoxha's birthday on 16 October 1970.⁷⁶ The loan of 16 October 1970, was the greatest ever granted from China to Albania. Its amount was 1.880.000.000 yuan.⁷⁷ With such a loan, the power of Enver Hoxha and his clique would have a further consolidation and the country would experience a small

⁷³ *AQSH*, f. 14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1970, F. 6, p. 14. Letter of Mehmet Shehu addressed to Zhou Enlai on 12.3.1970.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 1. Letter of Mehmet Shehu addressed to Enver Hoxha and the copy of the letter of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania addressed to the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and also the respective on the demand of a new loan for the fifth quinquennial 1971-1975 for the People's Republic of Albania and sending to China the governmental economic delegation chaired by Abdyl Këllezi to negotiate Albania's demands and concluding the respective agreements.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁷⁶ *AQSH*, f. 14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1970, F. 8, p. 2. Copies of the signed agreements and protocols in Beijing on 16 October 1970, between the government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of China on granting a long term and without interests loan to Albania from China for the years 1971-1975, on supplying the complete works, on granting the general materials, on exchanging the goods and the payments for the 1971 and also for the use in 1971 of the loan granted by China, which have come in the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Government.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 4.

economic boost that would be noticed in all the fields of life in the beginning of the '70ies. Also, in this credit was included the granting of the free currency in the amount of 14 million US dollars.⁷⁸ The liquidation of the loan would be made during 15 years starting from 1 January 1986 to 31 December 2000, every year with 1/5th of the amount.⁷⁹

The loan of 16 October 1970, obliged Albania to export to China crude oil, oil bitumen, chrome mineral, iron-nickel ore, blister copper, unsheathed copper wires, plywood, earth clot, earth clot confections, cotton, cigarettes, tobacco etc., in total 1780 ton.⁸⁰ Also, Albania would export to China thousand ton of food and fabric⁸¹ which could have been used to improve the economic level of Albanians. From all these exports, Albanians would be forced to give the body clothes, the daily bread to fulfill the extravagant wishes of Enver Hoxha. Albanians would be dressed the same, would have the same jacket, shirt of coat and also their homes would look alike. Who would dare to change a little bit, was about to be called enemy of the working class.

The Chinese assistance and loans, 1971-1975

After the acceptance in October of 1971 of the People's Republic of China in the UN, the relations of Albanian with the Asian giant started the free fall. On 29 October 1972, Enver Hoxha received the Chinese ambassador in Albania, Liu Zhen Hua.⁸² In this meeting, Enver Hoxha told the ambassador on some problems that were noticed during the construction of the Steel Mill in Elbasan.⁸³ Ambassador Liu Zhen Hua promised that the Steel Mill would be constructed by no doubt and for this question were preoccupied a lot chairman Mao and also the premier Zhou Enlai.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 32. The list of goods that the People's Republic of Albania would export in the People's Republic of China in 1971.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 33.

⁸² *AQSH*, f. 14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1972, F. 5, p. 1. The conversation of Enver Hoxha with the Chinese ambassador Liu Zhen Hua, during the dinner on the occasion of the 23 Anniversary of the People's Republic of China, 29 September 1972.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 18.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Although has received many assistance and loans from China, Albania was still facing serious economic difficulties. To pulse if could get again loans from China, Enver Hoxha sent on 7 November 1972 the Trade minister Kiço Ngjela and the minister of the People's Defense Beqir Balluku in Beijing.⁸⁵ The Albanian ministers were welcomed in a meeting from the premier Zhou Enlai who thanked them for the extraordinary help that Albania has given for China's admission in the UN.⁸⁶ Also the Chinese premier joked a little bit by saying to the Albanian ministers "*you had problems until you make possible for us to be readmitted in the UN, now you don't ask for us anymore*".⁸⁷ Was a exquisite diplomatic joke and a direct message for all those who know how to read between the lines, when a country starts to close the door. Nevertheless the demands especially on defense from minister Balluku, both Albanian ministers returned empty handed from Beijing. Nevertheless, the high level delegations from China didn't stop coming to Albania.

A high delegation of the Bank of China chaired from the deputy general director Chao Pei Xi arrived in Albania for an official visit from 9 to 19 October 1972.⁸⁸ The aim of the visit of the delegation was to feel the pulse of Albanian economy capability on some planning and application aspects of the credit for the industrial, trade and agricultural enterprises, of monetary box plan and circulation, on the credit of agricultural cooperatives, objects of short and long term credit and also on the organization and functions and the main duties of the Agricultural Bank in direction of the village and visits in different enterprises and institutions.⁸⁹ Even this time, the high Chinese bank delegation didn't make any promise on a new assistance or loan.

In 1974, the Trade minister Kiço Ngjela, informed Enver Hoxha on some general data from the conversations with the Chinese trade delegation in Tirana chaired from China's Trade minister Li Cian.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁵ AQSH, f. 14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1972, F. 10, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 10.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ AMEPJ, Y. 1972, F. 136, p.15. On the visit of the delegation of the Chinese bank in our country.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 16.

⁹⁰ AQSH, f. 14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1974, F. 2, p. 5. Information of the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Albania and the letter of the Trade minister Kiço Ngjela addressed to Enver Hoxha about the conversation with the trade delegation of the People's Republic China chaired

information that Kiço Ngjela sent on 17 January 1974, seriously put in deep thoughts Enver Hoxha. According the negotiations the Albanian Trade minister has made, the Chinese demanded that the difference of the prices to be covered only with the increase of the crude oil price that Albania was selling to the capitalist countries and this action should be made only for 1974, while for the years to come they didn't accepted.⁹¹ According to Ngjela, was put in evidence that the increase of the oil price by taking the average price in the capitalist countries, Albania would profit nearly 7 million rubles, while with the maximum price of 8 million rubles, the difference of re-export prices would be approximately 2,3 or 3,4 million rubles.⁹² The Albanian minister recommended to accept the proposal of the Chinese side because he didn't saw any other way out.

However, Enver Hoxha didn't needed recommendations. He needed China to continue sending assistance and loans as did unsparingly during all the '60ies. The blows he stroke on culture, economy and army to justify the successive failures and to present them as excuses in front of the Chinese were not giving fruits. Nevertheless, a year later, in June 1975, in China would go directly instructed from Enver Hoxha to demand a new loan the first deputy prime minister of the People's Republic of Albania Adil Çarçani.⁹³ In a top secret meeting, Enver Hoxha instructs Adil Çarçani to do the utmost to receive a new loan for the Albanian economy, and also to immediately accept every amount the Chinese would grant.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, as to do a sort of pressure to the Chinese, if the granted loan would not be satisfactory, Enver Hoxha instructed Adil Çarçani would say that "we shall come again to you for a new loan".⁹⁵

from the Trade minister Li Cian. - On the compensation of the re-export value of the goods that China buys from the other countries for Albania with higher prices.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ *AQSH*, f. 14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1975, F. 2, p. 1. Notes from the meeting of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania Enver Hoxha with members of the Albanian economic delegation that would go to the People's Republic of China, chaired from the Politbureau member and first deputy prime minister Adil Çarçani, on 14 June 1975, where are given instructions on the new loan that would be asked to the People's Republic of China for the sixth quinquennial 1976-1980.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 3.

The Albanian economic delegation arrived in China on 14 June 1975 and would stay there until the first days of July 1975.⁹⁶ The report that Adil Çarçani presented to Enver Hoxha after his return on 12 July 1975 was extremely gloomy.⁹⁷ Nevertheless his efforts to convince the Chinese on the importance of granting to Albania from China, the Chinese disagreed. In the signed agreement in Beijing on 3 July 1975 between Adil Çarçani with Li Xiannian, the Chinese side agreed to grant Albania a loan of 500 million yuan refusing Albania's demand of a 1 billion and 200 million rubles loan.⁹⁸ The loan of 3 July 1975 was the last concerning the assistance and loans Albania has received from China. From this loan, the most important work to be build was the hydropower station of Koman with power 600 thousand kw/h and also the respective substations.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, Enver Hoxha didn't gave up, because if he would break up with China, the country will remain totally isolated and would be no other support. In November 1975, he and Mehmet Shehu made the last effort to receive considerable military aids from China, but neither from Mao Zedong and nor from Zhou Enlai they received no reply.¹⁰⁰

Conclusions

In conclusion of this paper I believe that is visible that both sides are far the real numbers. The Chinese side tried to increase the amount (10 billion yuan equal with US\$ 5.882.352.941.176,5), while the Albanian side tried to minimize in maximum (3 billion yuan equal with US\$ 1.764.705.882.352,9). This paper was firstly published in the "Studime Historike" journal scientific organ of the Institute of History on December 2018. After more detailed research in the archives, in this issue of "Studia Albanica" journal, I'm presenting with more accuracy and precision and for the first time what I have so far found in my research in the Albanian archives about the Chinese credits granted to

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 4.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 75. Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of China on granting to Albania a long term and without interest loan from China.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 87.

¹⁰⁰ *AQSH*, f. 14/AP-MPKK, Y. 1975, F. 10, p. 1. Letter singed from Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu addressed to the chairman Mao Zedong and the prime minister Zhou Enlai, on the necessity of Albania to be equipped with weapons. 12 November 1975.

Albania. The outcome according the documents I have consulted so far is the following:

- The first Chinese loan granted to Albania is on 3 December 1954, in the amount of 50.000.000 rubles, equal to 111.110.000 yuan.¹⁰¹
- The loan of 16.1.1959 in the amount of 55.000.000 rubles, equal to 122.221.000 yuan.¹⁰²
- The loan 2.2.1961 in the amount of 112.500.000 (new) rubles equal 249.975.000 yuan.¹⁰³
- The loan of 13.1.1962 in the amount of 30.000.000 (new) rubles equal to 66.660.000 yuan,¹⁰⁴ and also the granting of 1.338.000 British sterling (equal to 3.371.760 yuan).¹⁰⁵
- The loan of 10.6.1964 in the amount of 6.500.000 (new) rubles equal to 14.443.000 yuan.¹⁰⁶
- The loan of 8.6.1965 in the amount of 170.000.000 (new) rubles equal to 377.740.000 yuan.¹⁰⁷
- The loan of 20.10.1966 in the amount of 14.300.000 (new) rubles equal to 31.774.600.¹⁰⁸
- The loan of 30.10.1967 in the amount of 9.839.000 (new) rubles equal to 21.862.258 yuan.¹⁰⁹
- Two loans signed on 20.11.1968 in the amounts of 1.056.300.000 yuan and 86.100.000 yuan.¹¹⁰
- The loan of 18.8.1969 in the amount of 2.731.430 yuan.¹¹¹

¹⁰¹ Gjon Boriçi, "Dorëheqja e detyruar e Enver Hoxhës si kryeministër i RPSH-së dhe kredia e parë kineze akorduar Shqipërisë, 1954", in *Studime historike*, nr. 3/4 2019, Tiranë: Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike, 2020, pp. 217-240.

¹⁰² AQSH, f. 506/Banka e Shtetit Shqiptar/National Bank of Albania [hereinafter: BSHSH], Y. 1980, F. 46, p. 2.

¹⁰³ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 47, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 48, p. 2; see also, AQSH, f.506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 49, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 49, p. 1, 2.

¹⁰⁶ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 50, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 51, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 53, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1978, F. 33, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 54, p. 2; see also, AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 55, p. 2.

¹¹¹ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 56, p. 2.

- The loan of 16.10.1970 in the amount of 1.880.000.000 yuan and the granting of US\$14.000.000 equal of 28.000.000 yuan.¹¹²
- The loan of 11.4.1972 in the amount of 70.000.000 yuan.¹¹³
- The loan of 3.7.1975 in the amount of 500.000.000 yuan.¹¹⁴

In total from the People's Republic of China are granted to Albania 4.622.289.048 yuan equal to US\$ 2.718.993.557.6471.* These numbers are from Albanian archives. During my stay in China in the international study program "China Studies" from September 10-30 2017, was not possible to do research in the Chinese archives.

¹¹² AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 57, p. 5.

¹¹³ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 62, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ AQSH, f. 506/BSHSH, Y. 1980, F. 63, p. 3; see also my previous papers, Gjon Boriçi, "Kredia e fundit kineze për Shqipërinë 1974-1975 - prelud i prishjes së marrëdhënieve mes dy vendeve ", in Studime historike, 1/2 2018, pp. 255 - 272; Gjon Boriçi, "Kreditë dhe ndihmat kineze për Shqipërinë 1956-1975", in Studime historike, 3/4 2018, pp. 199 -216.

* The exchange rate dollar/yuan in 1978 according the Albanian archives, fund of the Bank of Albania source was: 1 USD=1.70 yuan.

Scientific information

REVIEW ON THE BOOK "KODIKËT EK FONETIKË TË SHQIPËRISË"

(Byzantine musicological codexes of Albania);
author Holta Sina Kilica

Indeed, the book that is published with the title, *Kodikët ekfonetikë të Shqipërisë*, is one of the parts of Holta Sina-Kilica PhD theses dedicated to the musicology manuscripts that are preserved in the archives of Albania. Her study contains a wider content.

At the time when she started her thorough research in the national archives about Albania's musicology manuscripts, the author of this book, meanwhile had concluded a qualitative study of her university degree on church-Byzantine musicology scripture tradition. She was self-educated and gained the certainty to start writing a monograph on music's paleography, on its division on stages, on evolution of its beautiful sound signaling in liturgy and in the secular tradition, on musical tidings transcriptions, psalmody's typology and church hymning with the convergent changes and developments from one period to another, the neumes (musical writing alphabets) traditions, the protagonist reforms of graphemes of these writings, the role of the personalities and the relations between the archetypes and variants.

These two specific competences forming the music's theory and the history from one side and the periodization of the long process of the liturgy musical alphabet; solidified during the years of work in the Institute of People's Culture in the field of anthropology and ethnomusicology; encouraged from the passion of these manuscripts typology, which became encouragement for her difficult choice, to dedicate her study to a tight and difficult field, as the history of the musicology manuscripts that are preserved in Albania.

By not having anything of the holy writing and the same on the scientific knowledge about these manuscripts, with exception of some passive describing marks of the first cataloguer of the church archives in Albania, the late Theofan Popa; and of course the index example of the earlier church international manuscripts cataloging: Caspar René Gregory and Kurt & Barbara Aland), Holta Sina-Kilica dared to walk in a *terra incognita*, mysterious and dangerous, quasi without a single certain reference. She should paved the way herself for the other following scholars.

Excluding an essay of the ethno-musicologist Sokol Shupo, who was the first who put into doubt the stubborn insistence of all those that dare to study the *Codex Purpureus Beratinus* since Athimius Alexoudes and Pierre Batifol to the latest, that *in these manuscripts there are not musicological texts* (*hypertext, neuma, vevµa*), proving that at least the pages 45, 111 and 156, are signs of psalm's graphemes' orientation, contemporary or onwards, almost nothing was made known to the scientific reader about the church musicology manuscripts that are preserved in Albania.

In a certain way, it can be said that Holta Sina-Kilica started her job from *the ground zero*. To succeed what she was aiming for, she had to patiently study and re-study with a self-sacrificing willpower the secret graphemes codes of these manuscripts. It was to happen a *development against the stream*: along more than two thousand years nearly nothing was proved even in a single case that the scribes, the transcribers of the *Writings*, could have come from the *other gender*. The mastery that was known with the idiom *ars scribensi* as belonging to the *Holy Scriptures*, together with their ateliers, with *scriptoria* or *scriptoriums*, with calligraphy schools that have exceptionally been *males' mastery*. It's not known even a single case when the transcriber could have been a lady.

Perhaps in this admirable takeover that at the same time makes you hesitate with its mysteries, Holta Kilica-Sina was encouraged also by her origin from Voskopoja, the city of enlightenment, of academia and typewriting, of codexes and books, the city of *corporate* and *fratalia*, the city of archonate and agora, the multilingual and multiethnic city.

The book *Kodikët ekfonetikë të Shqipërisë* of Holta Sina-Kilica couldn't be written without a multiple formation: in philology and paleography of musicology writing, in archaeography and anthropology

of religion and scriptures. If would start searching of what is called *lexues model* for a published work, and in vane we would hope to find more than a dozen. The publishing in a foreign language of course would require to enlarge this narrow circle of interesting people.

Those knowledge that today are called *biblical textual criticism* is nearly an order of experts with a specific sub-knowledge and specter and of a severe discipline. The ordinary readers in the beginnings had to peruse the terminological dictionaries until they would understand what the *neumes* are (as alphabet systems of musical writing and as hypertexts of the musical phrase in the church service to lead what in the language of the liturgy is called *psalterion*);

to try then to guess what are *the pair sings* and their combinations in the linguistic phrase to finally achieve with too much hard-work on the musical writing typologies.

Has properly been that Holta Sina-Kilica started her monograph with a cognitive presentation of the Byzantine church music history, of its periods and protagonists. Not only in the canonical meaning, but also in the chronological one, what the history of the Christian thought passes from the *Holy Word to the Holy Scripture* and from the *Holy Scripture* to the *Holy Sound*.

The Christian liturgy, that is rightfully considered as the *spirit of the doctrine*, could not be imagined without this *trinity: word, scripture and sound*. As every mass symbolically repeats the spiritual union with the Messiah, *eucaristia* and *l'ultima cena*, also the liturgy through music unites the *Scriptures* with psalmody and the hymnody; also spiritually unites, *through syncretism the word-neuma*, the believer, the clergyman and God.

The presence of the Byzantine culture in the Albanian environment has been proved by the material and spiritual culture. Like all the religions that *from the nature and the functions are naturally international* (excluding Hebraism), also the *eastern church* would had left its historic and cultural trace among Albanians. If some verifying discussion is not excluded in the cases when this presence is aimed for strata that belong to the *secret Christianity*, *earlier Christianity* and *ecumenical Christianity*, the three main preceding periods to come to the *great schism* (1054) and the detach of the Byzantine church from the Roman. The scholar rightfully has left aside the doctrine discussion and

has decided to affirm by certifying, and this choice led her attention where the epicenter of the Christian manuscripts that are preserved in Albania, there wherein the last centuries of the Middle Ages was said by the terms of the today, *a syndicate of eight calligraphy schools* (handwriting): in Berat. After that, not in vane, also in more close circle: in the city's castle that was turned like all the cities of the former Ottoman Empire in the shelter of the self-isolation of the *Christians* and the hub of preserving the codexes.

Holta Sina is the first who introduces to the scientific environment, not few but 18 Byzantine musicological manuscripts preserved in the Albanian archival net: complete manuscripts and fragments. A part of these manuscripts do not exists in any catalogue, European or national. Also lack what is called *minimalist file-card*. In her study are presented for the first time. The scholar has placed these manuscripts in chronology and typology; has found the proper place for each of them in the general historic periodisation according the musical alphabet that has been used. Nevertheless has been the easiest way to present a complete presentation and archaeographic description of all the codexes with musical content, again she has chosen to focus only on the Byzantine musicological writing and projecting a wider study in the future.

The spiritual connection that the scholar has had with the subject in question, has expressed also with the artistic recreation by her handwriting, reminding the *writing as art*, of some selected passages from musical writing, including the grapheme stylizations with aesthetic values.

For the three musicological codexes of Berat and one of Vlora, Holta Sina-Kilica has realized technical comparisons in the level of unit and musical minimal phrase, and this should have been a very painful work and difficult. In the methodological view of every research, *when the knowledge reaches the ultimate comparison*, then it has achieved the *highest degree of professionalism*. It's impossible for me not to separately mark that the selected part for comparison is a fragment of *Easter's Gospel*, and here is appropriate to mention that in one of the three pages of *Codex Purpureus Beratinus* (VI century), exactly in *that which contains neuma and letters of the same subject*, what would undermine *the same period*, is found the same evangelical example: *Krishti u ngjall së vdekurish*/Christ is resurrected from the dead/*Me*

vdekjen vdekjen mundi/With death he defeated death. Also hers other selection of *Ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος*, that is considered *the hymn of the hymns*, Holta Sina-Kilica *has been facing the most important, not the most convenient*, and this often expresses her professional-scientific self-responsibility.

The qualitative adequacy and the authorship responsibility of the author Holta Sina-Kilica in the sub-subject of the subfield that she has established, is more clearly and convincingly expressed through the comparison of these four Albanian musicological manuscripts with codexes that are found abroad, as the case of a similar codex that is found in Romania (his first passage, known with the title *Evangelhia de La SF. Paști*) transcribed with the today musical sign from the Romanian Byzantinist Mihai G. Pantiru. In this way, the scholar not only fulfills the scientific goal of her monograph, but *by translating the Byzantine musicology writings in an understandable language* for everybody that is interested for independent research on anthropology of religion scripture, on the history of music and ethno-musicology, for the interaction of the secular traditions with those evangelical-biblical, has offered to these people open passages and luxurious facilities. Many western scholars have undertaken similar initiatives of transcription only to make possible for the others to research. The transcriptions from the earlier musical alphabets for study cases nonetheless are not welcomed from the Byzantine church, which from her functions is conservatory and *does not desires for the code to be touched*, indeed is for its good because the music is extracted from her inherited insular tradition, as *has exit from the self-isolation the Gregorian and Ambrose tradition*, that today is sung even by secular groups in scenes. Enough to remember the Gregorian stylization of one of the most rebel songs of the modern times, *Nothing else matters (Metallica)*, sung in the style of the Gregorian music from Keltish monks to understand how surmountable are "the walls" between the two traditions.

The science and the belief are not interchangeable and least foreclosed between them. The inscriptions of Holta Sina-Kilica are a generous gift for those that do not know the ancient musical scriptures and an encouragement for an interaction between the scholars of the Byzantine church music and those of the secular tradition.

Because of the very narrow order of the professional scholars, often the papers and the monographs dedicated to the music in codexes are seen with a sort of skepticism, with doubts for their importance and utility, nearly considering them as *ex cathedra* work. Also for this category of readers, the scholar has not left paths for misunderstanding, by adding a chapter for the connections between the Byzantine music and the Albanian folk music. Traditionally these relations are noticed *by comparing during the listening the Byzantine church polyphony and the folk polyphony*. Holta Sina-Kilica moves away from the general assertions, from hypothetical reconstruction of these connections by going from what is known to the unknown, that are mentioned from the previous scholars, especially those of polyphony, of course without referring to the written music, but simply comparing the Byzantine liturgy with the folk polyphony.

The scholar surpasses these comparisons planes. Rightfully she looks in the beginning for the similarities on folk's verbal heritage that is connected to the Christian calendar rites and celebrations: with *llazoret* (the song *for the first resuscitated*, Saint Lazarus); with the Easter's songs, of evangelism, with North's *kullanat* (*Christmas eve*); for not stopping her work in comparing and researching in the people's lyric, in the cult's literature, in the poems of Naim Frashëri and also in the verses of the Albanian national anthem. The comparisons, in no case remain a hypothetical degree. She forbids herself to guess, because if so, she may affect for the worse on the reader. Therefore, the scholar searches and finds the similarity *through the smallest unit*, as the case of *identifying of a unifying code* (that the scientific world knows as *iso* (*bourdon*), originating from the Greek, *iso*, *the same*, as on the word *isometri*, *isoritëm*, and even *isohip*), that important for the Albanian polyphony for its function) between the *Himni Akathist* (the song *Gëzohu o nuse e panusëruar* dedicated to Saint Mary, that in the other dialect of the Roman church, could remind us the hymn *Salve Regina*) and the folk Lab song *Mikja ime në mëhallë* to mention just one of the cases. In true, by revealing the similarities of the cell, she at the same time outstands the iso's role that has been underestimated in the Albanian studies, nonetheless is exactly the iso, both in the church music and in the secular one, that is the component which gives to the individual the possibility

of not being excluded may it be in the liturgical chorus or in usual traditional wedding.

Holta Sina-Kilica, with this monographic study marks a *qualitative quote of scientific research*. The music she finds in the codexes has the spirit of the inspiration of the angels that we never see, but we have inside when we give something the others don't have.

