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THE MONUMENTAL TOMB NO.12 OF AMANTIA

The study activity in the antique city of Amantia during 2018 was done in October and it was mainly focused on the study of the monumental tomb no.12¹. The evidence of the new constructive elements and the ones that sustain the tomb, as well as correcting some dimensions taken during the observation done in 2011², were amongst the main aims of the work in the terrain.

The monumental tomb no.12 is located on the shore on the feet of the northern slope of the hill of Amantia, outside the fortificating walls at a distance of about 230m in the air line, with geographical coordinates N: 40 22'26.0 and E: 19 41'46.1, at the height of 486m above the sea level (Fig.1, Tab. I; Fig. 1, Tab. II)³. Today it is all destroyed and the covering construction is totally absent. The front façade and the bottom wall are partly preserved, whereas the longitudinal walls, although damaged, have preserved the complete height (Fig.2, Tab I; Fig.2, Tab.II).

The work activity in the terrain

The work in the terrain started by cutting off the vegetation (mainly Barbary oak shrubs) which had invaded the tomb in the outside and in the inside⁴. Then we moved away the soils which fill in the space inside the tomb. The filling (Nj.S. 0012-01) had a thickness which varied from 40cm to 60 cm. It was composed of dark brown color loosen soil, with high composition of vegetation (roots), in which unprocessed average

¹ The archaeological interventions in the monument were done in the frame of the scientific research project in continuity "Amantia" 2018 in approved in the scientific committee of IA and KKA with the decision No.72, date 20.03.2018.

² Buzo, Hobdari 2014, pg.26-28.

³ All of the illustrating material consisting on photos and graphs has been provided by the author of the paper.

⁴ The vegetation had penetrated everywhere in the fugue and as a consequence it has displaced the blocks and deformed the walls, especially in the upper rows of them.

sandy stones were found, fragments of ceramics, fragments of tiles, pieces of milestone mortar, human and animal fragmentized bones. During the cleaning it was evidenced plaster partly preserved in situ (Nj.S.0012-02) which once had covered all the interior, including the bed and the floor of the tomb (Fig.3, Tab.II). The plaster is composed of milestone mortar mixed with sand and thin gravel, particles of sharp tiles, and just a few of thin ballast. At a more complete structure are the preserved parts at the vertical sides directly over the floor. The plaster there has a thickness up to 1,5 cm, out of which 2mm are a layer of pure lime, on which it has been painted (Fig.4, Tab. II). Traces of painting in red color have been preserved clearly only on two plaster fragments (Nj.S 0012-03). Whereas, from the mortar layer over the floor and the bed just a little was preserved, and disintegrated in most of its part⁵. Fragments of tiles, relatively small, have served as support to the mortar at the inappropriate parts of the floor and the bed (Fig.3, Tab.III)⁶. They were found at the edge of the wall, where the floor and the bed form straight angles with the inner sides of the tomb (Nj.S. 0012-04). The mortar and the floor's support have been laid on the sandy-clayey round (Nj.S. 0012-05) of the hole where the tomb has been partly buried⁷. The surface of the hole was impossible to define clearly, but certainly it is a bit bigger than the one of the construction⁸. The hole has had 4 vertical sides with different depths. The maximal depth of 1.60 m was in its north-eastern side, where the bottom of the tomb was sustained. From the depth of the hole diminishes up to 0,70m in its south-western side (in the front side of the tomb). To as much as it was evidenced, the tomb's walls during construction at some point have had been sustained to the vertical sides of the hole at a flat form, and somewhere else small

⁵ The floor was found damaged because of previous probing.

⁶ The fragments of the bed's mortar support are quite fragmentized and do not provide more information. Whereas the ones that have served as support to the floor's mortar belong to the solene tiles of the Corinthian type. They have a thickness that varies from 2 to 3 cm. Their lips have a convex form with a width of 4,5-7 cm and a thickness of 4-5,5cm. in the surface and nucleus their clay are of the same color, light brown. As regarding the form of the lip they are similar to the tiles found in Apoloni, which date back to the Hellenistic period, IV-II cent. B.C., Mano 1965, pg.62-63. Tab. VI, 19a.

⁷ Over the ground of the hole few traces of carbon were found, which have been preserved even in the lower part of the tiles' fragments that have served as support to the floor.

⁸ With the exception of the entrance façade, the walls of the tomb were not fully excavated from outside for conservation purposes.

spaces had been left which have been later filled in⁹. After the evidence of the tomb's inside, the work moved on to the outside. Around the tomb, the surface layer of the dark brown soil, with high presence of the vegetation and little ceramics fragments, was removed (Nj.S. 0012-06). Close to the south-eastern wall it reached to a thickness of about 30-40cm. Inside this layer, before the entrance façade and close to the eastern angle of the tomb, depositions (Nj.S.0012-06/1 and Nj.S.0012-06/2) we found, which regarding the composition are the same as the ones with the tomb's filling (Nj.S. 0012-01). These deposits witness later intervention in the tomb, during which some part of the filling has been removed outside¹⁰. The bones found inside ascertain that the burial has been done with body placement (Fig.4, Tab III)¹¹. However, the thin ceramics material found in these deposits reproduces forms of pottery (Fig. 1-25, Tab, IV), which mainly date to the end of the III cent. B.C.-third quarter of II cent. B.C. Earlier fragments belong to a ritual pottery amphora-lutrophore (Fig. 1, Tab.III) which dates to the end of IIIcent. B.C- the beginning of II cent. B.C. It is very similar to the pelike-lutrofore found in Olympas (Mavrovo), for the form and dimensions as well as regarding the decoration with applied figures (Fig.2, Tab III)¹². The pottery with applied figures found in Armen and Amonica¹³ date to the same time. Under the surface layer (Nj.S. 0012-06), we met the natural formation of the sandy-clayey shore in light brown colour (NJ.S. 0012-07), which is the same regarding the structure with the tomb's ground pit (Nj.S 0012-05). In the northern and north-eastern side, under the layer (nj.S.0012—06) and over (Nj.S. 0012-07), deposited fallen blocks were found (NJ.S. 0012—08). They belonged to the masonry of the tomb and mainly to the archway (Fig. 1-6, Tab. V). The blocks of the archway have a concave intrados and extrados a little bit convex. Their

⁹ The bottom wall, and partly the longitudinal ones have been sustained to the pit's sides at a flat form. The shores formation at this part is more compact.

¹⁰ The entrance and the eastern angle of the tomb are the most appropriate parts to remove soil and the deposited materials outside. It is not to exclude the possibility that the later interventions might have occurred for study purposes. Maybe it is the same tomb, that had been probed in the year 1950., Anamali 1972, pg.95.

¹¹ At this phase of the study, the little osseous material does not provide determination of gender and age of the individual.

¹² Dutaj 1981, pg.71-72, tab, VIII. 2,5-6.

¹³ Breti 1995, pg. 211. Tab VII, 2 Amo; Bereti 1986, pg. 131; tab.I, 5; fig. 2/a.

length reaches up to 134cm, the width of the intrados 41cm, thickness in the contact sides 46-47cm, and the width of the extrados 60-61cm.

Another blocks deposit (Nj.S.0012-10) which belong to the entrance façade and the archway was found under the shore in the south-western part (Fig. 1-6, Tab VI). by the end of the evidencing activity the continuation of the terracing wall was followed (Nj.S. 0012-09), which was under the surface layer (Nj.S.0012-06) and supported to the natural formation of the shore (Nj.S. 0012-07). The terracing wall goes almost parallel to the north-eastern one (bottom wall) of the tomb at a distance of 1.27m from it (Fig. 1-2, Tab. VII). The length of the terracing wall with the direction south-east- north-west was possible to follow up to 14,40m. in the north-eastern edge it keeps a visible height of 2,13 m. Only there five horizontal rows of different heights can be distinguished from it (Fig, 5-6, Tab.II)¹⁴. The wall was constructed with conglomerate stone blocks of different sizes, without linking material between them. Its width is the one of a block of 0,80m. the blocks have been flat and carefully worked only in the external side and at the contact one.

The tomb's architecture

In the following he main construction elements of the tomb, for which new data was obtained during the work on the terrain will be summarized.

The monumental grave nr.12 of Amantia has been constructed with conglomerate stone blocks of different sizes. It has a rectangular plan with external dimensions that today due to deformations reach to 5,13m x 3,14m (Fig.2, Tab. VII), whereas in the origin they are 5m x 3m (Fig,1, Tab. IX). The tomb is oriented as of the longitudinal axis north-east-south-west with the entrance form the south-west side. It is composed of a burial room and a pseudo-hall (prolonged entrance).

The entrance to the tomb is done through the pseudo-hall with dimensions 1,28m x 0,76m. it is formed from the elongation of one of the longitudinal walls (the south-eastern one) and a turn of 90 degrees, that a short front wall does close to the southern angle of the tomb¹⁵. The

¹⁴ With the aim of preserving the sustainability of the wall at this phase of work, we did not advance with its complete evidence.

¹⁵ The pseudo-hall has diverted to the left side of the front façade, more accurate in the southern angle of the tomb.

turn of the front wall does not preserve full height, but its completing elements were found fallen in the south-western side of the terracing (Fig. 1-4, Tab. VI; Fig.2, B. 01-B.02, Tab. IX).

The entrance space has had rectangular form with dimensions 1,38m x 0,76m. It was formed by the mid of the pseudo-hall length from the doorstep and the lintel. The doorstep is preserved in situ and is composed of an only block with visible length of 91 cm, length of 46 cm and thickness of 53 cm. It touches a low column of 26cm and is constructively linked with the side walls¹⁶. The surface of the doorstep has stayed in the same level with the antique terrain, whereas its external side has been invisible. The lintel was found damaged in the northern side under the terraced shore (Fig. 5-6, Tab, VI; Fig.2, B.03, Tab. IX). It has been placed in a transversal way over the fifth row of the pseudo-corridor and over it must have been placed at least two other blocks' rows. All of the entrance space was contoured by a rectangular gutter. Its width over the doorstep is 11cm, whereas its depth is 2-3 cm. the one of the side part (the vertical one) is also 11 cm wide, but with a depth of 7-8cm¹⁷. Whereas, the gutter deepened in the bottom side of the lintel is of bigger dimensions than the other part of the contour. Its dimensions are: width 18,5cm and depth 12,5 cm. It has been thought earlier that the vertical side gutters serve for the sliding of a stone slab from above in order to block the entrance, but such a way is almost impossible and practically not functional¹⁸.

Rectangular room of the tomb in its origin has these dimensions: 3,00m x 1,80m, whereas today due to deformations of the walls the dimensions are 3,05m x 1,80m. Along the north-western longitudinal wall and the short bottom one, the room is equipped with a bed made of four stone blocks of different sizes, but of the same height of 46cm. both sides of the bed have a width of 80 cm and are 41 cm above the floor.

¹⁶ The doorstep occupies all the entrance width of 76 cm and then is included (enters) in the side walls structure.

¹⁷ In the bottom part of the contour of the southeastern side the fragment of stone that has been previously thought to have belonged to the blocking slab of the entrance space, has been preserved incased., Buzo, Hobdadri 2014, pg.27. However, most probably the fragment might be part of an incased small column. A rectangular hole has been opened a bit more over which penetrates the wall. Close to the external edge the hole has deepened a small oval hole.

¹⁸ I think this applies not only to the concrete example, but also to other evidenced cases in Amantia and Bylis. Buzo, Hobdari, 2014, pg, 19-42, tombs no. 15, 16, 25; Buzo 2015, pg. 147-149, tomb. No.1.

The bed contacts all of the inner sides of the room with the exception of the south-western one. A narrow space of 30 cm is created between them¹⁹. The room has been covered in semi-cylindrical archway, as it has been thought previously it was made of seven segment blocks. The archway was supported on the longitudinal walls at a height of 2m and closed at 3m height from the tomb's floor (Fig. 1-2, Tab.X).

As mentioned above, the tomb's interior was covered in lime plaster mortar, which has been painted over later²⁰.

The tomb's masonry has been constructed of regular horizontal rows without linking material. The walls are constructively linked with one-another and with the exception of the one of the front façade, the others have the thickness of a block²¹. The blocks have been flat worked only in the internal side and the contact side, whereas at the outside they are worked thick.

The longitudinal walls have a thickness of 60-62 cm and they have preserved a full length of 2,10m. they have been constructed of five rows of blocks (Fig.3-4, Tab. VIII; Fig.3-4, Tab.X).

The first row of 26cm length serves as a basis, over which four other rows stand, each of the same height of 46 cm. The preserved short walls follow the same height of rows. The bottom one has a thickness of 72 cm and is preserved in four rows (Fig.2, Tab.VIII). Three to four block rows of it are missing (Fig.2, Tab. X)²². Whereas the short wall of the front façade has a thickness from 1m to 1,28m and is preserved in three rows (Fig.1, Tab. VIII). It was completed by four other rows too, out of which two of the same height of 46cm and two with different heights (Fig.1, Tab.X)²³. A fifth row must have been built with the intention of completely hiding the archways from the outside. Block B.05, which in

¹⁹ A similar space is noticed between the bed and the eastern side of the Grave No.1 in Selca e Poshtme. Ceka 1985, pg.38, tab. XIX.

²⁰ With the exception of the floor and the bed, where it has not been painted over the mortar.

²¹ The thickness of the front façade was formed by the alternation of the one-layer and two-layers rows. Whereas, at present state its thickness is defined by the length of the blocks of the third row, which are placed perpendicular to the axis.

²² Three rows with a height 46,5 cm each, would have been sufficient to completely close the tomb at this side. A fourth row would have been built with the aim of hiding the archway from the outside. The same applies to the short front wall.

²³ The short front wall follows the same row height as the other walls up to the height of 2,10m.

the inner side has an orienting archway nest, witnesses the hiding of the archways from the short walls (Fig.3, Tab. V).

Conclusion

During the study activity in the terrain it was enabled the identification of the new constructive elements and the correcting of some dimensions taken during the observing in 2011. The data about the supporting elements were enriched too, such as the pit and the terracing wall, which consolidate the durability of the tomb²⁴. We do not exclude the probability of the presence of some other supporting element, such as the covering in soil of the unburied part of the tomb. The sandy stones that have not been engraved found around the tomb and inside it is an indicator to the previous statement. They might have served as contouring mound of the accumulated soil over the tomb purposely. Precisely, the degrading processes of the supporting elements have been amongst the main reasons the tomb was ruined. The accelerated erosion has played an important role in these processes, to which the sloping relief in this area contributes too. The changeable climate and the following regime of the natural flora have played a big role too²⁵. In addition to the natural factors, the human activity has given its contribution too. As it was ascertained by the deposits described above, the destruction of the tomb has witnessed later interventions too. However, important data was obtained with regard to the burial ritual and the dating of the tomb. With reference to the ceramics materials most probably the tomb must have been built somewhere around the III century B.C.

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Bereti 1995: V. Bereti, *Gjetje nga varrezat antike ne territorin e amanteve*, *Illiria* 25, 1995, pg.199-223.

²⁴ Covering with a soil tumulus remains an unclear element to the present for the monumental tombs with cylindrical archways that have been found so far in Amantia, Buzo, Hobdari 2016, pg. 116.

²⁵ During winter time, the area where the tomb has little sunlight and the earth is often frozrn. Whereas during summer time the area is constantly under the hot sunrays.

Bereti 1986: V.Bereti, Dy varre antike prane Armenit, Iliria, 2. 1986, pg. 129-137.

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Gëzim HOXHA

SOME REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT PRENDE- BOGORODICA LJEVISKA IN PRIZREN

The church of Saint Prende (for the Serbians Bogorodica Ljeviska) in Prizren is one of the most prominent monuments of the cultural heritage in Kosovo. Due to its historic, architectonic and figurative values, as well as mal use of it because of extra-terrestrial¹ reasons during the last decades, it is the only monument in the city which is in the list of Endangered World Heritage of UNESCO, in 2006² (Fig.1).

This church has been objet to archaeological excavation, restauration and a deep study in the '50s of the 20th century, which are embodied in some important publications of earlier and later times³. Although it has gotten the attention, plenty of the problems in connection to the architectonic details and their chronology, they have not found a satisfactory solution. One of these problems is the correct and detailed presentation of the earlier paleo Christian phases of this monument. The author of the excavations, restauration and the study of this church, Slobodan Nenadović has tried to make a correct documenting of the monument. The detailed description of the archaeologic surveys, the formulation of some plans, axometrics and the sketches documenting of some architectonic elements for the very initial phases are a good basis to judge upon the chronology of the monuments since in its genesis. For instance, it is noted that some architectonic fragments clearly of the paleo Christian period (Fig. 80, b,c) are attributed to the Medieval period,

¹ Unfortunately, due to the ethnical extremism, the church has suffered extreme damage on 17 March 2004.

² Wikipedia, Kisha e Shen Prendes.

³ Boskovich, 1932, 113-118; Nenadovic 1963; Panic, Babic, 1975 (1978); Nenadovic 1997, 101-110; Nikolic 1998,33-40; Curcic, 2005, 23-35; Curcic 2010,644-648; Shukriu 2011, 1-14; Temerinski 2017; Ciric 2017, 179-186.

being considered as compositional part of the iconostas of the church built in the year 1307⁴.

The well-known researcher Slobodan Curcic, has written many remarks and improvement to the work of Nenadović, with an article of his in 2005, which he precisely attributes to the genesis of the church of Bogorodica Ljeviska of Prizren. These remarks and improvements concern details of the church's architecture, inscriptions with tiles, techniques of construction in the nucleus of the church and later on in its ambulatory, in the apsis, the windows and the niches, but always after the 11th century⁵. Although Nendaovic dates the first phase of the church in the 11th century, calling it byzantine basilica (Fig.2, a, b, d, e), he alludes, not without some basis, even for the existence of an earlier phase⁶. This moment, very important for the genesis of the monument, Curcis passes only with a not very clear sentence for the existence of the old basilica, without defining the time of it, thus setting the genesis of the monument again in the 11th century⁷.

If we want to be objective regarding the origin of this monument, there is no reason not to clearly state undeniable facts, such as the construction of the church on an ancient ground, which begins at least in the 2nd-3rd century A.D (Fig. 80,a). It is also important to clarify the existence of a paleo Christian basilica in its beginnings and then continue with the medieval history, as it is already recognized. The researcher Edi Shukriu has made such an attempts in her article of the year 2011, but by presenting also a chronology a bit forced, especially regarding the Illyrian period. In the work of Shukriu it is also noted a chronologically inaccurate presentation of the architectonic fragments, taken by the work of Nenadovic (1963), especially for those that date back to late antiquity⁸.

As far as the paleo Christian period is concerned, for which we have committed our self to in this work, we can formulate some thoughts, which we believe that complete the historic panorama of this monument.

⁴ Nenadović 1997, 101-110

⁵ Curcic 2005, 26-27.

⁶ Nenadovic 1963, 64-65, Tab.III, Tab V, TAb VII-VIII.

⁷ Curcic 2005,34.

⁸ Shukriu 2011, 1-14, Figure 4 presented by the author in page 7 does not contain any fragment of the roman period or late antiquity period, but fragments of the medieval period.

The study of Slobodan Nenadovi (1963), based on the work in the terrain during 1950-1952, is still to present days a good basis to judge upon. As of the today's archaeological perspective, it is clearly noted that this study mainly remains an architectonic overview that has made some achievements for its time, but where obviously the authentic archaeological expertise is not present. The researcher Edi Shukriu thinks that the results of the study of Nenadovic were enviable, but they were not all inclusive in regard with the total surface of the church observation and the wider area around it⁹. Whereas the movable archeologic material, found during these works has been almost totally ignored and it seems it has lost the location address.

The analysis of the data of this nature for the territory of the Prizren city composes a first-hand source. The possibility of the presence of a paleo Christian monument in the city of Prizren is increased if we think that here there are clear archaeological traces of the predecessor roman periods. We can mention here the finding of a marble altar of the 3rd century A.D., with the Greek inscription dedicated to the goddess of Asklepius, walled as a spolie in the apsis of the church Shen e Diella (Sveti nedelja), a stele of the 1-3rd century A.D., found in the yard of a house, a fragment with a Latin inscription found in 1968 in the church of Shen Nikolla in the monastery of the Archangels etc.¹⁰. In her work of 2011, Edi Shukriu enumerates a big number of findings from the roman period in the church of Shen Premte as well as in other places in the city of Prizren. Such are the traces of a building near the high school of Prizren; a stele placed in the threshold of a mosque in Mehalla e Re; another epigraphic monument found in the area of the Farmakos factory etc.¹¹

With regard to the early paleo Christian period (4th-6th centuries A.D), some excavation situations are highly important, described and accompanied by sketching illustrations and photos in the publication of Nenadovic (1963). In the photos number 110,113,114, and especially in the photo number 116 (Fig.2, c), the excavations in the probe no. 14, located in the southern extremity of narthex. Here we have a situation of

⁹ Shukriu 2011,6.

¹⁰ Dusanic 1983, 27-32; Nikolic 1998,33

¹¹ Shukriu 2011,7. We write here that some of the architectonic fragments of the church of Shen Premte, used as spolie in its walls, do not have an exact chronological defining.

findings of high interest to comment about. The following is the description of Nenadovic about probe no.14:

‘Immediately under the land surface some walls were discovered, which were connected in mortar with gravel content. The walls went deep from 0,50 up to 0,70m and date back to Turkish period. In the depth of 1,40m the foundation of a wall which comes out directly from the pilaster was found too. Even two foundation walls which parallel go left and right, follow the direction to the closest pilaster. All these walls were connected with a wall that stands parallel to the longitudinal external wall of the church (Photo 116). The thickness of these walls in the level of the foundations varies from 0,8m to 0,95m. they have been built in broken stones and ballast, connected with plenty limestone mortar. In one part of the foundation, parallel to the longitudinal side of the church, there is a remaining wall fragment with the thickness of 0,45m. this wall fragment is built in the same way as the foundations, but it has a relieving layer of three rows of tiles. It is at a distance of 2,20m from the southern wall of the church and is connected with it through the above mentioned foundations, which go directly in the direction of the pilaster.

During these excavations, plenty of human skeletons have been discovered without any other findings. In the height of the excavated foundations, a silver coin of the roman emperor Romani I Lakapinos has beenfound (Photo 117)¹².

This detailed description by Nenadovic provides some highly significant moments regarding the genesis of this church construction. We would comment and interpret as following this stratigraphic contexts:

a. Under the foundations of the shops of the Turkish period (0,50-0,70m) and the medieval funerals of the skeletons without inventory, in the level 1,40m. a construction earlier than all the medieval church structures starts (Fig.2,c).

¹² Nenadovic 1963, 219-220, sl.116, sl. 117 (the coin of the emperor Romani I Lakapinos (v. 920-944).

b. The fact that these old walls, which have the same orientation east-west, like the church itself, connect with the found pilasters in the same levels, is highly significant.

c. The construction technique of these walls, with stones and ballast and their thickness (0,85-0,95m) are compatible with the ones of a paleo Christian construction. The finding of an intrusive belt in the wall, of three rows of tiles, for which Nenadovic has used the most relevant professional definition (the Serbian definition) with a levelling and reinforcing function, clearly shows the presence of the use the opus mixtum technique, highly preferred in the paleo Christian constructions.

d. The distance of 2,20m. from the southern wall of the church and the organic connection through the existing foundations found, clearly shows that we are not out of the construction plan, but exactly on the southern edge of the narthex of the paleo Christian monument (see the plans c and d. Fig Ljevishka tab.2 connected with red line).

e. The situation of the byzantine coin finding of the first half of the X century (920-944), (Fig.3, e), can be decided without a mistake, as a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of this phase of the construction of the wall¹³.

The idea about a paleo Christian wall is reinforced by the presence of some fragments of colons of the railing of typical paleo Christian typology, presented in the publications of Nenadovic (Fig. 3,b,c), but treated wrongly as medieval iconostas architectonic elements¹⁴.

In our opinion, these fragments of colons are a safe testimony of the temple of a paleo Christian church. Two of them are even present to nowadays used as spolia in church. A fragment is in the more eastern colon of the row of arches, which divides the central nef with the northern nef, and the other fragment is located on the right side of the entrance, in the internal façade of the wall, which divides the naos with narthex¹⁵ (marked in red point in Fig. 2,d).

Even some fragments of tiles and bricks with linings made with fingers present interest for the concerning problem we're discussing about. The tiles of the *kalypteria* type (Fig. 3, d) have profile in the shape

¹³ Nenadovic 1963,24

¹⁴Nenadovic 1963, 228, sl 125,3,230,sl,1251; nenadovic 1997,101-110, sl. 7, 1-3 (pilaster no. 1 and 2 are presented even in the publication of 1963 sl. 125).

¹⁵ We saw these two spolia in a visit made in the church on 10 October 2019, but with no possibility to take a picture of them or to take some possible measures.

of letter “L” and are normally joined with a known tile of the type stroteria, forming a roof cover of the type known as “Sicilian”. This type of roof suits more to a paleo Christian construction of the 5th-6th centuries A.D, rather than to a medieval church construction, including even of the 11th century.

Given the elements that we have, it is impossible to know about the accurate form and plan of the paleo Christian church. However, the situation of the excavations, with foundations with big blocks, with wall of the opus mixtum technique, and the presence of the railings colons and pilasters of early typology, may allow us accept the presence of a paleo Christian church. This church might have been a bit bigger, or approximately similar to the plan and the side views of the Ljeviska church, presented by Nenadovic in 1963 (Fig.2, a, b, d, e).

Lastly, for the good of accepting the presence of a paleo Christian monument in Prizren, the findings of a cultural layer of late antiquity testify, with the fragment of a paleo Christian lamp with a cross with a relief, discovered by our excavations of control (year 2004) in the Castle of Prizren¹⁶. We can also mention that in the surrounding peripheries of the city of Prizren two paleo Christian churches of the 6th century A.D. are already known, built in rural areas, one in the village of Vermice, and the other in the village of Korishe¹⁷.

The above mentioned coin of the emperor Romani I Lakapinos (920-944), for now remains a terminus post quem for the beginning of the medieval phase of the church¹⁸. The defining of the medieval construction phases by Nenadovic (1963) in the 11th and 13th centuries and the construction phase of the years 1306-1309, of the King Milutin time, compose the nucleus of the medieval history of this monument. The improving intervention of Slobodan Curcic (2005 and 2010) further correct the details of this history¹⁹.

The history of the transformation of the church into a mosque in the 18th century, and the reversion of it into a church again in 1912, reflects

¹⁶ Hoxha 2009, 266-269. Fig. 13.

¹⁷ Shukriu 2004, 133, 137, Photo 117; hoxha 2016, 10-15.

¹⁸ Nenadovic 1963, 24.

¹⁹ Curcic

the turbulence of the historic events, not only in Kosovo but in a wider territory in the Balkan Peninsula.

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Adem BUNGURI

**A STONE COAT OF ARMS OF GROPAJ IN MAQELLARA
OF THE UPPER DIBRA**

This coat of arms found in Maqellara, in the place called "Ana e Kazanit", during the agricultural work in 1970¹. It has been engraved in a marbled limestone, in a dark white color, same as the quarry marbles in Banisht, between Maqellara and city of Dibra. (tab.I,1). The coat of arms has a round shape, slightly pressed, with diameters 63,5 cm and 62 cm and a cutting thickness of 8 cm. The back side of it, has been worked to be plastered in mortar, whereas the front side has been treated to be seen.

A double-headed eagle with a height of 21 cm and width 19,5 cm, has been modelled in relief, in the central part of the coat of arms. The eagle itself is encircled by four plastic modelled strips, with a height of 4.3 cm and a width of 5.3 cm, which seem to symbolize 4 stylized snakes. The stone coat of arms is surrounded by a plastic edging with a width of 3.5-4 cm and a height of 0.4-0.5 cm (fig.1).

We think that this stone coat of arms belongs to the feudal family of Gropaj, which according to the historic sources of the years '70 of the XIII century AD, owned very vast territories in the area of Upper Dibra, including the vast fertile field of Maqellara. Its representative, Pal Gropa, amongst the most prominent arberesh Boyars, who held the high title "sevast", given by the Emperor of Byzantium. According to a diploma of King of Naples, Carl I Anguine dated on 18.05.1273, we learn that the arberesh sevasti Pal Gropaj owned the villages of "*Radicis maioris, Radicis minoris, Coboshetes, Zaudigorica, Sirclani, Craye dhe Zessiza, located in the Ebu river valley*" (*casalia Radicis majoris et Radicis minoris, nec coboche, Zuadigorica, Sirclani et Craye, Zessiza sitam*

¹ Sadikaj 1996, 3; Brahaj 1997, 66; Bunguri 2014, 302-303, tab. V, 1-2.

in valle de Ebu'))². The naming of most of these villages, are preserved unchanged since the year 1273, when the act was signed, until nowadays or easily identifiable. The villages respectively are:) *Radicis maioris* (*Radikë e Madhe*), *Radicis minoris* (*Radikë e Vogël*), *Coboshetes* (*Klloboçishta*), *Zaudigorica* (*Gjorica*) *Sirclan* (*Zirklani as of the ottoman papers of the year 1467*)³ dhe *Craye* (*Krajka*) (*Krajkovishta e as of the Ottoman papers of the year 1467*)⁴. River Ebu should be identified as Bulqiza river, in the valley of which the *villages Sirclan* (*Zerqan*), *Craye* (*Krajka*) and *Zessiza*⁵. Two possible locations have been proposed regarding the toponym "Zessiza": village of Sebisht⁶ in the western Golloborda and the village of Zepisht⁷, in the southern surroundings of the city of Dibra, in both cases very far from the valley of Ebu river. As the villages of "*Sirclani, Craye dhe Zessiza*", were located in the Ebu river valley, i.e. of Bulqiza, consequently "*Zessiza*", neighbor to the first two villages should be looked for specifically in this valley. We think that the higher possibilities regarding this locality, are offered by today's existing village of Fushë-Bulqizë (*hass, village "derbend" "Bulqizë" of the ottoman register year 1467*)⁸, on the left side of the river Ebu. Even though at first sight, the names "*Zessiza*" and Bulqiza, do not match, we think that it may be possible that the name "*Bulqiza*" represents a toponymal composition formed with the local sources, by the joining of the root '**Bu**' from river '**Ebu**' with the second part '**ssiza**' of the name "**Zessiza**" following the scheme: **Bu+ssiza= Bussiza+Bu(l)ssiza= Bulqiza**, what would explain even the etymology of the noun **Bulqiza**.

Meanwhile, as most of the villages mentioned in the Anguine diploma, were located in the area around Dibra e Madhe (*Radicis*

² BUDA et al 1962,96, Xhufi 1995,101-104, shen.1.

³ Deferi 1467 (1969),88.

⁴ Deferi 1467 (1967),47.

⁵ As a reinforcement to these toponyms, there is the toponym "Fusha e Gropes" on the right of the Bulqiza river, between Sopot and Strikçan villages, which might have a connection to the properties of this feudal family.

⁶ Ippen 1932,29. About the identification of the places Sirclane-Zerqan, Craye-Krajkë, Zezzisa-Sebisht, Radicis-Radika. Krhs. Th. Ippen, Contribution a l'histoire de l'Albanie du XII au XV siecle, në "Albania", no. 4, 1932, 29. Krhs. Thalloczy et al 1913, nr.300 (cituar nga Xhufi 1995, 105, shën. 1).

⁷ Xhufi 1995, 101; Xhufi 2009, 121

⁸ A village "derbend" was a village excluded by the taxes with the order of the Sultan, in protection of the road that crossed through its territory. Deferi 1467 (1969), 5.

maioris»(*Radika e Madhe*) and «*Radici minoris*»(*Radika e Vogël*)⁹ and Maqellara (*Coboshetes (Klloboçishta)*, *Zaudigorica (Gjorica)*), we believe that Maqellara was the very core of the properties to sebast Pal Gropa, the place where the coat of arms was found, and its fertile lands¹⁰. In this diploma Carl I Anguine ensured sebast Pal Gropaj, owner of the Dibra territories, that the ownings of the latter, would be recognized by the Anguine “ at the condition that they belonged neither to the kingdom of Arberia, nor to the Kingdom of Serbia”¹¹. The feudal family of Gropaj enlarged its properties towards south and by the year 1371 it takes Ohrid¹², which for about one century was the Chief town of his feudal Princedom. The prominent chronicler Gjon Muzaka calls the Gropa-s “lords of Ohrid and Dibra” (“signor d’Ocrida overo Dibra”)¹³. The empowering of this Arberesh princedom is connected to the name of the great zhupan, Andrea Gropa, owner of the Dibra region, who even managed to issue his coins in Ohrid¹⁴, to provide refortification of the castle of this city, and be announced owner of Ohrid. This status is testified even in an inscription of the year 1378 (“μέγας ζουπανος Ανδριασ ό Γρώπα”) in the church of Saint Clement in this city¹⁵. According to the historic sources this feudal family preserved its properties in the Upper Dibra for about 200 years (1273-1467). The feudal family of Gropaj had friendly relations to the powerful family of Muzaka, with which they had created an anti-Serbian and anti-Byzantium coalition, for the union of the feudal princedoms and the

⁹ The name of Radika river is highlighed, affluent to Drini i Zi (Black Drin), in the eastern side of the city of Dibra, <<in Medieval Age it must have represented a locality named after it>> (Krhs. Xhufi 1995,101). However, the possibility that the naming t «*Radici maioris*»(*Radika e Madhe*) and «*Radici minoris*»(*Radika e Vogël*), by the end of the XIII cent could have represented the group of villages as composition of Reka e Poshtme (*Radici maioris*) and Reka e Epërme («*Radici minoris*»), which are located along the valley of Radika.

¹⁰ There is toponymal data too regarding the properties of this family to the Dibra basin. Thus in the village Burim (Alljabegi) of Maqellara, in the neighborhood of Begler, the toponym “Gropas” has been preserved, maybe referring to the properties of Gropaj family, in the times of sebasti Pal Gropa.

¹¹ Buda et al 1962, Acta et Diplomatica, I, 300, 96. According to other scholars, these properties would be recognized as of sebast Pal Gropa „at the condition that they were not part of the Kingdom of Serbia., („dummodo non sint pertinente regni Servie“. Krhs: Xhufi, 2006, 252, shën. 5

¹² Hysa 2008, 249.

¹³ Muzaka 1510 (1996), 29.

¹⁴ Xhufi 1995, 103; Xhufi 2006, 43.

¹⁵ Xhufi 1995, 103

secession from Byzantine Empire. This coalition was reinforced by the marriage of the great zhupan Andrea Gropa with the daughter of the powerful Albanian Boyard Andrea Muzaka, ruler of Berat¹⁶. According to researchers and scholars, the Gropa-s participated with an army in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, together with other arbereshe feudal like Muzaka¹⁷, Balshaj¹⁸ etc. the feudal family of Gropa had strong connections to the Kastrioti Princedom, which at the beginning had had its own properties in the Lower Dibra. Zaharia Gropa was the latest prominent representative of this family, participant in the League of Lezha and comrade-in-arms with Scanderbeg, to whom was blood-related. According to Barleti he was one of the prominent Dibra captains in the army of Scanderbeg, who fights alone in the territories of Dibra. He was distinguished especially during the fighting to take back the castle of Sfetigrad (1448)¹⁹, at defeating at duel the Turkish commander Ahemaxe²⁰, which preceded the winning of the battle for the Oranik of Dibra, against the ottoman army commanded by Moisi Golemi (1456)²¹, in the second battle of Vajkal (Bulzqize) (1465)²² against Ballaban Pasha etc. after the death of Scanderbeg, Zaharia Gropa, moves to Italy, where descendants of the house of Gropa meet during the XV century in Sicily and later all over southern Italy.

Based on what we know so far this coat of arms, carved in stone, represents the earliest double-headed eagle ever discovered in Albania²³.

¹⁶ Muzaka 1510 (1996), 29; Xhufi 1995, 103

¹⁷ Xhufi 1995, 103-104

¹⁸ . Brahaj 1997, 66.

¹⁹ Barleti (1537) 1964, VI, 236-239.

²⁰ Barleti (1537) 1964, VII, 343-344.

²¹ Barleti (1537) 1964, VII, 345-348.

²² Barleti (1537) 1964, XII, 460-461; Shuteriqi 1989, 95, shën.46.

²³ The double-headed eagle is a very ancient cult symbol, initially found in the Sumer civilization in Persia since the IV millennium B.C. and in the Hittite one in Minor Asia during the II millennium B.C. It has been testified in the Japod Illyrians in a stone urn in the tumuli necropolis of Ribic (Croatia), where in the shield of one of the two Illyrian fighters, it is engraved the double-headed eagle, to the docleats too, in a cult tile of the VI cent. B.C, found in the Gostil necropolis (Montenegro) (Basler 1969,29, pl VI) etc. during the Medieval Age, respectively in the times of the Paleolog dynasty (1258-1370), it widely spreads out in the Byzantine Empire and from there to the feudal Italian princedoms, including the Anguine kingdom. The model of the double-headed eagle, materialized in the stone coat of arms of Gropaj, might have been directly borrowed by Byzantium as well as by the Anguine. In addition to the eagle, the snake is engraved in the coat of arms too, an important cult element to Illyrians and Albanians. In the Illyrian mythology the snake is connected to the cult of fertility and was considered as ctoni

We support the thought expressed earlier by H. Sadikaj, that the coat of arms of Gropa family has been borrowed by the Kastriot later in their coat of arms²⁴. An interesting data in support of this is the information provided by the Austrian Scholar Th. Ippen, according to which, one of the three marble emblems, that Hecquard had seen in the palace of Lezha castle, ' had an eagle, which held a snake in its claws, and it must have belonged to the Kastrioti family²⁵. Although no further details are provided, because Ippen has not seen it himself, as it is said, it seems like the emblem of Lezha resembles to the one in Maqellara, which make the above thought more credible.

Finding the Gropaj coat of arms in Maqellara in the Upper Bibra, means that the palace of this powerful feudal family must have been precisely here, and that the center of their possessions was precisely in this region, ie. in the area from Maqellara in the north up to the city of Dibra e Madhe in the south. At the same time, it is a testimony to the war of Gropaj of Dibra for secession by the dependence of the Anguine kingdom and the Byzantine empire, which due to their interests did not hesitate sign agreements with third parties, in damage of the interests of this feudal principedom²⁶.

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divinity and great mythological protector. (Stipčević 2002, 267, 320), ass a totem of Illyrians connected to the cult of hearth (Tirtja 1993, 211, a cult preserved in the folk tradition up to the present days.

²⁴ Sadikaj 1996, 3

²⁵ Ippen (1908), 2002, 211.

²⁶ We refer here to the agreement of year 1299, when the eperor Androniku II Paleolog (1282-1328), gave to the king of Serbia a part of the Dibra territories and for the treaty of year 1308, between anguine and the Serbian king Urosh II (1282-1321), which benefited according to it territories of Dibra, Prilep and Kercova up to the north of Ohrid. Krhs. Xhufi 1995, 103.

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Pëllumb XHUPI

BRDA, OR BARDHA?

In the XVIII century, when the Principality of Montenegro (Crnagora-Montenegro) began to take shape, with Cetinje as its center, it included more or less the inlandhilly territory of five nahias: Cermnica, Rijeka nahia, Katunskanahia, Ljeshanskanahia and Pjeshivaçkanahia.¹ From that moment on, the history of the principality is a history of constant expansion on all sides². In the west, it annexed the coastal areas, including Kotor, Budva, Bar and Ulcinj, which were known since the XV century as the "Albania Veneta"³. To the north and south it extended further by taking Niksic and Podgorica with Zabjak, while on the eastern side, Montenegro took over a vast mountainous region, which for centuries had been the spirit of resistance against the Ottoman rule.⁴ This area was inhabited by the well-known tribes of Kuçi, Pipëri, Bratonesh and Palabardh (Bjelopavliq)⁵. The Palabardh tribe was first included in the

¹ Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Dalmatien und Montenegro, mit einem Ausfluge nach der Herzegowina*, I. Band, Leipzig: Verlag von Gustav Mayer, 1849, f. 233; Hilarion Ruvarac, *Montenegrina. Priloshci istoriji crne gore*, bot. dytë, Zemun: Jovan Pulo, 1899, f. 63; Kurt Hassert, *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1895, f. 51-53; Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain. A History of Montenegro*, London, Hurst&Company, 2007, f. 12.

² Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain. A History of Montenegro*, f. 3.

³ Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Arbëria Venedike, 1392-1479*, Tirana: publications K&B, 2007, f. 19-20.

⁴ Bernhard Schwarz, *Montenegro. Schilderung einer Reise durch das Innere*, Leipzig: Paul Froberg, 1883, f. 437; Kurt Hassert, *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1895, f. 52.

⁵ "le quattro popolazioni de Piperi, Brattonesi, Bielopaulovicchi e Cucchi", shih: Biblioteca Civica (ex Comunale) di Fermo, Mss. It., C. B. XXX nr. 45: "Relatione Universale dell'origine e successe della missione Apostolica de Frati Minori Osservanti Riformati del Serafico S. Francesco nel Regno d'Albania. Da diverse relationi d'alcuni Padri Missionari di dette missioni raccolta, ordinata et aumentata dal P. Giacinto Sospello, anno 1652, fol. 9. It should be taken into account that the territory occupied by the four tribes, over time contracted or expanded by uniting with other separate tribes, or separating from the community (*confederatio*) of the mountains in that region. Thus, in March 1688, there were not 4, but 8 tribes which were mentioned: Kuç,

Montenegrin state at the end of the XVIII century, and their example was followed by other tribes⁶. From that moment, the name Brda appears in official acts, which summarized the territories of all those four tribes. This development was very important for the Montenegrin principality. Not in vain, henceforth it was called "the principality of Crnagora and Brda", and Prince Peter I Petrovic Njegushiw was introduced with his full title, as "prince of Crnagora and Brda"⁷. The first evidence seems to be a decision of the assembly of Crnagora leaders in 1798, which called on the Crnagoras to join "the Brdjane brothers" (nashubradju Brdjane) in the war against the Ottomans⁸. From that time, the terms "Brda", for the

Kelmend, Hot, Grud, Vasojeviq, Bratonesh, Pipr and Palabardh (Bjelopavliq). On the other hand, there were cases when one of the branches of a certain tribe would break away, forming a new independent tribe. This is the case of the Vasoe (Vasojeviq) tribe. The book of the Sandjak of Shkodra (1485), teaches us that at that time the village of Vasojevic was an integral part of the Pipr (S. Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave, 1974, f. 371). But at the end of the XVI century, the Vasojevic tribe broke away from the Pipris by creating a separate unit. Thus, on March 31, 1688, as mentioned above, their name appeared together with the tribes of Kuç, Kelmend, Hot, Grud, Bratonesh, Pipër and Palabardh (Bjelopavliq) as part of the league of the peoples "of the mountains of Albania". See: ASVe, *Provveditori da Terra e da Mar e altre cariche*, b. 360: a report of Antonio Bernardo, General Provveditor for Dalmatia and Albania, Zara, March 31, 1688; Giuseppe Modrić, *La Dalmazia Romana. Note e ricordi di viaggio*, Roma: L. Roux, 1892, f. 316; Kurt Hassert, *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1895, f. 51-53; Slaven Bertoša, "Nastanjenici i prolaznici dubrovačke Republike, Boke Kotorske i Mletačke Albanije u Puli (17.-19. sotjeće)", *Anali Dubrovnika* 41 (2003), f. 165-166; Gordana Gorunović, "Mihajlo Lalić and Serbian Ethnology: Ethnography and Mimesis of Patriarchal Society in Montenegrin Highlands", in: *Etnoantropološki Problemi*, seri e re, viti XII, fl. 4 (2017), f. 1212; J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Dalmatien und Montenegro, mit einem Ausfluge nach der Herzegowina*, f. 233, 239.

⁶ Johann Georg von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, Jena: Friedrich Mauke Verlag, 1854, f. 114; J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Dalmatien und Montenegro, miteinem Ausflugenach der Herzegowina*, f. 233.

⁷ J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Dalmatien und Montenegro*, f. 233; K. Hassert, *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, f. 66; William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its successors, 1801-1913*, Cambridge, University Press, 1913, f. 142, 143; *Naučno delo*, Posebna izdanja, Vol. 4-8, Beograd: Etnografski Institut. Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1952, f. 101 ("Када, за владе Петра I, црногорску држави приступе Белопавлићи, па после и остала Брда, онда је, званично, „Црна Гора и Брда").

⁸ Radmila Petrović, *Zakonik Petra I, vladike crnogorskog. Istorisko-prava rasprava*, separat nga: *Zapisi*, knj. IV, 1929, f. 15. M. Pantić noticed that the Montenegrin leaders just by calling "brothers" the inhabitants of Brda, underline the differences that existed at that time between them. In fact, integrating these populations into the Montenegrin state did not turn out to be an easy process. It was accompanied by conflicts and clashes with the authority of the Montenegrin state, in which the diverse ethnic-religious affiliations played an important role. To be mentioned is the so-called "Montenegrin Night of St. Bartholomew", December 28, 1702, when an unheard play was ordered on the Muslim population of Crnagora by the Great Vladik, Danilo Njegush.

country, and "brdjanë", for the inhabitants, at first thought to be Slavic words, came into official use, becoming part of the geo-political terminology of Montenegro⁹. Following the Slav authors, they were borrowed by foreign historians and researchers who took an interest in the history and ethnography of Montenegro, and of the Balkans in general¹⁰.

However, we should say that the name "Brda" would be *anabsurdum* if we would relate it to the Slavic word "brda". In fact, this word means a "hill" (german *Hügel*, french *colline*)¹¹. On the contrary, Brda, from Palabardh (Bjelopavliq) on the northwestern corner, to Kuç, in the other southeastern corner, there is a very mountainous province, with ridges over 2500 m, and where the Komi i Kuçit stands out, "*roi des montagnes*

In addition, only a few years after they united with Montenegro, the Kuçit tribe rebelled in 1843 after the abolition of the privileges and the imposition of taxes by the Montenegrin government. See: Miroslav Pantić, *Književnost na Crne Gore i Boke Kotorske od XVI do XVIII veka*, Beograd: Srpska književna zadruka, 1990, f. 28-29; J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Dalmatien und Montenegro, mit einem Ausfluge nach der Herzegowina*, f. 233-234; Bernhard Schwarz, *Montenegro. Schilderung einer Reise durch das Innere*, Leipzig: Paul Froberg, 1883, f. 436.

⁹ Jovan Tomić, *Crna Gora za morejskog rata (1684-1699)*, Beograd, 1907, f. 159-160; Gligor Stanojević, "Pokret Brdskih i Albanskih plemena uoči Kandiskog rata", nē: *Istorijski Zapisi*, god XIII, knj. 17, nr. 3, 1960, f. 513-516; *Po ai*, "Crnogorska i Brdska plemena u vrijeme austrijsko-ruskog rata protiv turske (1735-1739)", *Istorijski Zapisi*, XIX/3-4 (1962), f. 377-398; Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Stara Crna Gora. Etnicka prošlost i formiranje crnogorskih plemena*, Beograd: Sllovo Ljube, 1978, f. 81, 363, 484; Rajko Veselinović, "O rezultatima polemike o metodu dokumentacije i o etničkim postulatima jedne odbrane radi odbrane", *Istorijski Glasnik* 3-4 (1960), f. 117, 123, 124; Miroslav Pantić, *Književnost na tlu Crne Gore i Boke Kotorske od XVI do XVIII veka*, Beograd: Srpska književna zadruka, 1990, f. 66; Branislav Đurđev, *Postanak i razvitak Brdskih, Crnogorskih i Hercegovačkih plemena*, Odabrani Radovi, Titograd: Crnogorska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, 1984, *passim*; Goran Sekulović, *Trpeljivost-Plata Ljudskosti. O Jovanu Baljeviću, prvom Crnogorcu doktoru filozofije 1728-1769*, Podgorica: Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, 2015, f. 14-16; Gordana Gorunović, "Mihajlo Lalić and Serbian Ethnology: Ethnography and Mimesis of Patriarchal Society in Montenegrin Highlands", in: *Etnoantropološki Problemi*, seri e re, viti XII, fl. 4 (2017), f. 1212.

¹⁰ J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Dalmatien und Montenegro, mit einem Ausfluge nach der Herzegowina*, f. 233; Johann Georg von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, f. 187; Constantin Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag: Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1879, f. 69; Kurt Hassert, *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, f. 50-51, 66; William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its successors, 1801-1913*, Cambridge, University Press, 1913, f. 142; Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain. A History of Montenegro*, f. 18; Tea Mayhew, *Dalmatia between Ottoman and Venetian Rule*, Roma: Viella, 2008, f. 89...

¹¹ Petar Skok, *Etimologijski Rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Jezika*, knj. I (A-J), Zagreb: Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1971, f. 204-205; Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Stara Crna Gora. Etnicka prošlost i formiranje crnogorskih plemena*, Beograd: Sllovo Ljubve, 1978, f. 776 (shih zërin "brdo malo").

de la Turquie", according to the definition of Ami Boué.¹² This forces us to look elsewhere for the meaning of the term "Brda", and certainly not in the dictionary of the Slavic language. In the latter, as stated above, this word denotes a moderate height, exactly a hill, which does not coincide with the rugged mountainous terrain of the province in question.

Meanwhile, the name of the area inhabited by the tribes of Palabardh (Bjelopavliq), Pipër, Kuç and Bratonesh, appears as "Barda" about two centuries ago in the Venetian archival sources. In October 1609, the leaders of several Albanian tribes, including Lalë Drekali of the Kuç tribe, promised the Senate of Venice that they were ready to guarantee free passage to the Venetian post from Kotor to Istanbul and vice versa, following the land route passing through Kelmend, Kuç and the "other villages of Barda" (*et altreville di Barda*)¹³. One year after, a report by the Venetian rector of Kotor, Girolamo da Molin, informed the Senate of the punitive expedition that the Bosnian Pasha had undertaken at the time against the "villages of Barda in the Albanian Mountains" (*le ville di Bardanei Monti d'Albania*)¹⁴. About 80 years later, the documents of the Venice Archive speak again of the leaders of Kuçi, Kelmendi, Hoti, Grudë, Vasojeviq, Bratonesh, Pipër and Bjelopavliq tribes, who are briefly described there as "*leaders of Barda of the Mountains of Albania*".¹⁵ In other cases, whenever they refer to the province of Barda, the documents refer to that area with the words "*the mountains of Albania*", providing not only geographical but ethnos-geographical coordinates.¹⁶ However, we can now say that the Venetian documents

¹² Ami Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, tome I, Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1840, f. 8, 12, 13; Kurt Hassert, *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, f. 64; Constantin Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag: Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1879, f. 69; Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Kuči, Bratonozići, Piperi. Etimološka Studija*, Beograd: Sllovo Ljubve, 1981, f. 7, 10.

¹³ ASVe, *Senato, Rettori et altre cariche: Dalmazia*, filza 8: 13 tetor 1609; *Po aty*, filza 9: 22 prill 1610.

¹⁴ ASVe, *Senato, Rettori et altre cariche: Dalmazia*, f. 9 (1610): Kotor, 7 shkurt 1611.

¹⁵ ASVe, *Prov. Terra Mar, b. 360: Antonio Bernard's report, General daily proof of Dalmatia and Albania, Zara, 31 March 1688*.

¹⁶ "*I popoli Cuzzi, Clementi et altridei Monti d'Albania*", "*Piperi, Bretonozi, et altrimonti d'Albania*", "*Capi de Popoli de Monti dell'Albania*", "*genteracolta da Monti, traqualiv'entrano Piperi, Cuzzi e Trabonesich*", "*tutti li Capidelle Montagne d'Albania*". Shih: ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci: Provveditori da Terra e da Mar e altre cariche*, b. 529: Split, 18 maj 1689; *po aty*, Cattaro, 11 maj 1689; *po aty*, Split, 5 qershor 1689; *po aty*, Cattaro, 1 tetor 1689; *po aty*, Split, 10 tetor 1689; *poaty*, 17 dhjetor 1689; ASV, *Senato, Dispacci: Provveditori da terra e da mar e altre cariche*, b. 530 (1689-1690): Mirditë, 15 maj 1690.

inextricably link the name "Barda" with the concept of the mountain. Meanwhile, in the Slavic language, the word "Brda", which appeared later in written texts, means a hilly terrain, and, again, this is not related to the territory of Barda inhabited by the four tribes. For semantic and chronological reasons, the "Barda" in the Venetian documents cannot be an adaptation of the Slavic word "Brda" (hill).

Most likely it is the opposite, and the Slavic Brda is an adapted borrowing of the noun Barda, which is the old name of the country. On this occasion, we are bringing to your attention a letter from the municipality of Kotor, ruled by Venice, written in Dalmatian Italian and sent to the Doge on June 6, 1698. By this letter the municipality requests the Doge to return to Kotor the two villages in its vicinity, *Biela and Lodenizze*, which that city had always had under its jurisdiction. While wording this letter, in one of its passages, the chancellor of the municipality finds it appropriate to translate the Slavic word "Biela" for the members of the Venetian Senate, giving at the same time its Italian version, "Bianca".¹⁷

But unlike to this letter written in Italian by the municipality of Kotor, the Slavic name of the village *Biela* is not given in Italian as well, i.e. *Bianca*, in the documents drafted in the secretariat of the Senate of Venice, and also in those drafted by the chancellery of the papal court in Rome. It is instead referred to by a word that is neither Slavic nor Italian, but which is necessarily a copy of them and has the same meaning as them: *Barda*, i.e. *Bardha*¹⁸. This is enough to conclude that *Barda* in the

¹⁷ "Riserbò la divina providenza à questi gloriosissimi tempi la gratia, e con nostra centuplicata non solo con successivi trionfi estese il suo dominio sopra Biella e Ledenizze villaggi d'antica iurisdizione della città di Catharo, ma etiamdio sopra Risano suo territorio, et adiacenze, Castel Novo suo territorio...Noi suoi descendenti stante la disposizione già seguita dalla publica autorità delli territori di Biancha e Lodenizze in benefittio e remunerazioni de benemeriti, non supplichiamo altro, che la dichiarazione che queste, cioè Biella e Lodenizze ritornino nell'antica iurisdizione de Catharo", shih: ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci: Provveditori da Terra e da Mar e altre cariche*, b. 539: Kotor, 6 qershor 1698.

¹⁸ ASVe, *Sen. Mar*, f. 39 (marzo-agosto 1568): March 30, 1568 (*villa di Barda territorio di Cattaro*); ASV, *Senato III (Secreta): Cattaro*, f. 6 (1655): April 30, 1655 (*villa di Barda*). Marko Jačov, *Spisi Kongregacije za propagandu vere u Rimu o Srbima, 1622-1644*, Zbornik za Istoriju, Jezik i Knjizhevnost srpskog naroda, Beograd: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, 1986, nr. 33, f. 49, before October 29, 1625: (*villa di Barda*); *Ibid*, no. 177, p. 281, Split, February 1, 1637. However, outside the administration of the Venetian state and Papal court, some Italian traveller prefers to call that village *Bianca*. See: Giuseppe de Brodmann, *Memorie politico-economiche della città e territorio di Trieste della penisola d'Istria, della Dalmazia fu Veneta di Ragusi e dell'Albania ora congiunti all'Austriaco Impero*, Venezia dalla Tipografia di Alvisopoli,

Venetian documents corresponds to Albanian *Bardha*. The example of the village near Kotor with the Slavic name *Biela*, which the Venetians translated into the Italian word *Bianca*, and even more often as *Barda*, proves entirely that by this word they understood the Albanian word *Bardha*. The relation with the archetype, i.e. with the territory of the "Barda mountains of Albania" is also clear.

In fact, in the areas inhabited by Albanians, the notion "Bardh" is often encountered on a very extensive geography and always in mountainous reliefs. Let us remember the toponyms Mali i Bardhë, near Ulcinj, Mali i Bardhë in Fushë-Bulqizë, Mali i Bardhë in Kurbin, northeast of Laç, near which there is another mountain top called Guri i Bardhë. Another Bardhë Mountain is also in the district of Berat, and another with the same name in the District of Përmet. Mali i Bardhë is the mountain that rises in front of Korab, in Dibra. Another mountain, significantly less high, is located nearby, and it is significantly called the *Red Hill*, which implies the difference in structure and size that exists between the two heights¹⁹. In the southern extreme of the Peloponnese, in the province of Mani, where an Albanian population exists since time immemorial, fed from time to time by migratory waves coming from Lower Albania²⁰, there is a mountainous territory with a powerful castle. From the XV century, this castle became the center of resistance of the Albanian inhabitants in that area against the Ottoman invaders²¹. This place is called *Bardhunjë*, and it is not a coincidence that in the other northern extreme, in the mountains of *Bardhë*, exactly in the places inhabited by the tribe of Kuçi, there is a place with a similar name, *Bardhanjë*²². Finally, it is not without interest to note the existence of a homonymous mountain, about 1500 m high, north of the Bay of Kotor, east of Mount Orjen. In the Slavic language, its name is *Bijela Gora*²³. This is an area which Slavicized since the VII century, when the newly

MCCCCXXI, f. 315: "Comune di Cattaro, delli distretti di Lustizza, Cartoli, Zuppa, Dobrota, Ledenizze, Bianca e lo Scoglio delli Stradiotti al Teodo".

¹⁹ See: *Regno d'Albania*, Rilievi dell'Istituto Geografico Militare, Firenze, 1939.

²⁰ Constantin Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, vol. I, Paris, 1880, p. 16.

²¹ Megale Elleniké Egkyklopaideia "Pyrros", tomos 17, Athenai: Pyrsos, 1931, p. 512.

²² Mark Milani, *Jeta dhe zakonet e shqiptarëve*, Tiranë: Muza, 2003, p. 39, 124; Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Kuci, Bratonožici, Piperi. Etnoloska Studija*, p. 83, 92.

²³ K. Hassert, *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, p. 54.

arrived Slavic populations of the Zaklums, Kanalites and Tërbuns²⁴ started to assimilate the old Illyrian-Roman population. Such a phenomenon is not proven to have occurred in the areas south of the Bay of Kotor, in Diokle, where the old Illyrian-Roman population continued to prevail for many centuries²⁵.

The name *Bardhë*, which includes the settlements of Bjelopavliq, Pipër, Bratonesh and Kuç, is not the only Albanian name in that area. The well-known Serbian ethnographer J. Erdeljanović conducted several research expeditions in those areas, and the number of Albanian toponyms, macro and micro, that he identified there, is really impressive²⁶. Erdeljanovic finds it difficult to accept that these toponyms are related, however, to an Albanian presence there, and insists on emphasizing, for example, that the Kuçi tribe "is one of the largest Serb tribes in Montenegro". But he is forced to admit that this tribe "has no affiliation with any other Serb tribe"²⁷. From time to time he speaks of

²⁴Konst. Porphyrogenetus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik, Translated in English. R. Jenkins, Budapest, 1949, p. 153.

²⁵ Arthur J. Evans, *Antiquarian researches in Illyricum*, pars I-II, Westminster, 1883, p. 33; M. Tadin, "Les *Arbanitai* des chroniques byzantines (XI-XII siècles)", in: *Actes du XV^e Congrès Internationale des Études Byzantines*, vëll. IV: Histoire, Athènes, 1980, p. 315; Jadran Ferluga, "Byzanz und die Bildung der frühesten südslavischen Staaten", in: *Byzantium on the Balkans*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1976, p. 249; "Božidar Ferjančić, "Dolazak hrvata i srba na balkansko poluostrvo", *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloski Institut* 35 (1996), 136; Martin Eggers, "Das *De Administrando Imperio* des Kaisers Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos und die historisch-politische Situation Südosteuropas in 9. und 10. Jahrhundert", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 56 (2007) 40, 41. After underlining that Porphyrogenet (X century), rules out a potential settlement of the Slavs in Diokle, i.e. south of the Bay of Kotor (*Deukaterion*), Eggers adds that "the inhabitants of Diokle declare decisively as non serbs", and that during the slavic raids, "more than anywhere else along the Adriatic coast, in Diokle there was a great concentration of the old roman and albanian, namely Illyrian, population".

²⁶We will limit ourselves into listing some of them: Mataguzhë, Bukëmirë, Qafa e Kishës, Lisi i Kishës, Nikmarash, Gropë, Thanë-Thanza, Buzë, Brinjë, Lug, Guri i Cakut, Grop'e Thellë, Sukë-Sukëzë, Drenikë (Ndrenikë), Maja Bogdanit, Rrethi Judhisht (Shkëmbi i Ullirit, sipas Erdeljanović, Shkëmbi i Judesë, sipas nesh), Kroni Blinit, Gropa Cukajt, Bregu Ploni, Fushë t'Bubit, Gropë t'Delajt, Qaf'Suka, Kroni Luharit, Grop'e Sharofit, Rudin'e Pleqe, Fush Bardha, Grop'e Bletës, Guri Gjat, Kodra Thanina, Grop'e Ujit, Nde Kishë, Mullini, Kuqishta, Bregu Mollës, Vathnë, Shalza, Maja Kunjit Djegun, Strunga Vojvodës, Shpella Dhine, Maja Kunorë, Shtegu Shkurtën, Pusi Kalit, Grop Kuqa, Dhi Bala, Bar Kali, Buza Dreca, (Buzë Dreçi, P. Xh.), Gropa Pelës, Shpella, Shullan, Kotec, K'solla, Trollishtë, Drizë, Lulan, Brijeg Pelev (Bregu Pelëve, P. Xh.), Kukë, Buronjë, Kumbulla, Shkalla, Suka. See: Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Kuci, Bratonozici, Piperi. Etmoloska Studija*, botim fototipik, Beograd: SIllovo Ljubve, 1981 (treguesi i emrave).

²⁷ Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Kuci, Bratonozici, Piperi. Etmoloska Studija*, botim fototipik, Beograd: SIllovo Ljubve, 1981, p. 4.

Albanian groups and tribes as early settlers, living in some provinces since the Illyrian period. He illustrates this for example with the Luhari tribe in Fundanë, or Bukëmiri and Mataguzh in Kuç²⁸. But he always does that while trying to set the Albanian presence in recent times and ultimately reduce it to almost nothing in those territories (“The Albanians live only in the southeastern part of Kuçi”)²⁹. Gl. Stanojevic, as an historian has a better knowledge of historical sources than ethnographer Erdeljanovic. The former has come across such data, which speak clearly of the "Albanian populations in Bardhë" (*li popoli Albanesi a Barda*). Consequently, he is obliged to give a more balanced picture of the population in that region even for the centuries that are closer to our time.³⁰

In fact, as mentioned above, by the end of the XVII century, historical sources explicitly define as Albanian the tribes Bjelopavliq, Bratonesh, Pipër and Kuç (*"li popoli Albanesi a Barda"*)³¹. In addition, they place them in the context of the "mountains of Albania", a term which includes not only the mountains of Bardha, but also the other Albanian "mountains", such as the mountains of Kelmendi, Hoti, Grud, Kastrat, Shkrel, etc³². Of course, accurately identifying the populations of those inaccessible and little-known mountains was a difficult task, and not without reason contradictory claims often arise.

Thus, at the beginning of that century, in 1614, Marian Bolizza from Kotor, a well-informed and trusted person of the Venetians, defined the Kuçi tribe in the Bardha Mountain as Albanian Catholics, led by leaders Lalë Drekalı and Niko Raiku³³. However, another source in those years

²⁸ Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Kuci, Bratonozići, Piperi. Etnoloska Studija*, p. 134, 139, 161-162.

²⁹ Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Kuci, Bratonozići, Piperi. Etnoloska Studija*, p. 1, 73.

³⁰ Gligor Stanojević, “Pokret Brdskih i Albanskih plemena yoçi Kandiskog rata”, in: *Istorijski Zapisi*, god XIII, knj. XVII, no. 3, 1960, p. 513-514: “With the words *li popoli Albanesi a Barda*, we should not understand only the Albanians, but even a part of our tribes in Brda”.

³¹ Gligor Stanojević, “Pokret Brdskih i Albanskih plemena yoçi Kandiskog rata”, in: *Istorijski Zapisi*, god XIII, knj. XVII, no. 3, 1960, p. 513-521.

³² “*popoli e capi di Barda de Montii d’Albania, Cuzzi, Clementi, Hotti, Grude, Vassoievichi, Bratunosichi, Piperi e Bielopaulichi*”, ASVe, *Provveditori da Terra e da Mar*, b. 360: Zara, March, 31 1688; Marko Jačov, *Spisi tajnog vaticanskog arhiva XVI-XVIII veka*, Zbornik za Istoriju, Jezik i knjizhevnost Srpskog Naroda, II Odeljenje, knjiga XXII, Belgrade: Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, 1983, no. 118, p. 132 (Kotor, February 19, 1686). See here, Note 17.

³³ “*del rito romano: Chuzzi Albanesi commandata da Lale Drecaıou et Nico Raızcou*”, Rossana V. d’Alberton, “La relazione sul Sangiacato di Scutari: un devoto tributo letterario alla

reports that the Kuçis were already divided into "half orthodox and half Catholic" (*la metàscismatica e l'altralatina*)³⁴. Decades later, in 1699, the Kuçis turned out to have converted for the most part in the Orthodox faith, while a smaller part of them, the Triepsh, continued to maintain the Catholic faith. However, these two Kuçi groups were allies (*confederati*). However, even in 1688, Boetius considered the Kuçitribe, as well as the other Pipër tribe as Albanians³⁵.

On these grounds, modern authors consider the populations of the Bardha mountains as Albanians until late medieval times, while identifying them as being under a constant slavilization process.³⁶

In fact, the Code of Stefan Dushan (1349) itself is evidence of a programmed policy which aimed at converting "the infidels", the followers of Latin heresy, and the "semi-believers", i.e. followers of Byzantine Orthodoxy, and having them adhere to Serbian Orthodoxy³⁷. Violent measures would serve this purpose, which would range from deportation, stigmatization, execution of the heterodox, occupation and consecration of the "heretical" churches, to "re-baptism in the only Christian way"³⁸. In fact, documents from the XIII-XIV century, especially the letters full of anger exchanged between the Popes of Rome and the Nemanjic kings, in particular with Stefan Dushan, show that the policy of violently converting the Catholics and the Orthodox believers of

Serenissima da parte di un fedele suddito Cattarino", in: *Studi Veneziani*, n. s. XLVI (2003), p. 330.

³⁴ Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë veriore e të mesme në shek. XVII*, vol. I, Tirana, 1963, p. 198.

³⁵ Christophor Boetius, *Des Glantz-erhöhten und Triumphleuchtenden Kriegs-Helms Römisch-kaiserlichen Majestät*, 5. Theil, Nürnberg, 1688, p. 438.

³⁶ Vialla de Sommières, *Voyage historique et politique au Montenegro*, vol. I, Paris, 1820, p. 86; Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Kuci, Bratonožici, Piperi. Etnoloska Studija*, p. 73, 140; Kurt Hassert, *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1895, p. 65; Constantin Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I. Band (bis 1371), Gotha: P. A. Perthes, 1911; p. 152; Marie-Janine Calic, *Südosteuropa. Weltgeschichte einer Region*, München: C. H. Beck, 2016, p. 76; Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain. A History of Montenegro*, p. 3.

³⁷ A. Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, völl. IV, Paris, 1840, p. 427; Stojan Novaković, *Zakonik Stefana Dušana*, Beograd, 1898, p. 153-154.

³⁸ These measure are stipulated in articles 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 of the code of Dushan. See: P. Xhufi, "Çështje të marrëdhënieve të Shqiptarëve me shtetin serb të Nemanjidëve në gjysmën e parë të shek. XIV", in: *Arbërit e Jonit*, Tiranë: Pegi, 2006, p. 273-285.

the church of Constantinople, was implemented systematically and with visible results³⁹.

It is possible to identify ethnic assimilation processes beyond the Bardha Mountains, even in the real Zeta (Crnagora). As M. Šufflay puts it masterfully, "Zeta and Northern Albania represented a separate biological unit: they were united by the same fabric, the same Illyrian blood and the same historical vicissitudes"⁴⁰. However, a century and a half after the annexation of the lands of Zeta by Stefan Nemanjic in 1346, Pope Clement VI declared that those lands were inhabited "by Christians of different languages" (*que a fidelibus christianis diversarum linguarum in habitantur*)⁴¹. We can follow the process of alienation in a more or less linear way to its leading family, the Crnojevic family. We come to learn that, before the XV century, the Crnojevics bore the surname Jura (Gjura). In 1410, the leader of this tribe, Gjergj Jura, and his brother, Aleksii, were called "Albanians"⁴². A little later, the sources refer to the "Crnojevics otherwise called Gjurashe" (*Zernovi chi chiamadi Giurazy*)⁴³. But earlier, on October 18, 1403, the Senate of Venice had ordered an inquiry "if it was possible to talk to the Jurashevics and the other Albanians" (*possendi tractare cum Jurassevich et aliis Albanensibus*)⁴⁴. One year later, in 1404, a Slavic document mentions the two "Gjurgje e Llesh Gjurasheviç" brothers (*Đurđei Lêš Đurašević*)⁴⁵. During 1421-1430, the documents of Venice and Ragusa speak of "*domino Goicino Crnoievich*", who probably was lord in Albania (*domino in Albania*) and Albanian as well (*Goyzino*

³⁹ Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. I, Romae, 1863, no. 181, 280, 320, 355, 502, p. 129, 215, 236, 259, 348; O. Gorka, *Anonymi descriptio Europae Orientalis*, Cracoviae, 1916, p. 31; Brocardus, *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, in: *Historiens des Croisades (Historiens Armeniens)*, vol. II, Paris, 1906, p. 484-485; Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih izmjedju južnoga Slaventsva i mletačke republike*, vol. III, Zagreb, 1868, p. 264; A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia*, vol. II, Romae, 1859, p. 8-17.

⁴⁰ M. Šufflay, *Srbi i Arbanasi*, Belgrade, 1925, p. 52.

⁴¹ A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia*, tomus I (1216-1352), Romae, 1859, p. 701.

⁴²N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle*, vol. I, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899, p. 181.

⁴³S. Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih južnoga mletačke republike*, vol. IX, Zagreb, 1868-1891, p. 303.

⁴⁴*Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia* (më tej: *Acta Albaniae*), ed. L. Thalloczy, C. Jireček, M. Šufflay, vol. II, Vindobonae: Adolph Holzhausen, MCMXVIII, nr. 741.

⁴⁵*Acta Albaniae*, II, no. 788 (note 3).

Albanensi)⁴⁶. On January 1, 1428, the Senate of Venice refused to grant Venetian citizenship to brothers Gjergj and Aleks Gjuraši, "nobles of Zeta, land of Albania" (*nobelium Zente, partium Albanie*), because they had participated as Serbian citizens in the Treaty of 1426 between Venice and despot Gjergj Branković⁴⁷. That same year, brothers Aleks and Gjergj Crnojević appeared again with their first surname: *Alexio et Georgio Juras*. Once, the old surname Jura, is followed by the newer surname, Crnojević (*Alexio and Zorzi Juras and Cenovici*)⁴⁸. Finally, it is necessary to bring to our memory that in 1460, the Duke of Bosnia, Stephen, advised the Venetians to beware of the Crnojevićs and "their Albanian behavior" (*de li suoi costume albaneschi*)⁴⁹. Almost two hundred years later, in 1611, we hear of the "Albanians of Montenegro" (*gli Albanesi di Montenegro*)⁵⁰. Given the information we have presented here, it is easy to draw a conclusion on the existence of ethnic assimilation and its rate in *Crnagora*, i.e. in the areas between the Bardha Mountains and "Venetian Albania". We mentioned the religious vector, the Slavic Orthodox Church, which acted as a catalyst, bringing about the religious and cultural familiarization of Catholic Albanians with the Slavic elements. This process of religious conversion in Upper Albania, which, in the course of time inevitably led to ethnic conversion, continued in later centuries, and this is evidenced by travelers and missionaries who visited and studied those areas. Very special is the report of Father Giacini to Sospello in 1652, who wrote based on the data collected throughout Catholic Albania by other missionaries of Propaganda Fide and by himself.⁵¹ Regarding the Bardha Mountains, the object of our study, Father Sospello observes: "I do not want to deal here with Zeta near Shestan, which is part of Montenegro, where people

⁴⁶N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, I, 532; II, 191, 232; L. Thalloczy-C. Jireček, *Zwei Urkunden aus Nordalbanien*, in: *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, München und Leipzig, 1916, p. 141.

⁴⁷S. Ljubić, *Listine*, IX, 10; N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits*, I, 465.

⁴⁸*Acta Albaniae Veneta*, bot. G. Valentini, pars II, tomus 13, München: Rudolf Trofenik, 1972, no. 3169, p. 85.

⁴⁹*Acta Albaniae Veneta*, p. III, t. 24, no.7008, p. 261.

⁵⁰C. Horvat (bot.), *Monumenta Historiam Usocchorum Illustrantia*, pars II (1602-1620), Zagabriae, 1913, no. 198, p. 93.

⁵¹The first who writes about it is: T. Lewicki, *Un manuscrit inconnu du XVIIe siècle concernant l'Albanie et l'histoire des missions franciscaines dans ce pays*, extrait de la "Revue des Études Islamiques", année 1948, Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1949, p. 57; Pëllumb Xhufi, *Dilemat e Arbërit. Studime mbi Shqipërinë mesjetare*, Tiranë: Pegi, 2006, p. 37, note. 57.

practice the Orthodox rites and speak the Slavic language: the local people are not part of the Albanian nation. But I will talk about four tribes, the tribes of Pipri, Bratonesh, Bjelopavliq and Kuç. Based on their outstanding fighting skills they seem to have Albanian blood, and in fact Albanians consider them to be so. "However, since almost everyone applies the Orthodox rites and speaks the Slavic language, they can be considered more Slavs than Albanians."⁵² After him, in 1975, the bishop of Shkodra, Pjetër Bogdani, declares, and at the same time, rings the alarm on the danger of "having the Albanian language go extinct" among those Albanian populations "who lived between Turks, Greeks and Slavs"⁵³.

At the dawn of modern times, this process of ethnic assimilation had progressed irreversibly for most of the members of the four tribes in the Bardha Mountains. However, in those places and among their inhabitants, there were still remaining the names of places and people, customs, elements of language and folklore. People still preserve the legends about the origin of the Albanian demiurges.⁵⁴ For example, it was said that the leader in Bjelopavlic, Paul, was from the Dukagjini tribe⁵⁵. The Kuçi tribe still honors the legend that the founder of that tribe was from the Drekali family, a relative of Gjergj Kastriot-Skënderbeu⁵⁶. It is

⁵² "Qui taccio il trattare della Zetta contigua à Sestano, qual'è parte del Montenero del rito serviano e lingua illirica, per non esser annoverata tra la nazione Albanese. Ma favellando delle quattro popolazioni de Piperi, Brattonesi, Bielopaulovicchi e Cucchi, li quali per il loro gran valore nell' armi danno segno d'esser del sangue Albanesi e per tali dalli Albanesi sono tenuti; nulla di meno essendo quasi tutti del rito serviano e di lingua illirica, ponno più presto dirsi Schiavoni ch'Albanesi", Biblioteca Civica di Fermo: Mss. It., C. B XXX nr. 45: "Relatione Universale dell'origine e successe della missione Apostolica de Frati Minori Osservanti Riformati del Serafico S. Francesco nel Regno d'Albania. Da diverse relationi d'alcuni Padri Missionari di dette missioni raccolta, ordinata et aumentata dal P. Giacinto Sospello, anno 1652, fol. 9. We are grateful to Dr. Bejtullah Destani, a researcher and publisher of library archives all over Europe, who enabled me to have the full text of the relation of Sospello. .

⁵³ M. Jačov, *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani*, II, nr. 55, p. 377.

⁵⁴ C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, p. 153.

⁵⁵ J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Dalmatien und Montenegro, mit einem Ausfluge nach der Herzegowina*, II. Band, Leipzig: Verlag von Gustav Mayer, 1849, p. 26; William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors (1801-1927)*, Cambridge, University Press, 1936, p. 142; I. Bozic, *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. II, knj. 2, Titograd, 1970, p. 357; Branislav Đurđev, *Postanak i razvitak Brdskih, Crnogorskih i Hercegovackih plemena*, p. 80.

⁵⁶ Marko Miljanov, *Jeta dhe zakonet e Shqiptarëve*, translated by Lazër Radi, Tirana: Muza, 2003, p. 124, 125; Jovan Erdeljanovic, *Kuči, Bratonoziči, Piperi. Etnoloska Studija*, Beograd: Sillovo Ljubve, 1981, p. 137, 138.

impressive that even recently, the consciousness of being somehow different from the real Slav was instilled among the representatives of the higher social classes of Montenegrin society, even it was integrated even in the highest ranks of politics and culture of the country.