Shaban SINANI

Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi: *We had to do it all* Introduction

I.

*The literary contribution of Dh. S. Shuteriqi is more extensive than this marked here. Nonetheless the descriptive bibliography I'm presenting, am sure that I didn't succeeded to mention it all. This because I totally lack the collections of the notebooks: **Kosova** (Rumania, 1934), **Liria** (Boston, 1936), **Sazani** (Lyon, 1936), **ABC** (Korça, 1936), **Populli** (Tirana, 1935), **Rilindja**, (Prishtina, 1945). At the other side, the collections of the newspapers: **Drita** (Tirana, 1936-1939), **Bashkimi** (Tirana, 1944-1952), **Rinia** (Tirana, 1944-1952), **Puna** (Tirana, 1945-1952), **Zëri i popullit** (Tirana, 1944-1952) and of the journals: **Rilindja** (Korça, 1935-1936), **Shqiptarja e re** (Tirana, 1945-1952), **10 Korriku** (Tirana, 1948-1952), I don't have them completely in order to exploit all the issues. Lately, the organs in the foreign languages in which are found papers of Dh. S. Shuteriqi, translated in Lithuanian, French, Serbo-Croatian, Romanian, German, Bulgarian, Russian etc., which I don't recall all, with exclusion of **Nuevele albaneze**. These I have extracted from different quotations found through temporary Albanian notebooks. Nevertheless, the descriptive bibliography of his literary activity, implies very well his all-inclusive work: of poet, prose writer and novelist, of critic (essayist and bibliographer), of researcher (on our writers and some foreigners), of erudite (with literary-artistic analyzes, linguistic and folkloric), of translator and writer of papers on different problems (educational, political etc.). This descriptive bibliography comes out as consequence of a detailed and overall analyzes of the entire literary work of Dh. S. Shuteriqi: this analyze will be soon published.*

Like this, was described in the first preamble of the first not complete bibliography drafted on the scientific and literary work of Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi on 1952 by the linguist and bibliographer Jup Kastrati. Since that

time, are approximately passed seven decades and the dimensions of the creative research heritage of Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi *have multiplied in all the views and fields*: in subjects and sub-subjects, in kinds and sub-kinds, in literary periods and literary personalities.

In this first presentation of the complete bibliography of Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi's activity in the field of letters, it's impossible not to be evoked this initiative of the linguist from Shkodra, not only because honors him as *the first initiator* for a bibliography of Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi's work, but above all for the fact that *since 1952 was required by the scholars of this activity to be assisted through a bibliography*, even if it be incomplete. From the other side, Jup Kastrati's parentheses makes us aware and careful to not exclude again that something important could have been left out this bibliography, drafted from the library service of the Academy of Sciences, and is proposed to be complete.

Above all, the bibliography *does not contains data on the creativity archive of Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi*, whose inventory would deserve to be found in this publication as a separate analytical appendix. The archive of Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi is one of the richest personal collection in the national archival network. Would be enough the data offered from the scholar Albert Gjoka, in his PhD theses *Proza e shkurtër e Dhimitër Shuteriqit/Short prose of Dhimitër Shuteriqi* (Tiranë, 2018), to understand that in what relations is found his published work compared to his manuscripts. His nominal fund contains nearly 2 meter linear original document in vertical establishment. The fund contains thousand papers of manuscripts and typewriting: unpublished studies, published studies with abbreviations, synopses of studies, unfinished research, paper and studies versions, written scientific papers to not be published (critical views, reviews, scientific records and discussions); file-cards, notes from the archives and books, a principal asset for possible studies in different Albanian fields. The recognition of this fund, even through inventories, leads to the conclusion that the studies of Dh. S. Shuteriqi, nevertheless are published and reprinted, should be considered as *work in process*, that always is getting richer with sources and arguments. It will require a very long time to certainly affirm that the unpublished scientific heritage, and also what is published by him, to be made known to the scholars. As is proved from his manuscripts, except six known *heteronyms* he has used in different times, which have been identified by Palokë Daka in his nicknames

dictionary (Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi, Dh. S. Shuteriqi, *Dh. S. Sh.*, *Dh. Sh.*, *Hila* and *Ariel*), our scholar and writer *has also signed with other four heteronyms: ds, s., h., and H. H.*

The most voluminous place in Shuteriqi's archives is occupied by *the card-index*, which exploitation could make possible the publication of incomplete editions of many of his works, starting from the *Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800*, until about the studies on De Rada. Another very rich archive, with incomplete studies or partially published, except tens of scientific memorandums, critical opinions, critical views and discussions, is found in the Institute of Linguistics and Literature. In these studies are pronounced scientific questions that still have not pleased with argued answers about the open questions on Albanological knowledge. There are found in the unpublished studies of Shuteriqi also debatable questions of Albanology, especially of those cases that by opening a scientific debate, could encourage antitheses in the tendentious sciences against the Albanian history and identity. On these questions, seems that Shuteriqi has written being aware that was not the time to be published, but also couldn't remain silent either.

Referring that part of unpublished studies of Shuteriqi, in this paper we would take care on his two earlier manuscripts, which have been partially published in the *Buletin i Shkencave Shoqërore*, respectively in 1955 and 1956: *Tekste të shqiptarëve të Sllavonisë/Texts of Slavonia Albanians* and *Mbi disa çështje t'Arbërit dhe mbi emrin Shqipëri/On some question of Arbër and on the name Albania*. Nonetheless their publication are now a bookish rarity, from the comparison with the manuscripts are observed some important differences, that prove not only the self-responsibility of Shuteriqi. The importance of his archives is added exactly from the possibility that they create for the comparative philological studies, separately on those considered as *reserved issues* of Albanology. Both studies have not only chronological connections between them, but also substantial. The small Albanian communities in the world: in some villages of Ukraine, in Bulgaria's Mandrica, in Hrtkovc and Nikinc, in Platićevo and Jarak in the vicinity of Srem in Vojvodina, have been dominant in the research of Dh. Shuteriqi.

Comparing the manuscript on the Kelmendi inhabitants established in the villages near Srem during 1734–1737, with its rare publication on 1955, the today scholar is assisted with a series of ready questions and

answers that require further scientific argument, to face the scientific debate with the other's science. With this manuscript is connected one of the most complicated issues of the Albanian legendary epos. The Albanian settlements in Hrtkovc and Nikinc belong to the half of the XVIII century. These are the first settlements that were indentified not only with the archaionymos *arbëneshtë* or *arbanas*, but as *Albanians*. The Kelmend population of these settlements was explored twice from the Transylvanian monks, who collected there folklore and tradition. The scientific question which concerned Dh. Shuteriqi was: why during this survey, nevertheless the Albanians of Slavonia were of *Kelmendi* tribe, viz displaced from the heart of the epos, do not figure mentioned neither *the lute* and nor *the lute's songs*. Are known the reasons of the doubt that the Serb science has formulated for the late time of Albanians settlement in Kosova from one side, and for the coming of the Slav eposes on Albanians in the XVIII century, *at the time of their expansion*. The linguistic and folkloric asset of the monks which visited the displaced Kelmendi inhabitants has been already published. In some published studies from Croatian, Slovenian and Hungarian savants, as that of Emil Laszowski, *Arbanasi (klementinci) u Hrtkovcima i Nikincima, i Soganijeva gramatika arbanaškog jezika (Hrvatski list, Osjek)*, the lyrical songs of the Kelmendi inhabitants serve as illustrations for speech models. Also in a later manuscript of 1781, that contains 12 pages of interview notes by Adam Borovact with Srem's Kelmendi inhabitants, there is no sign of memory for the national popular instrument of the highlanders, the lute. From Borovac are preserved two transcripts of the lyrical popular songs and of some church prayers. This is a problem which the Albanian science has to take seriously into consideration. In the study of Dh. S. Shuteriqi is expressed the concern that in these surveys, conscientiously misused, could create problems on proving the Albanian belonging of the epos. From the other side, he presents a series of arguments to reason why *the epos* and *the lute* lack in the evidences of foreign collectors, expressed in the form of questions that reestablish the scientific certainty into reasoning: have they and in what degree these collectors knew the Albanian language and world; should necessarily asked from them to offer evidence on the epos and the lute, knowing that the interest for the national epopees was born too late, in the romanticism century; have they [the Transylvanian monks] had knowledge and

interests, may that be minimal, on the Albanian epos and consequently were the Kelmendi inhabitants been asked about it? Shuteriqi reflects also on what could the opposite be, that the Kelmendi inhabitants could have been asked on the epos and the collectors could have not kept notes. During the migrations in danger conditions, the people take with them only what is primordial, original, as: the wishes, the curses, the languishing, the sobbing, the prayers, the weeping, the lyric of love. The heroic legendary epic didn't survived neither on the Arbëresh, which identified themselves with Gjergj Kastrioti and its epos.

The studies of the XX century (*M. Kostić, Arnautsko naselje u Sremu, botuar në Juzna Srbija*, IV, Skoplje 1923; idem, *Ustanak srba i arbanasa u Staroj Srbiji protiv turaka 1737-1739 i seoba u ugarsku*, published in *Glasnik srpskog naučnog društva*, Skoplje 1930; R. Veselinović, *Ko su 'Albanci' i 'Klimenti' u Austrijskim izvorima s kraja XVII veka*, in *Zbornik Matice Srpske za društvene nauke*, nr. 25, Beograd 1960; Frok Zefiq, *Shqiptarët Kelmendas në Hrtkovc e Nikinc: 1737-1997*, Zagreb 1997), inform that the survived part of the repertory of the verbal tradition of Kelmendi tribe is exactly what Shuteriqi thought: songs for the family, for the parent, on love, about fear, lyric that is related with the essential terms of humans life and not with the historic memory of the community. The scientific research of Shuteriqi about the lack of the displaced Kelmendi inhabitants epos remains an open issue for theoretical research on the ground. In the second study are found many important data to rightfully solve the open discussion during the two last decades when the *Arbëresh* archaionymos became insufficient to include all Albanians and the time came for a new archaionymos, *Albania*, that in the century of the Renaissance would become the denomination of the national pride. The most important question coming out from Shuteriqi's manuscript is connected with a rotation phenomenon that is unusual in Albanian and totally legal in Romanian, marked in the gone through from archaionymos *Albania* in the archaionymos *Arbania*, and after *Arbëria* with the devoice of unaccented *a*, what would be for a long time principal for the Albanian ethno-linguistic science.

II.

Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi started to publish in 1933 and passed away writing in 2003. Entirely seven decades in scientific and literary creativity.

A phenomenon that not rarely has occurred in the history of the Albanian letters. Writers and savants have also been Sami Frashëri, Ndre Mjeda, Martin Camaj and Besim Bokshi. In the century of the national romanticism, that in the case of Albanians was above all *a century of linguistic nationalism*, the writers were at the same time also drafters of grammars and other didactic books, translators, adapters, encyclopedic savants, inaugurators of people's spiritual traditions. Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi was a continuation of this intellectual tradition, that *it had to do it all*, if we would like to use a circumlocution of his saying at the end of the 1970.

A poet that in his beginnings wanted to follow the path of Ch. Baudelaire and of Paul Verlain, but the tradition of versification in Albanian brought to the *kangjeljet/songs* (his two first volumes were called with the titles *Kangë/Songs* and *Përsëri kangë/Songs again*); translator of *Les fleur du mal* and of representatives of the French symbolism; one of the earliest who noticed the extraordinary talent of Migjeni and protagonist of the literary debates of the 1930 to modernize the literature; internally concerned that *where was going the literature and on the new literary directions*; with a total personal spelling on the aesthetic-literary phenomena and *participant in the dilemma* on the socialist realism and the ideological orientation of literature; under the influence of the French republicanism and also innocently attracted from the revolutionary leftist ideas that had a principal role in the entire progressive Europe facing the danger from Nazi-Fascism. The end of the antifascist war found Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi chairing the voice of the Albanian communists *Zëri i popullit*. Until then he has manifested himself to the public as poet, translators, critic and thinker. Now he had to show himself in a different view.

The individual bibliography that he has prepared and is being published from the library of the Academy of Sciences, is the reflection that how both *the personal formation and the order of the time*, together brought Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi *towards the road to do it all*. An extraordinary gap that was experiencing the Albanian literature and culture after Migjeni's premature death; with the escapement of L. Poradeci and of M. Kuteli from the literature to translation; with *the political and ideological ostracism* which interrupted the activity of E. Koliqi and of the scholar's circle of the Albanian Studies Institute; with the interruption of the excellent work of Franciscan fathers, and later also with

the *phenomenon of excluding* them from the literature and knowledge because of ideological causes. Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi was one of the few men who had to face missionary duties. They had to make readable the Albanian literature through adaptations, alphabetic unification, transcriptions, anthological publishing; they had to write literature and at the same time to study its history; they had to draft texts with university and academic character; they had to warn about the way where had to pass the common literary Albanian; they had to continue that successful work being started with *the Albanian writers* and *studi e testi*; they had to unite in one Renaissance's encyclopedia with the attention towards the national heritage manifested in the period between the two wars, the enthusiasm and the ideological encouragement for a just and equal world. They had to save everything what could be save, it had to integrate the extremely fragmented literary tradition in a disciplined course may it be coercive, it had to be enlightened the past.

Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi was one of the most worthy and formed savants for this mission. He was the bridge between the generation of Europeanizing Albanian writers of the 1930, and the generation of the antifascist writers that had to write according the principles of socialist realism. We do not know with certainty if towards *the new literary direction* to the method of socialist realism Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi was brought by *the censorship* (obligation), *self-censorship* (his own accord), *the preventive censorship* on which G. Orwell warned about, or perhaps his *self picking*. The later is excluded from the today studies. In the best of the case is spoken for *indoctrination*, means *turn the conviction into obedience*. It belonged to the generation of the liberators, to the generation that was hoping they were giving back republicanism to their country, and was not strange he wrote the novel *Çlirimtarët/Liberators*.

We do not know for certain if Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi's world outlook belonged to the scientific communism, his complete bibliography with 969 indexes and titles (that could be even more, if we pay attention to the fact that in the XX century, especially in its first half, was in the trend *the usage of heteronyms*), with its ruling priorities, with scientific and literary interests laying through decades, with its stable structures and substructures, convincingly lead us towards the conclusion that *the past is his true world*. The past with the earlier Christianity and the traces of the proto Albanian culture; the past with Dhimitër Progoni and the Arbër's

despotate heraldic; the past with the Arianiti family and with the relations of the patronymic families with the Kastrioti family; the past with *studia humanitatis* and with the earlier Albanian writings; the past with Gjorq Golemi and the valiant heroes of the battle of Fushë-Kosova cycle; the past with the traces of the Albanian language also in the form of its isoglossaries in hetero-linguistic texts; the past with Theodor Grunden of Voskopoja and the enlightenment of Voskopoja inhabitants in Miskolc, in Budapest, in Belgrade and in Vienna; the past with the school of Elbasan and Berat writing; the past with the enigma of Albanians of Srem, Nikinc and Hrtkovc; the past with the Albanian settlements in Mandrica and Karakurt; the past with the Arbëresh and Arvanitica hetero-glossy; the past with the *Sytë e Simonidës/The eyes of Simonida* and *Buka dhe thika/The bread and the knife*; the past with the people's songs and cultural rarities.

To the History of the Albanian word Dh. S. Shuteriqi dedicated three works: *Shkrimet shqipe në vitet 1332-1850/The Albanian writings during 1332-1850* (1976); *Tekstet shqipe dhe shkrimi i shqipes në vitet 879-1800/Albanian Texts and the writing of the Albanian language during 879-1800* (2005) and *Dëshmi parabuzukiane të fjalës shqipe/Pre Buzuku's evidences of the Albanian word* (2010). In the three these works the Albanian language is evidenced nearly to the limits of meeting with the proto Albanian, only a century after the stile between them. In distinction from the pre-Albanian evidences, that in total do not pass more than a thousand lexemes, and in their totality are almost all proper denominations: city names, mountains, rivers, tribes and kingdoms, the Albanian word found by Dh. S. Shuteriqi has the character of the linguistic unit of general use. This fund of words, found as micro-texts or inter-texts mainly in aloglot linguistic circles, compounds one of the principal reserves studies for a historic dictionary of Albanian language, for the relations of the written Albanian with the pre-written one, for the interval evolution and for the history of the Albanian alphabet in the centuries after of the European humanism.

The Albanian word in the course of the centuries was a vital aim for Dh. S. Shuteriqi. He made research on this starting from inscriptions and iconography to the regest, sigils and exercise books, in writing of western and eastern traditions. With approximately 320 Albanian words and expressions identified in these sources and in other written neighboring

languages: Latin and Greek and their direct continuations, but also in *farthest languages*, as French, German, Spanish, Dh. S. Shuteriqi established a necessary and irreplaceable data base for the etymologists, linguistic historians, philologists and other fields scholars.

Through his half century research to certify the historic evolution process of the Albanian language, Dh. S. Shuteriqi achieved to collect every possible evidence to prove the existence of the Albanian language from the earliest centuries to its literary period. He believed that could also prove the century of passing from the mother tongue to the new language, at least even a century earlier, referring the form *Gion/Gyon* the of Christ's evangelical Joan (Gjon) found in a church of Christianity earlier beginnings in the surroundings of Pogradec, likely a benevolent interpretation of the Greek word *αγιος*.

Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi has searched and selected the Albanian word from the western and eastern chronicles and from the books of pilgrims, from exotic voyagers, religious missionaries, apostolic reporters and from secular notary, that have affected in the course of the centuries the Albanian space because of their duties or passion to learn 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 publications with originating character for the history of the Albanian people and its neighbors, précising their content and placing in chronological and logical relations with other data; **2.** Casual evidences that are found in the manuscripts and books of the foreign missionaries, secular and religious, that have passed through the Albanian space for their purposes (envoys, visitors, administrators, merchants, pilgrims); **3.** The evidences of the Albanian literary period, starting with the period of the classical humanity and becoming frequent to the modern times, when the Albanian becomes an equal linguistic reality with other languages and cultures. He succeeded to certify the complicated process of separating the Albanian language as belonging to a people with ancient historic identity; the process of its identification with the observation of the other's language; the process of passing from the verbal Albanian to the written Albanian and then from writing in Albanian to the Albanian letters.

III.

In his scientific and literary activity, Dhimitër S. Shuteriqi had to complete not only what the time has left incomplete, but also what has remained half road from Namik Resuli and Karl Gurakuqi, and later from Arshi Pipa and Martin Camaj. The duty to turn the Albanian education in university knowledge was imperative. *Historia e letërsisë shqipe/The History of the Albanian literature*, a project he individually started since the beginning of the 1950, would become principal in his life. At the same time he had to personally face the challenge standing in front of the Albanian literature in the second half of the XX century, which had to argue its paradigm with the missing subjects and sub-subjects: with the novel and the epopee novel, with the drama, with the story and the novel; equally what was needed to face the duty to offer the new Albanian cinema the script, the synopses, the historical event. This complete bibliography, of all inclusive character, since his creativity to the reports and speeches in function of his official duty; with orienting subchapters for every field and sub-field of knowledge, will be an aid and a relief for every researcher, in the academic-university networks, within or abroad, but above all would be a retrospective promotion of the author's multifarious dedicated contributions.

Shaban SINANI

Vasil S. Tole, "*Kadare and the music*"
edit. Academy of Sciences, Tirana 2019

When the composer and the ethno-musicologist Vasil S. Tole, kindly and trustfully asked me to do *an ultimate critical read* of his work *Kadare dhe muzika/Kadare and the music*, the first thing that pass through my mind was: *How tiresome might seem to the unfortunate scholar to find two or three grades of an acute sight to put his discovering eye where the others have not yet seen or more precisely that still nobody thought to see. Kadare and music?* What could promise to the reader this surprising title in view and predetermined aim?

I immediately started to turn over the pages of this book in my cell phone, while I slowly walked in the under construction pavement in front of *Rinia* park, impatiently to find a connecting wire between a writer that *has ruled his literary century in sovereignty* and another world, which we couldn't say distant, but also not closer as the music. I recalled that most of the Albanian writers starting from Jeronim de Rada to Migjeni and Dh. Shuteriqi, have called their poems not verses but *kangjelje*, *songs*. Meanwhile, even more numerous were the composers that preferred to call their works with borrowed denominations from the literature and other art of speech: *rhapsodies*, *ballads*, *elegies*. Suddenly I recalled that existed a sub-kind of poetry and a sub-kind of music, baptized with terms that linguistically originated from the same root, from the same etymological source: *sonata* and *sonnet*.

Oh yes! I have found the key! Certainly the basic premise where the author could have started to realize this study would have connections with the well-known treaty of the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche *The Origin of Tragedy: The Case of Wagner* and his severe affirmation to the shock: *From Aeschylus to Wagner the humanity has not produced nothing valuable*.

Just putting myself together, I finally opened the digitalized format of my friend's new book and very soon I would be convinced that the book *Kadare dhe muzika* was not about any *analogical apply*, from the outside or for the sake of a theory, for example of the nihilistic thoughts of Nietzsche and on the useless creativity of the human mind for nearly three thousand years, but for an *inner reading*, that the author had realized by entering with the tools of a music researcher in the crystalline ores, similar with the poly metals of Kadare work.

That this work is an unexhausted *values' reserve*, not only in literature but also in the Albanian spiritual heritage system in general, this is something that has been repeated very often and totally accepted from the reader, *without asking some scientific certificate from the savants*. In international scientific conferences the work of I. Kadare has been seen as mirror *of the urbanization of the Albanian life* and that often as a mirror of *the ethno-customary traditional life* of Gjirokastra: Matteo Mandalà and the semiologic scholar from Palermo, Gianfranco Marrone, revealed in the textual and theoretic degree *the conditionality of literature with urbanization*, while the French scholar Gilles de Rapper would rediscover *the strong conditionality of Kadare's work text from the ethnographic speech* (*Ismail Kadaré et l'ethnologie albanaise de la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle*). In other studies and publishing, especially from foreigner authors, has been preferred *the comparison with mythology, rites and ethno-judicial tradition*, starting from *the Homeric case* to the *Canon*, intended from the reader as *the New Law* and the *Statutes* of humanity centuries in the world of Ærbër, intended from him as the *Ancient Law* - in an imaginary symmetry with the *Old Testament* and the *New Testament* (Peter Morgan: *Ismail Kadare: Modern Homer or Albanian Dissident*). As concerning the other oppositions as those *with ideology* and *with autobiography*, if we would ask for the help of a new idiom from F. Nietzsche, to find the maxim: *to use or to abuse*, we would need to accept the overtaking and the abusing.

With music was different. Except the study of Eno Koço *Kadare dhe Shostakoviç/Kadare and Shostakovich*, above all a comparison of roles and protagonism in society of two known personalities, but also a composition of arts for their aesthetic conception facility, *an inner research tradition of the music in literature of the writer who dared since his self baptize as writer, was lacking*. And this was an important reason

that this first monograph, started and concluded *tue u kujtuom shumë herë se nukë kish gjaa të endigluom ensëh kësih së shkruomit*, to be valued as an intellectual and preceding act for other similar studies.

The book of Vasil S. Tole *Kadare dhe muzika* is one of those works that make you understand how poor would have been the reading of the literary work only as *art of speech*. On the contrary, *the other way round reading*, from outside literature views, prove how easily toppled are the limits that project the history of literature, the theory, the canons, *text's self-sufficiency*. It was proved by Roland Barthes with *La mort de l'auteur* (1967), was proved for several decades and insistence and nearly with prepotency by countless theoreticians and scholars of *literature's de-contextualization*. However, very soon the autobiography would be re-factorized as dominant in the literary creativity (Philippe Lejeune, *Signes de vie, Le pacte autobiographique*, édit. Seuil, Paris 2005). Karl Marx affirmed that he had learned from Balzac's *Human comedy* more than from all the classic theoreticians of until then political economy. The novels *War and Peace* (L. Tolstoy) and *Les misérables* (V. Hugo) are considered useful that any guide to know the traditional Moscow and Paris. The German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann sufficed two Homeric poems to localize and discover Troy. If we would turn back to the *reception of the first work* of Kadare in France and the world, we would above all understand that it has been read as a *recognition source on anything happening in an isolated country*, serving as a small window to imagine the invisible.