This is the case of Jovan Baljevic, born in Peleva Brijega (Pela Coast) in the settlement of the Bratonesh tribe, in the Bardha Mountains. Baljevic was a controversial figure, as evidenced by his troubled life as an adventurous politician and an author of sensational books and treatises. It is enough to mention one of them, written in Latin: *Dissertatio Philosophica de Propagatione Religionis Armata* (Philosophical dissertation on the spread of religion by war), which would have embarrassed even Pope Urban I, the ardent propagandist of the Crusades in the twentieth XI century. However, what is interesting here is that Baljevic prefers to present himself sometimes as "Albanian-Montenegrin from Bratonesh", and sometimes simply as *Albanus* (Albanian)⁵⁷.

Marko Miljanov, the "voivode" of Montenegro during the reign of Prince Nikola I Petrovic Njegos (1860-1918), is a typical case. Born in Kuç in the Bardha Mountains, he distinguished himself as a warrior in the battles against the Ottomans and became the right-hand man of Prince Nikola. A philoserbian, as much as he aspired to the unification of Montenegro with Serbia (he considered the Montenegrins to be Serbians), Marko Miljanov was an enemy of the Albanian national cause. He himself tells that when the Emperor of Austria-Hungary sent to him an emissary of his own to propose him the crown of the prince of Albania, Mark ordered that the Austrian be given 100 sticks, "even give him 101 to honor him as an important person"⁵⁸.

E. Knight sharply reasoned "Marko Miljanov, even though Albanian, became the fiercest enemy of his nation, pursuing a policy of war and aggression against his very nation, as is the case with all renegades."⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Dušan J. Martinović, *Dr Jovan Stefanović Baljević (Ili Šćepan Mali). Život i rad*, Podgorica: DOB, 2002., p. 75, 135; Goran Sekulović, *Trpeljivost-Plata Ljudskosti. O Jovanu Baljeviću, prvom Crnogorcu doktoru filozofije 1728-1769*, Podgorica: Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, 2015, p. 10, 169.

⁵⁸ Mark Milani, *Jeta dhe zakonet e Shqiptarëve*, përkth. Lazër Radi, Tiranë: Muza, 2003, p. 138.

⁵⁹ Edward Frederick Knight, *Albania, a narrative of recent travel*, London: Samson&Rivington, 1880, p. 235, 236.

And yet, as it is often the case with human beings, in old age, Marko Miljanov, "overwhelmed by the blood of his ancestors", set out to write down the impressions and memories of his life. His booklet is a sincere story full of nostalgia for life in the mountains of Kuçi, an apotheosis to the Albanian highlander and to his virtues of freedom, hospitality, honor and faith. With a pang of conscience about his political past to the service of the foreign cause, Marko Miljanov finds it appropriate to give advice or warn the Serbs, who, according to him, would only benefit from friendship with Albanians. But to win their friendship, they had to put aside their tricks and be honest with them⁶⁰.

The Bjelopavlic tribe, which as mentioned above it is thought to originate from Pali i Bardhë⁶¹, was first mentioned in 1411 during a looting attack on a caravan of merchants from Ragusa. A year later, in 1444, the Bjelopavlics were involved in a similar action, this time against the holdings of the Gjurash brothers, Stefan and Koicin Crnojevic, lords of Montenegro. The Bjelopavlics at that time were under the orders of the Venetian governor of Shkodra. This tribe was constantly mentioned in the events during 1689-1691, when the Habsburg Empire, on the one hand, and the Republic of Venice, on the other, tried to seduce and include them and the other tribes of "*Bardha in the Mountains of Albania*" in the fight against the Sublime Porte⁶². In the historical sources related

⁶⁰ "O Serbian, work with the Albanians and you will benefit. Knock on their doors and they will open. Work with true loyalty and do not rely neither on your cleverness nor on their simplicity, thinking that you can easily deceive them. If it doesn't cross their mind that you work more for your glory than their honor, don't let them stare at you with thousands of glances, exposing your tricks and deceptions. Don't bring yourself so low". See: Mark Milani, *Jeta dhe zakonet e shqiptarëve*, p. 111.

⁶¹ J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Dalmatien und Montenegro, mit einem Ausfluge nach der Herzegowina*, p. 26; William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors (1801-1927)*, Cambridge, University Press, 1936, p. 142; I. Božic, *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. II, knj. 2, Titograd, 1970,

p. 357; Branislav Đurđev, *Postanak i razvitak Brdskih, Crnogorskih i Hercegovackih plemena*, p. 80.

⁶² ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci: Provveditori da terra e da mar e altre cariche*, b. 360: Zara, March 31, 1688: (*popoli e capi di Barda de Monti d'Albania, Cuzzi, Clementi, Hotti, Grude, Vassoevichi, Brattonosichi, Piperi e Bielopaulichi*); ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci: Provveditori da Terra e da Mar e altre cariche*, b. 529: a report of Pietro Duodo, Extraordinary Proveditor of Kotor, May 11, 1689 (*tra quali v'entrano Piperi, Cuzzi e Trabonesich... e se vi s'aggiungesse... picciol squadra de Bielopaulichi, riuscirà molto più fruttuoso il servizio*). See also the reports of the Venetian governors of Dalmatia and Albania: ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci: Provveditori da Terra e da Mar e altre cariche*, b. 529: Kotor, 1 tetor 1689; *Po aty*, Kotor, 20 nëndor 1689 (*li Nixichi*,

to those events, the Bjelopavlic tribe appears with its Slavic name. However, as Father Sospello had warned in 1652, the Albanians continued to consider the Bjelopavlics compatriots and called them by their Albanian name, Palabardhë, which was its original form.⁶³ There are in fact two records which prove this saying of his. The first is a report in 1685 by the Archbishop of Skopje, Pjetër Bogdani, on the state of faith in his diocese. He mentions "the invincible peoples of Kelmendi, Gruda, Piperi, Palabardh and Kuçi"⁶⁴. In 1767, another Albanian, Andrea Doda, the Deputy Consul of Venice in Shkodra, in a letter to Pasquale Cicogna, Extraordinary Proveditor of Kotor and Albania, informed the latter of the contacts that the agents from Moscow sought to establish with Pipër, Palabardh (*Pala Barsi*), Kuçi and Triepsht⁶⁵. It should be added that the name "Palabardh" is still used in the Albanian form, even for territories that are far from the homeland of the Palabardhs and the region of the Bardha mountains. We find it in this same form in a village by the lake of Radoniq, in Gjakova (Kosovo). Another village called Palabardh (*Paugliebarado*), in Dalmatia, somewhere on the outskirts of Ragusa, is mentioned in 1694, when the Grand Council of Ragusa protested to the Venetian General Proveditor in Zadar, on the violence that a group of thieves, Venetian citizens, had committed precisely on

Brobgnazzi e Bielopaulichi e diversi altri dalli monti di Barda); ASVe, *Proveditori da terra e da mar*, b. 531: Zara, February 25, 1690.

⁶³ Biblioteca Civica di Fermo: Mss. It., C. B XXX nr. 45: *Relatione Universale...* dal P. Giacinto Sospello, anno 1652, fol. 9.

⁶⁴ "I valorosissimi popoli de' Clementi, Gruda, Piperi, Palabardi e Cuci", A. Theiner, *Mon. Slav. Merid.*, II, no. CCXXXIII, p. 218; Marko Jačov, *Spisi tajnog vaticanskog arhiva XVI-XVIII veka*, p. 136; L. Marlekaj, *Pjetër Bogdani dhe Shqipëria e kohës së tij*, Shkodër: Botime Françeskane, 2008, p. 696; Peter Bartl, *Albania Sacra. Geistliche Visitationsberichte aus Albanien*, 5: *Diözese Skutari*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021, p. 213.

⁶⁵ "Aviso V. E come li 28 del scaduto giunsero trenta Podgorizzani da cotesto Ecc.mo Memeht Passà, e portorono legato un uomo da Montenegro, che haveva mandato Czar Pietro di Moscovia per le ville con dette lettere à Pipari e à Palla Barsi (Palabardhi) e à Lusi et à Triepsti e quelle ville havevano risposto à quel Czar Piero, se si era e vero quell'imperator di Moscovia in qual si sia tempo sia; mò in aiuto per spargere il sangue per il decoro Reale e quella lettera si trovano dal Passà, e quel uomo del Montenegro si trova in arresto. Cuci non è soggetto di codesto Mecmeth Passà, ma credo che Piperi e Pallabarsi queste due ville credo che pativano de guai da cotesto Ecc.mo Memeth Passà, perche sono sotto questo comandante. La villa di Cuci e Triepsti(sic) queste due ville buttare di gente in circa tre mille persone. Ripersi e Palla Barsi, che sono soggette sotto questo comandante possono fare di genti intorno tre mille persone e più", ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato: Dispacci dai Rettori di Cattaro 1672-1767*, b. 258: Andrea Duoda për Pasqual Cicogna, Outstanding Proveditor of Kotor and Albania, Shkodra, November 1, 1767.

the inhabitants of the village of Palabardh⁶⁶. Because "Palabardh" was so widely used and in far-reaching territories, testifies that its Albanian form was primary, and that the Slavic form "Bjelopavlic" was a copy. We repeat that the appearance of the Palabardh tribe with the Slavic form of their name, Bjelopavlic, since the beginning of the XV century, shows that their Slavization had advanced considerably. This process, was also captured even in the Ottoman notebooks of that century, which have mixed Albanian-Slavic names within the same family in Palbardhe (*Vukdrag son of Gjin, Miça son of Progon, Gvozhden son of Gjin, Nika son of Stepko, Lleshi son of Radonja, Guraqi son of Gjinak, Petko son of Mlesh, Brata son of Doda, Leka son of Prishliq*). On the other hand, the name "Pali i Bardhë", which tradition shows as the founder of the Palabardh tribe, is a typical form of word formation among Albanians⁶⁷. On the other hand, the name "Pali i Bardhë", who it is supposed to have founded the Palabardh tribe, is a typical form of word formation among Albanians. Thus, by the end of the XVI century, a certain Pietro *Palicucchia* ("Palkuqi") is mentioned to be on the island of Mezzo (Lopud), near Ragusa⁶⁸. Even more, a Venetian document from 1573 provides an analogous example of the name of the Palabardh tribe. It is about the captain of a fleet of ships in the service of the Venetians, who was called *Otti Bianco*, i.e. *Hoti i Bardhë*, or *Hot Bardhi*. It could have been a war name (pseudonym), but that does not matter for the purpose of our analysis. This Hoti i Bardhë had captured the boat of a merchant from Ulcinj, which he towed to take it "for verification" to Kotor. However, in Gulf waters, the caravan was attacked by several Turkish ships from Castelnuovo, and the merchant was able to escape and reach the venetian Kotor "with only a shirt on his body". The incident took place before the summer of 1571, when the merchant in question

⁶⁶ "inoltre, nel villaggio di Paugliebardo tagliarono a pezzi Juan Rocogl, depredando tutti li suoi animali con tutta la robba di casa, che in fine incendiarono esprimendosi, ch'il tutto operavano d'ordine di Burovich. Diedimo subito parte di questi assassinii cosi enormi tanto al sopraprovveditore di Cattaro, quanto al Provveditore Generale in Dalmatia", see: J. Radonic, *Dubrovačka Akta i Povelje (Acta et Diplomata Ragusina)*, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, tomus IV, fasc. 2, Beograd, 1942, nr.DXXX, p. 322, 837.

⁶⁷ B. Đurđev, "Novi podaci o najstarijoj istoriji brdskih plemena", *Istoriski Zapisi*, knj. XVII, sv. 1, Titograd, 1960, p. 12; Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave, 1974, p. 123-124, 296.

⁶⁸ Sime Ljubic, *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia*, Vienna: Lechner, 1856, p. 233.

joined a Venetian expedition against the Turkish garrison of Lezha, during which he was killed by an arquebus shot. However, some years later, his son, Vuksan Deda (*Vuxan Dede*), sued Captain Hoti, seeking compensation from the Venetian state for the damage suffered, the loss of the ship and the goods seized by the Turks of Castelnovo. For this event he held precisely Hoti responsible⁶⁹. As it was often the case with court cases involving the Venetian state, the process must have lasted a long time. In fact, from an act in 1575 "drafted in the notary's office, below the castle of Ulcinj", we learn that Captain Hoti Bardhi (*Bianco*) had reacted to the accusation by selecting a group of witnesses, who would present his version of the event. It is interesting that in this second document, the notary, in the presence of witnesses and the captain himself under indictment, writes the name of the latter as "*Othi Bardo over Bianco*", writing both the Italian version of the surname with its Albanian original, *Bardo* = *Bardhi*⁷⁰. Apparently, these recent data

⁶⁹ "esso Capitano per forza con dette sue barche lo rimurchiò nella Bocca di Cattaro, non permettendoli pur di parlare, dove furono assaltati da sei barche da Castel Novo, et una fusta per timor delle quali esso Capitano prese la fugga con le sue barche, lassando esso naviglio con tutto l'havere in preda ad essi Turchi, non havendo tempo pur esso mio padre, et gli marinari di salvar le loro vite, non che aviar ad alcun danno; ma ridutosi in camiso à Cattaro privo de tutta il suo haver hebbe ricorso al predetto Cl.mo Proveditore, al quale presentate le giustificationi di tal fatto, et supplicando la reintegracione del danno patito...Sopra la qual fede paratosi esso mio padre si ridusse al servitio di Sua Serenità nella fidelissima sua città di Dulcigno, de dove poi andato con li Mag.ci suoi Regimenti in Alessio per far quella impresa combattendo con i Turchi, fù da una archibugiata morto, come il tutto parendo à Vra Ser., oltra la testimonianza predetta, et lettera di mano del Cl.mo Prov.tor indircciata al Capitano Otti Bianco (cfr. ketu: "Otti Bardi over Bianco", nr. 864) si può à pieno giustificare dalli ambasciatori di quella città hora sono à suoi piedi, oltra infiniti altri, et essendo io Zorzi predetto, mediante la divina gratia venuto dalli suoi servitii sano di Armata, et dovendo per la dispositione delle leggi conseguir l'amaror delle predette biave già al predetto mio padre debito, et prontamente promessogli, et ricercandolo da esso Cl.mo Proveditore, pare che mi ricusi, dove che vedendomi derelitto, privo de parenti et beni, in questi miserandi successi morti, che persi al servizio di Sua Ser., che privo d'ogni favore, salvo che dalla buona et constantissima giustitia sua, dalla quale preso ardir sono à suoi piedi humilmente ricorso, supplicando l'innata pietà et giustitia sua, si degni per li meriti et del sangue sparso alli suoi servitii del predetto mio padre far reintegrar me povero del predetto amaror di esse biave, con quel miglior modo, che all'infinita sua prudentia parerà; acciò che in tanta miseria indutto almeno con detta poca miela possi in parte soccorrere alli infiniti bisogni miei". Shih: ASVe, Sen. Mar, filza 57: Vuksan Deda's letter to the Venetian governor of Kotor, December-February 1573/4.

⁷⁰"In Christi nomine Amen. Anno nativitatìs eiusdem Millesimo Quinquagesimo Septuagesimo Quinto, Indictione tercia, die vero sabbati vigesimo secundo mensis januarii. Constituido alla presentia di me nodaro e testimonii infrascripti del strenuo D. Othi Bardo over Bianco olim capitaneo d'Albanesi a piede nella città de Dulcigno...", ASVe, Senato Mar, filza 62: January 22, 1575.

provide a solid ground for the issues presented in this work, starting with the essential issue of how the Italian name *Barda*, which is often encountered in the venetian documents during XVI-XVIII centuries, was based on the Albanian archetype *Bardha*. This proves to be the case for the deep mountainous region of present-day Montenegro, inhabited by the tribes of Kuçi, Bratoneshi, Pipër and Palabardh, and for names of villages and special people of an Albanian origin.

The Slavic term *Brda* which Serbian literary sources starting from XIX the century attribute to the region in question, is a *usus in proprius* made to the Albanian name *Bardha* (Barda), taking it away from its semantics and connecting it with a Slavic word *Brda*, which sounds almost identical to the Albanian archetype, but which in contrast, has nothing to do with the "mountain" notion which Latin sources attribute to the word *Barda* (*Bardha*). On the contrary, the Slavic word *Brda*, *hill* in Albanian, refers to a moderate height. It is not related to that deep mountainous area, which the sources in question do not hesitate to identify in detail, as the "White Mountains of Albania" (*montagne di Barda d'Albania*).

Edmond MALAJ

**MARINI ULQINI, A DIPLOMAT OF BALSHAJ FAMILY
AND ARCHBISHOP OF BAR
1396-1420**

Short biography, his testament and other documents

I

Information on Marini from Ulcinj, Archbishop of Bar 1396-1420

During our research on the presence of Albanian clergy in Ragusa during the Middle Ages, in different studies and documents we encountered a person named Marinus de Dulcinio, who was present in Dubrovnik since 1352.¹

Later on we come across another person with the same name, Marinus de Dulcinio who cannot be the same person as the first one. Marinus de Dulcinio (second) is mentioned as a resident of Dubrovnik in 1380-92. He must have been the person who later became the archbishop of Bar and was in charge of this archbishopric from 1396 to 1420. Following we are going to present some biographical data on this person.

We do not know his year of birth and do not know anything about his youth and his clerical formation. Information about him starts to appear once he entered the diplomatic service for the Balshaj family. Marinus de Dulcineo had relations with Gjergj Strazimir Balsha II² and

¹ Irmgard Mahnken, "Beziehungen zwischen Ragusanern und Albanern während des Mittelalters. Randbemerkungen zur Problematik der balkanologischen Forschung", in: *Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung*. Anlässlich des I. Internationalen Balkanologenkongresses in Sophia 26. VIII. – 1. IX. 1966. Botuar nga. Arbeitskreis Südosteuropa-Forschung bei der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft. München: Trofenik 1966, p. 368. (Burimi arkivor: DAD, Div. Canc. XVII, 43).

² Milan von Šufflay, "Kirchenzustände im vortürkischen Albanien. Die orthodoxe Durchbruchszone im katholischen Damme", në *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*. Unter Mitwirkung von Professor Dr. Konstantin Jireček, Professor Dr. Milan von Šufflay, Sektionschef Theodor Ippen, Professor E. C. Sedlmayr, Archivar Dr. Josef Ivanič, Weiland Emmerich von Karácson, K. Ung. Sektionsrat Béla Péch und Karl Thopia. Zusammengestellt

was at his service on delicate and precarious diplomatic issues.³ He had visited Ragusa for the first time precisely as the ambassador of Balsha, and falling very much in love with the city, he made a request to live there, which he was allowed and later he also acquired the titles and the attributes of Ragusa citizenship.⁴ He did not return at the service of Balsha, and so Balsha was forced to find someone else for his relations with Ragusa. From the beginning of his stay in Dubrovnik he gave his contribution to the diplomacy of this Republic. On January 16, 1380 he was sent by the Ragusa Council as ambassador to the King of Bosnia and on the same year on July 29 he was sent by the rector of Ragusa and by the aforementioned council to Ulcinj to enable the return of a Genoese brigantine.⁵

In order to meet the conditions, set for obtaining the Ragusa citizenship, which stipulated, among other things, that you had to have money, he had to sell for 50 ducats his stone house, in which he lived (*domum lapideam quam habet in Dulcinio*), to brothers Vallius and Marco Blasius, who initially gave him 29 ducats. He promised them that he would give them a notarized certificate of ownership once he had the full amount, and until then they were neither allowed to stay, nor reside, nor own this house until they paid Marin the full amount of 50 ducats.⁶

During his stay in Ragusa he had a secret correspondence with King Tvrtko of Bosnia, who gave him as a gift the small Uskoplje village in Konavle, a region of Ragusa. This was forbidden and against the laws of Ragusa⁷. This was found out and despite the attempts to convict him, the archbishop stated in Dubrovnik that he could not punish him because this was not foreseen legally in the canon law.⁸ However, he was

von Dr. Ludwig von Thallóczy. I. Band. Mit einer Landkarte. München/Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot 1916, p. 255.

³ Giuseppe Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi. Studi storici documentati del Prop. Giuseppe Gelcich*, Spalato: Tipografia Sociale Spalatina (G. Laghi), 1899, p. 179, 180, rep. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵ Savo Marković, "Marin Ivanov, barski nadbiskup 1395-1420", in: Matica. *Časopis za društvena pitanja, nauku i kulturu*, Building XIII, broj 50/ Ljeto 2012, Cetinje, Podgorica: 2012, p. 190.

⁶ *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis illustrantia*. Collegerunt et digesserunt Dr. Ludovigus de Thallóczy, Dr. Constantinus Jireček ed Dr. Emilianus de Sufflay. Volumen II (Annos 1344-1406 continens Vindobonae MXMXVIII. Typis Adophi Holzhausen, no. 410. (AAlb, II), no. 410. Following is the translated document.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 537, rep. 1.

⁸ G. Gelcich, *La Zedda ...*, p. 176. S. Marković, "Marin Ivanov ...", p. 191.

sentenced to five years of deportation⁹, during which he was not allowed to enter the territory of the Republic, on the basis that the village in question was located within some forbidden borders and the citizens of Ragusa were not allowed to take these properties from a foreign ruler.¹⁰ Gjergj Strazimir Balsha needed his services, and so on August 10, 1395, sent a request to the Small Council of Ragusa to forgive Dom Marini of Ulcinj, or at least to allow him to cross by sea or land, without trespassing on the city of Ragusa.¹¹

In 1395 he is mentioned as a canonical person of Ulcinj¹². A year later, in 1396 he became archbishop of Bar, being ordained as such by Pope Boniface IX, as *Marinus II, Archiepiscopus Antibarensis XXI*, on January 24 year 1396.¹³ In 1420 he appears again in Ragusa, where he leaves his last testament, the content of which is presented below in document no. 4.

⁹AAlb. II, no. 537, rep. 1.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹AAlb. II, no. 537. Following is the translated document.

¹²Šime Ljubić, *Listine o odnašajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike*. Skupio i uredio Šime Ljubić, Pravi Clan Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti ITD. Knjiga IV. Od godine 1358 do 1403. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti I Umjetnosti 1874, p. 350; AAlb II, no. 542. Shih edhe: I. Mahnken, "Beziehungen zwischen Ragusanern...", në *Südoesteuropa-Forschung ...*, p. 368.

¹³*Illyrici Sacri. Tomus Septimus, Ecclesia Diocletiana, Antibarensis, Dyrrhachiensis et Sirmiensis, cum eorum suffraganeis*, Auctore Daniele Farlato, Presbytero Societatis Jesu, et Jacobo Coletto olim ejusdem Societatis alumno. Venetiis, MDCCCXVII. Aput Sebastianum Coleti. Superiorem permissu ac privilegio. (Second publication, Pristina: Arbi 2004) (D. Farlati, *Illyrici Sacri VII*), p. 84.

II DOCUMENTS

1.

Contract of Sale between priest Marin from Ulcinj and brothers Val and Marko Vlashi for a house located in Ulcinj

Translated from Latin and prepared for publication by EDMOND MALAJ

“1387, 25. maii. Ragusii.

De domibus Ulcinii sitis. Presbyter Marinus de Dulcinio facit manifestum, quod ipse vendit vnam suam domum lapideam, quam habet in Dulcinio, Valli et Marco Blasii, fratribus de Dulcinio pro ducatis L, et pro parte solutionis dicte venditionis dictus presbyter Marinus confitetur habuisse et recepisse a predictis Valli et Marco ducatos

XXVIII. Et quando venient et dabunt residuum, dictus presbyter Marinus promittit eis dare et deliberare dictam domum francam ab omnibus et facere eis cartam notarii; nec in dicta domo possint dicti fratres stare nec habitare nec in potestate eorum habere ipsam domum, donec integre soluerint et satisfecerint de dicto residuo denariorum ipsi presbytero Marino.”

1387. May 25. Ragusa

On [a] house located in Ulcinj. Priest Marini from Ulcinj declares that he himself sells his stone house in Ulcinj to the brothers from Ulcinj, Val and Marko Vlashi, for 50 ducats, and in terms of concluding this sale, the mentioned priest Marini confirms that he owns and that has received 29 ducats from the abovementioned Val and Marko. Once they come and give the rest, priest Marini promises them that he will give and deliver them the house free from everything and that he will have the notary give them the certificate of ownership. The aforementioned brothers cannot stay, reside, or own the house until they pay the rest of the price to priest Marin and satisfy the latter.

2.

Documents on the punishment of Marin from Ulcinj banning him to pass through Ragusa

Translated from Latin and prepared for publication by EDMOND MALAJ

“Anno 1392, 20. februarii:

„In minori consilio ad sonum campane more solito congregato captum fuit de procedendo contra dompnium Marinum de Dulcinio pro accusa facta contra eum per ser Franchum de Baxellio pro eo, quod tenuit villas a dominis Selavonie, contra ordines Ragusii.”

“24. februarii lecta littera contra Marinum, qui „recepit, habuerit et tenuerit a condam Tvertcho rege Bossine unam villam in Canali, vocatam Vschopie, que est intra confinia prohibita quibuscunque civibus Ragusii recipere villas ab aliquibus dominis sub certa pena”; expulsus ad annos 3.”

“Die 12. augusti ibidem

„captum fuit de precipiendo dompno Marino de Dulcinio et eius attinentibus, quod non procurent amplius facere venire litteras regimini Ragusii pro franchatione ipsius dompni Marini a sententia, qua religatus fuit a civitate Ragusii per quinquennium.”

February 20, 1392: “The small council, convened upon the ringing of the bell as usual, took the decision to proceed against Dom Marini from Ulcinj, based on the accusation made against him by Fanko de Baselio, claiming that he took villages from lord of Sklavonia, contrary to the laws of Ragusa.”

On February 24, the letter against Marin was read out, deporting him for three years, because he received and took possession by a certain Tvertko, king of Bosnia, a village in Konavlje, called Uskopie, which is within the forbidden area, and as such the citizens of Ragusa, whoever those might be, are not allowed to take villages from a foreign ruler without suffering a certain punishment.

On August 12, *ibid.* The decision was taken to order Dom Marini from Ulcinj and his relevant associates not to further try to send letters to the government of Ragusa to be released from the decision taken for him by the city of Ragusa, set at five years.

3.

The Small Council of Ragusa voting on the plea of Gjergj Strazimir Balsha to allow Dom Marin from Ulcinj to pass through the territory of the Republic.

Translated from Latin and prepared for publication by EDMOND MALAJ

1395, 10. augusti. Ragusii.

De Ragusinorum cum Georgio

II. Balšič et Radič Crnojevič

relationibus.

In minori consilio more solito congregato, in quo fuerunt ballote VIII^{or}(!), prima pars est de deliberando, si volumus portare ad maius consilium petitionem, quam facit dominus Georgius de Strazimerio per eius ambassiatoem per litteras de credencia, faciendi gratiam dompno Marino de Dulcinio, quod pro serviciis dicti domini Georgii possit transire per nostrum comitatum per terram vel per mare non intrando in civitatem, non obstante sententia relegationis per quinquenium lata contra eum.

August 10, 1395

On the relations among the Ragusans, Gjergj II Balsha and Radic Crnojevic

The Small Council convened as usual has 9 votes. The first case to be considered is whether we need to send to the Large Council the plea made by lord Gjergj Strazimir through his credence letters delivered by his ambassador, with regard to pardoning Dom Marin from Ulcinj.

With the aim of serving to the abovementioned lord Gjergj, Dom Marin is allowed to pass through our territory on sea or land without going inside the city, despite the five-year sentence against him.

Source: AAlb. II, no. 537.

4.

Testament from Marin of Ulcinj

Translated from Latin and prepared for publication EDMOND MALAJ

In the document we have generally used the plural form, the so-called *Pluralis Maiestatis*, even when there is only one person, thus observing the language of the document. In those cases, when the author of the document uses the first person singular, the original is also observed, using in English also the first person singular. Marini, archbishop of Bar, died on January 17, 1420, after serving for 24 years as head of the archbishopric of Bar, and was buried as he had willed.¹⁴

ex lib. Testamen. Publicæ Notariæ Rhacusine descriptum.

In Christi nomine. Amen.

1420. die 12. Januarii.

Nos Marinus Dei & Apostolice Sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Antibarensis, & Diocleensis existentes infirmi corpore in decrepita etate Ragusii fecimus ultimam meam voluntatem ac ultimum testamentum.

In primis volumus & consequenter ordinamus, quod dentur pro decimis & primitiis unus ducatus. Item volumus quod Venerab. Presbyteri, qui portabunt corpus meum ad sepeliendum, habeant singuli grossos 6. sepultus cum honore. Volumus quod D. D. Canonici habeant Pontificale meum, & Fraternitas Presbyterorum, qui fecerint me sepelire in loco honesto, habeant yperperos 12. & Crucem meam.

Item volumus quod Iconia nostra panatur supra ubi sunt Reliquie in Ecclesia S. Marie.

Item volumus quod detur. Presbytero Parvo Vasculum, quo tenetur Crisma & oleo sancto. Item volumus quod detur V. Abbati S. Jacobi de Viscniza una mea clavis de baratino. & similiter Caputeus, ut ipse Abbas teneatur dicere Missas ordinatas S. Gregorii, pro anima mea.

Item volumus quod dentur Presbytero Johanni de Dulcigno una nostra tunica

Based on the testament notebooks of the Public Notary of Ragusa.

In the name of Jesus, Amen.

1420, on the day of January 12.

[We] Marin Archbishop of Bar and Diokle by the Grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See, being weak and sick and old, we are expressing our last will and doing our last Testament in Ragusa.

First we desire and command as is customary to give a ducat for tithes and primates. We also want the honored priests who will carry my body to the grave to each have 6 *grossi* as an honor.

We would like that all canons have my liturgical book, and the brotherhood of the priests that shall bury me in the holy place have 12 hyperpyrons and my cross.

We also want our icons to be placed on top, at the relics in the church of Saint Mary. We also want to tell Presbyterian Parvo to keep the container where the Chrism** and Holy Oil are stored. I also want the very revered abbot of St. James of Vishnica to be given a chlamydia of mine [a Baratino*** type] including the hood, so that the abbot says the regular masses of St. Gregory for my soul.

We also want to give to presbyter John of Ulcinj a dark tunic of mine and a

¹⁴*Ibid.*

* Chrism is the holy mixed and perfumed oil used in the sacraments of baptism, chrism mass etc. – E.M.

** *Baratino* might be the place where Chlamydia was produced. It turns out that a locality called Baratino is located in Belarus, near Minsk. – E.M.

*** The Latin word *gonella* is translated to *fustanella*.

schura, & una gonella, & unus Caputeus, ut debeat dicere Missas S. Gregorii, & ut roget Deum pro anima nostra. Item volumus quod dentur Clerico Andree famulo nostro una Capscia, & unus pulcrus superpeliceus, & aliqui libri, qui sunt in ipsa d. Capscia, & lectum, & ducati 3. que omnia sibi, assignavi in vita nostra, pro quibus rebus teneatur Deum orare pro anima nostra.

Item volumus detur Psalterium meum Monasterio Sancte Marie de Castello, Item volo quod detur Matheo de Bizia meum Messale, si ipse voluerit solvere yperperos 10. pro tracta pro anima mea. De aliis rebus, que inveientur, vendantur, & dentur pro anima nostra. Sunt tres annulos, volo quod habeat Decussa unum, & Nicholetta alterum, & Catherina suarum filiarum quod habeat tertium; & quartum est argenteum detur Cristoforo.

Item volumus, & ordinamus nostros Procuratores, & Epitropes generales in hujusmodi, & in omnibus aliis rebus utcumque nobis spectantibus Vener. Viros & Dominos Mattheum de Georgio, & Mattheum de Ragnina Canonicos Ecclesie Ragusine, & Presbyterum Joannem de Dulcigneo, & Presbyterum Matteum Parvulum. Totum fiat ad voluntatem. De hac autem¹⁵

fustanella^{***} and a hood, so that he too says the masses of St. Gregory and pray to the Lord for my soul. We also want to give to clergyman Andre, our parish priest, a chest and an upper veledun and any book located in the aforementioned chest, the bed and 3 ducats, which we hand over to him alive, so to keep them and pray to God for our souls.

We also want to give my psalter to the Monastery of St. Mary of Castello. We also want to give my missal to Matheo de Bicias, if he agrees to give 10 perpyrons for my soul. Other items found, be sold and be given for our soul. [There] are three more rings and I want Dekusa to have one and Nicolette the other and the third Catherine with her daughters, the fourth which is of silver be given to Christopher.

We also want and command our general procurators and epitropes [guarantors] to act similarly for all our other things that belong to us: the honorable men Mateo de Georgio and Mateo de Ragnina, canons of the Church of Ragusa, Presbyterian Gjon from Ulcinj and Presbyterian Mateo Parvulo. Everything be done as willed. On this one...

¹⁵ This is where the will ends and Farlat seems to have found only this version of the document, because he writes “*Desund caetera; □ haec praetereasubduntur*”, i.e. “other [data] are missing or have been ignored”. D. Farlati, *Illyrici Sacri VII*, p. 84.

^{***} The Latin word *gonella* is translated to *fustanella*.

Gjon BERISHA

THE RELATIONS OF GJERGJ II STRAZIMIR BALSHA WITH THE REPUBLIC OF RAGUSA

Trade, customs and insurance of commercial activity, are key in the history of relations among the Albanian Balsha family, in particular Gjergj II Strazimir, and the commercial Republic of Ragusa from the end of the XIV century to the beginning of the XV century. On the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic Sea, Ragusa, the city of Dubrovnik today, was the most important neighbor bordering the holdings of the Balshaj families. Both had mutual substantial interests in mutual cooperation.

On the other hand, for the Republic of Ragusa the Principality of Balshaj represented the closest area of activities, its most important commercial interests and the potential of expanding commercial activity on the Albanian coast. Our aim in this study is to present the determining role of trade on the diplomatic relations in the region, focusing in particular on its role on the communication between Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha and Ragusa from the time he came to power in 1385, until his death in 1403.

Less than half a year after coming to power as head of the principality, to aid these relations, Gjergj II issued a charter in favor of the Ragusans, which confirmed the friendship and commercial freedoms. The structure of trade is not the purpose of this paper, so it will not be the subject of our discussion. A special research is needed on this subject.

The political events in the Southern Adriatic that took place from the end of the 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century, provide the context for the historical relations among the Balshaj Family and Ragusa. With some minor fluctuations, these relations, always under the influence of commercial interests, were characterized as quite good, as evidenced by numerous documents.

Historiographical data on the political relations between the Balshaj Principality, specifically the Albanian Balsha family, and Ragusa during the given period have not been sufficiently treated on separate studies.

On this topic there are numerous published¹ or unpublished materials by the State Archives in Dubrovnik (*Reformationes, Lettere e commissioni di Levante dhe Diversa Cancellariae*).² So far some synthetic works and articles have been published which have dealt with only some of the general issues targeting more the economic relations of the Balsha family³, but not specifically the economic relations among Gjergj II Strazimir and the city of Ragusa. In general, in the Albanian historiography, the relations of medieval Albania and the Balsha princes with the Republic of Venice have a special place.⁴

¹Published: Mihailo J. Dinić, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke republike II*, Beograd: SANU, 1964; Nella Lonza & Zdravko Šundrica, *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390-1392*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik: 2005; Nella Lonza, *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1395-1397*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik: HAZU 2011; *Burime të zgjedhura për historinë e Shqipërisë*, vol. II (VIII-XV centuries), prepared by A. Buda, I. Zamputi, K. Frashëri, P. Pepo, Tirana State University, Institute of History and Linguistics, Tirana: 1962.

²Not published, in: *Hrvatska-Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku (HR-DADU), Reformationes*, vol. XXIV-XXXI; HR-DADU, *Lettere e commissioni di Levante*, vol.I-IV; HR-DADU, *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. XXVI-XXXIV; and the *charters of Balshajs* in: HR-DADU, Vienna inventory (*fondi Beč*).

³One of the most fundamental works on the history of the great Arberian Balsha family of princes, is the work of the scholar from Kotor: Giuseppe Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi: studi storici documentati*, Spalato: Tip. Sociale Spalatina G.Laghi, 1899. This work was also published in Albanian a few years by the title: Giuseppe Gelcich, *Zeta dhe Dinastia e Balshajve*, translated by Laura Leka, Tiranë: SHB "55", 2009. Some other studies that have indirectly dealt with this issue have been made by Serbian and Croatian authors, such as: Jorjo Tadić, *Promet putnika u starom Dubrovniku*, Dubrovnik: Turističkog saveza u Dubrovniku, 1939; *Istorija Crne Gore II/2* (red. Ćirković, S., Božić, I., Bogdanović, D. & V. Đurić), Titograd: 1970; Ivan Božić, *Nemirno Pomorje XV veka*, Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1979; Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808. Deo I, Od osnutka do 1526*, Zagreb: Nakladni zavod MH, 1980; Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, "Zetski primorski gradovi u svetlu dubrovačkih izvora", në *Srednjovjekovna istorija Crne Gore kao polje istraživanja: bornik radova sa okruglog stola Istorijeskog Instituta*, vol. 3, Podgorica: Istorijiski Institut Crne Gore, 1999; Marijan Premović, "Trgovački odnosi Zete i Dubrovnika od 1385. do 1403. godine", në *Acta Histriae* Vol. 26, Issue 3, Koper: 2018, p. 889-890.

⁴Luan Malltezi, *Qytetet e bregdetit shqiptar gjatë sundimit venedikas: 1392-1478 (aspekte të jetës së tyre)*, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tirana: 1988; Luan Malltezi, "Shkaqet e luftës së Balshës III kundër Republikës së Venedikut në 20 vjetët e parë të shek. XV", in *Studime Historike*, no. 2, Tirana: 1980; Injac Zamputi, "Autonomia e qyteteve shqiptare të principatës së Balshajve dhe pasojat negative të pushtimit venedikas: fundi i shek. XIV- fillimi i shek.XV", in *Studime Historike*, no. 3, Tirana: 1980; and the more in-depth research monograph: Pranvera Bogdani, *Balshajt: Lufta e principatës së Balshajve dhe sundimetarëve të tjerë shqiptarë kundër Venedikut në 20 vjetët e parë të shekullit XV*, The Academy of Albanian Studies, Institute of History, Tirana: 2018.

Therefore, this study is an attempt to analyze and expand the existing data based on the resources of the Dubrovnik State Archive and relevant literature.

At the beginning of the 1470s, upon its expansion, the Balshaj Principality became one of the most powerful feudal states in the Albanian territories. After the conquest of Ulcinj, Bar, Shkodra, and Shirgji pier, and the eventual capture of Budva in 1367, the Balshajs began to control the activity of foreign traders across the Adriatic, including the activity of the Ragusans.⁵

The empowerment of the Balshajs and their foreign policy with Venice, and with Nikola Altomanovic in the north and other neighbors, in time attracted the attention of the Ragusans, who were closely following these developments. After making sure that this empowerment was not going against the interests of the Ragusa people⁶, Ragusa tried to attract and have the Balshajs defend its commercial interests, by giving to the three ruling brothers the Ragusa citizenship in 1361⁷. Ragusa became even more interested in the Balshajs, especially after Nikola Altomanovic was defeated by a new alliance, formed in the meantime by the Bosnian feudal lord Tvrtko I and Serbian ruler Lazar Hrebeljanović. They managed to drive Nikolla out of the coastal lands and reach the borders of Ragusa and Balshaj Principality. Under those circumstances Ragusa hastened to take advantage of the friendship with the Balshajs. In 1373, Gjergj I Balsha, who had now become head of the family after the death of Strazimir (1372), went to Ragusa and there he was granted rule over three Dalmatian provinces: Trebinje, Konavlje and Dračevica, which lay to the north of Kotor and very close to Ragusa.⁸ Gjergj I assured the people of Ragusa of his friendship and alliance with a solemn act signed in the cathedral of Ragusa, Santa Maria Maggiore, on November 30, 1374.⁹

⁵P. Bogdani, *Balshajt: Lufta e principatës së Balshajve ...*, p. 48.

⁶G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, p. 104.

⁷*Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, vol. I, Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë: Toena, 2002, p. 301.

⁸Konstantin Jireček, *Die Handelsstrass en und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag: Verlag, 1879, p. 22-23; *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, college Tholloczy, L.- Jiriček, C. - Sufflay, E., vol.II, Vindobonae MCMXVIII, doc. no. 372. (*Acta Albaniae II*); G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, p. 99, 105; P. Bogdani, *Balshajt: Lufta e principatës së Balshajve ...*, p. 49.

⁹G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, p. 105.

In the charter issued in 1373, Gjergj Balsha I had promised to help and protect the Ragusans with all his might. This was an indication of the extent of the assistance he could give them. If his friendship were to suffice to provide Ragusa with protection against the attacks or strikes from Nikola Altomanovic, then the common enemies to be guarded against were Venice, the municipality of Kotor and Tvrtko, the Ban of Bosnia. By this agreement, Gjergj Balsha I saw the possibility of extending his principality in the given circumstances, himself driven not so much by economic interests, which were reduced to an annual tribute, but from the strategic opportunity to provide the northern borders of the principality with a more thorough protection from the Bosnian Serbian threat.¹⁰

The rivalry between Ragusa and Venice, which had been dominant in Dalmatia since the beginning of the 13th century, ended in 1358 with the triumph of the Hungarian armies. The peace treaty with Venice was signed in Zadar, in May 1358. This treaty made a positive turn in the history of the Republic of Ragusa. Since all the cities of Dalmatia had recognized the Hungarian crown, Venice renounced its claims to "all of Dalmatia from the middle of the Kvarner to the borders of Durrës" ("... toti Dalmacie a medietate scilicet Quarnarii usque ad confines Duracii...").

By this time, the Venetians had lost Dalmatia and Ragusa. Although the Dalmatian cities and the coast were occupied by the Hungarians, Ragusa was able to maintain its independence under the protection of Hungary. This agreement confirmed Ragusa as part of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. With this status, Ragusa managed to strengthen its position and develop maritime trade. Another important change that ensued from the events of 1358 was the number of city ports in Ragusa. As soon as the last Venetian navigation element left Ragusa, the government ordered the four ports to merge into a single port. This eventually gave the city a greater status, which had slowly grown from a medieval municipality (Municipality of Ragusa) to a sovereign republic

¹⁰P. Bogdani, *Balshajt: Lufta e principatës së Balshajve ...*, p. 50.

(Republic of Ragusa) and had started to build independently relations of foreign policy with regional rulers,¹¹ including the Balshajs.¹²

The Senate, composed of thirty to forty prominent nobles, was undoubtedly more important than the city councils with regard to politics in Ragusa and its international relations.

The Republic of St. Blaise was now free from the Venetian navigation restrictions. Although this did not bring a great momentum to Ragusa maritime trade, the removal of the barriers imposed by Venice undoubtedly opened up new opportunities. One such opportunity came in 1373, when the Ragusans received from the Pope a limited license to trade with "infidels" in Egypt and Syria.

Obtaining the papal permit, with all its limitations, was a considerable success for Ragusa traders due to the wealth of the foreign market and high value of goods that could be imported from there. This also evidenced the greatly increased ability of Ragusa to navigate distant lands, a fact further confirmed by the numerous permits given to individual Ragusa merchants from the Holy See during 1370-1380 to sail in the lands of the "infidels".¹³

It is important to underline the coincidence of this new access of Ragusa to the sea with the beginning of the problems in the Balkan Peninsula. The situation in this area began to change rapidly for two main reasons: the sudden death of Stefan Dusan in 1355 and the beginning of the penetration of the Ottoman Turks into Europe. At this time, the Balsha family was on good terms with the citizens of Ragusa, as evidenced by the numerous charters of the Balsha brothers¹⁴: the charters of Strazimir, Gjergj I and Balsha II, on January 17 and June 27, 1368; the charter of Gjergj I Balsha on November 30, 1373¹⁵ and May 30 (considered to originate during 1374-1376)¹⁶ the charter of Balsh II on

¹¹Bariša Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th centuries: A City Between East and West*, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972, p. 39, 72-73; Zdenka Janeković-Römer, *Višegradski ugovor temelj Dubrovačke Republike*, Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2003, p. 67.

¹²V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika...*, p. 152-158.

¹³B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th centuries...*, p. 42-43.

¹⁴HR-DADU, fondi *Beč*, no.1018; DAD, *Prilozi arhivskim serijama* IVa, 50; DAD, *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol.XXI, fol.57r.

¹⁵HR-DADU, fondi *Beč*, no.1022.

¹⁶*Ibid*, no.1042.

November 20, 1379¹⁷ and April 24, 1385,¹⁸ the charter of Gjergj II on January 27, 1386,¹⁹ issued for the city of Saint Blaise.

At the time of its greatest empowerment and expansion, the Balshaj state had to face with the increasing attacks of the Ottoman invaders. In the autumn of 1385, an Ottoman army, under the command of Hajredin Pasha, managed to penetrate the southern borders of Balshajs while heading to Vlora. In the battle that took place in Savër, the forces of Balsha II suffered a loss, and he himself fell on the battlefield. Balsha II's grandson, Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha, managed to save from the former state a part of the possessions of Zeta. The efforts of Gjergj II, at the beginning of his reign, to strengthen ties with the Republic of Venice met with the indifference of the latter. Consequently, the Albanian prince drew closer to the neighboring Republic of Ragusa.²⁰

From the beginning of his rise to power, Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha, in order to strengthen his rule and to continue the policy of his predecessors, as a young and diligent gentleman contacted the Republic of Ragusa asking for financial assistance in the form of a loan. On December 5, 1385, Ragusa decided not to approve the loan, perhaps not to risk his own capital.²¹ But since it was the first gesture of honor and to make the rejection easier for the new lord of Zeta, they decided to send him a gift of 500 ducats. The gift in question consisted of a bright red cloth, four pieces of fine cloth from Florence and other pieces of common cloth.

¹⁷*Ibid*, no.1025.

¹⁸*Ibid*, no.1027; Franc Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica spectantiam historiam Serbice, Bosiae, Regusii*, Vienne: Apud Guilelmum Braumülle, 1858, p. 177, 183-186, 193, 202-203; Stojan Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka*, Beograd: Štampano u Državnoj štampariji kraljevine Srbije, 1912, p. 189-190, 192, 196-198; Tadija Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, sv. XIV, *Listine godina 1367-1373, Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, Zagreb: JAZU, 1916, p. 110, 554; Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*. Knj. I, Dubrovnik i susedi njegovi. Deo 1, Beograd: SKA, 1929, p. 104-107, 109-110; Božidar Šekularac, *Dukljansko-zetske povelje*, Titograd: 1987, p. 159-173.

¹⁹HR-DADU, *Beč fund*, no.1028.

²⁰*Historia e Popullit Shqiptar ...*, vol. I, p. 304.

²¹“*Die V decembris 1385 - Prima pars est de excusando nos ambassiatoribus d. Georgii de Balsa de imprestito pro sui parte postulato. Secunda pars de respondendo per nostros ambassiatores ellectos ad dictum dominum*”, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXVI (1384-1386), fol.52r; G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, p.151.

They would have to go to Ragusa as a family in a well-equipped war brigantine (brighintino).²² The Ragusa authorities decided to give these gifts during a state ceremony, which was usually reserved only for crowned rulers. Gifts as a diplomatic message showed respect, trust, love, friendship and peace.²³ The Florentine cloth was of a very high quality and very much demanded in the market of that time. These fabrics matched the needs of Mr. Zeta, his interests and tendencies. The type of gift, its value, and the manner of delivery are very important to understand Ragusa's diplomatic nonverbal communication, and such a gift is in fact a meaningful symbol.²⁴ By the end of May 1388, the Senate of Ragusa decided to send to the Bosnian ruler, Tvërtko I, a gift of fabrics (2 glowing fabrics and 2 thin fabrics from Florence).²⁵ If we compare this gift with the value of the fabrics given to Gjergj II, we see that the value of the gift for Tvërtko was much smaller, which means that Ragusa tailored the gifts according to its own interests and political mission.²⁶

The gift was to be delivered by the representatives who would facilitate the negotiations and enable the achievement of the mission goals. The change of the leadership of Zeta required the confirmation of previous engagements. Ragusa was seeking a new charter as soon as possible, which would reconfirm all of the free trade privileges and guarantees previously obtained from the predecessors of Gjergj II Strazimiri.²⁷

²²“*Die VII mensis decembris 1385 - Prima Prima pars est de emendo pro dictis VC duc. pro presentando dicto d. Georgio unam pecciam iscarleti de grana fini et ipeccias IIII panni fini de Cumis vel de Florencia et totum residuum de aliis pannis bonis circha duc. XXX pro peccia. [...]* Prima pars est quod nostri ambassiatores ituri ad d. Georgium predictum mittantur cum una barcha bona in bandis et cum alia sine bandis. Secunda pars quod mittantur cum brighintino armato cum I remo pro quolibet bancho. Captum per XI.”, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXVI (1384-1386), fol.52v; 55r.

²³Zdravko Šundrica, *Tajna kutija Dubrovačkog arhiva I. dio*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik: HAZU, 2008, p. 143.

²⁴Dušanika Dinić-Knežević, *Tkanine u privredi srednjovekovnog Dubrovnika*, Beograd: SANU, 1982, p. 63.

²⁵“*Die XXVII maii 1388 ... de donando d. regi Bosne per nostrum ambassiatores pecias II pani de grana et II de panno fino florentino*”, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXVII (1386-1388), fol.126v-127r.

²⁶Valentina Zovko, “Diplomatski ceremonijal – Važan oblik komunikacije u pregovorima oko proširenja dubrovačkih granica”, nê *Radovi za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, sv. 55, Zadar: 2013, p. 20.

²⁷HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXVI (1384-1386), fol.55r; G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, p. 151-152.

In this context, on January 13, 1386, Ambassadors Symon de Bona and Jacomo de Gondola departed from the port of Ragusa. The Ragusa delegation stayed for a month in the court of Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha, and returned to Ragusa on February 11 of the same year,²⁸ only after securing rights to tax exemptions: such as full exemption from customs duties in Danja, free export of cereals against a completely insignificant tax, including all rights they had enjoyed until then. The length of stay and the results of the mission were considered by the Ragusans to be the most fortunate of events, also evidenced in the document. In appreciation, the official of the Senate of Ragusa recorded this event as special news on the first page of the Book of the Council (Reformationes), even though the book was almost complete.²⁹

Given that the stay of the delegation in the Balshaj court was relatively long, the protocol of the Ragusa diplomats was specified in detail. All details were discussed in advance and if there was any change by chance, the delegates could not act at their discretion but had to seek new instructions. However, the policy of the diplomats of the Republic of Saint Blaise, during their visits, was in the service of their commercial interests. The available documents do not fully inform us of the content and talks between the ruler of Zeta, Gjergji II, and the envoys of Ragusa. In addition to gifts, the representatives of Ragusa had the task of choosing words of kindness for the interlocutor. During the talks, the envoys had to make efforts to win and create a favorable atmosphere that would stimulate negotiations. They knew well what they would say and the manner they would express themselves at the first public meeting. They were obliged to ask him about his health only if he was ill.

One of the most important things during the talks was to highlight the good relations and friendships with the other predecessors and relatives.³⁰

Based on the memorable impressions of the ambassadors it can be thought that they too were subjects of a magnificent hospitality by the

²⁸“*Die 14 Januari Ser Symon de Bona, ser Jacomus de Gondola fuerunt ad D[ominum] Georgii de Balsa et optinuerunt poveglias quas portaverunt cum bullis eiusdem. Redierunt die XI feb[ruarii] eiusdem anni*”, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXVI (1384-1386), fol.1r; 58r; G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, p. 152.

²⁹Cfr.: HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXVI (1384-1386), fol.1r.

³⁰Zdenka Janeković Römer, “O poslaničkoj službi i diplomatskom protokolu Dubrovačke Republike u XV. Stoljeću”, në *Zbornik Diplomatske akademije*, br.4, Zagreb: 1999, p. 196-199.

new lord of Zeta. In the charter of January 27, 1386, unlike his predecessors, who held the simple title Lord of Zeta or similar titles, and despite not managing well the territories, Gjergj II assigned himself more solemnly a more important title: "The believer in Christ and the absolute lord of all Zeta and coastal lands." In Ragusa, he was simply called the lord of Ulcinj, and the honorary ceremony organized by the ambassadors of Ragusa was a diplomatic protocol aimed at securing commercial rights, which they obtained in the end.³¹

As such, the diplomatic mission of the Ragusan ambassadors in the court of Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha went well and ended successfully. As a result, on January 27, 1386, in Shkodra, Gjergj II issued a charter³² for the citizens of Ragusa, through which he confirmed the friendship and freedom of free trade. This charter provided the Ragusans with benefits that were much broader and even more favorable than the previous ones. In token of good relations between him and Ragusa, Gjergj II did not receive only gifts. Fabrics were one of Ragusa's important export products. Several times expensive fabrics were sent to Zeta as a gift to Gjergj II Strazimir. The Small Council of Ragusa (July 8, 1389)³³, decided to give Gjergj II a bright red cloth and 2 pieces of fine cloth. The Grand Council in Dubrovnik decided on November 31 and December 1, 1395, to send to lord of Zeta a gift of various fabrics, on the occasion of the wedding of his niece.³⁴

The charters of 1385 and 1386 settled also the issue of the Ragusan ships which could be damaged in the territory controlled by the Balshajs. The first charter stated briefly that no one in the territory should take anything or disturb in any way the damaged [wrecked] ships of Ragusa.³⁵ Unlike the previous charters of the Balshajs, the charter of 1386 has two

³¹ G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi* ..., p. 153.

³²HR-DADU, fondi *Beč*, no.1028. This charter was published several times: P. Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica*..., p. 203-204; S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*..., p. 198-200; LJ. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*..., p. 110-111; B. Šekularac, *Dukljansko*..., p. 173-177.

³³Dinić-Knežević, *Tkanine u privredi*..., p. 63.

³⁴ "Die ultimo octobris. In ultrascripto maiori consilio, ballote ... est de faciendo dona domino Iure Strazimerii pro sponsallibus que est facturus de quadam nepte sua et de mittendo dicto Iure eius filium per brigantium nostrum minorem", "... est de faciendo dona domino Georgio Strazimerii pro sponsalibus neptis quam modo maritat, videlicet de media peçcia panni de schirlato, de media peccia panni de grana et de duabus fodris martirum vel fuinarum", HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXX (1395-1397), fol. 116r.

³⁵HR-DADU, fondi *Beč*, no.1027; S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*..., p. 197-198.

new provisions expanding Ragusa's freedoms of trade. The first provided that the authorities of the Lord of Zeta would not cause any harm both to them or to the goods of the Ragusan ships sailing along the Zeta coast, and provided guarantees for the safety of goods. If someone happened to take or damage the goods, the damages would be compensated by the treasury of Gjergj II. The second provision applied to salt trade.

Salt was an extremely important product for the trade of the Republic of Saint Blaise. It was essential for feeding people, animals, preserving meat, fish and processing meat products. As an essential product, it generated considerable incomes for the citizens of Ragusa. Zeta was mainly a livestock country and the saltworks on the coast provided the salt that it needed. In the territories between Neretva and Buna salt trade was mainly concentrated in four markets (Drijevo, Dubrovnik, Kotor and St. Sergius). The Ragusans disagreed with the existence of numerous salt markets, maintaining a monopoly on this product. Under this provision, Gjergj II vowed to favor the salt market by not allowing salt to be sold in any other area except for the ones mentioned.³⁶ Thus, the "old love" between the citizens of Balshajs and Ragusa pledged in the charter of 1385 by Balsha II, was reasserted by Gjergj II in the charter of 1386.

A considerable amount of trade among Ragusa, Kosovo and other regions deeper in the territory took place in the territories owned by the Balshajs. In this regard, the customs in Danja was an important landmark.³⁷

It was located near the end of the Drini River, an intersection of roads from Shkodra and Lezha leading to Prizren, and further to Kosovo and Skopje. Therefore, the issue of the customs in Danja was a very important point for the relations between the Balshajs and Ragusa. The charter of January 17, 1368 was precisely because of the customs the Balshajs had established in Danja. Other sources show that the Balshajs, in addition to the existing obligations for goods transported by sea, tried to impose customs duties on goods transported by land.³⁸

³⁶HR-DADU, fondi *Beč*, no.1028; S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici...*, p. 198; L. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma ...*, p. 63, 95.

³⁷The Market of Danja was under the rule of the Balshajs until the end of 1392, and then passed under Ottoman rule from 1393 to 1395. George II Strazimir Balsha managed to liberate St. Shirgj from the Ottomans, but he did not have the strength to hold it and handed it over to the Venetians.

³⁸In 1377, the Ragusans claimed that customs duties paid in Danja in the past applied only to goods transported by ship. "*Primieramente sovra lo fatto delle usance antiche, chi vol saver, il*

In the charter of 1373, Gjergj I promised the Ragusans that he would not impose customs duties which did not exist during the time of Stefan Dušan, in exchange for a traditional annual tribute (tribute for the Day of St. Demetrius) as long as he would rule over the coastal region near Ragusa.³⁹ The city of Kotor did also give such a tribute to the Balshajs. In the charter of November 20, 1379, Balsha II, among others, regulated the payment of custom duties and confirmed the status they enjoyed under his brother, Gjergj I. This act stipulated that traders in Ragusa could export cereals, but at the same time, they had to pay a customs tax which previously was in the amount of two dinars per bag, and “pay in Danja and Kriva Reka as much as they paid when My brother, Lord Gjergj, was alive.”⁴⁰ The charter of 1385 stipulated that the Ragusan merchants pay nothing in Danja, neither custom duties, nor taxes for ships, as they did not pay in the time of Stefan Dušan and Gjergj I. This exemption from customs duties was reconfirmed in the charter of 1386, in which Gjergj II ordered that “customs duties be paid nor in Danja, neither in any other area of my territories. They should continue to be as they were in the time of Dusan⁴¹”.

The very geographical position of the Balshaj state and the importance of the customs in Danja, and of the other customs, forced the Ragusan authorities to constantly seek confirmation of the privileges they had in association with them.

It appears that the exemption from customs duties was regulated in reciprocity. By agreement, the Balsha Lords and their associates did not pay customs in Ragusa. Although trade and diplomatic relations were good and successful, nevertheless, at certain periods of time these relations diminished and fluctuated. Due to regional conflicts and war, the epidemic of plague, the establishment of new customs and attacks on Ragusa traders, small trade disruptions occurred especially in 1395, 1396, 1397 and 1403. According to the records, robbery of traders and their goods was the most common phenomenon. In 1386, the Ragusans

debi dir che al Dangno, quando se parecava cum ladia, se pagava grosso uno per zascuna salma, et quando se trasia senca ladia non se pagava nienti”, Istorija Crne Gore II/2..., p. 46.

³⁹HR-DADU, fondi *Beč*, no.1022; S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici...*, p. 192.

⁴⁰HR-DADU, fondi *Beč*, no.1025; S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici...*, p. 196.

⁴¹HR-DADU, fondi *Beč*, no.1028; S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici...*, p. 198; L. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma...*, p. 63, 95.

complained to Gjergj II that his merchants robbed the grain from their ship.⁴² A clash took place again sometime before April 1396. The merchants of Ragusa were concerned, as they had been robbed by the men of Gjergj II. Immediately after this event, misunderstandings arose regarding some customs duties on butter which was being sold in Ragusa and which was owned by the Lord Zeta. In their letter on April 7, 1396, the Ragusans tried to convince Gjergj II that they had never charged any taxes on him or his citizens. In response to the customs duties on butter, the associates of Gjergj, on 12 May 1396, confiscated again the goods of the Ragusan merchants on the grounds of customs duties.⁴³ On November 28 of the same year, the Ragusa Senate discussed the case.⁴⁴

In February 1397, the Ragusa authorities again asked Gjergj II to abolish the illegal collection of customs duties.⁴⁵ One month later, they again protested to the lord of Zeta over the payment of customs duties for oil.⁴⁶ The dispute ended only in December 1398, when Ragusa merchants were allowed to sell their goods in the markets of Zeta. The customs were active in 1403. After the death of Gjergj II, on April 18, the representatives of Ragusa, who visited to give condolences, took the opportunity to ask Helena to abolish the newly established customs in Ulcinj.⁴⁷

As mentioned above, the spread of epidemics, especially plague, stagnated the commercial activities and the relations between the Balshajs and Ragusa. In times of epidemics, the surveillance of foreigners visiting the Republic of St. Blaise became more pronounced. To prevent the spread of the plague, the Republic of Ragusa banned several times its traders from going to Zeta. The Small Council, on April 1, 1391, decided not to allow ship owners and their crew, citizens,

⁴²“*Die ultimo martii...de conquerendo comuni Dulcinii et domino Georgio de ingrato (?) modo servato per Dulcinatos in accipiendo frumentum nostro navigio quod ibi fuit frumento honusto.*”, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXVI (1384-1386), fol.64r; *Acta Albaniae II*, doc. no.394.

⁴³ *Ibid*, no. 554.

⁴⁴ “*In minori consilio more sollito congregato captum fuit quod omnes illi qui habuerunt mercancias et res in garavano, cui garavano fuit ablata per vim gabella contra ordines et pacta etc. per dominum Georgium Strazimerii, et de qua gabella facta est querella et eorum propinqui non possint interesse un iudicio determinationibus fiendis super dicta querella*”, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXX (1395-1397), fol.45r.

⁴⁵L. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma ...*, p. 112-114.

⁴⁶*Acta Albaniae II...*, doc. no. 584.

⁴⁷HR-DADU, *Lettere e commissioni di Levante*, vol. IV (1403-1410), fol.12r.

believers or anyone else, to go to Budva or Ulcinj because of the plague, which was said to have spread in those places. The ordinance also prohibited entry into Ragusa, for all those wishing to come to the city from the areas of Budva and Ulcinj. The document also stated that violators of this ordinance would be fined up to 100 ducats.⁴⁸

On June 7, 1392, the Republic forbade entry of traders from Ulcinj and other places where the plague had spread.⁴⁹ Again, on June 11, the Small Council issued a decision which stipulated that all persons coming from Ulcinj or other countries affected by the deadly plague, must be sent to the island of Malonto (port and settlement south of Cavtat), and be warned that they cannot reside for at least one month and at a distance closer than 1 mile in any part of the Ragusa district, except for Melita (Mljet).⁵⁰ In the first half of September of the same year, Matheus de Georgio and his brother Nalchus, with the guidance of the City Council, went to Ulcinj, with the mission of informing the Senate of the city of Saint Blaise on the presence of the plague.⁵¹ Upon their return on

⁴⁸ “*Kalendis aprilis MCCCCLXXXI... Ser Nicolao de Mençe, ser Petro de Saracha et ser Marino Martoli de Bucignolo, officialibus ad procedendum et providendum contra venientes de locis pestiferis in minori consilio more solito ad sonum campane congregato, ex auctoritate hodie habita a maiori consilio, datum fuit arbitrium et libera auctoritas vetandi quibuscumque de districtu Ragusii patronis, marinariis barcharum et aliis quibuscumque hominibus et personis, cuiusvis condicionis existant, quod non vadant nec adhere presummant modo aliquo ad loca aliqua vel contratas positas a Budva usque Dulcinium propter pestem que dicitur esse in illis locis et partibus, et similiter vetandi quibuscumque et undecumque sint venientibus de dictis partibus et locis, quod non intrent in Ragusio, et pro dicto eorum officio exercendo ponendi penam et penas quibuscumque eis videbitur pro observatione predictorum a ducatis centum infra pro singulo cui aliquid preceperint occaxione dicti officii et singulla vice.*”, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXIX (1390- 1392), fol.13v; Lonza & Šundrica, *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390-1392...*, p. 153.

⁴⁹ “*...Ulcinj et ad alia loca ubi sit pestis...*”, HR-DADU, *Diversa Cancellariae*, vol. XXX (1392-1394.), fol.112r.

⁵⁰ “*Die XI iunii in minori consilio additum fuit quod ubi supra datur terminus XV dierum, quod sit terminus unius mensis standi extra, et quod venientes de Dulcinio vel de aliis locis pestiferis non possint stare a Malonto citra I milliario versus ponentem in aliquo loco per totum districtum Ragusii, includendo etiam Melitam in districtu predicto.*”, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXIX (1390-1392), fol.29v.

⁵¹ “*Ser Matheo de Georgio in dicto minori consilio facta et data fuit gracia et licencia quod possit ire Dolzignum, ita tamen quod ibidem non vigeat pestis, et quod si intrabit Dolzignum et ibidem esset pestis ... Ser Matheo de Georgio seu ser Nalcho eius fratri facta fuit gracia quod possint ire Dolzignum et ibidem in terram descendere, verum si mortalitas ibi non sit, et si pur vellet descendere in terram et esset mortalitas ibidem, quod possit descendere, sed stet ille qui ex ipsis fratribus iverit per unum mensem extra Ragusium et districtum. Et in eius reversione defferatur sacramento ipsi ser Matheo vel ipsi ser Nalcho, videlicet quis eorum iverit, an pestis*

September 26, 1392, they informed that the city of Ulcinj was in a death grip because of the plague.⁵²

During 1386 and 1388 the Ottoman armies commanded by Shahin Bey, undertook several military campaigns against Bosnia. Citizens of Gjergj II Strazimir participated also in these expeditions supporting the Ottomans, because of the hostilities they had with the Bosnian king Tvërtko. The news given in October 1386 of this expedition of the Turkish armies, caused fear in Ragusa as well. The Grand Council instructed the Senate and the Small Council to collect money from debtors or to sell some common goods in order to stop the Ottoman threat and send representatives to all countries. Immediately, Ragusa sent representatives to Tvërtko and Gjergj II. The Small Council elected two special officers to look after the defense of the city "provisores pro facto Turchorum" and two others to oversee the defense of the city of Stagno (near the city of Ragusa).⁵³

The Ragusa authorities wanted at all costs to avoid armed war by using diplomacy, negotiating with Gjergj II in order to eliminate the Ottoman threat. Within a short time, the Ragusans gathered a great deal of information from their merchants and envoys, so that they were convinced that Gjergj II had influence over the Ottomans, since he, at this time, was in alliance with them. On August 10, 1388, the Senate appointed priest Marino Bucignolo, resident of Ragusa, ambassador to Ulcinj.⁵⁴ For his part, Gjergj II Strazimir appointed Çani, son of Philip Barelli, ambassador to Ragusa. However, while the talks were being held, the Bosnians managed to defeat the Ottoman army near Trebinje and capture a considerable number of Albanians, citizens of Gjergj. They were not sold as slaves due to the intervention of the representative of

fuert in Dolzigno vel non, et de hoc stetur sacramento illius qui iverit ex ipsis fratribus. Et si non descenderet ibidem in terram, quod possit venire libere in Ragusium.", HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXIX (1390-1392), fol.52v.

⁵² "Die XXVI septembris 1392. Suprascriptus ser Matheus fuit reversus a Dulzigno et se presentavit et iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia corporaliter, tactis scripturis, quod in ipsa terra Dulzigni hodie non viget mortalitas". *Ibid.*

⁵³M. J. Dinić, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke ...*, II, p. 480; Ivan Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku*, Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1952, p. 9.

⁵⁴"*Prima pars est de mittendo unum nuncium domini Georgio de Balsa pro facto Turchorum... est de mittendo dominum Marinum ad dictum dominum Georgium... est de dando arbitrum consilio minori faciendi commissionem domini Marini et expediendi ambaxiatam...*", HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXVII (1386-1388), fol.85v.

Gjergj II in Ragusa.⁵⁵ On 22 August 1388, Chanino di Filippo Barelli advised the Ragusans, for their own good, to release the war refugees from Albania as soon as possible.⁵⁶ Apparently the mission of Çani had good results since on August 26, Ragusa influenced their release and decreed a ban on the sale of Albanians as slaves in its own country.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the mission of the representatives of Ragusa and Gjergj II, Marini and Çani, was also successful, which was a good opportunity to restore very good and special relations between the two countries. We notice that as early as September 5, 1388, the Ragusa authorities asked Gjergj II Strazimir to send to Ragusa a trusted representative to discuss about the movements of the Ottoman armies⁵⁸. Even though we do not have records as to what information the Ragusans received about the movements of the Ottoman armies, we can assume that the service of Gjergj II in favor of Ragusa was useful. We base this assumption on the fact that very soon we notice unexpected close relations between Gjergj II and the Ragusans. The ambassador of Gjergj II Strazimir, Çani Barelli, appeared in the Senate of Ragusa on October 12 of the same year, and was received with all honors reserved for high personalities. Upon his return to Ulcinj, he conveyed to his master the deep gratitude that the Ragusans had for the Balsha family for the endless honors they had enjoyed from them until then. The Republic of Saint Blaise was grateful to lord of Zeta for preventing the Ottoman commander Shahin from attacking Ragusa in 1388. As a token of gratitude, they granted him the highest right, the Ragusa citizenship. Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha received

⁵⁵ G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi* ..., p. 166.

⁵⁶ "Die XXII augusti. Rogatorum ballota XIII. Prima pars est de presentando Çaninum filium Philippi Barelli, qui venit in ambaxiatorem pro bono et utilitare nostra tractanda super facto Turchorum, usque ad summam ducatorum XX", HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXVII (1386-1388), fol. 87v; M. J. Dinić, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke* ..., II, p. 440; P. Bogdani, *Balshajt: Lufta e principatës së Balshajve* ..., p. 55. More on the mission and activity of Filippo Barelli in the court of Balsha family, refer to: Gjon Berisha, "Agjenti dhe tregtari Filip Barelli në oborrin e Balshajve: influenza e tij në gjysmën e dytë të shek. XIV", in *Studime Historike*, no. 1- 2, Tirana: 2018, p. 35-54.

⁵⁷ "Die XXVI augusti. Rogatorum ballota XV. Prima pars est de faciendo libere relaxari omnes Albanenses fugientes captos per nostros Ragusinos...quod non possint vendi Albanenses in ragusio vel district per alios", HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXVII (1386-1388), 87v-88r; G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi* ..., p. 168.

⁵⁸ HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXVII (1386-1388), fol. 88v.

the Ragusan citizenship rights on October 15, 1388.⁵⁹ The citizenship that the Ragusa senate had given to Gjergj II, for special merits, was completely different from the citizenship given to some wealthy merchants or craftsmen. From its honorable citizens, in this case including Gjergj II Strazimiri, the government expected friendly support whenever needed, and in return, it provided housing as well as other services. With this act, Gjergj II and his descendants were given the opportunity to stay in the city whenever they wished. In case of danger he had to leave Zeta, he was also given a house equipped with all amenities, with the right to stay there at Ragusa's expense.⁶⁰

Indeed, since the middle of the XIV century, Ragusa, thanks to its development as a commercial republic, was having significant economic growth. As such it became attractive not only to vulnerable citizens inside its territories but also to people who wanted to achieve success. On the other hand, the city of Kotor was then affected by wars, changes of leadership (Hungary, Venice, Bosnia), blockades and internal disasters. For of these reasons, the people of Kotor were not in control of commercial activities, which were mainly conducted by the Ragusans. As a result, citizens from different parts of Albania and the coast of Zeta went to Ragusa.⁶¹ Citizens from Zeta and other parts of medieval Albania could gain the citizenship of Ragusa if they stayed for a certain period of time. In that case, they had to contribute to the well-being and prosperity of the city. Those who wanted to gain citizenship had the obligations to

⁵⁹ *"Magnificus dominus d. Georgius filius q. Stracimerii de Balsa dominus Gente etc. per d. rectorem ser Nicolaum de Gondula et suum Minus (sic) fuit acceptus et receptatus in honorabilem civem civitatis Ragusii, pro se et suis, infrascriptis conditionibus et pactis: primo, quod dictus magnificus dominus sit et esse debeat obligatus omnibus legibus, statutis, ordinibus tam factis quam fiendis in posterum ac consuetudinibus, honeribus et honoribus ac prerogativis quibus utuntur et sunt obligati alii cives Ragusia ... prefatus dominus et sui heredes possint et valeant venire Ragusium cum suis familiis, eorum bonis et rebus et eorum famulis et ibidem tute stare et immorari et inde discedere et reverti ad omne suum beneplacitum voluntatis et suorum heredum totiens quociens eis placuerit et venire, stare, redire et recedere voluerint, semper procurando et intendendo et vacando bono statui dicte civitatis Ragusii."*, HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXVIII (1388-1390), fol.4r-5r; G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, p. 168-169; I. Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska ...*, p. 9.

⁶⁰ G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, p. 169; Jovanka Mijušković, "Dodjeljivanje dubrovačkog građanstva u srednjem veku", në *Glas SANU*, br.9, Beograd: 1961, p. 90-102; Zdenka Janeković-Römer, "Stranac u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku: između prihvaćenosti i odbačenosti", në *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, vol.26, no.1, Zagreb: 1993, p. 29-34.

⁶¹ Sima Ćirković, "Dubrovnik i zaleđe u srednjem veku", në *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici: društva srednjovjekovnog Balkana*, Beograd: Equilibrium, 1997, p. 50-51.

take their families with them, buy real estate and perform all the duties and obligations like all other citizens.

Based on numerous documents issued by the Small Council, we find that this right was acquired by business people who were apparently from arber Zeta. During 1385-1403, three groups of successful merchants received the Ragusa citizenship. The first group consisted of wealthy merchants, characterized by the fact that they had no more than one generation living and working in Ragusa. The second group consisted of wealthy families, some of whom owned property. This group of merchants was engaged in trade and was present in the social life of the Republic for generations. The third group was represented by merchants of very wealthy families who were part of the associations and corporations of wealthy merchants, ship owners, financiers/bankers, respected public servants (teachers, doctors and chancellors). In the first group that gained citizenship there were many Albanian citizens from Drishti, Tivari, Ulcinj, Shtoji, Rataci etc., such as Pjetër Suma from Drishti, Shtjefën Marini from Ulcinj, Niksha, Piero Cagn and Stano from Tivar, members of the Tani family from Ulcinj⁶² and many others.

The authorities of Ragusa, due to their friendship, tried to be close to Gjergj II even in the last moments of his life. As of December 1402 his health condition had deteriorated. A mortal weakness slowly gripped him, and in the second half of March 1403 Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha remained in bed. The Primate of Ulcinj⁶³ sought the help of Ragusa doctors (March 21, 1403), who, as usual, offered him their service immediately.⁶⁴ However, his condition did not give hope for life and the treatments given to him were in vain. Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha died in

⁶²Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz južnoslovenskih zemalja u Dubrovnik tokom srednjeg veka*, Novi Sad: SANU, Ogranak u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu, Odsek za istoriju, 1995, p. 201; Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, *U predvorju vlasti. Dubrovački antunini u kasnom srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku i Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012, p. 86-87; M. Premović, "Trgovački odnosi Zete"..., p. 889- 890.

⁶³HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol.XXXII (1402-1404), fol.21r.

⁶⁴ Similar help had been sought before: Balsha II had been ill for a full year, but had recovered completely at the beginning of 1383. He fell ill, with his wife, again in October and November 1383. The Ragusans, who had always been cordial with their dear friend, sent their doctor. (G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, 237). In January 1390, George II Strazimir Balsha had health problems and so he addressed Ragusa with a request to send him a doctor. The Small City Council decided to send him doctor Albert. (Lonza & Šundrica, *Odluke 1390-1392...*, p. 103.)

the first half of April 1403. His death was announced in Ragusa on April 18. On the same day, the Small Council issued an instruction and through its representatives, Nalko and Marin de Giorgi, who left for Ulcinj, sent a letter to the wife of the deceased, Helena. The envoys of the Republic of Ragusa expressed their condolences on behalf of the people of Ragusa to the widow on the death of Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha, stating that he was loved by all people and neighbors, and that the people of Ragusa had felt very sorry for the death of "their good and special friend" (*bono et special amigo*).⁶⁵

From the representatives of Ragusa, who were visiting to offer their condolences, we learn that the issue of customs was still present even in 1403. Once in Ulcinj on April 18, the delegation was given the opportunity to seek clarification on the issue of some taxes that Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha had just imposed on Ulcinj. Ragusa's envoys to Helena reminded her of the existence of those taxes, complained about their consequences and asked her to remove them as soon as possible.⁶⁶

In the end, we might conclude that the relations between the Principality of Balshaj and Ragusa in the period of the rule of Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha, despite some small disruptions, were intensified and were relatively good. Territorial proximity and trade relations contributed to mutual economic development and influenced the gradual development of political relations. In foreign policy, the Ragusan authorities were guided by the principle of seeking the previous privileges whenever a new ruler took office. They were interested in the Ragusa with a request to send him a doctor. The Small City Council decided to send him doctor Albert. (Lonza & Šundrica, *Odluke 1390-1392...*, p. 103.)