The lack of the studies that find an excuse from such a knowledge start and close competences with the literature as the music, the movement, the figure, *the imagining* (Maria Todorova, *The Imagining Balkans*), anthropology, ethno-psychology (with the ethnic complexes and massive psychoses, with archetypes and stereotypes), except a limitation to conceive the literary work in its complexity, with all the news it contains, has brought another harm. The scholars of literature, convinced that *like them there are no others*; scornful on everything that is found *beyond the text*; encouraged from the lack of *the other's reading*; with a self-sufficient principle to support their research, not rarely have reached the limits of an excluding self-confidence.

Can it be *text centrism* a scientific approach towards the literature without having a single second chance? Can discover the scholar of

literature what the musicologist, the painter or the ethnologist notices inside the literary work? The book of Vasil S. Tole is one of those works that makes us affirm without fear: No!

The author of this book has put aside the technocracy of sanctifying the method and has undertaken to approach the reader through a difficult and unavoidable question: Can be read the poetry and the prose of Ismail Kadare as *readable*? Once, *këndimi/reading* was the key of the literatures in school, nevertheless of the word was accented or just read, nonetheless the teacher's ability to melt in the communication the word and the melody. Also, Ilo Mitkë Qafëzezi and the *Kur'an* translated by him, he called it *Reading*. To the 1970 in the certificates of the elementary schools are found parallel to each other the subject of *reading* and of *song*. Very similar with the *sonnet* and *sonata*. Later the *curtains* that were placed between them for study facility turned into *walls*. And the question: can the literature be *cantabile*, was not posed anymore. *Readable* as has been in antiquity, when the ancient Greek tragedies in the classical theatres scenes resembled to the modern operettas; when the Roman poets were declaimed as their verses were placed on the pentagram. To the ancient *rhapsodist* in antiquity was not so much helpful *lyra*, with its limited vocal possibilities. The *bard* of the Homeric songs, the Roman *cantor* and the French *tourbadour* of the epic poem *Chanson de Roland* had to use the voice, the intonation, the gradation to create *Melos*. In the final analyses, they had to use *the first "instrument" in the history of the beautiful sound, the voice*. They had to use *that instrument that sings when speaks and speaks when sings*. In its earliness, the instrument was simply an aide of the rhapsodist, who at the same time was orator and singer. The today scholars, and among them the anthropologist-musicologist Nicola Scaldaferri, the Albanologist Francesco Altimari, the Polish scholar of historic phonology Irene Sawicka, the glottologist Leonardo de Savoia, are arguing that also the poems of Jeronim de Rada, *Milosao e Serafina Topia*, were written for tonal and intonation reading, not only quantitative, as was thought for a long time. This is in the nature of the traditional art. *Lahuta e Malcïs/Highlands lute* of Àt Gjergj Fishtës and the folks songs of Bregdeti and Labëria can't be understood *without phonological assimilations in neighborhood* and *without deflection from the ruling accents*. In vane is told that *the ungrammaticality was forged by the*

treaty of hermetism. Ungrammaticality has been the magic bridge who gave the poetry the chance to be *readable*.

Vasil S. Tole in his study verifies in different degrees I. Kadare's literature relations. He starts with the supposition *ecphrasis* if the extramural formation of I. Kadare, the formation that as Albert B. Lord writes, is taken *without lectures*, the same as the mother tongue is learned, played a role and become a factor in his creativity, not as unconscientiously as *Macbeth*, but exactly invisibly as *the language of the forefathers*: of the loving and somehow naïve mother laconic father; of Babazoti family, with educated uncles and aunts and sometimes prissy; of mysterious cacoepies and of folk instrumentalist with wee houses in their own there in the house's courtyard. For this question the writer himself has not said something directly, as for *Macbeth* and the enchantment after him, because this substratum it's not a culture of reading, derives from ancient times and is revealed as underground *presence* in literature: that according the expression of Albert Lord, is unconscientiously absorbed, like the mother tongue, and to the writer comes naturally without a searching sign as to the rhapsodists in antiquity, encouraged from the audience, environment, solemnity, the responsibility in front of their *sole critics*: the *polis* gathered in the theatre.

We don't know if somewhere in his life I. Kadare has been part of the song. Polyphony is very generous: the man does not feel oneself into the role, fulfilled, worthy for the art and in iso, putting aside that much realizable possibilities in other registers: as takers, restitutions or thrower, as was sung in the his birthplace tradition, where certainty were read the members of Kadare family that Gjirokastra praised for *kalcunjat*; meanwhile in the other side of heritage lines, remained unforgotten *Nasibeja e Dobiatëve*, the first and the only poet of Albanian versifiers. However, we know well that his literature *internally sings*. Exactly this aims to prove the book of Vasil S. Tole *Kadare dhe muzika*. Internally sings through *the revealed presence* (*quotation with protocol*, say the text centrist scholars). Sings internally through musicological and choreographic *lexicon* that does not detaches itself from this work since the beginning to the latest works. The music and the dance are thoroughly infiltrated in this work without any sapiental tendency, simply because are part of the writer's spontaneous authorship. This

presence the scholar asks from the titles of Kadare works (poetry, narrations, novels) to the approach the writer has made his works in genuine musicological terms (*novel with polyphony, novel with iso*). It's required this presence on two planes: of folk music and the cultivated urban music. Is required and proved in all the fields: in the denominations of songs and dances, in the typology of the singers and rhapsodists, in the music's accompanying tools diversity. It's required and found from the Babazoti's *folk orchestra* to the Homeric rhapsodists of bilingual spaces or of the *border's languages*. It's required and found in the musicology sound of the word and in the melody of the text. It's required and found there where the term hides a secret towards the censorship, as the case of the subchapter of the novel *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe: Requiem për vitin që shkoi*, what reminds Mozart's *Requiem*, written as a mass *in honorem et in memoriam* for the father who passed away without being him present in his last moments.

Nonetheless does not specifically proclaim it, the aim of the scholar Vasil S. Tole is to prove that in the raising of I. Kadare artistic creation act, conscientiously or unconscientiously, are also unavoidably present the *melos* and the *movement, the song and the dance, the coryphaeus and the horos*, the *iso* and the *lute*, the *rhapsodist* and the *audience*, the *toast* and the *rite*, the *drum* and the *folk orchestra*, the *beauty of the girl* that waves the *handkerchief* and is manifested to the big world with her *graces and charm*, the *lamentor men* that call on the *mountains* for *iso*, the *magicians* which speak likely in any prehistoric language that also Claude Lévi-Strauss would be left speechless, and never spell the healing formula. Indirectly, also the writer I. Kadare has told us this maxim. *Macbeth* with the *nightmares*, with the *mountains* that move and the *fortune-teller witches*, is a similar world with all what aesthetically fed I. Kadare before reading. What distinction could be between the *weepers* and *Albanian Homeric lamentors* and the *angry fury Eumenides* of the Greco-Roman antiquity; between the North *lamentors* and tragic chorus of Aeschylus and Euripides?

As was not enough for the literature, the author of this work proves that the music, the dance, the verbal tradition in general, the pre-writing heritage, became ruler also in the essays of I. Kadare, starting with *Autobiografinë e popullit në vargje/People's autobiography in verses* and in the other essay on *valiants' cycle* to the novel-essay *Një dosje për*

Homerin/A file on Homer or Tri këngë zije për Kosovën/Three mourning songs on Kosova. What the author proves us is very important: the music has always been *inside* the Albanian literature, as the literature itself within the song: they are divided by the savants, but *the history can divide them if could be divided the onion skin*. Indeed, we still don't know if the onion skin unites or divides! It's a matter to be explained by the biologists. Like the skin onion, the dividing skin between the song and the beautiful word, in no other work has found such a paradigmatic expression then in Kadare's literature: since the *hymnodies* and *martial songs* (including the *National Anthem* and its complicated history) to the *laments* and *weepers*; from the *song for amusement* to the *song for money*, from the *genuine art* to the *falsity*, from the music that encourages the invasion to that who calms the souls, from the meddling to the heroic. It can be said that the *linguistic order* and the *musical order* within the work of I. Kadare, as the scholar encourages us to believe, that are one and all present, are complementary to each other and together identify the Albanian man. Can we consider the art of Kadare like an *et pluribus in unum*, as a bilingual figurative creation, perhaps trilingual: *words, melos* and *beautiful movement*, ***separately and together***, as Fan Noli would permit us to say?

As through neologisms and the raising of dialectical word in the degree of pan Albanian use, I. Kadare has demolished the border talks between the Tosk and Gheg dialects, he has created an equal balance between homophonic rhapsody and inter-unifying polyphony of the southern areas. There is no other writer to have so beautifully create all this. It couldn't happen otherwise: because of authors study priorities, as drafter of the scientific file for registering the *iso polyphony* in the list of UNESCO heritage. *Iso-polyphony* occupies a chapter of its own in the book *Kadare dhe muzika*, the same as could also be the rhapsody, the lute and the legendary epic songs. And really occupies it, nevertheless not organized as a separate chapter.

Here it's appropriate to be evoked the concept of modern theoreticians about the Homeric question Millman Parry and Albert Lord, which thought the mechanism of traditional art self-winding and conservation has always been a triangular relationship: the song, the instrument, the rhapsodic; the word, the melos and the audience; that are the conditions of syncretism. Vasil S. Tole aims to prove to us that this triangular relationship, this *holy*

trinity of art: the word, the melody and the movement; the text, the song and the dance, also on I. Kadare work are of a very high degree of syncretism so much, that you can call them indivisible. The idea that this work is at once song, dance, reading and also canto and ballet, and opera, is genuine novelty in the literary studies. Here, in a future would be necessary to be studied from where comes the writer's self-conscience and from what sub-conscience; what comes from the spirit of the forerunners, and this issue complicates not only the knowledge on literature, culture and art, and also those on ethno-psychology, psycho critic and psychoanalyses.

Followed from the start *Origjina e tragjedisë prej vajtimeve/The origin of tragedy from the weeping*, the work gains another theoretical dimension, on the origin of the arts and theirs prehistoric and historic conditioning, verified through the traces and the marks in the work of I. Kadare. The concentration on the weeping in Gjirokastra and on primitivism of human pain expression, that overpasses the centuries by leading us to the pagan winds, when death was called punishment from the gods and not expression of the will of God; with a comparing look between the ancient Greek and Roman mythology, gives to this chapter a dimension with anthropological and metaphysical character, aiming to discover the relations of the man with life, death, afterlife and immortality.

And here is presented the Homeric case, with the *rhapsody novel*, entitled *Një dosje për Homerin/A file on Homer*, which the writer creates another register: not that of mythological similarities between the Northern Albanian epos and the epic poems of the ancient Greek mythology, but that of rivalry for primacy, earliness and originality between the Northern Albanian rhapsody songs and Serbs and Bosnians *junačke pjesme*. The treatment of the rhapsodist as an institution, *the competition of the senses* (the ear before the eye), participate in the expansion of the writer form music to approximate spaces. Searching an *alter ego* of the writer to the rhapsodist, not as his spokesman, but as *surrendered to the same order, of the creativity order*, the scholar Vasil S. Tole, through comparing, makes more close the literature and the music in the work of I. Kadare, by associating them more ontologically. Like Homer who was *rhapsodist-writer*, also Kadare could be a *writer-rhapsodist*. Like the literature as the highest degree of speech than the pre-writing heritage, also the second one could be the most healthy bed

of literature. The scholar succeeds to convince us that I. Kadare, like De Rada and Migjeni, established the bridges between the literature and tradition not by going back to the *century of the lute*, but by intertwining indirect threads, often nearly invisible. The rhapsody and iso-polyphony were in his work object of admiration and not imitation.

Courageous is the chapter of this work for the *other language* of literature, *for a musicological codification possibility* of hers, by including the supposed notation and its placing in another kind and sub-kind typology after divisions and sub-divisions that exist in music. By not having the professional competence on this side, we simply value here the trying to build comparisons between the music and literature beyond the imaginable, that convinces us that how untouched are these connections and vicinities and what new things can be expected from the further thorough studies. As belonging to the part dedicated to *the musical works* of I. Kadare, as opera, ballet, canto etc., this except the historic-literary and musicological notifications vanished from the view for different reasons, including author's himself cooling with them after the many obstructions and critics, certainly will be valued to enrich his creativity history of reception in literature and other forms. *Eumenides*, the opera presented to the Greek public on 2004, in the opening ceremony of Olympic Games, with libretto by I. Kadare and composition of the scholar Vasil S. Tole, apparently has been a very precious experience for him and perhaps one of the encouragements to dedicate himself to this study.

This work, in which do not lack marks of first hand on the writer's culture in music, in both planes, traditional and contemporary, opens a new window of reading for the literature of I. Kadare. Has right Peter Morgan when describes Kadare as *the ultimate Homer*, as also Kadare is right when describes the rhapsodist of the valiant songs *the ultimate Bards* of the ancient tradition. The component *from the song* in the creative work of Ismail Kadare, as is proved to us in this book, is indivisible from the literary part. Because the language to write and the language to read, the writer has made them his own in the environment where they have always been since earlier times, in Gjirokastra of polyphony and of traditional weddings, of fortresses-houses and of *life's elderly women*.

Shaban SINANI

On linguistic values of the *Devoll's Lexical-Phraseological Dictionary* drafted by Ali Jashari

On 2016 was published the work drafted by Prof. Ali Jashari *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit/Devoll's lexical-phraseological dictionary*. It is a new great achievement in the work of this author that is recognized among others as formed lexicologist and lexicographer, identified through monographs, lexicographic publications, study collections and also multiple scientific papers. His work is also a novelty in the Albanian language lexicography, occupying a special place in the dialectal lexicography. The academician Gj. Shkurtaj, that has written for the publication an accompanying speech, writes that "After I have read and read again this work, I reach the conclusion that this dictionary it's a complete encyclopedia of Devoll's people spirit, of his culture and language, of traditions and habitudes by reflecting entire stratum of words related to the material and spiritual life and also many words that today are lost from the use because of the economic and social changes conditions".¹

Where and how are to be searched the values of this work:

1. *Fjalori leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit* incarnates author's decade work, starting with the collection of the lexical and phraseological assets of Devoll's dialect, that is his birthplace, starting since he concluded the university studies on linguistic and literature in the University of Tirana until today. It is the crowning of a picking work on the ground, in institutionalized expeditions, and mostly personal, in lexical picking (and wider) through villages and cities, in conversations with elder

¹ Gj. Shkurtaj, *Pasqyrë madhështore e leksikut dhe e frazeologjisë shqipe të krahinës së Devollit (Rreth librit "Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit" i prof. dr. Ali Jasharit)*, në A. Jashari, *Fjalori leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit*, Promo Print Publishing House, Korçë, 2016, p. 623.

people, and also with subject of man's estate, which have been source of the reflected asset, but in their self have been carriers of the people's linguistic asset. Therefore, *the direct picking of the subject on the ground is a distinguishing value of the work*. the dictionary is also praised for having recorded lexical and phraseological assets from the past works, *especially from the area's folkloric literature*, and also from the cultivation literature related to Devoll. The author of the dictionary, with high professional education, has known what to do and what to pick from this literature, what to search and what to select (in a time when the present publication like the dictionaries of this kind aim to reflect everything that lives in the dialectical and regional speaking) by watching everything as *lexical dialectical asset/national asset* relation. Rightfully, Gj. Shkurtaj writes that "For the fresh values and bringing especially for the great asset of the words and phraseologies, the dictionary *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit* completes a wide and absent knowledge of the lexical and phraseological asset of one of the most typical regions of southern Albania. By no doubt, it stand at the side among the best dictionaries of the present Albanian language and of regional dictionaries, becoming an evidence of the written word that lives in the spoken language, because when the living word occupies its place in a dictionary, it is certain that will never be forgotten as long as lives the people which speaks it".²

2. The Dictionary *Fjalor leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit* engulfs in its pages a great asset of units, nearly 13.000 lexicographic indexes, where are included words, phraseological units, people's names, countries' names, wisdoms, wishes, curses, euphemisms etc.

3. The dictionary fulfils a great job, passionate and exhausting not only for its great extension in time (could be said as the author's *opera vita*), but also a scrupulous and lexicographic and scientific work, that fulfills all the contemporary demands and criteria in the field of semantic lexicography in all the fields: the unit that has occupied a place in the dictionary has been carefully selected, being equipped with all the complementary elements, leading to the respective lexical-grammatical field and other indexes that reflect the main inflections. Also, in the dictionary are used lexicographic techniques that make it very friendly with the user.

² Gj. Shkurtaj, *ibid*, p. 11.

4. The dictionary is also special for another reason: the lexical-phraseological units in its pages are picked in the system, especially in the semantic and word forming connections. The author has known with attention and professionalism to search from the speaking subject, from whom has been picked the linguistic asset (words, phraseologies, new meanings, new semantic components, toponyms, oronyms etc.) to fulfill the void that might come in the verses and different word forming paradigms, by going towards not the fulfilling possibilities as a linguist (on his personal creative lexicographer ability as subjective fulfillment and priori), but going forward to the subject for finding the missing word on the people's language.

5. Its known that a lexicographic work it's not only a recording and reflection of a specific asset, but it can be undertaken in multiple studies. Moreover, when is possessed such a work related to the lexical, phraseological and semantic asset etc., of a specific geographic-linguistic realm, these spaces of study are made also possible in the dictionary *Fjalor leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit*. The studies can be of the synchronic field, connected with word forming morphology phenomenon (we have different types of word forming), with the inflection morphology (the interesting form of declension or conjugation coming through the most diverse words and examples), with present phonetic phenomenon and especially of the dialectical phonetic, with characteristics of the Albanian language of the Albanian people (there are found many borrowings, and among them many Turkish loan words); with elements of ethno-culture and religious beliefs (enough to see the onomastics and can be drafted a special study on the names of the Moslem-Bektashi religious names, on the names of the people according the Orthodox tradition, names after the profession, according to a geographic relief characteristic etc.).

We are focused in these spaces, by drafting future works on them.

6. A lexicographic work, in its first view, can be praised from the volume and the numbers quantity of the indexes that reflects in its pages, viz can be praised for the macro-structure. Enough to mention that in the *Fjalor leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit* we have approximately 13.000 indexes (as title words), the overwhelming majority of which belong to the lexical asset (lexicographic indexes as words of general or special

lexicon)³ and the other part of the asset is related to other linguistic and ethno-culture fields.

This so great asset can be observed in a more expounding way.

It's understandable that in a regional dictionary the stratum of the *general lexicon* will occupy the principal place. Also in the work in our hand, Ali Jashari brings a lot of material for this stratum, by giving uncollected lexical units before (also unknown units or less known in other linguistic realms of the Albanian language) or units that have not occupied a place in the national explanative dictionaries as:

babíc/ë, -a *f.* a kind of needle to sew thick clothes; babushkë: *Isha i thekur pas bagëtime. Dija t'i grazhdoja e t'ua kruaja bajgat me krehërin e drunjtë, t'u vija samarin dhe t'u qepja palldëmet e qenglat me babicën e dysheqeve.* (A. Andoni, N)⁴.

shurígë /ë, -a *f.* 1. a kind of land with sand: *dëbora binte me flokë të mëdha duke e trashur jorganin e saj mbi barin e përbrymur, mbi djerrinat e shurigat.* (T. Laço, M). 2. *adjective.* grown in a land with sand: *patate shurigë.*

Also in *Fjalor leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit* we face not few known lexical units, also of pan national extension, which the author has introduced in the distinctive assets that bring (semantic nuances, phraseological units, wisdoms, toponomastic assets etc.). For example, the author has seen as appropriate to bring units like the names *arë, brez, gojë, kokë, mustaqe, lesh, nepërkë opingë* etc. Thus, he does not stops in the regional structure of the word *lesh* (gives only the synonym *hair*), which in all the semantic dictionaries comes with multiple explanations, but gives precedence to the phraseological asset (where we find all used Albanian language units, and also those that are found in the linguistic realm of Devoll):

lésh, -i *m.* hair: *Ke burrin asker Janinë / o, moj Rinë / dërgoi kartë të vijë! / në të thëntë për në vjeshtë/ mblidhi shoqet shkurto leshtë.* (K. Zdruli, FDS) ♦ *e bëri lesh arapi* ♦ *u bë si leshi bë furkët.* ♦ *i ra leshtë e bythës.* ♦ *i ka rënë leshtë e kokës.* ♦ *kur ta dërstilëm leshtë.* ♦ *po dredh leshtë dikush.* ♦ *ka ikur për lesh.* ♦ *do t'i jepja lesh, po s'i shita delet.*

³ We stress on this aspect, because in the dictionary, as we have affirmed, are found other lexicographic indexes related to the onomastics, toponomastic etc.

⁴ The examples are given according the Bibliography of the picked works and of their abbreviations, p. XV-XVIII in *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit*.

❖ *i ka leshrat korije*. ❖ *la leshtë e barkut (e bythës)*. ❖ *s'la lesh bë kokët*. ❖ *mori leshtë e balikut (e balos, e barkut, e Curre, e Marikës)*. ❖ *lesh me qime*. ❖ *lesh me qime, moj Fatime*. ❖ *me një lesh të tjerë vesh tre asqerë*. ❖ *e peshon leshin pa qethur dhentë*. ❖ *shkoi për lesh e erdhi i qethur*. ❖ *lesh bë tresh, se bë katërsh bëhet fanellë*.

Further we would stop on some substratum of the general lexicon, where is realized a priceless dialectical ad national asset from a careful and professional work by the author.

6. 1. The concrete lexicon

The concrete lexicon compounds the main substratum of the general lexicon, often conditioned from the way of picking and the picking object on the ground.

kründe v. sh. 1. "bran": *E lanë Qenam bej Orhanë me ca krunde që s'i hanin as pulat*. (D. Agolli, NjK). 3. fig. very poor: *Më premtoi se do më varë në qafë një kryq floriri, por unë nuk e besoj këtë*. *Është krunde, xhepshpuar (To be penniless)*. (Th. Naqo, PI). ❖ *me krunde s'bëhet byrek - u*. to do something are required the necessary tools. ❖ *kapet pas krundeve*. ❖ *ka mbetur krunde* sm. - has remained penniless. ❖ *po të përzihesh (të ngatërrohesh) me krunde, të hanë pulat*.

6.1.1. The lexicon that is related with plants denominations

The author has been trying to include in the *Dictionary* almost all the denominations for the plants that are grown in Devoll and surroundings. We are giving below some denominations for trees, herbage etc.

mollëdhëu f. "a plant in the form of the potato": *sekua do të të sjellë qersh, mollëdheu, lajthi*. (S. Andoni, MSh).

anûrkë,-a f. "red winter apple", a kind of apple with red skin and sweet": *dhe në këtë vjeshtë të mbarë, mollët anurka kishin lëshuar lule për së dyti*.

6.1.2. The lexicon that is related to animal denominations

It's understandable that are general denominations on animals that would have their place in this *Dictionary*. Also for this substratum of the general lexicon we are giving some examples:

balâsh,-i m. 1. "roan (animal), mixed, motley, albino": *prapa asaj korije/ ljepuri ndën hije/ ljepuri murrash-e/ dë ballët balash-e*. (K. Zdruli, FDS). ❖ *ka balashi dhjamë*. ❖ *e përqesh balashi*.

balâshk/ë,-a f. "roan, mere cow": *polli balashka; e moli balashkën*.