⁶⁵ "...rectore di Ragusa cum lo nostro minor consiglio cometemo a vui Nalcho et Marino di Giorgii nobili citadini nostri, che in lo nome di dio siando vui ziunti a Dulcigno ala presentia dela magnifica dompna madopna Helena, relicta de la bona memoria de misser Georgii di Stracimiro presentade ad ella la letera di credenca che portade cum vui, quella salutadi per parte del regimento et zintili homini de Ragusio, cum quello saludo parera ala vostra descripcione (!) convegnesse et di poy seguiti como qui apreso se contene...a misser domene dio a clamare a sy la bona memoria de misser Gorgy signore vostro et nostro bono et speciale amigo, dela morte del quale condole et rincesse, quante dire se po..." HR-DADU, *Reformationes*, vol. XXXII (1402-1404), fol.34v; *Acta Albaniae II...*, no.722; G. Gelcich, *La Zedda e la dinastia dei Balšidi ...*, 240.

⁶⁶HR-DADU, *Lettere e commissioni di Levante*, vol. IV (1403-1410), fol.12r-v; Gelcich, *Zeta...*, p. 242-243.

Ragusa with a request to send him a doctor. The Small City Council decided to send him doctor Albert. (Lonza & Šundrica, Odluke 1390-1392..., p. 103.) stability of mutual relations with the Balsha family and in the continuation of the previously acquired privileges under the goal of protecting their own trade. The main trade routes on the coast and further mainland passed only through the territories of the Balshaj Principality. Therefore, the Republic of Saint Blaise concluded with the Balsha family a series of agreements, which regulated the legal status of its citizens.

On the other hand, the Balshajs were interested to cooperate with Ragusa because of many reasons, such as the friendly treatment and support that the lord of the Balshaj Principality had received, both Gjergj II and his family, the shelter provided to his family when threatened by the expeditions of the Ottoman armies, the provision and repair of weapons, the citizenship status (in 1388) given by Ragusa, the provision of doctors and health care, loans, diplomatic assistance, mediation of conflicts with the Bosnian lord, Tvërtko I, the Lords of Kotor, Gjurash family, etc. Gifts were important during the diplomatic missions between Ragusa and Gjergj II. As diplomatic messages, they were acts of non-verbal communication, and expressed mutual respect, trust and friendship. All these aimed not only at building good neighborly relations at certain moments, but also achieving tangible and long-term commercial and political benefits.

Anila OMARI

PJETËR BOGDANI, A RECORDER OF OLD WRITINGS: A LITTLE- KNOWN REPORT OF 1658

The life and work of Pjetër Bogdani is documented in several archival documents and materials and most of them are already published. D. Coleti, F. Riceputi¹, Augustin Theiner², Jovan Radonić³, Injac Zamputi⁴, Marco Jačov⁵, etc., are among the main editors Albanian History of XVII-XVIII Centuries, including also documents about Pjetër Bogdani. In particular, Luigi Marlekaj⁶ and Odette Marquet⁷ have collected the works of Pjetër Bogdani. Thanks to these documents, we can shed light to the personal and clerical life, the intellectual and political activity of Pjetër Bogdani, except for his early life in his hometown and primary school years, which are not cleared yet. Regarding his education at Propaganda Fides and Loreto Colleges, we now have the supplementary documentary records investigated by Bardhyl Demiraj. Mr. Demiraj researched the Archives of Loreto and Urban College and recently shed light into the life of Albanian scholars in Italian colleges⁸.

¹D. Farlati & J. Coleti, *Illyricum Sacrum*, VIII, Venetiis, 1819.

²A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, Romae, Typis vaticanis, 1863-75.

³J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka*, Belgrade Naučna Knjiga 1950

⁴I. Zamputi, S. Pulaha, *documents of XVI-XVII Centuries about the History of Albania*, vol. IV (1675-1699), ASHSH, IH, Tirana, 1990.

⁵M. Jačov, *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani durante la guerra di Candia (1645/1669)*, vol. 1-2, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1992.

⁶L. Marlekaj, *Pietro Bogdani e l'Albania del suo tempo*, Liantonio Editrice, Palo del Colle (Bari), 1989.

⁷O. Marquet, *Peter Bogdan. Letters and documents from the Archive of Congregation „Propaganda de Fide” as well as from the Secret Archives of Vatican*, Father Gjergj Fishta, Shkoder, 1997.

⁸B. Demiraj, “Albanian scholars at the Illyric College of Loreo”, “Shêjzat” 3-4 [2016] 48-85, p. 22; IB. Demiraj, “Biographical particles for our old authors”, Part III “Youth and Theological-Intellectual Formation of Pjetër Bogdani”, *Hylli i Drrtitës*, No. 2, Shkoder, 2016, pg. 20-34. See also the monograph *The cultural Areal of the North in the XVI-XIX century*, Onufri, 2017, pg. 248-269.

However, we cannot admit that source documents about the life and work of Pjetër Bogdani are fully examined. An important source of documents, which have been little or not at all examined, are, for example, the state archive of Venice, the archives of Ragusa, either state or religious. This paper draws the attention to a little-known first-hand document of Pjetër Bogdan, which is not included in the documentary volumes of the XVI-XVII centuries published by I. Zamputi. This report is about a canonical visit that Pjetër Bogdan, as bishop of Shkodra (elected on 6 March 1656⁹) made in 1657-1658. The historian Marco Jačov has published this report.¹⁰ A report of Bogdan on the visit to Shkodra's Diocese is dated 1684, along with other two of his reports drafted at different times, which Bogdan presented to Cardinal Cibo on 24 March 1684. August Theiner has published these documents, while Injac Zamputi and Selami Pulaha have included them in volume IV of "Documents of XVI-XVII Centuries about the History of Albania", years 1675- 1699. The first of these three reports, the one on the visit to Shkodra, may have been drafted in 1658, as it seems from documents published by Jačov. Following a comparison of the two reports, the one published by Jačov in 1658 and the one published by Zamputi and Pulaha, they are not identical copies of one-another, but have some differences. So, we can say that the report published by M. Jačov is less-known by our researchers and therefore it seemed more interesting to translate into Albanian.

The reports, that Bishops made after their regular visits to the dioceses under their jurisdiction and sent to the Holy See, are important for the history of the regions they describe, their geography, ethnography, ethnic and religious composition of the population. Additionally, they are important for the history of Catholic Church, its efforts to survive under Ottoman occupation, to fill the shortages within the church and its education, and for many other historical, social and cultural aspects that make these documents of encyclopedic value.

Even the Bogdanis' report, after his Apostolic visit to Shkodra's Diocese between 1657-1658, contains a lot of priceless data that researchers of different fields can use for their own researches.

⁹L. Marlekaj, *Pjetër Bogdani and Albania of his time*, Franciscan Editions, Shkodra, 2008, pg. 45.

¹⁰M. Jačov, *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani durante la guerra di Candia (1645/1669)*, vol. II, pg. 6-14.

Before reporting on his apostolic activity, Bogdan makes a brief description of the history and geographical extension of this diocese, the number of villages of its two major provinces- Nënshkodra and Mbishkodra- presenting also the economic, social and spiritual situation of the population under Turkish rule, the occasional uprisings of the highlanders, sometimes pushed by the governors of the provinces themselves for their own purposes, the various pressures exerted on the Christian clergy and, in this context, also the purpose of his visit to mitigate the situation of the Christian population struggling to keep their religion intact in the face of the administration pressure and the pressure of the other co-nationals already converted to Muslim religion.

Next in this report, he describes the ministries and other church activities performed during this visit, the villages and churches visited and their physical conditions, their parishioners and their personality, the number of people who received his ministries and their spiritual mood.

In these descriptions, the bishop of Shkodra also displays his vast culture and knowledge in various fields, and his attention to cultural and archaeological monuments stands out as evidence of the country's history. He pays a special attention to the Church of Sts. Sergius of Bacchus on Buna riverbank where he performed religious ministries on 31 October 1656.

Many researchers have been constantly interested to this famous church, which is documented in several medieval sources. One of the most discussed issues about this church is the time of its construction. A number of researchers are of the idea that it was built in XIII Century on the foundations of an older monastery of VI Century, but others consider this claim based on falsified data. The colleague from the Institute of Archaeology, Gëzim Hoxha, has recently made a study giving more detailed explanation, based on not only archaeological but also interdisciplinary views, of the history of the construction of the Church of St. Sergius. While examining the archaeological, geographical, historical and epigraphic records, he thinks that the fact of mentioning an old church dedicated to Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in the manuscript of the Life of Emperor Justinian, built by this emperor in the VI century, can be connected to another church, not in the Shirgj Vilage, but in Velinaj Village in the Oblique, which in older times was on Buna

Riverbank, before this river diverted its course to where it is today.¹¹ One of the most important facts, where this author based his idea for the existence of a church earlier than the XIII century, is precisely the inscription of the church of St. Sergius, registered for the first time by Pjetër Bogdani during his visit to this village.

In his report, Bogdani transcribed the inscription, engraved on marble on the façade of the Church of St. Sergius:

IN NOMINE DOMINI AMEN: EXIMIAE VIRGINIS FILIJ ANNO. DÑI.
M.CC.XVIII- .MAGNIFICUS DÑUS: DÑUS UROSIUS DEI GRATIA
RASIAE REX ILLUSTRIS, MAGNIFICI REGIS UROSIJ NATUS ... DÑAE
ELENAE REGINAE. AEDIFICAVIT HANC ECC LIAM: IN HONOREM
SANCTORUM MARTIRUM SERGIJ ET BACHI À FUNDAMENTIS
USQUE AD FINEM STANTE ABBATE PETRO DOCNE SCUTTARENSI;

*(In Nomine Domini. Amen. Eximiae Virginis Filii anno MCCXVIII,
Magnificus Dominus Urosius Dei Gratia Rassiae Rex Illustris: Magnifici
Reg; Urosii natus... Dominae Elenae Reginae Edificavit hanc Ecclesiam ad
honorem S. S. M. M. Sergii et Bachi a Fundamentis. Usque ad finem: Stante
Abate Petro*

Dioclen (Docne) Scutarensi.)

On the right outdoor wing of the church:

MEMENTO DÑE FAMULAE TUAE ELENAE REGINAE SERVIAE,
DIOCLIAE, ALBANIAE CHILMIAE, DALMATIAE, ET MARITIMAE
REGIONIS QUAE UNA CUM FILIJS SUIS REGIBUS UROSIO, ET
STEFANO AEDIFICAVIT DE NOVO ISTAM ECLĪ IAM AD
HÕREM BEATORUM MARTYRUM SERGIJ ET BACHI ET AD
FINEM USQUE COM-
PLEVIT ANNO DÑI: M-CC-L-XXXX

(Please God remember your servant Elena, Queen of Serbia, Diocleia, Albania, Zahlumia, Dalmatia and of the coastal provinces, who with her sons, the kings Uros and Stefan, rebuilt (de novo) this church in honor of the martyrs of Sergius and Bacchus, and finished it by the end of 1290).

¹¹See G. Hoxha, "A return to the history of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus on the Buna riverbank", in: *New archeological discoveries in the Albanian regions I*, Academy of Albanian Studies, Institute of Archeology, Tirana, 2017, pg. 625-722.

The archaeologist G. Hoxha after analyzing the inscription stresses the wording *aedificavit de novo* "rebuilt again", i.e., not *ex novo* "from scratch", which means that the church existed before 1290. However, the stone with the inscription, which today is in Shkodra's museum, was damaged after 1880 exactly in the place where the year was engraved, and for this reason various researchers make a different reading of the date. Therefore, the inscription transcribed by Bogdan remains, up to date, the most reliable source for the church of St. Sergius. The report published by M. Jačov dating back to 1658 is the one drafted by Bogdani immediately after his apostolic visit to Shkodra and also shows the exact time of transcription of the inscription by Bogdani. As date of registration of the inscription, the researchers usually use 1684 of the second copy of the report that Bogdani may have sent again to the Holy See or simply attached to his two other reports of different times.¹²



Fig. 3 Photos of two Shqipëria church inscriptions National Museum Tirana
 a) Museum Shkodra

Document No. 32613¹³

¹²Photos of the two inscriptions of the Church of St. Sergius, taken from the National Museum of Torana and the Museum of Shkodra, see G. Hoxha, “A return to the history of the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus on the Buna riverbank”, article cited on pg. 701

¹³Document published by M. Jačov, in: M. Jačov, *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani durante la guerra di Candia (1645-1669)*, vol. II, pg. 6-14 My translation - A. Omari.

The comments in footnotes of translated text are also mine.

Shkodra, 1658

A report of Shkodra's Bishop, Pjetër Bogdani on his canonical visit between 1657 and 1658.

In addition to the records of churches, priests and religious persons, he brings in in his report also the old inscriptions on the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, where it is evident that this church was built from its foundations from the Serbian Queen Helena and her son Uros.

Report on Shkodra in Albania

The very noble city of Shkoder, or better say the princess of the Kingdom for it is located on the borders of Albania and Dalmatia and being the prey of constant barbarian incursions usually robbing the neighboring areas, but also because of the variety of rites practiced there, which are different as it is a commercial city. It is also in constant danger because of our sacred religion.

It was occupied by the Turks around 1478 AD, and during its conquest the Turks destroyed a large number of churches and the houses of priests alienating the property with all the church's buildings, and, due to their great envy for it [i.e. the Church], they are not allowing, in any way, building houses for parishioners [and thus] priests and missionaries are living in the private houses of seculars, and for the above reasons, neither the Bishop is allowed to have a fixed place in his diocese, a disaster that has never happened with any other high clergy in this country.

That is why my predecessors- oh blessed is their memory- for the above reasons, and because they spoke another language and had different nationality, were never able to stay in their church, Therefore the late Monsignor Francesco Crutta- with the permission of the Holy Congregation- most of the time, stayed in Budva with the title of administrator. They say he has incurred not a few expenses to provide for a shelter for his successors, whom he convinced to follow him in the management task since his cathedral did not have a residence.

The same favor was not denied either to the late Father Gregorio Fascina, whom from the moment he was appointed [as a bishop] until his death stayed in [the places of] Christianity. The poor peoples whom I found in an enormous spiritual need confess not to have not seen a shepherd of their own for 16 years.

His diocese extends 60 miles in length and about 10 miles in width and ends eastward in the Drin River. It separates it from the Diocese of Sapa.

To the west it ends at Mount Marcot, which separates it from the Archdiocese of Tivar.

To the south it borders with Mount Basta and [it] divides it with the Diocese of Lezha alongside Drini on the Adriatic coast.

It borders north with Mount Bishkashi and a pile of stones is used as a border line. It separates it from the Diocese of Pult. The area is partly a very fertile field, called Nënshkodra. It is entirely owned by the Turks. The other part is mountainous and it is called Mbishkodra. Some of these parts are not subordinated to the Turks.

The field of Nënshkodra has 52 villages, a total of 1,000 Catholic households, divided into twelve parishes and 4 missions. They are very poor, but very good Catholics and devoted to the Holy See. They visit the holy sacraments diligently and they are the best Christian devotees. They are known for the bravest and well-armed men of this kingdom.

Mbishkodra has about 600 Catholic households run by only two priests whose life is endangered, as the highlanders seek the holy sacraments by the force of arms, although they are mingled in some chaotic affairs. Often, some of these highlanders' revolt against the Turks, often generating rebellions against the Province governors to rob them or to have a cause not to go to the distant wars. For this reason, he [the Governor of] Shkodra, on the pretext of protecting the city and the country from the army of Venice and from the aforementioned rebellious highlanders, stays all the time in Shkodra at the expense of his Christian citizens.

For this reason, my coming here, in these stormy times, was imperative to relieve the poor people of the innumerable calamities endured for the sole purpose of keeping their religion intact among the wicked. As a consequence, before beginning my visit, it was necessary for me to pay a visit to the Pasha and other city rulers- I was forced to calm them and other Turkish officers down. Thereafter I was free to start my visit on the 18th day of October 1656, the day of St. Luke the Evangelist.

As magnificent fair is celebrated on the same day in the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus on Buna riverbank, which according to an old custom is kept eleven days after the day of the abovementioned martyrs,

the Pasha strictly denied me to do the ministries in the church because of the great gathering of Catholics ready for uprising, therefore it was necessary to perform the ceremonies of the day in upper Trumsh, with the presence of all priests and missionaries, and the participation of the people, who was no less in number than those being at the fair 3 miles away.

After the ministries and preaching, 212 persons, both males and females, were eager to receive the sacrament of Confirmation. The priest here was Mr. Don Peter Trumshi, now a missionary in St. Shirgj and the most competent of all of them. He speaks Latin, Italian, Albanian and Slavic languages. A man of 45 years old and able to hold any kind of church office. His [priestly] garments are very old, with a tin chalice.

On 22 October of the same year, I visited the Kont Village, a mile far from the aforementioned place, where after the Mass and an inspiring speech addressed to the people, I confirmed 37 persons. These people were under the [spiritual] care of Don Mark the Count, born in the same place, a man about 35 years old, with experience in church functions, who competently stood by the members of his parish. He celebrates in private houses as there is neither a church nor a chapel; its garments are very simple and old, with a chalice and a silver plate.

On the 24th day of this month, I visited the lower Trump. Even here, as the Turks do not allow either a church nor a chapel, I celebrated in private houses, and after the usual inspiring speech to the people I confirmed 25 people. Here Don Giacomo Colomsa is the vicar- a good man about 50 years old, exercising his duty skillfully. He has a chalice and a silver plate, a pair of clothes of his own, as the village cannot provide them for him. And they begged me very much to forward to the Holy Congregation their inability to take care of the priest needs. And indeed, it would be a great charity of Your Graces if you would be willing to help them with twenty skuda a year for the priest, whom I am trying hard to keep with hope in this time of wars and plagues, which has spread throughout this diocese.

On the 25th day of this month, I visited Barbullush and celebrated in the church of St. Shtjefn [which is] very old and has a very beautiful bell; here, after the blessing of the tombs and after an inspiring speech as usual I confirmed 98 persons. Don Demetrio Giuddura and Don Theodoro Summa were the priests here. They could serve in extreme need, ordained by the late father Benedetto Ursini, Archbishop of Lezha.

On the 29th day of this month, I visited the village called Caposerpente [the Chief Serpent], celebrated in the church of St. George, where after the blessing of the tombs and the usual inspiring speech addressed to the people, I confirmed 71 persons. Don Nicolò Grubessa is the vicar here. He does not have much of the fear of God, as he claims to expand his parish at the expense of the thirds, with the help of Pasha, his close friend, because of the secret arrangements he has with him [to learn] what happens among the clergy and Catholics and [Pasha] has recommended him to me, many times, despite all the bans and church censorship that I have made against those who seek the Turkish help to obtain parishes and other church benefits.

On the 31st day of this month, I visited the village called St. Shirgj, where after the usual ministries, I confirmed 46 persons, and they had complained about the absence of the priests, and some of them had died without the holy sacraments. At the behest of the Holy Congregation, Mr. Don Pietro Trumsci was appointed missionary when his first care could have been done by the priests Don Giacomo Colomsa and Don Marco de Conti. Here is the magnificent church of the martyr saints Sergius and Bacchus, about 75 m long, 30 m wide and the same high, and it is famous for the three tombs of the Albanian kings¹⁴.

It has a very beautiful bell, which reveals the whole place from its height. It is said that per tradition, the bells are buried between the mentioned main Church and the church of Santa Veneranda, a quarter of a mile far away, and it is also said there are buried large amounts of church silverware that could not be found when the place was occupied.

Nearby are the ruins of the monastery of the Benedictine monks, who were also running the church at that time; it has the title of abbey, and it is said to have had 16 thousand Talers of income per year, but now the country is very poor as the Turks have seized all the properties.

¹⁴Serbian kings who ruled in Diocleia (Montenegro) and Northern Albania. In the Chronicle of the Diocleia's priest, though contested for its authenticity, it is said that several members of the dynasty of the Vojislav Ljević of Duklje (Dioclecia), such as Mihal I, Konstantin Bodini, Dobroslav, Vladimir and Dragina, wre buried at the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. Khs. *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 51-52, Državna Štamparija, 1988, pg. 94, in Shirgj Church in Wikipedia

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shirgj_Church,_St._3); and see A. Ndreca, "The ruins of the abbey of St. Sergius and their salvation", with a citation of M. Orbin, in *Journal* 55, 15.9.2008 (<http://gazeta55.al/rrenoijat-e-abacise-se-shën-shirgjit-and-shpetimi-i-tyne>).

The following script in old letters is engraved on the marble of the façade:

IN NOMINE DOMINI AMEN: EXIMIAE VIRGINIS FILIJ ANNO. DÑI.
M.CC.XVIII- .MAGNIFICUS DÑUS: DÑUS UROSIUS DEI GRATIA
RASIAE REX ILLUSTRIS, MAGNIFICI REGIS UROSIJ NATUS ... DÑAE
ELENAE REGINAE. AEDIFICAVIT HANC ECCLIAM: IN

HONOREM SANCTORUM MARTIRUM SERGIJ ET BACHI À
FUNDAMENTIS USQUE AD FINEM STANTE ABBATE PETRO DOCNE
SCUTTARENSI;

On the right outdoor wing of the church:

MEMENTO DÑE FAMULAE TUAE ELENAE REGINAE SERVIAE,
DIOCLIAE, ALBANIAE CHILMIAE, DALMATIAE, ET MARITIMAE
REGIONIS QUAE UNA CUM FILIJS SUIS REGIBUS UROSIO, ET
STEFANO AEDIFICAVIT DE NOVO ISTAM ECLĪ IAM AD
HOREM BEATORUM MARTYRUM SERGIJ ET BACHI ET AD
FINEM USQUE COM-
PLEVIT ANNO DÑI: M-CC-L-XXXX¹⁵

After the ceremonial celebrations on 1 November in the above-mentioned church, on the 2nd day of this month, I went to visit the parish of St. Nicholas, on top of the mountain at Buna riverbank and after the usual ministries, I confirmed 152 persons. The church has some ornaments with a silver chalice, but as the country is very poor, their vicar is helped by the mercy of the Holy Congregation, and Don Pjetër Dajçi, a good man and connoisseur of the Holy Scriptures, serves with the special approval of his people and his superior.

On the 4th day of this month, I visited the parish of St. Nicholas on the coast, on Buna's estuary, and after the usual ministries, I confirmed 290 persons, who were under the spiritual care of Don Mark Gjini- a very ignorant man ordained by the late Father Lord Benedetto Ursini, the former archbishop of Lezha.

On the 8th day of this month, I visited the village of St. George, again on the Buna riverbank, where after the usual ministries, I confirmed 150

¹⁵Marko Jačov, *Spisi Tajnog vatikanskog arhiva XVI – XVIII veka*, Belgrade 1983, 135.

persons. The vicar here is Don Thomas Harmann, 45 years old mad of noble descent, a good person and devoted to his superior.

In the following five days I visited Fshkash, Braiska, Mida, and Selita; these places are under the power of the schismatic Marcots; and as they are on the border, many of the aforementioned came to listen my sermon, and indeed this visit was of great spiritual success. The Diocese of Shkodra borders that of Tivar here. After delivering the sermon, I celebrated in each of the two aforementioned places, at last in the magnificent church of Our Lady built in 1214 in Fshkash, I confirmed 207 persons. These people are under the spiritual care of Don Gjin Troshan, born in Sapa- a man of experience in church affairs. The abovementioned parish of Fshkash has some ornaments and a small chalice and a plate.

On the 16th, I visited the parish of Samrish on Buna riverbank, celebrated in the church of St. John the Baptist and after ordinary ministries confirmed 137 people. The main church of this place is the church of the Nativity of Our Lady, well equipped with ornaments and chalices. Its parishioner is Don Stefano Bobolti, a man of good education and well-loved by his citizens. On the 17th day of this month, I visited Obot; celebrated in the church of St. Bacchus on this side of Buna riverbank in front of St. Sergius and after the sermon and the usual ministries, I confirmed 58 persons. Don Giovanni Tochesi [John Earth] is a missionary- an extraordinary man [who] diligently preaches in Albanian and takes care of his task.

On the 19th day of this month, I visited the land of Shiroka [where] I celebrated in the church of St. Mary Madeleine and confirmed 141 persons; this place, for it is adjacent to the city, suffers many insults from the Turks; here the mercy of the Holy Congregation bears Don Antonio Vladanji, as missionary, an expert in church celebrations.

In the abovementioned place, the people of Kishaj participated. Don Mark Ufa wanted to go as a missionary there, but as I found as vicar [there] Don Primo Samrishi, I confirmed him in the [spiritual] task he had, and [he] was happy to serve without any interest, depending on the real possibility.

On the 21st day of this month, dressed fancily, I visited the Catholics of Shkodra town, but as I could not celebrate the ministries in any way, I could not leave without marking the following:

At the entrance above the first gate next to the Bathroom, there were the following scripts:

M.CCCC.LXXV°: IV°: OCT:

The following inscriptions are found in the new Mosque near the damaged Bridge on a quadrate stone:

IMP.CAE
E.SEPTIM°.
SEVER.O.PER
TINACI.A.UG TR.P.IN.MD III.COST.
PP.DD.¹⁶

At the Castle Mosque, the former church of St. Stephen Patron, there is a very beautiful broken pipe organ, which the barbarians allow to be preserved as a trophy of their undertakings. And here I ended the visit of the aforementioned year 1656 for the winter came, which is harsh also because of the snow and flooding of the two main rivers, Drin and Buna.

The total of those confirmed in the aforementioned year is 1614, whose names I cannot write in order not to the Turks a cause for doubt, who with horrible measures have forbidden me to write them.

Because of his poverty, the country has no habit of giving candles as is customary in Christianity [to give] other alms for the [sacrament of Confirmation].

Year 1657

By Easter of this year, I had visited again all the above-mentioned places, delivering a sermon personally in each of the above-mentioned parishes; and after blessing the holy oil and finishing the ministry of Pentecost and Corpus Domini, on 27 June of this year I went to the village of Keselena where after the Mass and the sermon, I confirmed 28 persons. They belong to the parish of Fshkash, as noted last year.

On the 2nd day of July, I was in Barbullush, where after the Mass and delivering an inspiring speech to the people, I confirmed 85 persons who were not confirmed the previous year.

¹⁶Ibid.

On 10 July, I visited the parish of Sheldia, celebrated in the church of St. Jerome, and after ordinary ministries, confirmed 70 persons. The vicar here is Don Alexander Sheldia, a very good religious man; this place is the last place at the border with the Diocese of Sapa.

After completing the Sacrament of Confirmation for the entire Nënshkodra, I went to Trumpsh, three miles from the city. This land is a feud, or land owned by the Sultan of the house of Isuf Beg, the most powerful of this kingdom. This is the safest place to stay for an Archbishop knowing no other ruler in the country than the aforementioned one, and I would have tried to make a house to live in, but as the Turk has the habit of disrespecting the last will [testament], in order not to allow the religious people to stay in a fixed place in the territory of the city, the Catholics changed my mind, being certain that after [my] death everything done [=built] would go to the finances of the state, as had happened with the other charitable legacies when the city was occupied.

The number of people confirmed this year is 183.

Year 1658

This year too I repeated my visit for Easter seeing the great need for sermons. In each of the parishes I proclaimed full forgiveness, in accordance with the powers that God has given me with the intervention of this Holy Congregation, I tried as much as possible to get everyone the spiritual treasure that they had long lacked, because there was no one to break the bread¹⁷.

During the aforementioned spiritual practices many vices were discovered, especially [in] some who secretly had entered into [marriage] and had lived without the Holy Sacraments for more than 16 years giving birth to children. But those who understood thanks to the inspiring speeches and sermons that it was to the detriment of their souls, by getting married in church, all were reconciled, after I declared their children lawful according to the powers mentioned above.

¹⁷ Allusion to the complaint of the Prophet Jeremiah (Lamentationes 4:4): *parvuli petierunt panem, et non est qui frangat eis* (“the little ones asked for bread and there was no one to break it”).

After finishing the aforementioned practices with *Coena Domini*¹⁸ and with the sacred oils¹⁹ in the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus, I followed the ritual of cutting hair- preparing him for monk- of the clergyman Simon Bardhi, born in Barbullush, member of this diocese, about 16 years old, with good character and good expectations. He knows how to read and write. He has basic knowledge of grammar; served with me for two years and finally at my own expense was sent to the Illyric College of Loreto in the country of Albania on the other side of Drin²⁰.

The current celebrations of the Holy Resurrection were heavy for the poor Catholics because Pasha Verlaci wanted revenge for the insults that the Shkodra people had inflicted on him, He came with two thousand horses to the city on the same day as the Resurrection Sunday, and the homes of poor Catholics became home to the army. And the vicegerent of the aforementioned Pasha after robbing the church of St. Stephen in Barbullush, began to persecute me to death. For this reason, I was forced to go to Servia, where I had to go to get the provisions [rewards] of the missionaries brought every year from the gentlemen ambassadors of Ragusa, who go to Constantinople through this kingdom. So, after I left on the Easter Monday (after the army left), I returned to my church for Pentecost, distributing money among the missionaries, as is evident from the receipts they paid me upon my order.

On 2 June of this year, I visited the village called Kornj and confirmed 36 persons; this [village] together with the parish of St. George is under the [spiritual] care of Don Thomas Harman.

On the 20th day of this year, I visited Zoganji, near Ulcinj and after the ministry of Mass and preaching, I confirmed 48 people. These also are under the care of the above-mentioned parishioner.

On September 10 of the same year, I visited the village of Rmanji, close to the town, towards Mbishkodra, and confirmed 92 persons, children and adults; they had never seen the bishop.

As Father Giacinto da Sezza, a minor reformer, dedicated to Kelmend, mountains over Shkodra, wrote to me many times insisting that I should

¹⁸ *Coena Domini* ("Lunch of the Lord", according to the introduction) was a papal stamp of 1363 to 1770 that proclaimed the condemnation of the church to heresies, schisms, sacrileges, breaking the privileges of the Pope and of the church and other crimes.

¹⁹ Sacred oils are the oils used in sacraments of baptism, confirmation, last anointing, and other acts of holy communion and blessing made by a bishop.

²⁰ I.e., north of Drini, as Bogdan's visit and his field of activity includes the territories north of this river. It's about the place that was reserved for this province at the College of Loreto.

visit the abovementioned mission and [as] the peoples could not remember whether a Bishop had ever visited them, on 28 October of this year I went to the aforementioned mountains where I stayed a week preaching. And a great number of people participated, both for devotion and for curiosity, convinced that a bishop was a saint who was constantly doing miracles.

These were the most barbaric people of this nation, but they have now become the best faithful Christians in all the mountains of Albania. I celebrated with ceremonies on the day of all Saints and confirmed 265 persons, among them were some persons of hundred years old without receiving the sacrament of confirmation. It was a bit difficult but finally they were confirmed, as it appeared to them a new ceremony that should not be accepted.

For many years, Father Giacinto da Sezza was a missionary there. He was a well-known man, highly spoken, merciful and devoted, tireless in his tasks. He was about 50 years old and a good theologian. He is crying for help, and indeed four more priests and two seculars of the same religion are needed, because *Messis quidem plurima* has²¹ about 2,000 Catholic spirits under in his mission.

446 persons were confirmed this year. And a total of 2,227 were confirmed over these three years.

And this is all I was able to note in summary for a short notice of what I have been trying to do day after day spreading our sacred religion in this Diocese of mine.

I, Pieter Bogdani
Bishop of Shkodra, in Albania,
in person

Miscellanea Diverse, vol. 20, p. 208r-216v

[Under the text, a dry oval seal measuring 3,3x2,8 cm is placed. A steep staircase with six steps is in the middle and above it, a star and the bishop's cap. The inscription:] “*Petrus BOGDANUS EPISCOPUS SCODRENSIS*” surrounds it. (note of M. Jaçov).

²¹ *Messis quidem plurima, operarii autem pauci* (“The harvest is abundant but the workers are few”) Luke 10: 2.

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* * *

Relatione di Scuttari in Albania²²

La Nobilissima Città di Scuttari facilm[en]te Principessa del Regno per esser posta nelli confini d'Albania et Dalmatia non solo soggiace alle continue scorrerie de Barbari che ordinariam[en]te nelli confini depredano; ma ancora per la diversità de Riti, che sotto titolo di render la Città Mercantile varijsimi s'essercitano, stà in continua Antiperistasi circa i atti della n[ost]ra S[ant]a Religione.

Fù presa dal Turco circa gl'anni del Sig[no]re MCCCCLXXVIII et nella sua espugnat[io]ne destrussero i Turchi gran quantità delle Chiese, et tutte le Case Parochiali alienando le possessioni con tutti i Legati Pij, et continuando nella gelosia, che grand[issi]ma d'essa tengono non permettono in alcun modo siano erette Case Parochiali, convenendo alli Curati, et Missionarij habitare nelle Case private de Secolari, et per le sud[et]te ragioni al Vescovo pure non permettono habbi luogo fermo nella sua Diocesi, disgratia à niun altro Prelato simile in queste parti.

Per il che i miei Monsig[no]ri Antecessori di b[eata] m[emoria] per i sud[et]ti rispetti, et per esser stati d'altro linguaggio, et nat[io]ne mai han'potuto rissiedere nella loro Chiesa; permettendo questa Sac[ra] Cong[regatio]ne al quondam Monsig[no]r Fran[ces]co Crutta per il più starsene à Budua col titolo di Aminist[rato]re, dove s'intende habbi fatto non poca spesa per un recettacolo alli suoi successori, che persuadeva dovessero succedere nella detta Amminist[ratio]ne per vedersi la sua Cathe[dra]le priva di Ressidenza.

L'istessa gratia non fù negata al quondam Monsig[nor] Gregorio Fascina, che fin dalla sua creat[io]ne alla morte dimorò nella Christianita, si che i poveri Popoli trovati da me in grand[issi]ma necessità sp[irit]uale confessano non haver veduto proprio Pastore passano 16 anni.

Il suo Vesc[ova]to che si estende in longhezza 60 m[iglia] et in larghezza 10 m[iglia] in circa, termina dall'oriente su l'fiume Drino et questo lo divide dal Vesc[ova]to Sappat[ens]e.:

Dall'occid[en]te termina su l'Monte del Marcotti che lo divide dall'Arciv[escova]to d'Antivari.

²²The original Italian version drafted by Pjetër Bogdani and transcribed by M. Jaçov.

Dal meriggio si divide su la spina del Monte Basta, et lo divide da un braccio del Ves[cova]to d'Alessio citra Drinum alla riva dell'Adriatico.

Dal settemp[trio]ne ha per confine un'accervo di pietre su la cima del Monte Biscassi, et lo divide dal Vescovato di Polati. Il Paese parte è campagna feracissima, et è detta sotto Scuttari, perfettam[ent]e dominata da Turchi: parte sono Monti detti sopra Scuttari, alcuni de quali non soggiaciono al Turco.

La campagna di sottoscuttari numera 52 Villaggi, in tutto 1000 Case Catholiche, divise in dodici Parochie, et 4 Missioni: sono poverissimi, ma ottimi Catholici, et molto devoti della S[ant]a Sede, frequentano i S[antissi]mi Sac[ramen]ti con gran fervore et si come sono migliori fedeli Christ[ian]i cosi ancora sono tenuti gli piu valorosi, et migliori armati di questo Regno.

Sopra Scuttari pure numera in circa 600 Case Cath[olich]e governate da soli doi curati con pericolo della vita, pretendendo i Montagnoli gli S[antissi]mi Sac[ramen]ti a forza d'armi non ostante siano irretiti in un chaos di casi. Et alcuni di questi Monti spesse volte si ribellano al Turco dandosi ben spesso causa di ribellione dalli med[esi]mi Sangiachi, per poterli depredare, ò per haver scusa di non andar in guerra lontana, che per tal'effetto, quello di Scuttari sotto pretesto di deffender la Città, et il Paese dall'Armata Venet[ia]na, et da sudetti Monti ribelli stà quasi sempre à Scuttari con notabil danno de poveri Christ[ia]ni sudditi.

Per il che fù necessarijss[im]a la mia venuta in questo tempo calamitoso per sollevare i poveri Popoli da innumerabili infelicità soffrivano con la sola mira di mantenere la fede intatta tra gl'infedeli; In ordine à che essendo necessarijss[im]o prima di mettermi in atto di Visita presentarmi al Bassà et altri Potentati della Città, fui sforzato ponerli in quiete, con il rimanente d'offitiali Turchi; Per il che liberam[ent]e poi diedi principio alla Visita sotto gli 18. Ottobre giorno di S[an] Luca Evang[elist]a dell'anno 1656.

Et perchè in tal giorno si celebra una sontuosiss[im]a fiera nella Chiesa di S[an]ti Sergio et Bacco alla riva d[ell]a Boiana per uso antico solita farsi undeci giorni doppo la festa di detti S[anti] Martiri, assolutam[ent]e mi fù negato dal Bassà il far le funt[io]ni in Chiesa per la confluenza grand[issi]ma de Cath[oli]ci facilissimi alla sollevat[io]ne, onde richiedendo così la necessità celebrar in tal giorno Pontificalm[ent]e nella Terra di Trumsci di sopra con l'assistenza di tutti

i Curati et Missionarij, con interventione di Popolo, niente meno di quello fù alla fiera di 3 m[iglia] lontano.

Qui doppo le funt[io]ni et la Predica fatta da me, vennero con grand[issi]mo fervore à ricever il Sac[ramen]to della Confermat[io]ne tra grandi, et piccoli 212 persone dell'uno, et l'altro sesso. Era qui per curato il Sig[no]r D[on] Pietro Trumsci hora Miss[iona]rio in S[an] Sergio persona nobile, et il più perito tra gl'altri, possiede la lingua Latina, Italiana, l'Albanese, et Illirica di 45 anni in circa habile à sostenere qualsivoglia carica Eccl[esiast]ica. Hà i suoi parati vechissimi, con un Calice di stagno.

Li 22 Ottobre del prefato anno visitai la Villa di Conti un miglio lontana dalla sud[ett]a Terra dove doppo la Messa et una essortat[io]ne al | Popolo cresmai 37 persone. Erano questi sotto la Cura di D[on] Marco de Conti nativo del luogo persona di 35 anni in circa pratico nelle funt[io]ni Eccl[esiast]iche, e assisteva competentem[en]te alli suoi sudditi. Celebra nelle Case private per non esserci Chiesa ne Cappella; hà gli Parati molto semplici et vechi con un Calice, et Patena d'Argento.

Li 24 detto visitai gli Trumsci di sotto qui pure non permettendo i Turchi Chiesa, ne Cappella celebrai in Casa privata et doppo la solita essortat[io]ne al Popolo cresmai 25 persone. Stà qui per Paroco il Sig[no]r D[on] Giacomo Colomsa persona da bene di 50 anni in circa essercita il suo officio con molta polizia; hà il Calice et Patena d'Argento con un paro di parati proprij non arrivando la possibilità della Villa haver i suoi, et mi fecero grand[issi]ma istanza dovessi esprimer la loro insufficienza di mantener il Paroco alla Sac[ra] Cong[regatio]ne, et veram[ent]e sarebbe grand[issi]ma la carita dell'E[minenze] V[ostre] quando si degnassero aiutarli con una ventina di scudi all'anno al Paroco che sotto tal speranza à pena in questo tempo di guerre, et Peste, che per la maggior parte di questa Diocesi si è divulgata, lo tratengo.

Li 25 d[et]to visitai Barbalusci et celebrai nella Chiesa di S[an] Stefano molto antica, et hà un bellissimo Campanile; qui dopo la bened[itio]ne delle sepolture, et previa essort[atio]ne al solito cresmai 98 persone. Erano qui per Parochi il Sig[no]r D[on] Demetrio Giuddura, e D[on] Theodoro Summa, che possono servire alla necessità estrema, ordinati dal quondam M[onsigno]r Benedetto Ursini Vesc[ov]o d'Alessio.

Li 29 d[et]to visitai la Villa d[et]ta Caposerpente celebrai nella Chiesa di S[an] Giorgio dove doppo la bened[itio]ne delle sepolture et solita

essort[atio]ne al Popolo cresimai 71 persone; stà qui per Paroco D[on] Nicolò Grubessa poco timorato di Dio, pretendendo di dilatare la sua Parochia con notabil danno del terzo, con braccio del Bassà suo amicissimo per l'inteligenze secrete ch'ha seco, di quanto si opera trà il Clero et Cath[oli]ci, et me l'ha più volte raccomandato non ostante le grand[issi]me prohibit[io]ni, et censure Eccl[esiasti]che che io hò fatto contra i recurrenti al braccio Turchesco, per ottenere le Parochie et altri favori Eccl[esiast]ici.

Li 31 d[et]to visitai la Villa detta S[an] Sergio dove doppo le funt[io]ni al solito cresmai 46 persone, et lamentandosi per mancanza de curati, esser una man di Persone morte senza i debiti S[antissi]mi Sac[ramen]ti fù per ordine della Sac[ra] Cong[regatio]ne deputato per Miss[ionari]o il Sig[no]r D[on] Pietro Trumsci, potendo essere sovenuta la p[ri]ma sua cura dalli D[on] Giacomo Colomsa, et D[on] Marco de Conti. Qui stà la sontuosiss[im]a Chiesa dei S[an]ti Martiri Sergio et Bacco longa 50 passi incirca, larga venti, et altrettanti cubiti alta, è celebrima per le tre sepolture dei Rè di Albania.

Hà un bellissimo Campanile, che per la sua altezza tutto il Paese scopre. Le campane si tiene per traditione siano sepolte trà detta Chiesa Regia, et la Chiesiola di S[an]ta Veneranda un quarto di miglio lontano et si dice pure ivi esser nascoste gran quantità d'Argentarie della Chiesa, non havendo potuto estraherli quando fù il Paese soggiogato.

Stanno appresso le sole vestigie del Monast[eri]o de Frati Bened[etti]ni che han'all' hora havuto la Chiesa in governo; Hà il titolo d'Abbatia, et si dice habbia havuto 16 milla tallari d'entrata all'anno, et hora il luogo è poverissimo havendoli il Turco usurpato tutti gli beni.

Hà nel frontispitio con l[ette]re antiche inscolpite in Marmo le seguenti parole:

IN NOMINE DOMINI AMEN: EXIMIAE VIRGINIS FILIJ ANNO.
DÑI.M.CC.XVIII- .MAGNIFICUS DÑUS: DÑUS UROSIUS DEI
GRATIA RASIAE REX ILLUSTRIS, MAGNIFICI REGIS UROSIJ
NATUS ... DÑAE ELENÆ REGINÆ. AEDIFICAVIT HANC ECĀ
LIAM: IN HONOREM SANCTORUM MARTIRUM SERGIJ ET BACHI
À FUNDAMENTIS USQUE AD FINEM STANTE ABBATE
PETRO DOCNE SCUTTARENSI;

Nella costa destra della Chiesa al di fuori:

MEMENTO DÑE FAMULAE TUAE ELENAE REGINAE SERVIAE,
 DIOCLIAE, ALBANIAE CHILMIAE, DALMATIAE, ET MARITIMAE
 REGIONIS QUAE UNA CUM FILIJS SUIS REGIBUS UROSIO, ET
 STEFANO AEDIFICAVIT DE NOVO ISTAM ECLĪ IAM AD
 HÕREM BEATORUM MARTYRUM SERGIJ ET BACHI ET AD
 FINEM USQUE COM-
 PLEVIT ANNO DÑI: M-CC-L-XXXX²³

Havendo il p[ri]mo di Novembre celebrato Pontificalm[en]te nella sud[ett]a Chiesa fui il secondo d[et]to a visitar la Parochia di S[an] Nicolò sopra il Monte alla riva della Boiana et doppo le solite funt[i]oni cresimai 152 persone. Hà la Chiesa un Parato con un Calice d'Argento, et per esser il luogo molto povero vien aiutato il loro Paroco dalla carità della Sac[ra] Cong[regati]one, et è D[on] Pietro Daici huomo da bene et intelligente della Sac[ra] Scrittura, serve con particolar gusto de Popolo, et suo Prelato.

Adi 4 d[et]to visitai la Parochia di S[an] Nicolò alla Marina dove sbocca la Boiana, et doppo le solite funtioni cresmai 290 persone, questi erano sotto la cura di D[on] Marco Gini persona molto idiota ordinato dal quondam Monsig[nor] Benedetto Ursini già Vesc[ov]o d'Alessio.

Adi 8 del sud[et]to Mese visitai la Villa di S[an] Giorgio alla riva pure della Boiana, dove doppo le solite funt[i]oni cresmai 150 persone, stà qui per Paroco D[on] Thomaso Harmanni di nobile lignaggio persona di 45 anni in circa, molto da bene et devoto del suo superiore.

Nelli seguenti cinque giorni visitai Fscassi, Braisca, Mida, et Selita; questi luoghi sono verso i Marcotti Scismatici; et per esser confinanti moltissimi de sud[et]ti intervennero alla mia Predica, et innero fù di grand[issi]mo giovam[en]to sp[irit]uale tal visita. Qui confina il Vesc[ova]to di Scuttari con quello d'Antivari, et in ciascuno di detti luoghi havendo predicato, et celebrato, furono alla fine nella sontuosissima Chiesa dell'Assunta fabricata del 1214 in Fscassi cresmati 207 persone. Sono questi sotto la cura di D[on] Gino da Troscani, nativo sappatense pratico nelle funtioni Eccl[esiast]iche. Hà sud[et]ta Parochia di Fscassi un paro di parati con un piccol Calice et Patena.

Li 16 detto visitai la Parochia di Samrijsi alla riva della Boiana celebrai nella Chiesa di S[an] Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a et doppo le solite

²³ MARKO JAČOV, Spisi Tajnog vaticanskog arhiva XVI – XVIII veka, Beograd 1983, 135.

funt[io]ni cresmai 137 persone. Ha q[ues]to luogo per Chiesa principale la Chiesa della Nativita d[ell]a Madonna ben fornita di Parati et Calici. Il suo Paroco è D[on] Stefano Bobolti persona di bona edificat[io]ne, et ben voluto dalli suoi sudditi.

Li 17 d[et]to visitai Obbotti celebrai nella Chiesa di S[an] Baccho di qua della Boiana al rimpetto di S[an] Sergio, et doppo la Predica et solite funt[io]ni cresmai 58 persone. Stà qui per Miss[iona]rio D[on] Giovanni Tochesi persona molto esemplare con particolar fervore predica in Albanese, et attende al suo offitio.

Li 19 d[et]to visitai la Terra di Scirocco celebrai nella Chiesa di S[anta] M[aria] Mad[dalena] et cresmai 141 persona, questa terra per esser attaccata alla Città riceve moltissimi insulti da Turchi; Mantiene qui per Miss[iona]rio la carità della S[acra] Cong[regatio]ne D[on] Antonio Vladagni pratico nelle ceremonie Eccl[esiast]iche.

Intervenue nel sud[et]to luogo la terra di Chiscagni, dove voleva intrudersi per Miss[iona]rio D[on] Marco Uffa, ma trovando io per Paroco D[on] Primo Samrijssi, lo confermai nella d[et]ta cura contentandosi servire senza alcun interesse come veram[ent]e poteva.

Li 21 detto transvestito visitai i Cath[oli]ci della Città di Scuttari, et non potendo in alcun modo celebrare non volsi tralasciare almeno notare le seguenti Antichità.

Erano nell'ingresso su la prima porta della Pescaria appresso il Bagno le seguenti memorie:

M.CCCC.LXXV°:IV°:OCT:

Nella Moschea nova appresso il Ponte rotto in una pietra quadrata stanno le seguenti inscrit[io]ni:

IMP.CAE E.SEPTIM°.
SEVER.O.PER
TINACI.A.UG TR.P.IN.MD III.COST.
PP.DD.²⁴

Nella Moschea del Castello già Chiesa di S[an] Stefano Prott[eto]re sta un bellissimo organo disfatto, che li Barbari permettono si mantenghi per trofeo delle loro imprese. Et qui diedi fine alla Visita dell'anno

²⁴ Ibid.

sud[et]to di 1656 sopragionto dall'Inverno, che sole essere rigidissimo per le nevi, et inondat[io]ni de doi fiumi Reali, Drino, et Boiana.

Il numero di tutti i Chresmati nel d[et]to anno sono 1614, i nomi de quali non si possono notare per non dare à sospettare alli Turchi, che con tremendi prohibit[io]ni m'hanno vietato il scrivere.

Non è solito il Paese per la sua povertà dare le candele come si sole nella Christ[iani]tà altra lemosina nella confirmat[io]ne.

L'anno M.D.C.L.VII

Furono nella presente quadragesima tutti i sud[et]ti luoghi da me, di novo visitati, predicando personalm[en]te in ciascuna delle sud[et]te Parochie; et fatta la consac[ratio]ne de S[antissi]mi oglij, et finite le funt[io]ni Paschali di Pentecoste, et Corpus D[omi]ni li 27 Giugno del prefato anno fui nella Villa di Kelesena dove doppo la Messa et Predica cresmai 28 persone. Sono questi sotto la Parochia di Fscassi come nell'anno preced[en]te si notò.

Li 2 Luglio fui à Barbulusci, dove doppo la Messa, et essort[atio]ne al Popolo cresmai 85 persone, che non potterono arrivare esser cresmate l'anno anteced[en]te.

Li 10 Luglio visitai la Parochia di Sceldia, celebrai nella Chiesa di S[an] Girolamo, et doppo le solite funt[io]ni cresmai 70 persone. Sta qui per Paroco D[on] Alessandro da Sceldia Religioso molto da bene; questo luogo è l'ultimo termine verso il Vesc[ova]to Sapp[atens]e.

Havendo sodisfatto al Sac[ramen]to della Cresima per tutto Sottoscutari, mi ritirai in Trumsci tre miglia lontano dalla Città. Questa Terra è feudo, ò pure data in prebenda dal Gran Turco alla Casa di Issuf-bego, il più potente di questo Regno. Questo è il piu sicuro luogo per rissieder il Vesc[ov]o non riconoscendo altro Sig[no]re nel Paese fuor di sudetto et m'haverei sforzato far'un poco di Casa, per rissiedere, ma essendo solito il Turco, à non servar l'ult[im]e volontà, per non lasciar i Religiosi star fermi nel Territorio d[ell]a Città, mi dissuadono i Cath[oli]ci, essendo certo che doppo la morte andaria al fisco quanto si saria fatto, come è successo d'altri legati Pij quando fù presa la Città.

Il numero dei cresmati quest'anno è 183.

L'anno M.D.C.LVIII

Quest'anno pure replicai la Visita nella quaresima cognoscendo gran bisogno di Prediche. Publicai in ciascuna delle sud[et]te Parochie l'indulgenza Plenaria, conforme le facultà concessemi da N[ostro] Sig[no]re ad intercess[i]one di cotesta Sacr[ra] Cong[regatio]ne, mi sforzai al possibile ricevano tutti il sud[et]to Tesoro Sp[irit]uale, del quale moltissimo tempo son stati privi, per non esserci stato qui frangat panem.

Furono nelli sudetti essercitij sp[irit]uali scoperti moltissimi vitij, massime alcuni che clandestinam[en]te haveano contratto, et vissuti senza i S[antissi]mi Sac[ramen]ti più di 16 anni con generat[i]one di Prole, onde cognoscendo dalle essortat[i]oni, et Prediche, ciò riuscire in danno delle Anime loro; contrahendo infacie Eccl[es]iae, tutti furono riconciliati, dichiarando io le proli legittime conforme le facultà sopraccennate.

Finiti i sud[et]ti essercitij in Coena D[omi]ni gl'Ogli S[an]ti nella Chiesa di S[an] Sergio et Baccho, iniziando nella prima tonsura il Chierico Simone Bianchi nativo da Barbulusci membro di questa Diocesi, d'anni 16 in circa. di bona indole, et aspett[at]io]ne. Sa leggere, et scrivere, principiato nella Gram[mati]ca; ha servito a me doi anni, alla fine a mie spese fu mandato nel Collegio Ill[iri]co di Loreto nel luogo d'Albania citra Drinum.

Le p[rese]nti festività d[ell]a S[antissi]ma Ressuret[i]one furono tribulat[issi]me alli poveri Cath[oli]ci perchè volendosene vendicare il Bassà Verliaz delli insulti ricevuti dalli Scuttarini, venne con doi milla Cavalli sotto la Città nel med[esi]mo giorno della Dom[en]ica Ressurrect[i]onis, et le Case de poveri Cath[oli]ci furono fatte alloggio dell'essercito, il luogoten[en]te del sudetto Bassa sacheggiandomi la Chiesa di S[an] Stefano in Barbulusci cominciò mortalm[en]te perseguitarmi, onde fui sforzato fuggire in Servia, dove havevo d'andare per ricevere le provis[i]oni delli Miss[i]onarij, che ogn'anno sogliono portarle i Sig[no]ri Imbasc[i]atori di Ragusa, che per mezzo d[et]to Regno vanno in Constan[tinop]oli. Onde havendomi partito il lunedì d[ell]a Pascha (slontanato l'essercito che fù) tornai nella mia Chiesa per le Pentecosti, facendone la distributione del denaro tra gli Miss[i]onarij, come chiaram[en]te appare dalle ricevute li med[esi]mi per mio governo mi fecero.

Li 2 Giugno del prefato anno visitai la Villa d[et]a de Corni, et cresmai 36 persone, questa si tiene con la Parochia di S[an] Giorgio sotto la cura di D[on] Thom[aso] Harmanni.

Li 20 d[et]to visitai Sogagni vicino à Dulcigno, et doppo le funt[i]oni d[ell]a Messa et Predica cresmai 48 persone, questi pure sono sotto la cura del sud[et]to Paroco.

Li 10 Settembre del prefato anno visitai la Villa di Remanni attaccata per la Città verso sopra Scuttari, et cresmai 92 persone tra grandi et piccoli; qui mai haveano visto il Vesc[ov]o.

Havendomi scritto più volte il P[adre] Fr. Giacinto da Sezza m[in]o riformato con il voto delli Clementi Monti sopra Scuttari, instando grand[emen]te volessi visitare la sud[et]ta Miss[i]one, et Popoli non ricordandosi esser stato alcuna volta Vesc[ov]o fra loro, onde il 28 Ottobre del prefato anno andai trà d[et]ti Monti dove mi fermai una sett[ima]na predicando, et intervenne grand[issi]ma quantità di gente; Et per devot[i]one, et per curiosità, persuadendosi che il Vesc[ov]o fusse un S[an]to che continuam[en]te facea miracoli.

Sono stati Popolo il più Barbaro di questa Nat[i]one, ma hora sono ridotti i migliori fideli Christ[ia]ni trà tutti i Monti d'Albania. Celebrai Pontificalm[en]te nel giorno di tutti i Santi, et cresmai 265 persone, tra gli quali erano alcuni di 100 anni senza la confermat[i]one, che se stavano più senza Visita con difficultà alla fine sariano cresmati, parendo loro esser cerimonia nova, et da non ammettersi.

Da molti anni stà qui per Miss[i]onario P[adre] Fr. Giacinto da Sezza sud[et]to Religioso molto caritativo, et pio, indefesso nelle sue fatiche, persona di 50 anni in circa è bon Theologo. Chiede grandem[en]te soccorso, et veram[en]te sono necessarijssimi quatro altri Sacerdoti, et doi Laici della med[esi]ma Relig[i]one, perchè Messis quidem plurima, hà sotto il titolo della sua Miss[i]one Anime Cath[oli]che incirca 2000.

Cresmati quest'anno sono 446. Et in tutto il Trienio sono 2227 cresmati.

Et questo è quello ch'ho potuto compendiosam[en]te notare per una breve cognit[i]one di quanto mi sono giornalm[en]te affatigato nella cultura et prop[agatio]ne della n[ost]ra S[an]ta fede in questo mio Vesc[ova]to.

Io Pietro Bogdani Vesc[ov]o di Scuttari in Albania, manu p[ro]pria
Miscellaneae Diverse, vol. 20, f. 208r-216v

Evalda PACI

EARLY DOCTRINAL VARIANTS IN A CONTEXT OF THE HISTORY OF ALBANIAN WRITTEN LITERATURE

The periodization of the history of Albanian written literature is rightly initiated by taking into account the contributions that do not constitute only separate written documents in terms of content and textual completeness. Such texts have been carefully considered by critics and scholars of Albanian written literature, but also by historians and researchers of the earliest written sources that shed light on the history of our nation, as well as on the role of personalities who are presented as delivering a specific writing culture in our language, are part of a historical mosaic that was marked significantly and by their contribution, both concrete and unpaid.

Albanian written literature is also marked by works that are destined to be doctrinal manuals that would serve the important practice of the daily liturgy and the Christian faith in our lands. A considerable tradition of tracing is known and these publications and their variants are very valuable in some points of view and their evidence is proven in many thematic studies on the history of Albanian written literature. In recent years, research on the relevant texts of these works has been extended more extensively as critical and philological publications have been compiled that have enabled and facilitated the approximation with the content and essential elements of the content of these texts. Close in time and with larger works in terms of construction as presented in the Latin-Albanian Dictionary of 1635 compiled by Frang Bardhi, it is possible to trace and in relation to them features of printing but also the conception of a methodology of rough in terms of transcribing or genuinely philologically transcribing them, with a perspective and supplementing them with textual notes that serve a more in-depth study of the relevant content.

A natural continuation in terms of research of liturgical practice in published and printed texts can be followed since the achievements of

Pjetër Budi (1618-1621), the prelate who became an object of interest by scholars of the history of Albanian written literature, meanwhile that his work and writing lie between terminological feeds that can be called initiated by specific passages contained in the book of Gjon Buzuku (1555) and those that continue to follow a path of consolidation in later trials undertaken by local priests, as well as foreigners. Such a fact constitutes a rich panorama in elements not only of the concretized lexicon, since such trials remain evidence of the continuance of efforts to educate towards the Christian faith and with variants of books and written works. Much has been written about the writing and contributions to the written literature of Pjetër Budi, as his compilations in terms of time realization coincide with the initiation of revised versions in terms of content and specific texts they should contain, while especially the Albanian tradition of studies in the field of the history of Albanian writing and the history of Albanian written literature recognizes this author many merits in matters of delivering a specific meter in composing the poetic structure of his compilations and other values related to aspects of the reflection of the elements of the Albanian world through this creativity.

The variety of variants brought by different authors points out the fact that not a single line has always been followed in the structural determination of the doctrinal variants realized from the Six Hundreds onwards, while any careful tracing of each of them can lead and in noting the longevity of uses that to this day remain essential in a specialist language register like that of the liturgy. The Albanian language itself is projected in a series of perspectives in almost every case of realization of such variants. Observations on the Albanian adjective system, on the noun classes that testify to the presence of analytics and synthetics in uses and specific terms that become the object of use in these variants, evidence of syntagms and phrases that testify and originality with the forms in which they appear in special texts possible by enriching a largely diachronic panorama of the study of the subsystems of our language.

It is clear that the doctrinal manuals that are realized in a period that exceeds two centuries and that have been concretized and after the completion of the works of the Council of Arben (1703), fulfill an important mission in terms of transmitting a terminology that can certainly be contained in canonical books of considerable size, being the

latter predestined to contain other texts and of course with another extension in terms of content integrity. These seemingly modest in volume manuals are in most cases characterized by an obvious clarity in the construction and subdivisions on which they are conceived. We distinguish in this view the successive realizations of Monsignor Ndre Logorec, while it should be underlined the fact that the availability of several doctrinal variants compiled and taken care of by him enables even today to undertake philological and textual analyzes that make it possible to distinguish features. and overlaps between the texts of the variants in question. Every variant of this nature has been the impetus for the undertaking and compilation of other models, especially at the beginning of the last century, and a proof of this fact remains the carefully preserved uses in

Early doctrinal variants in a context of history ... 25 manuals and temporary publications with liturgical destination prepared by personalities such as Dom Ndre Mjedja, Father Jak Junku S.I., etc. It should also be noted in this case that the contributions of Dom Ndre Mjeda and the presence of Father Jak Junk S.I. as an editor and supervisor of many such publications, along with handbooks widely used at the time that had the care of Father Justin Wheel O.F.M. prove concretely how well the above-mentioned tradition of genuine doctrinal realizations was known, while the care to preserve as much as possible mainly terminological elements from these trials is clearly read and followed from one publication to another.

A very interesting handbook on the history of Albanian writing, but also that of the Christian faith in the Albanian lands remains the doctrinal Compendium of Gjon Nikolle Kazazi, which was published in 1743, under the publishing logo of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Naturally and in every circumstance, especially when it comes to a personality like Monsignor Kazazi, the attention is oriented by the fact that he has paid due attention to the existence of a very special example for the liturgy of the hours (Meshari) in a period close to the realization of his above-mentioned manual, while his name is rightly related to the reference to specific texts that he singled out to interpret and overwrite from the book of Gjon Buzuku in the process of correspondence with superiors of educational institutions and ecclesiastical formation of the time. The display of a lively interest by a prelate of the church of Rome such as John Nikolla Kazazi to the existence of such models naturally

follows what is set forth in ecclesiastical synods that lead in time to his enterprises to contribute and with valuable trials for the practice of liturgy and faith in the areas where he exercised pastoral activity. As it has been pointed out in our previous writings regarding the valuable contribution of this prelate of the Albanian church, but also with undeniable merits of authorship in the doctrinal version that he drafted and compiled in a way that distinguishes it from other previous authors, the uses in addition to the fact that the latter inaugurated in an original way and with the awareness that they would serve a specific content such as that of a practical and religious manual will continue to live and be functional elements that were taken for granted in later publications. which were compiled mainly by foreign priests and who undertook to compile similar trials in our language. The authorial uniqueness of Monsignor Gjon Nikolle Kazazi is evidenced in almost every element of the doctrinal manual of the year 1743, while a series of syntagms encountered in the pages of the latter will turn into important means of expression in later authors who are seen to be constantly striving to know better and deeper a writing history that in cases of compilation of trials of a liturgical character and of religious practice appeared more than necessary.

Every work that serves to reconstruct a period of time that exceeds two centuries and that has to do with the old Albanian literature and the earliest written monuments of our language is a reality as special as it is complex, since in each it is possible to read a commendable effort to serve an important cause that includes both the delivery of writing in our language, but also the history of the faith and the publication of particular books, the importance of which is not determined by volume, but from the content almost always cared for and which proves that the love for the mother tongue and for the motherland translates into such writing essays, both dignified and serious.

The work of Monsignor Kazazi is presented simply in the elements that make it up, but from the observations on the content and the order of the basic elements of its construction we are convinced that this publication would best serve to reinforce a tradition that had started long ago, if and with books that have followed different patterns in the respective structure, but are not significantly differentiated from the doctrinal manuals as they have referred to similar semantic fields and

have had as corresponding patterns and denominations of the same destination in the elaboration of their content.

In the context of a comprehensive panorama of publications aimed at the practice of liturgy and catechistic education from the above-mentioned achievements of Pjetër Budi and later, the above-mentioned Doctrine or Compendium of John Nikolle Kazazi occupies a special place and such a fact it is also reinforced by studies and research on his personality that shed light on numerous pastoral commitments. Such works become closer in the cases of their approximation in dimensions of critical and philological publications¹ and in the case of Kazazi such a fact has not only proved that such works engage the philologist of the text in a series of dimensions and researches, but also do it is possible to follow a development and in the culture of writing from one author to another has undergone changes, but there has also been continuity of a logical nature.

When it comes to doctrinal manuals that followed in time the development of the Council of Arbën (1703), the name of Monsignor Gjon Nikolle Kazazi remains a basic reference in terms of the importance of the contribution, but also from the significant moment in which sees the light of the synthetic copy of realized by him. There are a number of uses that draw attention to the composition of this variant, among which are some more specific elements to which Kazazi has been clear in terms of the selection and connotation he had delegated to them. As much as it can be considered convincingly as a follower of some written features that are encountered before and in the authors that represent the old Albanian literature, it is equally important to note that this author and compiler leaves traces with innovations in the field of uses that are fundamental to the conception of the practice of the liturgy and its basilica figures.²

Such a framework has continued to be fulfilled in time with other trials that are almost all evidence of a strong commitment of the authors or compilers and in terms of expressing a strong spiritual connection with the areas in which they served and performed the priestly mission. Variants that in some cases have been printed and in bilingual formats

¹ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina" e tij*, ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006.

² The conciseness in the content has not conditioned at all the original features and elements that are attributed to the work in question whenever the latter is treated in perspectives that tend from the history of Albanian writing and that of Albanian written literature.

(Father Zef Guagliata SI; Rome, 1845) have been and remain evidence of recognition by the authors of the context in which they operated and in cases where the latter were not Albanian, peculiarities constitute another value to be considered and considered by the discipline of text philology. In particular the compilation published and republished years later of Father Zef Guagliata S.I., a similar handbook consisting of prayers and basic ecclesiastical texts *Rruga e Parrisit (Way to paradise)*, prepared and published by Father Vincens Basile S.I. in 1845 (Rome, The Scepter of the Scythian Cuvén de Propaganda Fide), but also the above-mentioned variants of Monsignor Ndre Logorec (1880; 1886, etc.) are also sources from which are collected features of uses related to dialects and specific linguistic developments of the Albanian language of the time in which the authors in question lived. It is these same authors who naturally revived elements that first every tracer of old Albanian texts finds in the first authors of old Albanian literature and in the earliest written evidence of the Albanian language.

The didactic nature of these publications is understandable and if we take into account the constant care that after the completion of the works of the Council of Trent was expressed significantly and in every way to the content and expression of their internal purpose, while in parallel with this historical panorama so concrete in relation to such trials in the Albanian context it can be concluded that many works and treatments have been compiled and seen in the press that focused on the liturgy and the basic aspects of its reception among priests and believers.

Finally, the very variety and linguistic richness mentioned above in relation to the doctrinal variants that prove continuous efforts to inaugurate through the Albanian language and its arsenal a culture and a tradition of faith and in our country, can make it possible to rebuild a geographical panorama that is directly related to the history of the Christian faith in the Albanian lands and to that of the respective ecclesiastical dioceses.

Constructions that preserve unique poetic values, linguistic developments, but also of defined writing genres find continuity precisely through such realizations, which mark, first of all, achievements in terms of consolidation of a writing tradition that continues to remain special in content and in examples representing it.

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**BALKANISMS AND ITALIAN-ROMANISMS IN SOME
VERBAL CONSTRUCTION ASPECTS OF ITALIAN
ARBERESH LANGUAGE**

***Abstract.** The author of this paper focuses on some periphrastic constructions that are used to show the aspects of progressiveness and immanence in the verbal system of Italian Arbëresh Language. To treat these aspect forms as well as some other modal forms of Arbëresh dialects, the author takes into account the first grammars of Arbëresh language in the XIX century and a series of texts recorded in the Arbëresh-speaking context published since the middle of the 20th century, as well as data collected in person during field research since the 1980s. This paper analyses the results and compares them to the Balkan and Italian linguistic contexts, taking into account Italian language as well as the dialects of southern Italy, which have been in constant contact with Arbëresh language for centuries.*

The aspect of the verb does not have much space in the first published grammars of Arbëresh, which belong to the second half of the XIX century. The concept of time in these grammars and their descriptive limitations and models were borrowed and inspired from the classical languages (Greek and Latin), Italian as well as from the first Albanian grammar of Francesco Maria da Lecce. Nevertheless, they are very reliable and sometimes accurate in describing the paradigmatic verbal forms of Arbëresh dialects, which coincide with the Arbëresh-speaking geographical areas that were linguistically surveyed by their authors.

Rarely do we find references there to periphrastic verbal constructions, which characterize the Italian Arbëresh, differentiating it from Albanian in the Balkan area. As we shall see, the former is using different structures to express the type of action.

Without further expanding this wide field of linguistic research, we will dwell here only on progressive and intransitive verbal paraphrases, based on what we find in the various dialect monographs or shown in the voluminous corpora of texts of Arbëresh oral literature, published since the 1970s, or personally recorded during these last forty years during

field researches in the various Arbëresh-speaking areas of Italy, mostly in the Calabrian-Lukani areas where we have directed our pursuits.

We did not find them in De Rada's grammars, although this author does not forget to highlight with regard to the choice of the verb, in addition to some artificial and forced "grammaticalized" forms, some compound tenses which are not invented at all and which reflect an aspect function other than a temporal function.

This is about the "doubting" perfect [*kam lār* 'perhaps/probably I washed', *kam pasur* 'perhaps/probably I had']¹ renamed as 'probable' (conjectural?) [Passato in reminiscenza]². It is also about "the present perfect" which he relates in his second grammar³ to a time in the past, such as *pata me pasur* "had to have" *pata me qenur* "had to be", "*pata me vjuar*" "had to protect". He relates it more specifically in the first grammar to past perfect ["trapassato remoto"]⁴ [*"pata lār"* had to wash", "*u pata lār"* had to be washed]⁵.

His Albanian verbal system includes also another tense which he describes as intentional future ["futuro intensionale"]⁶ *kam të lanj* "I have to wash"; *kam të laghem* 'I have to be washed', typical of Arbëresh language and some other suburban dialect of Tosk Albanian, formed by the verb KAM + TË + present subjunctive tense. This form corresponds to the "necessary future" ["futuro necessitativo"]. It is among the most widely spread among the tenses that originated in the Balkans. In this

¹ *Grammatica della lingua albanese* di Giuseppe De Rada, Tipografia dell'Associazione, Firenze 1870, p.60.

² [Girolamo De Rada], *Caratteri e grammatica della lingua albanese*, Stabilimento Tipografico del *Popolano*, Corigliano Calabro 1894, p.81 and p.84.

³[Girolamo De Rada], *Caratteri e grammatica della lingua albanese*, op. cit., p.81 and p.84.

⁴ Secondo Rohlfs, "In Calabria il trapassato remoto è affatto sconosciuto, e vien di norma sostituito dal passato remoto. Nella Calabria meridionale anche il trapassato prossimo è sostituito dalla popolare forma del passato remoto, per esempio *fici u lavuru* 'avevo fatto il lavoro'; *vinni di Napoli* 'ero venuto da Napoli'; *rrivau* 'ero arrivato'" (ROHLFS 1969, III:51).

⁵*Grammatica della lingua albanese* di Giuseppe De Rada, Tipografia dell'Associazione, Firenze 1870, p.61.

⁶*Grammatica della lingua albanese* di Giuseppe De Rada, cited work, p.82.

aspect it is similar to the “Balkan” future; it is volitional and certainly does not have an Italian-Romanian origin⁷.

Periphrastic Construction with parataxis, used in the Kamarda, mark durational action by auxiliary verbs JAM+E+ demonstrative verb:

“I will mention here a typical Albanian sentence, equivalent in some way to the verbal adjective, which is formed by using the auxiliary verb before another verb connected with the coordinate conjunction *ë*: for example, *Ësht ë flë* [isht e flë] “egli dorme”, *Ësht ë shkruaj* [ish e shkruaj] *scriveva*, or *sta dormendo*, *stava scrivendo* etj. and it is used to show an uninterrupted action such as the Italian phrase which explains Albanian”⁸.

The same linguist from Hora e Arbëreshëve⁹ mentions as well the necessary future expressed by the verb KAM which connects Arbëresh with Gegë dialect, with the difference that in Arbëresh it is followed not by the past tense as in Gegërish (ME + participle), but by the subjunctive, representing a variant of Tosk Albanian in which the past participle is consistently replaced by the subjunctive. We have also found in the Italian Arbëresh language some infinitive forms in invariable forms with little functionality, which still seem important to us for the history of the Albanian language, because they show that once they were widespread over the entire Albanian-speaking territory (as I proposed to call this territory during this pre-documentation phase of ancient Albanian, before Arbëresh was branched into Greek and Italian Arberesh of Greece and Italy) and not only in the geg area.¹⁰

In Kamarda's grammatical work¹¹, with regard to the verbal system, there is a description of perfect tense – present tense of auxiliary verb KAM + participle, but with no conjectural nuance, as we see it today

⁷ Francesco Altimari, “Il cosiddetto ‘futuro necessitativo’ dell’albanese d’Italia: influenza italo-romanza o arcaismo balcanico?” (p.55-71) in Idem, *Studia linguistica italo-balkanica. Arbëreshja në kontekstin gjuhësor ballkanik dhe italian*, Akademia e Shken- cave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, libri 51, Prishtinë 2014.

⁸Demetrio Camarda, *Saggio di grammatologia comparata della lingua albanese*, Successore di E. Vignozzi, Livorno 1864, p. 329.

⁹Demetrio Camarda, *Saggio di grammatologia comparata della lingua albanese*, cited work, p. 266-267.

¹⁰ Francesco Altimari, “Tracce di antichi infinitivi dell’albanese nell’arbëresh d’Italia” (fq.87-111), në Idem, *Studia linguistica italo-balkanica. Arbëreshja në kontekstin gjuhësor ballkanik dhe italian*, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, Book 51, Prishtinë 2014.

¹¹cp. Demetrio Camarda, *Saggio di grammatologia comparata della lingua albanese*, cited work, fq. 267-268.

widely reflected on the Italian Arbëresh¹² and in its Horjote dialect. There is also a description of the past perfect (the second perfect tense) – imperfect tense of auxiliary verb KAM (*keshe, keshja, kishja*) + participle.

However, the grammar of Kamarda has no traces of the past unreal conditionals, with or without the ingressive element shown by De Rada and taken from spoken Arbëresh as I had the opportunity to prove while researching the Calabrian Arbëresh-speaking area of Pulin.

We have to wait for the beginning of the 1970s, when Martin Camaj described and published the linguistic monographs prepared on the Arbëresh dialects described¹³, in order to encounter the periphrastic forms that show the durational aspect which the late albanologist from Shkodra proves with regard to the dialect of Katund (Italian Greci) (Camaj 1971: 83-84) for both active and inactive diatheses. This is about a paratactic construction which is composed of the auxiliary verb JAM (in present or in perfect tense) connected to a verb of the same tense and form, active or inactive form, by conjunction *ʃə* [çë] “që”: for example, *jam çë qepinj* “I am sewing”, *jam çë lanj* “I am washing”, *jam çë laham* “I am being washed”, *inja çë lanja* “I was washing”. *inja çë lahsha* “I was being washed”.

Even in his later dialectological study (Camaj 1977: 93), in which he focuses on the Arbëresh dialect of Falkunara¹⁴, Martin¹⁵ Camaj points out (brings to light) a periphrastic analog construction with a paratactic structure - but with the conjunction E instead of the conjunction ÇË, to

¹² Francesco Altimari, “Osservazioni sul passato ‘presuntivo’ dell’arbëresh d’Italia e sulla formazione dell’ammirativo in albanese” (pp.27-40) në Idem, *Studia linguistica italo-balkanica. Arbëreshja në kontekstin gjuhësor ballkanik dhe italian*, Akademia e Shken- cave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, libri 51, Prishtinë 2014. Il tema del ‘presuntivo’ arbëresh è stato sollevato per la prima volta da Walter Breu, “Das italoalbanische ‘Perfekt’ in sprachvergleichender Sicht” (fq.51-66), në P. Altimari et al. (a cura di), *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di Studi sulla Lingua, la Storia e la Cultura degli Albanesi d’Italia* (Mannheim, 25-26 giugno 1987), CELUC, Rende 1991.

¹³ We are citing, according to the chronological order of publication, these monographic editions of Camaj: Martin Camaj, *La parlata albanese di Greci in Provincia di Avellino*, Leo Olschki editore, Firenze 1971; Martin Camaj, *Die albanische Mundart von Falconara Albanese in der Provinz Cosenza*, Trofenik Verlag, München 1977; Martin Camaj, *La parlata arbëreshë di San Costantino Albanese in provincia di Potenza*, Centro Editoriale e Librario dell’Università della Calabria, Rende 1993.

¹⁴ See Martin Camaj, *La parlata albanese di Greci in Provincia di Avellino*, Leo Olschki editore, Firenze 1971

¹⁵ See Martin Camaj, *Die albanische Mundart von Falconara Albanese in der Provinz Cosenza*, Trofenik Verlag, München 1977.

indicate the progressive aspect of the verb, preceded by stative verb JAM or JESH in present tense used as the first element - e.g. *jam e qell* “ich bin dabei zu bringen”, “ich bringe gerade”; *jesh e qellnja* “ich bin dabei gebracht zu werden” - and imperfect tense - *you are the object* “ich war dabei zu bringen, ich war beim Bringen”, *jesh e qellesha* “ich war dabei gebracht zu werden”. In a footnote (Camaj 1977: 96, footnote 3), our albanologist, referring to semantic rather than morphological analogy, relates the progressive action of this Italian Arbëresh construction with the periphrastic forms found in the Albanian grammar published in Vienna in 1908 by Georg Pekmezi¹⁶: “is going” for present tense and “was going” for imperfect tense, claiming that “Die umschriebenen Form sind vergleichbar mit den gegischen Formen (sic!) Auf / po- /”.

We will temporally put aside - but with the promise of returning to it later - the evidences of aspectuality in the Arbëresh Language recorded in Camaj’s work, which, certainly more than his other linguistic works, shows the special tendency of our prominent albanologist from Shkodra to describe the aspectuality of Arbëresh verbs. It is about his posthumous monograph (published after the death of the author) on the linguistic system of St. Constantine, an Arbëresh dialect which he analyzed at length and which is considered to be one of the most conservative of dialects. On the same year, in 1977, while Martin Camaj was publishing the grammar of Falkunara in German, Eqrem Çabej, our most famous linguist of the last century, was completing a study dedicated to Arbëresh. For the first time this study analyses systematically Balkan Albanian compared to the most prominent features of Arbëresh. The author reminds us that:

“In morphosyntax [...] we need to mention, in the end, a construction which is typical of Italian Arbëresh: the durative and actual expression (stative) *isht e flë* “is sleeping”, *ish e shkruaj* “was writing” – examples drawn from Kamarda, according to the quote – in Molize *isht e ha buk* “was eating bread”, *ishën e hajën* “were eating bread” – quoted from Lamberc – [...]. It is not very likely to have been influenced by the Italian

¹⁶[Georg] Pekmezi, *Grammatik der albanesischen Sprache (Laut- und Formenlehre)*, Verlag des Albanesischen vereines “Dija”, Wien 1908, p.151.

model *sto scrivendo*. The structure is different from both expressions, on the one hand the Italian periphrastic construction, and the Balkan parataxis on the other.¹⁷

The Balkan parataxis, as Çabej refers to the authoritative opinion of Gerhard Rohlfs¹⁸, might help us to explain the Italian dialect construction which is used to express the Italian-Roman durativity of Salento *sta scrivi* "is writing", *sta mmangia* "is eating", *la signura stia ddurmia* "the lady was sleeping". This construction originates from Italian Greek, or *Griko*, as it is known in linguistic terminology, according to the model *estèi ce grafi* "is writing", *estèi te troi* "is eating".

The Italian-Roman dialect variant and the Griko variant share together in Salento, due to such an intense and close linguistic contact between them, the same construction joined by the same stative verb - RRI/STARE/ ἴστημι and not JAM/ESSERE/ εἶναι – to express the progressive aspect, and a modifier such as conjunction <CU> the Salentine dialect and conjunction <C'> [IPA tʃ] in the Griko variant to express the ingressive aspect of the verbal action. As such, in the Salentine dialect of the Greek area it is *sta facià* "I was doing", *sta venia but por stau cu fazzu* "I am to do" and *stìa cu fazzu* "I was to do" and *stìa cu vegnu* "I was to come"¹⁹, while in the Italian-Greek variant of the Salentine area it is *istika fèntonta o istika zèfena* "was weaving" (it was that he/she was weaving), *istika o istinna tronta* "was eating" ('it was that he/she was weaving' in the Italian dialect), *istika marènta* "was cooking", *Ikastika c'epesinisco* "was to die"²⁰.

An analogous construction to the Salentine verbal paraphrase to express durative progression, in the Greek or Italian dialect of Salento - formed by the verb RRI/STARE (and not JAM/ESSERE!) + conjunction E + the verb in parataxis or conjunction TË with a verb in hypotaxis –

¹⁷ Eqrem Çabej, "Storia linguistica e struttura dialettale dell'albanese d'Italia" (pg.5-30) in *Problemi di morfosintassi dialettale*, IX, Pisa 1976. Riedito (pp.85-105) nê: Francesco Altimari e Leonardo M. Savoia (a cura di), *I dialetti italo-albanesi*. Studi linguistici e storico-culturali sulle comunità arbereshe, presentazione di Tullio De Mauro, Bulzoni editore, Roma 1994, p.100-101.

¹⁸ Gerhard Rohlfs, *Griechischer Sprachgeist in Südtalien* (Zur geschichte der inneren Spachform) [Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. hist. Abteil, 1944-46], Monaco 1947, p.25.

¹⁹Our informant was Silvano Palamà, originally from Calimera (it. Calimera), in the vicinity of Lecce. Registration date: January 21, 2019.

²⁰Mauro Cassoni, *Hellàs Otrantina o disegno grammaticale*, Scuola Tipografica Italo-Orientale "San Nilo", Grottaferrata 1937, p.79.

was found in the Arbëresh of San Marcani (in the dialect of San Marcano: *rrij e qepinj* "I am sewing/sto cucendo") and in the Arbëresh of the Vulltur area (the dialects of Baril, Zhura and Mashqit: *rria bënj o rrij të shoh* "I am doing / sto facendo" or "I am seeing/sto vedendo").

Similar to the Salentine or Italian-Greek constructions that are related to the aspects of progression and durativity, the Arbëresh construction JAM Ç'QEPINJ, which we find in Greci/Katundi and in other Arbëresh-speaking areas, mainly in the provinces of Kutron and Catanxaro, cannot depend on the specific conditions of proximity and therefore be explained with the influence of the Italian-Roman context.

In other words, we are dealing here with more than another development, in the circumstances of a new linguistic context in the new motherland, with a tendency brought by the Arbëresh themselves from the old motherland²¹. Therefore, we might be right to hypothesize that Arbëresh language includes some diversified paratactic paraphrases from an ancient proto-Roman or Latin-Balkan phase, but we do not know if they associate to one another due to the proximity of Slavic languages, starting from the VI century²², or the influence from Greek of the New Testament²³ based on the Hellenistic Koine.

²¹Eqrem Çabej, "Storia linguistica e struttura dialettale dell'albanese d'Italia" (fq.5-30) in *Problemi di morfossintassi dialettale* (1976), re-published (fq.85-105) in: Francesco Altamari e Leonardo M. Savoia (a cura di), *I dialetti italo-albanesi*, cited work, p.102.

²²"Accanto alle forme del verbo che danno all'espressione una graduazione temporale (passato, presente, futuro ecc.), certe lingue dalla morfologia arcaica o primitiva (per esempio le lingue slave e quelle semitiche) dispongono di altre possibilità per caratterizzare le circostanze in cui si svolge l'azione. Grazie a particolari elementi morfologici è così possibile esprimere se l'azione presenta caratteri d'una certa durata (verbi durativi), o invece d'istantaneità (momentanei), o di ripetizione (iterativi), o d'incominciamento (incoativi), o d'incompletezza (imperfettivi) o viceversa di completezza (perfettivi)", in Gerhard Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, op.cit., vol.III, p.132.

²³On this aspect See the special study of researcher Luisa Amenta, *Perifrasi aspettuative in greco e in latino. Origini e grammaticalizzazioni*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2003. The author, based on the conclusion that most of the evidence on paraphrases with aspectual value belong to the later stage of classical antiquity, in Greek or Latin, focused on a careful and in-depth analysis of the paraphrase during the period with the most contacts between the two classical languages. She brings us on a European scale the broad corpora of Christian translations from Greek into Latin, based on the Greek language of the Gospel over the Latin versions of the Gospels. (see Amenta 2003: 13). Christian Sanfield, in order to explain the influence of Greek on other languages of the Balkan region, also mentions Greek language of the Gospels (shih. K. Sanfield, *Linguistique balkanique, problèmes et résultats*, Collection linguistique publiée par la Société Linguistique de Paris, Paris 1930, p. 215-216).

In this case, development might have affected, after a natural gradual process of de-semanticization, not only the static verbs like JAM / ESSERE / εἶναι and RRI / STARE / ἴσθημι, but also the verbs of motion like VETE / VADO / ἵκω and ἔρχομαι, or the inchoative/initials verbs such as ZĚ~, ZĚ~FILL, ~ZEKSĚNJ / COMINCIO / μελλω, etc. This convergent and potential influence of Greek Language through Latin in the proto-Romanesque phase, in the Balkan area as well as in the Roman Southern-Italian area, may explain the structural proximity, seemingly synchronous but essentially diachronic, that we encounter in these Arbëresh, Grik and Italo-Romanesque constructions. The latter show a durative aspect, but sometimes an imminent aspect through periphrastic forms usually in parataxis²⁴.

The wide range of periphrastic forms in the verbal system of languages in the Balkans can probably be explained by the syntactic calque they were subjected to by Greek language through Latin language which then became Neo-Latin (or Proto-Romanism).

This fact may have determined the progressive grammaticalization of the aspect - with durative, immanent or intentional nuances - converging on languages close to each other first in the Balkan Peninsula and then in the Italian Peninsula, where these languages of Greek, Slavic and Albanian origin migrated.

In the Balkan context, the verbal system of these languages, even in terms of aspectuality, will have undergone a gradual but inevitable process of reorganization and especially simplification²⁵. The same

²⁴ Vëren Rohlf's se "per il durativo ha notevole voga la perifrasi a mezzo del gerundio, cp. il toscano *sto leggendo, stava perdendo, io vo cercando, viene dicendo* [...]. Anche *stare* coll'infinito ha aspetto durativo [...]. Nel Salento il durativo viene espresso nella forma *sto ac bibo, stamus ac cantamus*. Della congiunzione *ac* non rimane per lo più altra traccia che l'allungamento della consonante seguente (Rohlf's 1969, III: 133). Fra gli aspetti del verbo c'è anche l'espressione dell'imminenza di un'azione, "espressa in italiano e nei vari dialetti da un verbo *volere*, mentre "L'aspetto incoativo viene volentieri espresso con verbi di moto come *andare* e *venire*. In luogo dell'infinito le parlate meridionali presentano *vado ac (et) dico*; cal. *vegnu e sta, i si jiu a curarii*. Un aspetto incoativo sta anche alla base dell'uso pleonastico di *pigliare*, che unito a un altro verbo esprime intensità o vivacità (Rohlf's 1969, III: 134).

²⁵We find such a simplification process in the Albanian of the Balkans, including the Arvanite variants, even though there are visible traces of this ancient wealth of periphrastic verbal forms within its verbal system, as Eqrem Çabej shows us: "Ri- volgendoci ai dialetti della madrepatia, ci imbattiamo nel costrutto paratattico *ri e...*, alla lettera "sta e..." precipuamente del dialetto toscano, in casi come *rinte e dëgjonte* "stava ascoltando", in un canto popolare dei Suliotti del principio del secolo scorso *natë e ditë rimë e qajmë* "notte e giorno stiamo piangendo" [...] ove

system in the Italian context may have preserved essentially the richness but also the original variety of forms, as it is possible to see in the summary table which shows a relatively up-to-date framework of the spread of various periphrastic verb forms in the Arbëresh context in terms of progressive and ingressive action.

The focus on this particular form of aspectuality or type of action in the study of Arbëresh morphosyntax, which continues to be held by this variety of periphrastic forms that are no longer witnessed in Balkan Albanian, was initiated in 1982 by colleague Walter Breu, who made for the first time the Italian Arbëresh aspect in its ingressive, progressive and egressive dimensions a central subject of his main study “*Forme verbal perifrastiche arbëresh*”. He also later encouraged other scholars – to mention Martin Camaj, Leonardo M. Savoia, Rita Manzini, Gjilda Alimhillaj, Giuseppina Turano - to deepen the aspectuality (durative, inchoative, iterative, etc.) of the verb, which had been overlooked during the morphosyntax analysis of Italian Arbëresh. Thanks to the scientific commitment of Walter Breu, this argument is today more systematically and analytically examined, as proved by the congresses (and their acts) that were organized in Constanta on this topic²⁶ and the papers presented this year in the assembly of Hegne, in Germany.

As time available is not enough, the intention is not to dwell on *Aktionsart* on the Albanian language as a whole, including the Balkan branch which has been researched successfully by Albanian and international scholars, some of them mentioned above. However, it is difficult not to mention the data collected and reflected on the Dialectologic Atlas of Albanian Language (Naples 2007-2008). In this atlas the aspectual paraphrases, as the authors themselves have observed²⁷, are really few: they are part, with regard to the subject of this

il verbo *rrij* si è allontanato dal significato proprio, esprimendo una *Aktionsart*, l'aspetto di un'azione durativa “ cp. E. Çabej, cited work., p. 101.

²⁶ Both conferences were held in Constanta, respectively in 2003 and 2005. Also the minutes of both conferences were carefully published by Walter Breu: *L'influsso dell'italiano sulla grammatica delle lingue minoritarie, Problemi di morfologia e sintassi. Atti del Convegno Internazionale-Costanza, 8-11 ottobre 2003, Università della Calabria, Centro Editoriale e Librario, Rende 2005 dhe L'influsso dell'italiano sul sistema del verbo delle lingue minoritarie. Resistenza e mutamento nella morfologia e nella sintassi. Atti del 2° Convegno Internazionale Costanza, 10-13 dicembre 2008, Universitätsverlag Dr.N. Brockmeyer, Bochum 2011.*

²⁷ According to the Albanian Scholar Jorgji Gjinari, “*Quanto alle differenze nel campo lessicale e soprattutto sintattico, le difficoltà sono senz'altro maggiori, non solo perché vengono a mancare i paradigmi, ma anche per l'assenza di ricerche dialettologiche in merito. Nel campo*

paper, of the forms from the pre-descriptive era of Albanian language, when the verb DUA was used for the future of will or desire and the verb KAM was used for the future of what is necessary. This is shown on table 126. Table 125.a shows the formation of perfect tense - with KAM or with JAM – and table 125.b shows the formation of the same tense with the verb JAM. Table 131 has a summary of the form and structure of the infinitive – PËR TË + participle (PUNUAR), ME + participle (PUNUE), PËR ME + participle (PUNUE) and if lacking it is replaced by the subjunctive on Table 130. Table 131 includes also the aspect that is related to my paper, i.e. the various phrases that we find which show the progressive durative action in the different Arberesh and Albanian speaking territories (excluding the Arvanite-speaking territories).

- a) PO + verb DAL in demonstrative present tense;
- b) JAM + gerundive (*duke, tuke o kute, ture, tue* + DALË)
- c) JAM + preposition KA(H) + verb DAL in demonstrative present tense;
- d) JAM + conjunction E + verb DAL in demonstrative present tense;
- e) JAM + conjunction ÇË + verb DAL in demonstrative present tense.

Given the few Arbëresh points included in the Albanian Dialectological Atlas, we find it useful to compare these points with the summary “net” presented by Leonardo Maria Savoia in 1991 in his study “*Alcuni elementi per una classificazione dei dialetti arbëreshë*”²⁸. The first classification of Arbëresh language according to the isophonic areas prepared by Francesco Solano (cp. “I dialetti albanesi dell'Italia meridionale. I, Appunti per una classificazione”, Quaderni di Zjarri,

della sintassi, il numero degli argomenti trattati dipende dal fatto che le differenze dialettali in riguardo sono relativamente poche” (cp. *Atlasi Dialektologjik i Gjuhës Shqipe*, volume I, Napoli 2007, p.45). In the preface Mahir Domi gives us another explanation, underlining how “*l'esiguo numero delle domande sulla sintassi – solo 9 su 260 ndr! – è dovuto a una serie di motivi. Innanzitutto le differenze tra i dialetti e le parlate dell'albanese – come del resto per altre lingue – nel campo della sintassi, non sono numerose; va notato, poi, che le relative indagini richiedono più tempo, rispetto a indagini, su altri fenomeni, d'ordine fonetico, morfologico e lessicale*” (cp. *Atlasi Dialektologjik i Gjuhës Shqipe*, volume I, Napoli 2007, p.35).

²⁸Leonardo M. Savoia, “Alcuni elementi per una classificazione dei dialetti arbëreshë” (pp.13-52) in AA.VV., *La lingua albanese nell'Italia meridionale. Studi e prospettive*, Università degli studi di Salerno, Salerno 1991. The author brings some further insights and integrations of this general framework, which he uses to classify the Arbëresh linguistic varieties of Italy in his paper “Variazione e mescolanza linguistica nei sistemi arbëreshë: code-mixing, prestiti e convergenza in condizioni di bilinguismo” (p.1-62) in Leonardo M. Savoia, *Studi sulle varietà arbëreshe*, con la prefazione di P. Altimari e un contributo di Rita Manzini, Università della Calabria, Rende 2008.

Castrovillari 1979), is the first excellent and productive effort to determine the common sources of different Italian-Arbëresh dialects, based on verb morphology, but also on the variants recorded on the lexical field.

We have expanded the classification model, the original Savoyia “net”, in the light of further researches we have personally made on other Arbëresh dialects not analyzed by him and which, therefore, were not included on the net published on 1991. On the other hand, we have supplemented the net by examining the numerous “corpora” which have meanwhile been published with Arbëresh texts according to dialectal varieties in the last thirty years. Other integrations were made in the net after we conducted interviews with speakers of Arbëresh communities who were previously not surveyed. Whenever we came across new variants which were accepted we included them in the classification net of M. Savoia. The data I have added is marked and shown on the table you have in front with regard to the progressive durative aspect. Dialects and verbal forms, which are not reflected in the Savoia table, are in black color. I also took the opportunity to integrate in the same "net" temporary new data which are still being processed and under the verification phase, on the distribution of the progressive aspect in Arbëresh, which was treated extensively for the first time in dialectological Arbëresh studies with many details by the significant and organic description of Martin Camaj through his monograph on the Arbëresh dialect of St. Constantine, published his death in 1993²⁹.

²⁹ Martin Camaj, *La parlata arbëreshe di San Costantino Albanese*, cited work., p.83-92.

P. ALTIMARI, *Summary table of progressive and ingressive verbal periphrastic phrases in the Italian Arbëresh verbal system - 2019*

Code ³⁰	Dialects of Italian Arbëresh	Durative-progressive aspect	Imminent progressive aspect	VERBAL PHRASES IN PROCESS, DURATIVE AND IMMINENT, IN ITALIAN ARBËRESH
04	KËMARINI	1.a	1.a	<p>1.a Co-ordinated phrases with stative verb JAM ('sono') + conjunction E + verb conjugated in indicative mood: <i>'jam e vinj'</i></p> <p>1.b Co-ordinated phrase with stative verb JAM ('sono') + complementary ÇË + verb conjugated in indicative mood: <i>'jam çë vinj'</i></p> <p>1.c subordinate phrase with stative verb JAM ('sono') + particle TË + verb conjugated in connective mood: <i>'jam të vinj'</i></p> <p>1.d Co-ordinated phrase with stative verb JAM ('sono') + complementary QË + verb conjugated in indicative mood: <i>'jam që vinj'</i></p> <p>2.a Co-ordinated phrase with stative verb RRI ('sto') particle E + verb conjugated in indicative mood: <i>'rri- a vinj'</i></p> <p>2.b subordinate phrase with stative verb RRI ('sto') + particle TË + verb conjugated in connective mood: <i>'rrij të vinj'</i></p> <p>3.a subordinate phrase with stative verb JAM ('sono') + complementary PO + particle TË + verb conjugated in connective mood: <i>'jam po të vinj'</i></p>
46	RURI	1.a	3.a	
30	PORTKANUNI	1.a	1.a	
26	MUNXHIFUNI	1.a	1.a	
3 9	SAN MARCANI	2.a	2.a?	
07	KAZALLVEQI	1.b		
11	QEUTI	1.a + 5a	4.a+ 2.b ±	
20	GREÇI / KATUNDI	1.b	4.a	
03	BARILLI	2.b	4.a + 2.b ±	
19	ZHURA	2.b	4.a + 2.b ±	
25	MASHQITI	2.b	4.a + 2.b ±	
41	SHËN PALI	1.a	3.b	
34	SHËN KOSTANDINI	1.a	3.b	
08	KASTËRNEXHI	1.a		
29	PLLATËNI	1.a	3.a	
31	SHËN VASILI	1.a		
18	FRASNITA	1.a	3.a+4.a ±	
14	EJANINA / PURÇILLI	1.a	3.a +4.a ±	
45	SPIXANA	1.a	3.a	
35	SHËN MITRI	1.a	1.a	
44	SHËN SOFIA	1.a	1.a	
24	LLIMARRI	1.a	1.a	
32	SHËN BENEHDITI	1.a	1.a	
15	FALKUNARA	1.a	1.a?	
40	SHËN KOLLI	1.b	1-b	
06	KARFICI	1.b	1.b	<p>3.b Co-ordinated phrase with stative verb JAM ('sono') + 2 complementaries PO + SA + particle TË + verb conjugated in connective mood: <i>'jam po sa të vinj'</i></p> <p>4.a Co-ordinated phrase with stative JAM ('sono') + 2 particles PËR [PË and PE] + TË + verb conjugated in connective mood: <i>'jam për të arrivonj</i> [± = the existence of both constructs]</p>
27	PUHËRIU	1.b	1.b	
02	DANDALLI	1.c + 1.d ±		
23	MARÇIDHUZA	1.b		
05	GHARRAFA	1.c + 1.d ±	1.c	
50	XINGARONA	1.d		
48	VINA	1.b	1.b	
28	HORA E ARBËRESHËVET	1.a + 1.b ±	1.a + 1.b ±	

³⁰ The code of Arberesh dialects.

This table outlines an initial geolinguistic map on the distribution of different periphrastic phrases which represent imminent action in different Arbëresh dialects. It has a more limited distribution compared to progressive action, which is able to integrate it in many Arbëresh dialects and represent also aggressive action.

Verbal phrases, including the progressives, can be conjugated both in present tense or in imperfect tense - JAM + PO + TË BËNJ (present tense) "I am about to do/sto per fare", ISHNJA ~ISHA~INJA~JESH + PO + TË BËNJA (imperfect tense) "I was about to do / stavo per fare". In some contexts, it can express a more purposeful than imminent meaning.

Verb construction - FOR + TO + SUBJUNCTIVE – taken by a certain form of an intentional sentence in any Arbëresh-speaking area of North Calabria, can be replaced or changed in the same syntactic context by the ancient phrase with the infinitive FOR + ME + PARTICLE, which was once considered to be a form influenced and borrowed by the old Geg authors in the written Arbëresh language of the XIX century. However, as we tried to prove in a previous study, today we can consider it as a hardened infinitive remnant derived from an ancient pan-Albanian infinitive or, to put it better, *Albanisht*, i.e. the pre-descriptive phase of Albanian/Arbëresh³¹:

Ajo këmishë ng'është e mirë për të dalësh, Ajo këmish ng'është e mirë për me dalë~dalur

These periphrastic constructs, one or bi-aspectual, give us new possible scenarios and interesting paths on which to trace Arbëresh language, but also other linguistic varieties that have been in close contact with it - Roman-Greek or Slavic - once in the Balkan context and then in the Italian context. Further research is necessary on these aspectual analyses which have yielded these results and which we tried to illustrate here today briefly in this paper.

³¹ Francesco Altimari, "Tracce di antichi infinitivi dell'albanese nell'arbëresh d'Italia" (pp.87-111), in idem, *Studia linguistica italo-balcanica. Arbëreshja në kontekstin gjuhësor ballkanik dhe italian*, Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, libri 51, Prishtinë 2014.

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Grigore BRÂNCUȘ

***THE DIALECTOLOGICAL ATLAS OF ALBANIAN LANGUAGE
SHARED ELEMENTS WITH RUMANIAN***

In 2007 and 2008, the first two volumes of the Albanian Language Atlas¹ were published at the Institute of Linguistics and Literature of the Albanian Academy of Sciences in Tirana. It was a work by a group of professors from the University of Tirana: Jorgji Gjinari, Bahri Beci, Gjovalin Shkurtaç and Xheladin Gosturani; with the collaboration of Anastas Dodi and Menella Totoni. J. Gjinari coordinated the preparatory work the development of the language atlas. He is also the author of the data-rich introduction. This study (published in Albanian and Italian) points out the general problems of Albanian dialectology, provides insights on the history of the preliminary research done for the atlas Atlas, on the preparation and organization of research, on material classification and maps editing. Indeed, the Atlas begins with an *Introduction* by Mahir Domi, an older generation albanologist, who has always supported since the middle of the last century, just like Eqrem Çabej and Al. Xhuvani, the attempt of young linguists to observe all the dialectal provinces of the country.

The Atlas Maps present the constituent features of shared Albanian and the geographical differences today together with their intermediate scales. The location of the isoglosses shows the archaic, more conservative areas, and the areas where innovations become apparent, be them integral, or, sometimes, the innovations caused by the contacts Albanian had with the neighboring languages. Gjinari notes the Atlas surveys discovered not only new phonetic variants, but also some grammatical forms and words hitherto unknown to Albanian linguistics. Therefore, the Albanian Atlas is not only an accurate description of the language dialectal composition but also a rich pool of data regarding the development of the language from the shared period to the modern era.

¹ *Atlasi dialektologjik i gjuhës shqipe*, volume I, 2007, volume II, 2008, published in the Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, Dipartimento di Studi dell’Europa Orientale.

In addition, this work is helpful for those studying contemporary Albanian and the history of this language.

Both main dialects, *Tosk* (spoken in the south) and *Gheg* (in the northern region), with basic distinguishing features from the old period of the language, have been considered being the standards of literary writing since the early nineteenth century. The first Albanian text, *Meshari*, is a translation Buzuku did in 1555 in the northern dialect. To mention briefly, Gjergj Fishta, one of the greatest poets of the country, wrote in the Gheg dialect at the beginning of the last century. He was very much familiar with the folklore of the Albanian highlanders. In the past, many collections of literary folklore, grammar books and dictionaries were published in both dialects. Some linguists have also developed monographic studies on a series of very interesting aged dialects. However, after the Second World War, an official decree established the literary norm based on the Tosk dialect.

The idea of developing a dialectological atlas is quite old in Albanian linguistics. Driven by the rush in Europe to research linguistic geography in the first half of the twentieth century, Eqrem Çabej drafted in 1943 a questionnaire for future dialectological surveys in Albania. After 1950, a very large number of monographs and descriptions of dialects were published in Albania, as well as some synthesizing studies and university courses in dialectology. They include as well the results of the research carried out on the Albanian dialects abroad: Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Greece, southern Italy, Sicily. Particularly well-preserved points on the Atlas maps have linguistic materials from these areas

The proper surveys lasted almost six years (1980-1985), over a very dense network of 171 cartographic points. The distance between the localities where the surveys were conducted (not only villages but also cities) – very suitable for the detailed study of spoken language - is approximately 17 km (longer in the mountainous areas, less so in the flat areas). Not without reason the elderly were the one that were asked the most.

The essential questionnaire, which has more than six hundred questions, was published at the end of the first volume and in general it contains predictable phenomena. It should be noted, therefore, that researchers intended to establish these phenomena on the ground as real facts of spoken language and, in particular, the presentation of isoglosses which limit dialectal units. In addition - an important fact - the linguistic

features provided for in the questionnaire were considered under the perspective of their function in the language as a whole, such as, for example, repetitive phonetic phenomena, or suffixes and endings in the morphological and phonetic structure of words.

It should be noted that the phonetic and grammatical "questions" were formulated in a professional language based on a detailed description of the phonetics and morphology of Albanian dialects. The researchers studied the real manifestations of sounds to words, as well as the structure of forms with possible variations of morphemes.

The first volume, with 360 maps, is partially devoted to phonetics and phonology. Let us mention the maps which contain typical phenomena: pronounced vowels (with quantitative opposition: long in Gegh and short in Tosk Albanian), nasalized vowels in Gegh (and lack of nasalization in Tosk Albanian effectuating the rhotacism of *n*), the development of vowel clusters *ua* (*thua*), *ye* (*fyell*), *ie* (*dielli*), laryngeal consonant *h* being in different positions in a word, the opposition of the vibrants: *r*: *rr*, *ll* (Laryngeal, with the variations) the fricatives *th*, *dh*, the affricates (*ç*, *xh*), the palatals (*q*, *gj*), clusters *ng*, *nd*, *nb*, *ngj*, the palatalization of consonants *p*, *b*, *f* (followed by *l'*) and *m* (+ *j*), the development of *u*- (followed by *ll*, *r*), depending on the closed or open nature of the syllable (*hekur* – *hekri*), accent variations (*ai* – *ái*, *pará* – *páre* etc.).

Regarding grammar, most maps contain elements that are related to these facts: neutrality², gender of collective nouns, the wealth of plural endings (with changes in root structure), the signs that distinguish between cases (accusative, derivative), posterior definite article, nominalized adjectives, the variety of forms with possessive pronouns, the present tense of demonstrative auxiliary verbs and a series of more frequent verb classes, the forms of auxiliary verbs in the past, types of future, the past participle, the imperative of the reflexive/passive diathesis, the syntax of inchoative verbs, the values of a string of prepositions, the subjunctive in the structure of intentional sentences etc.

The second volume is devoted entirely to the lexicon, mostly folk lexicon, organized according to these semantic criteria: natural phenomena, agriculture, fauna, flora, kinship, body parts, house, crafts, users and tools, time, space, numbers. At the end of the volume there is

² It is about the phenomenon of gender reassignment in the plural or ambiguity (publisher's note)

a very useful index of the words that are on the maps. The phonetic and grammatical variants of basic words are recorded in the special index developed for each map (on the right page) and their synonyms are listed separately in a box. On the actual map, the different variants have symbols (lines and colored geometric figures). These technical details facilitate search on the Atlas.

In some places, there are synthesizing maps that represent a larger group of phenomena, for example: the series of stressed vowels, the synonymous words for "kočan", etc.

To the history of the Romanian language, the Albanian Dialectological Atlas is of special interest, because the great similarities between Romanian and Albanian are shown on the maps with their real geographical location. It should be clarified from the beginning that the structural, phonetic, grammatical and lexical units of both languages have been observed for a long time in the Balkan linguistics. They have a have, on the Albanian dialect level, a limited extension in the Tosk dialect.

One could draw the historical conclusion that the Romanians had their initial connections with the Albanians from the Tosk area. In all likelihood, the Tosk Albanians could have descended, as the *Frashëriote* Romanians, from the northernmost territories, where they might have had contact with the Romanians. In Romanian, the similarities with Albanian have, in most cases, a general nature. This fact allows for the hypothesis that the contact between Albanian and Romanian could have taken place in the period of joint Romanian, before its dialectal division. Both languages, inherited directly from the Thracian-Illyrian substratum, some tendencies that materialized at the time of their union. This is what information provide on this regard the distinguished maps of Albanian dialectology.

1.a. In phonetics, the similarities between Albanian and Romanian are many. The vowel *ë* (rum. *ă*), regardless of its position, is a general sound (phoneme) in the Tosk dialect. For example, the final *-ë* is kept in Tosk, while in Gegh, the disappearance of *-ë* brought about the lengthening of the vowel of the antecedent syllable: (h. 1.a), t. *plakë*, g. *plāk*. In addition, unstressed *ë* in the first open syllable is kept in the southern dialect, but it disappeared in the northern dialect: t. *gëzim*, *këpucë*, *përrua*, g. *gzim*, *kpūc*, *prrū* (h. 47.b). Regarding its nasal properties, *ë* remained unchanged in Tosk and became *ã* in Geg. Both variants are clearly

separated (h. 38a, *zë - ri, lëmë, bëj* and h. 38b/1, phoneme / *ë* / pronounced in *zë, lë*: reflexes *ë* (and *e*) in the south and *ã* in the north).

Thus, many maps in the first volume show the preservation of the central vowel *ë* (= *ã*) among all possible neighbors. This is the situation not only in Dako Romanian, but also in Arumanian, a dialect which develops near to the Tosk dialect.

1.b. The rhotacism of the simple *n* between the two vowels in the old words, before the Slavic influence, is a general phenomenon in Tosk, as well as in the dialect of the localities of Sicily and southern Italy, where the Tosk Albanians moved early. In M. 64, the Gegë area, with the *-n-*, is clearly separate from the Toskë area, with *-r-*, such as in the following examples: *dimër -i, bri -ri, pleqëri, veshur* (in Gegh: *dimni, brini, pleqni, veshun*). The rhotacism of *n* occurred and developed in Albanian under the same circumstances as those in the northern territory of Romanian language. One important fact is that in Map 64, in between the areas with *-n-* and *-r-* (down Tirana, following the line Kavaja, Peqin, Librazhd, Pogradec) mixed forms were recorded: *-rn-*, *-nr-*, of the same type as those that are present in the old Romanian texts north of Ardeal and Maramureş.

1.c. The laryngeal consonant *h*, frequent in the Gheg dialect, appearing in all positions (I, M. 8). In Tosk Albanian there is a fluctuation, similar to Romanian: it exists either at the beginning of the word, or within it, positioned amid the vowels, or it disappears altogether. This fluctuation in the pronunciation of *h* is also present in other Balkan languages. Over a wide area in the center of Albania (as well as to the south and in the Albanian dialects in Italy and Greece), *h* has been replaced by *f* in the verbs as *leh, shoh, njoh, ftoh* (I, M. 57a, b).

In Tosk Albanian, inter-vowel *h* disappears constantly: *lahem* becomes *laem* (I, m. 57c). Cluster *hm* is simplified over the entire Albanian territory to *m*: *ndihmë* is pronounced *ndimë, ndim*. In the center and in the northeast, *h* attached to *m* might transition to *f*: *nifem, nifm* (I, M. 57c).

As it is possible to see, *h*, a fricative with a poor pronunciation, develops similarly in Albanian and Romanian.

1.d. In a limited, more conservative area, in the south of Albania, as well as in Greece and Italy, the palatal *q* appears to be as it was in its early (ancient) stage, *kl* (pronounced with *l*) in such words as: *qaj, qumësht, quhem* (I, h. 59a); see M. 59a/2: *kl* in *qenë*).

1.e. In the same southern province, the parallel cluster *gl* (pronounced *gl'*) developed in the same way as well (I, mh. 59b, the ancient cluster *gl* in *gju*, *zgjua*, *i gjatë*). We have made this special note regarding the appearance on maps of consonant clusters *kl*, *gl* because they have been preserved especially in the villages inhabited by the Aromanians from Frashëri, who pronounce the *cl cls gl, gl*, as *cl', gl'*: *cl'aie*, *gl'emu*.

1.a. In the Tosk regions it is easy to note the palatals *nj*, *lj* (= *ń*, *l'*), which in the north transitioned to *j*, I, m. 61b, *thonj*, *të rinj*, m. 62a, *laj*, *punoj* (in a wide tosk region: *lanj*, *punonj*; I, m. 62b, *vaj*, *gojë*, *bijë*, *fëmijë*, *shkëndijë*) (in southern tosk, the variants with *l*, the same phonetism as among the Frasheriotess)

1.a. As we know, in Albanian there is a discrepancy *r*: *rr* (simple *r* and strong *r̄*, with a supplementing apical vibration) *ruaj* and *rruaj*. This contradiction dissolves in some Tosk dialects and in the northeastern Gegh (I, m. 9, *rruaj*: *ruaj*), i.e. it becomes generalized as a simple *r*. We note this to show that a *rr* (from the *rn* cluster) developed even in the Arumanian in Albania; there was also a strong *r̄* in the Dakoromanian of the old texts.

1.b. From the point of view of the great similarities between Romanian and Albanian, we note from the Atlas maps a series of phonetic details in some words which have a shared autochthonous origin.

For example, dialect of the Albanians in Zadar, on the coast of Dalmatia, still has the ancient cluster *rd* (which transitioned into *rdh*) in such words as *erda* (= *erdha*), *gard* (= *gardh*) etc. (I, h. 11b). Therefore, rum. *gard* belongs to the ancient stage of the common Romanian-Albanian words.

In the northernmost Gegh area and in the Podgorica area, the fricative vocal dental *dh* is incidentally pronounced even as *ll*, a lateral sonant which equivalent in Romanian is *r* (for example: *mură*, alb. *Mullë*); henceforth the hypothesis that *mare* mb. will be explained by the Albanian dialectal form *malle* (< *madhe*).

Throughout the northern part of Albanian, the palatal *q* (= *k'*) turned into an affricate (I, h. 13a, b; *q*, *gj* in *qafë* and *gjak*), hence rum. *ceafă* will be compared to an identical form of Albanian.

The cluster of the sounds *va*, in *vatër*, belongs to the Tosk dialect, which is compared to rum *vatră*; in Gegh it corresponds to *vo*: *votër* (I, m. 56)

2. In grammar, the similarities between Albanian and Romanian shown in the Atlas maps are numerous and of great importance.

3. Summary nouns, that is, those denoting uninterrupted, indivisible matter, have neutral determinants, similar to some equivalents in Romanian. The cartographic points where such names have a neuter gender are mostly common in the Tosk region (including southern Italy and Sicily), see I h. 68/1 – 68/6, the gender of nouns *újë*, *mish*, *djathë*, *lesh*, *dyllë*, *mjaltë*. In Rumanian: *cărnuri*, *brânzeturi*, *lânuri*, plural summarizing forms, with suffix *-uri* which is typical for neuter nouns.

3.a. As it is known, Albanian is distinguished for the wide use of different markers that show the number of nouns. This appears in many volumes I maps (h. 71a and the following maps). (h. 71a and subsequent maps). For example, *gysh* becomes plural by *-ë*, *-a*, *-ër*, *-re*; *grusht*: *-e*, *-a*, *-ë* (∅), *-ër*; *nip*: *-a*, *-ër* (*-ën*), *-ëra* (*-ra*, *-na*), *-e*, *nīp*; *gisht*: *-a*, *-ërinj*, *-inj*, *-ri*, *-ër*, *-ra*, *-re*, *-e*. In addition, there are numerous forms of plural in: *prift*: *-ërinj*, *-in*, *-a*, *-ër* (*-ën*), *-ra*, *-re*, *-e*; *përrua* (comparable to rum. *pârâu*, *-aie*, *-ăie*, *-uri*): *përenj* (*prenj*), *prej*, *përon*, *-oj* (*proj*) (*-oja*), *pronje* (*-oje*), *projna*, *pronjëre*, *prora*; *gardh* (comparable to rum. *gard*, *-uri*): *gardhe*, *-a*, *-na*, *-ni*, *-e*, *-ej*, *-ice*, *-ie*, *-inj*, *-inie*; *gierdhe*, *gardhnje*.

The number of a noun is sometimes shown even with changes in the structure of the root: *dash* – *desh*, *djalë* – *djem*, *yll* – *yje*, *kulaç* – *kuleç*, *thelb* – *thalb*, *lepur* – *lepuj*, *kërmill* – *kërmij*, *kalë* – *kuaj*, *vëlla* – *vëllezër*.

In other cases the word does not change: s. *nxënës* – p. *nxënës*; it reappears during the inflection.

We did not consider the variants with the forms with articles, for example *mulli*, *mulliri*, and *mullirin dhe mullinë*; *sy*, *syri*, and *syrin, synë* etc.

Therefore, the examination of the Atlas maps proves the fact, which the Albanian grammars have always shown, that this language has a very rich nominative inflection. We do not exaggerate by saying that Romanian, a Romance language, stands out because of the large number of morphemes which show the number of the nouns.

2.a. In Albanian, there are some non-human nouns that have masculine determiners in the singular and plural feminine. These are of the so-called neuter gender, having the same characteristics as neuter

nouns in Romanian. In map 137 (volume I), this gender is further illustrated with the word *mal* in the phrase *mali i nalt* (masculine) and plural *male të larta* (feminine adjective), such as for example, rum. *cătun frumos* “beautiful village” (masculine) and plural *cătune frumoase* “beautiful villages” (fem.). “The neuter” is specific in Gegh dialect; however, there are some “neuter” nouns even in Tosk language.

2.a. Maps 89a, b show the process of how the front article of the adjective attached to the structure of the name standing before the adjective; for example, *lopa e kuqe* is present in points spread all over the territory with no adjective article as it has been taken by the suffix of the name: *lopa kuqe* ose *lope kuqe*.

Similar to how *viçi i zi* becomes *viçi zi*. These manifestations in spoken language point out that even though the names in the given phrase have an article (*lopa, viçi*), that article merges with the nouns in Albanian and Romanian: *vacă a neagră u* becomes *vaca neagră* “lopa e zezë”, *vițelu al negru* > *vițelul negru* “viçi i zi”. This hypothesis, with regard to the merged article, has been known for long in Rumanian linguistics.

2.a. The perfect tense of motion verbs is formed with the auxiliary verb *kam*, as in Romanian: *kam shkuar: am mers*; *kam dalë: am ieșit* (I, h. 125a). The dialect of Kosovo is an exception to the rule of the uniformity of the auxiliary verb in all verb categories. In this dialect, the non-transitive verbs have *jam* in perfect tense: *jam shkue* (as in western roman languages), probably modeled according to Serbian language.

2.b. The future demonstrative is formed as in Rumanian.

α. *do* + subjunctive: *do të shkoj*; *do* does not change and it is probably with no grammatical person, such as *o* (lat. *volet*), the corresponding element in Romanian, which has entered the written texts relatively late. Phrase *do* + subjunctive is responsible for both main dialects of Albanian language (I, h. 126);

β. *kam* + lidhore: *kam të shkoj*, it is still present in south Italy and Sicily (I, h. 126); the auxiliary verb *kam* changes according to grammatical person and number, and so does the corresponding verb in Romanian. The phrase *am să merg*, general and popular, reflects the Balkan process of replacing the infinitive (*am a cânta*) with the subjunctive. Probably, even in Albanian the formation of the structure with the subjunctive, limited until now to peripheral dialect, can be explained with in the same way;

γ. *kam + për të + participle: kam për të shkuar = am de mers and kam + me + participle: kam me shkue = am de mers (and am a merge)*. In both constructions, very frequent in Gegh, denoting the future (a future of necessity), only the auxiliary verb changes according to the grammatical person and number (I, h. 126).

2.c. The Albanian infinitive is expressed analytically, through a construction with a participle: *për të + pjes. (për të punuar)*, frequent in Gegh and *me + pjes. (me punue)*, general in Gegh. In south Albania, in Greece and in Italy, “the infinitive” does not exist and instead the subjunctive is used (I, h. 130). Indeed, the Albanian infinitive, formed by the participle preceded by the preposition is equivalent to the Romanian word *supin*, a construction with the same structure and infinitive value. The comparison with the Albanian language is proof that the Romanian *supin* has emerged because of the disappearance of the real infinitive.

2.d. In southern Albanian, the prepositional particle *u* in the second person plural and imperative form is between the root and the ending, such as for example *uluni (ul - u - ni)*, *lahuni (lah - u - ni)* (I, h. 135a, b). Verb forms with an inserted *u*, denoting a passive-*vetvetor* meaning (s.: *lahu*), can be compared with the Rumanian types: *duce-vă-ți* (from *duceți-vă-ți*, with dissimilation).

2.e. In Tosk dialect, inchoative verbs form within sentences that have the subjunctive and in Gegh dialect within sentences that have the infinitive: Tosk *filloi të pijë*; Gegh. *filloi me pī* (I, h. 142). The analytic construction with the subjunctive is a typical Balkan construction, known even in Rumanian.

2.f. The semi-auxiliary verb [with the characteristics of modal verb] *duhet* – corresponding in Rumanian to *trebuie* – formed by a participle, is marked with only one point, in Labëri, south Albania: *duhet punuar*, rum. *trebuie lucrat*. Nevertheless, *duhet + participle* is usually used in spoken language. According to the Atlas data, most common is the form with the subjunctive: *duhet të punosh*, with an overall subject, expressed as in Rumanian (*trebuie să muncești*), in second person singular.

We should point out the equivalent construction in Gegh, with the infinitive: *duhet me punu* (as in the western *roman language*, for example: fr. *il faut travailler*).

2.g. The intentional sentences form with the subjunctive in Tosk dialect and in Rumanian: *vete të pres dru*, rum. *mă duc să tai lemne*. The

phrase with the infinitive *për të* + participle: *vete për të prerë dru* has the same syntax values as the romanian phrase *supin: mă duc la tăiat lemne*.

In Gegh dialect, the intention is expressed through the infinitive: *vete me pre dru* or *vete për me pre dru* (I, h. 145), which equals in Romanian also with *supin*.

We have paid special attention to the dialectal material found in the maps of the first volume of the Atlas to show that there may be additional evidence that the similarities between Romanian and Albanian appear not only in lexicon, as is commonly thought, but also in phonetics and grammar, where there are also numerous phenomena. These essential similarities do not seem random, nor to have been developed later. Both languages carry the genetic kinship (connection) to the common substrate.

During this time, we have researched the phenomena presented here: vowel *ă*, consonant *h*, rhotacism, neuter gender, imperative, *supini*, retraction of the article etc. We have published the research in *Studii de istorie a limbii române*, I, II, Editura Academiei Române, 2007, 2009 ("Studies in the history of the Romanian language", I, II); Many works can be found in the volume *Cercetări asupra fondului traco-dac al limbii române*, Institutul Român de Thracologie, Bibliotheca thracologica, VIII, 1995 (*Kërkime mbi fondin trako-dak të gjuhës rumune*, the title of the book, Albanian in Tirana, translated by Luan Topçiu)

3. The second volume of the Dialectological Atlas of the Albanian language contains organized lexical subjects, as we have already shown, in semantic fields, more precisely, in popular terminology. Many maps include a wealth of synonyms

4. For Albanian language researchers, these are source materials (ancient, dialectological, folk) for onomastic research of great interest in Balkan linguistics.

Here we focus, as above, on the ancient words that Albanian and Romanian share together. The observations we make (dialectal extent, archaic variants, etc.) can be considered to supplement the monographic research we have published in *Vocabularul autohton al limbii române*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983 ("Autochthonous Dictionary of the Romanian Language"). We have put the words in the order of the maps in the Atlas.

gjëmb (h. 166), similar word in rum. *ghimpe*, it comes up only in our Tosk dialect and central Gegh dialect. A record has been made in the Tosk dialect of the older variant *glemb*, *glem*, with *gl*.

mace (h. 178) It is a word with a general prevalence, hence the comparison with rum. *mâță* should not be excluded, especially because in the area of Shkodra variants *mitsë* and even *mâtse* (with a nasalized *a*) have been recorded. The male equivalent (m. 176, *maçok*) comes up with variants that differentiate because of the final segment: *maçok*, *maçek*, *maçor*, *maçur*.

gomar (h. 182) it is known in the Gegh dialect, and in the Albanian language in Kosovo and Macedonia. The variant in Romanian is *magar*, in the same provinces, and the feminine derivative is *magaricë* (: rum. *măgăriță*) (m. 183).

mëz, *-i* (and variants *mës*, *mãz*, (m. 187) It is found throughout the map of Albania, with few synonyms in the Tosk dialect and in the dialects of southern Italy. In the south, in Himara (point 121), where many Aromanians live, is *the mëndz*, *-i* variant and, also south (points 119, 139), fem. *mëzë*, *-a*, similar to rum. *mânză* (see also m. 205, *mëzat*).

mushk(ë), *-a* (m. 188) It is known in all Albanian dialects, also in those spoken outside Albania. *Mushkë* coexists with m. *mushk*, *moshk*; hence, a root identical to that found in *mușcoi*, fem. *mușcoie* (arom. *mușcu*).

berre, *-t* (and *berra*, *-t*) Alb. “small cattle”, synonym of the word *dhen*, *-t* (h. 189), is occasionally encountered in Durrës, in Mirdita and especially in the area of Podgorica and Montenegro. Alb. *berre* is equivalent to rum. *bâr* (especially in the phrase: *bâr*, *oaie*), an interjection to call on the sheep.

dash, *-i* (h. 190) it is present wherever Albanian is spoken; it is an inherited word; the equivalent in Romanian is *daș* “lamb”, found unexpectedly in the province of Muscel, north of Wallachia (a province in the south of Romania) (*daș* is, however, common in the Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian dialects, meaning “lamb”)

shtjerrë, *-a* (variants *shqerrë*, *shqjerrë* and m. *shterr*, *-i*, *shter*) “lamb” it has been encountered only in the Tosk dialect in Pogradec and Korça where many Arumunians live (h. 191, *qengj*, *-i*, and h. 193, *milor*, *-i* “a lamb one to two years old”, general term). Research shows that the “sterile” meaning (for animals and females) is not in the map; it came to be known from other lexical sources.

(*shtirë* n. “sterile cattle”, rum. *știră*; see, however, m. 351 *djerr*, -i “uncultivated land”, with synonyms *shtaire* (= *shtirë*) in Myzeqe and *shtjer*, -a, *shterp*, -a in Macedonia.

cjap, -i (h. 196) It is a word that is spread over the entire area of the Albanian language. However, near Korça, it is isolated, and the word *përç* (: rum. *pârçi*) is more common, a Slav word.

kec, -i “The little goat less than one year old” (h. 197), a general word in Tosk Albanian, which we would compare to rum. *cheț*, an interjection to bring back the goats and their little ones. In the north of Albania (and in Kosovo, in Montenegro, in Macedonia) only *edh* is used (and *kedh*, mixed with *kec*) originating from lat. *haedus*, which could have been assimilated because of the contact with Romanian shepherds.

ftujë, -a “female goat, one to two years old” (h. 198), and *ftunj*, *ftujk*, *ftujëz*, *ftule*, *vetule* (see and m. 199, *ftujak*, -u). We mentioned this word because there are linguists who consider the rum. *vătui* “little goat or a rabbit cub” as an element of substrate.

shytë, -a (h. 200) is a general term. The known variants from the other sources, *çutë* and *sutë*, do not show up.

mështjerrë, -a “a big female calf before it has given birth” (h. 234), a term with a general prevalence, except for the regions of Elbasan and Korça, where it is recorded as *mëzore*, originating from *mëz*, similar to rum. *mânzare* “a shee producing milk” from *mânz*; it is possible that *mështjerrë* to be the result of the mixture of the words *shtjerrë* and *mëz*, *mëzore* (h. 191).

mëzat, -i “calf from one to three years old; young bull” (h. 205) it is known in the Gheg dialect and in isolated dots in southern Tosk Albanian. It belongs to the family of derived terms from the noun *mëz*, with the same lexical structure as the Rumanian *mânzat* (see even m. 187 *mëz*).

sorrë, -a (h. 210), a general word similar to rum. *cioară*; in eastern tosk language: *galë* “raven” (equivalent to rum. *gaie*).

gjon, -i (h. 218) a predatory bird smaller than the owl, which sings at night in summer”. It is a word known only in Tosk Albanian and among the Arbëresh of Italy. In Myzeqe it is known as the “night bird”, while in Dalmatia as the “bad bird”. Rum. *ghionoaië* is an internal development.

rosë, -a (h. 226), a word which can be compared to rum. *rață*, is all over the territory. In Gegh language, the word *rikë* is less common (in Rumanian, *rică* is an interjection to call on the goose).

këpushë, -a (h. 232), a word which can be related to rum. *căpușă*, it is known only in tosk Albanian.

kopile, -ja “girl” it is only in one point, among the Arberesh of Italy (h. 245).

It has an identical meaning to the rum. *copil*.

gjysh, -i “the father of mother or father” and *gjyshe*, -ja “mother of father or mother” (h. 253) are common words in all Albanian dialects. In Rumanian, *ghiuș* has a limited use meaning “plak” and it is only in masculine (today is very rare).

kurm, a synonym of the word *trup*, it is only in the Albanian of Greece and Italy (h. 267 “trup”). This term of Slavic origin is almost universal. It can be noted that in the northern dialects, it coexists with the Latin synonym *shtat*. The word *kurm* became the origin of the verb *kurmoj* “cut a wood through the middle”, which can be related to the rum. word *a curma*. The presence of the alb. word *kurm* in the southern area speaks more of a relation with Greek.

fyell is used as a metaphor in *fyelli i këmbës* similar to romanian: *fluierul piciorului* (see m. 279, in the area of Korça, but even in the North, in Mirdita). In the dialects of Greece, a form closer to Romanian emerges: *flojer e këmbës*.

Shkrep, verb, it is present in some southern points with the meaning of “stir (fire)”: *shkrep zjarrin* (h. 292).

gudulis fol. (rum. *a gâdila*) it is a general word in Tosk Albanian (h. 293). There are linguists who relate both words etymologically.

shkrum (and *shkrump*, *shkrumz*, -a) with the meaning “soot; wood fire” (h. 312 “soot”) is a rare term: one point near Tirana, another in Labëri (south) and two points in Kosovo. *Shpuzë* has the same meaning at one point in the south of Kosovo

krunde, -t pl. “waste of sifted flour, bran” (h. 315) It is known in almost all areas of Albanian language (and in the provinces of northern neighboring countries where there are Albanians living). The equivalent in rum. *grunz*, ar. *grundă*, megl. *grunj*; see also m. 364 “plis, -i”, in which *grund*, -a in Kosovo and Macedonia has the meaning of “clod”.

ajkë, -a (see variant *alkë*, m. 328) It is a general word in the Tosk dialect. It can be compared to *aică* in Old Dako Romanian (today *arichiță* “what remains of milk whey after the curd is extracted”, “Dictionary of the Academy” = DA, s.v.). It should be noted that *ajkë* shows up in Gegh Albanian (together with Albanian dialects in Kosovo,

Macedonia and Montenegro) with the meaning of “wool fat; oily sweat on cattle skin and on human hair”, see m. 392, *lyrë, -a* (e *leshit*), a meaning known also in the Albanian of Greece.

mullëz, -a “a ferment for cheese; a ferment extracted by soaking in water the dried abomasum of a lamb, goat or calf” is known in Tosk Albanian, but also in Kosovo (p. 331). It is a word comparable to rum. *murzã*. It is present in other areas spread out over the two dialects as *rrëndë* (*rrãn*, compared to rum. *rânzã*).

këpucë, -a “a man’s footwear” it is in both dialects (m. 335). Some linguists (Miklosich, Philippide, Jokl etj.) draw an etymological connection between this word and the romanian *cãputã*, ar. *cãputã*.

sumbull, -a (var. *sumull, sumell, sumbë, thumbi, thumbëz, thumbuz*) “a tiny button” (h. 339, *kopsë*), which can be compared to rum. *sâmbure*.

stan, -i (h. 340) it is all over Albania (synonymous with *kasolle* in Montenegro and *këlive* in northern Greece, in Aromanian areas. Many linguistics advocate the autochthonous origin in rum. *stãnã*, alb. *Stan*).

tsark, -u “earrings” and var. *thark* (h. 341). The word can be compared with the word rum. *țarc* and it is spread especially in Myzeqe.

shtrungë, -a “a narrow passage near the barn door, a barnyard” it is a general word (m. 342), similar to rum. *strungã*.

shterp, -a “uncultivated land” (h. 351). It has this meaning (more frequent are *djerr, lëndinë*) only in some points of Macedonia (compare to rum. *sterp*, for uncultivated land).

grep, -i “hoe” (h. 352, “adze”), with the general meaning “a tool to catch fish; gaff, hook” (along Pogradec, in the south, it means “fork”, h. 376), may be etymologically related to rum. *grapã*.

grihë, -a “Hard stone to sharpen scythes” (m. 381) is a general term, etymologically related to the verbs *grih* “sharpen with grihe”, *grij* “cut into very small pieces; erodes, burn”. In the same family is the verb *gërryej* “itch, scratch”, from which the name *gërresë* is formed “tool that serves to scoop or to grate with ” (a word not found in the Atlas). It can be compared to the rum *greasã, gresie* (with change of inflection).

argali, -ja (var. *argëli*), in southern Albanian, in that of southern Greece and Italy, with the meaning of “vessel, loom”, compared to rum. *arkea* “vessel, loom”. The Albanian term (see m. 382 “loom”) can also be identified with gr. *αργαλειός*, id.

kërig, -a (*krriga, -t, krrigëz, -a*) “needles for knitting”, in Mallakastër (southern Albania), m. 386 “knitting needle, -a”. We took in

consideration this provincial word because there are linguists who consider it similar to rum. *cârlig* as a substrate temr.

kurth, -i (*kurth*, -a) "a tool for catching wild animals, snare, trap", rum. *Cursă*; it comes up in northern Gegh and, in almost the same areas, *hekura*, -t, sh., a term comparable to mean with rum. *fiare* sh. "Trap" (m. *çark*, -u).

vatër (I, h. 56), rum. *vatră*, it is known in tosk; in Gegh: *vatër*.

As you can see, there are 40 words in the Atlas that Albanian and Romanian have in common. We have done a monographic research of these words in the volume mentioned above; here we have limited ourselves to a brief description. We have left out the words found on the maps because of their phonetic features or because they belong to clusters of metaphorical value: *qafë*, *përrua*, *gardh*, *shterp*, *tsapë*, *bukël*, *bukuroshë*, *brez*. We did not even consider the words that are comparable to Romanian in terms of semantic features or lexical structure, such as *vëllam* (: rum. *fârtat*), *tambël* "qumësht" (: rum. *dulce* "food (dairy) prohibited by fasting"), *lyrë* (: rum. *usuc în lână*), *shkues* (: rum. *mergător* "shkues"), *fejoj* (: rum. *încredințez*), *këlysh* (: rum. *căluș*), *nusez* (: rum. *miresică*, *nevăstuică*), *God's belt* [: rum. *brâul lui Dumnezeu* "rainbow"], *shark* (rum. *sarică*) etc. Their number is very large. In conclusion, it should be said that, from the Romanian point of view, the popular lexical collection placed on the maps of the Albanian Atlas, together with the phonetic and grammatical elements, gives a very clear picture of the genetic connection between these two languages.

* * *

In 2011, Titos Jochalas published in Athens two volumes of research on the Albanian dialects spoken today in Greece³. The first volume contains various texts (tales, stories, memoirs, folklore or spoken language excerpts, etc.), followed by notes, explanations, comments, while the second has a rich vocabulary extracted from these texts.

In Tito Jochalas's dictionary, we focused on those Albanian words that have the same or very similar responsible words in Romanian. Some also appear in the points found on Greek soil in the Dialect Atlas of the Albanian language. For this reason, the list we provide here should be viewed as an appendix, supplementing the material we uploaded to

³ T. Jochalas, *Η αρβανιτιά στο Μοριά (χρονικά πορείας)*, I–II, Athtinë, 2011.

Atlas⁴. We used author transcription; we give the respective Romanian words in parentheses; in some cases, we also give the respective Greek words.

alkë, aljkë (*aică, arichiță* “what remains of milk whey after the curd is extracted”). *baljtë-a* (*baltă* “pool, lake, pond”), gr. η λάσπη: *Shtëpinë e bënjëm me baltë nga botë edhé me gurë*.

bardhë (*i, e*) (*barz, bardz* “whitish, gray”), derived words: *zbardhënj, i zbardhur*. Other var. *barxë*, me [dz], “variegated, half white and half brown” (for goats). It is possible that the var. with *x* [= dz], deriving pastoral speech, to have been influenced by the Aromanian dialect.

barsë (: *borț* “large or swollen abdomen”, *borțoasă* “pregnant, pregnant woman”), derivative word: *barsem* “conceives, becomes pregnant”; comparable to *barrë* : rum. *sarcină, greutate, povară: Ishtë me barrë*: rum. *e însărcinată, e cu sarcină*.

berr-i, sh. *berra* (*bâr*, exclamation to bring back the sheep or goats; derived verb *bârâi* “send out and bring the sheep”, derivative noun: *bârâiac* “lamb”) (gr. το γιδοπρόβατο).

bisht-i (comparable to rum. *păstaie* “pod”).

brez-i (: rum. *brâu* “brez”); *brezi i kallogresë* (: rum. *brâul călugăriței* “rainbow”).

bredh-i (rum. *brad*), derivative noun *bredhjonë-a* “fir”.

brúshtullë-a (rum. *brusture*).

bukur (*i, e*) (comparable to rum. *bucur* “beautiful” (supposed meaning: a human name *Bucur*), *bucuros* “joyfull”, *bucura* “enjoy”).

buzë (*buză*), derived *buzalla-i* “with thick lips”; many compound words (with different meanings): *buzë e kaut* (: *buză boului*), *buzëkuqe* (: *buză-roșie*), *buzëbardhë* (: *buză-albă*), *buzëzi* (: *buză neagră*), *buzështrëmbëre* (: *buză strâmbă*).

cark-u [= tsark], a more ancient variant than *thark*, similar to rum. *țarc*

and gr. τσάρκος.

cjap [= tsjap]: *țap*.

çoke [= çoke], *cok-u* “small bell on the neck of a goat” (comparable to rum.

cioc).

⁴ For detailed remarks on the etymology and geographical distribution of common terms between the two languages, see, inter alia, Gr. Brâncuș, *Vocabularul autohton al limbii române*, București, 1983.

dash-i (: *daş* “id”).

flojërë-a (: *fluier*), comparable to gr. *φλογέρα*.

fleturonj, fljutëronj (comparable to rum. *fluture* “butterfly”).

gardh-i “garden” (rum. *gard* “fence”), gr. *ο χήλος*: Hyri dhia ne *gardh* edhé më hëngjëri domátatë (The goat went into the garden and ate all the tomatoes).

gáti (: *gata*).

glim-mbi; glëmba (: *ghimpe*); var. with *gl-* is older than *gjëmb*

(also: *gluhë*

> *gjuhë, glisht* > *gjisht, glju* > *gju*); The fish have *gljëma*.

gushë-a (: *guşă*) “chin, neck; sheep disease”, gr. *αρρώστια προβάτων*; *gushëkuq* “bird with red feathers on the neck”.

gropë-a (: *groapă*).

gjon-i (comparable to rum. *ghionoaie* “woodpecker”).

hudhrë-a, hurdhë-a (comparable to rum. *urdă* “a type of cheese”), gr. *το σκόρδο. kaçullë-a, ksulje-lja* (: *căciulă*), derivative noun *kaçuljer-i* “the laurel male”; the var. with *ç*, like in Rumanian should be observed.

kalbëtë (*i, e*), derivative adjective from verb *kalb* (comparable to rum. *câlbează*)

and

qelp-qelbi, qelbem “emit a heavy odor”. *këpucë-a* [këputsë], *kupucë* (: rum. *căpută*). *katunt-ndi* (: *cătun*).

kopil (: *copil* “child”) “servant”, *kopilje-lja* “girl” (in common albanian *vajzë*, gr. *η κόπη*).

kurm-i “trung” (: rum. *curma* “interrupt”): *kurmi i lisit*, gr. *το κόρμι. kründe-të* “residues of sifted flour, bran” (: *grunz* “grain”). *maç-i, máce-a* (: *mâţă*).

mal-i (: *mal* “coast”).

madh (*i*) (: *mare* “i madh”). *mëzore-a* (: *mânzată*). *miljor* (: ar. *mil'or, mil'oară*).

mullëzë-a “ferment” (: *mură* “stomak, rrécok, ferment”, ar. *amură*).

mushk-u and f. *mushkë-a* (: *muşcoi, ar. muşcu*). *nëpërtë-a* “viper, asp” (: *năpârcă*). *qafë-a* (: *ceafă* “nape”), gr. *τράχηλος*.

sembri-a “company” (*sâmbră* “id”; ~ oilor “joining herds of sheep to pasture”).

sorrë-a (: *cioară* “raven”).

strigëzë “witch”; gr. *η στρίγκλα*; rom. *strigă, strigoii, strigoaie*

“bogy”; it might even be *shtrig-a* “jetim”, gr. *ο ορφανός*. *shterpë* (: *stearpă*), gr. *η στέρφα γίδα*.

shkrep(u) “radiation” (: *scăpăra* “shine, shoot”): *i shkrepurë* “splendid”.

shtrepa-të (: *strepede* “cheese worm”): the cheese has *shtrepa* (ar. *štrepu*, with a reconstructed form according to the Albanian word).

shqërra-të, shtjërrë “lamb, lambs” (*štiră* “barren”).

shtrungë-a (: *strungă*): *shtrungë*; gr. *στρούγκα*; derivative noun *shtrungulíth* “stone on which the shepherd sits when milking”, gr. *ο στρογγόλιθος*; The shepherd sits on a stone *shtrungulíthi* and stays above and milks. Therefore, *shtrungë* (*strungă*) it is the door to the sheepfold where the sheep are milked. We should add speaking *shtrungulisinj* “bring the sheep in the door to milk”.

shutë-a “1. lumps in the neck; 2. kërrutë” (: *ciută* “sutë”), *krrutë* “horned sheep” (: rum. *cornută*); in Albanian there is no variant with *ç*. *trastë-a* (: *traistă*).

vatrë-a (: *vatră*), gr. *εστία*.

vjedh, vjedhënj (comparable to rum. *viezure* “badger”).

xhapí-u [= *ğapî*] and *xapí-u* [= *dzapî*] (comparable to rum. *șopârlă*) “large and yellow lizard”; we should add *zhapë* [= *žapë*] “stuffed meat; hard bark”.

49 of these terms are certainly part of the joint Albanian-Romanian fund originating from the substrate. We also added the words *bisht, këpucë, mace, sembri, strigëzë*, which some linguists think may belong to the pre-Romanian fund; the noun *milor* originates from the dialect of the Aromanian shepherds

As it is possible to see, the number of common words matters, as does the number of words we find in the Atlas maps, a fact which proves that, in the entirety of the popular lexicon, they represent approximately a set of 60 terms, very important in the experience of common elementary, basic communication.

The texts that Titos Jochalas took from different places in Laconia, Argolida, Corint, there are many constructions, expressions, sayings, special meanings common to Romanian and, often, Greek and other Balkan languages. We present here, without a certain order, a part of this valuable material, supplemented with Romanian equivalents:

di arbërishtë: știe românește (and with the borrowed version from the Greek: *arvanitiqe*).

java e madhe: sãptãmâna mare, java djathit: sãptãmâna brânzei (me gjinoren); *java mishi: sãptãmâna de carne* (Albanian derivative, construction with Romanian prepositions).

bithëpulje: cur de gãinã (the folk word of a skin disease). *sa bën peponi: cât face pepenele* (= how much).

cë bën?: ce faci? (a waiting phrase).

të të marrë djallëthi: lua-te-ar dracul (in curses).

dalli djelli: a ieșit soarele.

menate: de noapte.

morratë më hëngre krietë: mă mănâncă păduchii în cap. pucë [putsë]: puță.

bre: bre (gr. $\rho\epsilon, \beta\rho\epsilon$).

burrë: bërbat “the husband”: That woman lost her husband *burri* : acelei femei i-a murit

bërbatul.

i marrë: luat, apucat “crazy”; gr. $\tau\rho\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$. *mbecë mirë: rãmâi cu bine.*

i bie mirë: îi cade bine.

misërdhe (= welcome): *bine ai venit. dorëzë* (zvog.): *mãnușã* “peg”.

tata: tatã; mëmë: mamã.

keq e bukurë: frumoașã rãu “very beautiful”; was very ill *keq = e bolnav rãu* (*keq, rãu* with a superlative value).

më muar malli (go in the village): *mã apucã dorul* (sã merg în sat).

kljumëshiti u prish: laptele s-a stricat “clotted”; dhe: *kljumëshiti u pre: laptele s-a tăiat* (la fiert).

mirë-a, sh. mira-të: bunele (mit.)

na: na (gr. $\nu\alpha$), Balkan words.

allarghu: klisja isht allarghu, me a- perhaps after the arum.

alargu (comparable to dhe gr. $\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\alpha$).

nusezë: nevãstuicã, gr. $\nu\phi\acute{\iota}\tau\sigma\alpha$.

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Translated by: Dr. Cãtãlina Vãtãșescu

Bardhyl DEMIRAJ

**AROMANIAN IN THE CODEX BY KOSTË
CEPI-VITHKUQARI**

Opening remarks

The object of our work is an Aromanian memorial of 1920s, 19th century, cited as such relatively early, but which has still remained unknown, inscribed in the Aromanian writing culture heritage. We deliberately write “relatively early” to highlight the fact the writer of such verses is not the first who attracts the reader’s attention on its presence in such modest heritage we celebrate today from the Aromanian writing tradition in time and space. Therefore, it is our right to pretend that such memorial has been avoided being inscribed in this heritage for reasons that still need to be explained.

So, let’s mention in advance that the encouragement to search for such “new” writing testimony was initially experienced during the reading of the model critical publication of the liturgical text “Liturghier aromînesc”, whose author was the well-known researcher Matilda Caragiu-Marioţeanu (Bucharest 1962). As a text, this “Liturghier aromînesc” was discovered for the first time in 1939 in manuscript materials of Tirana National Library (Albania) by the Albanian self-taught researcher Ilo Mitkë Qafëzezi, who then sent an original copy of it to Romanian colleagues Theodor Capidan and Victor Papacostea, at the University of Bucharest, as a gift, as well as a second copy of the daily newspaper “Universul” (Bucharest).

The “Liturghier aromînesc” manuscript attachment with our “new and unknown” manuscript is quite simple. The researcher Caragiu-Marioţeanu, who later dealt with the critical publication of the “Liturghier aromînesc” manuscript (Bucharest 1962), does not fail to present to readers her monograph and two Albanian accompanying letters of this manuscript in Albanian as an annex, which was archived for decades. The author of the second letter was Ilo Mitkë Qafëzezin

himself, who, upon the discovery of the “Liturghier aromînesc”, narrates, among other things, that:

“It is the second case, but more blessed that I am fortunate to meet in Albania old traces of Vlach language writing, for the satisfaction of my three friends, university lecturers of Bucharest: The first case was in [Church – B.D.] St. Peter of Vithkuq in the Albanian manuscript of Dhaskal Kostë Xhepi, which I discovered last year (August 1938), in which, between two Hellenic pages of the manuscript – page 119 and another – I found “hristosanëstin” (in vivere) written in Vlach language. Neither in Voskopoja, nor in Berat and Korça, did I find till today other traces of Vlach language writing we hear every day among our Vlach cohabitant brothers: Voskopojars, Frashërots and Myzeqars.” (In Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1962 159v.)

Who Dhaskal Kostë Xhepi, or Dhaskal Kostë Cepi (alias Vithkuqari) was and where this Aromanian memorial was located are data that we partly learn in the first accompanying letter, which was written by its colleague Dhanill Mihal, who in the end adds that:

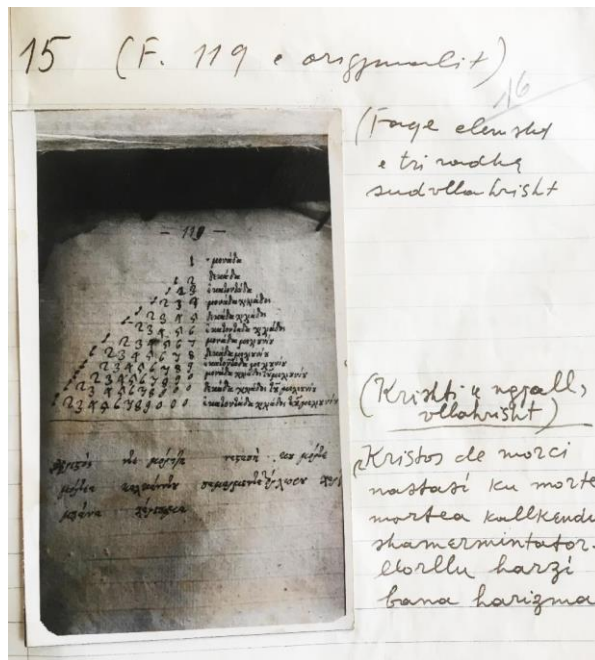
“...This is the second time that Mr. Qafëzezi discovers traces of Dako-Roman Vlach language writings, unknown to scholars. He found the first in Vithkuq of Korça, in some intercalated rows in two pages of the Albanian linguistic document of Dhaskall Kostë Xhepi-Vithkuqari of 1820-1822.” (In Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1962 157v.)

We learn more about this “new and unknown” manuscript even in the work of cognitive and encyclopedic nature of Dhimitër Shuteriqi “Shkrimet shqipe – në vitet 1332-1850” (Tirana 1976 176), who writes that:

“Qafëzezi has discovered a Vithkuqi codex, that K[ostë] Cepi or Xhepi held in its majority in Greek, of didascallic subject, in which 22 sheets in Albanian are found. 174 pages in total. [...] In page 119, it is written “Jesus is resurrected” in Aromanian, with Greek alphabet letters. We are citing it as in the transcription of Qafëzezi: *Kristos de morci nastasi ku morte morte kallkendu shamemintatorllorllu harzi bana harizma*. It is the fourth time we find Aromanian written in Albania with Greek alphabet letters, since N[ektar] Terpo, and then Kavallioti and Dhaniil Voskopojari.”

Our searches for finding the Codex of Kostë Cepi-Vithkuqari have not been successful to-date, and we can even declare it as lost or covered in "oblivion dust" in any private library. However, we can say that, at the

same time, we were lucky as during our searches in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Albania (AQSH), exactly in the numerous dossiers where the heritage was archived in the manuscript of Ilo Mitkë Qafëzezi, we managed to find at least in the dossier with the signature <Ilo M. Qafëzezi 1938, Dossier 18> some photographs of various pages of this codex, compiled mainly in Greek and Albanian, as well as the blessed sheet no. 15, which shaped and gave meaning to this writing. A photograph of Paschal Troparion in Aromanian was taped in that sheet, taken from the above-mentioned codex, whose author is Kostë Cepi-Vithkuqari, as we are presenting it to the readers in a digital form as follows:



Source: AQSH, Sig: Ilo M. Qafëzezi 1938, Dossier 18, sheet 15

As we can see from the scanned copy of the archiving material of Ilo Mitkë Qafëzezi, we have to do with a photograph of the codex's original page, which Qafëzezi has taped in a page of a notebook with dimensions 15 x 25 cm, writing with pencil: a) the ordinal number 15 in the top left corner, corresponding to the sheet of his notes in the notebook, whereas

he clarifies that it corresponds to < (p[age] 119 of the original [= codex of Kostë Cepi - B.D.]>; b) in the top right corner:

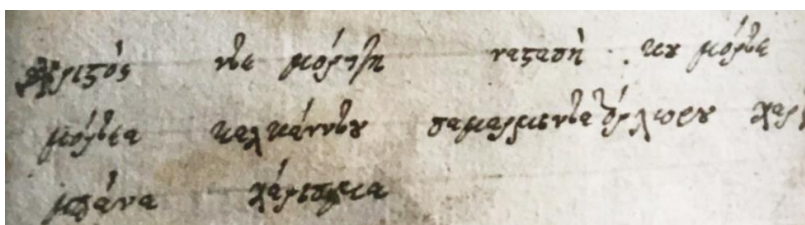
< (Hellenic page | and three verses | Sud Vlach language)>, and c) in the bottom right corner the denomination:

< (Jesus is resurrected, | Vlach language)>, along with the transliterated text of Paschal Troparion with its Albanian alphabet, as follows: < Kristos de morci | nastasi ku morte | mortea kallkendu | shamermintator- | llorllu harzi | bana harizma >¹.

Reproductions, transliteration and transcription of Aromanian text

The introduction of readers to the circumstances of “rediscovery” of this Aromanian memorial, as well as to the existence of at least a copy of the original document sheet and the first attempt that its discoverer made for the transcription of the text with Latin-Albanian alphabet letters, consist of some of the aims we pursued with natural *acribia* in the first phase of introducing the reader with the memorial in question. Now, let’s naturally focus on the second phase of our modest aim, which, apart from the photographic reproduction (I), has to do with the reproduction as facsimile (IIA) and the diplomatic one (IIB) of the text, adding further its transliteration with today’s Latin alphabetic code of (A)romanian (IIIA), as well as the phonetic transcription as an approximate articulation, thus taking into account the International Phonetic Alphabet (IIIB), as follows:

I. Scanned photograph of the text in Aromanian



II Text reproduction as a facsimile (A) and the extended diplomatic one (B)

A1 Χριστός ντε μόντζη νασασή. κx μόντε B1 Χριστός ντε μόντζη νασασή, κου μόντε

¹ In his Albanian writing, Qafëzezi uses regularly the epsilon<ε>for the vowel <ë> of today’s literary Albanian language.