In the dictionary are many denominations on animals and for plants that have polysemic meanings, becoming indexes in the spread and in the noted capability of these denominations. Often as second or third meaning (or further) are met connections that lead us to the notion/conceptual animal and plants world. We are giving as examples:

kukumjäck/ë,-a f. 1. "barn owl" (also as a toponym): *Stena e Kukumjačkës*: *Thëngjilli i vatrës/ trembi zërin e kukumjačkës/ u bë ledhatim!* (N. Morava, F). 2. fig. women without husband and childless: *Mbeti kukumjačkë e bija*. ❖ *i këndon kukumjačka bë çatit* sm. - according the people's belief where the barn owl would hoot, certainly was a bad omen and was to happen a disgrace.

6.1.3. The lexicon that is related with denominations for the insects etc.

Also on this lexical substratum or a paradigmatic group of lexical units, we find some denominations in the Dictionary:

(h)undëgját/ë,-i m. 'Beetle, weevil'; *Shumë vetë e ngatërruan refugjatin me hundëgjatin që dëmtonte panxharin. Një brigadier, duke sqaruar situatën para punëtorëve, tha: "Le të ikin, le të ikin, se në një kamp me hundëgjatë i kanë mbyllur! Se hundëgjati ia ha t'ëmën panxharit, jo njeriut!"* (H. Lilo, O).

buburísk/ë,-a f. 1. "lady-beetle": *Buburiskë e malit, shko na merr dainë.* (K. Zdruli, FDS); *Kishte një fustan me pika me ngjyrën e buburiskës.* (D. Agolli, TG). 2. adj. translated, wisdom, calm: *është si një buburiskë.*

6.1.4. The lexicon that is related with clothing denominations

The denominations for the clothing (men and women, for children and grown people, on the daily life and for special events etc.), also have its place in the *Dictionary*. Nevertheless, those in numbers can form a small group, present linguistic and extra linguistic interest. As would be seen in the following lines, there can be found subject to study the historic phenomenon of the Albanian language, phonetic and morphological characteristics etc, in parallel to the lexical-semantic field.

fustánk/ë,-a f. "small dress": *Moj e holla porsi bari / e kulluara si ari/ vishe, moj, fustankën / vishe, moj kollankën.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

fúst/ë,-a f. "wide skirt, petticoat".

6.1.5. The lexicon that is used for cooking denominations, of vessels, utensils etc.

Also for this substratum we find many toponyms, with regional or national diffusion, showing the material life of Devoll's inhabitants and the surroundings:

dhallaník,-u m. "butter-milk bread": *U mënoftë mynafiku/ që tha për Hasanë "iku"/ do na vinte gjalpaniku/ e na dolli dhallaniku.* (Koçillari, TShd). ♦ *prit të skuqet (të bëhet) dhallaniku-tall(mock).*

lakrór,-i m. "pie": *Ma bëje lakrorë / Përsipër të djegur / Kush t'i prishka mendtë / Gështenjë e papjekur.* (D. Agolli, ShGh). ♦ *lakror me dëborë.* ♦ *lakrorin që s'e ha për vete le të digjet megjithë saç -.* ♦ *është si lakror i pjekur bë djellt.* ♦ *e nis lakrorin nga mesi.*

Also, in these denominations we can see internal meaning developments (polysemic developments), that go beyond the cooking concepts. We are illustrating the word *kaçamak*, which second meaning carries figurative changes from the first meaning:

kaçamák,-u m. 1. "corn flour hominy: - *Ç'janë dy djem nga Piluri / venë e vinë dë mulli / të na bluajnë mjell të ri / të na bëjnë revani/ revani e kaçamak / ujë shumë e gjalpë pak.* (Koçillari, TShD). 2. *fig. mixing, something messed up: Mos i bëj të folmet kaçamak, Ildi, - e tallja unë.* (T. Laço, TSh).

6.1.6. The lexicon related with denominations for craftsmanship, tools, working processes etc.

Another lexicon substratum that has taken place in the Dictionary of A. Jashari, is the one which deals with the toponyms on craftsmanship in the region of Devoll. And here, we have to do with a unit of a very big value rather than regional. A big part of these are formed through metaphor (see in the following *kulaç* etc.)

babíc/ë,-a f. "a kind of needle to sew thick clothes": *Isha i thekur pas bagëtime. Dija t'i grazhdoja e t'ua kruaja bajgat me krehërin e drunjte, t'u vija samarin dhe t'u qepja palldëmet e qenglat me babicën e dysheqeve.* (A. Andoni, N).

lés/ë,-a f. 1. "harrow". *Bëri mirë, se pak më tej, në lesën që mbyllte një kasolle prej kashte nga ato që ngrenë për të ruajtur bostanët.* (T. Laço, PK). 3. *ndajf. shtrirë, në gjendje të sëmurë.* ♦ *u bënë lesë -.* ♦ *i bëri lesë -.* ♦ *e zë lesa dikë.*

6.1.7. Lexicon that is connected with denominations of popular games

A number of small denominations, we can find in the pages of the Dictionary, and are about popular games, mostly connected with the children's world, but also for the grown people.

kóčk/ě,-anf. "children's game".

(h)apadollápa *v. nj.* "to play hide-and-seek": *Hapadollapa, kush të jetë prapa, unë sytë i hapa!*

6.1.8. Lexicon about illness denominations

The giving of denominations on different illnesses that affect people or animals and also plants, are shown once more in the systemic character of the lexicon on the ground taken by the scholar Ali Jashari, and also the picking of clear aiming in the field of denominations that are connected with the material and spiritual life of the Devoll's inhabitant.

tartakút,-i *m.* 1. "plague, horse disease": *Mos i hyr në hakë, se do të të dërgojë Zoti ndonjë tartakut, që të të shkundë!* (Th. Jorgji, PD). 2. *fig.* great fear. 3. freezing cold": *i hyri tartakuti*. ❖ *tartakut me bojë* - keq e më keq. ❖ *të marrtë tartakuti!* - curse. may drop dead! ❖ *e zuri tartakuti* sm. - was frightened to death.

6.2. The abstract lexicon/conqueror

The systematic and the symmetry of collecting the lexical and semantic asset in the linguistic realm of Devoll, seem direct also in the abstract lexicon. This stratum with a praised number of units demonstrates once again the professional work of the scholar Ali Jashari. He has known to exit "the trap" of collecting assets on the ground, when many collectors hurry or are inclined to bring concrete lexicon with predetermined (lexical-semantic) field themes.

urtóhet *verb.* "being hungry": *Kishin punuar një lëmë vend dhe u urtuan për bukë.* (H. Lilo, KMK).

tapinós *verb.* "to calm (so.) down.

6.3. The special lexicon

The concept of *special lexicon* is very wide and inclusive. We are shortly dwelling only in lexical stratum, in the group of denominations that belong the lexicon for the religious world:

jací,-a *f.* "evening prayer (for the Moslems)"; *I zoti i kësaj shtëpie/ s'na ther as gjysmë dhie/ veç një lugë janie/ dhe një çorbë jacie.* (Koçillari, TShD).

barjám,-i *m.* "Bairam, (The Greater Bairam; The Lesser Bairam): *Ditën e barjamit preva një fustan/ Me gërshërë e preva, me lot po e lanj.* (Koçillari, TShd).

6.4. The archaic lexicon

Generally here can be included lexicon units that are Turkish loan words, which in the dialectal lexicon are included in the active lexicon. This characteristic is related to a multilayered cut, because mostly they are met in the elderly people spoken compare to the younger people. Also, a part of these units are picked from the written literature that treats themes form the history of the region and wider.

kuvét,-i *m.* "health".

teskeré,-ja *f.* 1. "passport": *Teskerenë e nxori, shokët s'e besojnë/ Dil, foli tit biri, ce kërkon të shkonjë!* (Koçillari, TShd). 2. invitation for wedding, announcement. ♦ *ia dërgoi teskerenë* *sm.* - (usually not for something good in this phrase).

6.5. The borrowed lexicon

In *Fjalor leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit* are reflected a big number of loan words. This phenomenon is related with the lexical structure of this linguistic spoken realm, what is observed in tens of dialectal dictionaries, published from other collectors of the assets that lives in different regions and dialects. Below we are dwelling on some of the main groupings of these loan words.

6.5.1. Oriental loan words/Turkish loan words

The borrowings in the oriental languages and especially the Turkish loan words create the largest neighborhood of the loan words in the Dictionary, and seems that they ruin the relations local lexicon/borrowed lexicon. They belong to all the material and spiritual life elements of Devoll's inhabitants. Nevertheless, their reflection in the dictionary has great linguistic value, because records a lexical situation of Devoll in a specific time cut. As would be further seen, a part of these loan words have created tens and tens phraseological units:

azát *mb.* 1. "free, unfettered, unguarded: *Njëherë Batua kishte lëshuar gomarin azat nëpër livadh ...* (T. Laço, AFM). 2. *ndajf.* *fig.*

unfettered, without thinking: *-Po ç'dreq agjicatori je ti, kur e lëshon gjuhën azat e s'e mbledh dot më?* (T. Laço, P). ♦*e lë azat* sm.

jaták,-u m. 1. "bedding": *Lodhur në rrugë e çlodhu në jatak.* (D. Agolli, NjT). 2. fig. "sleeping quarters": *- Në qoftë se me ne kërkon të vish/ jatakun ti këtu e ke të shtruar/ në gjirin e vëllezërve të rrish.* (D. Agolli, P). 3. hare's nest. ♦*iu bë jatak* sm. - supported someone.

6.5.2. Greek loan words

It's understandable that in the Dictionary will be reflected the dialect situation of Devoll and also tens of Greek loan words, most of which with narrow territorial extension, conditioned by the direct geographic contacts of southeastern and southern Albanian spoken language with the speaking of the northern Grek language. It's known that Devoll is bordering with Northern Greece. Below, we are giving some loan words of this group:

afratë mb. 1. "mercury pomade": *Kjo ime kunatë/ rrëmben pak m'e gjatë/ po nga duart shpatë/ nga goja afratë.* (K. Zdruli, FDS). 2. very bitter: *Ishin të tharta e të hidhura si afratë.* (S. Andoni, TV). ♦*e ka gojën afratë* dikush - neg. gossipmonger.

molloís fol. 1. "narrate, tell": *Shokët prapa po qeshnin dhe molloisnin ngjarjet e luftës.* (S. Andoni, MSh). 2. think, create: *Të mori e mira, se ç'ka një gaz të paqme dhe një hare ky bumbashiri. Ja, po i gëzohet ishallah të ketë dalë keq ajo mësuesja, vetëm e vetëm që të dalë siç e mollois radakja e tij.* (A. Andoni, T).

6.5.3. Slavic loan words

Also, in *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit* have set place different Slavic loan words, introduced in the speech from the earlier historic contacts with the Slav invaders (Bulgarians), rather than the present contacts with the Macedonian people (as Slav population).

korít/ë,-a f. "wash-trough": *U ul në një trung të thatë që e kishte sjellë nga korija për ta bërë koritë.* (D. Agolli, NjT). ♦*hanë dë një koritë* - mospërf. they are inseparable. ♦*ia mbushi koritën* sm. - neg. has told everything what could be said.

izvór,-i m. 1. "spring water". 2. (also as place: *Izvori*): *Izvori në të djathtë kishte shterur me kohë.* (H. Lilo, O).

7. "New" meanings

Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit has also another added value: the author has known how to collect meaning of words and phraseologies

that come as new with the lexical and phraseological subject that has been published until now in the explanative dictionaries of the Albanian language. Many of these meanings are given with known words and show internal semantic developments of the dialectical and regional lexicon.

gjémb,-i *m.* 1. "thorn, prickle"; (also as place: *Gjembali*). 2. hayfork: *Anëtarët e brigadës zbritën nga kavaletat e plehut, mbështetën gjembat pas murit dhe hynë në sallë.* (H. Lilo, D).

múzg/ë,-a *f.* "mire, slime, thin mud" (also as place: *Muzgat; Muzga e Arapit*): *Nevojtorja ishte në fund të oborrit, me mure thuprash ahishte, mbushur me muzgë.* ((Th. Naqo, PI).).

çiftelí,-a *f.* 1. "crown of hair in the front head": *Ajo kishte parë çiftelitë në kokën e tij dhe kishte klithur me tallje: -Iii, dukesh sikur e ke kokën të mbushur me kërmij!* (Th. Naqo, PI). 2. boy with crown of hair in the front of head: *Nëna i kishte thënë: Çiftelitë martohen me nuskëz të urtë e të bukur që të mbush shtëpinë me kalamaj.* (Th. Naqo, PI).

Also, in this Dictionary we find known words which have not semantic synchronic meaning with their origin creating like this homonymic relations and giving birth of two new lexicon units:

Compare: **lerishte** *f.* "mud, muck, dirt". (in all the Albanian dialects) and also from *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit*, **lerísh(e),-ja** *f.* sunken ground: *Kishin marrë velenxë e jastëkë e na i shtruan mbanë një lerishte, nën një kumbull gjatore.* (S. Andoni, P).

kolovájz/ë,-a *f. sh. -a(t)* "swing, sea-saw, slide". (in all the Albanian dialects) and from *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit*, **kolovájz/ë,-a** *f.* *Fëmijët rrëshqisnin nëpër kolovajzat e bëra anës përtinjeve të dëborës.* (S. Hoxhalli, F).

In the dictionary we find some borrowed word that has changed the first meaning on which is introduced in the Albanian language. For example the verb *kleptos* is a loan word from the Greek (steal). In the dictionary comes with another meaning: **kleptís** *verb.* to convince somebody to do what I say: - *Andej, këndeje, ia kleptisi mendjen Nurja dhe ma nxori.* (T. Laço, TA).

8. Phraseological units

The scholar Ali Jashari has entitled his published work *Fjalori leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit*, what implicates that this dictionary has as principal asset except the lexicon units, also the phraseological units. Are

hundreds and hundreds the reflected units and not a small part of them are found in the region of Devoll alone. In the line of the Dictionary's values one of them is manifested also on the explanation of every phraseological unit when is polysemic. Technically, the phraseological units are not as single lexicographic indexes/as title units (that could change the lexicographic typology of the work), but are given as special camps close to the denomination terms that is presented as their main motivating focus.⁵

Concretely: **ÁN/Ě,-a f.** ❖ "side, flank"; 1. to get the hang of, to find an opportunity. 2. ❖ *s'i gjendet ana* to have no clue. ❖ *hiq nga ana vër bë samart* - fruitless job. ❖ *s'ka anë e vend.* ❖ *i mbaj anën diku* - to support somebody. ❖ *ia mori anën* to bias. ❖ *ia mori anën.* ❖ *e mora me anë* to convince somebody.

8.1. In the dictionary are found many motivated phraseological units with denominations **from the animals word**, forming one of the biggest groups of these units. The animal, which meaning has served as motivating term for the units, could be wild, but also domestic. Also, the denominations on the domestic animals are created with more units, compared to the wild animals. One of the reasons of this phenomenon is that the man (in our case the inhabitant of Devoll) closely recognizes the domestic or the wild animal, knows its qualities (good or bad) and also the utility. This has made possible the figurative changes of hundreds and hundreds of free syntagma with principal terms in denominating these animals in phraseological units. We are giving as illustration the unit with the word *ari/bear* and *gomar/donkey*:

arí,-u m. "bear" (also as place denomination: *Shpella e Ariut*). ❖ *ra si ariu bë mjaltët - shak..* ❖ *ariu fle, ti vete e zgjon.* ❖ *e luan si arinë.* ❖ *s'ngopet ariu me marauzhga!* ❖ *pinë arinjtë, pinë dhe minjtë.* ❖ *ia var ariut zilen.* ❖ *e vranë arinë.*

8.2. Also in great paradigmatic group also form the motivated phraseological units with denominations from the *plants' world*. We are giving as example:

kúngull,-i ❖ "pumpkin, gourd, squash, water-bottle, sot-pate, dumb-head, dunderhead *u bë (u rrit) kungulli mori gardhin.* ❖ *u bë kungulli me vesë, mori vrimën e halesë.* ❖ *u bë si kungulli kur e zë bryma.*

⁵ All the phraseological units, the wisdoms, the proverbs etc., in the Dictionary are given after the sign ❖.

❖ *ra kungulli nga polica*. ❖ *kungull ditë, kungull natë, kungull mos të mbiftë fara*. ❖ *kungull pa fara*. ❖ *pjerdhin në një kungull*. ❖ *qesh kungulli lagjinë*. ❖ *kungull Stambolli*. ❖ *të plastë kungulli!* ❖ *e shpoi kungulli fundin e ksisë*. ❖ *si lulja e kungullit*.

8.3. In the dictionary have set place also phraseological units motivated with denominations from the insects' world: **mórr,-i** *m.* "louse, plant louse, aphid" ❖ *u bë morri me bisht*. ❖ *ia ra morri dë pjatët*. ❖ *s'ka morr të kruhet*. ❖ *iu ngjallën morrat*. ❖ *rri si morr i vrarë (i përvëluar)*. ❖ *të qeth (të kreh) dhe t'i lë morrat brenda dikush*.

8.4. Also the greater group in the Dictionary is created by the motivated phraseological units on human body parts. Enough to present such a camp of units, those that are justified with the word *bark/belly*, to see their big number.

bárk,-u *m.* "abdomen, belly" ❖ *e bëri barkun hambar*. ❖ *e bëri barkun çizme (spathi)*. ❖ *iu bë barku petë*. ❖ *iu bë barku talambak*. ❖ *ia barku bë bela*. ❖ *mos të rëntë dë barkt!* ❖ *më s'të ra dë barkut*. ❖ *bluan dë barkut*. ❖ *s'ia çaj dot barkun*. ❖ *çajnë barqet*. ❖ *nuk i digjet barku*. ❖ *barku i fundit*. ❖ *me bark de goja*. ❖ *na hapi barkun*. 2. to be shocked, to be horrified. ❖ *ma ike barkun*. ❖ *të ik barkun*. ❖ *një bark kam*. ❖ *e ka barkun të djegur (të zhuritur)*. ❖ *e ka barkun hambar*. ❖ *e kam barkun bë një pe*. ❖ *të kesh dy barqe: një ta çash, një ta ndash*. ❖ *ka lëshuar bark (muri, tavani)*. ❖ *më mbiu dë barkt*. ❖ *dë barkt mbajç, bë pëqit mos paç!*. ❖ *i ndrittë barku që e ka mbajtur*. ❖ *ia ngroh barkun*. ❖ *përpiva barkun*. ❖ *i plasi barku*. ❖ *të prish barkun*. ❖ *i rrahin barqet*. ❖ *më shtiri (më hapi) barkun*. ❖ *barku mban një thes me mut, ti nuk mban dot një llaf*. ❖ *që dë barkun e nënës*. ❖ *është i trembur që dë barkun e nënës*.

8.5. In *Fjalor leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit* have set place a big number of phraseological units with emotional accented coloring. It's understandable that as motivating center of these units (that are daily met in the inhabitants speech, and especially in the simple discourse, also this discourse is faded without these units) are toponyms that in their semantic structure the essential semantics refer components with negative emotional accented coloring. A big part of these units remain in the framework of this discourse, even why they belong in the lexical and phraseological asset of the Albanian language. We are giving as example:

býth/ë,-a f. "behind, buttocks, bottom, backside, bum". ♦ *u bë bythë* (to drink so. under the table. ♦ *e bëri për dë bythë të qenit.* ♦ *s'i ka rënë bytha dë ujët.* ♦ *bjeri bythës me kacit!*. ♦ *janë bythë e bardhak.* ♦ *janë bythë e brekë.* ♦ *bythë bë bythë.* ♦ *na çau bythën!*. ♦ *i di bytha.* ♦ *di bythën e shejtanit.* ♦ *s'i ka dërsirë bytha.* ♦ *s'i ka djegur bytha.* ♦ *bytha e dynjasë.* ♦ *i dredh bythët dikush.* ♦ *nuk dhitet me bythën e botës.* ♦ *iu fëc bytha.* ♦ *bythë të forta!* ♦ *ia fryu bythën.* ♦ *fshije bythën me qeramidhkë.* ♦ *u ftofsh dë bythët.* ♦ *gris bythën.* ♦ *s'gjen një bythë vënt.* ♦ *e ka bythën të madhe.* ♦ *e ka bythën me majë.* ♦ *s'ka bythë të rrijë.* ♦ *s'ka më bythë viçi.* ♦ *i bardhë si bytha e kuisë.* ♦ *mos e kruaj bythën!*. ♦ *i kruhet bytha.* ♦ *e lan bythën pa ujë.* ♦ *iu lodh bytha.* ♦ *bythën e mbuluar s'e pështyn njeri.* ♦ *s'ia mban bytha.* ♦ *s'i pjerdh bytha.* ♦ *bythë e plasur*(from Kolonja). ♦ *i plasi bytha* ♦ *ia pret bytha penë.* ♦ *më rrahu bythën.* ♦ *s'i rri bytha bë një vënt.* ♦ *sheh bythën e tij.* ♦ *i shkon pas bythës.* ♦ *do të ta shoh bythën.* ♦ *s'e shtron bythën.* ♦ *si bytha e tiganit - i pistë, i zi.* ♦ *tund bythët.* ♦ *i vajti bytha dë hendekt.* ♦ *e vuri bë bythë.* ♦ *zë një bythë vënt.* ♦ *nuk i zë bytha vënt.* ♦ *i zuri bytha kallo.*

9. Non-simple denominations

Focusing on the macro-structure components of *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit*, we should emphasize that a special place in it have occupied the non-simple denominations, that are mostly related with the planted and animal field. We are giving for illustration a paradigmatic group of units with principal term the word *lule/flower*:

lúl/e,-ja: "flower, blossom"; *lule akulli/evening glory*, *lule bako*, *lule balsami/balsam*, *lule begonjë*, *lule bore/snow-drop*, *lule borziloku/*, *lule deleje/daisy*, *lule dredhkë/strawberry*, *lule fasule*, *lule gramafonkë*, *lule grerë*, *lule gjarpri*, *lule gjuhëvjehrrë*, *lule jargavani*, *lule karafili*, *lule kineze*, *lule livanto*, *lule manushaqe*, *lule mëllagë/geranium*, *lule patate*, *lule poleska*, *lule mos më prek*, *lule paraçkë*, *lule shelgu*, *lule shëmitri*, *lule shpatë*, *lule shqiponjë*, *lule top dëbore*, *lule uji*, *lule veshgomari*, *lule vëthkë* etc.

10. The lexical-semantic relations

The dictionary reveals another important value. The author has aimed to give in the system also the elements that construct the word's microstructure. One of these elements is also the presentation where is possible the main lexical-semantic relations.

10.1. Polysemy is one of the most met in the assets that have set place in this work. It is seen not only on the words, but also on the phraseological units. We are giving some examples:

balásh,-i *m.* 1. "roan (animal), mixed, motley, albino": *Prapa asaj korije / ljepuri ndën hije / ljepuri murrash-e / dë ballët balash-e.* (K. Zdruli, FDS). ♦*ka balashi dhjamë.* ♦*e përqesh balashi.*

kërcú,-ri *m.* 1. "tree-stump, stub, log": *Atje nga kërcuri del një gjarpër i zi.* (K. Zdruli, FDS). 2. *fig. hard word:* *Barba e shpuri buzën për të qeshur, i vendosur t'i këpuste ca kërcunj të birit në sy të profesorit.* (H. Lilo, O). 3. *adj. fig. lonely, bereft:* *Moj më shuajti burri / Moj nëno/Më la vetëm si kërcuri.* (Koçillari, TShD). 4. *adj. fig. uneducated, ignorant:* *Unë spara ua thoshja mësimëve, po Tana ishte kërcu fare.* (Th. Jorgji, PD). ♦*është kërcu nga mendja.* ♦*i këputi (i lëshoi) ca kërcunj.* ♦*e la kërcu.* ♦*mbeti kërcu.*

As we said, polysemy is also revealed in the phraseological units: ♦*na hapi barkun dikush.* ♦*ma ike barkun.* ♦*të ik barkun.* ♦*e ka barkun të djegur (të zhurit).*

10.2. Synonymy is the most well-known relation in the Dictionary and has been used usefully by the author especially to explain those units that are less known for the user of the Albanian language, especially to explain the units that are less or not at all known for the users of the Albanian language. The author has the merit that in the synonymic relations has given priority to the Albanian word, that belong to the normative lexicon of the standard Albanian. Nonetheless the synonymy is wide, we are giving some groups that mostly are related with the lexical-grammatical of the units belonging in these kind or relations:

10.2.1. Nominative synonyms: **butúr,-i** *m.* "dust": *E ka nusen të mirë/ Kur na fshin' oborrë/ tërë buturë bë kokë.* (Koçillari, TShD); *Domethënë paskërkam qenë një...që i kam baritur buturit kot, tërë këto vite.* (A. Andoni, GML).