A2 μόρτεα καλκάνντϋ σαμαρμινταξρλωρϋ χαρζ^ο
 B2 μόρτεα καλκάνντου σαμαρμιντατόρλωρου χαρζ[ή] A3 μπάνα
 χάρισμα

B3 μπάνα χάρισμα.

Editorial remarks:

In our work for the exact reproduction of the source text as a facsimile (IIA), there were no electronic writing fonts available to present all the ligatures in the ratio 1 : 1, even some graph variants (= letters) presented in the text. We have struggled to temporarily solve such difficulties, thus searching for similar graph characters, which may obviously have other functional values. However, such forced alternative solutions do not lead to reading confusions, as in the extended diplomatic reproduction (IIB), as all the ligatures and graph variants were broken down and unified as follows:

- <σ> = <στ> = [st]
- <ϣ> = <ου> = [u]
- <ξ> = <τό> = [tó]
- <τξ> = <τξ> = [ts]

In the source text, we note the use of a dot in the first row between <...ναςασή . κϣ...>, which can be interpreted as a graph mark for a long pause during the out loud reading of the text. However, the same procedure was expected to be followed for the second row between <...καλκάνντϋ [.]σαμαρμινταξρλωρϋ...>

The photograph of the original in the second row gives rise to random speculations as the last graph to the right seems to have been photographed incomplete. Qafëzezi, who had the original document available, completes – probably being right – its transliteration with the marker <-ή> = {-í} as a stressed vowel of 3rd person in past simple tense: /harzí/. We have taken such solution into account even in the extended diplomatic reproduction, writing this addition in rectangular brackets. In the text reproduction as a facsimile we have used a circle at the end of the graph, as usually used in reproductions of such nature.

III Transliteration (IIIA) and phonetic transcription (IIIB) of the text in Aromanian

A1 Christos de morți năstăsi | cu morte

B1 ['χris.tos de 'mor.tsi nəs.tə.'si | ku 'mor.te] A2 morteα calcăndu
 ș'amărmintătorloru hărz[i]

B2 [ˈmor.tea kaɫ.ˈkən.duʃːa.mər.min.tə.ˈtor.ɫo.ru hər.ˈzi]

A3 bana harisma.

B3 [ˈba.na ˈha.ri.sma]

Editorial remarks:

The text does not present any reception difficulty for the ordinary readers, in case it gets updated with grammatical characteristics of Aromanian (in the Albanian-speaking territories), as well as with special lexical units that are used in the singing of Jesus' resurrection by Troparion in today's Aromanian, khs.:

Hristos a înviat Din morți

Cu moartea pre moarte călcând

Și celor din morminte viață dăruindu-le.

Seen from this perspective, we note as follows:

In the first row, we note the use of past simple tense (3rd person) of the Aromanian verb (*a*)*năstăsescu* “ressusciter” (< gr. ἀναστήνω “id.” – sh. Papahagi 1963 729). Here, we share the same wise judgment of our colleague Cătălina Vătășescu (: mail on 11.10.2019)

In the second row, the second graph written together <σαμαρμινταζρωρ> gains meaning only in case we separate the initial <σ-> from the main corpus: /ʃː amărmintătorloru/ “and the buried” (who gave life)”. See Papahagi 1963 668: *mărmintător* “celui qui est dans la tombe”.

- <χαρζο> = <χαρζ[ή]> = /hărzí/ is of course 3rd person of past simple tense of Aromanian. (*a*)*hărzescu* “accorder, gratifier” (Papahagi 1963 72)

In the third row, apart from the noun *bana* “vie, viață” (Papahagi 1963 191), there is also the Hellenization χάρισμα “gift” closing the Troparion in Greek as well.

Place of text in Aromanian writing heritage in the Albanian-speaking territories

In conclusion of this modest writing, let's briefly summarize the place of that text in the Aromanian writing tradition in the Albanian-speaking territories. As the codex in question dates back to 1820-1822, we are right to place the Paschal Troparion, whose author was likely Papa/Dhaskal Kostë Cepi-Vithkuqari, in the so-called first phase of Aromanian writing, whose time boundaries correspond to late 1940s, 19th century (Kahl & Prifti 2016 38). This memorial is also the last if we consider the cultivation of Aromanian writing in its first phase, as we

know to-date in the Albanian-speaking area, where the writings of Nektar Terpo (1731), Anastas Kavalioti (1770), of “Liturghier aromînesc” (18th century) and Master Daniil (1797, 1802) are the most remarkable ones.²

In comparison to the culture tradition of the Aromanian writing, we note that the Easter Troparion text does not seek any improvement or innovation of the Aromanian script alphabetic code with the Greek alphabet, in the sense that our author, probably Kostë Cepi-Vithkuqari, did not have any intention to cultivate Aromanian literacy with a distinct alphabetical code. Given that the same circumstance prevails in those few Albanian liturgical pieces found in the codex (about 22 pages), which were obviously written by the same author, we come to the conclusion that the author has written in this way for purely personal-didactic needs. Knowing well all three languages, he had no difficulties in changing the language register, in terms of reading rules in one or the other language. Seen from this perspective, the document in question is more an evidence of the cultural-economic coexistence of the multiethnic population in the Albanian-speaking Southern Orthodox area.

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² In detail, in Demiraj 2019.

Dhori Q. QIRJAZI

**ELEMENTS OF LEXICAL HYBRIDIZATION
AND MEANING AND MORPHO-SYNTACTIC
INTERFERENCE IN THE ARVANITES DIALECT AND IN THE
“ALBANIAN HELENOPHONY” REGION**

Introduction

The contacts between the Albanian and the Greek language are old and multifaceted, but the absence of pre-medieval written sources of Albanian makes it difficult to trace the diachronic relationship between them. Traces of the ancient lexicon of Greek, and even of the Doric dialect, in the lexicon of Albanian language, more precisely in the lexicon of the mother tongue of the latter, prove that the ancestors of today Greeks and Albanians were in contact since ancient times.

Although the thesis advocating for the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language has been questioned again recently¹, the information Strabo provides us with has to be taken into consideration. According to him, at the dawn of our era, the Epirote tribes “are mixed with the Illyrian tribes”, and that “some of them are bilingual” («ἀναμείκται δέ τούτοις τά ἰλλυρικά ἔθνη»

... «ένίοι δέ δίγλωττοι εἰσι» (Γεωγραφία ζ' c 327)). In our opinion, the issue is not whether there were early contacts between the mother tongue of Albanian and Greek, but the time and place of their origin and how can we give arguments with linguistic means².

In this context, we are going to take two examples from lexicographer Alexandrin Hezik. He lived in the V Century A.D, and there is so much

¹ See, for example, Matzinger 2009 and 2012.

² The proponents of the theory that the Epirote tribes did not speak Greek base their belief on the ancient Greek sources, which considered the Epirote tribes “barbarians”. I invite them to read a work undeservedly forgotten by the French archaeologist P. Cabanes (1988), who convincingly and exhaustively sheds light on these issues, citing the fact that so-called “barbarism” had more cultural than linguistic references. Imagine the Thucydides of Athens of Pericles and the Parthenon, or a Corinthian citizen, a traveler to those areas, how they would feel when they would come in contact with the stern and the “culturally backward” Epirotes.

time separating him from Strabo as there is between modern Albanian and its first written sources.

1. γλυκκεῖν·το γάλα, και την χολήν [të ambël; qumështin, dhe tëmthin]

This word continues to be in the dialects of Greek today (γλυκό ‘tamblī i sapomjelë, i freskët’, Pontos, ΙΑ Ε’/1 367), and it has a full synonym in the northern dialects of Albanian, in which *tamël* means milk, first recorded by Bardhi (1635): *Tamblë* ‘Lac, latte’ (Topalli 2017, 1445).

In addition, **tëmbël** ‘gallbladder, gall’ (FGjSh 2006) is

“A good formation of the language. An internal euphemistic formation, formed by the bladder of the black liver, which is very bitter, with adjective *i ëmbël*, and *të-* is the front prefix with a neutral gender. In the same way, the Gegh form [tamth] was formed. It gained a diminutive suffix, which replaced the *-l-* with a consonant group. It was first recorded in Buzuku (1555): *i dhanë tamblëthitë përzienë me uthullë me pim.*” (Topalli 2017, 1465 with bibliography).

2. πέλλα· λίθος [gur]

In example (1) the possibility of a parallel development remains open and the likelihood of a lexical borrowing is reduced, while the Albanian word for **shpellë** ‘big stone, rock’, is considered to this day a borrowing from old Greek σπήλαιον (Topalli 2017, 1409 with bibliography). I think that from now on it should be related to the word πέλλα· λίθος presented by Hezik. As an internal development of Greek it was supplemented with an intensifying – s or the –s of the definite article in plural accusative case τας πέλλας ‘stones’. (Compare with gr. πιθάρι and σπιθάρι > Alb. *spithar*, *cpithar*). The idea that this word was borrowed by Albanian during the Medieval Ages is supported because it is only in the Epirus and its regions that we come to notice these forms: *špëla* ‘rock, big stone’ (Dervičan-Dropull, Μπόγκας 1964, 359), *špëla* ‘steep rock’ (Kalambaka-Thessaly, FjHistGr Archive) · *σπέλα* ‘harsh rock, grayish’ (Ksiromero-Etoloakarnani, FjHistGr Archive). It was later borrowed again by the Greek in Epirus in these forms *špëla*, *šouπέλα*, *šouμπέλα* (Dervičan and elsewhere). According to scholars, the transition from *s* to

Albanian *š* “should be ancient” and it includes an old layer of Slavic and Italian borrowings” (Demiraj 1996, 210).

Hybridization (i.e. the creation of hybrid or mixed forms) on a lexical level and *interferation*³ (getting mixed or intertwined forms at a semantic and morpho-syntactic the level) are phenomena which are possible to see within the limits of one language or even in the languages in contact.

This article relies mostly on the data collected in the Arvanites dialects⁴, and in a few cases⁵, on the so-called “Albanian Hellenophony” region, i.e. near Epirus, where Greeks and Albanians have historically met. By the region of the “Albanian hellenophony” we mean the territories where the Albanian-speaking population used Greek as *lingua franca et sacra*, and where the circumstances that arose allowed the Albanian and Greek languages to mutually influence one another⁶.

In the context of intense linguistic contacts spanning over a considerable period of time, and the significant differentiation of languages in terms of their status or prestige⁷, the lexical, semantic and

³ We preferred the term *interferation* instead of interference, in order to highlight both the process and its results, following the example of *differentiation* and *difference*, and even for the development of a symmetry with the word *hybridization*.

⁴ From the relevant bibliography see, for example, Sasse 1991, Tsitsipis 1998, Γιοχάλας 2000, 2002, 2006, 2011, Φιλίππου-Αγγέλου 2017, etc.

⁵ To fill this void we can refer to the documents published in the Archive of Ali Pasha Tepelena (Kyriazis, 2012), The Greek-Albanian dictionary (the so called) of M. Boçari (Γιοχάλας, 1980) and the translation and revision in the Albanian Language of the “New Testament” by Meksi and G. Gjirokastriti (Corfu, 1827).

⁶ “So what is this Albanian hellenophony (αλβανική ελληνοφωνία) for which the Archive of Ali Pasha appears to be a permanent monument? Doubting no trace of authenticity, I would say that it is a classic cultural bilingualism, where, within a polyethnic state (empire) the source-mother tongue of people (here of the Albanian people) is used ‘inside the house’, while the official language of the state, of the empire, is used in the public sphere. Only that in the years we are focused on and, in this case, in the southern Albanian population, instead of Turkish - the official language of the Ottoman Empire - Greek appears to be the language of the public space and trans-local communication. What happened? We are certainly dealing with a time delay phenomenon, but perhaps we are also facing a cultural resistance phenomenon. This is how the scheme would have functioned: language of the rulers = language of the public space. However, the Albanian population lived in the previous historical period. They used Greek, which was the language of public sphere and communication in the Byzantine Empire “ (Παναγιωτόπουλος 2006: 277-278). Aware that the thesis above may arouse misunderstandings in one party or arouse the backward appetites of the other party, the author notes that “[Albanian Hellenophony] is a phenomenon which if evidenced might shed light on many dark sides of Greek history but it can also create many new misinterpretations if it becomes the object of a Hellenocentric ideological approach.” (Παναγιωτόπουλος 2006: 276).

⁷ J. G. Hahn noted that “the Province of Gjirokastra is the most inhabited of all Albania and the composition of the population is very interesting, therefore it deserves a better examination.

morpho-syntactic traces of Greek in Albanian are visible (see Κυριαζής 2017, with bibliography), but also Albanian traces in the suburban dialects of Greek, mainly in the dialects of Epirus (see Κυριαζής 2013, with bibliography). The collected materials are quite rich and give us the opportunity for diachronic observations and examination of linguistic situations where Greek was present or absent.

The famous Greek linguist J. Hadjidakis wrote in 1905 that

“Words with similar meanings come together to form a hybrid word, that is a word which contains elements from each of them. This happens because, in order to express something, two synonymous expressions rise simultaneously in the consciousness, and so none of them is clearly formed, and instead of a third, different word, “*something new comes out, containing elements from both of them*” (Χατζιδάκις 1905, 317-18, cited by H. Paul-it, *Prinzipien*, Chapter 8).

Hadjidakis, citing H. Paulin, speaks of the final product of the *hybridization* process (engl. *blending*, see Cannon 2000), characterised by the trimming of words, sometimes followed with a change of meaning (see for example *mëlshkrî-a* < *mëlshi* + *mushkri*, Γιοχάλας 2011, B 645, *okur* ‘kur’ < *ótav* ‘kur’ + *kur*, Γιοχάλας 2011, A 102).

In this context, the tautological compositions can be considered an extreme case of lexical hybridization, in which we have neither a trimming of the volume of the elements nor the acquisition of a new meaning (see word *kryekëput* < *krye* + lat. *caput*). They result - initially from a simultaneous and intuitive projection and appearance and - then- from the mixing of functionally equivalent elements, which either belong to the same language (see alb *gjësend* and gr. *óti* *πως* [se që] etc.) or to

Here we find two direct contradictions. The southern part of the plain is Greek, the northern part is Albanian and the longitudinal border, which we described above, goes through them. The linguistic boundary between the two is most distinguished here than in the west or south of the country, because the two languages are mixed in those parts of the country. And this is very noticeable, because the border between the languages is not marked by nature. If we compare the Albanian language with the Greek language, we can say that they are like German with French, i.e. for 50 Albanians who speak Greek there is only one Greek who speaks Albanian. Gjuha greke asht gjuha e shkrimit te toskët dhe, mbasi toska shëtit shumë në jetën e tij, ka edhe rast me e mësue këtë gjuhë ma shpejt.” (f. 64 e përthimit shqip, Tiranë: IDK, pa vit botimi, të Hahn 1854, I 40-41).

different languages (see *gjëkafshë* < *gjë* + *kafshë* < lat. *causa*, *protoparë* < gr. πρώτος + *i parë*, or ντρασανίδι < *dërrasë* + *σανίδι* ‘*dërrasë*’, etc.).

Interference, as we shall see, manifests itself in semantic and morpho-syntactic structures (Thomason 2001, 129-153). One of its forms is *syncretism* (Louraghi 2000, Pompeo 2014), but we will use the term *interferation*, which has a broader content. Re-interpretation plays a primary role in this process. We have such a case when the front article of participle nouns in Albanian/Arvanites is re-interpreted as part of the subjunctive mood (*për të shkuar* => *për të shkojmë* <= για να πάμε) or is in the position of definite article in Greek, which is always placed in front, in this language (see below, *të djathëtë* – το τυρί ‘*djathi*, *djathëtë*’)⁸.

Another preliminary remark is related to the fact that *hybridization* and *interference* occur in those word forms or in those constructs which are most frequently encountered (see, f.v., the accusative case and the subjunctive mood).

Let us now turn to some examples of how synonymous words or synonymous structures stand close to one another:

1. E vënë për simadh [nishan], për **të mos i zërë siu; mos matjasenë** [merren mësysh]. ‘Το βάζουν για ξόρκι, για να μην βασκανθούν.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 476)

2. Ea këtu, re, të jap **ta tetrakosa jidhoprovata** çë kam. Kam **katrëqint dhi edhe dhen**. Merri! ‘Έχω τετρακόσια γιδοπρόβατα. Πάρτα!’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 176).

3. Varrmë **katuqefala** [kokëposhtë]. Varrmë **kriehjimazë**. ‘Κρέμασέ με κατουκέφαλα.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 346)

4. **Totes, aherane** to kratos tha: ... ‘Τότες, το κράτος είπε: ...’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 178)

5. Mba njëzet ditë **triçoa, të vjelëtë, çë vjelënë**. ‘Ο τρύγος, το τρύγημα, κρατά είκοσι μέρες’. (Sasse 1991, 508)

6. ...nga rëposh trohojt [rrotës] ish **enas stavros, një kriq**. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 180)

⁸ A case of re-interpretation which goes beyond the limits of one word is also the Greek expression τι θέλεις, πόσα, και πέρα, which means “what do you want”, how much [do you want] and [go] away”. in Albanian it is re-analyzed as *ti the lis*, [dhe] posa q’ e’pe, ra. Of course, these kinds of re-analysis, which are essentially word games, can only take place and be understood in bilingual environments, and from there, they may spread to their monolingual environments.

The same procedure is followed even in other bilingual regions, such as, for example in the Albanian dialects of Ukraine:

1. un nok pəljtj'en tə kt'ɪlja p'unə. ja nji ljublj'u tak'uju rab'otu.

(Morozova 2016, 527)

2. mi nji sl'ifim fo an'a f'ep'tfet. tam m'ozet k'oe kak'oe sl'ovo sl'ifif.
nok dj'edjet, f'ji θ'ot aj'o, f'ji zalay'it aj'o. (Morozova 2016, 528)

3. zil'udok... b'abo, na i θ'o'fim b'abo... (Morozova 2016, 530)

The second step, which comes right after the juxtaposition, is the emergence of mixed/interfered words or structures:

4. Doj të vej njeri të çon me njatrën, po **nga epidhi çë** s'ke'në meson [mjjet] të shkojnë, ..., rinë andara e ... thërrisin nga njara meré njatra lumit. 'Hθ'λε να πάει ένας να βρει τον άλλο, αλλά **επειδή** δεν είχαν μέσο [να περάσουν]... κάθονταν χώρια και ... φώναζαν από τη μια μεριά στην άλλη του ποταμιού.' (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 214). [See Albanian *ngaqë/ngaçë* and gr. επειδή(ς) 'se'se'. 'e find a similar case in Arumanian in the areas of Gjirokastra: **pidis kă** (arum. kă 'be'ause') 'oçi 2009, 178]

5. **dredhasté** 'ki'd of dessert with flour and sesame' [' dredh + γυριστή 'dr'dhanik'] Γιοχάλας 2011, A 168)

6. Ama kejnë djeltë thirostiztë [sore shoulder], i mëndërronjëm [namatisnim] **griqeshtë** edhe bëneshinë mirë. 'τα 'ξμετρούσαμε σταυρωτά' ['riq + χιαστά 'kr'qazi'] Γιοχάλας 2011, A 182).

7. Valiu që ka Janina, **dridhmaksej** ka këta trima. [**dridhem** + **tromaksem**] (Konispol, Muçaj 2019)

8. Nusja **polltisi** vajzë. [**polli** + **pohtisi**] (Gjirokastër, Xhaxhiu 2010: 128)

9. **μπουζοχειλάς**⁹ (o) 'bu'aç' ['uzë + χείλος 'bu'ë' + '-άς] (Salaminë, Καραντής 2001, 39)

10. **φικιά** (η) 'fi'dhe (fig.) deledash' ['ik + **σουκιά** 'fi''] 'Salaminë, Καραντής 2001, 39)

⁹ See even the Arvanites form *buzallá* 'buzaç' (Γιοχάλας 2011, B 680), according to gr. χειλάς (χείλος 'buzë' + -άς). A similar formation followed the word *veshallá-i* '1. Big ears 2. Rabbit' (Γιοχάλας 2011, B 891).

We find similar examples in the dialect of the Greek ethnic minority in Albania:

11. **ορχέστρα** ‘or‘estër’ [’ρχήστρα + orkestër]

12. **διπλωματσία** ‘di‘lomaci’ [’ιπλωματία + diplomaci]

13. **βεντομένος** ‘i ‘endosur’ [’ vendosur + αποφασισμένος ‘i ‘endosur’] ’Σπύρου 2008: 339)

Another aspect of this issue is the fact that interference can be seen as an attempt by a bilingual or multilingual speaker to "smooth out" the differences between the languages he uses by making "irrational" interventions, which appear either as *an addition or as a reduction of the language content*.

7. Am’ a’ ish shum’ e’bukurë! **Para** shumë e bukurë! ‘Εί‘αι πολύ όμορφη! **Παρά** πολύ όμορφη!’ (’ιοχάλας 2011, A 372)

8. I kam **martuora**. ‘Τι‘ έχω **παντρεμένες**.’ (’ιοχάλας 2011, A 330)

9. Vejnë të mirrë nusenë ka shtëpia, çë flejnë. Vejnë ndoi dhjetë burra edhe gra, **këndojturë**. ‘Πήγαιναν να πάρουν τη νύφη απ’ το σπίτι, που κοιμόνταν. Πήγαιναν καμια δεκαριά άντρες και γυναίκες, **τραγουδώντας**.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 116)

As we can see in (14) the Albanian language “adopts” an element of Greek language, the intensifying participle *παρά*, while in (15) and (16) article *të* and participle *tuke* have diminished under the influence of the similar structures of the other language: *παντρεμένες* – [të] *martuara*; *πήγαιναν* ... *τραγουδώντας* – *vejnë* ... [tuke] *këndojturë*.

After presenting these introductory notes, let us now move on to the more systematic presentation of the phenomena that make up the object of our writing.

I. On a semantic level (semasiological),

a) In the Arvanites dialects of Greece, several words take on *new meanings*, which are not found in the sister dialects of all Albanian, and most likely were influenced by Greek language. Thus we may have **expansion** of the semantic content of the receiving language, when the corresponding word of the giving language is polysemous or homonymous with another. See, fv, the verbs, *shpëtój* (I) ‘rescue from danger’ and *shpëtój* (II) ‘finish’. The second received the corresponding meaning because of the contact with Greek which has the verbs *σώζω* (gr. pop. *σώνω* (I)) ‘rescue’ and *σώνω* (II) ‘finish’; but even the verbs

γλιτώνω (I) ‘rescue’ and γλιτώνω (II) ‘finish’.

1. Pastaj e **shpëtojmë** edhe nga mitaretë [pjesë e vegjës]. ‘Κατόπι το **τελειώνουμε** και από τα μιτάρια...’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 162)
2. Korrë një ditë, di ditë, pesë ditë, dhjetë ditë. Njëkë **shpëtonej** ara. ‘Δεν **τελείωνε** το χωράφι.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 240)
3. Qeronë [në kohën] çë **shpëton** dazma ... ‘Όταν **τελειώνει** ο γάμος...’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 250)
4. **Shpëtoi** [përralla]. ‘**Τέλειωσε** (το παραμύθι).’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 390)

In addition, the verb *shpëtoj* is used in its older meaning:

1. -T’e jash, se na **shpëtoi** njeriztë! ‘Να το δώσεις, γιατί μας **γλίτωσε** τους ανθρώπους.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 350)
2. Edhe **shpëtova** edhe dhikastirionë [gjqin]. ‘Και **γλίτωσα** και το δικαστήριο.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 420)
3. Nga duartë e harosë [vdekjes] e **shpëtova**... ‘Από του Χάρου τα χέρια τον **έσωσα**.’ (Sasse 1991, 454)

We find a similar semantic development in the dialect of Gjirokastra¹⁰, which was in direct contact with Greek¹¹. From the

¹⁰ This use is also confirmed by two grandchildren, from Gjirokastra, A. Omari and M. Kore, whom I thank for the examples (3-6).

¹¹ Savanti Γεώργιος Δημητρίου, in his little-known but quite valuable work Γραμματική Ελληνο-Λατινής / Grammatica Graeco-Latina (Vienna, 1785), on which cover he wrote it is “εξ Αργυροκάστρου της Ευρωπαϊάς Αλβανίας / Argyrocastrense ex Europea Albania”, he also wrote “Thucydides, Pliny, Livy, Strabo, and other geographers describe the antiquity and popularity of Molossia. They describe the strategist kings named after Molossia and the campaigns undertaken by them. Plutarch and Justin narrate masterfully, and the information they give proves to be true not only for the castles and fortresses that are still there to this day, though most have turned into ruins, but also for the ancient customs and great history, and for the heroic and combative soul of the inhabitants of the country, which is just as alive to this day. Although they had lost much of the development and order they had in those times, this gap is being filled today by the increasing power of the arms and the large number of inhabitants; [the country] is now more capable and more ready for war, and has more men than it had long ago, and it is inhabited not only on the plains and hills but also on the mountains, adorned with tower houses. The religion of the country is the so-called Eastern Religion of Christ, and the religion of Muhammad; people practice both faiths in complete freedom and without hindrance

1. **Shpëtomë** djalin – I tha atij. ... Nuk do as të hajë, as të pijë. (Kokalari 2004, 111)
2. -Jo, jo, se s’është shpejt. Koha është. Ngreuni se keni gjithë pasdreken që luani. Hani bukë e **shpëtoni** dhe pastaj rini pranë zjarrit.
– u përgjegj tetë Lalea. (Kokalari 2004, 115)
3. Të hamë bukë të **shpëtojmë** e të lajmë enë.
4. E **shpëtoi** shkollën, nisi na puna.

5. I **shpëtuum** të lierat, tani të prehemi e të rrimë rahat.

6. **Shpëtuaç** na të lierat, thoshte aneja.

Let us notice that in example number 6, the word can have both meanings.

Similarly, the verb *mbraz* ‘zbraz’ in Arvanites has earned the meaning ‘leisurely’ under the influence of the Greek-speaking environment, and its synonym *αδειάζω* (I) ‘empty’ is used next to *αδειάζω* (II) ‘I am idle’.

Nëkë **mbrrazinj** të vete. ‘Δεν **αδειάζω** να πάω.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 434)

Very interesting, showing how change occurs and the linguistic context it appeared in, and the theory of languages in contact, is the following example, found in the documents of the Archive of Ali Pasha Tepelena, which were often drafted by Albanians who would think in Albanian and write in Greek.

In Document 135 (Vol. I), M. Shameti and M. Meçja wrote to Ali Pasha that the inhabitants of the Castle and Tatzati

1 ...θέλουμε και σάρτι από την εψηλότη σου, αν τους **ομοιάσει** καμιά δουλά στο τόπο τους να τους βοηθήσεις... ‘need a guarantee from your excellency, to help them in case something wrong happens (**ngjan**) in their country...’

In addition, Doc. 409 (Vol. I), a request of S. Koka for Ali Pasha, sent from Conispol on May 6, 1808, reads that

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While in Doc. 1416, with no indications of date and time, there is an agreement guarantee between Ali Pasha and the Aghas of Paramythia, which reads among others:

1. Ανίσως οπου να **ομοιάση** κανένα σκότωμα ή σε Τούρκους ή σε ραγιαδες, το ίδιο το χωριό του με ιτηφάκ να πιάνουν τον φονιάν... ‘if it happens (**ngjan**) that someone is killed among the Turkish (Muslims) or among rayas (Christians), the village itself should drive away the killer.’

As it is possible to see, the verb (ο)μοιάζω has the meaning ‘happens’, which does not exist in the dictionaries of Greek language, and in the Archive of the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Athens. Meanwhile, we know Albanian has two verbs which express both meanings: ‘happens’ and ‘similar to’. At least in third person singular they come out as homonyms: *ngjaj* (I) ‘look similar, gr. ομοιάζω’, for example *sa ngjan me të ëmën* (*how similar he is to his mother*)!, and *ngjan* (II) intransitive., third person ‘takes place, gr. συμβαίνει’.

It is exactly this homonymity in Albanian that seems to have influenced the Greek verb (ο)μοιάζω, ‘to be like someone’, take on the meaning ‘happens’. This transcendence or confusion of language boundaries certainly occurs in the context of their intensive contact.

The word seems to have gained the new meaning precisely by those Albanian speakers who used Greek as a language for writing and communication, but the new meaning could not exceed the limits of this group, as in many other cases, evidenced even today in the dialect of the Greek ethnic minority in Albania. In the theory of languages in contact, such cases are familiar. In such cases, novel forms and meanings from the target language enter the language which is then displaced linguistically and its speakers are not familiar with these novel forms and meanings. However, the opposite can also happen.

The verb *πάρομαι* [pérome], often found in the expression *με τι παρесси*; [= what do you do?], which is commonly heard among the members of the Greek ethnic minority in Albania, does not have this meaning in any other Greek area, and that means that this meaning was influenced by Albanian. According to the analysis which was done later, it was first born among Albanian speakers who struggled to speak or write Greek, and then spread to the mass of Greek speakers (See for this issue Thomason 2001, 142-145).

following examples, the first preserves the basic meaning of the verb, while the others mean ‘finish’¹²:

1. **Shpëtomë** djalin – I tha atij. ... Nuk do as të hajë, as të pijë. (Kokalari 2004, 111)

2. -Jo, jo, se s’është shpejt. Koha është. Ngreuni se keni gjithë pasdreken që luani. Hani bukë e **shpëtoni** dhe pastaj rini pranë zjarrit. – u përgjegj teto Lalea. (Kokalari 2004, 115)

3. Të hamë bukë të **shpëtojmë** e të lajmë enë.

4. E **shpëtoi** shkollën, nisi na puna.

5. I **shpëtuam** të lierat, tani të prehemi e të rrimë rahat.

6. **Shpëtuac** na të lierat, thoshte aneja.

Let us notice that in example number 6, the word can have both meanings.

Nowadays, the meaning of the word *interes* is a little confusing when used from Albanian to Greek. In Albanian it has the meanings shown under these contexts *libër me interes* (gr. βιβλίο με ενδιαφέρον) and *marrëveshje me interes* (gr. συμφωνία με συμφέρον). It becomes a little confusing when the relevant words of Greek are used by people who belong to the greek minority in Albania influenced by the Albanian language¹¹.

a) A Trim or change in the meaning of a word in the receiving language, when a borrowed word that belongs to the same field of meaning compensates for the semantic ‘trim’ of the first.

The albanian word *dimër*, in it the Arvanite dialect of the island of Andros has taken on the meaning ‘rain’ (Γιογάλας 2000, 235), since its basic meaning is provided for by the borrowed Greek word *hjimón* (< χειμώνας ‘winter’) (Γιογάλας 2000, 287); in the same way, in the Arvanite dialect of the island of Andros, the nouns *dalandísh* and *hjelidhón* are in complementary distribution because the former means ‘a. bifurcation b. a V-shaped/swallowtail cut in the ear’s corner of a sheep/goat’ (Γιογάλας 2000, 229-230), while the latter (< gr. χελιδόνι) covers the initial and basic meaning of the former (Γιογάλας 2000, 286).

e. There are two nations, the Greeks and the Albanians, and this seems to be because so many foreigners attacked them, and some of them stayed in these areas, and yet they failed hanging the life and customs of the native Epirotes, or, to put it another way, they changed their own habits and became like the natives; we already have the Albanians who remained the same. Because we know their ancient life and customs, and without ignoring what the Molossians and Epirotes did in the past, simply, based on their acts, and their military campaigns, especially based on the names of the leaders, as well as from the memory of the kings of Epirus, on whom I will not dwell now, we may conclude that the Albanians were born Epirotes, and not vice versa. *Both people attend the faiths mentioned above and one nation speaks the language of the other, i.e. the Albanians speak vernacular Greek, and the Greeks speak Albanian (the authors added the words in italics Dh.Q.Q.)*. We will touch upon this place [Molossia] and its divisions again when we are going to talk about Albania in general, at the right time”. (Δημητρίου 1785, 14-15, note 6).

¹² The second meaning, as my colleague A. Omari told me, is reflected under the *Fjalori i Gjuhës së Sotme Shqipe* (1980), which defines it as part of conversational language.

Similarly, the verb *mbraz* ‘zbraz’ in Arvanites has earned the meaning ‘leisurely’ under the influence of the Greek-speaking environment, and its synonym *αδειάζω* (I) ‘empty’ is used next to *αδειάζω* (II) ‘I am idle’.

Nëkë **mbrrazinj** të vete. ‘Δεν **αδειάζω** να πάω.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 434)

Very interesting, showing how change occurs and the linguistic context it appeared in, and the theory of languages in contact, is the following example, found in the documents of the Archive of Ali Pasha Tepelena, which were often drafted by Albanians who would think in Albanian and write in Greek.

In Document 135 (Vol. I), M. Shameti and M. Meçja wrote to Ali Pasha that the inhabitants of the Castle and Tatzati

1 ...θέλουνε και σάρτι από την εμηλότη σου, αν τους **ομοιάσει** καμιά δουλά στο τόπο τους να τους βοηθήσεις... ‘need a guarantee from your excellency, to help them in case something wrong happens (**ngjan**) in their country...’

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b) A Trim or change in the meaning of a word in the receiving

¹³ On the language of the greek minority, see among others, Qirjazi 2004 and Κυριαζής & Σπύρου 2011.

language, when a borrowed word that belongs to the same field of meaning compensates for the semantic ‘trim’ of the first.

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II. At the morphosyntactic level

a. nouns

Interesting are a number of nouns of Arvanites (including nouns with an adverbial use) accompanied by an "unmotivated" definite anterior article:

1. ...**të djathëtë**, kupriturë omos, të pjekurë **djath**, e prezme xolja xolja... edhe e mblijojmë **djathnë**. ‘**το** τυρί, αλατισμένο όμως, ώριμο **τυρί**, το κόβουμε σβώλους σβώλους... και το σκεπάζουμε **το τυρί**.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 432) [Krahaso djathë-**të** και **το** τυρί, si dhe djathë-**i**.]

2. Vrap papui e therrë **të** derrë. ‘Τρεχάλα ο γέρος το έσφαξε **το** γουρούνι.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 184)

3. Do marmë tusinë, do hapimë fletëtë, do marrë vashaztë **të rodhënë** [rrotën me dhëmbë] edhe do i presëmë. ‘Θα πάρουμε τον πλάστη, θα πάρουν τα κορίτσια **τη ρόδα** και θα τα κόψουν [τα φύλλα]’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 454)

4. Kljane t’e kljamë **të kakomirrë**. ‘Κλάψε να την κλάψουμε **την κακομοίρα**’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 505). Shih edhe: Kljane t’e kljamë **kakomirrë** (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 505)

5. Nuku i thua ti **t’afendikojt**, thotë, të më marr edhe mua? ‘Δε λες εσύ **τ’ αφεντικού**, λέει, να με πάρει κι εμένα.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 486)

6. Molis tha **të tritonë** [**të tretënë** + **το τρίτο**], tha, u bë tërë! ‘Μόλις είπε την τρίτη, έγινε ολόκληρη.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 104)

7. Atë **të javënë** nuku vej fare ne nusea. ‘Εκείνη **τη βδομάδα** δεν πήγαινε καθόλου η νύφη.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 530)

8. Panijir kejëm ndë të lidhura, **të** Pashkë të Madhe dhe t’Aj Rusalju.

‘Τις απόκριες, το Πάσχα και του Αϊ-Ρουσαλιού.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 111)

9. Kej ta nëntëdhjet e nëntë. ‘Είχε τα ενενήντα εννιά (τοίς εκατό των ανθρώπων).’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 174)

10. Ngrihëshin to menate. ‘το ξημέρωμα’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 219) ...edhe to menate vejnë tri vashazë... (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 250) Njër to menate. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 280) Zëmë brumëtë çë to mbrëmane. Edhe to menate ngrihemi... ‘Πιάνουμε τη ζύμη από το βράδυ. Και το πρωί σηκωνόμαστε. ...’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 246)

11. Zij brumëtë çë to mbrëmanet. ‘το βράδυ’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 250) To brëmanet blidheshin prapë. ... (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 284)

12. Thika e gjimsa dukej. ‘το μισό’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 202) E vëmë të gjimsën të arësë përpara. ‘το μισό’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 208) -O të na jash edhe nave alemë? -Po, të gjimsëtë. O t’ua jap. ... U pruar edhe u dha të gjimsëtë. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 264) E therri kokorazhnë, e vu të gjimsënë to mbrëmanet për fai, të gjimsënë e vu rëposh nga magjea. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 342)

In many of the above examples it is clear how the definite Greek article placed in front appears as an “uninvited” next to the corresponding Arvanites nouns, and how, together with the Albanian and Arvanites front articles *e* and *të*, make interference a more diverse phenomenon. This variety is shown

a) In the “synapses” *το τυρί + djathëtë, τη βδομάδα + javënë, το πρωί + menate, το βράδυ + mbrëmanet*, etc. In these cases, there are forms which have been marked twice *të djathëtë, të javënë, to menate, to mbrëmanet(t)*, etc.;

b) when interference occurs in the body of the word and not in its article (*të tritonë < të tretënë + το τρίτο*);

c) in *gjimsa, të gjimsënë, të gjimsëtë*. In these cases, it is possible that the front Albanian article *të* to have “rivalled” with the Greek article *το* or, otherwise, the forms *të gjimsënë, të gjimsëtë* to have derived from *ejimsa* and the latter analogically from *e dyta* (part);

ç) article *të* has taken the place of *το* in *Pashkë të Madhe – το Πάσχα*, but it has not done so in *ta nëntëdhjet e nëntë – τα ενενήντα εννιά*, in which the Albanian numeral has replaced the Greek numeral. A similar case is *τ’ αφεντικού – t’afendikojt*, and even

Edhe menate, çë janë **të** Hristú, i prezëmë. ‘Και το πρωί, που είναι Χριστούγεννα [του Χριστού], τις κόβουμε.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 160)

Here the Albanian *të* of has taken the place of the genitive του [tu] of the Greek masculine article (ο Χριστός ‘Krishti’ – του Χριστού ‘i,e Krishtit’);

d) the following sentence is a distinct case:

Dua **të vajzënë** e vasilesë grua ‘θέλω **την** κόρη του βασιλιά γυναίκα’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 256)

In which *të vajzënë* could have been formed according to *të bijënë* or, it is probable to have been influenced by the greek accusative **την** κόρη¹⁴. The same appears to be the case in the following verse, which belongs to an Arvanite religious song:

Zonja Shënë Mëri ljanobën ipomoni [durim]

Bëri thjerra thjerrë

të Hërstonë e therrë.

Bëri batha bathë

të Hërstonë e vranë.

Hála [shpejt], hála Shënd Ui, ç’e ke kalënë doghri.

Hála, hála **i** Shë Mitrë, t’i zësh ovretë në griکہ. Hála, hála **i** Shër Gjer, t’i zësh ovretë me vent. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 192)

in which *të Hërstonë* ‘të Krishtin’ goes after *të birin*, and it is even shown as *i Hristoi* ‘i Krishti’, after *i biri* (and even after *i Shë Mitrë* e *i Shë Gjer*), in the song that precedes what we cited above:

Këceu thjerra nga kusia e gëzua Shënë Mëria.

Nëndë motra ksepleksurë Me një vla të vdekurë.

Nëndë motra çë të nënda

I Hristoi vate ndë jima [tek e jëma]. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 191)

¹⁴ We need to highlight that colleague N. Liosis (2007, 264) writes about the Arvanites dialect of the southeastern Peloponnese. There the “accusative of both pronoun numerals *áí, ájo* is not completely pronounced: *do [a]të djalinë* and this phenomenon ... is a special characteristic of this dialect compared to the other Arvanite dialects in Greece and to the Albanian language itself”. However, even this explanation does not cover all cases, as shown by the hesitations one researches has about the form **të priftinë** (*kur të marësh anaforë, puth të priftinë në dorë*), in which he excludes the possibility of having this form *të[t] priftinë* similar to *tët atë*. (2007, 266, shën. 1)

The existence of the form *i Hristoi* speaks of an analogical expansion of the front article with the function of an Albanian possessive (see *i biri, e bija*), but it does not rule out the simultaneous influence of Greek in the forms *Hërstonë* according to the accusative των Χριστό.

Statistically, it is possible to notice that "unmotivated" emergence of the anterior article in Albanian nouns, driven by its presence in the corresponding Greek nouns, is compensated by the large presence of the Albanian anterior articles *të, i* and *e*, inherited from its earlier phases.

a.1

An interesting case of the re-interpretation of the anterior article in the "Albanian hellenophony" is the word **dográ** 'A type of weapon', formed by the accusative case of greek ο γκρας / το γκρα and the derivative word of the anterior syntagm *article + noun* in such constructions as με το γκρά, which were re-analysed as *me togra*, as shown in the following example:

Emini pesmet vjeç djalë, ç'e pënon të shkrretin **granë**// merr sfungji e merr **dugranë**, që të shpëtojme vatanë. (Konispol, Muçaj 2019)

Here we can see both, the form with no article (*granë*) and the form with the article (*dugranë*), which has traces from the vocalisation of the Greek northern dialects, in which unstressed *o* becomes *u*.

On the other hand, there is another word το κιντόι 'a song with weeping melodies' (Thesprotia, Μήτση 2002, 62), in which it is possible that the particle *do* of the verb syntagm *do këndoj, do marr një këngë* was re-interpreted as the front article of Greek neutral nouns, emerging with the same ending:

do këndoj=> **το** κεντόι, sipas gjedhes το ρολόι 'sahati'.

b. pronuuns

We will deal with two indefinite pronouns from this grammatical category:

1. **óçë** 'whatever', formed by gr. ό,τι 'whatever', after τι was replaced with çë.

Mirrën... **óçë** kejnë. 'έπαιρναν ό,τι είχαν' (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 112)

2. **káthe aj** ‘çdokush, çdonjëri’ [gr. κάθε ‘çdo’ + arv. aj ‘ai’, pra *çdo ai].

Vate **káthe aj** ndë shtëpi atijane. ‘jeder einzelne ging nach Hause’ (Sasse 1991, 456)

Indeed, and as far as we know, Greek does not have a form which could be the basis for the formation of the pronoun *kjthe aj* in Arvanites. But even Albanian does not have an indefinite pronoun formed in this way. On the other hand, it is found only in the Arvanite dialects and as such is resembles to an intermediary creation, which combines elements of Arvanite and Greek.

c. verb

The verbal system of the Arvanite dialects, in addition to the omission of the subjunctive and optative moods, which are now encountered only as “fossilized” forms¹⁵, have a specific analytical structure with a large extension, which is encountered mainly in intentional sentences¹⁶:

1. ... shterëmë hinë, **për të ikinë** kalkanxarëtë, të mos vijnë. ‘...ρίχναμε τη στάχτη, για να φύγουν οι καλικάντζαροι, να μην έρθουν.’ (Γιοχάλας 2002, 140).

2. ... e ruan fikunë, **për të mos vejnë** t’i hajné çorantë fiqtë. ‘Φύλαγε τη συκιά για να μην πάνε να τα φάνε οι τσοπάνηδες τα σύκα’ (Γιοχάλας 2002, 140).

3. E zijnë brumëtë, **për të mbrujinë** pitënë. ‘ανάπιαναν το προζύμι, για να ζυμάσουν την πίτα’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 112)

4. Nuku kejëm dhrom ahjera, **për të vejëm**. ‘δεν είχαμε τότε δρόμους, για να πάμε’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 112)

5. Shtij një para ..., **për të ish** sidherenje nusea! ‘έριχνε ένα νόμισμα..., για να ήταν σιδερένια η νύφη’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 114)

6. Moj në të ljidhura meré / moj eni **për të ljidhmë** këte. ‘Την ημέρα της Αποκριάς / ελάτε [για] να αποκρέμουμε εδώ’ (Μωραΐτης 2002, 77)

¹⁵ Shih edhe Liosis 2010, ku shqyrtohet shterueshëm një rast interesant “of syncretism of the (subjunctive-) admirative” and the optative” në arvanitisht (2010, 190). Është fjala për trajta të tipit *të ja dërgotëkeshë, të ja dhëtëkeshë, të ja thetëkeshë*, përkatësisht ‘If I had sent it to him’, ‘If you had given it to him’, ‘If he had said it to him’, seen at Kupitor, and currently fossilised.

¹⁶ Sasse-ja (1991, 393) just mentions this type of sentence and does not analyze it in more detail.

7. Aj të vemi nde it' at / **për të shom(ë)** o çë do jap. 'Άντε να πάμε στον πατέρα σου, [για] να δούμε τι (προίκα) θα δώσει' (Μωραΐτης 2002, 213)

This formation reminds us partially, *on one hand*, of the perpositional phrase type *për të + participle*, “known as an infinitive form” of Albanian (Demiraj 2015, 357), some traces of which can be found even in Arvanites:

1. Plaku ish **për të vdekurë**. 'der Alte war zum Sterben' (Haebler 1965, 52)

2. Ksana bëri kriqinë djali, **për të ikurë**. (Φιλίππου-Αγγελού 2017, 422)

3. Vre Marie bukurë / ti **je për të puthurë**. 'είσαι για φίλημα' (Μωραΐτης 2002, 175)

4. Krin(ë) edhe gharufalle / lulje e bukurë çë je / **për të ndinjurë** në hje. 'Κρίνο και γαρούφαλλό μου /λουλούδι όμορφο που είσαι/ για να κάτσει κανείς στον ίσκιο σου' (Μωραΐτης 2002, 131)

5. Vajza vate **për të ljarë**,/ e na erdhi toko kljarë. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 106)

and, *on the other side*, the intentional words of Albanian, type *që + subjunctive*, which Arvanites either do not have if it does they are rare:

1. U bë ljobë, vej vajza e madhe e ruan ande, **çë t'e kullisën**, sa të vinej e dielja t'e therrin 'Έγινε αγελάδα, πήγαινε η μεγάλη κόρη τη φύλαγε από κει, να τη βοσκίσει, μέχρι να έρθει η Κυριακή να τη σφάζουν' (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 236)

2. Jipni navle shumë, **prë të çoni** një barkë **çë t'ecënjë** ndë malië t'aerësë (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 69)

We underline that conjunction *që* is normally present in those regions of northern Greece, which did not sever the links with the Albanian mother tongue:

1. Posht e lhart n'ajo maqinë / **që të mbljedh** epitropinë / **që të therën** Hristjaninë (Μωραΐτης 2002, 259)

2. Aj **të vemi** çupë / n'ato zalletë / **që të kuvendojmë** / dhe për halletë. (Μωραΐτης 2002, 281)

We can also notice that the above-mentioned form (*për + subjunctive*) is quite widespread not only in the dialects and popular texts, but it is also found in the writings of the Arvanites scholars. P. Kupitori uses this verb form in the Arvanite paraphrase of a Gegh folk song, taken from Hahn (Qirjazi 2018, 523)

Se kosmi thonë një mil' e dy, / **për të na ndanjë** mua dhe ty.

The same author, in his Greek-Arvanites-Albanian dictionary, explains the word παράσιτος as ‘aj që ha dhe trapes **për të bënë** muskari’ (Γιοχάλας 2006, B 709), and defines the word παράταξις ‘ashker [asqer] i vënë nd’ aradhë për dëftim a **për të dëftuarë** (επίδειξις) **për të cerkarturë** (εξέτασις) **për të vëshduarë** (επιθεώρησις)’ (Γιοχάλας 2006, B 710). Even P. Furiqi uses it frequently in his writings: shkruajta ato që shkruajta, pa ndonjë njatër qëllim, po vetëmë **për të çonjë** të vërtetënë (Φιλίππου-Αγγέλου 2017, 361).

After what was explained above, in the context of intensive and asymmetric contacts between these languages, if we consider that the construct in question derives from the Albanian analytical infinitive¹⁷, then Greek, which has long replaced its infinitive with the analytical structure *για να [për të] + subjunctive*, puts pressure and inhibits the structures such as *për të ikur dhe për të vajtur*, motivating the verbal characteristics and the verbal function of the forms «të ngurosura» *të ikur dhe të vajtur*, which were prepositional nouns originally (Demiraj 2015, 356).

This process is favored even by the *re-analysis* of article *të* (*të ikur-it*, *të vajtur-it*) as a particle of the subjunctive (*të ikinë*, *të vejnë*), and by the translation of the preposition *για* into *për* (or *prë*) and the omission of conjunction *çë*.

¹⁷ N. Liosis, based on the data provided by Sasse (1991, 405-406), notices that “The use of the ‘infinitive’ in the arvanites of Eastern Beotia seems to be specified in future structures, type *jam + paskajore*, for example *karavi ja [është] për të barturë* ‘the ship will be loaded’, and not in other contexts. In no other dialect [arvanites] it is possible to see the structure *për të + participle* on a synchronic level; it has been replaced by the infinitive forms of the subjunctive mood. Even the fact that in these cases the subjunctive is followed “abusively” by preposition *për*, is another reliable trace that shows the early and dense presence of the structure in question.” (Liosis 2007, 667).

The geographical distribution of the phenomenon speaks in favor of this approach (see below), but also the fact that in Greek-Albanian bilingual areas, where Greek has the lion's share, such constructs continue to appear. A few years ago, my son, then 10 years old, born in Greece and a passive speaker of Albanian, created the sentence: Na dha edhe éνα χαρτί **për të shkojmë**. 'He also gave us a letter për të shkuar/që të shkojmë'.

It seems that this form is not encountered elsewhere as frequently and with almost complete exclusivity that we find in the Arvanite dialects, as we know them from the recordings in the last decades. N. Liosis is of the same opinion. He considers that one of the basic features that distinguish Arvanites from Tosk Albanian and especially from Southern Tosk Albanian is «the replacement of the infinitive by analytical syntactic constructions with conjunctions, e.g. *për të punonj* 'για να δουλέψω'» (2007, 198).

He bases this assessment on the two authorities of Albanian dialectology, who expressly write that:

[In the Arvanite Dialects] "It is possible to notice in the morpho-syntactic field the constructionl type *për + subjunctive*, close to the infinitive type *për + të + participle*, p.sh. *M'thojnë për t'vej nd' Athinë e nuk ika*. We find this type of construction frequently even in the arberesh dialects of Italy but it is not to be found in the dialects of Albania or in the documents written in this language, and so it can be seen as a hybrid form even under the influence of Greece or even Italian." (Gjinari & Shkurtaj 2003, 366-367).

However, a more detailed review of the bibliography and relevant sources somewhat alters the geography that this construct has spread to. We find it very rarely in the manuscript of the translation of the "New Testament" by V. Meksi, done two hundred years ago, and we do not find it in the edited and published translation by G. Gjirokastriti, in 1827

V. Meksi (The Gospel according to Mathew 20/19):

E do ta apënë atë ndë filit e tjera e **për të përqeshjënë**, e **për të rrahenë** me kamçi, e **për të mbërthjenë** ndë kryq, edhe të tretënë ditë do të ngjalletë.

G. Gjirokastriti (The Gospel according to Mathew 20/19):

70	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ	Κεφ. 20.
<p>18. Να, ὁποῦ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θέλει παραδοθῆ εἰς τὰ χεῖρα τῶν Ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν Γραμματέων, καὶ θέλουσιν τὸν κατακρίνει εἰς θάνατον.</p> <p>19. Καὶ θέλουσιν τὸν παραδώσει εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, νὰ τὸν περαιοῦσιν, καὶ νὰ τὸν δείρουν, καὶ νὰ τὸν σαυρώσουν, καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν θέλει ἀναστῆ.</p>	<p>18. Για καὶ χίπεγεμα ντὲ Ἱεροσολιμ εἰς ἰ πῆρρι νιερίουτ δὸ τὲ παραδόσετ ντὲ τὲ πάρετ' εἰ Πρίφτερετ, εἰ ντὲ τὲ Γραμματέψουριτ, εἰ δὸ τὰ βουκόγενε ἀτὲ πῆρ βδέλεγε.</p> <p>19. Ε δὸ τὰ ἄπενε ντὲ φιλι τὲ τγιέρα πῆρ τὲ περκέουρε, εἰ πῆρ τὲ βάχουρε με καμτζί, εἰ πῆρ τὲ μπερβίερε ντὲ κρουίχ, εἰ τὲ τρέτενε δῖτε δὸ τὲ γριάλετ.</p>	

The form *Meksi* uses is also present in the "Albanian Hellenophony" area. The data M. Totoni provides confirm this for the dialect of Muzina. Among others he wrote that

"In this dialect the verbal form *për + the neutral verb noun* is rarely used; I have seen it only twice: *punon ki për të punuar/*, to *vete në pazar për të marë bukë/*.

Instead, in Muzina there is another construction formed by *për + verb in subjunctive mood*: *kam dhe tjetër për t'i jap/*, *kur vjen puna për të thuash më shumë, prapë ashtu thuhet/*, *vëndi ka perspektiva për të jetosh mirë/*, *për të haç je, të hangërt bufi/*, *për të dëgjonesh, duhet të bësh diçka/*, *a është mirë t'i heqim ndonjerit të drejtën për të mos mbajë dhi?/*, *erdhi ora për t'ikim/*, *neve s'kemi bura për të punojmë me pëndë/*, *për t'i përmirësojmë këto plane, të ulet frutikultura/*, *nuk e hapim për të thomi që e hapëm/*, *kanë mbetur livadh për të kullusin dhinë.*" (Totoni 1965, 114)

Totoni says that prof. E. Çabej was of the idea that this construct «is a combination of the forms *për të punuar with që të punoj*», while S. Mansaku thinks that

"Il est probable que cette construction soit créée sous l'influence du grec ou la préposition *για* se met devant le verbe au subjonctif pour exprimer le but.

La répartition géographique de cette construction milite aussi en faveur de l'influence grecque: Le village de Muzine est voisin des villages de la minorité grecque en Albanie du Sud.” (Mansaku 1996, 83)

The explanation Çabej gives should be considered in the context of the interactions of intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors, which bring about changes in a language. However, in this case as Mansaku notes, and as Toton elaborates, we are dealing with a bilingual population, with regular relations and contacts with the surrounding villages of the Greek minority and the Greek world. The materials of Toton were recorded in 1960, mostly taken from individuals aged 70-80 years, so the construction in question must have been old. It is very possible that the construction in question has shrunk among the younger generations of the village who were educated in Albanian and raised in an environment where Albanian prevailed.

Mansaku (ibid) appoints this form in the Arberesh dialects (vate tek ajo për t'e njih). However, in these dialects, contrary to what Gjinari and Shkurtaç write about (2003, 366-367), it does not seem to be widespread¹⁸ and perhaps it has traces of the influence of Greek¹⁹, which was bore by the Arberesh who settled in South Italy coming from the «beautiful Moré».

We have not encountered it in the Cham dialect, while we found cases of its use in the Albanian dialect of Mandrica:

1. Unë o t'i jap kartë, senet nga mua mbreti, **për të ishtë** tuoj aju vënt. ... 'за да бъде ваше това място' (Stankov 2016, 162)

2. Turket ndëjtkan **për të hanë** bukë. 'Турците седнали да ядат' (Stankov 2016, 185)

And in the dialects of Ukraine:

¹⁸ In the novel *Sofia e Kominiatëve* by F. A. Santori (written around the 1880s and published in Naples in 2011), with the help of his publisher, colleague M. Sauku Bruci, we found the form *kam petëka për të mund nkrakonen njëqint qerre* (f.134), which is similar, but not identical with *për të + subjunctive*. The reason this construct is encountered so rarely or not at all has to do with the fact that the infinitive is still alive and active in the language of Santor: “Zoti Burith, kemi gjë *prë të pirë* e *prë të ngrënë*, se jemi të vdesëmi, *prë brirat e Shën Kollit*.” (f. 250); “*Vinjë ka kroi ... e sjellë uj për me pirë tek mëntëra e lopave*.” (f. 255) etc.

¹⁹ Colleague G. Lafe tells me that he heard about the form *për + subjunctive* from the Arberesh, especially those who came to settle here from Greece: *për të bëjë*, *për të shkojë*, *për të thuash (ti)* and many more. He thinks that the structure in question was influenced by Greek and it is not possible to have been influenced by Italian, because it always uses the infinitive. In Italian, it would have been *për + paskajore*: *per andare*, *per venire*, *per dire*, or in subjunctive: *perché tu dica (që ti të thuash)* etc., with an intentional use.

1. Presëm të binë jeqini, të binë shirat **për të ritet** jeqini chi mbulmë. (Kotova 2017, 45) - - = = -

2. Përtekë a glyatë, për gisen, dhe për lobut, dhe për punë, dhe **për të vesh**, dhe *për të digur* ‘палка длинная, для всего, и для битья, и для работы, и *при ходьбе*, и чтобы жечь’ (Kotova 2017, 137)

3. At'o a ftrëng'onnë, aj'o *dop'ustjim u nas vot* **për ta v'emë**. (Morozova 2016, 523)

As it is possible to see, the presence of this form beyond the sphere of the Greek influence makes us think that it is no longer Greek but the Bulgarian language which is influencing the Albanian dialects of Mandrica and Ukraine²⁰. The forms type да да бъде, characteristic to Bulgarian, produced respectively the forms *për të ishtë*, *për të hanë*, *për të ritet*, *për të vesh*, *për ta vemë*.

c.1

Meanwhile there are some other forms, characteristic for Albanian (Demiraj 2015, 329-365), which are present in Arvanite forms. H. J. Sasse provides use with these forms (1991, 405, *Infinitivkonstruktionen*).

In the following examples, the sentences (1-4) follow the Albanian model *pa + participle*:

1. Do të të kaldishjë, **pa ngrënë** kaqë dit... ‘θα σε εξαντλήσει, *χωρίς να φας* τόσες μέρες’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 58)

2. E, **pa ikurë** akoma, ftoj të motrënë. ‘και, *χωρίς να έχει φύγει* ακόμα, κάλεσε την αδελφή του’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 217)

3. E **pa zëruarë** [filluar] akoma të falhej. ‘και *χωρίς να αρχίσει* ακόμα να προσεύχεται’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 219)

4. E akoma **pa sosurë** k'shilletë, ranë përdhe pishqitë. ‘και *χωρίς να σώσει* ακόμα τα λόγια...’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 227)

While (5-10) follow the Greek model *pa + subjunctive*, which does not exist in Albanian.

5. **Pa të pien** fare ndonjë ‘*χωρίς να ρωτήσει* κανέναν’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 55)

6. Prë të të shëronj nga kio sëmudë, **pa të pish** iatri. ‘*χωρίς να πάρεις* *γιατρικό*’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 211)

7. Zëroj të klaj, **pa të pëshon** fare. ‘*άρχισε να κλαίει, χωρίς να*

²⁰ I would like to thank my colleague Maria Morozova for the valuable information and the constructive observations.

σταματάει καθόλου’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 231)

8. E, **pa të dihej** akoma, u sgjua Medhinaja. ‘και, χωρίς να έχει ξημερώσει ακόμα, ...’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 218)

9. E rova bashkë tridhietë viet, **pa të bëjmë** fare dialë. ‘χωρίς να κάνουμε καθόλου παιδί’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 221)

10. **Pa të dëftonjë**, ce gjeshë [dëgjova] gjë. ‘χωρίς να δείξω, ότι άκουσα τίποτα’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 229)

A similar case, with the omission of the particle *të* in subjunctive, is on the following examples:

1. **Le vinjë**. ‘ας έρθει’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 57)

2. **Le jetë**. ‘ας είναι’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 70)

Even here, the Arvanites followed the Greek model, which, in contrast to Albanian, does not have the particle *να* [të] in subjunctive mood follow particle *ας* [le].

ς. Conjunction

Conjunctions, as it is well known, are very much present in any language, so the possibility of interference is high. More specifically:

1. Bari u bë edhe u tha / mëma bëri **pse** s’e pa. ‘Το χορτάρι μεγάλωσε και ξεράθηκε / η μάνα μου έκανε πως δεν το ‘δε’ (Μωραΐτης 2002, 121)

2. Ajo bëri **pse** s’më pa ‘έκανε πως δε με είδε’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 61)

3. **-Se** e shtini këtë kashtë në dhrom? -E shterrmë ..., tha papui, se mos harromë dhromën. **Se kemi venë** [πηγαίνουμε] për dru. ‘Γιατί ρίχνετε άχυρο στο δρόμο; -Το ρίχνουμε, για να μην ξεχάσουμε το δρόμο. Γιατί πηγαίνουμε για ξύλα.’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 216)

4. Ku e dijë u **s’oti** ish gomene [dashnore] e dhiiqitiut [komandantit]. (Sasse 1991, 472)

5. E parusjasa [paraqita] **s’oti** ish e shoqqa e jatrojti. (Sasse 1991, 474)

6. Nga atje duketë **se oti** katundi inë ja [është] apanekathen [qëmoti] këtu. (Sasse 1991, 482)

In sentences 1 and 2 the subordinate Greek Conjunction *πως/ότι* is replaced by the Albanian *pse*, while in the example 3 the Greek question *γιατί* [why] has effectuated the emergence of a *se* instead of *pse*. We should add that *γιατί* in Greek and *pse* in Albanian, have the meanings

‘why’ and ‘because’. In sentences (4-6) we have a hybrid form²¹ which rises by the juxtaposition (simultaneous projection) of *se* and its other synonym *óti*²².

The Arvanite conjunction **prë njátë** seems to have been copied from Greek. *για αυτό* (*γι αυτό*) ‘therefore, for this reason’, in which *για* means ‘për’ and *αυτό* means ‘this, that’, while **nj** has an antihatic meaning.

Prë njátë një klosë [klloçkë] thëllëzë kur xier dimbëdhjetë [zogj], do t’i rronjënë trakatrë. ‘Γι’ αυτό ...’ (Γιοχάλας 2000, 154)

The case is unique with conjunction **andë**, which is present only in the Arvanite dialects:

1. **An të** të rienjën nga mua / tho **pse** u ndogjë u përvëljua. ‘*Αν σε ρωτήσουνε για μένα / πες κάηκε, λαμπάδιασε*’ (Μωραΐτης 2002, 147)

2. **An ndë** jeshë u Perëndi / edhe ti Kostandi, / doje të ta bënjë u tij / os [siç] më bën mua ti? ‘*Αν ήμουν εγώ θεός...*’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 106)

3. **An dë** mos keni edhe dume, / jimni nga një par puljë. ‘*Αν δεν έχετε...*’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 62)

4. **An d’** ishtë ndonjë shklepurë / e nëkë munt të vinjë... ‘*Αν είναι κανένας κουτσός...*’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 62)

5. **An të** jetë njeri atje t’e ndighnjë ‘*Αν βρισκόταν εκεί άνθρωπος...*’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 103)

6. Po, **andë** do të bëjm shoqëri, të vësh farënë... ‘*Όμως, αν θες να κάνουμε σεμπριά...*’ (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 63)

7. **An dë** vafshe me steré, / rri, pse ‘o të të qaum ne. ‘*Αν τυχόν πας από στεριά...*’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 510).

All the examples above are conditional sentences, which start with conjunction *εάν/αν* in Greek and with conjunction *ndë* in albanian/arvanites

8. **Ndë** mos di, piej të xësh. (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 63)

9. **Ndë** më pëlqeftë, e zë. (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 71)

10. **Ndë** mos pifsha gjak u nga ti, Konstanti të mos më thenë, po të më

²¹ “Bei männlichen Sprechern hört man manchmal die hybride Kombination von *sé* + ngr. *óti* (*sé óti* oder *s’ óti*), die wohl “gebildet” sein soll.” (Sasse 1991, 394). We should note that Sasse considers these constructions as characteristic for the dialect of educated people.

²² Following is the comment of Hadjidakis on the appearance of the Greek construction **óti πως** [se që]: «Even the syntactic connections show similar confusions, e.g. *ηξέρω óti* [di se] and *ηξέρω πως* [di që]; and then *εγώ ηξέρω πως óti...* [unë dija se që], *λέγω óti* [them se] and *λέγω να* [them të] ... paskëtaj and *λέγω óti να...* [them se të]...» (Χατζιδάκις 1907, 508).

thenë ALI. (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 80)

11. **Ndë** të kërkofsha klumësht, do mos më japësh? (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 203)

12. **Ndë** theftë mëma “ç’u bë djali”, / t’i thoni pse u martua. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 506)

After comparing sentences 1-7 and 8-12 it is clear that *andë* derives by the attachment of the greek parcticle *av* with the arvanite particle *ndë*, or in some cases, by the greek *av* with particle *të* in subjunctive mood, or by replacing the albanian particle *po* with the greek *av* (see, e.g., sentence 1).

The same context could also be for conjunction *adamós* ‘nëse jo, në mos’ in the Arvanites of southeast Peloponnese, which Liosis breaks it down to *an [av] të mos* (2007, 318).

Similar to conjunction **andë** is conjunction **ipo**, recorded in the dialects of Muzina by M. Totoni²³. It seems that it was formed by the replacement of **a** in apo with the differentiating conjunction **i** borrowed by Greek²⁴.

In Arvanites there are also hybrid forms²⁵ which were formed by synonymous conjunctions *kur and* *όταν, ku and όπου, çë and ό,τι*:

1. **Ókur** to vej djali ndë vreshtë. ‘Όταν το παιδί θα πάει στο αμπέλι...’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 102)

2. **Óku** vej, vej ndanë. ‘Όπου πήγαινε, πήγαινε από κοντά του». (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 102)

3. **Óku** vej karo, **óku** vej aftoqinito. (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 112)

4. **Óçë** prurrë andeazë, vijnë di dhjakonjar këteazë. ‘Ότι έφεραν απεκείθε...’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 216) (Ότι ‘në çastin që’)

d. Numerals

1. To *hilja enjakosa* [njëmijë e nëntëqind] **njëzet edhe di** vajta stratjot. ‘Το χίλια εννιακόσια **εικοσιδύο** πήγα φαντάρος’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 66)

2. Jeshë me *trimet* vjet. Pastaj vajta **dhjetë tetë**. ‘Ημουν *δεκατριών* χρονών. Ύστερα έφτασα **δεκαοχτώ**’ (=tëtëmbidhjetë) (Γιοχάλας 2006, A 359)

²³ “Conjunction *ipo*, also borrowed by Greek, equal to *apo*: *ipo jo?* (=apo jo?).” (Totoni 1965, 115).

²⁴ “I am going to mention a few coordinating differentiated conjunctions which I find interesting such as: *i ..., i ...: po të vete i për dru i për ujë, më gëzohet shpirti*. This conjunction is widely spread in the dialects of the south. It is also present along the coast, Lunxhëri.” (Totoni 1965, 115).

²⁵ Kolegu T. Γιοχάλας i quan συμφορούς – hibride (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 128).

3. Në **dhjetëpesë** vitëra bëra djalin e parë. ‘Δεκαπέντε χρόνων έκανα το πρώτο παιδί’ (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 522)

In example 1 we have a classic example of *code switching*, while in examples (2) and (3) the structure of Greek has an Albanian material, even though it continues to resist the first (Jeshë me *trimet* [trembëdhjetë] vjet. Pastaj vajta **dhjetë tetë** [tetëmbëdhjetë]).

e. The order of the parts of the sentence

1. Me të larëtë **ata**, do qëronhetë kurmi i-it nga kasidha. (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 211)

2. E trimi **aj** bëri t’urdhëruarit’ e mbretit. (Reinhold, Klosi 2005, 213)

3. Broshura **ajo** ish një copë e ndajturë nga «Athinaja » periodhikoja. (Φιλίππου-Αγγέλου 2017, 361)

4. ...nga rëposh trohajt [rrotës] ish enas stavros, një kriq. Kriqi **aj** e vëjnë nde gjeli, nde pula... (Γιοχάλας 2011, A 180)

The unusual meaning of the demonstrative pronouns was influenced by Greek which allows them to be used before or after a noun (khs. αυτό/εκείνο το παιδί ‘ky/ai djali’ dhe το παιδί αυτό/εκείνο ‘*djali ky/ai’).

Conclusion

After analyzing the phenomena of hybridization and interference, it is clear that they appear especially when they are in intensive linguistic contacts. It is no coincidence, for example, that the structure *për të shkojmë* is present in the Arvanites dialects, very much so in the dialect of Muzina, and less in Arbëresh and very rarely in the dialect of Mandrica and among the Albanians of Ukraine. It remains to be further examined why it does not exist in the Cham dialect, which was in direct contact with the Greek of Epirus.

The information presented above shows the presence of the same phenomenon in monolingual and bilingual environments (see ότι πως and *se oti, pa ngrënë* and *pa të pish, ndë* and *andë*, etc.)

“The transitional period, during which there is a provisional coverage and the forms of the giving and receiving languages coexist in the structure of the receiving language, and, which, during the grammaticalization caused by contact between the languages, reminds us of the characteristic process of the intra-lingual grammaticalisation,

in which a historically older structure combines with a recently formed structure.” (Heine & Kuteva 2005, 18, our highlight, Dh.Q.Q.)²⁶ and

“Coexistence can have two forms: either the new and the old category intertwine together under the same form, or they exist as alternative constructs available for the speakers of the receiving language.”²⁷ (Heine & Kuteva 2005, 130)

A direct interdependent relation can be established between the degree of hybridization and interference and the intensity of linguistic contacts. In this context, a written text, which has similar traces, or a linguistic situation with analogous characteristics, relate to environments in which the network and intensity of the linguistic contacts is such that it can justify those types of traces.

This can apply to Musina, which was described above, or to an Albanian text, written in Greek alphabet by an unidentified author, which was found in the manuscripts of the Monastery of Holy Trinity in the island of Halqi (Çunga & Demiraj 2019). In the text among others we notice the form *imu* (*Krishti imu*), which could be broken down as a product of hybridization of the personal pronouns *im* in Albanian and *mu* (μου) ‘im’ in Greek. This means that it is probable that the author originates from an Arvanites settlement.

In this treatise, we dwelt more on presenting the facts rather than putting them in context and theoretically examining them. This has to be done by another more thorough research which aims to grasp in entirety the time and the space of the contacts between Albanian and Greek.

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²⁶ “The transitional, overlapping stage of the coexistence of marking from the model and the replica language within the replica language structure observed in contact- induced grammaticalization is very reminiscent of a process characteristic of language- internal grammaticalization, too, whereby a historically earlier structure occurs in combination with the newly created, historically later structure.” (Heine & Kuteva 2005, 18)

²⁷ “Coexistence may take two different forms: either the new and the old category are combined and cooccur in the same construction, thus resulting in double marking; or the two coexist as alternative constructions available to speakers of the replica language.” (Heine & Kuteva 2005, 130)

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Shaban SINANI

**MAN, AND THE ATYPICAL PHENOMENON IN DRITËRO
AGOLLI'S WORK: LOONY PEOPLE IN HIS PROSE**

In the scientific and para scientific settings from a decade and a half it has and still is being discussed about the character of the literary creation of the last half-century, including here the literary work of the writers of *the generation of the 1960s*, in the constellation of which, Dritero Agolli plays an important role. It can well be said that this discussion is still permeated by political terminology; what was this literary work called? Revolutionary literature, engaged literature, literature of idealist writers, socialist literature, party belonging literature, social realism literature or simply, ironically and contemptuously said, *socio-realism literature*.

Since this is a discussion revolved about such content, induced by nonscientific terms, it is not surprising that one proposes to make dissertations with the topic *I. Kadare and Stalinist ideology* (Rexhep Qosja); another from the opposite front, goes as far as to require that *Albanian literature should be freed from socio-realism* (Kasem Trebeshina). In reality, questions about orientations, methods, schools, theories and aesthetic concepts will increasingly remain a matter of literary studies, whereas for the reader only the text will be of importance. Even the literary historiography increasingly has a tendency towards text-centric concepts. In this respect, the persistence of one party (R.Qosja) that a certain writer belongs to socialist realism and vice versa, the persistence of the other party (I.Kadare) that they had no connection with socialist realism, in reality merely show that the debate has no relation to real literature.¹

¹ As opposed to the misuse of the past from different writers and scholars, Dritëro Agolli has asserted in *Intervistë pa censurë* (Uncensored Interview): *In poetry I have been more flexible, I have dedicated verses to the Socialist Party and Enver Hoxha*, published in *Shkrimtari* (The Writer), no. 1, March 2001, p.12-14.

This way of considering, even though it reflects a number of diverse ideas and views rather than scientific thinking, will normally go towards extinction and oblivion and will part itself from the past. The literary legacy that will survive from that period, soon will be freed from those questions, which will remain only issues of historic-scientific research and interpretations of terms in respect of time and method.

A real judgement of this literature, its values and limitations can be technically said to be still unconsidered issue, an issue that is to be considered in the near future. A question that arises to the young reader of this literature everyday more regards the man that this literature nourishes, the man that survives the changing of times. What characters did this literature create, what characters reflect the time and its worries; what figures and occurrences come to life, have virtues and flaws and make the reader relate himself to them? How much present is the man in this literature?

This is the real trial through which the achievements and limitations of the post war literature will undergo and be judged.

The matter of the characters and personalities; the matter of the man will be one of the most difficult problems the Albanian contemporary literature will face when it will be reread. Not only the social realism literature, but every type of literature, even that literature that is written today in the world and in a declarative manner has declared as its mission the indifference against the individual and recently the ridicule of human beings, sooner or later, inevitably will face this verification. Because the matter of the man in literature is not an exceptional issue of the theory of literature, of the principles and aesthetics of social realism, of its ideological basis, but instead it is the key to the understanding of its survival possibilities and its communicative power.

From the middle of the XX century and on, man in literature was turned into an object and postmodernism transformed into antagonism the connection with him.

II

Written within a society rigorously controlled, in order to be read, as any other type of literature, even in open societies, the social realism literature cannot escape to answer the question if there are real people within it that develop independently of the ruling ideology. Formulated in another way, the problem of the man in the post war literature can be

expressed in the question: Is there more freedom in this literature than it was in the social life of the time? Or *the myth of the new man* enslaved the world of the characters of this literature, transforming it into ideas, illustrations, a soulless world and without worries, in a schema? Dritëro Agolli's literary work displays a gallery of people and characters that facilitate this hard confrontation for the new Albanian literature on the whole. Man is the inner strength of the Dritëro Agolli's literary work.²

Referring to the character of the work of the poet Dritëro Agolli, in this essay the phrase *man in literature* means: the poetic self in poetry and the diverse characters in prose: novels, short stories, narratives, as well as in drama.

In D. Agolli's poetry the man is identified with the author himself; on the contrary in prose and drama, the character of man is different from the author. In his work the man, because of the important value that the poetry contains in itself, is first the author himself – particularly from the beginning of the 1990s and on.

D. Agolli wrote a more exceptional poetry, thoroughly individual. He writes poetry of the strong self, as opposed to an earlier poetry written by the generation of the antifascist poets, which was characterized by the tendency to merge the self with the generation's name. The tendency for self-assertion was noticed from his first volume *Në rrugë dolla* (1958) (I went out in the road). Bagritksy's verses: *I went out in the road/ the door closed behind*, became a credo of *the generation of the 1960s*. There could not be a return to the collective *us*, the era of *the self* had started. Certainly, this should not be misunderstood: it is not a question of the egocentric self, but of the proper individual, including the poet himself. Later this tendency was more obvious and stronger in the poems *Devoll-Devoll* and *Poemë për babanë dhe për veten* (Poem for me and my father). It characterizes the whole poetry work of the author.

²*It is certainly not only the new man, and not only the old man, the bourgeois, the conservative, the enemy, the kulak, but it is the universal worry of a man, who is a creator, about the common Albanian man in general. The same phenomenon is noted by the scholar A. Zoto when he analyzed some of the problematic novels and short stories of Agolli, published during the monist period. See Vrion Graçi, Personazhet konceptuale "kundër" autorit Dritëro Agolli, në Dritëro Agolli – personalitet i shquar i letërsisë dhe kulturës shqiptare (Conceptual characters "against" Dritëro Agolli, in Dritëro Agolli – renowned personality in Albanian literature and culture), acts of the international scientific conference organized by the "Eqerem Çabej" University of Gjirokastrë, Gjirokastrë 2011 (published in 2013), p. 134.*

Dritëro Agolli expressed his own attitude towards the techniques of the traditional verse also in a critical manner through the article *Traditë natyrisht, por jo shtampë* (Tradition of course, but not cliché). His poetry differs from traditional poetry because it does not basically search for the subject matter in the heroism and greatness of collective fortitude. In such poetry found themselves as subjects the plowman and the shepherd, the peasant and the student, the highlander and the intellectual. D. Agolli preserved from the best values of the traditional poetry the popular spirit. He created a new specimen of verse, one that followed Naim, but searching for innovation. His gradually poetic growth is expressed in these books: *Hapat e mija në asphalt* (1961) (My steps on the asphalt), *Shtigje malesh dhe trotuare* (1965) (Mountain trails and sidewalks), *Devoll-Devoll* (1964), (Devoll-Devoll), *Mesditë* (1968) (Midday), *Baballarët* (1969) (Fathers), *Nënë Shqipëri* (1974) (Mother Albania), *Fjala gdhend gurin* (1977) (Words shape stones), *Udhëtojt i menduar* (1985) (I thoughtfully travel), *Pelegrini i vonuar* (1993) (The delayed pilgrim), *Lypësi i kohës* (1995) (The time begger), *Kambanat e kohës* (1998) (The time bells), *Fletorka e mesnatës* (1998) (The little midnight note book), *Gdhihet e ngriset* (2000), (Dusk and dawn) and other latter volumes.

Dritëro Agolli's poetry is close to the man. The poet changed the envisage of the *great subject*, looking for poetic greatness through experiencing of the common subject; expanding multiple times the reality space in poetry and thoroughly changing the relationship between them. He ventured to create poetry in analogy with everyday life motifs. This kind of poetry emancipated in general the literary climate and way of thinking in Albania.

Dritëro Agolli's verse has been directly influenced by the popular poetry, by Naim Frashëri's and Lasgush's art, by Burns and Russian authors of the beginning of the xx century. In his early poetries it can be perceived the Soviet Union school influence, particularly the Eduard Bagritskiy's (1895-1934) and Dmitri Kedrin's (1907-1945) spirit.³

Dritëro Agolli's poetic composition in essence is lyric-epic, different from the traditional one, which was mainly based on epic glory. He changed the Albanian poetry from *cosmocentric* to *anthropocentric*. His

³Robert Elsie, *Një fund dhe një fillim: vëzhgime mbi letërsinë dhe kulturën shqiptare bashkëkohore*, (An end and a beginning: observations on literature, Albanian contemporary culture), Tiranë 1995, p.12.

poetry is permeated by the cult of the motherland, land, bread, plow, family, parent, father. It is ruled by the living world, personification of the environment, glorifying of the nature, land and livestock. In this trait of his poetry emerge traces of a pantheist Bektashi outlook. Dritëro Agolli in his poesies has created the image of an *ideal Albania*. His most important idealizing work is the poem *Nënë Shqipëri* (*Mother Albania*). Similar to Naim, who had a clear picture of Albania, but still in his poem *Bagëti e Bujqësi* (*Herds and Pastures*) recreated it depicting it with an imaginary beauty, he created a poetic Albania, as it appeared in his dreams. In this poem prevails the cult of homeland and call for national pride.

Nënë Shqipëri was written as a *Bagëti e Bujqësi* of a modern time. Naimi's spirit of the romantic futurism is directly felt in the poem. D. Agolli wanted to build a happy Albania. This could be poetically achieved either through the myth of the past, or a utopia – the cult of the future. The writer himself did not republish this work after the 1990s and refused any invitations, either friendly or critical ones, to edit and adopt it according to the likes of the readers of new times, insisting that poem was not the only one written in the style and under the influence of Mayakovski's work, in the quest for an ideal society of justice and equality, in which the generation emerging after the antifascist war believed. Despite the fact that Dritëro Agolli excluded in any case that this poem was dogmatic and doctrinaire, with the same persistence he refused its editing, complying with only partial omission of any certain politically charged fragments, in case of republishing it.⁴

⁴*I don't remember saying that I will rewrite the poem "Nënë Shqipëri". It will remain as it is. I don't edit life. Can you say that you can improve yesterday? It is gone, you cannot change it. There are writers that edit their life, saying that they have been advent opponents of dictatorship while forgetting works written by them which strongly proclaim: "Long live communism" ...In the poem "Nënë Shqipëri" one can find not only praise for socialism, but also opposition and critics that no other writer of that time dared making. In my poem "Nënë Shqipëri" one can find similar calls, but I believed in them for the sake of change in the world. That is the reason why I don't edit this poem. "Nënë Shqipëri" was published in 1974. Around that time, or maybe latter the monument at the National Memorial Cemetery of Albanian took the name from that poem, because it had another name before... There have been published lots of other poems of the same nature, influenced by the poetry of Mayakovski. Long poems bearing the idea of Albanian's progress were a trend of the time. In line with this spirit I wrote my poem, which took those ideas further, ideas of an ideal that would drive the world towards liberty, equality and fraternity...The poem "Nënë Shqipëri" is a metaphor, it depicts a mother together with its children, depicts home, fire, the chimney puffing out smoke, the garden, trees, flowers, mountains and rivers, the enslaved people who dream of a better life believing that socialism*

Dritëro Agolli intertwined the most beautiful values of the traditional literature with the needs of the Albanian poetry for modernization in excellence. He affirmed the worth of poetry as a way of expressing a rich world of thoughts and emotions, with a variety of situations and tendencies. Throughout his creativity of more than half a century, he was the poet of human pain and life's philosophy.

Attentive to people's great dramas, he became the poet of the personal sufferings of man, expressing pain for *a killed bird or a run over dog*. He is the poet of declaring human weakness of the creator for everything that he experiences.

Dritëro Agolli's poetry experienced a poetic *revival* in the last two decades. With the volumes of poetry *Pelegrini i vonuar*, *Lupësi i kohës*, *Fletorkat e mesnatës* the author proclaims his new challenge of excellence. In these volumes we see a poet with a shaken ideal that has to find the worth and meaning of his life and of the generation that he represents, in circumstances of great shocked societies and essential changes in the way towards its future. Altogether, Dritëro Agolli's verse does not reflect any diversion related to these changes. His poetry is one of human worth and worries, of pride and drama, of glorifying and criticism and of fine poetic state expressions. He faced with dignity the challenge to give liberty the deserved value; a challenge he confronted in certain planes, that of motifs, topics and philosophies, as well as that of excellence of creativity. Eastern and western poetic codes and models of verse were intertwined in a very interesting way at that period.

III

Man in D. Agolli's prose is often informed together with the title of the work: *Njeriu i mire* (*The good man*), *Njeriu me top* (*The man with the cannon*), *Tregime për njerëz të gjallë* (*Short stories about living people*), *Njerëz të krisur* (*Loony people*), *Njeriu me veladon* (*The man with the cassock*), *Portreti njeriut të madh* (*Portrait of the great man*),

would be the solution to their dilemmas. It is an imaginary model of a perfect society. We were the sons of this society and wrote these poems. Whilst today we have the ideal of getting rich...This poem is not tendentious and dogmatic...Moreover when Marx is mentioned it is done through a critiquing spirit. However, there are highly politically charged fragments in this poem...They can be easily removed if there will ever be the need of republishing it.

Part of Dritëro Agolli's interview given to Agron Tufa published with the title, *Shkrimtarët socrealistë osekompleksi i kopilit* (*Soc-realist writers or the bastard complex*), in *Tema* (*Theme*), February 21, 2009. Parts of this interview are presented in facsimile in this book.

similarly in poetry *Vjen njeriu i çuditshëm* (*The coming of the strange man*) etc. In all cases D. Agolli's man is defined with timeless observations (good, loony, strange, great, living) and not with overestimation that comes from ideology such as: young, heroic, revolutionary, victorious. Unlike a majority of works that were written in the post war period, in which man was built analogically with the official description of the *ten qualities of a communist*, in D. Agolli's literary work, despite being inspired by socialist ideals, mostly man with his disobedience to ideological prescription, is the power and strength of its survival.

The new man can be defined as the most important myth that was aimed to be built during a period of nearly 50 years. Time proved that *the new man* remained a myth in tentative because he could never be monumentalized, as it is seen in the historical reality. But not on a small scale, this myth occupied a part of the literary work of that period, particularly of the average literature which was widely spread within it. This was also due to the fact that *the positive hero*, that should meet the philosophy of the new man, was one of the five principles of the social realism and a strict requirement that should have been met even in humorous literature, where necessarily even on stage, according to Zylo he *should climb*, be above others.

Precisely because of this myth, the Albanian literature of the post war period faced the test of the characters' worth because this was and still is its biggest challenge. The positive character and optimistic inclination of this literature have been obligatory on the principle that came from the official method on which it should have been written, the positive character and the optimistic inclination imply the man and the new phenomenon, the man and the typical phenomenon.

D. Agolli in his prose has created characters and settings that have the hallmark of history, but in most of the cases these characters get out of control, defy discipline, deviate from the schematic myth of *the new man*, intertwining inside of them particular moral values established by that epoch, but being at the same time living beings: people of virtue and vice simultaneously, as it has been and will always be in the course of human beings' life. Using an author's favorite designation, Agolli has depicted in his prose mainly *loony people* instead of *the new saintly man*; people with progressive tendencies for the time when they lived, but at the same time disobedient to the scheme; dominated by the spirit of goodwill, but

without the pure dogmatic disinvolvement. Loony people, who embody some of the strangest misdeeds and pranks, as well as lots of valuable qualities, predominate D. Agolli's prose that much, as it can be thought that he does that on purpose, to protect them from the critics and to warn the reader as to not expect them any differently, within the parameters because eventually that's what they are, loony, disobedient, limited in abilities and full of weaknesses. This is what prevails in Agolli's prose from the onset.

The light side and the dark side, assertion and the shades of cruelty are intertwined in the characters he creates: from the volume with short stories *Zhurma e erërave tëdikurshme* (The noise of the past winds), to the novel that stands between two epochs "Arka e djallit" (The devil's chest). D. Agolli's characters, without being noticed, step into the *grey space* where you cannot expect only virtue, but also human weaknesses. Rrapo Commander expels two commissaries because he doesn't like people who only talk and don't act. Commissary Memo himself loves the daughter of a neutral intellectual, at a time when the moral of the war strictly forbade it. Minai, the young writer of the novel *Trëndafili në gotë* (The rose in the glass) shocked the life of a city, putting into test the natural gift of observation and prediction.

As the most achieved characters I would pick Zylo and Demka from the novel "Shkëlqimi dhe rënia e shokut Zylo" (The rise and fall of comrade Zylo) which today are turned into proper names; Sali Portopapa and Rrapo Tabani from the novel "Komisari Memo" (Commissary Memo), Mere, the old man from "Njeriu me top" (The man with the cannon), and the kapitan from the long story "Lamtumirë kapedani im" (Farewell my kapitan). Then the most accomplished characters are the scatty that do foolish actions and unexpected odd things. I really like scatty people in literature. Zylo and Sali Portopapa are boll scatty! Scatty people have saved me from following schemes and from the "*positive hero*".

Then the most accomplished characters are the scatty that do foolish actions and unexpected odd things. I really like scatty people in literature. Zylo and Sali Portopapa are both scatty! Scatty people have saved me from following schemes and from the "positive hero".⁵

⁵*Dritëro Agolli, Dy gjëra që socialism nuk mundi kurrë të m'imarrë (A pair of things that socialism could never take from me); published in the daily newspaper Shekulli (The century), February 12, 2017. In another occasion the writer has said: My grandfather was a bit naïve/*

In *Shkëlqimi dhe rënia e shokut Zylo* all the characters and their state can be said to be in the gray area where it is difficult to decide if there are more weaknesses in those characters that can be considered on the positive side, or more worth and value in those one who – traditionally have been called negative. The problem appears to be more complicated in *Arka e djallit*, a novel written during two decades and two different epochs, in which attractive characters like Cute Babulja and the writer Sherif Abeceja are loonier than those who the author calls *loony people*.

A complicated character and not at all impeccable is seen in Mato Gruda in *Njeriu me top*. In the novel *Dështaku* (The loser), another novel of *the gray area*, nearly completely deprived of positive characters (which means there is no icon of the new man) and victorious ending; Xhelo Mara is rendered to the reader more as a victim than a loser. In this novel those that pretend to be bearer of the spirit of progress are seen with suspicion by the reader. On the contrary, he that risks to be declared enemy seems more real to life. *The Loser* anticipates *the antihero* just in the title. Such is Dritëro Agolli's literary work, with heroes of twaddle, mischief, craze, loonies, and anecdotal deeds. As Peter Constantine remarks, D. Agolli and I. Kadare, even during the times of harshest dictatorship, succeeded in writing powerful novels while avoiding subjects predefined by the state policies.⁶

IV

The man with weaknesses is one of the most ancient discoveries of literature. Achilles and his proverbial heel of the ancient Greeks, Samson and his magical hair in the Hebrew Bible, the Albanian heroes with the three goats with golden horns are only some of the illustrations of this discovery. The man with weaknesses, who makes the reader attentive towards himself, also predominates in Migjeni's and Ernest Koliqi's prose. In Mitrush Kuteli's narrative short stories the characters convey tragic vice of genesis, including incest. The new post war literature, especially its schematic-cheering side, because of the discipline of those

greenhorn, he trusted all. He wasn't foxy like his Greek partner. That Greek was clever, while he was a bit scatty. Cf. Marrëzitë në jetë më kanë shpëtuar nga marrëzitë në letërsi (Lunacy in life has saved me from lunacy in literature), in Drita (The light), March 12, 1995, f. 4-5, 8-9.

⁶*During the years of the harshest and most restrictive censorship they both managed to write deep and powerful novels, despite having to avoid an endless list of unmentionable and untreatable topics. Peter Constantine, On "Njeriu me top" ("The man with a gun") by Dritëro Agolli, publ. Quarterly Conversation, 7 December 2009, p. 16-17*

times or self-conviction, didn't make much use of characters with weaknesses. This dismay towards the characters having a flaw has impoverished the post war literature in respect of the diversity of the characters.

D. Agolli, in his works has succeeded to create the character full of dilemmas, as opposed to the stoic hero who *the new man* had to be. Mato Gruda is put between of two enmities: his family and his fatherland. Minai is stuck in the middle of two loves: that for Zana and Mira. Commissary Memo is between two uncomplying nationalist commanders: Rrapo Tabani and Sali Portopapa. Cute Babulja finds himself between two temptations: working honestly respecting rules and enjoying the pleasures of life. Demka also has his own dilemma: he doesn't know what to choose, devotion to the executive or the old temptation of artistry. It is exactly in these types of characters that D. Agollis's literature shows obvious deviation from the rule.

In one of Dritëro Agolli's dramas *Baladë për një grua (Ballad to a woman)* we notice a reverse of the inherited ideological oaths: the woman should judge her husband not only as a man, as a life companion, but also as a comrade sharing the same ideal, as a former party member, being in this way paradoxically against the choice of the well-known letter of one of the antifascist communist martyrs, Gjikë Kuqali, published in school texts as well: *You will love me, if you love my party*. Such heroes that put the reader in a dilemma for a long time, make the reader worried about their fate because such heroes don't have a destined fate. No one knows how they will turn up to be: as heroes or losers. It is exactly the weaknesses and dilemmas, the limitations and dualism that impair the pure positive sanctity that the schematic hero should have had, that make the gallery of D. Agolli's characters a gallery of real life people, that survive times and do a favor to the literature written before by saving its reputation in some way. These two masterful deviations from the myth of *the new man*, which however do not exclude the characters created by time and historical setting, are qualities that make it possible to speak of the atypical man in the D. Agolli's prose.

V

In a broader view, Dritëro Agolli's prose has enriched the new Albanian literature with atypical settings and occurrences, people who

don't follow the schemata, over which the characters find the right conditions to unfold themselves.

In the novel *Njeriu me top*, apart from the pronounced relation to ethnography (the work can be regarded also as an etnotext) the setting becomes atypical because of the way of the relations in the large family of Fiza, *the grandfather* resembles more the Bektashi "Baba", than a patriarch of the entho-traditional Kanun. *The world has done mad! O great vengeance, come!* he says tragically, as the Hamlet of Shakespeare, the great baba, Mere when he witnesses something that has not happened in that house for more than three generations. The atypical occurrence here is the rocking of the old order in the Bektashi patriarchal family and not merely the conflict father – son for the war.

In the novel *Arka e djallit*, Cute Babulja shocked the headquarters of a world congress on popular literature and culture, Konya (*Ikonya, the city of icons*), not only with the gifted mysticism and talent to compete with the best, with semazen, the mystical dance of the dervish rumah-mevlevi, established in that city by the great poet Mevlana Jalal ad-Din Rumi, the renounced mystic poet; but also with the admirable freedom of judging the principles of the development of the popular culture as confronted with the doctrinarian concept of the Soviet critic Xhibilet Xhibiletov, with whom, as might have been expected, the Albanian schemata critic Mitro Karapataqi shares the same opinion. In this work Dritëro Agolli expresses for the first time through the characters' relations his well-founded views that he has clearly asserted recently: the new antifascist post-war literature in Albanian has been thoroughly a literature of the social realism, engaged with the ideals of the time.

The atypical occurrence is also evident in the short stories of the 1960s, such as *Lamtumirë, kapedani im (Farewell my kapidan)*, *Martesa e papritur e Pasho Velçanit (The unexpected marriage of Pasho Velçani)*, *Njeriu me veladon (The man with the cassock)*, *Një grek i vogël në shtëpinë tonë (A little Greek in our house)*, *Apasionata (Appassionata)*, *Njeriu i mirë (The good man)*.

D. Agolli by creating mainly conceptual characters instead of aesthetic figures; by preferring conceptual characters instead of characters with aesthetically focused functions, has managed to escape the vicious circle of the official illustrative literature in order to ensure an unquestionable place among the best Albanian literary works. A writer and an overlord...he differs thoroughly from many authors of that

time, of his disciple, blind followers of the soc-realist dogma. This mediocre writers' category, with poor creative skills were brought up as privileged artist of the regime and became unfairly popular by the state publishing mechanisms, the customized criticism and the predisposed advertisement. On the contrary, Dritëro Agolli from the summit of the socialist realism's pyramid has avoided his undisputable inborn talent, particularly in prose and humor; he wrote/published not at his potential.⁷

In most of the short stories of 1960s there is a lot evoking of ethnography that not only the setting, but also the occurrences remind the reader of the old traditional Albania; but also the people that live in them appear ideologically rough from the author's political consciousness and can be compared to Kuteli's characters, to the captain and brave men of the popular literature, to the old Albanians who were kapitan (captain) and warriors, rebels of the ancient times: the literary characters conspire against the author and vice versa.

The man as a fortune and the characters identifiable with the inner soul of the writer are rendered to the reader in a categorized form. There is a certain category of works where the characters become as powerful as they cast a shadow over the name of the work's author. Scheweik's name is more known than that of Hasek; Don Quixote's name more than Cervantes' name. But the same cannot be said about the name of Hamlet compared to that of Shakespeare, Anna Karenina against Tolstoy, or Madame Bovary against Flaubert and many other writers. In our tradition as well, there is a progressive distance among the character, author and reader. In Albanian discourse, be it scientific or popular is cannot be said, for example *Lahuta e Malcis* of At Gjergjit (*The Highland lute*) (Fishta) or *Albumi* of Theofan (*The Album*) (Noli), *Doktor Gjilpëra* of Faik (*Dr. Gjilpëra*) (Konica) or *Tregëtar flamujsh* of Ernest (*The flag merchant*) (Koliqi). Then there is another category of writers who only through their name unite all that gallery of human values that have created with their work. This is the case of Dante's literary work in the world's tradition; but also of Naim's and Dritëro's case in the Albanian literature. This way of expressing the rapport writer-character through different ways of their implied calls among names of critical thought, displays the degree of the

⁷ See: Vriou Graçi, idem, p. 139-140. The writer himself called the trial against the characters created in literature a second murder. See. Dritëro Agolli, *Heronjtë e mi janë vvarë për here të dytë* (*My heroes have been killed a second time*), in Java (The week), no. 26, Gjirokastër 1996, p.4.

presence of worldly man in literature. This is a value that can only be deserved because the reader does not relent. Moreover, the world today doesn't suffer from literature not written, but from the absence of a clever reader.

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Romeo GURAKUQI

ON ALBANIAN-GREEK BORDER DEMARCATION

1. First period 1881-1914

Albanian-Greek border demarcation, i.e. the Albanian Princedom - the last independent state emerging from the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1913- and the Kingdom of Greece, was a genuine foreign policy issue involving not only the concerned parties but mobilizing the Great Powers too. The background is a 100-year-old strenuous relationship between the two nations displayed in multiple ways, following the Balkan and World Crisis, up to the XXth century.

This relationship features: 1. The persistent efforts of the Greek state to control to the highest extent possible the land and maritime border for its strategic purposes, thus discounting the rights of the other party, or even ethnographic, geographical, economic and strategic criteria set forth by the international instruments, starting with the Final Act of Vienna Congress in 1815; The aggressive policy of the Greeks towards the national, Deottomanization and Europeanization agenda of the Albanians, and its constant alignment with Serbia against Albania on matters completely irrelevant to Greece (Kosovo); 3 The Albanian state's constant inability to establish its political and institutional representations, which would allow for a full exercise of its territorial integrity and freedom of regions exhibiting ethnic and religious peculiarities. Most importantly, the Albanian state would fail in providing effective and appropriate representations for the population peculiarities over which it exercises its sovereignty in the entire state pyramid. The biggest barrier to Greek ambitions over Southern Albania were the undeniable ethnographic features which informed the Austro-Hungarian and Italian approaches and a grouping of Albanian patriots who were pretty successful in lobbying at the right time at the right place with the Great Powers.

The Kingdom of Greece's preoccupation in pushing its borders as northwards as possible is as old as its independence. The policy adopted

by Greece on the re-composition of its state was informed on claims of ancient connotations. Ancient Epirus¹ was targeted by the Greek foreign politics on three occasions in 1854, 1878 and 1897 which eventually led to an aggressive or almost aggressive situation. Until the Congress of Berlin, the fight for Epirus took place between Turkey and Greece. But, from 1878 and onwards, upon the foundation of the Albanian League of Prizren, the political conflict over Epirus collided with the Albanian nationalism, which unwillingly aligned itself with Turkey struggling to preserve the integrity of its empire. Albanians would walk alongside Turkey over Epirus until 1913, when Albania had to face the Kingdom of Greece alone, in order to protect its territorial rights over Southern Albania.

The Eastern Crisis (1875-1878) was a golden opportunity for the Greeks to expand towards Southern Albania (Epirus in general) Article 15 under the Treaty of Saint Stefan, drafted by Russia, foretold that Epirus (and Thessaly) would enjoy the privileges same in terms of local governance with those awarded to *reglement organique* in 1868 to Crete. In the Congress of Berlin, Greece representative Delyannis demanded from the Great Powers a northern border inclusive of Epirus, Thessaly,

¹ *Epirus*, from Antiquity, applies to a region expanding from Saranda to “Gjiri i Artës” in the narrower sense, and from “Malet e Vetëtimës” (Llogara and Karaburun Peninsula) in the north to Macedonia and Thessaly up to Pindus in the south, in the broader sense. The name Epirus was employed by several Greek regions to refer to Southern Albania up to Shkumbin River. Epirus derives from Greek *Ἐπίροις* “(continental) land” (English “*mainland*”) as opposed to the islands facing it. This name has been employed by the Greek to distinguish this region from the other islands, especially from Corfu island. In ancient time, the Albanian-speaking inhabitants populating the region were called, depending on their provinces, Chams, Labs, *Arbëresh* and *Tosk*, while their provinces were respectively named Chamery, Labëri and Toskëri. Labs are settled in the west of Vjosa River while Tosks in the south. Over time, Tosk and Toskëri came to denote all Albanians populating the south part of Shkumbini River. Therefore, the present article will employ the name Toskëri standing for the entire Southern Albania. About the spoken language in Epirus, there have been many divergences. Some Albanologists argue that the tribes used to speak the “epiriot” language, which is different from Greek. So to speak, they were not Greeks, but rather Illyrians. Other scholars identified Epiriots with a Greek or Hellenized tribe. We still need to establish from the scientific point of view which of the two languages or peoples comes first. What we should stress however is that after 1821, i.e. after the Greek state independence, there's been a massive spread of the Greek language over this region which saw the Albanian language shrink, especially in the southern of the Albanian-Greek border. See for details: Shaban Demiraj, *Epiri, Pellazgët, Etruskët dhe Shqiptarët*, Tirana: Infbotues, 2008, p. 52, 53, 54, 57, 58.

² Luis Sigalos, *The Greek claims on Northern Epirus*, Chicago: Argonaut-INC, 1963, p. 15.

and Peneus and Kalamas rivers, thus going upwards to Zygo dhe Meçova close to Peneus river, and moving along Vjosa river up to Kalamas river. So the borders proposed for Epirus were far down the south than the present-day border, as demarcated in 1913 from the Protocol of Florence. Turkey could not be satisfied of course with such an expansion in favor of the Greek, and the Great Powers, although they having come to terms with the Greek expansion, had no intention to wage war to impose such expansion upon Turkey. The Greek Question was part of the highly complex eastern question and the congress has been summoned to prevent the said expansion fueled by the Treaty of San Stefano and minimize the Russian influence over the Balkans. Upon proposal of the French delegate Waddington, backed by the Italian delegate Corti, in its 13th session held on 5 July 1878, the Sublime Porte was invited to cooperate with Greece on rectifying the borders in Epirus and Thessaly. Waddington proposed that the border crossed the Peneus valley alongside the Aegean straight to Kallamas valley alongside Ionian Sea, which was very similar to the proposal of the Greek state forwarded to the Congress. However, the Congress of Berlin was inconclusive about the Greek Border question and in its article 24 provided that the Great Powers would intermediate between the two countries if there would be a disagreement on the proposal suggested in its 13th session. The Turkish-Greek commissions gathered in 1879 in Preveza. The Conference of Preveza failed given the pressure exerted by the Albanians who came up with their own claims, following the League of Prizren. The conference had a second session at Constantinople under the auspices of the ambassadors of Great Powers, which marked another failure. That's when Paddington proposed that the borderline should leave Ioannina under the Turkish rule. A definitive solution came into effect on 24 May 1888 upon the signing of the Convention of Constantinople. The convention granted Greece the most of Thessaly and parts of Epirus which made up Arta province nearby the 1832 border. The border line would cross the Karalik-Dervend pass, 3 miles in the south of Platamona and in the north of Vale of Temp, towards Arta river, and in the south would cross alongside this river in Ambraki Gulf. *This border becomes the first instance of the Greek advancement towards Epirus - Southern Epirus to be more precise - which is an important territory inhabited by Albanians, but no only.* Greece would later claim a unsuccessful second expansion in 1897 before opting for its third in

1913. It's worth noting that, the Greek propaganda over Epirus produced the toponym "Northern Epirus" in 1913. It may be thus inferred that earlier on, this highly sophisticated propaganda was not differential and Epirus in general, i.e Southern Albania and the mixed regions in Ioannina and its surroundings, up to Vjosa River, were all part of this expansionist aspiration.²

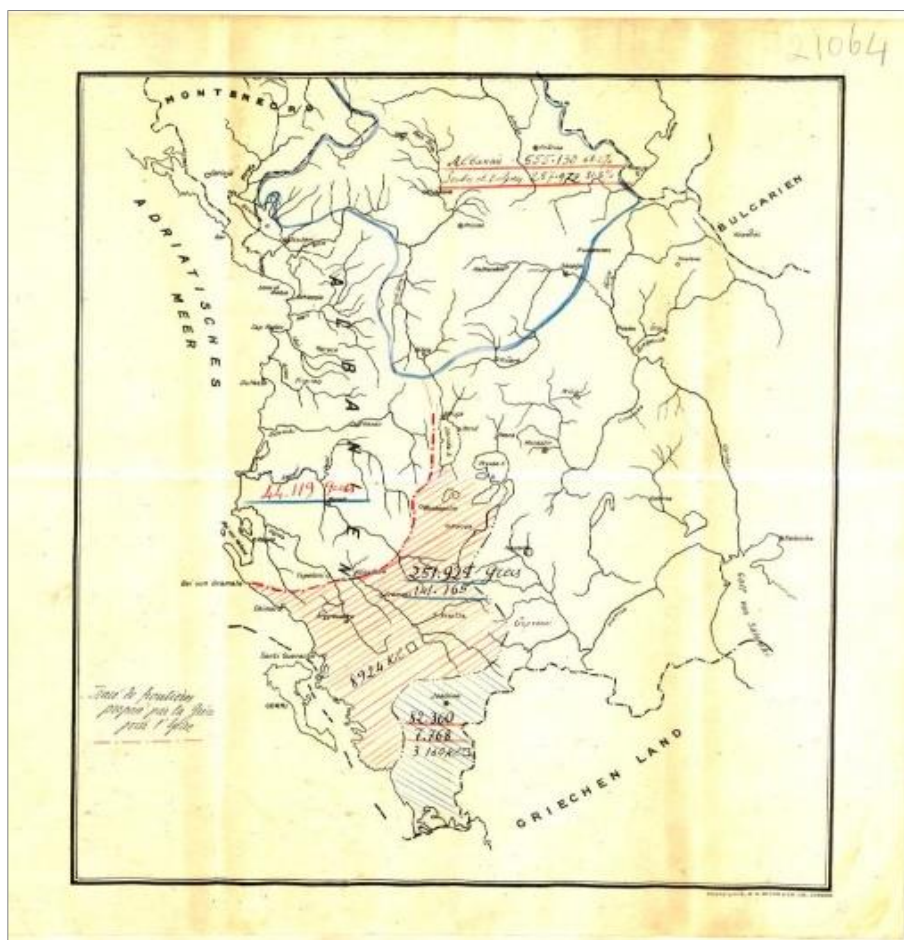
The Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913 addressed the border demarcation between the Albanian Principedom and Kingdom of Greece. On January 1913, Austria proposed that the border of the Southern Albania should start somewhere in between Ohrid and Prespa Lake up to Lapsista nearby Parga. Since when the Austrians made the proposal, the Greeks had not engaged in war to take over Ioannina just yet, the Austrian proposal included Albania as well. We should jump into the conclusion that, even after the capitulation of Ioannina on 6 March 1913, the Italian Ambassador would forward another similar proposal in the conference whereby the border was to start from Ohrid Lake up to the Glyki estuary.³

As soon as the Greek army invaded most of Epirus, on 13 January 1913, the Greek Prime Minister Venizelos filed a memorandum to the Conference of Ambassadors in London, thereby requesting that Greece be granted the right to annex all the territories taken over by its armies, i.e. the former vilayet of Ioannina and the provinces of Gjirokastra and Korça. Memorandum of the Greek Government addressing the Conference of Ambassadors, on abandoning the Greek claims over Vlora. The border claimed by the Greeks would start in the south of "Qafa e Llogorasë" (Gulf of Gramala) in the northwest of Palasa thus leaving out Tepelena, Këlcyra, Voskopoja and Korça in Greece.⁴

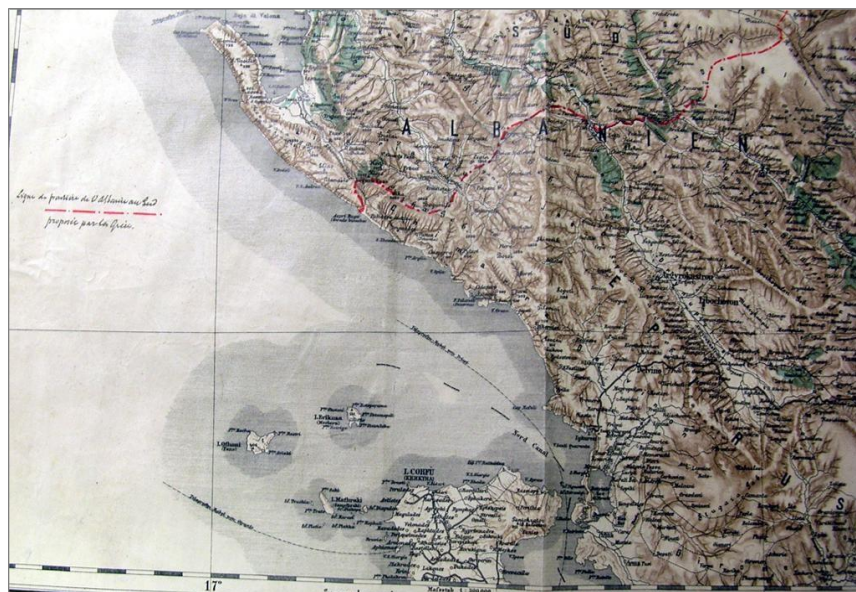
² For more details refer to: Basil J. Photos, *The History of Northern Epirus through postage Stamps*, Chicago: Argonaut, INC, 1963, p. 3.

³ PRO.FO.371.1999, dok. nr. 24133/128, Greece, Annual Report, 1913. Sir. F. Elliot on Sir Edward Grey, Athens, 20 May 1914.

⁴ PRO.FO.925.21033. The southern border according to the Greek proposal (MS line) mapped out in 2 pages from the Austrian General staff, map 1: 300000, 1913.



PRO.FO.925/21064, Albania, Trace de frontière proposée par la Grèce pour l'Épire



PRO.FO.925.21033

By abusing the equivalence drawn between the Orthodox religion and nationality, Venizelos was purposeful about using the Turkish census of Albania back in 1908, carried out under the auspices of the Grand Vizier, Hilmi Pasa, according to which, the majority of the population was orthodox Christian and therefore Greek. However, the Ottoman invaders had never made any distinction between the language and nationality for its subjects and the divisions were mostly grounded on religion. In our specific case, the orthodox Albanians were “the most invisible” who were named Greeks. The statistics indicated that Greek-oriented orthodox people of Southern Albania had been all classified as Greek nationals, discounting their language: Greek-speakers, Albanian-speakers, vlach-speakers⁵. So to speak, the statistics were unrepresentative for Albanian, because the majority of the Orthodox

⁵ L. Sigalos, *The Greek claims on Northern Epirus...*, p. 11. On the background of Albanian-Greek relationships during the study period please refer to: Romeo Gurakuqi, *Principata e Shqipërisë dhe Mbretëria e Greqisë (Principality of Albania and Kingdom of Greece), 1913-1914*, Tirana: UET Press, 2011; Ledia Dushku, *Kur historia ndau dy popuj fqinj, Shqipëria dhe Greqia 1912-1914*, Center of Albanological Studies, Institute of History, Tirana: Kristalina-KH, 2012; Beqir Meta, *Minoritetet dhe ndërtimi kombëtar në Shqipëri, 1912-1924*, Center of Albanological Studies, Institute of History, Tirana: Kristalina-KH, 2013.

Albanian-speaking population was willingly or unwillingly classified as Greek. So to speak, the key to understanding the ethnic reality in the Southern Albania was the Orthodox Albanian-speaking involved unrighteously within the Grecophone areal. Rendering the nationality of this population more accurate was another determinant when assessing the ethnic and historic reality.

On 15 June 1913, two weeks after the signing of the Treaty of London, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Coromilas, made the following proposal to the Conference of Ambassadors: since Italy would not allow Greece to take over the Southern Albanian coastline (Northern Epirus) in the north of Cape of Stillo, he agreed that the border started from Cape of Stillo, thus leaving a strip of coastline to Albania, but then the border had to cross the Greek territory, Gjirokastra, Përmeti and Korça⁶. In other words, this was another attempt of the Greek government to desperately avoid the implementation of the Great Powers' decree.

The final decision of the Conference of Ambassadors was put out on 29 July 1913, which served as the building block of Albania's independence. The great Powers voted in favor of "*a sovereign inheritable and neutral principality under the auspices of the Great Powers*". Thus, after a laborious birth in Vlora on 28 November 1912, this was the official baptism of the Albanian state acknowledged at the international level. After lengthy discussions, the Great Powers agreed to set up a committee on the demarcation of the Southern Albanian border. The French Minister of Foreign affairs Stephen Pichon proposed to his Italian counterpart Tommaso Tittoni that the two superpowers, i.e Italy and Austria-Hungary, had to accept the above committee, thus granting Albania Gjirokastra and Korça. The historical decision dated 29 July 1913 was followed by a third more important decision of 11/12 August 1913. On this day, the Conference of Ambassadors established that the Albanian-Greek border would cross the Ohrid Lake in its most eastern border of Korça kaza (Turkish), and would then extend towards the coastline in the Ftelia Bay, somewhere in the south of Cape of Stillo (towards Corfu). Such demarcation would leave in Albania Korça, Tepelena, Gjirokastra, Delvina, St. Naum Monastery and Sazan island. The agreement also foretold that Chameria would be transferred to

⁶ PRO.FO.371.1999, doc.no.24133/128, Greece, Annual Report 1913. Sir. F. Elliot on Sir Edward Grey, Athens, 20 May 1914.

Greece, although the region was inhabited by Albanian Muslims (50 000) and Orthodox Christians (14 000).⁷ In addition, it was also decided that the channel of Corfu would be neutralized. (The coastline question has been essentially tackled by Italy and France. Italy was against Greece placing the border in the north of Corfu for it feared that a single power controlling both sides of the channel would be a threat to Italy's safety. The inward expansion so highly disputed between the newly-founded Albania and the Kingdom of Greece had to be determined by the International Border Committee, composed of six experts appointed by the Great Powers, within four months. Demarcation was to be performed on site by the committee and a compromise had to be reached between the border claimed by Greece (favored by France) and the one guarded by Italy and Austria-Hungary. The commissioners had to ground their demarcation on the ethnographic features of the contested areas, belongingness of the inhabitants and the spoken language of the population. The native language was defined as a language spoken in the family environment.

As foretold by the Albanian patriots, the Greek royal government would come out highly dissatisfied with the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors. Although its first target was reached, i.e. taking over Ioannina, Greece had failed in absorbing Korça and Gjirokastra. After this blow, the country - led by one of the most skilled diplomats and statesmen of the time, Elefterios Venizelos - changed its tactics to accomplish its own targets and set in motion the so-called epirot armed bands, who were mostly composed of the standing royal army. Venizelos used the criminal activity of these bands to pressure the Great Powers into changing the decisions put out by the conference of Ambassadors in the borderline, thus tabling facts to the Great Powers. It should be noted that this political and military tactic had its own benefits considering the even minor changes made to the inwards fundamental lines in the Albanian-Greek border.

Activity of Border Demarcation Committee in 1913

⁷ Eqrem Bej Vlora, *Kujtime, 1885-1925*, Tirana: Shtëpia e Librit & Komunikimit, 2003, p. 325. Edith Durham sheds some more light. She writes in her report: "It should never be forgotten that beyond the cape of Stillos there are more than 100000 Albanians (130000 to be more accurate), who were forced to leave behind their homeland, disregarding all those who were consigned to Serbia - over one million". Mary Edith Durham, *Albania and the Albanians, Selected articles and Letters 1903-1944*, Edited by Bejtullah Destani, Centre for Albanian Studies, London: 2001, p. 34.

The Border Demarcation Committee in Southern Albania came to life on 23 September 1913. The committee membered the German delegate, the military man C.Thierry, the Austrian-Hungarian delegate (replaced upon sudden death by the deputy consul C. Buchberger), French delegates lieutenant A. Lallemand and consel M. Gruillet its assistant, GB delegate, Doughty- Wylie, the Italian delegates lieutenant N. Labia and captain M. Castoldi, and lastly the Russian delegate colonel P. Goudime Levkovich.⁸

On 17 December 1913, in its last meeting held in France, the committee put out its final decision and drafted the final map which was signed on 18 December 1913. Decision of 17 December which was not accurate about the eastern and southeastern borders of the former Korça kaza, the border of the Southern Albania is described as follows: «*The border line starts from point C (Austrian map, quotation 1738, north-east of Mandra Nikolika) with the meridian borderline of Korça kaza uniting with Gramoz peak. The borderline moves further towards the South through Gramoz peak up to Mavri Petra. It then passes from quotation 2536 and 2019 reaching Golo. From there, its goes along the rivers up to quotation 1740 and passes through Radat and Kursada villages. Then it heads to the hills situated in the north-east of Kukës, thus descending to Sarandoporos. The borderline continues through the river banks up to its delta with Vjosa river, and then reaches Tumba mountain by passing through Zipaliça and Mesarias villages and through the quotation 1956-2000. From Tumba peak the borderline shall move westward over 1621 quotation thus passing to the north of Zrimasa. Then it follows the river division up to the north-eastern of Peshkopi village (according to the map indicator). Then it moves southward to the peak between Radat village between Albania and Gajdohori granted to Greece, and then the line goes down to Zrino valley alongside the river, which then goes up to Kakavi hill, a village granted to Albania. The borderline follows again the water divisions thus granting Valtista and Kastanian to Greece and Koshovica to Albania, and merging with Murgana, quotation 2124. The borderline reaches Stugara and then Vertop and quotation 750, thus leaving Janjar and Verva to Albania, passes through quotation 1014, 675, 830 and heads*

⁸ PRO.FO. 421.287, doc. no. 46121. Lieutenant-colonel Doughty-Wylie on sir Edward Grey, Monastery, 2 October 1913.

northwest. Konsipol is granted to Albania, moving from Cape of Stillo and Orba peaks, before reaching quotation 254 and continues towards south and joins Ftelia Bay.⁹

The Protocol of Florence enabled Albania to keep in its territory the most of Korça and Gjirokastra surroundings, though based on no rationale, which was in part the only way of communication between Southeastern Albania and Southern Albania, respectively Saranda, which was granted to Greece.

Although the Committee had been clear about the genuine Albanian identity of the population if the territory granted to Albania, the Kingdom of Greece refused to drop down its claims over Korça, Përmet and Gjirokastra. From this moment on, the most extremist regions of Athens decided to switch tactics and to take over such territories by relying on other means. Reports from Athens which had been shortly informed on the borderline between the states at the outset of December 1913, denote that the King Constantine had threatened the Prime Minister Venizelos with dismissal if the latter and his government would not support the “efforts of the native population against involvement with Albania”.¹⁰

⁹ PRO.FO 421.287, doc. no. 57755, p. 273. Appendix No. 505, the 15th Session of the International Committee on Southern Albania Border Demarcation, 17 December 1913.

¹⁰ PRO.FO.371.1804, doc.no. 56641. Sir F. Elliot on Sir Edward Grey, Athens, 10 December 1913





PRO.FO/88110355x

Neutralization of Corfu Channel has been one of the issues discussed following decision of 17 December 1913 reached in Florence on the terrestrial Albanian-Greek border. It's an effort to preside over the

Channel of Corfu and the maritime zone between Albania and Greece by the end of 1913 and during the first seven months of 1914. This concerned the review of the international maritime law - a science developed and refined much later - forwarding back then only two main divisions: *territorial waters* falling within the territory of a state, with other states having some limited rights, and open sea, a *maritime space* free to be used by any state. The powers came to confront each other about Greece territorial waters, which were possessive over Ionian islands. Keeping the Greek territorial waters as far as 3 nautical miles, demanded by Austria-Hungary and Italy, aimed indeed at granting some rights to Greece over the Ionian space, but let us not forget that such limitation looked at making some more space territorial waters of the new Balkan entity, Albanian Principality declared independent under the auspices of the Great Powers, and to establish some security parameters in the region. Was this Austrian-Italian demand grounded on a proper international legal basis? The Austrian-Italian demand was actually grounded on a law originating from the XVIIth century and refined in the beginning of XVIIIth century from the Dutch lawmaker Bynkershoek commonly known as *Cannon –Shot Rule*, according to which a state was entitled to exercise its maritime territorial sovereignty as far as three nautical miles. This provision was stemming from the fact that in the XVIIth century the border matched the outer range of maritime artillery and therefore mirrored the principle that the dominion of the land ends where the range of weapons ends (*terrae dominum finitur, ubi finitur armorium vis*). The rule was not about building a continuous water strip but to establish only maritime zones or “pockets” attached to the land, where it was impossible to take any war spoil without violating an obligation towards the neutral state. The doctrine of a continuous territorial water strip as wide as three nautical miles, or one *league* came to life for the very first time in 1782, thanks to a statement made by the Italian scholar Galiani.

Nevertheless, the doctrine was widely incorporated into the state practice no sooner than in 1793, when the USA, forced to delimit its territorial waters during the French and British war, proposed that the warring nations were to observe the USA neutrality as far as the range of a projectile, usually equaling three nautical miles or one *league*. This was

actually the smallest width a state could claim.¹¹ The rule is unfamiliar to many modern states, but back then and up to the first three decades of the XXth century it was a common practice in the international law. The international law divides the sea into different zones over which the states are entitled a variety of jurisdictional competences. The thumb rule is that coastal states exercise the highest level of juridical competence over the zone closer to the coastline. So to speak, a state has low territorial sovereignty power in water spaces classified as inland waters generally including rivers, lakes, harbors or other maritime spaces, facing the land and comprising the basic measurement line from which the different jurisdiction maritime zones are usually measured. In 1914, there were no detailed or written basic rules on the delimitation of fundamental lines (detailed rules defined in the *TCS-First United Nations Law of the Sea Conference* 1958 and revised in 1982 *LOSC-Convention on the Law of the Sea*), but there were other unwritten customary international norms states used to observe (the written rules of 1958 and 1982 would actually repeat and refine the international customary rules)

The case on determining the measurable base line between the island part of the Ionian Greek islands and the coast of the Albanian Princedom presented, in fact, some difficulties because the main Ionian islands (Corfu mostly in our case) are circled not only by smaller inhabited islands, but by water rocks as well, which contain neither human life, nor economic activity. We are not able to determine how much the maritime law in 1914 could have helped in setting a rightful line of demarcation in the Corfu channel and in the northern part of the Corfu Island. But, today, the Article 121, paragraph 3 of the *Convention on the Law of the Sea*, in 1982, determines very clearly that the islands, also, generate a maritime zone, although there is an important exclusion in the *Case of the water rocks that do not contain human life or economic life inside them; as a consequence, they cannot be the reason to start there the measurement of the area of territorial waters or continental shelf*. Also, Article 5 of the above-mentioned Convention clearly states that the normal demarcation line for the measurement of the width of territorial

¹¹ Lori Fisler Damrosch, Louis Henkin, Richard Crawford Pugh, Oscar Schachter, Hans Smit, *International Law, Cases and Materials*, Fourth Edition, St. Paul, Minnesota, 2001, f. 1392-1393.

waters is a low-water line along the coast, as indicated by the appropriate symbols on a map officially recognized for the coastal state.¹²

Documents in the National Archives in London do not show that in 1914, when the issue of the border between Albania and Greece was treated internationally, were made any further efforts for the demarcation line between Albania and Greece in the Corfu channel. But, in two of the maps of the four vilayets where Albanian lands extended on the eve of the Independence, worked out by one of the most prestigious institutions of geography, the Institute of Military Geography of Rome (and the Austrian Military Geographical Institute, 1:300000)¹³ show a very clear demarcation line in the Corfu channel, which has been respected by the states to this day. It clearly follows in both the northern and southern part, and joins the continental part, passing through the Strait of Preveza in P. Skile, somewhere between the Gulf of Arta or Ambrakia.¹⁴ *To put it bluntly: the border demarcation line in the Corfu channel followed in an equidistant way, even in the northern part, the golden mean, between the Island of Corfu and the Albanian Coast, not counting the small islands north of Corfu (Ereikoussa, Othonoi, Mathraki) and much less the water rocks.*

Closely related to the demarcation of territorial waters of Greece and Albania in these parts, was also the attempt for the double neutralization (i.e. also the demilitarization) of the territorial part at the border of 6 nautical miles, which was an attempt to give the necessary security, first of all to the Principedom of Albania. The Austrian protector, the creator and defender of the Albanian state (1912-1918), tried to give this security to the new Albanian state.

The last parts of the above-presented projects, all of them, try to regulate, in the most adequate manner for the interests of each power, the rights of *innocent passage*, i.e. the non-offensive passage of the ships in the Corfu channel.

The outbreak of World War I halted all the efforts to conclude the Corfu channel Treaty of Neutralization between the Great Powers of that time. But the failure of this renewal and this new clarification of the Law

¹² Malcolm D Evans, "The Law of the Sea", taken from the book: *International Law*, Second Edition, edited by Malcolm D Evans, Oxford University Press, Second Edition, 2006, pp. 625-626.

¹³ PRO.FO.925.21033.

¹⁴ PRO.FO.925.21007.

of the Sea on the Ionian coast, in 1914, does not mean that the preceding right was completely extinguished.

It remained in force, sanctioned in a series of treaties, and sufficient to be considered a violation of international law any unilateral change of the working methodology for the formalization of the demarcation line, which was once reached for the Corfu channel:

1. The equal distance between the Albanian coast and the Corfu Island also in the northern part, where the Corfu Channel is naturally connected to the Otranto channel;

2. The normal demarcation line for the measurement of the territorial waters width is *the low-water line* along the sea shore;

3. Water rocks cannot be used as a reason to start measuring the area of the territorial waters or the continental shelf;

4. The principles on the basis of which, since 1913, the mutual recognition of the maritime border between Albania and Greece in the Corfu Channel has been agreed upon, especially in the steep part, constitute a precedent that cannot be changed unilaterally in 2020, but only can be resolved judicially. The latter means that, in the northern and north-western parts of the channel, the official Albanian claim is that the measurements should start from Corfu and Karaburuni Coast and not from the small northern islands, as it is tried to be imposed the discussion.

2. The border issue after the World War I (1918-1926)

The breakout of the World War I interrupted all the efforts for the conclusion of the Corfu channel Treaty of Neutralization between the Powers. The end of the War resurfaced once again on the diplomatic scene the issue of the international status of Albania and its state borders. For three years in row, the winning Powers of Entente, liberated already from the Austro-Hungarian resistance, disintegrated as a state, tried to bring back the schemes pretended by them in the time of the Balkan Wars. Thanks to the energetic intervention of the American President Woodrow Wilson, the Albanian state was saved approximately within the borders of 1913.

On November 9, 1921, the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris, chaired by M. Jules Cambon, proceeded with the signing of the decision regarding Albania: the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan,

confirmed the Albania's border project, the same with the one decided in 1913 at the Conference of Ambassadors.

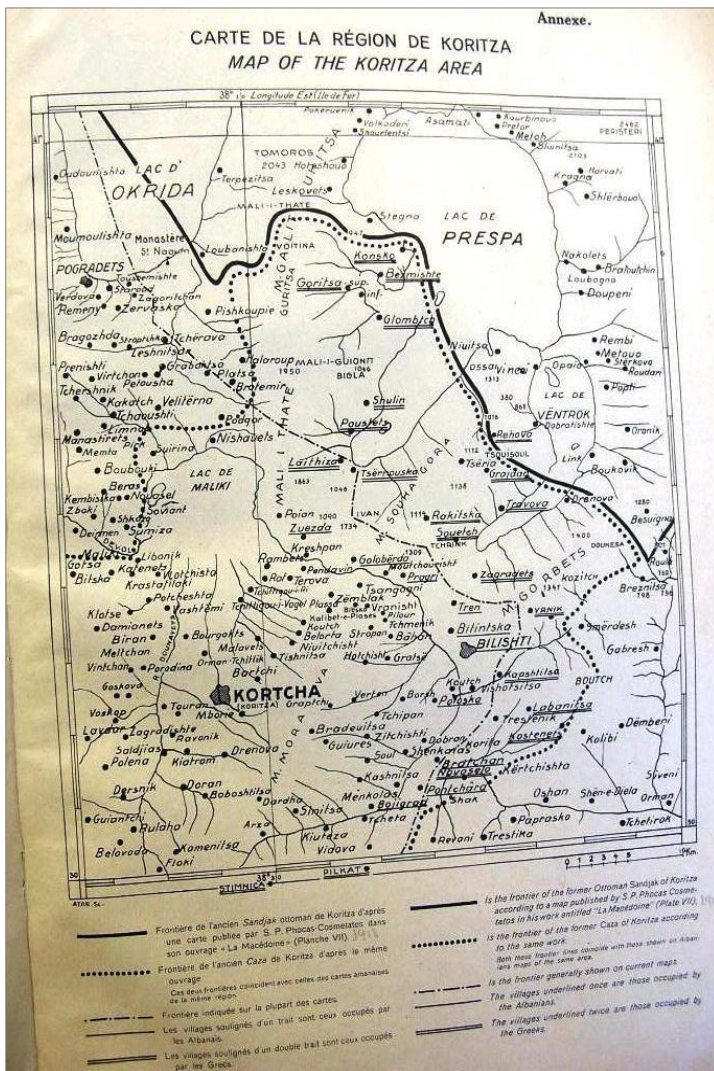
Given that the southern borders were established on the ground by the Boundary Commission, through a final protocol in Florence on December 17th, 1913, and that the work of the Commission for the Northern and Eastern Boundaries had to cease in 1914 due to military operations, the Conference decided that: 1. The signatory governments recognized the government of Albania built by a sovereign and independent state. 2. A commission composed of four members, appointed by the signatory governments of this decision, was charged to determine on the ground the northern and north-eastern border line of Albania; meaning that the border between Albania and Greece was considered to be the one established by the Florence Protocol.

Despite all these determinations, also in the following period, the relations between Greece and Albania continued to be difficult, because the Athenian government did not fully recognize the borders set by the Conference of Ambassadors and Albania's rights over the region that was called Northern Epirus by Greece.

The main presented difficulty was the Greek-Albanian border in the area of Korça, because the pre-war commission had not determined it on the ground in 1913. It is about a small segment in the area of the villages of Prespa Lake, namely the villages of the Macedonian minority, all on the line from the villages of Zogradec, Vrnica, Kapshtica, Trestinik, Novoselo to Slimnica, which the Albanian government considered part of the former Ottoman Kaza of Korça and therefore, in principle, should be part of Albania.

This discussion unfolded while the Greek army was not withdrawn from a significant part of these villages. The commission also consulted/verified the *Turkish Yearbook*, which specified the names of villages and provinces included in the tax collection register. According to this book, 26 villages listed here were part of the Korça Kaza, but were now held occupied by the Greek troops. Thus, the commission suggested to the League of Nations the creation of another commission of experts, which would go on the ground to definitively mark the border of the Korça Kaza, in accordance with the information possessed in Istanbul about that district. The Investigative Commission considered establishing also a neutral area from this point up to the place defined as

definitive by the Florence Protocol. This neutral area should include the villages occupied at this time by the Greek army.¹⁵



Map of the region of Korça showing the proposition of the border line in 26 villages, which should be attached to the line of Corfu Protocol.

¹⁵ PRO.FO.371.7328, League of Nations, Albania, The report of the Investigative Commission, Jens Meinich, J.J. Sederholm, Tirana, January 18, 1922.

Faced with the difficulties of exercising full territorial sovereignty, on January 16th, 1922, Prime Minister Xhafer Ypi asked the British representative in Durrës, Heathcote, to inform the British government that the request of the Conference of Ambassadors for the evacuation of the entire territory to the borders of 1913, had not yet received a positive answer from the Greek government.¹⁶ In January 1922, the Greek army was still keeping occupied 26 villages of the former Kaza of Korça (Slimnica, Bezmishte, Pilkat, Postec, Trestenik, Rakicka, Rakoha, Zaroshke, Zagradec, Shuec, Shulin, Travova, Grazedan, Glomboc, Gorica, Kapistica, Kosterec, Konsko, Upper Labonica, Lower Labonica, Leske, Vrnik, Nivica, Novoselo, Ornovcka, Xerje), all in the Bilisht area. The withholding of these villages was done under the false justification/fake reasoning that these villages had never been part of the Korça Kaza. The Greek troops were allowed to hold these villages occupied temporarily by the French general, at the time he was leaving Korça. The pressure and the occupation by the Greek military authorities continued for a long period of time.¹⁷

The problem of Northern Epirus or Southern Albania has continued to be one of the sharpest problems of the Albanian diplomacy. Extremist forces in Greece have tried to present the case in question as an issue of justice and human rights and as an issue that was risking to erupt into turmoil in the future of the Albanian domestic life and relations with the international partners. In fact, the reality has been quite different, as long as the ethnic reality did not match the Greek presentation.

In the documentation of the time, there are noticed a series of manipulations and a number of actors engaged against the stability of Albania and their devouring intentions in the south of the country. They put all the propaganda and diplomatic arsenal in obscuring the situation: firstly, there were the four Mitropolis of Epirus, Basil of Gjirokastra, Germano of Korça, Joachim of Kostur and Kolonja, and Spiridon of Ioannina, who addressed in a letter to Lord Rober Cecil, on May 30th, 1922, in support of the annexation of these parts to Greece¹⁸; secondly, the League of Northern Epirus with its center in Florina. The president

¹⁶ PRO.FO.371.7326, C1191/83/90. Heathcote-Smith about Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, Durrës, January 16th, 1922.

¹⁷ PRO.FO.371.7327 C 6023/83/90. Mr. Eyres about Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, Durrës, April 15th, 1922.

¹⁸ PRO.FO.371.7327 C 7980/83/90, pp. 54, 55 and 56.

of this fictional organization addressed a letter to the British minister in Athens, regarding the alleged persecutions, forced deportations and barbarisms that the Greeks were suffering in the so-called Northern Epirus.¹⁹ Extremist circles near the King of Greece were particularly active. In the midst of these interventions, it's impressive a letter from King Constantine's personal Secretary addressed to the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George.²⁰ Despite the very complicated internal political situation of Albania, the Secretary tries to further obscure it, presenting the social situation as dangerous for the Greek minority in the country. We must take into account that he considered also the Albanian Orthodox population as such. According to him, the Albanian situation was chaotic, similar to a tribal country, which contrasts, according to him, with the high cultural level of Northern Epirus. All this detailed description ended with the request he made to the British government, that the latter should strongly recommend to the Supreme Council of the Entente, the reconsideration of the decision regarding the fate of Northern Epirus.²¹

So, we have an attempt to intervene in the review of the decision of November 10th, 1921, presenting Northern Epirus as a separate and structurally inhomogeneous in relation to Albania as a whole. Whereas the Pan Epirotas Union in America, on July 5th, 1922, through the organization's director, N. J. Cassavitis, addressed a letter to Earl Arthur of Balfour, in which he explained "the persecution of the Epirotes, the violation of churches, schools and local municipal institutions", and demanded for the end of deportations and oppression in general by Albanians.²² This request was completely out of reality check, but it was made at a coordinating moment for the Greek politics towards Albania: creating the fable/plot of minorities' persecution and holding the Great Powers accountable for the "historic mistake".

The memorandum, not unpurposely, draws attention to the lack of protection of Greek minorities in Albania by the League of Nations, and tries to denounce what it considers "incorrect reports made by the

¹⁹ PRO.FO.371.7327 C 6188/83/90, dhe C94/83/90 f. 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86.

²⁰ PRO.FO.371.7330, p. 46. G. Melas, former Secretary of His Majesty, King Constantine to the Most Reverend David Lloyd George, St. James' Street, S.W.1, January 11th, 1922.

²¹ Po aty.

²² PRO.FO.371.7327 C10418/83/90. N.J. Cassavitis to Count Arthur James of Balfour, Philadelphia, July 5th, 1922.

Investigation Commission in Albania". The memorandum claims that the majority of the population of Korça is pro-Greek in terms of sympathy, and demands the placement of the Epirotes under the control of the Great Powers and calls on Greece to defend the autonomy of this region (Northern Epirus).

After this political pressure of the non-governmental chauvinist circles, the Greek diplomatic offensive moved to another stage of tactical action, which is the implementation of the first phase of the plan prepared before the War; through the Greek Legation in Paris, the government addressed two notes to the Conference of Ambassadors, one on June 5th, 1922 and the other on June 16th, 1922. Their essence was that the Conference should impose the implementation of the Corfu Protocol, dated May 17th, 1914, on the autonomy of Northern Epirus.²³

So, we are dealing with a movement that was artificially aiming to go back in time, when the Andarts wreaked havoc in Southern Albania and the International Control Commission, in 1914, was forced to make a pact with the bandits of Zografos and Karapano as a way to neutralize the attacks on the fragile Principdom of Albania, led by the legitimate King Wied. The head of the Albanian delegation in Paris, Dhimitër Berati, responded to this offensive with a counter-note addressed to the Conference of Ambassadors, rejecting the Greek claims, ostensibly about the persecution of the Christians in Albania. And in return, he even complained about the brutal oppression of the Albanians of Chameria province by the Greek authorities and in the territories within the Albanian borders, where the Greek forces had not yet been evacuated.²⁴

Fortunately, the Entente Powers were operating with a minimum of reasoning and could not re-evaluate and legislate the international or bilateral acts that were repealed by the war developments and the acts of the Peace Conference. The British Foreign Secretary, Earl of Balfour, considered the Corfu Protocol no longer a valid instrument.

Firstly, according to him, the so-called Epirotes (understand: paramilitaries, andarts - R.G.) violated themselves this agreement by occupying Korça in July 1914; secondly, this agreement had been overcome by a series of subsequent acts and above all by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of November 9th, 1921; thirdly, the

²³ PRO.FO.371.7327 C 9405/83/90. Sër Milne Cheetham për kontin Balfur, Paris, 1 korrik 1922.

²⁴ PRO.FO.371.7327 C 9518/83/90. Lord Hardings për kontin Balfour, Paris, 3 korrik 1922.

Greeks themselves, when they thought that Southern Epirus could pass to Greece during the 1919 and 1920 negotiations, they never mentioned the existence of such a protocol.

Lastly, for the British Foreign Secretary, the issue of the Greek minority protection in Southern Albania was already a matter for the League of Nations. In the end, Great Britain defended also this viewpoint at the Conference of Ambassadors, by closing the ways for other Greek interventions in the internal affairs of Albania.²⁵

In a sign of protest, due to the closure of the discussion on the use of the Corfu Protocol, and as a means to interfering in the internal affairs of Albania, the Greek delegation to the Albanian Border Commission left Albania, after failing to obtain the consensus of the commission for the immediate implementation of the Protocol. We are dealing here with a systematic effort to impede as much as possible the start of work on the ground. However, exactly at this time, the US government recognized the Government of Albania.

The American recognition was a severe blow to all of Greece's claims and imposed on the Greek government authorities, at the very least, the preservation of the facade of a serious country. Immediately after this event, around July 12th, 1922, the Greek government notified officially the Albanian government that it recognized the Government of Albania as *de jure*. This recognition was in fact accompanied also by a protest around the southern border.²⁶ Nakos Panourgias, the former advisor to the Greek Legation in Sofia, was appointed the Minister of Greece in Albania, and based in Durrës. A paradoxical situation was thus created: the Greek government recognized the existence of the Albanian state, but hindered the implementation of the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors to put into function the Border Commission.

This forced the Great Powers to undertake the next diplomatic move. On September 7th, 1922, the Ministers of France, Italy and Great Britain in Athens paid a joint visit to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Baltazzi. Among other things, they explained to the Greek chief diplomat the difficult position created in the Greek-Albanian Border Demarcation Commission by the Greek delegate and reminded him that the Corfu

²⁵ PRO.FO.371.7332, C9439/6727/90. Count Balfour to Lord Hardinge, F.O., July 6th, 1922.

²⁶ PRO.FO.371.7331, C10491. Eyres to Balfour, Durrës, July 12th, 1922.

Protocol had been suspended time ago by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris, November 1921.

Through the mouth of the Italian Minister, they made it clear to him that the Border Commission should continue its work and therefore it was advisable that the Greek delegate should return to Albania, or someone else should take the place left vacant by him.²⁷

Meanwhile, the situation in the South of Albania remained unclear on a number of issues. The Orthodox Christian population in the Southern Albania, placed under pressure and in the midst of a cold political and nationalist confrontation, found itself in a waiting position, shy and lacking administrative capacities. The closure of the borders, by the Greek authorities as a pressure on Albania, caused a serious trade crisis in this part of the country that used to live for centuries trading with the parts beyond the border. Meanwhile, the issue of establishing the Albanian Orthodox Autocephalous Church became the main discussion in the country and within the community, attaching to the existing problems.

It is important to highlight that despite the results of the League of Nations' Investigative Commission and previous diplomatic reports on the ethnic, religious and social situation in the Southern Albania, there was no consolidated belief in the Western diplomacy on the reality of affairs in the country. The propaganda of chauvinist circles was so intense that it left its footprints in the understanding of truth. Therefore, to clarify the situation, at the beginning of August 1922, the British Minister in Durrës, Eyres, undertook a trip through the provinces of Southern Albania and visited the cities of Fier, Vlora, Gjirokastra, Delvina, Korça Bilisht, Hoçisht, Pogradec, and Përmet. The British diplomat, during his several-day visit to Gjirokastra, concluded that a leaning towards Greece existed mainly among the old part of the population; and this was due to a certain tradition that this generation had experienced under the Ottoman rule, seeing Greece as their savior and protector from the Ottomans and their local Ottomanized collaborators.

On the contrary, the new generation of the Albanian Orthodox population was universally an Albanian patriotic one, some of them even anti-Greek. The conservative part of the Orthodox population, which

²⁷ PRO.FO.371.7328, C13141/83/90. Bentinck to Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, Athens, September 8th, 1922.

viewed with suspicion the new Albanian State and the coexistence with the Albanian population of other religions, according to the calculations of the British Minister, reached about 10% of the Christian population of the Southern Albania.²⁸

Finding itself under the pressure of the Turkish power for centuries and under the fear of an Albanian State, which had not yet made clear its comprehensive governing objectives, the Albanian Orthodox population of this time felt timid, frightened and insecure about the establishment of a constitutional and europeanized government in a country with a Muslim majority. This thing, according to the British Minister, prevented this population, in these years of conception of the Albanian State and civic community, from fulfilling its duties towards them. Gjirokastra, despite its strategic position in the country, was considered by the British Minister as one of the most backward places. The population of this region had always sent their children for education in the Ottoman schools and, as a result, a very large number of Gjirokastrans had served during the period of the Empire as kadillars and administration employees. This class of people in the city was probably the most backward part of the population of Albania and the status of women here was the most degraded compared to any other place in Turkey. The Christian population part of Gjirokastra was quite well educated, but they, in the circumstances created under the Ottoman rule, had failed to make progress due to systemic obstacles. From an economic viewpoint, trade throughout the Southern Albania was in a serious crisis situation. The business was blocked due to the border being blocked by the Greek government. The only reason for this blockade by the Greek government was its intention to make life difficult, and thus impeding the strengthening of the independent Albanian state.

According to the British diplomat, Korça considered itself to be the most modern and progressive city of Albania and perhaps its claim was justified, although Shkodra may give the impression that it is the one, due to its beautiful natural position and public buildings, the vanguard of europeanization in the country. The population was quite lively and participatory, and considered it the duty of every citizen to make their

²⁸ PRO.FO.371.7330, C12535/818/90. Mr. Eyres to Count Balfour, Durrës, August 23rd, 1922.

own voice heard. The presence of a large number of Albanian-Americans, at this time in Korça, was a very positive development.

The main problem that aroused discussions and agitation around that time in Korça, but not only - also in all the orthodox provinces of Southern Albania -, was that of the Church. There were three parties in Korça: 1. The Old Conservative Party, which wanted to maintain the connection with the Patriarchate and the liturgy in the Greek language; 2. The Extremist Party, which wanted to immediately cut off all the ties with the Patriarchate, to establish the Albanian Orthodox Autocephalous Church, and to use the liturgy in the Albanian language; 3. The Moderate Party, which wanted to follow the regular methods, through negotiations with the Patriarchate, aiming to reach an agreement for the establishment of an Autocephalous Church and establish Albanian language as the language of the liturgy. The most important person in directing and dealing with this issue was Bishop Fan Noli, who was supported by the Albanian-Americans. The problem arose at a very difficult moment for the Albanian state, when it was not yet consolidated and this issue created great discussions and heartbreak within the Orthodox population.

The stance of the Albanian government was prudent: it considered the above issue as a matter pertaining only to the Albanian Orthodox Christians, who should themselves decide freely, negotiating this issue with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The most important conclusion of the British Minister's journey to the Southern Albania is the nullification of the Greek claims. He writes that:

*"I could not find anything to justify the Greek government's complaints that have been sent to the League of Nations. The population of the villages in the concerned provinces was completely unaware of the so-called bad practices of the Albanian government, and the impression I created was that these allegations and accusations were not only pure fabrications, but also a distorted calculation of the events I described."*²⁹

While the Greek government was exerting pressure towards Albania about the Southern territories, a genocidal action was underway by the same government against the Albanian population in the East of Corfu Channel, in the part that the Florence Protocol had left to Greece. The Albanian Minister in London, Mehmet Konica, on December 11th, 1922, addressed a letter to the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Marquess

²⁹ Po aty.

Curzon of Kedleston, against these interventions and persecutions. According to this intervention, based on the communications of the prefect of Korça and the request of the Albanian government, he states that *“the Greek authorities are determined to follow against the Albanians of Chameria the same tactics the Government of Ankara has followed against the Greeks of Asia Minor, with the difference that the Albanians in the annexed territories have not given the Greek authorities any reason for such persecution”*.

He urged the British authorities that the Powers, who had decided to hand these territories over under Greece, should take moral responsibility towards this population and the necessary steps to protect their lives and property. The representative of Albania demanded this intervention be carried out through the Conference of Ambassadors or in other ways that the British government would deem appropriate to stop the inhuman treatment of the Chams by the Greek government.³⁰

The population of Chameria, in those difficult days of 1922, was in a desperate situation, due to persecution and criminal actions undertaken by the Greek civilian and military authorities. They were forcibly evicted from their homes and property possessions, beaten and forced to emigrate. Their homes were occupied by Greek refugees of Anatolia and Thrace, who had been exchanged with Turkey. But despite the above events, the Conference of Ambassadors of the Allied Powers decided that the issues, raised by the Greek and Albanian parties, should be resolved directly by both respective governments, through diplomatic channels.³¹ In the multitude of unresolved issues after the First World War, the complex Greek-Albanian conflict entered as a second-line appendage to the Western diplomacy. The Westerners were satisfied only with the fixing of the border issue, but did not deal at all with the reciprocal respecting of the Albanian minority rights, Muslim and Orthodox, left on the Greek side. The Albanian state itself was quite fragile and with an unformed international authority, not enough for a proper weighty determined influence. Consequently, the reciprocal standardization of minority rights, the preservation of cultural peculiarities, the protection of rights to national education and religions,

³⁰ PRO.FO.371.7332, C 17126. Mehmet Konica to Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, London, December 11th, 1922.

³¹ PRO.FO.371.7332, C 17378. Eric Phipps to Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, Paris, December 18th, 1922.

did not work. It was kept captive under the hostile for another 25 years until the end of World War II.

The relations between Albania and Greece did not change neither in the period starting from December 1922 and continuing through the year 1923. The Greek government, in this period, continued to stick/adhere to the previous stance of not considering the provinces of Korça and Gjirokastra as provinces of Albania. The inhabitants of these provinces, who went to Greece, were deprived of their Albanian passports and those were replaced with Greek passports.

The Greek government also called young people from Southern Albania, aged 19-23, who were resident in Greece, to do the Greek military service. Thus, despite the fact that Albania and Greece had established diplomatic relations and exchanged their respective ambassadors, Greece continued to behave aggressively towards Albania, its integrity and Albanian citizens residing temporarily or permanently in Greece.³² This situation could not be resolved without an energetic intervention from the Western powers.

And the intervention of the Great Powers came, and apparently had its peripheral impact against the Greek government's obstructionism: the immediate establishment of the Border Demarcation Commission would separate the parties in conflict and stop Greece's further efforts in Southern Albania. Based on the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of November 9th, 1921 for the fixing of Albania's borders, it was set up the International Commission, which was tasked to continue the work of the International Commission for the Demarcation of Borders of 1913-1914 and to carry out the changes defined by the Conference of Ambassadors of November 9th, 1921. In addition, regarding the border of Albania with Greece, in accordance with the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of February 1st, 1922, the above Commission was instructed to determine the border to the point where it was determined by the Commission of 1913-1914 with the Florence Protocol of December 17th, 1913.

Finally, the Commission convened in Paris on February 18th, 1923, composed of: General Enrico Tellini, the Italian Commissioner and Chairman of the Commission, Lieutenant Colonel Frank Giles, the

³² PRO.FO.371.8531 C 7811. Report of the Investigative Commission on its work from December 19th, 1922 until February 1st, 1923, Investigation on Southern Albania, Geneva, April 6th, 1923.

British Commissioner, and Major Emmanuel Perret, the French Commissioner. During the work, the composition of the Commission was changed entirely. The French commissioner was replaced just as the work began in 1923. On August 27th, 1923, General Tellini and the officers of the Italian delegation were killed in Delvinaki; thus, the Italian delegation was completely remade. Lastly, on May 1st, 1925, Colonel Giles left the Commission, because he was appointed as the Military Attaché in Belgrade. Consequently, at the end of the commission's work, the composition was as follows: General Pietro Gazzera, the Italian commissioner and Chairman, Colonel Andre Ordioni, the French commissioner, and Lieutenant Colonel, Arthur B. Clough, the British commissioner.

In addition, the governments appointed delegates for the Commission. For Albania, they were one after the other: Mehdi Bej Frashëri, Hajdar Libohova, General Ali Kolonja, Major Bajram Fevzi, M. Berati, again Mehdi Bej Frashëri, and Iliaz Vrioni. For Greece, they followed one after the other: Lieutenant Colonel Karkandjos, Lieutenant Colonel Botsaris, and Lieutenant Colonel Christos Avramides.

Regarding the Southern border of Albania, the part of the border that was never studied on the ground was that from the Western shore of Lake Ohrid to Mount Gramoz. Meanwhile, the part from Mount Gramoz to the Strait of Corfu was determined and marked on the map according to the Florence Protocol in 1913, but there were no signs placed to indicate the border on the ground.

In 1924, from the month of May to October, it was done the demarcation of the border from Lake Prespa to Mount Gramoz and this was followed by the evacuation of the Greek troops from the territory of Albania, which they had occupied. Then, from November 1924 until February 1925, the Commission was again engaged in Florence with the description of the Greek-Albanian Border Protocol (Second Florence Protocol). Meanwhile, in the period between April and August 1925, talks continued in Paris between stakeholders, with the aim of establishing an agreement on all the issues that remained pending for the border of the new state of Albania.

As talks between stakeholders regarding various aspects of a special protocol failed, the Commission was forced, in December 1925, to submit the case to the Conference of Ambassadors for their decision.

In July 1926, the Commission reconvened and received the final text of the protocol in question from the Conference of Ambassadors. On July 30th, 1926, the Commission participated in the Conference of Ambassadors at the *Quai d'Orsay* in Paris, where was held the signing ceremony of the final act by the ambassadors of all countries and by the Foreign Ministers of the three interested countries: Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania.³³ With regard to the border with Greece, the Conference of Ambassadors maintained the demarcation of the First Florence Protocol, December 17th, 1913.



The ultimate border protocol of year 1926 (PRO.FO.371.11203)

The above story shows that the issue of the land border between Albania and Greece is a closed and certified case of more than 90 years. In the archives of Western diplomacy, is found the complete documentation and the accurate maps of the Florence Protocol and of the

³³ PRO.FO.371. 11203, C9240/27/90. Caktimi i kufirit të Shqipërisë, Komisioni i Kufirit Shqiptar, 1922-1925, Raport i përbushjes së punës.

July 30th, 1926 decision. This is why no regulatory negotiations can take place over the land border between Albania and Greece.

With regard to the maritime border in the Corfu Channel: for over more than 100 years, there is a methodology that has established a precedent; it has created its own determining structure for the recognition of the water dividing line between Albania and Greece, in the northern part of the Corfu Channel. This precedent is linked to the entire history of the dividing waterline between the continent and the island, since 1864; it is also sanctioned in the final talks and reconciliations between the Great Powers before the First World War. Two of the four maps of the four vilayets where the Albanian lands extended on the eve of the Independence (1912-1913), compiled by one of the most prestigious institutions of geography, the Institute of Military Geography of Rome, show a very clear dividing line in the Canal of Corfu. It continues both in the northern part and in the southern part, and joins the continental part, passing through the strait of Preveza in P. Skile, somewhere in the middle of the Gulf of Arta or Ambracia.³⁴

If today, in 2020, there's a need for a written document between the two countries before the opening of Albania's negotiations with the EU, I think that the dividing line can not deviate without taking into consideration the practical recognition of the maritime border consolidated by the preceding history. This means that the border dividing line in the Corfu Channel should be equidistant, also in the northern and north-western part, in the golden mean, between the island of Corfu and the Albanian coast, without counting the small dependant islands in the North of Corfu (Ereikoussa, Othonoi, Mathraki). This is the type of reasoning that has supported until recently (1958, 1982) the measurement of the border line. But there have been a number of developments in the Law of the Sea. The 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, in Article 15, provides that, in the absence of an agreement, the states may not extend their territorial waters beyond the midline unless there are other special historical circumstances that dictate the opposite.