çobánk/ë,-a *nf.* 1. *neg.* "Vlach, Aromanian. 2. shepherdess: *Po shoqet ku i ke?/ dë mal të Gramozit-e/ ku rrinin çobanët-e/ ku rrinin çobankat-e.* (Koçillari, TShD).

10.2.2. Adjectival synonymy: **bythëvérdhë** *adj.* weak: - *Cilët janë bythëverdhë? –pyeti Magelani. - Të përkëdhelurit, Magelan. Ata që nuk i ka zënë as era, as shiu, por që kanë punuar nëpër zyra.* (Th. Naqo, PI).

çaplúar (i, e) mb. 1. "torn, broken, ripped, quartered": *Tej pragut dukeshin shtëpi të djegura, plepa të çapluar dhe fytyrat e njerëzve të trembura.* (S. Andoni, MSh). 2. straddling, surprised: *Kurbatka dilte nëpër derën e mullirit e ndjekur nga sytë e çapluar të Doracit që mërmëriste.* (A. Andoni, N).

10.2.3. Verbal synonymy: shastís verb. "to confuse, to confound, to amaze, to daze": *Na shkon dhëndri me bajrakë / moj, malet u hapnë! / Le të hapen a t'vithisen / me djaln ton' do shastisen!* (K. Zdruli, FDS); *O, ky kapedani / Shastisi dynjanë.* (Koçillari, TShD).

përcillet verb. "flow, flows spontaneously": *Tek-tuk dëgjohej ndonjë lopë që pëlliste për të kërkuar vëçin se po i përcilleshin gjirët.* (H. Lilo, O). ♦ *se mos t'u përcollën gjirët!*

10.2.4. Adverbial synonymy: vîcë adv. "full to the brim": *e mbushi vîcëfuçinë.*

vîckë adv. full to overflowing": *Dasmë bëri ky Rapushka / vîckë shtëpinë me krushka/ ç'e tunde nja dhjetë ditë/ ngope sojnë, ngope miqtë.* (KPRrK).

10.3. Antonymy is another lexical-semantic relation that has set a place in *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit*. The author has used it as a necessary tool to specify the meaning of the unit as title word.

(h)alláll,-i m. 1. "due, deserve, merit"; *opposite.* haram "ill-gotten gain, undeserved": *Këta djem që janë sot / hallall ju qoftë dashuria.* (Koçillari, TShD). ♦ *ma bëj hallall - forgive me.* ♦ *hallalli s'bëhet harram.* ♦ *e ka hallall.*

10.4. Homonymy is another important lexical relation in the Dictionary. There we find 96 homonymic pairs that again fulfills that careful picking and drafting work of the author:

(h)umbëtír/ë,-a f. "hole, pit, abyss, remote, (outlandish) place, good for nothing". [(h)úmb/ë,-a f. mire, slime (also as a toponym: *Humbë; Humbat*).]

(h)umbëtír/ë,-a f. "abyss, outlandish place": *Hy, të plastë kungulli. Nga vjen ti, nga humbëtirat, - tha kapteri.* (T. Laço, M).

11. Semantic explanations

In a semantic dictionary, moreover in a dialectical one, is also praised to give in the clearest possible way the concept that leads to the real, which meaning is semantic. *Fjalori leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit* is one of the most accomplished. In its pages are nearly face all the kind

of semantic explanations, with predominance of semantic explanations with synonymy and circumlocution.

11.1. Semantic with circumlocution:

bósht,-i *m.* "spindle, spinning stick": *Tori capja dy boshtin/ dhe i vuri bë policë.* (Koçillari, TShD); - *Marsi, vërci, përci/ shqerkat, capkat i nxora/ boshtin shtëllung' e tora!* (K. Zdruli, FDS). ♦ *tjerr me një bosht.*

balásh,-i *m.* 1. "roan (animal), mixed, motley, albino": *Prapa asaj korije/ ljepuri ndën hije/ ljepuri murrash - e/ dë ballët balash - e.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

11.2. Semantic with synonymy:

bostán,-i *m.* "melon, gourd-melon, kitchen-garden": *Tek shkoja arave m'u kujtua bostani i mulla Elmazit.* (D. Agolli, ZhED).

11.3. Semantic with description:

gushëkúq,-i *m.* "robin, redbreast": *Në fole prej bari rrojnë si fqinjë të mirë harabela e gushëkuqë, garguj e piktha.* (S. Andoni, MSh).

11.4. Intertwined semantic: circumlocution / description with synonymy: **bósht/ë,-a** *f.* *ethnography.* a kind of embroidered garment with which the bride or groom's clothes are wrapped and sent.

11.5. When the dialectical units (words as lexicographic units) are known, the author does not stop in unnecessary semantic explanations. In these cases, as we have mentioned, the semantic structure of the lexicographic index, is usually formed from the phraseological units or the place names.

këmb/ë,-a *f.* "foot, leg"; ♦ *bëri këmbë.* ♦ *më bëri këmbë dikush.* ♦ *nuk i bëjnë këmbët.* ♦ *i bëri këmbët bigë.* ♦ *ia bëri këmbët bigë.* ♦ *ia bëj këmbët çift.* ♦ *i bën këmba e dora.* ♦ *u bëmë si këmbët e dhisë.* ♦ *e bëri këmbën kobure.* ♦ *këmbës t'i biesh.* ♦ *më ranë këmbët (copë).* ♦ *i rënç këmbës!* ♦ *u çaplua nga këmbët.* ♦ *e drodhi këmbën.* ♦ *i dridhen këmbët.* ♦ *fle bë këmbë dikush.* ♦ *ia fut këmbët bë një këpucë.* ♦ *ia futi (ia vuri) këmbët bë rript të dyfekut.* ♦ *nuk i gjenden këmbët gjarpërit.* ♦ *më hanë këmbët.* ♦ *me sa i hanin këmbët.* ♦ *s'të hahen këmbët.* ♦ *sa herë ta hedhësh bie bë këmbë.* ♦ *po heq këmbën.* ♦ *e heq këmbën branë.* ♦ *hëngri këmbët e tij.* ♦ *është i këmbës.* ♦ *jepu këmbëve!.* ♦ *i ka këmbët të lidhura.* ♦ *e ka këmbën bë yzengjit.* ♦ *t'ia lash këmbët e t'i pish ujët.* ♦ *e lanë këmbët dikë.* ♦ *del për të lëshuar këmbët.* ♦ *të lumshin këmbët!* ♦ *i mban këmbët bë hit.* ♦ *me këmbë të mbarë!* ♦ *i mprehu këmbët.* ♦ *e ngriti këmbën si breshka.* ♦ *ka nxjerrë këmbët më parë dikush.* ♦ *ia puth*

këmbët dikujt. ♦qafsh këmbët! ♦i është qepur këmba - këmbës. ♦të rrahësh këmbën e kalit. ♦rri me këmbë dë kllanikt. ♦shkruan me këmbët e pulës. ♦e shpie këmbën për gjemb. ♦shpjeri këmbët siç bie daullja. ♦më shtiri këmbët. ♦tund këmbët bë diellt. ♦ua therri këmbëve. ♦theu këmbën e shejtanit. ♦theftë këmbën! ♦t'i theva këmbët! ♦i thirri këmbës. ♦këmba e urës. ♦të urgus nga këmbët. ♦erdhi bë këmbë të tet. ♦ku vë këmbët, vë kokën. ♦ku vë këmbët të rënçin dhëmbët. ♦s'i zënë këmbët dhë. ♦i zuri këmba shesh.

12. The life of syntagmatic word

One of the deserved values of *Fjalori leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit* is the completeness of examples that illustrate the life of the word, of its meanings and of the phraseological units, but often also of other units connected with elements of ethno-culture, of onomastics, toponomastic etc. We are giving an example how a polysemantic word is given in different examples, and very functional. The illustration could be extracted from the artistic literature, from the folklore, from the scientific literature, pedagogy, from the picking of aimed or casual conversations.

klëçk/ë,-a f. 1. "thin stick, pick; there is a snag, to raise difficulties, to be quibbling, to cavil": *Na veroren shçere në kleçkë/ Bë drekë bukë me veçkë.* (Koçillari, TShD); *Mësuesi theu një kleçkë të thatë që mbante në dorë.* (D. Agolli, KM) 2: *Burrat në kafene nuk po e ndanin dot nëse kjo ishte vërtet për mirë apo kishte ndonjë kleçkë.* (T. Laço, M); *Ai i ka gjetur gruas një kleçkë në biografi dhe kërkon ta ndajë.* (D. Agolli, TG). 3. *Në jelek të mbahem mend / Të harrosh pak burrin tënd/ këmbën kleçkë e syrin gjëmb.* (D. Agolli, ShGj). ♦e ka bërë me kleçka. ♦ia gjeti (i nxori) kleçkën. ♦i nxjerr kleçka. ♦kleçkë e katranit.

12.1. Illustrations from the artistic literature

çiftelí,-a f. 1. "crown of hair in the front head": *Ajo kishte parë çiftelitë në kokën e tij dhe kishte klithur me tallje: - Iii, dukesh sikur e ke kokën të mbushur me kërmij!* ((Th. Naqo, PI).). 2. *Nëna i kishte thënë: Çiftelitë martohen me nuskëz të urtë e të bukur që të mbush shtëpinë me kalamaj.* (Th. Naqo, PI).

12.2. Illustrations from the people's verbal literature (folklore):

çisht pasth. "used when we have to dispatch the cat for not eating something": *Lakrori me lakëra/ ç'e lashë në vatëra/ vajt' ma nisi maceja!* *çisht, çisht, moj e shkretë/ se më le vjerrën pa drekë!* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

12.2.1. Illustrations from the folklore with songs: korbë! *pasth.* "ill-starred woman, wretched, unlucky": *Fustanenë korbë që të djalërisë / dridhe, Malo, dridhe, kazan' e Ohrië.* (KPRrK).

(h)up *f.* "lose, I don't have it anymore": *Ce kanë florinë / ce kanë paranë/ ma hupnë të rinë/ ma hupnë sevdanë/ mbeta un' e mjera me kokë mënjanë!* (Koçillari, TShD).

12.2.2. Illustrations from the folklore with puzzles, conundrums
kaçamák,-u *m.* 1. "cornflour hominy": - *Ç'janë dy djem nga Piluri/ venë e vinë dhe mulli/ të na bluajnë mjell të ri/ të na bëjnë revani/ revani e kaçamak/ ujë shumë e gjalpë pak.* (Koçillari, TShD).

lárë (i, e) *mb.* "polished, burnished, rubbed clean, winnowed, planed": *Tre kandilka të argjenta/ katër jasht' e katër brenda/ tri të lara me flori.* (Koçillari, TShD). ♦ *i bën të lara dëpër ara.*

Very often, through syntagma of the units that are reflected in the dictionary, we meet an asset of lexical units that come out as enumerations, but also a part of them as synonyms:

xhúngo *mb.* 1. "hump back, hunch-back, crook-back, gibous": *Merрте me radhë nofkat e shumë bashkëfshatarëve të mi: xhungo, syçakërr, hosten, balash, bythëverdhë, teleshmen, harrun, zuzar, cingun, trahanik, dem, ballëgjerë, teknefes, përç, prapësirë, gjizanik, lërezëre, dënglaman e të tjera e të tjera si këto.* (Th. Naqo, PI). 2. stupid.

13. Toponomastic and onomastics

As we have said in the top of this presenting paper *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit* also finds a big number of toponyms, and also the names of the inhabitants according to these toponyms (when these are settlements, usually administrative units, village, city, region) making the Devoll's region toponymy and of its inhabitants diversified and where can be found various information: historic, ethno-cultural, linguistic, psychological, religious etc. In the following lines we shall stop a little bit longer.

The toponomastic, technically is placed in some forms:

13.1. In the Dictionary we find toponyms and also names of the inhabitants according to the village, city or region etc. as independent lexicographic indexes.

Grác/ë,-a *f.* village in the west of Devoll, at the side of Morava mountain.

gracár,-i *m.* inhabitant of the village of Gracë.

gracárk/ë,-a *f.* woman living or of origin from the village of Gracë.

Vërlen,-i *m.* village west of Devoll, at the side of Morava mountain.

vërlenár,-i *m.* inhabitant or with origin from the village of Vërlen in Devoll: *Poçar' vërlenarët / korrin gjyresarët.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

vërlenárk/ë,-a *f.* woman living or from the village of Vërlen in Devoll: *Kapshticarka, kufitarka/ ziçishtarka, me litarka/ vërlenarka, moj poçarka.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

13.2. The toponymes are seen also as one of the microculture elements of a word, as in the cases when this structure has also semantic explanation, in phraseology and in a number of toponyms.

ÁR/Ë,-A *f.* "field, arable land (also as toponym term): *Arat e Bardha; Ara e Brajës, Ara de Lisi; Ara e Abift; Ara e Bames; Ara e Boriqit; Ara e Brajes; Arat e Dardhave; Ara e Demkës; Ara e Dhimës; Ara e Fëllëzave; Ara e Frosës; Ara e Ganiut; Ara e Gërdes; Ara e Gjatë; Ara e Gjembit; Ara e Halitit; Ara e Hekuranit; Ara e Hoxhës; Ara e Hysniut; Arat e Izvorit; Ara e Kallojerit; Ara e Karanxhasë; Ara e Kastës; Ara e Kaunit; Arat e Keqe; Arat e Klishës; Ara e Koçes; Ara e Kondos; Ara e Kostës; Ara e Kuçarit; Arat Lart, Ara e Lazit; Ara e Madhe; Arat Maleçka; Ara e Memutkës; Arat e Merasë; Arat e Mullirit; Arat e Pellgos, Arat e Përes; Ara Përtej; Arat e Pitos; Ara e Priftit; Ara e Qenamit; Arat e Qereçit; Ara e Sadikut; Ara e Salishaqit; Arat Sokolina; Ara e Sulejmanit; Ara e Shabanicës; Ara e Shefqetit; Ara e Shytit; Arat e Vakëfit; Arat e xha Jasharit; Ara e Xhelkës; Ara e Zaçkës; Ara e Zeqos; Arat e Zeza; Ara e Zitos; Arat e Zhupanit; etj.)* ❖ *ara e mban farën.* ❖ *u bëfsh si ara me grurë.* ❖ *i ka arat pas lumit.* ❖ *ara e mirë nuk mban gjemba.* ❖ *pyet ara me thekër se bëjnë fëmijët pizga.*

13.3. The toponyms that are seen as microstructure elements of a word together with the phraseology (viz, without semantic meaning of the title word):

gúr,-i *m.* "stone"; (also as toponym term: *Guri i Arapit; Guri i Barçarit; Guri i Bardhë; Guri i Capit; Guri i Cuculit; Guri i Cutes; Guri Cyrylyng; Guri i Dhelprës; Guri i Grijës; Guri i Kalamit; Guri i Korbit; Guri i Lig; Guri i Madh; Guri i Madh de Klisha; Guri i Milkës; Guri i Mustafa beut; Guri i Nuses; Guri i Shpuarë; Guri i Shqiponjës; Guri i Vjeshtës; Guri i Vogël; Guri i Zez; Guri i Zëres; Guri i Zonjës).* ❖ *i ka rënë guri dë opingët.* ❖ *i ra guri e i theu këmbët.* ❖ *bluan edhe gurë.* ❖ *s'ka dalë pe gurit.* ❖ *di ku e nget gurë.* ❖ *e duan edhe gurët e sokakut.*

❖ *fol o gur, fol o dru(o gur)*. ❖ *s'gjen një gur t'i biesh qenit*. ❖ *hodhi gur*. ❖ *hedh një gur dhe lumët*. ❖ *hodhi një gur prapa*. ❖ *e kaloj guri masatin*. ❖ *guri i math bi të voglin*. ❖ *s'la gur pa lëvizur*. ❖ *mat gurët e sokakut*. ❖ *mbeti si guri bë udhët*. ❖ *më ka zënë guri këmbët*; ❖ *pëlçet edhe gurin*. ❖ *qajnë edhe gurët e sokakut*. ❖ *ia shpuri gur - gur*. ❖ *si guri bë udhët*. ❖ *gur zënc, flori të të bëhet*.

13.4. The toponyms that are seen as the only elements of a word microstructure (viz, there are not semantic explanations of the title word, no phraseological units, even why the word can have big capabilities of figurative changes and conception of such units). Below we are giving three unit groups of these toponyms in the Dictionary and also the work of the author to collect as much as possible:

On the word *çezmë* we find 61 denominations: **çézm/ë,-a f.** "fountain, tap", (also as toponym term: *Çezma e Amzës; Çezma e Ballabanit; Çezma e Banushit; Çezma e Bardhë; Çezma e Bariqit; Çezma e Bregut të Lumit; Çezma e Buzhinës; Çezma e Dautit; Çezma e Demirit; Çezma Dollma; Çezma e Elesheve; Çezma e Fermës; Çezma e Fshatit; Çezma e Furrës; Çezma e Ganos; Çezma Gorna; Çezma e Gruçkave; Çezma e Gjarpërit; Çezma e Hajdutëve; Çezma e Hake Hedijes; Çezma e Hasanit; Çezma e Hysit; Çezma e Imbrijes; Çezma e Kaçkës; Çezma Kaçunari; Çezma e Kalimshes; Çezma e Kallbaqit; Çezma e Kaurëve; Çezma e Kolimbrave; Çezma e Kolit; Çezma e Kreakut; Çezma e Kuralinave; Çezma e Lames; Çezma e Lileve; Çezma e Madhe; Çezma e Mekamit; Çezma e Merasë; Çezma e Metes; Çezma e Mimiut; Çezma e Minierave; Çezma e Moçalit; Çezma e Nikës; Çezma e Përçekut; Çezma e Pijave; Çezma e Plepit; Çezma e Poganecit; Çezma e Rakitave; Çezma e Sabriut; Çezma e Sllogjeve; Çezma e Stallave; Çezma de Stenat; Çezma e Shkallës; Çezma e Varreve; Çezma e Verinjve; Çezma e xha Eminut; Çezma e xha Jasharit; Çezma e xha Halilit; Çezma e xha Sadikut; Çezma e xha Sulit; Çezma e Xhakes; Çezma e Xhamisë*). ❖ *të shpie dhe shtatë çezma e s'të jep ujë (for somebody who is very clever, you can't fool him)*.

14. Elements of ethno-culture

Fjalori leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit presents also in its pages an abundant subjects related to ethnography and discourse. Usually, this subject is reflected near the semantic structure of a lexicographic index,

especially when are two or more polynomic toponyms. Also, do not lack the cases when are seen as title words.

In the following we are presenting some unit groups related to ethno-culture:

14.1. Wisdoms: ❖ *oxhaku s'bëhet buxhak*; ❖ *buka s'ka turp*; ❖ *kush i bën kulaçet e shtrembra, nusja; po u thye kulaçja, nuk ngjitet*.

14.2. Wishes: ❖ *të paçim sa malet!*; ❖ *i ndritë barku që e ka mbajtur*.

14.3. Oaths: *për këtë bukë!*.

14.4. Curses ❖ *març malet!* ❖ *të rëntë alivani!* ❖ *mos arriç e mos mbeç!*; ❖ *thefsh arrëzën e qafës!*; ❖ *mos arrifsh të bëhesh!* ❖ *mos të rëntë të barkt!*; *dë barkt mbajç, bë pëqit mos paç!*; ❖ *gjeç belanë!*; ❖ *të mbledhtë e mos të ktheftë!*

14.5. Swearing, swearwords: ❖ *të dhjefsha mustaqet!*.

14.6. Elements of ethnoculture or people's mentality on living beings, things, actions, relations etc., are reflected in the dictionary, are directly seen in the non-simple micro-toponyms. We are bringing as illustration with the toponym *mal/mountain*. In Devoll can truly be two-three mountains, but the people calls it *mal* also the hilly heights: **mál,-i m.** (also as toponym term: *Mali i Babovicës; Mali de Bleta; Mali i Brinjës; Mali de Bushka; Mali i Dardhushkës; Mali i Gornicës; Mali i Grekut; Mali i Grendes; Mali nga Gria; Mali de Gropa; Mali i Gumenit; Mali i Gurit; Mali i Hijes; Mali Jonë; Mali i Kakaçit; Mali i Kallogjerit; Mali i Kopaçes; Mali i Korbecit; Mali i Kulirave; Mali i Kunjës; Mali i Kuq; Mali i Mashores; Mali i Namigës; Mali i Osojit; Mali i Qoses; Mali i Rirave; Mali de Sëndyqi; Mali i Stranës; Mali Sfrat; Mali i Shullërit; Mali de Shurishta e Zezë; Mali i Turirit; Mali i Thatë; Mali i Vipjakut; Mali i Zhupanit; Mali mbi Xhami etc.).*

14.7. Elements of Devoll's ethno-culture region can be revealed even in the usual lexicographic indexes. A. Jashari has collected many denominations of celebrations, cooking etc. that infiltrate us in this field of Devoll's inhabitants life, fulfilling the meaning of the given unit with the complementary ethnographic element *etnog.* As illustration we are bringing:

arúshk/ë,-a *nf. etnog.* "a kind of pie cooked for the New Year celebration"; *lloj bukuvaleje që bëhet për Vitin e Ri: Mbrëmjen e Vitit të Ri gatuajnë një lloj bukuvaleje me miell të grunjtë, të pjekur në tepsi e të*

dërrmuar pastaj, të cilën e quajnë arushkë dhe para se ta shtrojnë për ta ngrënë në darkë e lënë një hop prapa portës së jashtme të shtëpisë "që ta hajë arushka". (V. Xhaça).

15. The Onomatopoeia

The systemic and the completeness of the picked subject and reflected in the Dictionary, is shown also by the sonorous group. We are presenting as examples the following:

bëz *onomatopoeia*. "sand bank, floating island" ❖ *i bën mendja (koka) bëz*.

cim-cim *onomat.* "child game (pitching, nipping)".

16. Morphological phenomenon

Fjalori leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit has brought many items where can be followed inflected word forming phenomenon and processes.

16.1. Processes that are related to word forming morphology

16.1.1. Derivative forming characteristics. It's not our aim to widely stop on the questions that this concept covers. We are shortly emphasizing that in the dictionary are hundreds the formed words with suffixation. Draw the attention the forming with diminutive suffixes and especially those suffixes borrowed from the Slav languages (Macedonian-Bulgarian etc., as *-kë*, *-icë* etc.) or the forming with the modified suffixes (with loan and Albanian elements). The forming with the feminine nouns suffixes from the nouns of masculine gender etc. The forming with suffixes create a space for a wider and thorough study. Without entering in other detailed analyses, we are bringing some examples:

ziçishtárk/ë, -a *f.* "the woman who lives or from the village of Ziçisht in Devoll: *kapshticarka, kufitarka/ ziçishtarka, me litarka/ vërlenarka, moj poçarka*. (K. Zdruli, FDS).

kumbulléck/ë, -a *f.* "big plum, long and red".

arific/ë, -a *f.* "Arif's wife". ❖ *si Arifegjyni para Bajramit*.