Equal distance or special circumstances have been recognized by the International Court of Justice as international customary law and the

³⁴ PRO.FO.925.21007.

equal distance does not constitute the basis of boundaries along territorial waters only in exceptional cases. Is the case of the sea border between Albania and Greece an exceptional case? Based on the principles set out in the first semester of 1914 by the Great Powers, the equal distance between Corfu and the Karaburun Coast, also in the north-west of it, has been the essence of a fair division, i.e. logically an exceptional case turned by itself into a respectable custom by the states, until recently. However, today, the issue has been raised again between the parties in order to be fixed in a treaty, which failed in 2009 and also in 2018.

Herein lies the entire secret of the solution to the problem today: where will the measurement begin? And will the precedent of an equidistant division be recognized from the mainland and not from its dependent islands? If the measurements start from Ereikoussa, Othonoi, and Mathraki with the Albanian coast, then the entire precedent is struck down; Albania loses territorial sea and an exclusive economic area in the north and north-west of the Corfu island, which passes entirely to Greece. If the precedent principles are followed, the oil-bearing area will have other exploitation rights and the territorial integrity of Albania will not be violated. Between the recognition of the existing situation known historically regarding the Corfu Channel and Greece's claim to apply CLOS's articles from the inhabited dependent islands of Ereikoussa, Othonoi, and Mathraki, the solution remains the judicial review based on similar cases. However, we must remember that Albania has given off a lot of territory from the river Thyamis/Kalamas up to Cape Stillos. I do not believe that it is appropriate to exploit the existence of political instability in Albania as a momentum by the current Greek authorities, in order to further violate the integrity of the Albanian state and its territorial integrity. The tactics of a bygone era of 1919-1926 are unacceptable in 2020, when both countries adhere to a strategic structure and are so close to the situation in a political community of westernized states.

Meanwhile, the negotiations with the official authorities of Athens cannot overshadow the rights of citizenship and ownership of people in Chameria, the rights of education in the Albanian language and bilingualism of the Albanian Orthodox population in the current Southern Epirus. On the other hand, the Albanian government must commit to give up the alienation of ownership of the Albanian villages of the Ionian coast (Palasa, Dhermi, Vuno, Himara, etc.), where new

“investors”, enriched over the transition years, are flooding down there in a predatory manner. The respect for the province of Himara and its traditions begins with respecting the property rights of the autochthonous population of this area. The historical compromise should be based on these lines and not on the repeated ceding of the territories of the Albanian state as a Greek “tax” for the opening of the negotiations.

Nicola SCALDAFERRI

**SOUND ARCHIVES IN ITALY AND MATERIALS ON
ARBËRESHE VILLAGES: OVERVIEW**

Abstract

The intervention intends to focus on the materials from the Arbëreshë countries present in the sound archives in Italy, starting with the two main archives that have long been an essential step for the knowledge of traditional musical phenomena of the Italian territory. The first is represented by the Archives of the National Academy of Santa Cecilia (Rome), which houses the collection 20 of Ottavio Tiby in Piana degli Albanesi in Sicily, and the collection 24 created by Diego Carpitella and Ernesto De Martino on the Calabrian and Lucanian communities.

The second is the State Discotheque (Rome), where there are materials from the 35 LM collection, relating to the years 1967-1969, found in numerous centers on the initiative of the Institute of Albanian Studies of the Sapienza University of Rome, directed at the time from Ernest Koliqi.

To these two important archives must be added other realities that in recent years, thanks also to specific projects that have allowed their recovery, have been made accessible to the attention of scholars, from the Giuseppe Gangale Fund to the materials collected in the Roberto Leydi Fund. There are also archives of individual researchers who testify individual research paths (such as that of papas Antonio Bellusci, or my personal one) and enhancement projects, such as the one hosted in www.archiviosonoro.org, which aims to create an online showcase capable of return the materials to a large audience of users.

All these realities constitute a huge heritage of considerable interest, which is leading to a significant enrichment of knowledge, in the context of a new awareness of the importance of sound documents; this not only for the study of specific musical practices, but for the understanding of the linguistic-cultural reality of Arbëreshe as a whole.

Ethnomusicology, from its inception, was a discipline closely related to the development of sound recording technologies. If we were to choose a conventional date for the birth of this discipline, it would be that of 1877, when Thomas Edison patented the phonograph, the apparatus which enables the recording of sound for the first time. The recording fixes a sound data, isolating it from the context and creating an object which can be re-heard, analyzed, transcribed and on which we can have a critical reflection. In short, this process is extremely important for documenting and studying music that cannot be fixed through writing, or other similar techniques. Recordings can also be considered as the last and most essential products of an ethnomusicologist. Theories, analyzes, and interpretations may take time, and recorded events may be preserved, documenting either the existence of certain sound realities that transform over time (or often disappear altogether) or the *modus operandi* used by the researcher. The creation of archives, as places for the preservation of physical units and sound documents containing them, constitutes an essential moment in the study of materials of oral traditions, both at the linguistic and musical level. It was the birth of archives that enabled this discipline to develop appropriate methodologies for the study of sound materials, employing different and independent study techniques compared to those of field research. This started with the creation of the Phonogramm-Archive of Berlin, in the early 1900s, an archive that preserved the roles of the phonographer, thanks to which the distinction between the moment of field research and the so-called "desk study" of the materials of recorded.

In Italy, the situation of field research and the creation of sound archives, especially at the institutional level, developed with little delay, compared to other European countries. In 1928, the main Italian center, Discoteca di Stato (State Discotheque) was established, which in 2007 will be renamed Istituto centrale per i beni sonori ed audiovisivi (Central Institute for Sound and Audiovisual Heritage) (<http://www.icbsa.it>). The creation of this institution is related to the collection of the musician Rodolfo del Angelis, who aimed to preserve in phonographic units the voices of important characters. However, the most important role was played by Gavino Gabriel, who made it possible, as early as the 1930s, to define the goals of the center, promoting the collection of songs and dialects of all regions of Italy. However, we are still far from field

collection models, which will start later, at a time when more appropriate methodologies for this level of research will be applied in Italy.

The presence of materials coming from the Arbëresh villages in the archive of the State Discotheque dates back to the '60s and is related to research where the linguistic aspect predominates. We have in mind the collection n. 35 LM, in the period 1967-1969, organized by l'Istituto di Studi Albanesi (Institute of Albanian Studies), at the University of Rome and then run by Ernest Koliqi. Important researchers have worked and collaborated for this, including: Martin Camaj, Giuseppe Gradilone, Vincenzo Malaj, Elio Miracco, Alfio Moccia. Looking at the places and dates, this is a wide-ranging research that affected almost all Arbëresh villages, scattered in different regions of southern Italy, with recordings of only a few documents of interest at the linguistic level. In the following, we are presenting in alphabetical order the centers, whether municipalities or communes, that have been visited by researchers during this 3 year period:

1967

Acquaformosa 24/08; Barile 27/08; Castroregio 4/12; Cavallerizzo 2/09; Cerzeto 30/08; Civita10/09; Eianina 17/08; Falconara Albanese 7/09 - 10/09; Farneta 4/12; Firmo 21/08; Frascineto 20/08; Ginestra 28/08; Greci 14/08; Lungro 21/08; Macchia Albanese 6/09; Marri 5/09; Maschito 27/08; Mongrassano 1/12; Plataci 4/12; S. Basile 25/08; S. Benedetto Ullano 3/09; S. Caterina Albanese 27/08; S. Costantino Albanese 25/08; S. Demetrio Corone 29/98; S. Giacomo di Cerzeto 29/08, S. Giorgio Albanese 7/10; S. Martino di Finita 28/08; S. Paolo Albanese 25/08; S. Sofia d'Epiro 27/08; Spezzano Albanese 4/12; Vaccarizzo Albanese 6/10.

1968

Pallagorio 9/08; S. Nicola dell'Alto 5/08; Carfizzi 7/08; Mercedusa 11/08; Andali 11/08; Zangarona 16/08; Caraffa 17/08; Vena di Maida 18/08; Gizzeria 20/08; S. Marzano di S. Giuseppe 25/08.

1969

Mezzojuso 15/03; S. Cristina Gela 18/03; Palazzo Adriano 23/03; Contessa Entellina 20/03 e 27/03; Piana degli Albanesi 16/03, 30/03; Ururi 17/08 e 18/08; Chieuti 19/08; Portocannone 20/08; Casalvecchio

di Puglia 21/08, 22/08; Campomarino 25/08; Montecilfone 25/08; S. Sofia d'Epiro 13/09; S. Demetrio Corone 18/09; Macchia (Spezzano Piccolo) 18/9; S. Cosmo Albanese 19/09; San Giorgio Albanese 20/09; Vaccarizzo Albanese 21/09.

Founded in Rome in 1948, at the instigation of Giorgio Nataletti, the Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare (CNSMP), the National Center for the Study of Folk Music, as part of the National Academy of Santa Cecilia (Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia), <http://www.santacecilia.it>. Further, this would change the name in the Archives of Ethnomusicology. As such, it has played an essential role in defining the methods and objectives of Italian ethnomusicology, often bringing a high quality of sound recordings, thanks to the cooperation with RAI-Radiotelevisione Italiana that provided the necessary technical structures for that time to make sound recordings. Significant CNSMP expeditions were also conducted with the Arbëresh. They were made by the most famous Italian researchers of those years: Ernesto De Martino and Diego Carpitella, as part of a general interest he had in that period towards various forms of traditional music, an interest that would lead to the birth of an ethnomusicology science in Italy. The research was done by Ottavio Tiby in 1952-1953 (Summary no. 20 on CNSMP) dedicated to the liturgical tradition of Piana degli Albanesi; those of Diego Carpitella and Ernesto De Martino in April 1954 (Summary no. 22 in CNSMP) associated with places like Castoregio, Frascineto, Lungro, Macchia, S. Demetrio Corone, Carfizzi, Pallagorio, S. Nicola dall 'Alto in Calabria and San Costantino Albanese in Basilicata; that of Diego Carpitella and Alberto Mario Cirese in May 1954 (Summary n. 23 in CNSMP) at the Ururi of Portocannone in Molise. Although they have been the result of short stays, these expeditions reveal an important overview of musical practices.

Records contained in summary n. 22 were made, for example, within a week, visiting a total of nine centers, thus operating relatively quickly. However, such recordings are of essential importance as they date back to a period when the practice of traditional songs was very much alive. Although at that time, they were not accompanied by specialized attention at the language level, the recordings in question have enabled this kind of deepening in the language plan to be done in a second moment. From the summary materials no. 22 are also derived from the recordings on the "Albanians of Calabria", included by Alan Lomax in

his famous anthology, with two LP discs dedicated to Italy and published in 1957 in collaboration with Diego Carpitella.

We remind you that Carpitellamë would later be connected with the Institute of Popular Culture of that time, in Tirana, a collaboration that brought the realization of two LP discs with Albanian materials, published in the street I Suoni (Tingujt). In the State Disco and the Archive of Ethnomusicology, which are the two main public archives, should be added other activities which are related to private initiatives by various researchers and scholars, which are related to important stages of their research. individual. Such are that of Pope Francesco Solano, that of Pope Antonio Bellusci, as well as my personal research.

Equally important is the Sound Archive of the Giuseppe T. Gangale Fund, with sound documents related to the Crotona area and which is now part of a retrieval at the University of Calabria. Also worth mentioning are the materials summarized in the Roberto Leydi Foundation at the Bellinzona Center for Ethnography and Dialectology, as well as evaluation projects available at www.archiviosonoro.org. The latter intends to create an online showcase, to return these materials to a wider and more numerous audience.

However, there is a lack of an Internet publication that can make all these documents fully audible, as well as links to other foreign centers, starting with the Institute Archive of Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies in Tirana, heir to the archive of the Institute of Popular Culture, an archive that today preserves important material related to the Arbëresh. All these realities, however, constitute a legacy of precious values, which is bringing an enrichment of knowledge in the context of a new awareness regarding the rediscovery of sound documents.

This not only at the level of study of specific musical and linguistic practices, but to understand the cultural reality of Arbëresh in its entirety.

Appendix

Transcription of CNSMP song lyrics, Summary n. 22, registered in S. Costantino Albanese on 23 April 1954; recording of Diego Carpitella and Ernesto De Martino. For musical aspects, as well as for all other information, see: Scaldaferrì 1994.

1. Ninulla (lullaby)

*Nina nina biri im
kush t'i lan ato skutina
e t'i lan mëma ime*

*ti ka mëma nëk m'i dishe
 ti ka mëma nëk m'i dishe
 dishnje lar ba bukurusha
 valle valle trekusalle
 leu Krishti ndër Natalle*

2. Këngë vaji (Mourning song)

*Oj mëma ime
 ma ku të nistin e të qelltin sëmenat mëma ime o
 ma që kuraxh si km t' e bënj mëma ime
 se mua më le vetem e s'kam njiri mëma ime o
 E oj mëma ime
 ma që kuraxh bëre sëmenat t'dilnje ka shpia mëma ime o
 ma ni ku kam të vete t'garramisem mëma ime o
 se u s'kam njiri e kush m'rri rro rro mëma iime o
 E oj mëma ime
 ma që kuraxh si kam t'ë bënj u për tikj mëma ime o
 Ma ni-ë ike e së je ti më
 e ku të m'marr malli im mëma ime o
 ma ku i shtie sitë e të t'sho mëma ime o
 ma ti ni sule e eja mos t'e t'vunxhonj pasjuna mëma ime o*

3. Këngë dasme (wedding song)

*Mirr uraten e sa'tëm
 Puthi doren e t'it et*

4. Këngë dasme (wedding song)

*Hami buk e Skënderbek
 çil ish të ngrënthit e tij
 mish kaponj e lepurar
 ju falima ju bular*

5. Këngë dasme (wedding song)

*Oj se ti mëm e mëma ime
 që kleva fëtesurith
 e m'ndajte ka gjiri it
 gjiri it e vatres sate*

6. Vallja (valle e kënduar) (Dance song)

*Oj oj mindullëz
 si je ti t'kisha njëz*

*prajna do t'shkonja gaz
jo të shkonj jeten e zez
biu biu një narenx
mos u bij n'der t'ime
biu n'der bukurëz
si je ti t'kisha njëz*

7. Vallja (valle e kënduar) (Dance song)

*Korroxhina me shndet
kam u klën e s'kam u klën
kam u klën këtu dreq
sonde cë m'erdha vet
korroxxhina me shndet
dot e thom se më i nget
im vllau dhëndrith
ime moter nusies*

8. Këngë satirike (Satirical song)

*Rrukullisu si kupani
ec e eja nani nani
ec e eja via via
ec e bier ndër këmbt e mia
rrukullisu si narënxa
ec e bier ndër këmbt e mëms*

9. Këngë satirike (Satirical song)

*E litmunore çë t'u dogj vandera
e zjarmi t'arrivoj njera te dera
s't'e shuajti shiu e nemenu bora
ti le finestren hapt e u erdh e hira
pirpara shtrati erdha e t'u vura
të ngava mollet e i kishe si bora
më ndotukeq e faregjë të bëra*

10. Këngë karnevalesh (Carnivals song)

*Zëmi na një pertikat
skëmandili është i glat
është i glat la bonazina
vemi ndër ato kandina
vem e bëmi shushavina*

11. Këngë historike (Historical song)

*Oj e bukura More
si të le u më ndëk t'pe
atje kam u zotin tat
atje kam u zonjen mëm
atje kam dhe t'ëm vlla*

12. Serenatë me gajde (karramunxa) (serenade with bagpipes)

*E bonasera ju çë in e flëni
ni kini paqë ju ndë nëk na doni*

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CRITICS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

ILLYRIAN TUMULI CULTURE IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN ALBANIA

The study ‘‘Illyrian tumuli culture in the south-western Albania ‘‘ of Prof. Dr. Namik Bodinaku puts in the center of it the wide Illyrian problematics for the periods of pre and proto history. Even though it was worked two decades ago, it is published only now as a complete work in the 70-th anniversary of the Albanian archaeology thus occupying its deserved place in its precious publications. The author prepared it for publication by updating the necessary information. The Illyrian problematics, extends in a wide time arc, but within this time, the periods of prehistory and proto-history such as Bronze era and Iron Era, are highly important to the history of Illyrians. The data obtained from the research not only about the Illyrian dwellings, but also of the tumuli cemeteries, give a precious source help in shedding light to a series of fundamental questions, where the ones of south-western Albania compose the topic of the Prof. Bodinaku’s work. The large amount of information for the periods treated, the rich archaeological material of the tumuli cemeteries, a great deal of which excavated by the author himself, the documentation for each of the tumuli, and cemetery being processed, the analysis and summarizing deeply scientific make this monography special in its type, with relation to the field of prehistory.

The department of Prehistory in Institute of Archaeology estimated the publication of this study as a necessity. It provides a synthesizing perspective for the pre and proto-historic Illyrian research treating a series of important questions of the Illyrian problematics. We will find in this publication, complete data about the tumuli cemeteries, both the ones that have existed to the moment of the excavations done by the author himself and the new ones, about which he has conducted the analysis and the interpretations, has developed the polemics and critics, thus reaching to solid results. Given this viewpoint, the study reflects the state and results of the Albanian research in this field, remaining actual and a safe starting point for other studies in the future. The work is permeated by the critical and approach and polemics too against some viewpoints of some Albanian and foreign authors, by avoiding with professional competence and scientific awareness every possible danger of under appreciating what had been achieved to that point in time. The great deal of data obtained, the scientifically-based analysis of the author, classify a part of these viewpoints and interpretations as not based on arguments and quite

often incorrect ones. All these together have given a high value and importance to the study in not only a regional framework. Two of our most prominent archaeologist, which are not among us anymore, Frano Prendi and Skënder Anamali, when this study had just finished, gave their appreciations, which time preserved as completely deserved with regard to the scientific contribution of Prof. Bodinaku.

Prof. F.Prendi, in his evaluation, highlighted that: ‘‘The monography of Namik Bodinaku is a result of a multi-year work, highly committed to of the author both for the extraordinary research in the terrain and in the study of the archaeological material with professional competence. This work composes one of the many important contributions of the author in the field of pre and proto-historic studies of Southern Illyria. He treats the historical and cultural development of one of its most active and dynamic territories, as the one of the South-western Albania, which is characterized by optimal conditions for dwellings and the penetration of the natural land and sea routes, which make it completely open to the inner regions and to the neighbor places in the Mediterranean culturally developed. This monography has both a wide informing character and deep analytical one, of a critical and polemical approach, and rich in conclusions full of arguments, which are altogether indicators of a high scientific level of the study’’. Whereas S.Anamali in his comment highlights that ‘‘It has very seldom happened that such a monographic study like this one of Namik Bodinaku’s be presented. I am an eye-witness of the multi-year work with a continues persistence and commitment. Reading the text and scrutinizing the outstanding rich illustrations, it may since at the beginning be understood that they are at the same time a result of a careful and systematic work in the excavations, of a good professional preparation continuously increasing in the recognition, the study and the presentation of the archaeological material. This monographic study, which is a precious contribution of the author in the field of the pre and proto-historic studies of the Southern Illyria has polyvalent values, it does not only have a wide informing character, but also analytical, and moreover it has a polemical character’’.

Chapter III and IV of this monography have been provided in English language too for the foreign scholars. This work of Prof. Bodinaku will be followed by his other monographic publication ‘‘The tumuli cemetery of the upper Vjosa valley in the district of Përmet’’. Works of such a character of archaeologists with a high contribution in the field, published or in the process of publication, will be a valuable utility for further in-depth scientific studies and more general with regard to the framework of the Illyrian problematics.

Namik BODINAKU

BRIAN D. JOSEPH, ALBANIAN-BALKANOLOGICAL OVERVIEW¹

In 1996, the Linguistics and Literature Section of the Academy of Sciences and Arts launched the long-term project of publishing a series of works by traditional Albanian and foreign artists, focusing mainly on foreign authors, mainly those not in Albanian language, but also of Albanian authors who are no longer among us.

The aim was to create a basic fund of important works in this field. Since then, 1 volume (out of 5) of the works of S. Riza were published, 2 (out of 4) volumes of the works of G. Zajmi, the series of works of I. Ajeti (5 volumes) and W. Cimochoowski (1 volume) started) and all of these were projected in those difficult years, as they came out for a part after the Liberation of Kosovo. Meanwhile, the volumes of selected works of E. Çabejtë, I. Rugova in the Section of Linguistics and Literature and A. Hadrit, A. Buda, F. Agani (in the Section of Social Sciences) were published, while the project continued with preparation of works by prominent Albanologists N. Jokl, H. Pedersen, F. Miklošič, R. Nahtigal, EP Hamp, etc. We are now bringing volume 33 of this series, with the aim of creating a corpus of important works for albanological studies, without counting the volumes of publications of members or collaborators of the Academy.

During the work it was deemed necessary for the works of the authors of the tradition, which are not easily found even in their original editions to be published with the translation and the original in the respective language. While the works of Cimochoowski and Pedersen were published only in the Albanian translation, the works of Miklošič, Nahtigal, Jokl were seen as reasonable to be included in their original (German and Slovenian), while the works of foreign authors that are published live are mainly in the Albanian version (Hamp, Savoia, Sawicka). This series also includes the works of the recently extinct member W. Fiedler, which are being published for the first time and only in German (translating three volumes of over 2,500 pages took time). So far the Section has managed to publish 33 volumes in this framework and now we are coming up with the new volume.

We now have the pleasure of presenting in this series to the Albanian scientific public and readers with a collection of studies and writings on Albanian and the Balkan languages by Professor Brian D. Joseph, a distinguished linguist from Ohio State University. After World War II in the

¹ This text is taken from the publication Brian D. Joseph, *Albanobalkanological Views and presents its Preface*. Red.

USA there was a more lively interest in Albanian studies with encouragement in two lines: by the American scholars themselves, among whom the head of the country is Eric Hamp, then those who stand out are Leonard Newmark, Janet Byron, Gary Bevington, Costa Kazazi, Martin Huld, Philippe Hubbard, Victor Friedman, Bernd Fischer, Antonia Yung, Alexander Fox, Brian Joseph, Mat Curtis and others later; the other line is represented by Albanian-American scholars with Kosta Çekrezi, Faik Konica, Fan Noli, and further with Stavro Skendi, Arshi Pipa, Safije Juka, Sami Repishti, Nikola Pano, Peter Prifti, Elez Biberaj, Eda Derhemi, Ardian Vehbi and others.

In the generation born after LDB (1951) with his interests for the Albanian language stands out now the linguist widely known for the contributions in the fields of historical linguistics, morphological theories, sociolinguistics, Greek, Sanskrit and generally Indo-European studies, Ohio State University professor Brian D. Joseph.

Brian D. Joseph, after excellent studies in general linguistics and classical languages at Yale University, received a doctorate in linguistics from Harvard University, specializing in Greek (Mycenaean, classical, medieval and modern), Albanian, for Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages, such as Latin, Avestan, Old Irish, Gothic, Hittite and Hindi, while in the fields of linguistics he specialized in historical linguistics, Balkan linguistics, sociolinguistics and morphological theory. As an internationally recognized scholar, in addition to being a professor of linguistics at Ohio State University, Professor of South Slavic Linguistics Kenneth E. Naylor, chair of the Department of Linguistics, Brian D. Joseph is a member and President of the American Linguists Association. member of the American Philosophers Association, member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and many other associations and institutions, beneficiary of numerous national and international grants and projects, guest for conferences and lectures around the world. He is already known as the editor for certain terms of the journals *Empirical Approaches to Linguistic Theory*, *Language*, *Diachronica*, *Journal of Greek Linguistics*, *Series Syntax and Semantix*, *Kenneth Naylor Lectures*, but above all as author or co-author of important works *Language History*, *Language Change*, and *Language Relationship: An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*, co-editor with H. H. Hock; *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*; *The Gift of Gabe*; *Desert Storm: The Official Desert Storm Bible*; *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive: A study in Areal, General, and Historical Linguistics*; *Themes in Greek Linguistics*, vol. II, co-editor with G. C. Horrocks; *Modern Greek, together with I. Philippaki-Warbuton*; *Balkan Syntax and (Universal) Principles of Grammar*, co-editor with I. Krapova; *Morphology and Universals in Syntactic Change: Evidence*

from Medieval and Modern Greek; When Languages Collide: Perspectives on Language Conflict, Compe, and Coexistence; and next year another important work *Balkan Linguistics* is expected to be published, together with Victor Friedman. He has published many articles in magazines all over the world, has made extensive appearances in online resources, etc.

In Greek studies Brian Joseph has made a name not only for his important contributions to modern Greek, but also for its earliest stages, and more recently for his studies of spoken Greek in southern Albania and its contacts with Albanian, as with the Arberian dialects in Greece - Aravnit.

In Balkan studies his interests have been directed mainly in morphological and syntactic structures, always first and in the semantic view, but in parallel also in the support of sociolinguistic views. His etymological views are becoming more and more noticeable.

His book *Synchrony and diachrony of the Balkan infinitive* presents a complete overview of the problems in all Balkan languages, structural-syntactic problematics within each of those languages, syntactic and morphological analysis, but also areal views.

Standard reference work has already been done for these studies. The views on Albanian in that monograph are of interest for Albanian studies, but they could not be translated in this case separately from the whole, where they are integrated.

Brian D. Joseph's other studies on the Albanian language focus on specific morpho-syntactical, sometimes etymological, aspects, as well as on the field of Albanian contacts with Greek and relations with Romanian and Slavic languages. His interests in Arbërisht in Greek and its relations with Greek and other Albanian are becoming more and more noticeable, as well as in the contacts of Albanian with Greek, of which he is a first-hand connoisseur.

Meanwhile, in Balkan studies Brian Joseph sees an important role for the Albanian language in the entirety of these relations, especially with Romanian, South Slavic languages and Greek and tries to show this role and position in the whole spectrum of his studies. Balkanological studies, all with the help of extensive knowledge in the field of comparative-historical Indo-European linguistics, where the study of Albanian also has a place and role.

In the volume ahead we summarize Brian Joseph's studies dealing with Albanian, or Albanian in the Balkan context. It is noticeable that in all his interpretations an integrative view of language is followed, with the aim of making the most complete explanations in the various planes - morphological and morphosyntactic, semantic, etymological, sociolinguistic. His success in all this work is guaranteed by in-depth theoretical linguistic knowledge and the ability to benefit in any case from the theoretical achievements of linguistic disciplines and schools from the traditional to the end of our time. His reviews

always have a theoretical thread and that makes them even more important. Hopefully, this summary of Brian Joseph's studies will be another impetus for the complex views of the linguistic realities of Albanian and the Balkan languages in their synchronic and diachronic dimensions, in particular structures, in influences and in social plexus within particular communities and in the wider context of the 'Balkan community', or even more broadly historically in the Indo-European context, etc. We hope that Professor Brian D. Joseph will come to us with other volumes of studies in the fields of albanology, Balkanology.

The diligent translation, knowledge and will of the studies of this volume was done by the corresponding member of ASHAK, prof. dr. Bardh Rugova.

Rexhep ISMAJLI

LA NECROPOLI MERIDIONALE DI PHOINIKE. LE TOMBE ELLENISTICHE E ROMANE, SCAVI DI PHOINIKE – SERIE MONOGRAFICA 3, BONONIA UNIVERSITY PRESS 2018 (420 PAGES)

The publishing of *La Necropoli meridionale di Phoinike. Le tombe ellenistiche e romane*, finalizes an intensive work of more than 15 year-duration in the terrain, laboratories and library, and it represents a detailed study and analysis of a unitary archaeological context, a fact that makes a unique case for the territory of Kaonia and further of Epirus, and one of the rare cases for our territory. The contexts is composed of 85 funerals divided between inhumation and incineration, which document the presence of 151 deposits (often in family structures), which are unfolded in a chronological arch that extends by the end of the IV century B.C. up to the III century A.D. Based on a detailed documented work and very scrupulous in the collection of all of the data, the authors have conducted a detailed analysis of the main aspects which characterize "the archaeology of death" by the end of classic period, along the Hellenistic one and up to the first centuries of our era, as the southern necropolis chronological frame is.

The study is interdisciplinary, through the typology of funerals, inventories, anthropological analysis, it builds the schemes of the rites and funeral practices, thus providing a clear image of the way of functioning of a society which through the forms it chooses to "celebrate death" is positioned at a wide regional and Mediterranean context.

Giuseppe LEPORE, Belisa MUKA

***CEMETERY OF THE ROMAN PERIOD IN DURRËS. EXCAVATION
OF THE YEAR 2012, TIRANA 2018***

The publication *Varreza e periudhës romake në Durrës. Gërmimi i vitit 2012* (The cemetery of the Roman period in Durres. Excavation of year 2012), has been realized in the framework of the collaboration between the Agency of Archaeologic Service (Ministry of Culture) and the Archaeologic Institute (The Academy of Albanological Studies), under the care of Miss. Rudina Kule Zoto and Prof. Luan Përzhita.

This study treats a part of the funerary space which is localized northern of the city of Durrësi. Earlier data which testify the presence of archaeological findings of a funerary nature date back to the 1920s. The rescue excavation, realized by the Agency of the Archaeologic Service during the year 2012, was extended to a surface of 400 m², where 100 graves of different typology were identified, where the rite of cremation is dominant, compared to the one of body placement (inhumation). The chronological arc of the use of the funerary space extends over a period of 5 centuries, from I cent. B.C to IV. Ad.

The study is composed of 9 contributions which treat different aspects, starting with the archaeological excavation, typology of graves and their dating, to the different categories of the findings, as the stone urns, objects of glass, objects of ceramics, coins, fibula, jewelry, work tools, osseous objects etc., and two inscriptions that belong to the Roman imperial period. The study also includes anthropological studies, which shed light to the pathologies, diseases and the dental anomalies, as well as the data obtained due to the conservation interventions of the objects found during the archaeological excavations.

1. Archaeologic excavation and the cemetery (E. Shehi, M. Meshini, B. Islami)
2. Urns of stone (B.Muka, B. Toçi)
3. Anthropological analysis (U. Tota, M. Koçi)
4. Finding of glass objects (B. Shkodra-Rrugia)
5. Ceramics objects (E.Shehi, A. Porja)
6. Coins (A.Meta)
7. Units findings (S.Veseli, M. Meshini)
8. Two inscriptions of the Roman imperial period (S.Shpuza)
9. General considerations about the conservation of the most representative findings. (K.Zguro).

The publication *Varreza e periudhës romake në Durrës. Gërmimi i vitit 2012* (The cemetery of the Roman period in Durres. Excavation of year 2012), the first of its type in the framework of an inter-institutional collaboration, is more than welcomed. Through the analysis of different categories of the findings, this publication completes our knowledge about the roman period in the ancient city of Dyrrah, and at the same time paves the way for more in-depths studies in the future.

R. KULE ZOTO, L. PËRZHITA (eds)

BARDHYL DEMIRAJ: NORTHERN CULTURAL AREAL IN THE CENTURY. XVI-XIX, BOTIME ONUFRI, TIRANA, 2017

The year 2017 is marked by the realization of an important publication in the field of albanological research and exactly from the one entitled *Cultural Area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017*, authored by the researcher Bardhyl Demiraj.

For years now we have available in libraries and desks several publications of critical and philological nature compiled by the researcher Bardhyl Demiraj, all valuable for anyone who is oriented towards genuine exotic research on a period of importance for the history of Albanian writing and literature. written in Albanian. Critical and philological publication of a work with a lexicographical destination that was supported to come to light in the press from

Congregation of Propaganda Fide as the *Latin-Albanian Dictionary* of Frang Bardhi (Rome, 1635)², studies that best orient towards knowing the profile and complex activity of a famous prelate in the eighteenth century as John Nicholas Kazazi³, the publication of equipped with a valuable philological and critical apparatus on the Acts of the first Council of Arbën (1703)⁴, and other researches and researches that in the same continuum continue to be guides for a field of study like that of the old Albanian texts represent achievements quite valuable in the field of albanological research.

Such a volume clearly has the object of retrieving in a particular optics authors and works, which evoke a period of importance for our studies and which is traditionally related and with continuous research that aims to shed

² B. Demiraj, *Dictionarium latino-epiroticum* (Romæ, 1635), per R. D. Franciscum Blanchum, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2008.

³ B. Demiraj, *Gjon Nikollë Kazazi dhe "Doktrina"* e tij, Botime ASHAK, Prishtinë, 2006; B. Demiraj, *Jeta dhe trashëgimia e Gjon P. Nikollë Kazazit*, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2013.

⁴ See *ConciAi ProvinciiAi o Cuvendi J Arbenit(1706)*, critical publishing prepared by Bardhyl Demiraj, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2012.

more and more light. clearly on the representatives of the old Albanian literature and on the resulting data and in special archives in which can be found even today sources that should be used to better illuminate the whole period in question and the context that characterizes it.

A specific methodology of concretization and on deductions derived from interpretations or decompositions of texts found in the composition of specific works could be supported by the results of several years of persistent research in archives, thanks to which the author of this volume has been able to reconstruct not infrequently and mosaics left unfinished in relation to the most important authors of this period that marks and unique achievements in the field of outlining the Albanian script and the alphabetical codes or norms in writing that characterize it. Important chapters will build such a volume as: Hearths of intellectual formation; Meetings with the elite; Collective memory in "transition"; Input of the elite in the culture of Albanian writing, but also a rich source apparatus, equipped with bibliographic references and valuable data that constitutes the conclusion of this work itself. Such a conception that focuses on the gradual treatment of the nostrils of breeding a spiritual culture that through growing and forming personalities would make possible the flourishing of a written, literary, as well as religious culture in the North of Albania, is presented. best by the author himself in the *Introductory Speech* leading the substantive elaboration of the chapters and chapters constructing such a work. Genuine institutions of priestly and cultural formation of future novices and clergy will be dealt with in some respects in the first major chapter or subdivision of this volume, which includes the Illyrian College of Loreto⁵;

⁵ See in particular the chapter entitled Illyrian College of Loreto, treated in detail in terms of the periods of the respective history and the prelates who will become part of it, in B. Demiraj, the cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 13-89. Such a treatment makes it possible to follow more clearly and the selected progress in terms of personalities who follow each other in time and who will become the object of attention in the next chapter in this work.

Urban College⁶ and Illyrian College of Fermo⁷. This chapter will be crucial in the reception of following the path of many personalities for whom there are evidenced data and in the documentation that results from the detailed tracing of the history of the aforementioned colleges. In these colleges attended the respective formation of quite a few prelates of the Arberia world of the time, starting from the sixteenth century onwards, and the clarification of the circumstances of individual and clerical formation undoubtedly requires numerous consultations on evidence, reports and special documentary corpora⁸. Thus, in this optics dictated by the problems presented by the study based on facts and data of these important historical periods, it will be possible to follow and in the composition of the same volume more in-depth treatments on some of them. It is precisely this part of the work, wide in view and research line that makes possible the information with many bibliographic sources and special studies that shed light on the relations between the Arberia ecclesiastical provinces and these educational institutions themselves, in the history of which will the biographies of the Albanian prelates of that time are also intertwined.

In the chapter entitled Meetings with the elite, about thirteen personalities of the Catholic clergy of the Albanian cultural life starting from the XVI century will be examined. A treatise of special interest that makes possible and evidenced valuable archival sources will be the one on John Bruni Ulqinaku, whose name appears in the church annals and in terms of evidence of participation in events that have convincingly marked and the very history of

⁶ See in particular the chapter entitled Urban College, in B. Demiraj, *The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 90-143. See also the remark of the author Demiraj in the introduction of this treatise, *ibid.*, P. 90: The idea, construction, and well-being of the Urban College (lat. Collegium Urbanum, today it. Fide (Lat. (Sacra) Congregatio de Propaganda Fide; today it. Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli) which consists essentially in the care and nurturing of the Christian faith, according to the last will of his baptizer: Euntes in mundum universum, praedicate Evangelium omni Creaturae. ” (Mark 16:15) Together they knew, so they were able to survive the seasons, seeing, experiencing and sharing together good and bad days in these almost four centuries (1627-2017). So it suffices for us to make a very simple calculation by learning that the Urban College in Rome turns out to be not only one of the longest-lived colleges cared for and nurtured by the Holy Curia and its head the Pope, but is also one of the most successful, right as it is presented to us today all day stately in the evergreen of Gianicolo next to the Vatican.

⁷ See in particular the chapter entitled The Illyrian College of Fermo, in B. Demiraj, *The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 144-169.

⁸ See, among others, the paragraph entitled The Case of "Budi" (= <Peter Budi> 1566-1621), in the chapter dedicated to the Illyrian College of Loreto, *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 41-44. See also the following paragraph, entitled The Case of "Gjeç Bardhi" (= <Georgius Blanchus> 1577-1647), *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 44-46. The research and access to documents and corpora in which the history of the Albanian church in these periods is treated will be the main impetus to build and interpret deductions on the life and activity of the prelates of this time.

the church of Rome from the 16th century onwards⁹. The treatises on personalities such as Pjetër Budi or Frang Bardhi will make original contributions in many respects, who in chronological terms approximate a series of historical circumstances, but also other prelates who are certainly part of an important context to create an idea. clearer on the history of the Albanian territories of the time, and more specifically the history of the Christian faith in them.

A prelate like Pjetër Budi, to whom we attribute the credit for the earliest compilations in the first six hundred years of the doctrinal variants of the catechistic manuals in our language will come in this contextualized chapter in a rather interesting outline, together with the inevitable consideration of a study tradition that proves and the attention that should have been shown continuously to the circumstances of the death of the latter, together with the breakdown of a documentation that further, with the drafting of this compilation specifically for this author, will be presented completed in sources and interpretations¹⁰. The profiling of a special personality like Ndre Bogdani, intended with so much eloquence and humility in *The Primitives before Literature* (Të primitë përpara Letërarit), the preface compiled by Pjetër Bogdani in the well-known work *Cuneus Prophetarum* (Company of Prophets), published in Padua in 1685 completes the most well this important chapter of the volume in question, being necessary to exactly this period that is known and for the realization of works that have had publications and reprints to be rightly added the names of prelates to be remembered and for the concrete contribution to an area as that of Northern Albania in special centuries¹¹. It is in this work that came to light a few years after the death of Ndre Bogdani that data can be traced on the role of the latter in the church life of the time, the hierarchical offices he covered, the linguistic knowledge valued by his nephew, Peter and the fact that he must have been the author of a bilingual grammar which according to the author of *Cuneus prophetarum* himself had been lost in circumstances of life difficulty for himself. A wide treatment in many respects on one of the most important authors of Albanian written literature and moreover, martyred and in the conditions of the Ottoman occupation in the Arberian areas (Pjetër Bogdani) will naturally follow in this chapter of the work of the researcher Bardhyl Demiraj, together with necessary interpretations on

⁹ See in particular chapter V entitled Gjon Bruni-Ulqinaku, in B. Demiraj, *The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 183-195. See also B. Demiraj, *Johannes Brunius Olchinii (-1571)*, in "Hylli i drites", n. 3-4, 2015.

¹⁰ See chapter VI entitled Pjetër Budi: homazh fathupësit pa faj, në B. Demiraj, *The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 200 v.

¹¹ See in particular the paragraph which is quoted <Andrea Bogdani> (Ndre Bogdani), in the chapter dedicated to the Illyrian College of Loreto, *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 55-56.

biographical elements about him, retrieved some time ago and in ecclesiastical reports published in previous studies, which will necessarily be more precisely oriented towards the knowledge of his profile¹².

The profiling of a personality like Vincenzo Krsto Zmajević, mentioned a lot in our studies and in reference to an important event in the history of the Arberian church is also part of this chapter entitled Meetings with the Elite by the author Demiraj¹³. As this whole chapter is conceived that will contain treatises on personalities that approximate the time and affinity of the mission undertaken in life, and in this special loop dedicated to a figure commemorated with great respect in Arberian areas outside Albania such as Zmaiević, will be able to trace elements that actually serve and the fullest knowledge of this prelate, committed to the end of life for a cause as great as it is sublime. Biographical particles that can be collected from special archival documents will also help in the reconstruction of such a treatment, as well as a special correlation that is reawakened in our memory every time we talk about an important event for many reasons. our national memory and for which Vincenzo Zmaiević should be especially remembered. The first Assembly of Arbën (1703) is inextricably linked with the role of the Archbishop of Bar and Diocletian, as well as the Apostolic Visitor of the Land of Arbën, Zmaiević, whose name rightly appears in the textual submissions that introduce the published Acts of this ecclesiastical assembly that would serve to point out and highlight complex issues related to the life of the clergy and clergy of the time in our area, as well as the practice of religion by the local population, found quite a few in the face of various difficulties, conditioned by the savage Ottoman occupation¹⁴, Zmaiević new name will result in many documents of the time, in Christian registers and reports which make it possible to have a clear idea on the role that the latter had on the life of the community of Arberesh of the time, a fact that proves and an important aspect of his complex and formed personality thanks to a natural graduality in different life circumstances. The name and presence of the latter can be traced in phases of the priestly

¹² See in particular Chapter IX entitled Pjetër Tade Bogdani, in B. Demiraj, The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 248-269.

¹³ See in particular Chapter XI, entitled Vincenzo Krsto Zmaiević, in B. Demiraj, The cultural area of the North in the 19th century. XVI-XIX, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 276-290. See also B. Demiraj, "Vincenzo Zmajević (1670-1745)", in "Hylli i Dritës", n. 2, 2017.

¹⁴ See *ConciAi ProvintiaaAi o Cuvendi J Arbenit (1706)*, critical publishing by Bardhyl Demiraj, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2012, in the paragraph titled *Leterat e te mbliedhuni te Konçillit Provinciall të dheut s'Arbenise*, (Letters of the Assembly of the Provincial Council of the Land of Albania) p. 10 v.

journey of other prelates, as it results in certain documents that are quoted and in the next chapter of this volume¹⁵.

Quite interesting is the context in which will be treated one of the authors of Albanian ecclesiastical literature who marked the history of old Albanian writings with a proof of discovery which will be considered long in time, while exactly at that time (1743) of exercising the functions of ecclesiastical ministerial importance on his part and sees in the press a handbook that differs from other previous works for reasons of extreme conciseness and synthetics¹⁶. Gjon Nikolle Kazazi will be mentioned in a series of documentary sources of special importance for the Arberian church and such a fact is evidenced by concrete citations within this treatise related to it and the role it played in interpreting or depositing a series of issues that have to do with church life in the provinces he oversaw. What was presented in a series of articles that result in the Acts of publication of the First Assembly of Arbën (1706) is repeated and in the Encyclical "Inter Omnigenas" (February 2, 1744) compiled by Pope Benedict XIV and such a fact will make it possible to trace the concrete role of Monsignor Gjon Nikolle Kazazi in relation to its reception in ecclesiastical circles¹⁷. Holding and organizing other ecclesiastical assemblies in Shkodra and consequently always in the same geo cultural area, as well as retrieving the same issues and their respective works, the constant reference to an important event such as the Concilium Nationale Albanum of 1703 , underlining the importance of consulting the texts of the latter acts and by the clergy and nuns of the time, the issue of considering the receipt of the sacraments by regular believers, but also by persons who for life circumstances were distanced from access to Christianity, will be issues that will be addressed extensively and quite

¹⁵ See chapter XII dedicated to Ndue Babi, në B. Demiraj, *Areali kulturor i Veriut në shek. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tiranë, 2017, p. 291-302. See also from this author "Grimca biografike mbi autorët tanë të vjetër (V): Ndue Babi (Biographical parts on our old authors) (1659-1728)", in "Hylli i Dritës", n. 1, 2017.

¹⁶ See chapter XIII të këtij vëllimi, titled Gjon Nikollë Kazazi: roli i tij në enciklikën "Inter omnigenas" (2 February 1744), in B. Demiraj, *Areali kulturor i Veriut në shek. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tiranë, 2017, p. 303-323. 2016. See also the article on this topic by the scholar Demiraj, published in *Shejzat-Pleiades (Series nova)*, n. 1-2, 2016

¹⁷ See in particular the following note from Introductory Observations in B. Demiraj, cited work, chapter XIII, p. 304: Nothing missing, the limitation of our topic is made especially for the fact that this encyclical letter really marks a culmination in the course of developments experienced by the Roman Catholic Church and the cultural-religious life of the Christian population in the cultural area of the Albanian Catholic North in half of the century. XVIII, but also that the abundant documentary material stored in the Historical Archive of Propaganda Fide (ASC), allows us to develop in detail topics of this nature.

long by the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rome, thus enabling and outlining a difficult journey in terms of faith in these areas¹⁸.

In particular, regarding Kazazi and his role in the church life in Arbëria, and more precisely in the provinces and dioceses he knew best at a time he was also charged with duties of a hierarchical order by the Holy See, two realizations will be referring which clearly speak about the impact that the latter would have thanks to the compilations coming out of his hand¹⁹. The above-mentioned issues will be deposited by Kazaz himself in a rich documentation that has been traced by the author Demiraj in the Historical Archive of the Holy Congregation and which clearly speak of his recognition of the situation in the Arber areas. Meanwhile, a fact that should be underlined in this presentation of ours remains that of the influence of Kazaz's remarks on the undertaking and compilation of the Encyclical quoted by Pope Benedict XIV; fact that is found and quoted in the paragraph entitled The Reception of the Encyclical in the ranks of the local clergy and the Laramans, following the elaboration of the depositions made by Kazaz himself²⁰.

This chapter entitled Meetings with the Elite will not be missing, nor the treatment in which it is about another personality of the Albanian Catholic clergy, mentioned a lot for the pastoral and priestly activity, described by the author of this volume as a among the early authors of Albanian writing in the first half of the XVIII century, namely Gjergj Engjëll Radovani²¹. Paragraphs

¹⁸ See in particular the relevant explanations in the Encyclical Letters and its importance, in Chapter XIII, *ibid.*, P. 305; also the paragraph entitled Circumstances of obtaining the encyclical: depositions of Imz. Gjon P. Nikolle Kazazi near the Holy Curia, *ibid.*, Chapter XIII, p. 308-317.

¹⁹ B. Demiraj, cited work, Circumstances of obtaining the encyclical: depositions of Imz. Gjon P. Nikolle Kazazi near the Holy Curia, *ibid.*, Chapter XIII, p.309: During our research in ASPF (March-September 2004) on this personality of the Catholic clergy and Albanian culture in the middle of the century. XVIII we could isolate that this period of Kazazi's stay in Rome belongs to two of the most important writings in his activity as an intellectual clergyman and deliverer of the Albanian language. These are the publication of the Albanian handbook "The Doctrine of Christianity" (Rome, 1743), as well as a memorandum that Kazazi, still in the office of Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Skopje, addresses to Pope Benedict XIV, in which he updates it. with the state of faith and activity of the Catholic clergy in that diocese and in the ecclesiastical Province of Arbëria, praying at the same time for intervention with his papal authority in taking appropriate measures for its regulation and improvement. Attached to the problems discussed in this memorandum are equally important are some of the depositions and requests that Kazazi has made in the meantime during his stay in Rome near the Holy Curia.

²⁰ B. Demiraj, cited, Receptioni i Enciklikës në radhët e klerit vendor dhe te laramanët (The Reception of the Encyclical in the ranks of the local clergy and the Laramans), Kreu XIII, po aty, p. 317.

²¹ See also the corresponding paragraph in the chapter dedicated to the Urban College, which deals in detail with this personality, *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 119. See in particular the paragraph entitled Conte Andrea Angeli Radovani-in the role of assistant, in the chapter dedicated to the Illyrian College of Loreto, *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 33-35.

entitled Youth and education will enrich such an approach; Clerical career stations; Genuine pastoral commitment, all under the good intention and persistent perspective to specify following the vivid and available data an accomplished profile of a clergyman and at the same time the intellectual who left traces with his respective activity in the Albanian ecclesiastical history, but also in that of our culture²².

Part of the latest research of the scholar Bardhyl Demiraj are special treatises on the descendants of the authors of the old Albanian literature which at the same time remain compilers of valuable variants in the field of catechetical publications in later centuries and approaching a further period, which nevertheless retains the links with the aforementioned literature. There will be a more than deserved place and a Jesuit priest like Vincenzo Basile SJ, whose priestly and life journey will intersect with the city of Shkodra, a fact that will affect the compilations for which he will be considered as an author of ecclesiastical literature in the Albanian language for the century in which he lived²³. A clear proposal for a careful reading of his biography, but above all for analyzes of the philological and literary nature of a concrete contribution in the field of Albanian ecclesiastical writings such as "Ruga e Parrisit", which first sees the light of publication in Rome, in 1845, is received in the pages of this chapter, to be retrieved and further, in another important chapter of this volume²⁴.

With two other prelates, important in terms of contributions, special and in that of life journey and which also approximates them in some points of view and the concrete context of the development of the life mission concludes such a chapter, among the most important of this work of voluminous and serious. Engjëll Frang Radoja, whose name will become known to us in the process of consulting the reprint of the Acts of the First Council of Arbën, but also in the reprints of the Christian Doctrine of Pjetër Budi (1868), remains a personality who exactly in the history of Albanian writing and in the Albanological culture related to the century in which the latter lived, should have a place of honor²⁵. In the relevant chapter dedicated to Engjëll Radoja, it will be possible to follow

²² B. Demiraj, cited work, Chapter XIV, Gjergj Engjëll Radovani, in the cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 324-333. See also B. Demiraj, Biographical particles on our old authors (VI): Gjergj Engjëll Radovani (1733-1790), in "Hylli i Dritës", n. 1, 2017.

²³ B. Demiraj, cited work, Chapter XV, Vincenzo Basile, p. 334-345. See also B. Demiraj, Biographical particles on our old authors (VII): Vincenzo Basile SJ (1811-1882), in "Hylli i Dritës", n. 1, 2017.

²⁴ See in particular Chapter XXVII in B. Demiraj, cited work, Tirana, 2017, p.550: "Ruga e Parrisit" (1845) by Vincenzo Basile: paratextual framework.

²⁵ Regarding these contributions of Engjëll Radoja and his compilations in the field of catechesis and liturgy, see in particular B. Demiraj, cited work, p. 348-349.

in a natural continuation a treatment that deals precisely with research and finding of data of nature, both documentary and biographical; improvements and additions that come as a result of research on the life stations of this prelate, and what is very important, and issues of his clerical and intellectual activity²⁶ It is thanks to the data that make it possible to prove his continuous contribution to compilation of manuals or works who aspire to have religious and hagiographic themes, evidenced by his contemporaries, to the latter will be attributed the evaluation as a highly proven connoisseur of his language²⁷. This chapter could not miss the treatment in a complex optics of the figure of a prelate who with his contributions remained immortalized in the collective historical memory: Ndre Logoreci²⁸. The object of the author's attention in this volume has been to continuously clarify the important elements of Logorec's biography, a fact that has prompted him to undertake specific research, but also in-depth analysis of doctrinal variants representing serious undertakings and retrieval. by this compiler, contributor in this case to the enrichment of a panorama of realizations that continued to be completed from century to century in the area of Northern Albania.

Concrete interest in an important doctrinal variant such as that of 1845 with the Jesuit author G.Guagliata S.I. which is presented in a bilingual format is accompanied by data on the concrete mood in archives and libraries in recent years and beyond, and careful philological and textual analysis of such a work makes it possible to form a clear idea of a Compilation of the Eight Hundred to be listed for specific content and valuable data in addition to the other publications mentioned above by us. Details of a biographical nature, which in the case of such treatments are more than necessary, really enrich the context of outlining an in-depth study of the work of Father Guagliata SI, most likely influenced by the latter's stay in the city of Shkodra. while the publication of the handbook itself will date to a year that most likely found the author far from Albania²⁹. From the very collection of data found in certain parts of the work,

²⁶ See chapter XVI of this volume, exactly the one entitled Angel Frang Radoja, in B. Demiraj, *The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 353-356.

²⁷ See also the paragraph entitled Basic knowledge of the Albanian language and its consultant, in the above-mentioned chapter, *ibid.*, B. Demiraj, *The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 356-357.

²⁸ See in particular chapter XVII of this volume, entitled Ndre Logoreci, in B. Demiraj, *The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 364-372. See also chapter XXVIII of the chapter entitled *The contribution of the elite in the culture of Albanian writing*, exactly the one entitled *T'Mledhunit e Dotrins Kershten (1880-1886)* by Ndre Logorec, *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 561-585.

²⁹ See also B. Demiraj, *Cultural Area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 536.

it results that the preparation for publication should have been done several years ago, since the press release and the statement by the reviewer date back to 1842.

In addition to a detailed physical description of the volume in question and the underlining of the fact that the author naturally referred to the most influential compiler of Christian doctrine after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, Roberto Bellarminos SI, this treatise also noted the didactic character and the predetermination of its catechetical nature, a fact which can also be illustrated by the simplicity of some of the rubrics that construct it³⁰. An independent treatment of the content of the work and the subdivisions in which its author has reasoned, together with the quotation of the basic prayers and the notions that are gradually decomposed, lies best in this treatment which will undoubtedly take into account and clarify some elements related to the alphabetical code used and the orthographic norm that applies to it³¹.

The contextualization of the valuable contribution of Father Guagliata SI, a compiler who does not seek to explain, and in the Italian-language section data which will undoubtedly be useful to foreign missionaries who may make use of his work, is naturally supplemented by the introduction of another treatise that calls to the cause a contemporary of the latter, who most likely followed the publication of the press and of Guagliata's own compilation in 1845. Consideration in a context that sees these two authors of *The eight hundred* that certainly connected Shkodra and Northern Albania with a concrete experience of mission and priesthood, appear quite significant precisely when the author, in the process of genuine philological and textual analysis, summarizes them in a separate chapter in the composition of the aforementioned publication³².

This multidimensional work that is one of the most important contributions of the researcher Bardhyl Demiraj for Albanian studies that have to do with the history of knowing a valuable archival documentation, but also with old Albanian texts and writings, will undoubtedly contain and treatises on the issues of overwriting and interpretation of documents that shed light on pieces of

³⁰ See also B. Demiraj, *Cultural Area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 537: As for the content and organization of the work, they fit perfectly into a manual of time for general use, hence also instructional. We are talking in this case about a book in 12 format, with a text that covers in its entirety a volume of 288 pages and with a number of lines that rarely reach the figure of 30 per page.

³¹ See also the chapter entitled *Traditions and innovations in the alphabetic code and the orthographic norm applied in the work*, in B. Demiraj, *The cultural area of the North in the century. XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tirana, 2017, p. 539 v.

³² See again Chapter XXVII in B. Demiraj, cited work, Tirana, 2017, p. 550: Vincenzo Basile's "Paris Street" (1845): paratextual framework.

history that, being known more closely, only help to complete a mosaic that time and circumstances have not always properly identified in its entirety³³.

In addition to the necessary notes that clarify aspects of the content of the treatises that follow each other in a sequence best reasoned by the author of this complex volume as to the arguments contained in it, an integral part of it remains the rich bibliographic apparatus in sources and references, which make it possible to retrieve a tradition of studies that exactly in the cases of compiling a work of this size returns and in a well-organized view and in order to internalize its own content. The contributions that speak about special figures of historical periods as complex as they are unique for our nation offer an original perspective that in the meantime brings back to the attention of scholars of ancient Albanian texts the importance it takes and in these cases the continuous combing of archival documentation that sheds light on such personalities.

Evalda PACI

**ABOUT THE MONOGRAPHY OF PROF. DR. P. THËNGJILLI
WITH THE TITLE ‘*ALI PASHA TEPELENA BETWEEN LEGEND
AND HISTORY*’ - A REVIEW**

It a pleasure and obligation to provide this review of the work as a sign of respect to the author, lecturer and my close collaborator. Although much has been written about Ali Pasha Tepelena, the work witnesses that it is necessary to have further writing in order to clarify better this historic figure so that it takes the place he deserves in the History of Albanian People, based on historical documents, as it has happened in this case. The documents, researched by the author and his collaborators in the Archives of Turkey and personal archive of Ali, the exploitation of the Russian, English and French documentation, and the bibliographic base in foreign language and Albanian, are two of the features that give the work a superiority to what has been written so far.

As a result of a multi-year research and comparative work, the author has reached to many results, some of which as following:

³³ This fact is evidenced by the valuable treatises that build the chapter entitled The contribution of the elite in the culture of Albanian writing, *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 431 v. See in particular Chapter XXIII, entitled The Curses Issued by the Bishop on Maundy Thursday (1704), *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 456-480. See also chapter XII dedicated to Ndue Babi, in the above-mentioned chapter Meetings with the Elite, *ibid.*, Cited work, p. 291-302.

The work consists of two organic parts of the whole. The first part analyses the activity of Ali in creating the Sanjak of Ioannina up to its maximal extension, confrontation with the central government and the tragic end as a result of this confrontation. After obtaining a panorama for each question for the perspectives that exist in the historical literature, the personal opinion has been given too, about the origin of the family from Tepelena, its income, the predecessor of the Hysvet family, the reason why Ali did not have to start his career as a thief of baby goats, but as a Bey who recruited military forces, a widespread phenomenon of the time, the relations with Ahmet Kurt Pasha. The new document makes known that with his armed forces he had entered the service of the ottoman governors, but he was unsatisfied, therefore he had to address to Kapllan Pasha. The new documents deny the opinions of the historical literature about some murdering such as the one of his father in law, of Selim pasha etc., which have been attributed to Ali Pasha. As a result of his services he is appointed as governor of Delvina. It is of high interest and well documented the way Ali Pasha took Ioannina, which he would not release even though the central government took it away from him several times.

The new document enforces the data of other sources regarding the relation of Ali with the family of Bushatllinj, they shed light to the aspects of relations with the central government, by presenting him an obedient clerk.

The events that have been object to the literary works such as captivity in slavery of Hanko, the was between the Suliots, the massacre of Hormova, of Kardhiq and Valare, the question of Frosina and the murdering of women accused of immorality, "the love of the father-in-law with the bride, the introduction to the Albanian Vasiliqi etc., were treated successfully. While most of the authors to the present days praise the Suliote war, the author considers it as a necessity as the Suliots have not only become a barrier to the extension of his power, but also a threat to the city of Ioannina. The suiliote heads have become a predatory caste which lived "with taking under protection" hundreds of villages in exchange to a fine and with direct robbery.

The new documents also give an end to the opinions of the authors regarding the appointing of Ali as Vali of Rumelia (1802-1804). The reason of the appointing was a necessity of the central government in order to confront the movement of the highlanders recognized as the movement of Kërshalinj, where plenty of unknown Albanian leaders were engaged. The central power, violated the practice of state appointing, by letting him keep all the previous duties, which testifies the necessity for Ali. He practicing the policy of stick and carrot, managed to disperse crowds of highlanders, by displacing them to the empty lands, whereas some others were executed. Due to the increasing fear to the central power, justified by the complaint of Ajani of Rumelia, whom he had avenged duly, Ali was fired of that duty.

The problem of promising Bonaparte the Corfu island, the accusation from the historic literature that Ali was the organizer of the complot for the coup of sultan Selim III, the hostile relations of Ali with the other Albanian Mustafa Pasha Bajraktari from Goskoca of Korça, the enlargement of the sanjak of Ioannina up to the year 1812, were treated thoroughly based on the new data.

In the monography it is clearly stated that the international events, particularly the Congress of Vienna, interrupted the impetus of the further sanjak extension. During that period Ali aimed taking Parga and he tried to keep what he had achieved so far.

In three of his chapters (XXI-XXIII) the resistance of Ali Pasha against the central government punishment is treated. Although Ali Pasha was prepared to long resist the ottoman army, the new ottoman documents have given the author the possibility to show how this long preparation for resistance was burned to ashes, because of the treason of his sons and nephews as well as of close collaborators.

By providing the versions about the execution of Ali Pasha in the island of the Ioannina Lake, the author tries to confront the version of Reis Efendi.

Quite of high interest is the second part which consists of seven chapters and a conclusion session. It starts with the analysis of the complex figure of Ali starting with his body description and physical appearance, moral qualities, education and culture, his relations with the religion, music, up to the dresses and weapons of Ali. The powers of Ali Pasha as the head of Sanjak, as sultan of Ioannina, head of the executive and judiciary power, his role in the economic life, his income, the creation of a defense generation and of a modern army for the time, the creation of a state with a despot regime, his ethnicity are provided following clear and solid arguments.

The conclusion section provides a general evaluation of the works of Ali Pasha and his importance for the Albanians, for the ottoman state, for the Balkans and more specifically for the Greeks.

At the end of this review I think that the monography can certainly be considered as the second scientific work in the Albanian historical literature dedicated to the life and deeds of Ali Pasha Tepelena.

Prof. Dr. Marenglen VERLI

ABOUT THE LINGUISTIC VALUES OF THE WORK LEXICAL - PHRASEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF DEVOLL, DESIGNED BY ALI JASHARI

In 2016, the lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll, designed by prof. Ali Jashari. It is a significant achievement in the work of this author who is known, among others, as a lexicologist and lexicographer trained, identified through monographic works, lexicographical publications, study summaries, as well as numerous articles and scientific papers. The work is a feed for the lexicography of the Albanian language itself, occupying a special place in publications on dialect lexicography. Academician Gj. Shkurtaj, who accompanies the publication with an accompanying word, writes that "After reading and re-reading this work, I come to the conclusion that this dictionary is a complete encyclopedia of the soul of the people of Devoll, its culture and language, and traditions and customs, reflecting layers of whole words related to material and spiritual life, even many words that have fallen out of use today due to changes in economic and social conditions."³⁴

Where and how to see the values of this dictionary:

1. Devoll's lexical-phraseological dictionary embodies a work decades of the author, which begins with the collection of lexical and phraseological wealth of the dialect of Devoll, his birthplace, since he finished his higher studies at the University of Tirana for Albanian language and literature until today. It is the culmination of fieldwork and collection work, in institutionalized expeditions and, mostly, in private ones, in lexical collection (and beyond) in villages and cities, in conversations with the elderly, but also with subjects of age secondary, who have been the source of the reflected wealth, but who, in themselves, are also bearers of popular linguistic wealth. So the direct harvesting of the material in the field is a salient value of the work. The work is also estimated to have recorded lexical and phraseological wealth and from written works, especially from the folklore literature of the area, as well as from the cultivated literature related to Devolli. Vocabulary author, highly educated professional, has known what to pick from this literature, what to pick and what to select (at a time when today's publications as dictionaries of this kind aim to reflect everything that lives in it dialectal and provincial dialects) and seeing everything as a relation of dialectal lexical wealth / national

³⁴ Gj. Shkurtaj, Pasqyrë madhështore e leksikut dhe e frazeologjisë shqipe të krahinës së Devollit (Magnificent overview of the Albanian lexicon and phraseology of the province of Devoll) (Rreth librit "Fjalor leksiko-frazeologjik i Devollit" i prof. dr. Ali Jasharit), in A. Jashari, Fjalori leksiko - frazeologjik i Devollit, Promo Print Publishing House, Korçë, 2016, p. 623.

wealth. Rightly Gj. Shkurtaĵ writes that "For the fresh values and feeds, especially for the great wealth of words and phraseologies, the work *Lexical-phraseological Dictionary of Devoll* completes a wide and missing knowledge of the lexical and phraseological wealth of one of the most typical regions of Albania. South. It ranks, without a doubt, next to the best dictionaries of today's Albanian and regional dictionaries, becoming a written proof of the word that lives in the spoken language, because when the living word takes place in a dictionary, it is surely it will not be forgotten as long as the people who speak it."³⁵

2. Works The lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll contains in its pages a great wealth of units, about 13,000 lexicographical items, which include words, phraseological units, names of people, place names, proverbs, congratulations, curses, euphemisms, etc.

3. The work does a great job, not passionate and tedious not only with a large extension of time (as you can say an *opera vita* of the author), but also a scrupulous lexicographical scientific work, which meets all the contemporary requirements and criteria in the field of explanatory lexicography with all fields: the unit that has taken place in the dictionary is carefully trimmed, equipped with all the complementary elements, to lead to the lexico-grammatical affiliation and other indicators that face the main optimal elements. Lexicographic techniques have even been used in the work that make it very user friendly.

4. The dictionary is separated in another direction: the lexical phraseological units in its pages are collected in the system, especially in the semantic and word-forming connections. The author has known to ask carefully and professionally from the speaking subject, from which the linguistic wealth (words, phraseology, new meanings, new semantic components, toponyms, oronyms, etc.) has been collected to fill the gaps that may appear in the verses in a in the various word-formation paradigms, addressing not the complementary possibility of the linguist (to the lexicographer's own creative ability as a subjective and a priori complement), but addressing the subject to find the missing word in the language of the people.

5. It is known that a lexicographical work does not appear only as a recorder of reflective of a particular asset, but multiple studies can be undertaken on it. And, even more so, when you have in your hands such works that are related to the lexical, phraseological, semantic, etc. richness. of a certain geographical-linguistic area. These study spaces are made possible by the work *Lexical-phraseological Dictionary of Devoll*. Studies can be of the synchronous plane, related to phenomena of word formation morphology (we have different types

³⁵ Gj. Shkurtaĵ, *ibid.*, P. 11.

of word formation), to the morphology of eptim (interesting forms of inflection or choice coming through the life of words with examples from the most diverse), with phenomena of today's phonetics and especially of dialect phonetics, with phenomena of the history of Albanian and of the Albanian people (there he finds many borrowings, among them many Turkisms); with elements of ethnoculture and religious beliefs (just stop at onomastics and you can compile a special study on the names of the Muslim-Bektashi faith, on the names of people according to the tradition of the Orthodox faith, the names of people by profession, according to a feature of relief geographical etc.). We have stopped following these spaces, sketching future works for them.

6. A lexicographical work, at first sight, can be estimated in terms of the volume and numerical amount of items it reflects on its pages, i.e. can be evaluated for macrostructure. Suffice it to mention that in the Devoll Lexicon-Phraseological Dictionary we have about 13,000 items (as title words), the vast majority of which belong to the lexical wealth (lexicographical items as general or specific lexical words)³⁶ and the rest to the related wealth with other linguistic and ethnocultural fields. This great wealth can be seen more easily. It is understandable that in a provincial dictionary the layer of general lexicon will occupy the main place. Even in the work we have in hand, Ali Jashari brings a lot of material for this layer, giving lexical units usually not collected before (even unknown or little known units in other Albanian language areas) or units that do not have occupy a place in national explanatory dictionaries, such as:

babíc/ë,-a f. gjilpërë e madhe për të qepur rroba të trasha (large needle for sewing 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)³⁷.

shurígë /ë,-a f. 1. lloj toke me rërë: dëbora binte me flokë të mëdha duke e trashur jorganin e saj mbi barin e përbrymur, mbi djerrinat e shurigmat. (T. Laço, M). 2. mb. që rritet në tokë me rërë: patate shurigë. (sandy soil type: snow fell with large hairs running thickened her quilt over the swollen grass, over the wastelands and shurigmat. 2. mb. growing in sandy soil: shurig potatoes.)

But in the lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll we encounter quite a few well-known lexical units, even with nationwide scope, which the author has included in it for the distinguishing wealth they bring (semantic nuances, phraseological units, proverbs, toponymic wealth, etc.). By the way, the author has seen fit to bring units such as the names field, belt, mouth, head, mustache,

³⁶ We study this aspect, because in the work, as we have stated, there are other lexicographical items related to onomastics, toponomastics, etc.

³⁷ Examples are given according to the Bibliography of vintage works and their abbreviations p. XV-XVIII in the lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll.

fur, viper, etc. Thus, he does not dwell on the semantic structure of the word fur (gives only the synonym hair), which in all explanatory dictionaries is ambiguous, but gives preference to phraseological wealth (where we find all Albanian units, as well as those found in the linguistic area of Devoll):

lésh,-i m. flokë (hair): *Ke burrin asker Janinë / o, moj Rinë / dërgoi kartë të vijë! / në të thënë për në vjeshtë/ mblidhi shoqet shkurto leshtë.* (K. Zdruli, FDS) - *e bëri lesh arapi (një punë etj.)* - e ngatërroi keq.(made a mess) -*u bë si leshi be furkët dikush* - u dobësua(become thin) shumë. *i ra leshtë e bythës dikujt* - thjeshtligj. u plak, nuk ka më fuqi.(become old and weak) - *i ka rënë leshtë e kokës dikujt* - iron. ka studiuar shumë, ka përvojë të gjatë në një punë.(studied a lot) - *kur ta dërstilëm leshtë* - keq. kurrë, asnjëherë; (never) *kur të qethen viçat.* - *po dredh leshtë dikush* - keq. rri kot, nuk bën asnjë punë.(stays doing nothing) - *ka ikur për lesh dikush* - thjeshtligj. nuk është mirë nga mendtë; bë veprime të pamenduara mirë.(acts immaturely) - *do t'i jepja lesh, po s'i shita delet* - tall. thuhet për dikë që lakmon shumë, që hyn ku s'ka asnjë mundësi.(for sb greedy) - *i ka leshrat koriye dikush* - është me flokë shumë të dendur.(with thick hair) - *la leshtë e barkut (e bythës) dikush* - harxhoi a pagoi shumë për diçka.(spending a lot) - *s'la lesh bë kokët dikush* - i shkuli flokët ngaqë i ndodhi diçka e keqe.(when sth bad happens) - *mori leshtë e balikut (e balos, e barkut, e Curre, e Marikës) dikush* - keq. nuk mori asgjë, mbeti me gisht në gojë.(taking nothing) - *lesh me qime* - thjeshtligj. gjë e kotë; që s'ka asnjë vlerë.(worthless thing) - *lesh me qime, moj Fatime* - thjeshtligj. lojë fjalësh.(a pun) - *me një lesh të tjerë vesh tre asqerë dikush* - tall. thuhet për dikë që s'ka shumë dhe mundohet t'u bëjë hatër të gjithëve.(sb who tries for others) - *e peshon leshin pa qethur dhentë dikush* - është shumë i nxituar.(hurrying) - *shkoi për lesh e erdhi i qethur dikush* - dështoi në një punë; i harxhoi të gjitha ato që do të përdorte për të fituar.(fail; spend a lot of money) - *lesh bë tresh, se bë katërsh bëhet fanellë* - nuk më mjafton diçka, pa dija unë ç'të bëja.

6.1. Concrete lexicon

The concrete lexicon constitutes the main substratum of the general lexicon, often conditioned by the way of harvesting and the object of field harvesting.

krúnde v. sh. 1. lëvozhgat që dalin kur bluhet gruri; hime. (husks that emerge when wheat is ground; hime) 2. fig. keq. njeri bosh, pa mend (stupid man): *E lanë Qenam bej Orhanë me ca krunde që s'i hanin as pulat.* (D. Agolli, NjK). 3. fig shumë i varfër (very poor): *Më premtoi se do më varë në qafë një kryq floriri, por unë nuk e besoj këtë. Është krunde, xheshpuar.* (Th. Naqo, PI). -*me krunde s'bëhet byrek* - fj. u. për të bërë një gjë duhen mjetet e duhura (to do sth you need the right thing). -*kapet pas krundeve dikush* - merret me gjëra të vogla e pa shumë rëndësi.-ka mbetur krunde dikush - është në gjendje të keqe ekonomike.(in a bad situation) -*po të përzihesh (të ngatërrohesh) me*

krunde, të hanë pulat - fj.u. mos u merr me gjëra të vogla.(not dealing with small things)

6.1.1. Lexicon related to names of plants

The author has tried to include in the Dictionary almost all the names for the plants that grow in Devoll and its surroundings. Below are some names for trees, herbs, etc.

mollëdhëu f. bimë në formën e patates, kokrrat e së cilës kanë shije të mirë dhe mund të hahen të papjekura a të paziera: sekua do të të sjellë qershi, mollëdheu, lajthi. (potato-shaped plants, the grains of which taste good and can be eaten unripe or uncooked: sekua will bring you cherries, apples, hazelnuts) (S. Andoni, MSh).

anúrkë, -a f. lloj molle me lëvore të kuqe dhe e ëmbël: dhe në këtë vjeshtë të mbarë, mollët anurka kishin lëshuar lule për së dyti. (kind of apple with red peel and sweet: and in this auspicious autumn, anurka apples had released flowers for the second time.)

6.1.2. Lexicon related to names of animals

It is understood that general designations for animals would also have their place in the Dictionary. We are also giving some illustrative voices for this substratum of general lexicon:

balásh, -i m. 1. ka me pullë në ballë. 2. shpend uji me pupla të zeza e të bardha, që ushqehet me peshk. 3. mb. që ka pullë të bardhë në ballë (1. has a stamp on the forehead. 2. waterfowl with black and white feathers, which feed on fish. 3. adj. having white stamp on forehead): *prapa asaj korije/ ljepuri ndën hije/ ljepuri murrash-e/ dë ballët balash-e.* (K. Zdruli, FDS). *ka balashi dhjamë - thuhet me shaka për dikë që të tjerët e dinë të pasur, por në të vërtetë nuk është ashtu. e përqesh balashi - i duket sikur e tallin të tjerët.*

baláshk/ë, -a f. lopë me një vijë të bardhë në kokë (cow with a white line on the head): polli balashka; e moli balashkën.

In the work many names for animals and plants have structure polysemous semantics, becoming indicators of the expanding scoring ability of these designations. Often as second and third meanings (or further) connections already emerge that take us outside the notional / conceptual realm of the animal and plant world. We are illustrating:

kukumjáçk/ë, -a f. 1. kukuvajkë, lloj shpendi grabitqar i natës, që ushqehet me zogj a me minj dhe lëshon një zë sikur vajton (edhe si gjymtyrë emër vendi: *Stena e Kukumjaçkës*) (owl, a nocturnal bird of prey that feeds on birds or mice and makes a croaking noise (also as a limb, place name): *Thëngjilli i vatrës/ trembi zërin e kukumjaçkës/ u bë ledhatim!* (N. Morava, F). 2. fig. grua pa burrë e pa fëmijë (a woman without children): *Mbeti kukumjaçkë e bija.i këndon*

kukumjaçka bë çatit dikujt - sipas besimit popullor, atu ku këndonte kukumjaçka do të ndodhte patjetër një fatkeqësi. (according to religious beliefs where the bird sang, a disaster would happen)

6.1.3. Lexicon related to names of insects, etc.

Even for this lexical substratum or paradigmatic group of units lexical we find some names in the Dictionary:

(h)undëgjat/ë,-i m. lloj insekti dëmprurës që ha kokrrat e panxharit nën tokë; quhet kështu se e ka hundën të gjatë (the kind of harmful insect that eats beetroot underground; it is so called that it has a long nose): *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. nuse pashke, parashkëndi, që, sipas besimit, sjell lajme të mira (Easter bride, the forerunner, who, according to belief, brings good news:): *Buburiskë e malit, shko na merr dainë.* (K. Zdruli, FDS); *Kishte një fustan me pika me ngjyrën e buburiskës.* (D. Agolli, TG). 2. mb. përk. e urtë, e qetë (calm and quiet): *është si një buburiskë.*

6.1.4. Lexicon related to names of clothes.

Names for clothes (for men and women, for children and adults, for daily life and for special events, etc.), have also found a place in the Dictionary. Although they may numerically form a small group, they have linguistic and extralinguistic interest. As will be seen below, there you can find subjects to study phenomena of the history of the Albanian language, phonetic, morphological phenomena, etc., in addition to lexical semantic ones.

fustánk/ë,-a f. fustan i vogël (little dress): *Moj e holla porsi bari / e kulluara si ari/vishe, moj, fustankën / vishe, moj kollankën.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

fúst/ë,-a f. *këmishë e brendshme për gra që përdoret për të fjetur.* (underwear dress for women, worn to go to bed)

6.1.5. Lexicon related to names of food, containers, etc.

Even for this substratum we find many names, with regional or national spread, which indicate the material life of the inhabitants of the Devoll area and its surroundings:

dhallaník,-u m. gatesë me shtresa petësh, të cilat bëhen me miell misri dhe me dhallë (dish with layers of dough, which are made with corn flour and with buttermilk): *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. thuhet për diçka që nuk mund të bëhet shpejt (it is said for sth not been done early); prit gomar të mbijë bar.

lakror, -i m. gatesë brumi me dy petë dhe me gjellë Brenda (a dish with dough and some other food in between): Ma bëje lakrorë / Përsipër të djegur / Kush t'i prishka mendtë / Gështenjë e papjekur. (D. Agolli, ShGh). lakror me dëborë - diçka që s'bëhet (sth that can't be done). *lakrorin që s'e ha për vete le të digjet megjithë saç* - thuhet për dikë që sheh vetëm interesin vetjak, që s'pyet e s'mendon për të tjerët (for a selfish person). *është si lakror i pjekur bë djellt - I papjekur mirë.e nis lakrorin nga mesi dikush - tall. nuk e fillon mbarë një punë.*

Even in these designations we can see internal semantic developments (polysemous developments), which go beyond the conceptual realm of cooking. We are illustrating with the word *kaçamak*, the second meaning of which carries figurative transformations of the first meaning:

kaçamak, -u m. 1. mëmëligë, mëmëliqe (kind of dish): - *Ç'janë dy djem nga Píluri / 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. përzierje, diçka e ngatërruar (a mixture, sth complicated): *Mos i bëj të folmet kaçamak, Ildi, - e tallja unë.* (T. Laço, TSh).