16.1.2. Some forming words with diminutive suffixes

frónk/ë, -a *f.* "small chair without back rest": *Kur ishte mot i ngrohtë, ajo mernte një fronkë të sheshtë dhe ulej te pragu*. (Th. Jorgji, PD). ❖ *e vuri bë fronkët*.

ftújkëz/ë, -a *f.* *coddling*. "yearling (goat)-kid": *Ftujkëz e bardha me zile/ rrugës së malit kur vije/të dy cickat m'i djersije*. (D. Agolli, NjK).

16.1.3. Some forming words with suffixes of intensive meaning

Fshe(h)uríçk/ë,-a 1. "a kind of child game". 2. something secret: *Sime shoqeje*

i pëlqen të bëjë gjithnjë fshehuríçka, i pati shkuar ndërmend atë natë. (Th. Naço, M). ❖ *i dolën fshehuríçkat.*

fukaráçkë *adj.* "very poor": *Na ish mos na ish, një grua fukaraçkë ish, tri çupa të bukura na kish.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

16.1.4. Composite formations

gojasllánk/ë,-a *f.* "kind of flower".

gojëfëllëg/ë,-a *f.* "poisonous tongue": *Kushedi, do ketë bërë fjalë me atë gojëfëllëgën, mendoj.* (T. Laço, M).

gojëjamáçkë *adj.* "gossiper, talkative".

gojëkllopáshkë *adj.* "loose tongue": *Moj krushka, leshrat me mashka/ ç'qënki kaq gojkllopashka/ mos e bëni gojën mashë/ lejën e kemi me pashë!* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

gojëmáshë *adj.* "gossipmonger".

16.1.5. Composition forming:

drek(h)ér/ë,-a *f.* "lunch time": *Kur vinte ora të zbrisnin malaxhia nga drekhera, bëhej furtunë.* (A. Andoni, N).

dykmeqénë *subj.* "nevertheless": *Dykmeqënë kështu, le të ikin.*

16.1.6. Formations with pre articulation

gajásur (i, e) *adj.* 1. "worn out, absent-minded": *Por më vështroi me sy të çapluar, si i gajasur.* (S. Andoni, ShShN). 2. "exhausted": *Si u janë dërrmuar sëpatat, të gajasur e të mahnitur, kanë rënë përdhe.* (S. Andoni, FKQ).

gjezdísur (i, e) *adj.* "travelled, travel-stained": *Haxhi Çulla pat dëgjuar ca histori të çuditshme nga një plak i gjezdisur gjer në Rusi.* (A. Andoni, N).

16.1.7. Conversions

ballabán,-e *adj.* "big man, in body and shape": - *Plakë ballabane! - tha Todo Çali që ish afuar.* (T. Laço, M); *Sterjovica në të ritë e saj ishte e gjatë dhe ballabane në trup, tamam dardhare!* (Th. Jorgji, PD). Khs. me **ballabán-i** *m.mit.* "circus bear" (also as toponym: *Ballabanët*): *Ç'ka ky sot, sikur i ka ngrënë ballabani brumët? - tha Iliri me vete.* (A. Andoni, T). ❖ *sikur i ka ngrënë ballabani brumët.*

16. 2. Characteristics from the morphology of inflection / the grammar spectre of the units

In the Dictionary we find all the spectrum of the lexical-grammar units. This is another novelty of the work (often the dialectical dictionaries give priority to the principal calling words: nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs).

Nouns: **laktór,-i** *m.* "pie": *Ma bëje laktorë/ Përsipër të djegur/ Kush t'i prishka mendtë/ Gështenjë e papjekur.* (D. Agolli, ShGh).
 ❖ *laktor me dëborë* - diçka që s'bëhet. ❖ *laktorin që s'e ha për vete le të digjet megjithë saç.* ❖ *është si laktor i pjekur bë djellt.* ❖ *e nis laktorin nga mesi.*

Verb: **buít** *verb.* 1. "to overflow". 2. "to swarm, to throng": *Pranvera livadhiste dhe e buiste duke u ngjitur shpejt e më shpejt pas kodrës.* (T. Laço, TZ).

Adverb: **andéjza** *adv.* "that way, next side".

andéjzanit *adv.* "in that direction".

Numeral: **two** *num.* ❖ *i ra dy bë tri.*

Pronoun: **ajó/she** "the woman". ❖ *thoji asaj tëndes, t'i thotë asaj simes.*

Preposition: **bë** *prep.* "in": *vajti bë dasmë; do të vimë bë shtëpit.*

Particle: **allasëndëk/Allah forbid it** *part.:* *Allasëndëk, mos e dhëntë Zoti!*

Exclamation: **ájs!** exclamation to quietly encourage the oxen to carry on: - *Mbarë të na i bëjë Zoti! Ajs! Hiqi qetë, bir!* (S. Hoxhalli, F).

amán (amáni)! *excl.* "please!": *Amani, o shokë, hallin ce s'ma qani.* (KPRrK); *Hiç për gjë s'të kam zili/ moj, aman, moj, oi.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).
 2. "It is very bad indeed": *aman, sa i lig që je.* ❖ *për aman o zot.*

17. Phonetic characteristics

A dialectical dictionary, that explains the life of the words with different examples and discourses, creates big possibilities to undertake phonetic studies. Like this has happened also with *Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit*.

We are presenting some phonetic characteristics that are noticed in this work.

17.1. Voicelessness of the ending consonants: my(h)ýp,-i (për myhib) *m.* follower of the Alevi sect.

17.2. The use of vowel ë instead of e - prior the nasal consonants:

mënt v. sh. "mind". ❖ *i hëngri (i piu) mëntë.* ❖ *jak ndër mënt.* ❖ *i ka mëntë për lëmpjeta.* ❖ *nuk vë mënt.* ❖ *i venë mëntë rrotkë.* ❖ *aq mënt ka, aq zemëroju.*

17.3. One of the most distinguished phonetic characteristics in the Dictionary's lexicon is the **preservation (articulation) / the avoidance of the guttural consonant h** in initial position, but also in a phoneme vowel context (the h between two vowels), also when is followed from another consonant, as **a(h)metlú** patronymic, llagap/surname; **A(h)mét,-i** m. m. **A(h)metíc/ë,-a** Ahmet's wife.), but also in the terminal one: **allá(h),-u** m. Zoti/God. ❖ *është Allau na ruajtë; allá(h)-allá(h)!* excl. God forbid it!

The examples are hundreds in the Dictionary. The author of the work has presented introduced in brackets this sound / phoneme. Enough to refer to the lexical indexes on the letter H to see at least the phenomenon of its **preservation (articulation) / eschewing (non articulation)** characteristic, a phenomenon that is faced in other linguistic realms of the southern Albanian dialect.

(h)ukás verb. 1. "to breathe, to pant, to gasp, to puff, to huff": *U nis drejt stallave atë mëngjes dimri, duke u mbajtur pas gjerdheve të rrugës dhe duke sharë "Siberia e m.. m.. utit" e hukiste duart e ngrira.* (A. Andoni, T). 2. "to gasp, to puff": *Kurrizi preku murin e lëmuar të ahurit dhe dhia ia afroi turinjtë që hukatnin mbi të sajën.* (A. Andoni, N).

(h)umbëtír/ë,-af. "lost place".

(h)umbëtír/ë,-af. "abyss": - *Hy, të plastë kungulli. nga vjen ti, nga humbëtirat, - tha kapteri.* (T. Laço, M).

(h)úmbur (i, e) adv. "dull, sappy, dullard".

17.4. The fall of the sounds:

17.4.1. The fall of the sounds in front of the word (aferezë):

álk/ë,-af. "small nail".

17.4.2. The fall of the sounds in the word's body (syncope):

mer(h)úmk/ë,-a f. "the late": *Kjo më kujton atë merumkën, nënën time.* (D. Agolli, NjT).

mu(h)abét,-i m. "conversation": *Të takoj shoqet bë rrugë / se ato kanë muhabet shumë.* (KPRrK). ❖ *nuk i hahet muhabeti.* ❖ *muhabet ngaherë! urim.* ❖ *pika o Amet me kë bëj muhabet.*

17.4.3. The fall of the sounds at the end of the word (akopë):

mja *adv.* "enough": *O trëndafili me fletë/ pa ngrehu se mja na fjete.* (KPRrK).

kúsh/o,-ua *m.* *coddling.* "cousin": *Ja sa t'i ndodhesh kushos për ndonjë urdhëratë.* (S. Andoni, MSh).

17.4.4. The fall and the increase of the sounds:

a(h)érnaj *adv.* "in that time, time ago".

17.4.5. Withering of the sounds: lëftój *verb.* "fight": *Ca këndonin, ca vajtonin/ për ca trima që lëftonin/ lëftonin Korfus kalanë.* (Koçillari, TShD).

17.5. The increase of the sounds

17.5.1. The increase of the sounds in the beginning of the word:

javásh *adv.* "slowly, softly, gently": - *Javash, javash, or i bekuar/ javash mos m'i shkel rrathët!* (D. Agolli, P).

javashllëk,-u *m.* "being slowly".

17.5.2. The increase of the words in the substance of the word

dam(b)llá,-ja *f.* "stroke, palsy": 2. *fig.* "big and sudden disgrace".

❖ *i ra damblaja dikujt.* ❖ *të rëntë damblaja!* "a palsy on him"!

dimbër: "he cares about nothing"; *s'i bën koka dimbër.*

17.5.3. The increase of the sounds at the end of the word

gomart: "thistle"; *hiq nga ana vër bë samart.*

pust: "well" - *Ç'ka imzot që ronit lot?/ - Ce i ra mëhyri dë pust.*

17.6. The exchange of homo-organic sounds to each other, like l with j:

álk/ë,-aif. "cream, skin of boiled milk". ❖ *ia mori alkën diçkaje* - *ia mori pjesën më të mirë.* ❖ *e ka rritur me alkën e qumështit.*

17.7. Dissimilation of sounds:

aluríj *verb.* "scream, yell, soar": *Kur shikoj, oj nënë, na, lumenjt' e zinj/ alurijnë gra, oj, alurijn' fëmi.* (K. Zdruli, FDS); *Zunë dhentë blegërinin/ zunë qentë alurinin.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

17.8. Assimilation of sounds:

(allosoj → allasoj) **allasój** *adv.* 1. "different from the others, strange": *Unaza ishte allasoj, e paparë.* (T. Laço, M). 2. "crazy": *është allasoj, mos e dëgjo.*

17.9. Metathesis

dobéc,-i (normë: **bodec**) *m.* 1. "prod, goad": *Panua iu kthye me dobec gomarit dhe ia bëri vithet copë.* (S. Andoni, TZ). 2. "sticks vectors,

for skiing": *S'ke nevojë fare t'u japësh dobecëve*. (Th. Jorgji, PD). ♦ *e do (e ka) me dobec*. ♦ *s'ha dobec*.

18. Accent movement:

fustané,-ja (normë: **fustáne**) *f.* "kilt, fustanella": *Fustanenë korbë që të djalërisë / dridhe, Malo, dridhe kazan' e Ohrisë!* (Koçillari, TShd).

19. Relations between the dialectal lexicon – standard Albanian lexicon

19.1. Words that diversify the normative lexicon

The dictionary *Fjalori leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit* diversifies with tens and hundred new units the standard Albanian vocabulary. F.v., **hundëzáj** *adv.* "on one's face": *Kali u përplas më hundëzaj bri rrugës*. (S. Andoni, MSh).

kalúshk/ë,-a *f.* "small scaffold".

The units that (should) easily take place in the normative lexicon, generally are not simple units, but do not lack the simplest, usually when belong to the material world.

In the following we are presenting some compound words with *kokë*, *bark*, *turi*, *vetull*, that are presented for the first time ever in a lexicographic work (we should re-emphasize that the compound words in the Dictionary form a greater group and make possible a thorough study in the future): *kokëbërdíllë*, *kokëbërxhík*, *kokëbozúk*, *kokëbullgár*, *kokëçomágë*, *kokëdamalúg*, *kokëdúçe*, *kokëgalínë*, *kokëgallanóz*, *kokëgllavínë*, *kokë(h)ínkë*, *kokëkrasátkë*, *kokëlajthí*, *kokëlëmçkë*, *kokëlëmë*, *kokëlla(h)útë*, *kokëmastrapá*, *kokëmollçínë*, *kokëpáçe*, *kokëpjépër*, *kokëpóste*, *kokëqóshe*, *kokërrótë*, *kokësallatór*, *kokëshékle*, *kokëshepínë*, *kokëshíkëll*, *kokëtargaxhík*, *kokëvarélë*, *kokëvóckë*, *kokëvóze*, *kokëxhëríllë* (*kokëxhëllíré*), *kokëzheglínë*, *kokëzhëngë* etc.

Fjalori leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit has a great importance, because with the recording of the dialectal subject, enriches the lexical, phraseological subject that would take its place in a "Thesaurus" dictionary. We are presenting below a composite group with accented emotional coloring, that is met in the simple discourse and in the format of such a dictionary and will be part of it: *bythëdërmón*, *bythëkrómë*, *bythëlëvîzur*, *bythëmádh*, *bythëmút*, *bythëpalárë*, *bythëpambúk*, *bythëpërdredhur*, *bythëpollonícë*, *bythështrëmbër*, *bythëtrashë*, *bythëthárë*, *bythëvérdhë*.

19.2. Phraseological units that diversify the normative lexicon

Through *Fjalori leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit* is fulfilled the published national enrichment fund published and with tens and tens of **phraseological units**. We are not presenting for illustration some units that have accented emotional burden (as on the units with *bythë*, *bark* etc.), where they are in the overwhelming majority not reflected in the published dictionaries, but units that are more partial and are not met only in vulgar speech. Concretely, only on the group with motivated phraseological units with the word *sy/eye* we find 26 units that are not reflected in the present lexicographic and phrasological publications of the Albanian language (the units that are with italics and bold). This is not a small asset, on the contrary.

sý,-rim. "eye" ♦*na e bëri syrin bakër*. ♦*i bëjnë sytë çift a tek*. ♦*s'ia bën syri tërt*. ♦*ma bëtë syrin xham*. ♦*i janë bërë (i dolën) sytë pufka*. ♦*më bënë (më lëshuan) sytë xixa*. ♦*syri jot dë bythë të qenit, bytha jote majë hostenit* - vulgar speech. ♦*çaploi sytë*. ♦*sa t'i dalin sytë*. ♦*të dalçin sytë!* - curse. ♦*i ka dalë syri jashtë*. ♦*iu err syri*. ♦*m'u errën (m'u veshën) sytë*. ♦*të ha me sy*. ♦*s'ma ha syri*. ♦*ta hëngsha syrin*. ♦*t'ia hash sytë*. ♦*nuk më hyn në sy*. ♦*i hynë sytë dë trut*. ♦*iku nga sytë këmbët*. ♦*mua më iku syri, do të qaj kropallat*. ♦*e ka syrin katriq*. ♦*ku i ke sytë?* ♦*më ka syri turp*. ♦*e ka syrin të ngopur*. ♦*e ka syrin filxhan*. ♦*ka sy edhe prapa kokës*. ♦*s'ka sy për qabe*. ♦*kullot sytë*. ♦*s'na la sy e faqe*. ♦*i lëshuan sytë miza*. ♦*më mbetën sytë diku a te diçka*. ♦*më mbiu dë syt*. ♦*ta mbyll synë dikush*. ♦*ta merr pe syrit*. ♦*s'i ndajnë sytë (mirë)*. ♦*i ndriti sytë si maçoku dë pastërmat*. ♦*sa për të ngopur syrin*. ♦*është për t'i nxjerrë (për t'i qitur) sytë* - 1. very smart. 2. evil man. ♦*ta nxjerr pe syrit* very persisting. ♦*i perëndoi sytë*. ♦*e prishi syrin*. ♦*i qanin sytë si llozenkë*. ♦*syri i lig pëlçet kalin (gurin)*. ♦*na piu sytë*. ♦*s'i kanë plasur sytë (pa plasur sytë)*. ♦*qita sytë*. ♦*ia rrahin synë*. ♦*i rrodhën sytë*. ♦*s'shikohet dë syt*. ♦*ç'i sheh syri ia bën dora*. ♦*i pa syri ibret*. ♦*mos të pafsha sytë!*. ♦*i pa syri synë*. ♦*nuk pa dy synjeriu*. ♦*shih me sy e plas me zemër*. ♦*ia vuri syrin diellit*. ♦*sa për t'i zënë sytë*. ♦*i ka zënë syri bakër*. ♦*i kanë zënë sytë pezhishka*. ♦*i zë sytë*. ♦*i kanë zënë sytë cipë*.

20. Space for improvements (some proposals and remarks)

The Dictionary, in a future re-edition, requires a rectifying redacting review.

20.1. The appellative names as the toponyms and the names of the village, city, region's inhabitants etc. could be not given as independent lexicographic units, but as a special thematic of the Dictionary (so, the dictionary except the core part that is formed from the lexical-phraseological asset, could have other parts). Here easily could have been included the binomial denominations of this semantic explanation which are given within a single lexicographic index that marks the functioning belonging of such denominations as (arë/land, grykë/brim, throat, çezmë/fountain, tap, përrua/torrent etc.)

20.2. In the microstructure of a lexicographic index, where are phraseologies and toponyms, the phraseological units had to be prepositioned to the latter, because the toponomastic is a little bit more far from the semantic structure of a given unit rather than to a phraseological unit.

20.3. There are units as the title words come out with an element of inflection paradigm, when the dictionary requires the form of their representative. For example the verb *vete/go* it's not given in the infinitive, present time, first single person, but is given in the form of simple past tense, third single person: **váte fol.** 1. shkoi/went: *Zu e na bluan mulliri/ me tri pika ujë viri/ të nëntën na e bloi/ të dhjetën na e shteroi/ vate plaka e lëshoi.* (Koçillari, TShd). 2. he's finished, will be no more: - *Po na iku, ore djema, vate Devolli i tërë, në hell do t'i shkojë fëmijët ky xhelati i Kullës.* (S. Andoni, MSh). 3. *pj.* for a little: *E mundëm e vate.* (D. Agolli, NjK).

20.4. Rarely, in the syntagma of the word is seen a mistake, that is more a negligence rather than scientific inaccuracy. Thus, on the first meaning of the verb *ronit/to frazzle; to shread*, is given the participle adjective (worn out), when was asked the verb **ronit**. 1. to frazzle, to shread: *Larguam krevatet nga pikat që pikonin prej suvasë së ronitur të tavanit dhe hapëm stimën për ngrohje.* (H. Lilo, KMK). *Qaj me lot e ronit lot/ moj nuse, lule/ për kë të vjen keq më fort? / - Për baban' që s'e le dot/ andaj qaj e ronit lot!* (K. Zdruli, FDS); - *Ç'ka imzot që ronit lot? / - Ce i ra mëhyri dë pust* (H. Koçillari, TShD).

Like this in the following case when the adverb is explained with adverbial synonymy: **dhallëngjyer** *adv.* "very poor, penniless". ❖ *doli dhallëngjyer.*

20.5. Some explanations requires greater accuracy and semantic clearness. For example the noun *perçinë* marking an item, a kind of metallic button, while the explanation is given as denomination process: **perçin/ë,-a m.** "pressing the tip or pin to melt two metal pieces": *Qaforja ishte mbërthyer paq me perçina nga kovaçi i fshatit.* (H. Lilo, KMK).

20.6. Sometimes we have composites with word terms and cases specification, which I think are not still concocted as words, but are revealed with open binomial structure. Concretely, the unit *bukësheqeri/sponge cake*, is given as feminine noun (f.), but is not presented as such, even why in the mentality of the speaking person is related to the feminine noun *bukë/bread*. This shows that its structure is open. We are picking some examples from the *Dictionary*: **bukësheqéri f.** "sponge cake", traditional sweet pie of the Devoll villages: *Sihariq se t'erdh jot ëmë/ buksheqeri sa një lëmë/ sipr' e posht' të djegur/ brenda qull papjekur!* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

Nevertheless these remarks for some partial absences, that as its seen are totally rectifiable and isolated, I think that the Dictionary is not only a recorder of a diversified asset of the linguistic subject (especially the lexical and phraseological one), but is also a valuable source and with great importance for the future and the short and middle term work of the scholars for drafting the new national dictionaries, may that be normative, and also for the thesaurus dictionary of the Albanian language.

Concluding this general view on this work, I am quoting the academician Gjovalin Shkurtaj, which says that "On the fresh bringing and especially for the great asset of the words and phraseologies of Devoll, the dictionary "*Fjalori leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit*" fulfills a wider recognition and absence of the lexical and phraseological asset of one of the most typical regions of Southern Albania. By no doubt it stands by the side of the best dictionaries of the present Albanian language and of the regional dictionaries, becoming a written evidence of the word which lives and has its place in this dictionary, and its certain that it will never be forgotten as long as the people which speaks it, shall live".⁶

Valter MEMISHA

⁶ Gj. Shkurtaj, *ibid*, p. 11.

***The Italian-Albanian dictionary by Luca da Monte Giove
(The Manuscript of 1848)***

Introduction

The Italian-Albanian Dictionary, as manuscript with author the Franciscan priest Luca da Monte Giove is dating since 1848.

The information on this *Dictionary*, are firstly found on the paper of the Franciscan historian Atanaz Gegaj, who in an article published in the "Hylli i dritës" journal informs that his fellow religious brother among other things, has also left an *Italian-Albanian Dictionary*, which he gave for publishing to Propaganda Fide in Rome. For unknown reasons to us, this *Dictionary* remained unpublished. According to A. Gegaj, the manuscript is preserved in the library of the city of Todi (Italy).¹ In this article is written the following:

"8. P. Luka da Monte Giove O. F. M. – Edhe ky kje mâ parë në Shqypnî e mbrapa mësoi shqypen në Romë. Vjeta, në të cillin e nisi mësimin e vet nuk dihet mirë, veç mbas njëj letrë, qi ai vetë shkruen, duket se kje rreth 1848.

Posë disa veprave tjera, P. Luka ka lânë edhe një Fjaluer shqyp e italisht, të cillin i a dorzoi Kongregacionit të Propogandës për me e shtypë, shka nuk u bâ. Dorëshkrimi ruhet në biblioteken e bashkís së Todit, në Itali, "Cod. 224", në formatin 8^o, f. 328, shkruet në vitin 1848.

Tuj pasë kenë për 19 vjet në Shqypnî mund të shpresohet se fjalori i tij ka at randsín e vet, prandaj tash vjen dita e ky fjaluer shtypet e kështu i paraqitet publikut letrar, i cilli aq me cenë rrin tuj kerkue veprat e moçme të shkrueme në gjuhë shqype. P. Luka diq në vjetë

¹ A. Gegaj, *Mësimi i gjuhës shqype në Romë në shek. XVIII-XIX*, in "Hylli i dritës", nr. 4, 1931.

1862. *Kater letra qi shkrou prej Pultit rreth 1839 – 1841, ruhen në kuvendin françeskan St. Pietro Montorio*".²

After that, the erudite savant Mario Roques, in his work *Recherches sur les anciens textes albanais*³, would write: "I, to the inventory of Mr. Petrotta add that of *Dizionario italiano-albanese con alcune parabole o sentenze usuali* by Fr. Luca da Monte Giove ... preserved in the library of the San Fortunato monastery in Todi ...".⁴

In the following it shall be mentioned this *Italian-Albanian Dictionary* also by others, but likely repeating what have said their predecessors.

On this dictionary has also written father Donat Kurti, in the monograph entitled *Vepra kulture e elementit katolik në Shqypni/The culture work of the Catholic element in Albania*, published in the "Hylli i dritës" journal.⁵ Seems that the above mentioned author has not possessed the dictionary of Da Monte Giove, because repeats what has written before him A. Gegaj, by mistakenly interpreting the title of the work in question. Comp.

"Në vj. 1848 **P. Luka da Monte Giove O. F. M.** na ka lânë një fjaluer shqyp-italisht, që ruhet në dorëshkrim në bibliotekë të bashkës së Todit në Itali me ket numer: "Cod. 224, format 8⁰, fq. 328".⁶

² At the end of this paper, that contains the date, Rome on 28.II.1931 (note nr. 18), is written: "*P. Bozzocchini O. F. M., Cronaca della Provincia Serafica, Firenze 1921, 424. – P. Gubernatis, Orbis S. Ap. 263. ("8. P. Luka da Monte Giove O. F. M. – He also has been in Albania and after learned Albanian in Rome. The year which he started his learning is not well known, but after that letter written by himself, seems that is around 1848. Except some other works, P. Luka has also left an Italian-Albanian Dictionary, which he gave to Congregation Propaganda to print it, but was not done. The manuscript is preserved in the library of the municipality of Todi, in Italy, "Cod. 224", in the format 8⁰, p. 328, written in 1848. Having been for 19 years in Albania, it could be hoped that his dictionary has its importance, therefore the day has come for this dictionary to be printed and presented to the literary public, which is eager to have ancient works written in Albanian language. P. Luka died in 1862. Four letters he has written from Pult around 1839 – 1841, are preserved in the Franciscan monastery of St. Pietro Montorio")*".

³ M. Roques, *Recherches sur les anciens textes albanais*, Paris, 1932, p. 8, note 6.

⁴ M. Roques, *Gjurmime mbi tekstet e vjetra shqipe e shkrime të tjera*, Botime françeskane, Shkodër, 2011, p. 25, note, 13.

⁵ Patër D. Kurti, *Vepra kulture e elementit katolik në Shqypni*, in "Hylli i dritës", nr. 5-6, 1933.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 240.

Dhimitër Shuteriqi, in the book *Shkrimet shqipe në vitet 1332-1850*⁷, will repeat again the information given by Mario Roques, by not adding nothing new on the *Italian-Albanian Dictionary* we are speaking about.

Father Vinçenc Malaj, in the paper entitled "Kontributi i françeskanëve në letërsinë shqipe/The contribution of the Franciscans in the Albanian literature", will repeat the data of his fellow religious brothers, adding that the *Dictionary* in the manuscript of L. da Montegiove (sic!) is preserved in the city of Todi in Italy.⁸

More complete and precise data on the *Dictionary* of L. da Monte Giove, are found on the book "Historia e albanologjisë/The history of Albanology" by Prof. Dr. Jup Kastrati. According to a note left by him, Prof. Kastrati reveals to us that has had the possibility to consult a clean writing of father Justin Rrota on the work in question. The writing of father Justin is entitled "*Kujtimet e një të sëmundëti/The memories of a sick man (1925-1939)*", typewritten with "Oliveti", in total 49 pages. Prof. Kastrati notices that: "I have consulted it by the Author in the Arra e Madhe neighborhood, on 16.III.1956".⁹

According to Prof. Kastrati "Justin Rrota, by walking in the steps of Marcello Civezza¹⁰, has made a short description to the work in question. The title of the manuscript is "*Dizionario italiano-albanese – con infine alcune parabole o sentenze usuali*"¹¹.

As was presented until now, is understandable that the notes left on L. da Monte Giove's *Dictionary*, resembles to have been before his eyes on his desk work without consulting it. This is seen also from the inaccuracy on writing the author's surname in the *Dictionary*, that is not in the same form on all the above mentioned authors (comp. *Monte Giove, Montegiove, Montegiovo* etc.)

⁷ Dhimitër Shuteriqi, *Shkrimet shqipe në vitet 1332-1850*, Tiranë: 1976, p. 266.

⁸ Patër Vinçenc Malaj, *Të dhëna albanologjike (Folklor, bibliografi, histori)*, volume 2, Ulqin-Tuz, 1999, p. 317.

⁹ J. Kastrati, *Historia e albanologjisë*, Tiranë, 2000, p. 745, note 3.

¹⁰ P. Marcellin Civezza, Biblioteca di S. Fortunato, Todi, nr. 424. P. Luca da Monte Giove, *Dizionario italo-albanese*. Manoscritto cartaceo dal 1848. Ha faciate 328. L'autore dimorò come missionario lungo tempo in Albania e fu poi in Propaganda a Roma. Maestro di lingua albanese.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 745.

The Author (Curriculum Vitae)

On the life and activity of Luca da Monte Giove are known very few things. It is said that has been 19 years as Franciscan friar in Albania and then teacher of the Albanian language in Rome. According to A. Gegaj, Da Monte Giove has died on 1862¹². According to J. Kastrati, Gegaj refers to Bazzocchini.¹³ Four letters that he has written from Pult, within 1839-1841, are preserved in the Franciscan monastery of San Pietro in Montorio¹⁴.

In the notes of father Marcello Civezza is written: "L'autore dimorò come missionario lungo tempo in Albania e fu poi in Propaganda a Roma. Maestro di lingua albanese"¹⁵.

On Mario Roques we find also this note: "... old missionary in Albania, apostolic prefect and professor of the Albanian language in the College of San Pietro in Montorio ..." ¹⁶.

The Work

Since earlier, it should be put in evidence that the analyses of the *Italian-Albanian Dictionary* by Luca da Monte Giove, has been made not on the original text, but on a photocopy version¹⁷, black and white and not with a professional scanner. This has made for the photocopied pages to be of a very weak quality. Many pages of the *Dictionary* are not clearly read and some of them are very whitened in the upper part, what obstructs the following reading of the page numbers. Negatively has influenced the "ageing" of the paper, because in places has started to take the brown color, what has been reflected on the photocopied paper. For a future critic publishing, these flaws should be avoided.

We have selected on our *Essay* mainly and only those pages that are presented more complete and where the reading is generally clear.

The Dictionary starts with the frontispiece, work handed. Follow three pages, where Da Monte Giove writes a letter in Italian to the

¹² A. Gegaj, *ibid.*

¹³ F. Bazzocchini O.F.M., *Cronaca della provincia Serafica*, Firenze, 1921, 424 – P., CUBERNATIS, Orbis S. Ap. 763.

¹⁴ J. Kastrati, *Historia* ..., *ibid.*, p. 745.

¹⁵ P. Marcellin Civezza, *ibid.*

¹⁶ M. Roques, *Recheches* ..., *ibid.*

¹⁷ The photocopied version of this *Vocabulary* is property of Prof. Dr. David Luka and is part of the manuscripts in his library. Prof. Luka is trying to bring in Albanian both original manuscripts.

archbishop G. Labella, appointed from Propaganda Fide to follow the work on drafting the *Dictionary*. In this letter is written:

"The task that has been charged on me from Your Excellency to taught the Epirote language in this college of San Pietro in Montorio and the love that I preserve for the people of Albania, among which I have lived the best years of my life, encouraged me to rethink with myself how to make known this language, moreover from the obligation I have towards Your Excellency. I have a benevolence for these people, that beyond their rudeness, are persistently connected even more with the Catholic faith. Starting from the personal experience, I have thought all the difficulties and the pains that face the new missionaries to learn without the help of a dictionary a language, which possession is a necessity for their apostolic service. For this aim, the drafting of the vocabulary, which should mark the words of the Epirote language, would be a great priority.

Encouraged even more from the usefulness of the task entrusted to me more than in my capability, which lacks, I have tried to fulfill with seriousness and correctly, started the work after not an easy beginning, I have drafted this dictionary, that humbly I present before you.

Because the Albanian language is poor in words and not having those way of expression, which the Italian language possesses, you should not be surprised when I assure Your Excellency that in this dictionary are written all the words that these people use to express their concepts, but also I have tried to simply consult from the young missionaries. I hope that Your Excellency, for the kindness that characterizes You and for the zeal shown towards me, would accept this small gift presented from the undersigned, who even if the dictionary could not be published, again he will remain very pleased for this little help that he is giving to the new missionaries, and meantime is showing to Your Excellency in this way that deep respect, the same with which I kiss the purple signs that distinguish You as bishop".

Luca da Monte Giove OFM

After that, in a special page, comes "*the Approval*" of the Franciscan bishop of Durrës' Bishopric, writing in Italian:

"I the undersigned, have received the Albanian Dictionary drafted by Monsignor Luca da Monte Giove, that was prefect of the Pult's mission in Albania, and now teacher of this language in the College of San Pietro in Montorio, and I have found simply expressed all the Albanian words which I think are of a great utility for the young missionaries.

From the Monastery of San Bonaventura in Rome, on 17 July 1848".

G. Labella

BISHOP OF SAN PIETRO IN MONTORIO

The major part of this *Dictionary* (nearly 323 pages) is occupied from the *lexicon*. The page is less smaller compared to A₄ (21 x 29.7 cm). On the left side are aligned the words in Italian, while in the other side the translation in the Albanian language. The writing is by hand with black ink and is clear.

At the end of the *Work* there is an appendix of eight pages, marked with roman numbers. The three first pages (I-III) and four lines of the page four, contain proper names. The continuation of the page four is entitled *Nomi di città e nazioni più in uso*. The four last pages (V-VIII) contain "*Proverbi o sentenze*", all these respectively with the translation in Albanian.

For the complete number of the pages and for the precise number of words included in this *Dictionary*, can't be said the last word, without having in hand the original text, moreover when others before us do not present unified numbers (comp. M. Roques 326 p., A. Gegaj 328 etc.) It is likely that none of the scholars has not counted the pages of the book from the first to the last, also calculating even those marked with roman numbers.

The photocopied manuscript that we possess has in total 336 pages, divided in this way: the frontispiece together with the letter of Da Monte Giove and "the Approval" of Labella, in total 5 uncounted pages. The dictionary starts with page 1 and concludes with page 323. Then follows the *Appendix* of eight pages, counted with roman numbers (I-VIII).

For the number of dictionary's lemmas it can be made an approximate calculation. Judging that the number of lemmas in Italian aligned in page is roughly 32, from a simple multiplication comes out that the general numbers of lemmas is nearly 10 thousand. Considering that for the translation of a word in Italian, the author has sometimes

given two or more versions, the number of these last becomes greater than 10 thousand.

The question if the original text of *Italian-Albanian Dictionary* by Luca da Monte Giove found in the library of the Franciscan monastery of San Fortunato in the city of Todi in Italy, or in this city municipality library (as Dh. Shuteriqi affirms, affirmation which V. Kamsi calls "lapsus")¹⁸, will be clarified when we would possess these two manuscripts, that would be added to the fund of the Albanian linguistics with another dictionary, until now unknown and unstudied.

Two serious and credible scholars, that have seen with their own eyes and have touched with their hands the *Dictionary* of Da Monte Giove, are A. Gegaj and M. Roques. Both give precise indications where the *Dictionary* is. The first, Gegaj: "The manuscript is preserved in the library of the Todi's municipality, in Italy, "Cod. 224", in the format 8⁰, p. 328, written on 1848". The second, M. Roques: "I, to the inventory of Mr. Petrotta add the *Dizionario italiano-albanese con alcune parabole o sentenze usuali* by Fr. Luca da Monte Giove ... preserved in the library of the San Fortunato monastery in Todi, with nr. 224 ..."

Both above mentioned writings belong to the same time (year 1931). Now, would be unlikely that in this occasion to have in two different places the same manuscript. The errors here are excluded. In connection with this, the most credible thing is to accept that we have two manuscripts of the same dictionary, that are preserved in two different places, but in the same city.

What reinforces more this outcome is the manuscripts that we possess, has enough rectifications which certainly cannot be made in no way on the copy that would be for publication.

The Alphabet

A. OF ALBANIAN	A. OF DICTIONARY	EXAMPLES
A, a	A, a	<i>apostafat, aftësi, (i) pari, (me) habitune</i> etc.
B, b	B, b	<i>banoj, (me) bucuruem, (me) habitunë</i> etc.
C, c	ZZ, zz	<i>(me) nguzzune, (me) zoppet</i> etc.
Ç, ç	C, c	<i>vece, Çile (a), celik (u)</i> etc.
D, d	D, d	<i>David-i, Tuderì, perfundi</i> etc.
Dh, dh	9	<i>A9eroime, ur9enuem, (i) 9imtun</i> etc.

¹⁸ V. Kamsi, *Mario Roques ...*, ibid, p. 25, note 13.

E, e	E, e	<i>Bete (a), kemi, verbuemin</i> etc.
Ē, ě	E, e	<i>nane (a), verteta, Dede (a)</i> etc.
F, f	F, f	<i>afre, (me) fittuem, (me) fietun</i> etc.
G, g	G, g	<i>(me) gatuem.</i>
	Gh, gh	<i>ghati, (me) laghe</i> etc.
Gj, gj	G(i,e), g(i, e)	<i>diget, gilpane</i> etc.
	Gh(i, e), gh(i, e)	<i>pergeghie, ghetun, ghiin</i> etc.
H, h	H, h	<i>duhet, harnon, mbahet</i> etc.
I, i	I, i	<i>Isai, Ilari, Lazzari</i> etc.
J, j	Y, y	<i>bye, hueyi, (me) hyeccune</i>
K, k	K, k	<i>Kotorri, plak, kiofte</i> etc.
	C, c	<i>Catrine, cuitimet, curkandin</i> etc.
	Cc, cc	<i>(me) buccuruem, buccuruemit</i> etc.
L, l	L, l	<i>Lazzari, Luka, niegula</i> etc.
	Λ, λ	<i>Lulë, Palë, dalun</i> etc.
LL, ll	Λ, λ	<i>Stamboλ, pieλ, Mihiki</i> etc.
M, m	M, m	<i>shume, menduem, marri</i>
N, n	N, n	<i>nuk, lendin, Antivari</i> etc.
Nj, nj	Gn, gn	<i>ndegnun, gni, (me) segnuem</i> etc.
O, o	O, o	<i>dore, por, mot</i> etc.
P, p	P, p	<i>Pietri, Piero, piessche</i> etc.
Q, q	C(i), c(i)	<i>ciorrasta, micesite, cingi</i> etc.
	CC(i), cc(i)	<i>ndrecciune</i> etc.
	Ch, ch	<i>kech, fachen, chi</i> etc.
	CCh, cch	<i>keccin</i> etc.
R, r	R, r	<i>prendvera, mire, (me) teperuem</i> etc.
RR, rr	R, r	<i>resicun, re998eme, 99irunit</i> etc.
	Rr, rr	<i>marria, (me u) harru, (me) sharrue</i> etc.
S, s	S, s	<i>Sofie (a), Gasper, Isaku</i> etc.
Sh, sh	S, s	<i>struem.</i>
	Sc, sc	<i>disceruem, Gelosc(i), scendosce</i> etc.
	Sk, sk	<i>Skodre (a), Skup (i)</i> etc.
T, t	T, t	<i>Trinka, Teresa, Tome (a)</i> etc.
Th, th	99	<i>ghi99here, 99ehet, ghi99kusi</i> etc.
U, u	U, u	<i>li9une, (me) vuum, (me) paditun</i> etc.
V, v	V, v	<i>Vincensi, Vate (a), Venedik (u)</i> etj.
X, x	C, c	<i>(me) ncitune.</i>
XH, xh	- - -	- - -
Y, y	8	<i>gi8le, kchi8re, fr8ttisc</i> etc.
Z, z	ε	<i>Tenezone, εanat, reεikun</i> etc.
	z	<i>Zeffi, (me) perbuz</i> etc.
	s	<i>sbutun.</i>
Zh, zh	- - -	- - -

Since the first observation of the alphabet used from Luca da Monte Giove in his *Dictionary*, immediately catches the eye that its almost the same with the alphabet of Da Lecce's *Dictionary*. This is not occasional

if we take into consideration that both these friars have studied in the college *San Pietro in Montorio*, which among other things even today has a rich archive, where are preserved important documents since its foundation.

The college *San Pietro in Montorio*, established on 1623 from the pope Urban VIII, was one of the educational institutions administered and subordinated from Propaganda Fide Congregation. Differently from the other Congregation colleges, where were prepared young pupils, in the college *San Pietro in Montorio*, according to a brevet of the pope Clement IX, were to be accepted Franciscans of age 25 to 35 years old. After studying here for two years, were sent as missionaries mainly in Africa, northern Europe and in the Balkans.¹⁹

Now becomes clearer the continuity of the alphabet used on both missionary priests, continuing like this the tradition of the writing, documented also from the rich archive of this college. We have to do here with the tradition and the continuity of the Northern authors alphabet, especially of Bogdani.

Luca da Monte Giove uses in his *Dictionary* (the same as Da Lecce)²⁰ the Latin alphabet, which when is necessary to express the sounds of the Albanian language, adapts it by duplicating the letters etc. What should be stressed here is the use of five graphemes²¹, that are not Latin. Comp. *dh* : 9, *ll* : λ, *th* : 99, *y* : 8, *z* : ε.

THE LEXICON

Luca da Monte Giove wrote the *Italian-Albanian Dictionary to help the young missionaries to learn the Albanian language*, and in connection with it, to properly do their apostolic job. The task that set himself Da Monte Giove defines in certain degree the character of this dictionary.

¹⁹ *Historic archive of Propaganda Fide Congregation*, "Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali", Vol. 511.

²⁰ Comp. Biblioteca françeskane "Át Gjergj Fishta" (Kolana e shkrimtarëve françeskanë), Át Francesco Maria da Lecce O.F.M., *Dittionario Italiano - Albanese* (1702), Critic edition, with introduction and lexicon in Albanian, prepared by Gëzim Gurga, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2009, p. 82.

²¹ J. Kastrati in "*Historinë e albanologjisë*" (*ibid*, p. 745), writes: "The Orthography: generally uses the orthographic writing of northern old writers with special signs for *y*, *ll*, *z*, *dh*, *th*. Also comp. T. Osmani, *Udhë e shkronjave*, Shkodër, 1999, especially in the p. 75 v.

The lexicon analyses is in Italian and for the present scholars serves only to control those respective words in Albanian that are not clearly read. Is thought that the lexicon in Italian must have been taken from a contemporary dictionary, and as such was impossible to be without mistakes. However, in some cases are noticed some phenomenon that can be discussed.

In the alignment of the Italian line (the letter *A*), comes as an *A bada*, translated into Albanian "*Bosce*" (respectively, *boshe* or *boshë*). In the beginning this word we have read as *Abada*, thinking that we might have an inaccuracy in its writing because in no dictionary is presented the word registered with this preposition before it. Than after consulting the big dictionary of the Italian language²², we're convinced that we have to do with an inaccurate registration. The word *bada* had to be placed on the letter *B*, because the *a* that precedes it is a proposition (comp. the expression *tenere a bada qu.* "watch somebody; keep somebody distant")²³.

It is to be marked that the same inaccuracy is met on Da Lecce's *Dictionary* (comp. *a bada*), but translated in Albanian "*vonueshim*"²⁴.

In the following we noticed that he doesn't respects this rule, because he also intercalates there expressions that start with prepositions: comp. *A monte, A modo, A ogni momento* etc.

Because the dictionary of Da Monte Giove was a vocabulary destined to be used from all those that had the Italian as mother tongue, in the lexicon of the Italian language is not set an explanatory note, even on those words that are more necessary and has every bilingual dictionary. This job is seen on the respective lexicon of the Albanian language. By not accompanying in the dictionary any note to lead its user, and also by not putting the respective signs for the Albanian words, sometimes the reading and the interpretation of the words both in reading and definition present difficulties.

The names are usually distinguished from the endings (respectively, the posterior article) (comp. *lug-u, giacon-i, orok-u, rachie-a, gabim-i*,

²² N. Zingarelli, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (dodicesima edizione), Milano, 1994.

²³ F. Leka, Zef Simoni, *Fjalor italisht-shqip*, Tiranë, 1988, p. 119.

²⁴ Comp. Biblioteca françeskane "At Gjergj Fishta" (Kolana e shkrimtarëve françeskanë), At Francesco Maria da Lecce O.F.M., *Dittionario Italiano - Albanese (1702)*, Critic edition with introduction and the Albanian lexicon, prepared by Gëzim Gurga, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2009, p. 99.

shtepie-a, *ui-it*, etc.), but in other cases it is attached to the root (respectively. of the word's subject) (comp. *cigni* etc.)

The neuter verbal nouns, with dense use in the archaic phases of the Albanian language, are also present in this dictionary and are seen preceded with the article *të* (comp. *te ngrofun*, *te mbetunit*, *te corrunit*, *te li9unit* etc.)

The adjectives are preceded from the article *i* (comp. *i pari*, *i bardhi*, *i buccuruemi*, *i ngrofuni* etc.) and are given in the definite form, thus substantivised and only in the masculine gender.

Generally the verbs are given in infinitive, followed from an *i*, and *a*, *va* (comp. *me habitune*, *i*, *a*; *me mbapstuem*, *i*, *va*; *me bucuruem*, *i*, *va*; *me piim*, *i*, *va*; *me paguem*, *i*, *va*; *me u paam*, *i*, *va*; *me liruem*, *i*, *va*; *me buitun*, *i*, *a* etc.). With no doubt *-a* & *-va* are personal endings of the third person in the past simple tense (aorist), while the *i* its not known what represents.

Sometimes the author of the dictionary, when does not finds the respective Italian word of the Albanian, translates the verbs with a group of words, that give the same meaning (comp. Ital. *abbracciare* – Albanian *me marre ngr8k*; Ital. *abbracciamento* – Albania *te marrunit ngr8k* etc. Like this acts the author for other cases that are not verbs (comp. Ital. *abazia* - Alb. *vendi i abbatit* etc.)

It is to be noticed that also for the above cases, the dictionary of Da Monte Giove resembles with that of Da Lecce. However, more than a resemblance or copy, resembles to be a method of the time when are drafted the respective dictionaries. Meanwhile it is to be emphasized that the above mentioned remarks and the notes serve to mainly help the scholars or the users of this dictionary; to make it more easy to read and more easy to be interpreted.

A special observation requires the alignment and then the analyses of the rare words used in Da Monte Giove's Dictionary, because a part of them are lost and are not used anymore. Of course their totality would come out into the open when a critic publication of this dictionary would be fulfilled on both sides, in its transcription and transliteration. We are evidencing here only some of them, which attracted our attention: *latusce-a* "latushë-a; hatchet; small dressing-axe"²⁵; *orok-u* "earlier

²⁵ N. Gazulli, *Fjalorth i ri*, Tiranë, 1941, p. 232. See also FGJSSH *latushë* f. "naxhake e vogël marangozi, latore".

specification of a date when a meeting is set to have place"; *stone-a* "shtonë; drain, cloacae"; *magg8p-i* "magjyp-i; darkie"; *termal* "përperjetë; uphill"; *l8m-i* "sediments of a river when the river leaves after coming back to its bed"; *rubë-a* "headkerchief"; *leçitune* "leçitun; driving out, dismissal"; *stap* "shkop; stick", *stage-a* "walking stick"; *bardak* "bardhak; whitish"; *brigë-a* "giref, sorrow", a word that comes also at Buzuku (*ke me pasunë ndonjë brigë*)²⁶; *prieçë-a* "opangë; sod përdoret më tepër për opangë të merzellueme (harnue) me përqagëza", giving by used in Kelmend of Malësia e Madhe²⁷; *penik-u* "a kind of millet with small berries yellow or red", and also "bread with the flour of this millet"; *kroshnje-a* "jacinth, hyacinth" etc.

In the dictionary of Da Monte Giove are put into evidence also a number of loan words, mainly from the Italian and Turkish languages, and less from the Slavic. It is to be noticed that these loan words are not so many as expected to be. Resembles that the spoken of Dukagjini, where the author has served for 20 years and where is based to draft his dictionary, these loan words are not that many compared for example with the spoken of Shkodra. Comp. the loan words from the Italian *abbat-i* "priest serving in an abbey"; *giacon-i* "decon"; *lter-i* "altar"; *postafat* "with specific purpose"; *kanielle-a*, *capare-a* "deposit, for money"; *capele-a* "kapelë-a; chapel"; *chiarr-i* "qarr-i; tumbrel" etc.

Among the Orientalism (mainly Turkish loan words) we can mention: *konak-u* "guest room"; *ëanat-i* "profession"; *horriat-i* "stingy"; *sahan-i* "copper dish"; *hajnie-a* "theft"; *dugagne-a* "shop"; *apsane-a* "prison"; *odë-a* "room", *citapp-i* "old useless book", *asikim-i* "love, lover" etc.²⁸

GRAMMAR NOTES²⁹

²⁶ E. Çabej, "Meshari" i Gjon Buzukut, second part, Tiranë, 1968, p. 35 (original, XIV/3).

²⁷ N. Gazulli, *Fjalorth*, ibid, p. 337.

²⁸ For the above mentioned Orientalism see Tahir Dizdari, *Fjalor i orientalizmave në gjuhën shqipe*, Tiranë, 2005 (on the respective words).

²⁹ Prof. Jup Kastrati, in the above mentioned paper (ibid, p. 745 v) presents these grammatical remarks:

"Nasal accent (^) its marked with **n** postpositive like Pjetër Bogdani: *Me ndenjun, brensi, druunt, truunt, mullin* etc. An interesting sentence: '*Nji animik plak s'mundet me u baam mik; e në kjoftë me kienë s'bannet* (tashti; *s'baanet* për koherencë) *taman (... e se sarà ...)*'

The most part of the verbs are written in participle with the respective ending *në, m, un*: *Me habitun, me mbrapshtuem, me ulun, me mbetun, me mbujtun, me pëm, me mbluem* etc. It has

Phonetic characteristics.

The phonetic system of the Albanian language with 36 letters representing 36 respective sounds of this language, couldn't be represented equally and nor closely with that of Italian. This equivalence was harmed also by the lack of a unified alphabet of the Albanian language of that time. This absence Da Monte Giove avoids by using different marks that in the inventory of the dictionary are more than 50 units.

In the vowels system the seven vowels of the Albanian language (*a, e, i, o, u, y, ë*) are reflected the same with 7 letters, but now by unifying the *ë* (atone) with *e*. Because the semivowel *ë* has a dense and often important use in the Albanian language phonetic system, it's unification with *e* presents confusions and inaccuracies in the valuation of its functional use.

In the vowel system we can mention:

- The use of diphthong *ue* and *ye*: *me mbrapshtuem, me paguem, me scurtuem, te verbuemit, me segnuem, me paituem, me mpsuem, me perl8em* etc. In no case we have not met the diphthong *uo*, may it be as historic rudiment.

- The length of the vowels is graphically expressed in two ways:

1. In the subject of the word with reduplication of the respective vowel, comp. *me piim, te vuumit, me ghergaam, me u baam, me u paam, me laam, te d88 "të dy"* etc.

2. At the end of the word, to note the length of the accented vowel - *í*, is added an *ë* (graphically expressed with *e*): comp. *lighestie-a*

the supportive nasalization (*n*), especially among the verbs: *me nxim, me nxjerrun, me nxanun, i nxehtë*. Interesting is the stable graph of the feminine nouns with *í* (long): *Ligshie, mjerie* (angustia), *urtie, mënie, mërzie, shkëndie, shtëpie* etc. he adjectives and the adverbs with the suffix *-shim*: *-shishim* (saporitamente), *i motshim* etc.

Draw the attention some verbs as: *me zditun* (illustrare), *me linguem* (ammallarsi), *me argëtuem* (carezzare), *me ngjyem* (collorire), *me qertuem* (confittare), *me ngremuem* (constringere), *me pyetun* (consultare), *me dermuem* (minuzare), *me perkuem, të perkuemit* (moderazione), *me bdekë* (morire), *me skëndyem, skëndim* (roverberare), *me pagám* (sporcare), *i pikatun* (squisito), *me fflyem* (offendere), *me reshun* (nevicare), *me hym* (entrare) etc.

Among the names to be noted are: *të nzyemit* (tashti: *të nxiemit*) (abrunamento), *perçe* (ciuffo), *kroshnje* (cesta), *prieçe* (ciabatta), *penik-u* (miglio), *mishierierje* (misericordia), *brigim-i* (mortificazione), *shint-i* (santo), *shenj-i* (segno), *muoj-i* i S. Andreut (novembre), *Nanddhietë* (novanta), *nand qint* (novecento). Add the verb *me voluem* (bollire), *me mbëliedhun* (congregare).

"ligështī-a", *dashtunie-a* "dashtunī-a", *rachie-a* "rakī-a", *stepie-a* "shtëpī-a", *hajnie-a* "hajnī-a", *menie-a* "mēnī-a", *urtie-a* "urtī-a" etc.

- The nasality of the accented vowels is expressed by putting to the nasal vowel the *-n* after. In this case we have here a graphic additive, simply used in impossibility to be expressed with the respective mark (^) of the vowel nasality. Comp. *druunt* "drût", *truunt* "trût", *mullin* "mullî" etc.

- In some specific cases the nasal consonant, placed behind the nasal vowel, is presented as morphonologic phenomenon because has two functions, first to express the respective verbal ending, second its nasality. Thus, the verb *me paam* with the other *me baam*, they had to be distinguished in the vowel's length. *Me paam* should be transcript with *me pām*, while the other *me bām*. On the first (*me paam*) we have vowels' length *a*, on the second (*me baam*) we have the same time and length, and also nasalization. With the today sings the two respective verbs had to be written: *me pām* and *me bām*. Also it have to be written *druunt* > *drût*; *truunt* > *trût* etc.

In the consonants can be mentioned;

- The preservation of the consonant groups *nd*, *mb*, *ng* në ballë, in the body and in the end of the word: comp. *mbrende*, *mbrappa*, *vend*, *me ndrecciune* "me ndrequ", *me u mbliëune* "me u mbledhun", *ndonji*, *të ngrehunit*, *nguccim*, *me e ngihatune*, *nguste* "ngusht". Between the two cases we have: *me ncaricuem* "me ngarkuem", *me u mpëstune* "me u mbytyun".

- Everywhere is preserved the sound *nj* expressed with the graph of the Italian alphabet *gn*: comp. *cigni* "qingji", *dugagne* "duganjë", *segne* "shenjë" etc.

- In some cases, mainly among verbs and nouns starting with the consonant *z* (respectively, *x*), is added a supportive *n*: comp. *me neanë*, *me nejjerrune*, *i neëhte* etc. Compare here also the case *nvierre* "Ital. appeso", with a *n*- as homorganic supplement, because in the respective dictionary is presented as adjective.

Grammatical phenomenon

The grammatical phenomenon are few for the nature itself of the material we are treating. Those in the Da Monte Giove's dictionary can be summoned in three main points:

- The nouns here are presented better in their gender because are always accompanied with the respective endings *-i*, *-u*, *-a* & *-t* (comp. *lug-u*, *giacon-i*, *orok-u*, *rachie-a*, *gabim-i*, *shtepie-a*, *ui-it*, etc.). included here the neuter verbal nouns with the prepositive article *të* (*të 99arbete* "të tharbët", *të laghetë*, *të ngranunit*, *të paditunit*, *te ngrofun*, *te mbetunit*, *te corrunit*, *te li9unit* etc.)

- The verbal adjectives (post verbal) are given without the respective prepositive articles: comp. *martueme*, *nvjerrë*, *mbetune*, *pagueme*, *verbueme*, *vertetueme* etc.

- The verbs are all in infinitive, anyhow in three forms:

1. With the ending *-ë*: *me nzan/e ma marr/e*, *me lagh/e* etc.
2. With the ending *-un/ë/*, mainly of those verbs to which the root ends with the consonant: comp. *me habit/unë*, *me muit/une*, *me kapp/une*, *me hjek/une* etc.

3. With the ending *-m* all those verbs whose root ends with vowel: comp. *me mbrapstue/m*, *me pii/m*, *me pague/m*, *me stii/m* "me shtim", *me perëie/m* etc.

APPENDIX (*General view*)

As we have noted above (in the chapter "Vepra"), in the end of the Da Monte Giove's *Dictionary* there is an appendix of eight pages, noted with roman numbers. The three first pages (I-III) and four lines of the page four, contains proper people's names. The continuation of page four is entitled *Nomi di città e nazioni più in uso*. The last pages (V-VIII) contain "*Proverbi o sentenze*", all these respectively with the translation in Albanian.

This part would be a special study object, especially on the history of the Albanian language, because we have to do as we briefly would see in the following with a work until now unknown and not treated from different scholars.

We will try to briefly outline some important linguistic characteristics, which might serve as basic points for the scholars that in the future could deal with this work.

People's names

In this part of the *Dictionary* are registered 82 names of people in alphabetic order. On one side are given the roman calendar names, while

in the other their respective names in the Albanian language. The latter often are presented Albanianised, becoming an object to be noted especially in the phonetic changes since their roman origin, and ongoing their duplication with medieval Latin form (or old Italian) and after with the late forms of the Italian language.

For the treatment of this problem we are totally based in two papers, that treat entirely this theme, on the paper of P. Daka, "*Mbi disa veçori të formimit të emrave vetjakë në gjuhën shqipe/On some characteristics of personal names in the Albanian language*"³⁰, and to the other paper of D. Luka, "*Rreth prejardhjes së disa emrave vetjakë kishtarë në gjuhën shqipe/On the origin of some church personal names in the Albanian language*".³¹ From the last author we are detaching some conclusions³²,

³⁰ P. Daka, *Mbi disa veçori të formimit të emrave vetjakë në gjuhën shqipe*, in "Konferenca e dytë e studimeve albanologjike" III, Tiranë, 1969.

³¹ D. Luka, *Rreth prejardhjes së disa emrave vetjakë kishtarë në gjuhën shqipe*, in "Studime gjuhësore" IX, Shkodër, 2006.

³² The study and the analyses of some personal church names in the Albanian language presents a multiple importance mainly for the Albanian language historic phonetic and beyond for the history of this language. We have to do with people's names with A.D. origin, when started to be spread the Christianity among the Illyrian territories, and following the establishment of this religion with better church organization and consolidated at IV century, where are also documented the bishopric sees. In this organization a principal place occupies the baptize rite, fulfilled from the respective priests of the territories, entirely based on the religious roman calendar names of that time.

These names have to be submitted to a preliminary analyses, keeping in mind some special issues.

1. The ancient are the Roman calendar names, the many changes they present with the today forms.

2. The church personal names, coming through the rite of baptize in the trend of times, come with dual phonetic forms, some preserve the classical form, the others with the form when are registered in the church baptize documents. In this way are explained the dual forms *Antonius* with *Ndue* and *Anton*, *Alexis* with *Llesh* and *Aleks*, *M/ë/hill* with *Mikel* and *Miha/j/l* etc.

3. The position of Albanian within the Roman-Greek and Roman-Byzantine culture, as consequence had not few Latin elements infiltrated in the Albanian language through the Greek and not few Greek elements were infiltrated through the Latin. From the personal church names *Pāl* in the Latin is *Paulus*, *Ndue* lat. *Antonius*, also *Lezhdër*, *Qurk*, *Todër*, according to N. Jokl are Ἀλέξανδρος, Κυρικός, Θεόδωρος. Greek-Byzantine are also *Mitër* (Δημήτριος) and *Mëhill* (Μιχαήλ).

4. The changes that has occurred the Albanian language during the times in the proper local elements and in those of loan words, find reflection also on the people's names. Exactly in the line of these changes can be more properly judged the origin of the foreign names in the Albanian language. Among the Latin loan words in the Albanian language are distinguished two stratum. The first is subdued to the common phonetic changes with inherited elements with those borrowed from the ancient Greek. This stratum we can notice as borrowed from the Illyrian. Second, the newest stratum, which is not subdued anymore to the ancient changes.

which are necessary to understand the analyses of some names of people presented by Da Monte Giove.

- *The Albanisation of the roman calendar names: Lule-a* (Ital. Lucia), *Drandefîle-a* (Rosa), *Diîle-a o Dieļa* (Domenica), *Mare-a* (Marta), *Prende-a* (Veneranda), *Vate-a* (Vitale), *Trinka* (Teresa) etc. the reason of giving the Albanian names at the side of the saint names, with whom they don't have derivative connection, has been explained by Luka in the above mentioned paper. With the Albanian names, that are not manifested in the Roman Catholic calendar, the new born child couldn't be baptized and nor registered in the respective parish. Therefore for every local it should have the respective name in the roman calendar. This is clearly shown on the name *Tringe-a* where Da Monte Giove marks two versions *Trinke-a*, but also *Terese-a*, which have no connection to each other. So the girl named *Trinkë-a*, but in the church register carries the name of the saint *Tereza*. The same *Lule-a* with Ital. Lucia.

- *The names that present interest for the history of the Albanian language, especially on the historic phonetic: Ndue-i* (Antonio), *Ndree-a* (Andrea), *Leke-a* (Alessandro), *Les-i* "Llesh-I" (Alessio), *Cile-a* (Cicilia), *Lene-a* (Elena), *Zeff-i* (Giuseppe), *Gi8le-a* (Giulia), *Nike o Kole-a* (Nicola), *Paļi* (Paolo), *Pashk-u* (Pasquale), *Frank*, *Frano*

5. In parallel are presented before us the interceded forms, mainly of the old authors of the Albanian language, comp. e.g. on Buzuku *Ėnduo*, *Ėndre* etc.

6. Meanwhile the genuine roman names, that are presented as continuation of the old, and can be a study object, to get along only in the rural territories of the country, because in the urban centers are not used anymore (comp. *Ndue*, *Llesh*, *Pashk*, *Mhill* etc.).

7. The registration of a child in the parish's register after being baptized with a local name, not representing the name of a saint, has been and continues to be impossible. The person in question could hold the local name in the family and social environment, but in church would remain registered with the name of the saint, which represented his official name. In these cases the local names couldn't pass in the calendar even if the person would be proclaimed saint. This right was gained (in some occasions) those names that were presented duplicated and presented (respectively. reflected) the Albanian form of the Latin name (comp. *Antonius* : *Ndue*, *Alexis* : *Llesh* etc.).

8. The names of people (anthroponyms) are the most moving part of onomastics; there the historic circumstances, the belief, the trend etc., make their part.

9. In the historic analyses of the calendar names on which we are talking, should be left out those names or forms that are explained with the changes happened in their structure, nonetheless within the Albanian language, with suffixes formations, or with other linguistic tools (comp. here the development of Saint Mary's name: *Marĩ* : *Mëri* : *Mri* : *Mrikë* : *Mrikushë* : *Kushë* : *Kushaq/e* : *Shaqe*).

(*Francesco*), *Aghe-a* (*Agata*), *Gustin-i* (*Agostino*) etc. The above noted names are basic points for those who deal with the historic phonetics, because represent the phenomenon (taken in analyzes) for a specific purpose so they serve for the specification of the respective chronology. Comp. e. g. the form of the name *Ndue*, that now is manifested with the diphthong *ue* and without initial *a*, but compare the definite form with *-i* (*Ndoi*) and not the other with *-u* *Ndou*. Like this the name *Ndree* is manifested with the long ending *-e* etc. Also all the names of the feminine gender in singular indefinite form are ending with *-ë* and not with *-a* etc. Of course such difficult cases do not compound a discussion object for our study.

- *Names of people of Moslem religion.* Among the three names case of the Catholic Roman calendar are given with Moslem names: comp. *Brahim* (*Abramo*), *Jakup* (*Giacobbo*) and *Isai* (*Isai*). These three old names that are mentioned also in the Bible, thus are biblical names, are nowhere manifested among the inhabitants of the Catholic rite since the time when Da Monte Giove has served as priest in Pult, even in our days. Perhaps Da Monte Giove has wanted to say that these ancient pre-Christian names continue as such in the names of the Islamic religion.

In the list of the names there is also a wrong explanation. The name *Tomë-a* does not derives from the Italian *Tommaso*, but from the Latin *Thomae*. *Tommaso* given in Albanian *Tomazin-i*. Meanwhile an ancient *Tommaso* has ended in Albanian (according to Luka) in *Maz-i*, name that is manifested in the register of Shkodra's cadastre on 1416-1417 and is listened even today among the surnames of Shkodra's inhabitants.

Also the name *Dedë-a* has no connection with *Domenik*. The latter derives from the old Latin form (*Domenikus*) and in Albanian has given (also according to Luka) the name *Mengë-a*. Also the name *Nena*, that the author compares with the Ital. *Maddalena* likely is a mistake for *Lena*.

Toponyms (Nomi di città e nazioni più in uso)

In this part Da Monte Giove presents in total 16 toponyms. The reason of showing these names, which do not present any interest, could have been the resemblance of their form in the Albanian language, that is presented different from the original in the respective language.

Compare here *Drene* (*Adrianopoli*), *Stamboł* (*Costantinopoli*), *Misir* (*Egitto*), *Jacove-a* (*Giaccova*), *Skup* (*Scopia*), *Shkodre-a* (*Scuttari*), *Venedik-u* (*Venezia*), *Nempsi* (*Vienna*) etc. With interest is to be marked how is written the name of our country and of its inhabitants, comp. *Arbania* o *Sk8penia* and *Sk8pptaar*. Ongoing *Arbanie-a* or *Skipinia*. It is likely that at author's time the names *Arbëni-a* for the country, and *arbën* and *arbënuer arbënori* for the inhabitants, were not used anymore. It is likely that in this time in parallel of the name *Shqypëni-a* was also used the next *Shqipëni-a*.

Proverbs and maxims (Proverbi o sentenze)

The last four pages of Da Monte Giove's *Dictionary* contain proverbs and maxims in the Albanian language in parallel of their translation in Italian. Seems that the author has presented those there as exercises for the people who would use this dictionary.

These proverbs and maxims would serve to the scholars to further observe and study the structure of the Albanian language of that time, and also to study the syntax used in these maxims, and also to certainly define the spoken or the subdialect that is used in this work. Da Monte Giove, nevertheless has served in the region of Dukagjin as a priest for nearly 20 years, presents in its work more a Gheg dialect of Shkodra's Gropa. He, because was a good expert of the Albanian language (nicknamed by M. Civezza: "*Maestro di lingua albanese*".), it is likely to have conscientiously tried to elaborate a more unified Gheg dialect, moving away from the Dukagjin spoken dialect. For this could have influenced either the recognition of the old authors of the Albanian language (especially of Bogdani), or the recognition of that time books, also the often meetings he has made with his fellow Franciscan brothers, all educated abroad and many cultivated for the time.

Meanwhile, our aim here is not the deep linguistic analyze of Da Monte Giove's material, or also making some remarks on its linguistic characteristics. In this way, we think that would assist the scholars of the respective fields to thoroughly think on the different problems this dictionary presents.

The page of the proverbs starts with a saying clearly expressed in the Gheg dialect, comp. *Gni animik plak s'mundet cuur me u baam mik, e nde kioft me kiene, s bahanet taman* ("*Nji anëmik plak s'mundet kurr*

me u bām mik, e ndë kjoftë me kjenë, s' bānet taman"). Now the way of constructing the phrase *e nde kioft me kiene* would require a study on the way of how infinitive is used, so much slandered in different linguistic works, always in relation with the standard. Also compare: *Cusc ve nde mulin, duhet me u permiele* ("Kush ve ndë mullî, duhet me u permiell"); *Cusc nuk di me baam, s'di me ur9enuem* ("Kush nuk di me bām, s'di me urdhënuem") etc.

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In Memoriam**ALAIN DUCELLIER (*In memoriam*) (1938-2018)**

These days passed away Prof. Alain Ducellier, French historian, one of the most distinguished Byzantinist and Albanologists of the XX century. Alain Ducellier was educated in the school of the great master of the Byzantine studies, Paul Lemerle, and for many years he chaired the Institute of the Byzantine Studies in the University *Le Mirail* of Toulouse. It's author of more than 20 monographs and of a multiple papers on

Byzantium and the Byzantine world, translated and published in different languages and in the most renown scientific and specialized journals. He brought a new methodological approach in these studies, starting from the peripheries towards the center of the Empire, dedicating his studies to the Byzantine provinces which until then were lacking. Thus, thanks the real knowledge of the languages and culture of the peoples included within the Byzantine Empire, Ducellier discovered and narrated the "Arab", "Slavic", "Greek", Italian" and especially "Albanian" histories of that Empire.

Exactly in the framework of his research on the Byzantine history, A. Ducellier was attracted from the extraordinary characteristic of Albania, of this peripheral province of the Byzantine empire, standing between East and West who controlled the main arteries of communication between the Rome of East and the Rome of West, via *Egnatia* and the Strait of Otranto. His many studies on Albania coming from his scientific interest for Albania and its people, granted him the name of the *absolute best expert of the Albanian Middle Ages* (Paul Gautier). Among them is distinguished the monumental work *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au*

Moyen Age : Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVe siècle (1981), which Paul Lemerle has called a *priceless contribution for the national history of Albania, realized from a scholar equipped with extraordinary historic curiosity and keen sense to catch and evaluate the influences and the interactions, the approaches and confrontations*.

This work together with *Albanie entre Byzance et Venise* (1989) and other studies of Alain Ducellier, while taking into consideration the relations of Albanians with the eastern Byzantine world and with the Latin western world, specifically place in its center the Albanians, their political, social, judicial institutions and structures. Not only but convinced in the special geopolitical importance of Albanians, in the generalizing works dedicated to the Byzantine Empire, like *Byzantium and the Orthodox world*, *Byzantium the IV-XV centuries*, *The other Europe*, *Constantinople* etc., A. Ducellier has also given a visible place to Albania and Albanians, what the other Byzantinist have not done before.

The Albanological work of A. Ducellier contains important novelties compared to other distinguished scholars of the Albanian Middle Ages, as C. Jireček and M. Šufflay. Ducellier didn't limited the object of his analyzes only in the space of the state of Arbër, included within the quadrangle Vlora-Ohrid- Prizren-Tivar. He inquired the Albanian factor in all its living space: in the territories of today Albania, in Kosova, in Montenegro and in the Ancient Epirus. Except that, in a series of special studies Ducellier has written on the history of the medieval Albanian emigration in Greece, in southern Italy, in Marche, in Venice, in Dalmatia (*Albanians in Greece in the XIII-XV centuries; The ways of migration. Great upheavals in the Eastern Europe and the migratory waves towards the West at the end of the Middle Ages*). As follower of the "Annales school" established by Marc Bloch, which made a revolution in the modern historiography, he applied the most advanced methods of the scientific research, as that of geographic definition of the study object (historic geography), and of the multiple analyzes: geopolitical, economic, social and ethno-cultural. His work has discovered, fulfilled, rectified and has re-interpreted important moments of the Albanian Middle Ages. Ducellier was not satisfied to only be a passionate scholar of the Albanian Middle Ages. He turned the Byzantine Institute of the University of Toulouse, in a school where under his scientific guide was educated a realm of historian

Albanologists, as Brunehilde Imhaus, Bernard Doumerc, Christine Minvielle-Debat, Jean de Miceli etc. From their side, all these became authors and co-authors of important books on Albanian Middle Age.

Starting from 1962, Alain Ducellier has often visited Albania. He has participated in international conferences organized from the Academy of Sciences in Tirana, as in the Second Albanological Conference on Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg (1968), in the conference on the State of Arbër (1990), in the Conference on Kosova (1993). He has visited the historic and archaeological sites from the north to the south of the country, gaining an excellent knowledge of the ground he served enough with the precise incorporation of the events described in his studies on medieval Albania.

For his special merits in the study of the Albanian Middle Ages, Alain Ducellier has been highly honored from the Albanian state. He is Honorary Member of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, which exactly some days before his death, registered the name of Prof. Alain Ducellier in the "Golden Book of Merit in Albanology".

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