6.1.6. Lexicon related to names of crafts, workshops, etc.

Another lexical substratum that has taken place in the Dictionary of A. Jashari, is the one that has to do with the names for crafts and handicrafts in the province of Devoll. And here we have units with more than provincial value. A large part of them are formed through metaphorization (see below cake etc.)

babíc/ë,-a f. gjilpërë e madhe për të qepur rroba të trasha (a needle for thick cloth); 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 baticën e dysheqeve.* (A. Andoni, N).

lés/ë,-a f. 1. vegël bujqësore për të thërrmuar e rrafshuar tokën e lëruar. (a toold to plow the land) 2. thurimë për të mbyllur gardhin (tool to close the fence): *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 (to be sick). *u bënë lesë - janë sëmurur të gjithë (nga gripit a një sëmundje tjetër). i bëri lesë - i vrau të gjithë, nuk la asnjë më këmbë. e zë lesa dikë - bie shpejt në kurth, në grackë; nuk është hileqar e dinak.*

6.1.7. Lexicon related to popular games.

A small number of names, which we find in the pages of the Dictionary, is also for popular games, which are related, mostly, to the world of children, but without missing them and those for adults.

kóçk/ë, -aII f. children's game: a small hole was dug where the bones would be thrown, a piece of wood as big as a cork, and three little holes (small holes) were made around it, enough to insert the heel of the foot. Three children, with the heel of their foot placed on the buttocks, were shaking from a stick above the pit to prevent the ankle from entering, and the fourth tried to throw the ankle into the pit. In some other villages of Devoll this game is called "kotelkë".

(h)**apadollápa** v. nj. the name of a children's game, when someone closes his eyes and says this word in order not to sneak behind his back: *Hapadollapa, kush të jetë prapa, unë sytë i hapa!*

6.1.8. Lexicon related to names of diseases.

Giving names for various diseases that affect humans or animals, even plants shows once again the systematic character of the lexical collection in the field by the researcher Ali Jashari, as well as the collection with clear goals and in the completeness of the thematic fields of related names. with the material spiritual life of the devolli resident.

tartakút, -i m. 1. sëmundje e kuajve (disease of horses): *Mos i hyr në hakë, se do të të dërgojë Zoti ndonjë tartakut, që të të shkundë!* (Th. Jorgji, PD). 2. fig. frikë e madhe (fear). 3. i ftohtë i madh (cold): *i hyri tartakuti. tartakut me bojë - keq e më keq. të marrtë tartakuti! - mallk. vdeksh! e zuri tartakuti dikë - u tremb shumë.*

6.2. Abstract lexicon

The systematics and symmetry of the collection of lexical and semantic wealth in the linguistic area of Devoll is seen directly in the abstract lexicon. This layer with an estimated number of units shows once again the professional work of the researcher Ali Jashari. He has known how to get out of the "trap" of collecting wealth in the field, when many collectors order or are inclined to bring concrete lexicon and with thematic (lexico-semantic) fields predetermined.

urtóhet fol. e merr uria (being hungry): *Kishin punuar një lëmë vend dhe u urtuan për bukë.* (H. Lilo, KMK).

tapinós fol. e bëj të urtë e të sjellshëm.(make calm)

6.3. Special lexicon

Generally, this may include lexical items that are borrowings from Turkish, which in the dialect lexicon are included in the active lexicon. This feature is related to a diastratic incision because, more often, they are encountered in the discourses of the elderly rather than those of the young. Also, some of these units are taken from the written literature that deals with topics of the history of the province or beyond.

kuvét,-i m. shëndet. (health)

teskeré,-ja f. 1. pasaportë (passport): *Teskerenë e nxori, shokët s'e besojnë/ Dil, foli tit biri, ce kërkon të shkonjë!* (Koçillari, TShd). 2. ftesë për dasmë, lajmërim (invitation, announcement). *ia dërgoi teskerenë dikujt - e lajmëroi* (announced, especially for sth not good).

6.5. Special lexicon

The lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll reflects a number of large borrowings. This phenomenon is related to the lexical structure of the dialects of this linguistic area, which can be seen in dozens of dialect dictionaries, published by other collectors of wealth that live in the regions of different dialects. Below we are dwelling on some of the main groupings of these borrowings.

6.5.1. Turkish/foreign borrowings

Borrowings from Oriental languages, especially Turkish borrowings, create the largest neighborhood of borrowings in the Dictionary, and even seem to distort the local lexicon / borrowed lexicon ratio. They belong to all the elements of the material and spiritual life of the Devolls. Nevertheless, their reflection in the dictionary has great linguistic value, because it records a lexical state of Devoll in a certain period of time. As will be seen further, some of these borrowings have created dozens and dozens of phraseological units:

azát mb. 1. i lirë, që nuk ka asnjë pengesë (free, with no limitations): *Njëherë Batua kishte lëshuar gomarin azat nëpër livadh ...* (T. Laço, AFM). 2. ndajf. fig. pa fre, pa u menduar (without thinking): *-Po ç'dreq agjitorit je ti, kur e lëshon gjuhën azat e s'e mbledh dot më?* (T. Laço, P). *e lë azat dikë - nuk kujdeset më, e la të bëjë si të dojë.*

jaták,-u m. 1. dyshek (mattress): *Lodhur në rrugë e çlodhu në jatak.* (D. Agolli, NjT). 2. fig. vendi ku mund të strehohesh e të rrish i qetë (a safe shelter); vend i sigurt; mbështetje: *- 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. strofull e lepurit të egër (shelter of wild rabbit). *iu bë jatak dikujt - e përkrahu, e mbështeti.* (protect, support)

6.5.2. Greek borrowings

It is understandable that in the Dictionary as a reflection of the situation in the dialects of Devoll will encounter dozens of Greek borrowings, most with a narrow territorial extension, which is conditioned by the direct geographical contacts of southeastern and southern Albanian with the northern dialects of Greek. It is known that Devolli is on the border with Northern Greece. Below we are giving some borrowings of this group:

afrátë mb. 1. e rreptë, e egër (strict): *Kjo ime kunatë/ rrëmben pak m'e gjatë/ po nga duart shpatë/ nga goja afratë.* (K. Zdruli, FDS). 2. shumë i hidhur (very bitter): *Ishin të tharta e të hidhura si afratë.* (S. Andoni, TV). *e ka gojën afratë dikush* - keq. është llafazane; të fyen me fjalë të rënda; lëshon njëqind fjalë nga goja. (insult)

molloís fol. 1. rrëfej, tregoj (tell, confess): *Shokët prapa po qeshnin dhe molloisnin ngjarjet e luftës.* (S. Andoni, MSh). 2. mendoj, thur, krijoj (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.* Andoni, T).

6.5.3. Slavic borrowings

Also, in the lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll, various Slavisms have taken place, introduced in the discourse more from the early historical contacts with the Slavic (Bulgarian) invaders, than from the current contacts with the Macedonian people (as a Slavic people).

korítë, -a f. govatë (washtub): *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. Nuk ndahen nga njëri - tjetri. ia mbushi koritën dikujt - keq. e ushqeu me bollëk; nuk i la gjë mangët pa i dhënë.*

izvór, -i m. 1. vend ku buron uji nga toka, burim. (water spring) 2. përrua me ujë që buron nga izvori (creek with spring water) (edhe si emërvend; name of a place: Izvori): *Izvori në të djathtë kishte shterur me kohë.* (H. Lilo, O).

7. "New" meanings

Devoll lexico-phraseological dictionary has another added value:

The author has also known how to gather meanings of words and phraseologies that appear as new in relation to the lexical and phraseological subject that has been published so far in the national explanatory dictionaries of Albanian. Many of these meanings are given in familiar words and indicate internal semantic developments of the dialectal and provincial lexicon.

gjëmb, -i m. 1. lloj barishteje që ka në trup zgjatime me majë të mprehtë (plant with extensions) (edhe si emërvend: / name of a place: Gjembali). 2. vegël pune për të mbledhur plehun e bagëtive (tool to collect animals waste): *Anëtarët e brigadës zbritën nga kavaletat e plehut, mbështetën gjembat pas murit dhe hynë në sallë.* (H. Lilo, D).

múzg/ë, -a f. lloj balte e zezë që ngjit shumë (a kin of mud) (edhe si emërvend/name of a 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. kurorë flokësh në ballë (hair): *Ajo kishte parë çiftelitë në kokën e tij dhe kishte klithur me tallje: -Ii, dukesh sikur e ke kokën të mbushur me*

kërmij! (Th. Naqo, PI). 2. ai që ka kurorë flokësh në ballë: *Nëna i kishte thënë: Çiftelitë martohen me nuskëz të urtë e të bukur që të mbush shtëpinë me kalamaj.* (Th. Naqo, PI).

Even in this Dictionary we find well-known words, to come up with meanings that have no synchronous semantic connection with their known meaning, thus creating up to homonymous relations and leading to the birth of two new lexical units:

Compare: **lerishte** f. vend me lerë (piece of land).(fjalë e mbarë shqipes/ word used widely in Albanian) and from the dictionary of Devoll, **lerisht**/e,-ja f. copë toke e papunuar (unplowed piece of land):*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) lëkundës me një ndenjësë prej dërrase, e lidhur me litarë në një degë peme; shregull, shilarës. (shaky for children) (word common in Albanian) also from the dictionary of Devoll, **kolovájz**/ë,-a f. hulli në dëborën e ngjeshur në një rrugë të pjerrët, ku fëmijët rrëshqisnin me sane (a place in snow where children slide): *Fëmijët rrëshqisnin nëpër kolovajzat e bëra anës përtinjve të dëborës.* (S. Hoxhalli, F).

In the Dictionary we also find a borrowed word that has changed the first meaning with which it has entered Albanian. The word comes the verb kleptos is a borrowing from the Greek (steal). In the dictionary it comes out with another meaning: kleptís fol. he persuades a man to do something I tell him: - *Here, here, Nurja stole his mind and took me out.* (T. Laço, TA).

8. Phraseological Units

The scholar Ali Jashari has called the published work the Lexical - fraseological Dictionary of Devoll, which means that this dictionary as the main asset, in addition to the lexical one, has the phraseological one. There are hundreds and hundreds of mirrored units, a large part of which lives only in the province of Devoll. In the Glossary of values of the Dictionary one of them appears in the explanation of each phraseological unit or of any meaning of the unit, when it is polysemous. Technically, phraseological units do not emerge as separate lexicographical items / as title units (which could also change the lexicographical typology of the work), but they are given as separate neighborhoods near the noun limb that emerges as their main motivating focus³⁸.

Precisely: **ÁN/Ë**, -a f. ia gjeti anën 1. dikujt - u lidh me dikë për të zgjidhur një problem (someone found a solution to a problem). 2. diçkaje - e kreu, e mbaroi (accomplished sth).s'i gjendet ana diçkaje - është shumë e vështirë, shumë e ngatërruar (very complicated).*hiq nga ana vër bë samart - thuhet kur*

³⁸ Phraseological units are given in special signs in the dictionary.

bëhet një punë pa fryte.s'ka anë e vend dikush - është shumë I shtrenjtë, shumë i dashur për mua.i mbaj anën dikujt - e përkrah.ia mori anën (bisedës etj.) dikush - e kuptoi, hyri në temë.ia mori anën (punës etj.) dikush - e mësoi; ia mori dorën.e mora me anë dikë - e binda, ia mbusha mendjen.

8.1. In the Dictionary we find many motivated phraseological units with names from the animal world, forming one of the largest groups of these units. The animal, whose designation has served as the main motivating limb for the units, can be wild but also gentle. In fact, more units have been created with designations for domestic animals than with designations for wild animals. One of the reasons for this phenomenon is that man (in our case, the Devolli himself) knows very well the gentle or domestic animal, knows its qualities (good or bad) or usefulness. This has enabled the figurative conversions of hundreds upon hundreds of free syntagms with the main limb naming these animals into phraseological units. We are giving for illustration units with the word gold and donkey:

arí,-u m. (bear) (edhe si gjymtyrë emërvendesh/name of place: Shpella e Ariut). ra si ariu bë mjaltët dikush - shak. nuk ka të ngopur; është shtruar për të ngrënë dhe nuk ka të sosur (not feeling full when eating). ariu fle, ti vete e zgjon - ngacmon, cyt dikë pa marrë parasysht pasojat e këqija që do të kesh. e luan si arinë dikë - e rreh, e mundon shumë (make sb tired). s'ngopet ariu me marauzhga! - iron. thuhet për dikë që nuk ngopet me gjëra të lehta. pinë arinjtë, pinë dhe minjtë - tall. përdoret për dikë që dehet shpejt, pihet me një gotë raki. ia var ariut zilen dikush - është trim i madh, nuk merr parasysht asnjë rrezik. e vranë arinë - iron. iku ajo kohë, nuk është si më parë, nuk ka më të mira pa fund.

8.2. Also, a large paradigmatic group is formed by phraseological units motivated by designations from the plant world. We are giving for illustration:

kúngull,-i u bë (u rrit) kungulli mori gardhin - iron. i thuhet një njeriu të vogël në moshë, që kërkon të hiqet si i madh, ose që kërkon të hiqet më i mençur nga sa është. (said to someone who is not mature) u bë kungulli me vesë, mori vrimën e halesë - thjeshtligj. është mendjemadh (being bossy). u bë si kungulli kur e zë bryma - u dobësua shumë (become weak).ra kungulli nga polica - iron. u dëmtua diçka pa vlerë (something not worthy is damaged). kungull ditë, kungull natë, kungull mos të mbiftë fara - përdoret kur dikush është në gjendje të keqe ekonomike (in bad economical situation). kungull pa fara - tall. njeri pa mend në kokë; i paditur (someone not intelligent). pjerdhin në një kungull - keq. janë njëlloj, bëjnë të njëjtën gjë, kanë qëllime të njëjta (are the same, agree). qesh kungulli lagjinë - tall i qeshuri të qeshurin, tall i keqi të keqin. kungull Stambolli - që është bërë, që është arrirë (something done). të plastë kungulli! - të plastë koka! e shpoi kungulli fundin e kusisë - thuhet për dikë që

ka qenë i varfër gjithë jetën (said for sb being poor all life). *si lulja e kungullit dikush* - i frikësuar, i trembur (scared).

8.3. In the dictionary the phrases are motivated with names of insects: **mórr**, -i m. *u bë morri me bisht* - është shumë i ndotur (very filthy). *ia ra morri dë pjatët dikujt* - keq. u zbulua se kush ishte; i dolën të palarat në shesh. (when sth revealed) *s'ka morr të kruhet dikush* - iron. është shumë i varfër (very poor). *iu ngjallën morrat dikujt* - u përmirësua, u gjallërua dhe nuk rri rehat (was improved). *rri si morr i vrarë (i përvëluar)* - keq. ndjehet keq për fajin që ka bërë (feeling guilty). *të qeth (të kreh) dhe t'i lë morrat brenda dikush* - iron. të lëvdon e nuk të thotë të vërtetën; është dinak. (being cunning)

8.4. But the largest group in the Dictionary is created by phraseological units motivated by naming parts of the human body. It suffices to give only such a neighborhood of units, those who are motivated by the word belly, to see their large number.

bárk, -u m. *e bëri barkun hambar dikush* - tregohet zemërgjerë, e pranon tjetrin me të mirat dhe të këqijat e tij (accept someone). *e bëri barkun çizme (spathi) dikush* - tall. hëngri shumë; i plasi barku së ngrëni (eat a lot). *iu bë barku petë dikujt* - nuk ka ngrënë prej kohësh ose nuk ka oreks për të ngrënë (not being hungry). *iu bë barku talambak dikujt* - hëngri shumë, iu fry barku nga sasia e madhe e ushqimit (eat a lot). *I ra barku bë bela* - shaka. hëngri e piu mirë; ka rënë në të gjithë të mirat (to eat more than enough). *mos të rëntë dë barkt!* - mallk. *mos u ngopsh! më s'të ra dë barkut* - keq. nuk ngopesh kurrë së ngrëni. *e bluan dë barkut diçka* - e mban Brenda shqetësimin (keep worry inside). *s'ia çaj dot barkun dikujt* - nuk e di se ç'mendon (I don't know what you think). *çajnë barqet* - zihen, grinden (argue). *nuk i digjet barku për dikë* - keq. nuk e do, nuk e merr malli për të, s'pyet për të (doesn't miss sb). *barku i fundit* - barra, fëmija i fundit (last child). *me bark de goja* - thuhet për një grua që është me barrë, në prag të lindjes (being pregnant). *na hapi barkun dikush* - 1. tha gjëra të këqija që i kishim harruar (to say bad things). 2. të vjen pështirë kur e sheh në atë gjendje (to be disgusted). *ma ike barkun* 1. më trembe shumë (scared). 2. më fute krupën, me vjen shumë ndot (being disgusted). *të ik barkun* - është shumë i shëmtuar; nuk e shikon dot me sy (very ugly). *një bark kam - nuk ha dot më, u ngopa (being full)*. *e ka barkun të djegur (të zhuritur) dikush* - 1. nuk ka (nuk bën dot) fëmijë (not making children). 2. i ka ndodhur ndonjë fatkeqësi e madhe me të afërmit (a disaster happened). *e ka barkun hambar dikush* - është shumë I duruar (being patient). *e kam barkun bë një pe* - jam shumë i uritur (I am very hungry). *të kesh dy barqe: një ta çash, një ta ndash - i thuhet dikujt që mburret a thotë gjëra të paqena. ka lëshuar bark (muri, tavani)* - është shtrembëruar nga pesha (not a normal wight). *më mbiu dë barkt diçka* - kam ngrënë shumë herë të njëjtën gjë (eating the same thing). *dë barkt mbajç, bë pëqit mos paç!* - mallk. lindsh dhe të vdektë fëmija (cursing). *i ndrittë*

barku që e ka mbajtur - urim. thuhet për dikë që është shumë i mirë dhe zemërbardhë (said for a kind person). *ia ngroh barkun dikujt* - i them një fjalë të mirë për t'i dhënë zemër (saying good words). *përpiva barkun* - u tremba shumë (being scared). *i plasi barku dikujt* - duroi shumë, nuk foli fare (do not speak). *të prish barkun* - iron. i thuhet dikujt që kërkon një gjë shumë të mirë për të ngrënë. *I rrahin barqet dikujt* - punon larg shtëpisë dhe në punëra të vështira. *më shtiri (më hapi) barkun dikush a diçka* - më erdhi shumë ndot; më tromaksi; më futi krupën (scared). *barku mban një thes me mut, ti nuk mban dot një llaf* - thjeshtligj. thuhet për dikë që nuk mban asnjë të fshehtë, që sapo dëgjon një gjë do që t'ua thotë të tjerëve. *që dë barkun e nënës* - që në origjinë, qysh në fillim. *është i trembur që dë barkun e nënës dikush* - është njeri frikacak në jetë.

8.5. In the work Lexical - phraseological Dictionary of Devoll have taken place a very large number of phraseological units with pronounced emotional color. It is understandable that as a motivating hearth of these units (which I encounter for hours in everyday discourse and, especially, in simple discourse, even this discourse is faded without these types of units) are names that in their semantic structure are basic semat refer to ingredients with pronounced negative emotional coloration. A large part of these units remain in the context of this lecture, although they are part of the lexical and phraseological richness of Albanian. We are illustrating:

býth/ë, -a f. *u bë bythë dikush* - thjeshtligj. *u deh, u bë tape* (was drunk). *e bëri për dë bythë të qenit dikë* - thjeshtligj. *e shau rëndë, nuk i la gjë pa thënë* (curse). *s'I ka rënë bytha dë ujët dikujt* - thjeshtligj. *nuk ka parë vështirësi, nuk ka hequr keq asnjëherë* (no difficulties). *bjeri bythës me kacit!* - thjeshtligj. *s'ke ç'bën më, nuk ke nga ia mban* (do not dare). *janë bythë e bardhak* - rrinë afër e afër, janë të lidhur ngushtë (very connected). *janë bythë e brekë* - keq. *të lidhur ngushtë me njëri* - tjetrin. *bythë bë bythë* - pranë e pranë (very close). *na çau bythën! dikush* - thjeshtligj. *na mërziti* (someone bored sb else). *i di bytha dikujt* - thjeshtligj. *është i zgjuar; mendon si të përfitojë sa më shumë për vete* (he is smart). *di bythën e shejtanit dikush* - përbuz. *merr vesh nga të gjitha gjërat; është shumë i future* (with connections). *s'i ka dërsirë bytha* - s'është lodhur; *nuk ka bërë punë të vështira* (not tired). *s'i ka djegur bytha dikujt* - thjeshtligj. *nuk e ka pësuar ndonjëherë; s'ka paguar vetë* (not paying). *bytha e dynjasë* - shërbëtor i të tjerëve (serve to others). *i dredh bythët dikush* - nuk e mban fjalën e dhënë (do not keep promise). *nuk dhitet me bythën e botës* - thjeshtligj. thuhet për dikë që një gjë të vështirë nuk e zgjidh vetë, por do që ta bëjnë të tjerët (problems solved by sb else). *iu fëc bytha dikujt* - u lodh shumë, nuk ka më fuqi të punojë (very tired). *bythë të forta!* - iron. *ia dalç mbanë!* (good luck) *ia fryu bythën* - e ushqeu shumë mirë; e shpërbleu shumë (feed well). *fshije bythën me qeramidhkë* - thjeshtligj. *nuk ke për të marrë gjë tjetër; i more ato që të takonin*

(take what deserved). *u ftofish dë bythët* - tallës. përdoret për dikë që thotë gjepura; që flet gjëra të paqena (speaking stupidly). *gris bythën - thjeshtligj*. ik, zhduku; thyej qafën (go away). *s'gjen një bythë vënt* - nuk ke ku të ulesh; ka shumë njerëz (crowded). *e ka bythën të madhe dikush* - keq. mendon vetëm për vete (thinks of oneself). *e ka bythën me majë dikush* - nuk rri në një vend, është shumë i lëvizshëm (moving a lot). *s'ka bythë të rrijë* - thuhet për diçka që nuk qëndron, që s'është e vërtetë a e drejtë (a lie). *s'ka më bythë viçi* - nuk është më si më parë (not like before). *i bardhë si bytha e kusisë* - iron. e zezë, e papastër. (black, not clean) *mos e kruaj bythën!* - thjeshtligj. mos u tall, mos më ngacmo (do not tease me). *i kruhet bytha dikujt* - nuk rri rehat, i ngacmon të tjerët (teasing others). *e lan bythën pa ujë dikush* - nuk i thotë gjërat siç janë; u kalon anash shumë gjërave shqetësuese (does not speak the truth). *iu lodh bytha dikujt* - keq. nuk është më i zoti për të bërë një punë të vështirë (not able to do difficult works). *bythën e mbuluar s'e pështyn njeri* - fj. u. thjeshtligj. *s'ia mban bytha dikujt* - nuk është më i zoti për të bërë një punë që kërkon shumë mund. *s'i pjerdh bytha dikujt* - përbuz. 1. *nuk interesohet, nuk bëhet merak* (not worried). 2. *nuk e përfill, nuk ka frikë nga dikush* (not afraid). *bythë e plasur*(from *Kolonja*) - përdoret kur nënvleftësojmë dikë a diçka (when sth undervalued). *i plasi bytha dikujt* - thjeshtligj. nuk kujdeset fare për dikë a diçka, nuk i intereson (not caring) *ia pret bytha penë* - iron. është shumë i zgjuar (very smart). *më rrahu bythën* - më talli, më përçmoi (mock someone). *s'i rri bytha bënë një vënt dikujt* - është shumë i lëvizur (moving all the time). *sheh bythën e tij dikush* - mendon vetëm për vete (thinks only of oneself). *i shkon pas bythës dikujt* - ia bën qejfin (congratulate). *do të ta shoh bythën* - i thuhet dikujt që mburret për një punë (to brag). *s'e shtron bythën dikush* - nuk punon (doesn't work). *si bytha e tiganit* - i pistë, i zi (dark). *tund bythët dikush* - thjeshtligj. është dembel (lazy). *i vajti bytha dë hendekt* - nuk ka më fuqi, u plak (old). *e vuri bënë bythë dikë* - thjeshtligj. e mundi, e mposhti (defeat). *zë një bythë vënt dikush* - është i vogël nga trupi (very small). *nuk i zë bytha vënt dikujt* - është shumë i lëvizur, bythëlëvizur (moving a lot). *i zuri bytha kallo* - ndenji shumë ulur në një vend (staying sit all the time).

9. Not simple nouns

Focusing on the components of the macrostructure of the Devoll Lexicophaseological Dictionary, we emphasize that a special place in it has been occupied by many simple names, which are mostly related to the plant and animal world. We are giving as an illustration a paradigmatic group of units with the main limb the word flower:

lúl/e, -ja: *lule akulli, lule akshami, lule bako, lule balsami, lule begonjë, lule bore, lule borziloku, lule deleje, lule dredhkë, lule fasule, lule gramafonkë, lule grerë, lule gjarpri, lule gjuhëvjehrrë, lule jargavani, lule karafili, lule kineze,*

lule livanto, lule manushaqe, lule mëllagë, 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 etj.

10. Lexical semantic relations

Vocabulary reveals another important value. The author has intended to provide in the system also the elements that build the microstructure of the word. One of these elements is the presentation, where possible, of the main lexical-semantic relations.

10.1. Polysemy is one of the most common relationships in wealth that has taken place in this work. It is encountered not only in words but also in units phraseological. Here are some examples:

balásh, -i m. 1. ka me pullë në ballë (ox with white spots). 2. shpend uji me pupla të zeza e të bardha, që ushqehet me peshk (bird that eats fish). 3. mb. që ka pullë të bardhë në ballë (having a white spot): *Prapa asaj korije / ljepuri ndën hije / ljepuri murrash-e / dë ballët balash-e.* (K. Zdruli, FDS). *ka balashi dhjamë* - thuhet me shaka për dikë që të tjerët e dinë të pasur, por në të vërtetë nuk është ashtu (said as a joke). *e përqesh balashi* - i duket sikur e tallin të tjerët (seems like they are mocking).

kërcú, -ri m. 1. cung druri (piece of wood): *Atje nga kërcuri del një gjarpër i zi.* (K. Zdruli, FDS). 2. fig. fjalë e rëndë (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. mb. fig. njeri pa njeri, i vetmuar, i shkretë (lonely person): *Moj më shuajti burri / Moj nëno/Më la vetëm si kërcuri.* (Koçillari, TShD). 4. mb. fig. i paditur, që nuk ka shkollë, I paarsimuar (uneducated): *Unë spara ua thoshja mësimëve, po Tana ishte kërcu fare.* (Th. Jorgji, PD). *është kërcu nga mendja dikush - keq. nuk ka fare intelekt; është I trashë. i këputi (i lëshoi) ca kërcunj dikujt - i tha fjalë shumë të rënda; e lëndoi shumë (offence sb). e la kërcu dikë - mbeti pa njeri, nuk ka kush kujdeset më për të. mbeti kërcu dikush - nuk bëri shkollë.(uneducated)*

As we said polysemy is also encountered in phraseology: *na hapi barkun dikush* - 1. tha gjëra të këqija që i kishim harruar (said forgotten things). 2. të vjen pështirë kur e sheh në atë gjendje (disgusted). *ma ike barkun* 1. më trembe shumë (to be afraid). 2. më fute krupën, me vjen shumë ndot. *të ik barkun* - është shumë i shëmtuar; nuk e shikon dot me sy (very ugly). *e ka barkun të djegur (të zhuritur) dikush* - 1. nuk ka (nuk bën dot) fëmijë (not making children). 2. i ka ndodhur ndonjë fatkeqësi e madhe me të afërmit (a disaster happened).

10.2. Synonymy is the most well-known relation in the Dictionary and is used by the author fruitfully, especially to explain units that are little known to the Albanian user or that are not known at all by him. The author has the merit

that in the synonymous relationship he has given priority to the Albanian word, which belongs to the normative lexicon of standard Albanian. Since the synonymy is broad, we are giving some groups that are mostly related to the lexico-grammatical affiliation of the units that enter into these types of relationships:

10.2.1. Noun synonymy: butúr,-i m. pluhur (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 Iif. 1. keq. vllahe, arumune (bad). 2. bareshë (*shepherdess*): *Po shoqet ku i ke?/ dë mal të Gramozit-e/ ku rrinin çobanët-e/ ku rrinin çobankat-e.* (Koçillari, TShD).

10.2.2. Adjective synonymy: bythëvérdhë mb. i dobët (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).

çapluar (i, e) mb. 1. i çapëluar, i shqyer (destroyed): *Tej pragut dukeshin shtëpi të djegura, plepa të çapluar dhe fytyrat e njerëzve të trembura.* (S. Andoni, MSh). 2. i hapur jashtë mase, i çuditur (surprise): *Kurbatka dilte nëpër derën e mullirit e ndjekur nga sytë e çapluar të Doracit që mërmëriste.* (A. Andoni, N).

10.2.3. Verb synonymy: shastís fol. hutoj, habit, mrekulloj (surprise): *Na shkon dhëndri me bajrakë / moj, malet u hapnë ! / Le të hapen a t'vithisen / me djalin ton' do shastisen!* (K. Zdruli, FDS); *O, ky kapedani / Shastisi dynjanë.* (Koçillari, TShD).

përcillet fol. rrjedh, del vetiu: *Tek-tuk dëgjohej ndonjë lopë që pëlliste për të kërkuar viçin se po i përcillestin gjirët.* (H. Lilo, O). *se mos t'u përcollën gjirët!-shak. i thuhet dikujt që ngutet, që kërkon të ikë sa më pare nga diku.*

10.2.4. Adverb synonymy: vícë ndajf. (full) : e mbushi vice fuçinë. víckë ndajf. plot, vicë: *Dasmë bëri ky Rapushka / vickë shtëpinë me krushka/ ç'e tunde nja dhjetë ditë/ ngope sojnë, ngope miqtë.* (KPRrK).

10.3. Antonymy is another lexical-semantic relation that has taken place in the Devoll Lexicon-Phraseological Dictionary. The author has used it as an indispensable tool for refining the meaning of the unit as a title word.

(h)**alláll,-i m. 1. diçka e lejueshme dhe e drejtë** (sth allowed); *diçka e fituar me meritë; kund. haram: Këta djem që janë sot / hallall ju qoftë dashuria.* (Koçillari, TShD). 2. njeri i mirë dhe i drejtë (good man). *ma bëj hallall - më fal. hallalli s'bëhet harram - fj.u. ajo që fitohet me punë nuk humbet kurrë.e ka hallall dikush /diçka - e meriton.*

10.4. Homonymy is another important lexical relation in Dictionary. There we find 96 homonymous pairs, which, again, embodies the careful collection and drafting work of the author of the work:

(h)umbëtír/ë,-aI f. vend që ka humbë (a place that is lost). [(h)úmb/ë,-a f. baltë argjile që përdorej për të larë flokët (some kind of mud used as a mask for hair) (edhe si emërvend: Humbë; Humbat).]

(h)umbëtír/ë,-aII f. thellësirë, vend i shkretë (dry place): - *Hy, të plastë kungulli. Nga vjen ti, nga humbëtirat, - tha kapteri.* (T. Laço, M).

11. Semantic explanations

An explanatory dictionary, especially a dialect explanatory dictionary, is valued for its semantic explanations, for giving as complete and clear as possible the concept that leads us to reality, the meaning of which is explained. The lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll is one of the most accomplished works in this direction. In its pages we encounter almost all kinds of semantic explanations, with predominance of explanations with synonymy and paraphrasing.

11.1. Explanations with paraphrasing:

bósht,-i m. shkop i shkurtër për të tjerë dhe mbështjellë fijen e leshit; drugë (a kind of a stick): *Tori capja dy boshtinj/ 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 dikush - bën të njëjtën gjë.*

balásh,-i m. 1. ka me pullë në ballë (has a spot on the forehead). 2. shpend uji me pupla të zeza e të bardha, që ushqehet me peshk (a bird eating fish). 3. mb. që ka pullë të bardhë në ballë (that has a white spot on the forehead): *Prapa asaj korije/ ljepuri ndën hije/ ljepuri murrash - e/ dë ballët balash - e.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

11.2. Explanation with synonymy:

bostán,-i m. shalqi, pjepër (watermelon): *Tek shkoja arave m'u kujtua bostani i mulla Elmazit.* (D. Agolli, ZhED).

11.3. Explanation with description: gushëkúq,-i m. zog i vogël me trup të murrmë e me gushë të kuqërreme (little bird): *Në fole prej bari rrojnë si fqinjë të mirë harabela e gushëkuqë, garguj e piktha.* (S. Andoni, MSh).

11.4. Intertwined explanation: paraphrasing / description and synonym:

bósht / ë, -a f. ethnog. the kind of embroidered garment with which the bride or groom's garments are wrapped and sent; bundle, handkerchief, wrapper.

11.5. When lexical items (words like lexicographical items) are familiar, the author does not dwell on unnecessary semantic explanations. In these cases, as we have said, the semantic structure of the lexicographical voice is usually formed by phraseological units or place names.

këmb/ë,-a f. *bëri këmbë diçka* - 1. u përkëmb, u përmirësua (improved). 2. e vodhën, e morën, e kanë zhdukur (taken). *më bëri këmbë dikush* - etnogr. hyri i pari në shtëpi në një ditë të shënuar (to be first). *nuk i bëjnë këmbët dikujt* - 1. nuk ka fuqi për të bërë një punë (not able to do th). 2. nuk ka guxim e dëshirë; nuk i bën zemra (not brave enough). *i bëri këmbët bigë dikush* - keq. vdiq (died). *ia bëri këmbët bigë dikujt* - ia mblodhi, nuk e la të bënte si të donte (unde control). *ia bëj këmbët çift dikujt* - ia mbledh duke e kritikuar, duke I kërkuar llogari; ia fut këmbët në një këpucë (make sb accountable). *i bën këmba e dora dikujt* - ka ende fuqi, nuk e ka mposhtur pleqëria, mbahet (old, but still strong). *u bëmë si këmbët e dhisë* - jemi njëlloj; nuk kemi asnjë ndryshim (we are the same). *e bëri këmbën kobure dikush* - keq. vdiq, na e mori të keqen (për dikë që e kemi urryer) (hate sb). *këmbës t'i biesh* - I thuhet dikujt kur nuk duam t'ia plotësojmë një kërkesë të tepërt, një tekë (zakonisht fëmijëve). *më ranë këmbët (copë)* - e kërkova gjithandej; s'lashë vend pa kërkuar (get tired by looking for). *i rëng këmbës!* - mallk. vdeksh! (curse) *u çaplua nga këmbët* - vrapoi shumë për ta arritur dikë, u rraskapit (run a lot). *e drodhi këmbën dikush* - keq. vdiq, ngordhi (died). *i dridhen këmbët dikujt* - ka shumë frikë nga dikush; është shumë i emocionuar (to be afarid; emotioned). *fle bë këmbë dikush* - mospërf. është i fjetur dhe i humbur (slow and not concentrated). *ia fut këmbët bë një këpucë dikujt* - ia mbledh, nuk e lë të bëjë si të dojë (control sb). *ia futi (ia vuri) këmbët bë rript të dyfekat dikujt* - ia mbledh, nuk e lë të bëjë si të dojë (control sb). *nuk i gjenden këmbët gjarpërit* - thuhet për dikë që di t'I fshehë ato që bën (sb trying to hide sth). *më hanë këmbët* - dua të shkoj sa më parë diku; nuk më rrihet (need to move). *me sa i hanin këmbët* - duke vrapuar me të gjitha fuqitë (very quickly). *s'të hahen këmbët* - i thuhet dikujt që përton të shkojë diku për të kryer një porosi; nuk duhet të kursehesh për të bërë një gjë që të urdhëron dikush (to sb lazy). *sa herë ta hedhësh bie bë këmbë dikush* - është shumë i zoti; nuk ke se ç't'i bësh (very brave). *po heq këmbën dikush* - është duke vdekur (dying). *e heq këmbën branë dikush* - iron. është dembel, nuk bën asnjë punë (lazy). *hëngri këmbët e tij dikush* - nuk ka asgjë për të ngrënë, ka mbetur pa gjë; vuan shumë (suffers). *është i këmbës dikush* - ecën shpejt, nuk ia kalon dot në të ecur më këmbë (very fast). *jepu këmbëve!* - ec më shpejt; nxito (hurry). *i ka këmbët të lidhura dikush* - nuk lëviz dot se ka fëmijë të vogël ose dikë të sëmurë në shtëpi (unable to move). *e ka këmbën bë yzengjit dikush* - është i gatshëm për të shkuar kudo që e dërgojnë (ready to go where sent). *t'ia lash këmbët e t'i pish ujët* - duhet t'i jesh shumë mirënjohës dikujt për nderin që të ka bërë; meriton nderimin më të madh (hoinouring sb). *e lanë këmbët dikë* - u plak, s'ka më fuqi (becoming old). *del për të lëshuar këmbët dikush* - punon sa për t'u argëtuuar; nuk e detyron kush që të punojë shumë (works hard). *të lumshin këmbët!* - urim. për dikë që vjen në shtëpi. (expressing a wish) *i mban këmbët bë hit dikush* - përton shumë, nuk punon, është dembel (being lazy). *me këmbë*

të mbarë! - urim. *i mprehu këmbët dikush* - u bë gati për të nxituar (ready to go). *e ngriti këmbën si breshka dikush* - keq. e pësoi keq nga veprimi që bëri, mori atë që meritonte (took what deserved). *ka nxjerrë këmbët më parë dikush* - keq. është shumë i prapë (very naughty). *ia puth këmbët dikujt* - keq. i lutem shumë, i përulem (beg to sb). *qafsh këmbët!* - mallk. vdeksh! (curse) *i është qepur këmba - këmbës dikujt* - nuk i ndahet, nuk i shqitet, e kontrollon vazhdimisht (controlling sb). *të rrahësh këmbën e kalit* - është diçka e rrallë, nuk e gjen lehtë edhe po ta kërkosh (sth rare). *rri me këmbë të kllanik dikush* - nuk bën asnjë punë, është dembel (lazy). *shkruan me këmbët e pulës dikush* - keq. ka shkrim shumë të çrregullt; nuk di të shkruajë mirë. (bad writing) *je shpie këmbën për gjemb dikush* - keq. kërkon sherr; bën një veprim a thotë diçka për të shkaktuar grindje; është grindavec. (trying to argue) *shpjeri këmbët siç bie daullja* - bëj siç bëjnë të tjerët. (do what others do) *më shtiri këmbët dikush* - e kërkova gjithandej; mezi e gjeta a e arrita (I searched anywhere). *tund këmbët bë diellit dikush* - keq. rri kot; nuk bën asnjë punë (lazy). *ua therri këmbëve dikush* - iku me vrap i tmerruar. (leave horrified) *theu këmbën e shejtanit dikush* - thuhet për dikë që nuk kishte ardhur prej kohësh. (a person who stays for long) *theftë këmbën!* - mallk. *mos ardh të!* (curse) *t' i theva këmbët!* - mos vepro ashtu. (don't do it) *i thirri këmbës dikush* - iku me të shpejtë, u zhdruk, nuk u pa nga vajti. (leave quickly) *këmba e urës* - shak. i prapë, shumë i zgjuar. (very intelligent) *të urgus nga këmbët dikush* - të mërzit me fjalë; është llafazan. (speaking a lot) *erdhi bë këmbë të tet dikush* - thuhet kur djali shkon diku në vend të të atit. (when the son represents the father) *ku vë këmbët, vë kokën* - ka shumë dhembje, nuk duron dot. (a lot of pain) *ku vë këmbët të rënçin dhëmbët* - fj.u.s' *i zënë këmbët dhë* - ka shumë punë; bën disa punë njëherësh. (not resting; doing a lot of work at the same time) *i zuri këmba shesh* - gjeti rehat, ra në qetësi. (feel comfortable)

12. The life of the syntagmatic word

One of the deserved values of the work is the lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll is the fullness of examples that illustrate the life of the word, its meanings and phraseological units, but often also other units related to elements of ethnoculture, onomastics, toponomastics etc. We are giving an example of how in a polysemous word different, very functional examples are given. Illustrations can be drawn from artistic literature, from oral literature (folklore), from scientific, pedagogical literature, from collections in targeted or casual conversations.

kléçk/ë,-a f. 1. copë e vogël druri ose degë e hollë dhe e gjatë (a piece of wood): *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. fig. pengesë, e metë, diçka jo e mire (not good): *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. fig. keq. diçka shumë e hollë dhe e dobët (sth very thin): *Në jelek të mbahem mend / Të harrosh pak burrin tënd/ këmbën kleçkë e syrin gjëmb.* (D. Agolli, ShGj). *e ka bërë me kleçka diçka* - e ka sajuar shpejt e shpejt; nuk e ka bërë mirë një gjë. (sth not done good) *ia gjeti (i nxori) kleçkën diku* - i zbuloi një gjë të fshehtë a i sajoi diçka të dyshimtë për ta mposhtur, për ta mundur. *i nxjerr kleçka diku* - e pengon për të bërë diçka. *kleçkë e katranit* - shumë i fortë.

12.1. Illustration from fiction

çifteli, -a f. 1. kurorë flokësh në ballë (piece of hair): *Ajo kishte parë çiftelitë në kokën e tij dhe kishte klithur me tallje: - Ii, dukesh sikur e ke kokën të mbushur me kërmij!* ((Th. Naqo, PI).). 2. ai që ka kurorë flokësh në ballë: *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 folklore: çisht pasth. përdoret kur përzëmë macen që të mos hajë diçka (used when making the cat leave) *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 folklore with songs: korbë! pasth. i thuhet një gruajë të shkretë, të mjerë (said to a miserable woman) *Fustanenë korbë që të djalërisë / dridhe, Malo, dridhe, kazan' e Ohrisë.* (KPRrK).

(h)**up** f. humb, nuk e kam më: (lose) *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 folklore with riddles:

kaçamak, -u m. 1. mëmëligë, mëmëliqe: - Ç'janë dy djem nga Piluri/ venë e vinë të 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. i lyer, i ngjyer me diçka (painted): *Tre kandilka të argjenta/ katër jash' e katër brenda/ tri të lara me flori.* (Koçillari, TShD). *i bën të lara dëpër ara* - shpif, trillon, flet si t'i vijë për mbarë. (invent)

Very often, through the syntagmatics of the units that are reflected in the dictionary, we come across a wealth of lexical items that appear as enumerations, but also some of them as synonyms:

xhúngo mb. 1. gungaç: (hunchbacked) *Merite me radhë nofkat e shumë bashkëfshatarëve të mi* (the following are nicknames of the people): *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. i trashë nga mendja.(stupid man)

13. Toponomastics and onomastics

As we have stated at the beginning of this introductory work, in the Devoll Lexicon-Phraseological Dictionary we find a very large number of place names (toponyms), as well as the names of the inhabitants according to these place names (when these are settlements, usually as administrative units village, city, province) making the toponymy of the province of Devoll and the names of the inhabitants according to them a space where various information can be followed and requested: historical, ethnocultural, linguistic, psychological, religious, etc. In the following we are stopping a little more.

Toponomastics has technically taken place in several forms:

13.1. In the Dictionary we find place names as well as names of inhabitants according to the village, city, province, etc. as independent lexicographical voices.

Grác / ë, -a f. village west of Devoll, at the foot of Morava mountain.

gracár, -i m. he who lives or comes from the village of Graca.

gracárk / ë, -a f. she who lives or comes from the village of Graca.

Vërlen, -i m. village west of Devoll, at the foot of Morava mountain.

vërlenár, -i m. who lives in Vërlen of Devolli: *Poçar' vërlenarët / korrin gjyresarët.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

vërlenárk/ë,-a f. who lives or is from Vërlen of Devolli: *Kapshiticarrka, kufitarka/ zicishtarka, me litarka/ vërlenarka, moj poçarka.* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

13.2. Toponyms are seen as one of the elements of the microstructure of a word, as in cases when this structure has both the semantic explanation, the phraseology, and a number of place names.

ÁR/É, -A f. tokë e punuar për t'u mbjellë (planted land) (edhe si gjymtyrë emërvendesh. names of places: *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 Gjemit; 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* - fj. u. gjatë punës mund të shkojë dëm diçka e vogël. (sth wasted while doing a certain work) *u bëfsh si ara me grurë- urim. paç shumë fëmijë*; u shtofsh(a wish to have children). *i ka arat pas lumit dikush- është në gjendje të mirë ekonomike.(prosperous) ara e mirë nuk mban gjemba-fj.u. thuhet për dikë që është i ndershëm dhe i drejtë e që nuk i duron padrejtësitë. (an honest man) pyet ara me thekër se bëjnë fëmijët pizga-shak. nuk ka pse të kursehet, kur ka bollëk.(no need to save when there is plenty)*

13.3. Nouns emerge as elements of a word's microstructure together with the phraseology (i.e., without semantic explanation of the word title):

gúr,-i m. (edhe si gjymtyrë emërvendesh/names of places: *Guri i Arapit; Guri i Barçarit; Guri i Bardhë; Guri i Capit; Guri i Cuculit; Guri i Cutes; Guri Cyrylyng; Guri i Dhëlpërës; 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 dikujt* - ka shumë halle, vuan shumë. (has a lot of troubles) *i ra guri e i theu këmbët dikujt* - e zuri një hall i madh. (having troubles) *bluan edhe gurë dikush* - është i fortë nga dhëmbët. (having strong teeth) *s'ka dalë pe gurit dikush* - nuk është i vetëm, ka njerëz të afërm që e duan. (not being alone) *di ku e nget gurë dikush* - është i zgjuar dhe dinak. (being intelligent and cunning) *e duan edhe gurët e sokakut dikë* - është njeri shumë i mirë. (being a good man) *fol o gur, fol o dru (o gur)* - nuk nxjerr asnjë fjalë, është i heshtur. (keeping secrets, being silent) *s'gjen një gur t'i biesh qenit* - është tokë shumë e thatë. (dry land) *hodhi gur dikush* - nuk ka ardhur asnjëherë (për dikë që vjen rrallë) (coming very rarely). *hedh një gur dë lumët* - bëj një përçapje, them edhe unë një fjalë, e provoj një herë. (give it a try) *hodhi një gur prapa* - u betua se nuk do të vijë më. (promise not to come) *e kaloj guri masatin* - përdoret për dikë që flet a bën veprime të tepërta para më të mëdhenjve (for someone doing inappropriate actions) - *e kaloj bishti sqeparin. guri i math bi të voglin - le të bëhet ç'të bëhet, të dalë ku të dalë.* (whatever comes, let it come) *s'la gur pa lëvizur dikush* - përpiqet me të gjitha mënyrat për t'ia arritur qëllimit. (trying every way to do sth) *mat gurët e sokakut dikush* - keq. rri kot, nuk bën asgjë. (not doing anything) *mbeti si guri bë udhët dikush* - është i vetmuar, nuk ka njeri. (being lonely) *më ka zënë guri këmbët s'lëviz dot, nuk di nga t'ia mbaj;* (unable to do anything) *pëlçet edhe gurin dikush* - është kokëfortë. (stubborn) *qajnë edhe gurët e sokakut për dikë* - e donin shumë. (loving sb) *ia shpuri gur - gur dikujt* - e mërziiti shumë, ia nxori për hundësh. (to annoy sb) *si guri bë udhët* - i vetmuar, pa njeri. (lonely) *gur zënc, flori të të bëhet* - urim. u begatofsh, u pasurofsh. (a wish for prosperity)

13.4. Nouns emerge as the only elements of the microstructure of a word (i.e., there are neither semantic explanations of the title word nor phraseological units although the word may have great figurative conversion and conception

capabilities of such units). Below we are giving three sets of units to show the place of these place names in the Dictionary, but also the work of the author to collect as many as possible:

At the word *çezmë* we find 61 names: **çézm**/ë,-a f. (edhe si gjymtyrë emërvendesh/ as names of places: *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 Eminit; Çezma e xha Jasharit; Çezma e xha Halilit; Çezma e xha Sadikut; Çezma e xha Sulit; Çezma e Xhakes; Çezma e Xhamisë). *të shpie dë shtatë çezma e s'të jep ujë dikush* - është shumë I zgjuar; ta hedh kur të duash. (he is very smart).*

14. Elements of ethnoculture

Devoll's lexical-phraseological dictionary brings to its pages an abundant subject related to the ethnography of speech. Usually this subject is reflected next to the semantic structure of a lexicographical voice, especially when they are two- or multi-limbed designations. But there are also cases when they appear as title words.

As follows we are bringing some examples:

14.1. **Phraseologies:** *oxhaku s'bëhet buxhak* - fj. u. një gjë e mirë mbetet e tillë (a good deed); *buka s'ka turp* - fj. u. i thuhet dikujt që është i turpshëm dhe nuk ha asgjë kur vete diku (said to sob who does a low deed); *kush i bën kulaçet e shtrembra, nusja* - fj. u. përdoret me ironi për të kritikuar mendimin se gabimet i bëjnë më të vegjlit (to say that there are the young people who make mistakes); *po u thye kulaça, nuk ngjitet* - fj. u. po e prishe keq me dikë, vështirë se rregullohet (if you have problems with sb, you can not make up).

14.2. **Wishings:** *të paçim sa malet!* - urim. paç jetë të gjatë (wishing a long life); *i ndrittë barku që e ka mbajtur* - urim. thuhet për dikë që është shumë i mirë dhe zemërbardhë (wishing).

14.3. **Promises:** *për këtë bukë!* - bet. kur thuhet diçka e vërtetë (when you swear having said sth true).

14.4. **Curses** *març malet!* - mallk. u çmendsh! *të rëntë alivani!* - mallk. e pësosh; *mos arriq e mos mbeç!* - mallk. vdeksh!; *thefsh arrëzën e qafës!* - mallk. vdeksh!; *mos arrifsh të bëhesh!* - mallk. vdeksh, *mos u bëfsh. mos të rëntë të barkt!* - mallk. *mos u ngopsh!*; *dë barkt mbajç, bë pëqit mos paç!* - mallk. *lindsh dhe të vdektë fëmija; gjeç belanë!* - mallk. e pësosh; *të mbledhtë e mos të ktheftë!* - mallk. vdeksh!

14.5. **Bad words/curses:** *të dhjefsha mustaqet!* - thjeshtligj. (said for a main to tease the moustache)

14.6. Elements of ethnoculture or popular mentality about spirits, objects, actions, relationships, etc., which the dictionary reflects, appear directly and in microtoponyms as simple names. We are bringing the mountain names as an illustration. There may be two or three mountains in Devoll, but people also call mountains hilly:

mál,-i m. (edhe si gjymtyrë emërvendesh.names of places: *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 etj.).*

14.7. Elements of ethnoculture of Devoll province can also appear in ordinary lexicographical items. A. Jashari has collected many names of holidays, cooking, etc. which connect us with this field of life of the Devolls, complementing the meaning of the given unit and with the complementary ethno element. (ethnography). We are illustrating.

arúshk/ë,-a IIf. etnog. kind of *bukuvale* (type of bread) that is made for the New Year: On New Year's Eve they cook a kind of *bukuvale* with grilled flour, baked in a pan and crushed then, which they call a bear, and before laying it out to eat at dinner they leave a hop behind the outer gate of the house "for the bear to eat." (V. Xhaçka).

15. Onomatopoeia

The systematicity and completeness of the material collected and reflected in the Dictionary is also shown by the group of sound limitations. We are illustrating:

bëz onomat. *i bën mendja (koka) bëz dikujt-ka* shumë ngarkesë mendore; i duhet që të merret me shumë punë. (it is mentally tiring)

cim-cím onomat. lojë fëmijësh duke vënë këmbyerazi duart njëri mbi tjetrin e duke i pickuar nga sipër. (a children's game)

16. Morphological phenomena

Devoll lexico-phraseological dictionary has brought many subjects where it can phenomena and word-forming and epting processes are followed.

16.1. Phenomena related to word formation morphology

16.1.1. Phenomena of descent formations. There remains no intention of we dwell extensively on the issues covered by this concept. We are emphasizing very briefly that there are hundreds of words formed with the suffix in the work. Attention should be paid to formations with diminutive suffixes, especially those with suffixes borrowed from Slavic languages (Macedonian-Bulgarian, etc., as-kë, -icë, etc.) or formations with modified suffixes (with borrowed elements and Albanian), formations with suffixes of feminine nouns from masculine nouns etc. Formations with suffixes create space for another broader and more in-depth study. Without going into further detail, here are some examples:

ziçishtárk/ë, -a f. who lives or comes from Ziçisht of Devoll: *kapshticarka, kufitarka/ ziçishtarka, me litarka/ vërlenarka, moj poçarka*. (K. Zdruli, FDS).

kumbulléck/ë, -a f. big, red plum.

arific/ë, -a f. wife of Arif. *si Arifegjyni para Bajramit - tall. thuhet kur një i vogël në moshë del para më të madhit*.

16.1.2. Some formations with diminutive suffixes

frónk/ë, -a f. karrige e vogël pa mbështetëse (small chair): *Kur ishte mot i ngrohtë, ajo merrte një fronkë të sheshtë dhe ulej te pragu*. (Th. Jorgji, PD). *e vuri bë fronkët dikë - i kërkoi llogari deri në një; ia futi këmbët në një këpucë*.

ftújkëz/ë, -a f. përkëdh. ftujë: *Ftujkëz e bardha me zile/ rrugës së malit, kur vije/të dy cickat m'i djersije*. (D. Agolli, NjK).

16.1.3. Some formations with intensive meaning suffixes

Fshe(h)uríçk/ë, -a 1. lloj loje për fëmijë (a game for children). 2. diçka e fshehtë (something hidden): *Sime shoqeje i pëlqen të bëjë gjithnjë fshehuríçka, i pati shkuar ndërmend atë natë*. (Th. Naqo, M). *i dolën fshehuríçkat dikujt - zbulua, ia morën vesh të gjitha të fshehtat që mbante*.

fukaráçkë mb. shumë e varfër (very poor): Na ish mos na ish, një grua fukaráçkë ish, tri çupa të bukura na kish. (K. Zdruli, FDS).

16.1.4. Formation with composition

gojasllánk/ë, -a f. lloj luleje (a kind of flower).

gojëfëllëg/ë,-a f. ai ose ajo që nxjerr gjithnjë fjalë të hidhura: *Kushedi, do ketë bërë fjalë me atë gojëfëllëgën, mendoj.* (T. Laço, M).

gojëjamáčkë mb. që flet shumë, llafazan (talkative).

gojëkllopáshkë mb. llafazane: *Moj krushka, leshrat me mashka/ ç'qënki kaq gojëkllopashka/ mos e bëni gojën mashë/ lejën e kemi me pashë!* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

gojëmáshë mb. llafazan (talkative).

16.1.5. Formation with attachment:

drek(h)ér/ë,-a f. koha e drekës (lunch time): *Kur vinte ora të zbrisnin malaxhia nga drekhera, bëhej furtunë.* (A. Andoni, N).

dykmeqénë lidh. meqenëse (as a result): *Dykmeqënë kështu, le të ikin*

16.1.6. Formation with pre article

gajásur (i, e) mb. 1. i lodhur nga të qarët e shumtë a nga puna e rëndë (tired of crying and hard work): *Por më vështroi me sy të çapluar, si i gajasur.* (S. Andoni, ShShN). 2. I stërmunduar, që nuk ka më fuqi të punojë (tired): *Si u janë dërrmuar sëpatat, të gajasur e të mahnitur, kanë rënë përdhe.* (S. Andoni, FKQ).

gjezdísur (i, e) mb. i shëtitur, i bredhur, që ka shkuar në shumë vende të tjera, që ka parë shumë (having seen a lot of places): *Haxhi Çulla pat dëgjuar ca histori të çuditshme nga një plak i gjezdisur gjer në Rusi.* (A. Andoni, N).

16.1.7. Formations with alternating lexical-grammatical category (conversion)

ballabán,-e mb. që është tërë shëndet e me trup të madh (with a healthy body): - *Plakë ballabane! - tha Todo Çali që ish afruar.* (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. ariu që e shëtisin për të zbavitur njerëzit (bear used to entertain people) (edhe si emërvend/name of places: Ballabanët): *Ç'ka ky sot, sikur i ka ngrënë ballabani brumët? – tha Iliri me vete.* (A. Andoni, T). *sikur i ka ngrënë ballabani brumët dikujt-i mërçitur.*

16. 2. Phenomenon from eptim morphology / grammatical spectrum of units

In the Dictionary we find the whole spectrum of lexical-grammatical units. This is another feed of the work (often dialect dictionaries give preference to key nouns: nouns, adjectives, verbs adverbs).

Nouns: lakrór,-i m. gatesë brumi me dy petë dhe me gjellë Brenda (kind of a dish): *Ma bëje lakrorë/ Përsipër të djegur/ Kush t'i prishka mendtë/ Gështenjë*

e papjekur. (D. Agolli, ShGh). *lakror me dëborë - diçka që s' bëhet. lakrorin që s' e ha për vete le të digjet megjithë saç - thuhet për dikë që sheh vetëm interesin vetjak, që s' pyet e s' mendon për të tjerët. është si lakror i pjekur bë djellt - i papjekur mirë.e nis lakrorin nga mesi dikush - tall. nuk e fillon mbarë një punë.*

Verbs: **buít** fol. 1. punon shumë; përpiqet tërë ditën për të bërë diçka, lodhet, mundohet (tries hard, all day, to achieve sth). 2. del, shpërthen (comes out): *Pranvera livadhiste dhe e buiste duke u ngjitur shpejt e më shpejt pas kodrës.* (T. Laço, TZ).

Adverbs: **andéjza** ndajf. andej, në anën tjetër. (on the other part) *andéjzanit ndajf. andejza, andej, në anën tjetër.*

Numbers: dy num. *i ra dy bë tri dikush-e bëri pa kujdes diçka.*

Pronouns: ajó për. euf. gruaja (wife). *thoji asaj tëndes, t'i thotë asaj simes - lojë fjalësh nga burrat për të lajmëruar gratë e tyre lidhur me diçka.*

Prepositions: bë paraf. në (in): *vajti bë dasmë; do të vimë bë shtëpit.*

Parts: allasëndek pj. përdoret kur dyshojmë se mos ndodhë diçka e keq (used when we suspect about sth): *Allasëndek, mos e dhëntë Zoti!*

Exclamations: *ájs! pasthirmë për të nxitur qetë që të vazhdojnë punën: - Mbarë të na i bëjë Zoti! Ajs! Hiqi qetë, bir! (S. Hoxhalli, F). amán (amáni)! pasth. të (ju) lutem! përdoret për të shprehur një lutje, një kërkesë, mëshirë etj.: Amani, o shokë, hallin ce s' ma qani. (KPRrK); Hiç për gjë s' të kam zili/ moj, aman, moj, oi. (K. Zdruli, FDS). 2. përdoret për të theksuar diçka nga pakënaqësia: aman, sa i lig që je. për aman o zot - shumë keq.*

17. Phonetic phenomena

A dialect dictionary, which brings the life of words with examples from different discourses, creates numerous opportunities to undertake phonetic studies as well.

This is also the case with the lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll.

We are giving some phonetic phenomena that are observed in this work

17.1. Deafening consonants at the end: **my (h) ýp**, -i (for myhib) m. follower of the Alevi sect.

17.2. Using the vowel ë instead of e - before nasal consonants:

mënt v. sh. mend. *i hëngri (i piu) mëntë dikush - bën veprime të pakontrolluar; nuk di se ç' bën (making uncontrolled actions). jak ndër mënt - eja në vete, mblidhe mendjen, mos fol ashtu (come into senses). i ka mëntë për lëmpjeta dikush - keq. nuk shtrohet në një punë (not dedicated to work). nuk vë mënt - vazhdon të bëjë diçka megjithëse e pësoi (doesn't learn from actions). i venë mëntë rrotkë dikujt - i merren mendtë (feel dizzy). aq mënt ka, aq zemëroju - fj. u. mos ia vër veshin.*

17.3. One of the most prominent phonetic phenomena in the vocabulary of the Dictionary (and the life of the words of this vocabulary) is the preservation

(article) / avoidance of the consonant h in the initial position, but also in a phonemic vowel circle (h between two vowels), even when followed by another consonant, as a (h) **metlú patronim, llagap**; A (h) **mét**, -i m. m.A (h) **metíc** / ë, -a Ahmeti's wife.), but also in the final one: **allá** (h), - u m. God. it is Allahu save us someone- it is strange; it is not understood what he says and what he does; **allá** (h) -**allá** (h)! pasth. mos o Zot!

There are hundreds of examples in the Dictionary. The author of the work has presented this sound / phoneme in parentheses. It is enough to refer to the lexical items in the letter H to see at least the phenomenon of its preservation (articles) / avoidance (non-article), a phenomenon that is also encountered in other linguistic areas of southern Albanian.

(h)**ukás** fol.1. fryj duart për t'i ngrohur (blow my hands to warm them): *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. lëshoj ajër të ngrohtë nga goja: *Kurrizi preku murin e lëmuar të ahurit dhe dhia ia afroi turinjte që hukatnin mbi të sajën.* (A. Andoni, N).

(h)**umbëtír**/ë,-aIf. vend që ka humbë (a place that is lost).

(h)**umbëtír**/ë,-aIf. thellësirë, vend i shkretë (deserted place): - *Hy, të plastë kungulli. nga vjen ti, nga humbëtirat, - tha kapteri.* (T. Laço, M).

(h)**úmbur** (i, e) mb. i mefshtë, i pazoti, që ia hedhin të tjerët. (unable to deal with a situation)

17.4.2. Decreased sound in the body of the word (syncope):

mer(h)**úmk**/ë,-a f. e ndjera, merumka (the deceased): *Kjo më kujton atë merumkën, nënën time.* (D. Agolli, NjT).

mu(h)**abét**, -i m. bisedë, pritje miqsh e shokësh (discussion between friends): *Të takoj shoqet bë rrugë / se ato kanë muhabet shumë.* (KPRrK). *nuk i hahet muhabeti dikujt me dike - nuk flasin. muhabet ngaherë! urim. pika o Amet me kë bëj muhabet - thuhet me shaka për dikë që nuk merr pjesë në bisedë* (said in a funny way for sb who does not participate in a discussion).

17.4.3. Declension of sounds at the end of the word (akopa):

mja ndajf. mjaft (enough): *O trëndafili me fletë/ pa ngrehu se mja na fjete.* (KPRrK).

kúsh/o,-ua m. përkëdh. kushëri (cousin): *Ja sa t'i ndodhesh kushos për ndonjë urdhëratë.* (S. Andoni, MSh).

17.4.4. Declension and addition of sounds:

a(h)**érnaj** ndajf. atëherë, në atë kohë (at that time).

17.4.5. Sounds regime: lëftó fol. luftoj (fight): *Ca këndonin, ca vajtonin/ për ca trima që lëftonin/ lëftonin Korfus kalanë.* (Koçillari, TShD).

17.5. Shtimi i tingujve

17.5.1. Adding sounds in the beginning of words:

javásh ndajf. ngadalë, butë, lehtëzi (easily, smoothly): - *Javash, javash, or i bekuar/ javash mos m'i shkel rrathët!* (D. Agolli, P).

javashllëk, -u m. të qenët i javashëm, ngadalësi, mefshtësi (being slow).

17.5.2. Adding sounds in the body of the word

dam(b)llá, -ja f. damlla, (severe disease arising from bleeding in the brain or from blood clots in the vessels of the brain and which causes immediate loss of consciousness and cessation of movements, point: 2. fig. great calamity or severe and sudden blow). *i ra dambllaja dikujt - keq. vdiq, shkoi me të shumtët. të rëntë dambllaja!* - mallk. vdeksh!

dimbër: *s'i bën koka dimbër dikujt* - nuk i bëhet vonë për asgjë, nuk shtie merak; e merr jetën si t'i vijë. (taking life easily)

17.5.3. Adding sounds in the end of the word

gomart: *hiq nga ana vër bë samart.*

pust: - *Ç'ka imzot që ronit lot?/ - Ce i ra mëhyri dë pust.*

17.6. Change of homorganic sounds with each-other, as l and j:

álk/ë, -aI f. ajkë, kajmak. *ia mori alkën diçkaje - ia mori pjesën më të mirë. e ka rritur me alkën e qumështit dikë* - e ka ushqyer me gjithë të mirat. (feeding with all the best)

17.7. Dissimilation of sounds:

aluríj fol. ulërij, lëshoj britma; thërras me të madhe (shout out, scream): *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** mb. 1. i ndryshëm nga të tjerët, i çuditshëm (different, strange): *Unaza ishte allasoj, e paparë.* (T. Laço, M). 2. i luajtur nga mendtë (crazy): *është allasoj, mos e dëgjo.*

17.9. Metathesis

dobéc, -i (normë: bodec) m. 1. thumb i metaltë (metal nail), bodec: *Panua iu kthye me dobec gomarit dhe ia bëri vithet copë.* (S. Andoni, TZ). 2. shkopi i skive (ski pole): *S'ke nevojë fare t'u japësh dobecëve.* (Th. Jorgji, PD). *e do (e ka) me dobec dikush-nuk ka iniciativë; duhet nxitur gjithnjë për një punë. s'ha dobec dikush-nuk merr vesh, nuk kupton, është i trashë nga mendja.*

18. Accent movement:

fustané, -ja (normë: fustáne) f. fustanellë (dress): *Fustanenë korbë që të djalërisë / dridhe, Malo, dridhe kazan' e Ohrsë!* (Koçillari, TShd).

19. Dialect-lexical relations of standard Albanian

19.1. Words that enrich the standard lexicon

Works The lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll enriches with tens and hundreds of new units the dictionary of standard Albanian. F.v., hundëzáj ndajf. leaning on the nose: The horse crashed into the nose horn on the road. (S. Andoni, MSh).

kalúshk/ë,-a f. skelë e vogël që përdoret për ndërtim. (scaffold used in construction)

Units that (should) easily fit into the normative lexicon, they are generally non-frontal units, but there are also frontal units, usually when they belong to the material world.

In the following we are bringing some words composed with head, belly, mug, eyebrow, which appear for the first time in a lexicographical work (we must re-emphasize that the words composed in the Dictionary create a very large group and enable a complete study in the future): *kokëbërdillë, kokëbërxihik, kokëbozúk, kokëbullgár, kokëçomágë, kokëdamalóg, kokëdúçe, kokëgalínë, kokëgallanóz, kokëgllavinë, kokë(h)ínkë, kokëkrasátkë, kokëljajthí, kokëlëmçkë, kokëlëmë, kokëlla(h)útë, kokëmastrapá, kokëmollçínë, kokëpáçe, kokëpjépër, kokëpóste, kokëqóshe, kokërrótë, kokësallatór, kokëshékle, kokëshepínë, kokëshíkëll, kokëtarqaxhík, kokëvarélë, kokëvóckë, kokëvóze, kokëxhërlíllë (kokëxhëllírë), kokëzhëglínë, kokëzhëngë etj.*

The lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll is of great importance, because with the registration of the dialect subject it enriches the lexical, phraseological subject that will take place in a dictionary "tearusus". We are giving below a group of compositions with accentuated emotional color, which are encountered in simple discourse and in the format of such a dictionary will be part of it: *bythëdërmón, bythëkrómë, bythëllëvîzur, bythëmádh, bythëmút, bythëpalárë, bythëpambúk, bythëpërdredhur, bythëpollonícë, bythështrémbër, bythëtrashë, bythëthárë, bythëvérdhë.*

19.2. Phraseological units that enrich the normative lexicon

Through the lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll is enriched the national lexical fund published and with tens and dozens of phraseological units. We are not bringing for illustration units that have a pronounced emotional load (as in the units with ass, abdomen, etc.), where the units are in the vast majority not reflected in the circulating dictionaries, but units that are much more neutral and are not encountered only in simplification. . Specifically, only in the group with phraseological units motivated by the word eye we find 26 units that are not reflected in the current lexicographical and phraseographic publications of Albanian (units that are in italics and bold). This is not a small fortune, on the contrary.

sý,-ri m. *na e bëri syrin bakër dikush* - ka kohë që s'e kemi parë, na ka marrë malli shumë (we miss the person a lot). *I bëjnë sytë çift a tek dikujt* - keq. është çakërr; sheh vëngër (see sb badly). *s'ia bën syri tërt dikujt* - nuk ka frikë (not afraid). *ma bëtë syrin xham* – më nderuat, më zbardhët faqen (you honored me). *i janë bërë (i dolën) sytë pufka dikujt* - i kanë kërcyer sytë nga lodhja a pagjumësia (being tired of sleeplessness). *më bënë (më lëshuan) sytë xixa* – e

pësova keq nga goditja e dikujt a diçkaje. *syri jot dë bythë të qenit, bytha jote majë hostenit* - thjeshtligj. *çaploi sytë dikush* - u çudit pa masë.(he was impressed) *sa t'i dalin sytë* - sa të lodhet shumë, sa të mos ketë më fuqi (as much as having strength). *të dalçin sytë!* - mallk. *I ka dalë syri jashtë dikujt* - i është rritur mendja, s'flet dot me të (he has become bossy). *iu err syri dikujt* - e humbi gjykimin, bën veprime të pamenduara (lost sense of judgement). *m'u errën (m'u veshën) sytë* - e humba shikimin, nuk shikoj mirë.(lose sight) *të ha me sy dikush* - të ka inat, të shikon vëngër (to cast an eye on sb). *s'ma ha syri diçka* - nuk jam i zoti ta bëj një punë; e kam të vështirë (not able to do sth). *ta hëngsha syrin* - thuhet kur lakmohet një vajzë e bukur.(said when you like a girl) *t'ia hash sytë dikujt* - t'i kërkosh diçka me shumë zor (to ask for sth hardly); t'ia huash. *nuk më hyn në sy diçka* - nuk më pëlqen nga pamja; s'ma mbush syrin.(I am not very convinced) *i hynë sytë dë trut dikujt* - është dobësuar shumë (he is very thin). *iku nga sytë këmbët* - u largua me të shpejtë nga frika (he left very quickly). *mua më iku syri, do të qaj kropallat* - përdoret kur dikush humb diçka me shumë vlerë në krahasim me diçka tjetër. (used when you lose sth valuable) *e ka syrin kastroq dikush* - sheh mirë e larg.(to see very far) *ku i ke sytë?* - ki kujdes! (be careful) *më ka syri turp* – jam njeri me sedër.(to be put accountable) *e ka syrin të ngopur dikush* - është rritur me të mirave, nuk shikon gjënë e tjetrit.(he does not envy others' possessions) *e ka syrin filxhan dikush* - nuk i flihet (not being asleep). *ka sy edhe prapa kokës dikush* - nuk i shpëton asgjë, është shumë i vëmendshëm.(being very careful) *s'ka sy për qabe dikush* - nuk është i zoti për atë punë.(not able to do a job) *kullot sytë* - kaloj kohën.(spend time) *s'na la sy e faqe dikush* - na turpëroi, na nxiu faqen.(sb embarrassed) *i lëshuan sytë miza* – I dhambi shumë. (hurt) *më mbetën sytë diku a te diçka* - u habita. (surprised) *më mbiu dë syt dikush* - keq. më mërzi nga që e shoh gjithnjë.(sb made me sad) *ta mbyll synë dikush a diçka* - të turpëron (embarrasses). *ta merr pe syrit* - i kupton të gjitha pa ia thënë; është shumë I zgjuar.(understands everything) *s'i ndajnë sytë (mirë) dikujt* - nuk shikon mirë.(not seeing well) *i ndriti sytë si maçoku dë pastërmat dikush* - keq. është ziliqar. (greedy)*sa për të ngopur syrin* – ka vetëm bukurinë dhe asgjë tjetër.(has only beauty) *është për t'i nxjerrë (për t'i qitur) sytë dikush* - 1. është shumë i shkathët, nuk ia hedh dot.(very agile) 2. është shumë i lig.(very mean) *ta nxjerr pe syrit diçka / dikush* - është shumë këmbëngulës.(being stubborn) *i perëndoi sytë dikush* - është shumë keq, është gati në të vdekur.(nearly dying) *e prishi syrin dikush* - është gati për sherr.(ready to fight) *i qanin sytë si llozenkë dikujt* - qante me të madhe.(crying out loud) *syri i lig pëlçet kalin (gurin)* - fj. u. sipas besimit, nga syri i keq sëmuresh.(according to the belief, the casting eye makes a person sick) *na piu sytë dikush* - nuk na ndahet, nuk këmbëjmë dot një fjalë me njëri-tjetrin. *s'I kanë plasur sytë (pa plasur sytë) dikujt* - sapo e kanë varrosur.(just buried) *qita sytë* - 1. qepa për një kohë të gjatë. (closed for a long

time) 2. lexova shumë, m'u lodhën sytë (read a lot). *ia rrahin synë dikujt* - ia kujtojnë vazhdimisht një gjë (remember sth continuously). *i rrodhën sytë* - u plak, nuk sheh mirë. (become old) *s'shikohet dë syt dikush* - është shumë e bukur. (very beautiful) *ç'i sheh syri ia bën dora* - është njeri i zoti, I vjen ndoresh për çdo gjë. (able to work on everything) *i pa syri ibret dikujt* - u tremb shumë, u tmerrua. (terrified) *mos të pafsha sytë!* - mallk. nuk dua të të shoh më. (curse) *i pa syri synë dikujt* - vuajti shumë. (suffered a lot) *nuk pa dy sy njeriu dikush* - është njeri i padalë, e ka kaluar gjithë jetën brenda katër mureve nga hallet që ka pasur. (not very travelled man) *shih me sy e plas me zemër* - thuhet për dikë që e dëshiron, por nuk e ke (when you wish sth but you cannot have it). *ia vuri syrin diellit* - nuk ka asnjë punë. (nothing to do) *sa për t'i zënë sytë* - duke bërë diçka për ta mashtruar. (to defy) *i ka zënë syri bakër dikujt* - i hahet shumë një gjë. (craving for sth) *i kanë zënë sytë pezhishka dikujt* - nuk e kupton rrezikun, të keqen. (does not understand risk) *i zë sytë dikujt* - e gënjej, e mashtroj, ia hedh dikujt. (defy sb) *i kanë zënë sytë cipë dikujt* - nuk di se ç'bën, punon kuturu, s'ka turp. (not ashamed)

20. Place for improvements (some suggestions and remarks)

The dictionary, in a future reprint, requires an editorial and proofreading review.

20.1. Individual names of people, place names, as well as the names of inhabitants according to the village, city, province, etc. they could not be given as separate lexicographical items, but as a separate thematic part of the Dictionary (ie the dictionary, in addition to the heart part formed by the lexical-phraseological wealth, should have other parts as well). This could easily include the two-part names of this semantics (which are given within a lexicographical item that marks the functional affiliation of such names (field, gorge, fountain, stream, etc.)

20.2. In the microstructure of a lexicographical item, where there is phraseology and place names, the phraseological units must be prefixed to the latter, because toponomastics is further away from the semantic structure of a given unit than the phraseological unit.

20.3. There are units that as title words come up with an element of the eptim paradigm, when the dictionary requires their representative form. The word comes, the verb itself is not given in the demonstrative way, in the present tense, in the singular, in the first person, but it is given in the form of the simple perpetrator, the third person: **vâte** fol. 1. 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. vajti, mbaroi, nuk do të jetë më: - 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. për pak: E mundëm e vate. (D. Agolli, NjK).*

20.4. Rarely, in the syntagmatic of the word do you encounter any error, which is more carelessness than scientific inaccuracy. Thus in the first meaning of the verb **ronit** is given the participle adjective (**ronitur**), when the verb was required. **ronít** fol. 1. crumble, crumble, crumble (corn, etc.): *Larguam krevatet nga pikat që pikonin prej suvasë së ronitur të tavanit dhe hapëm stimën për ngrohje.* (H. Lilo, KMK). 2. derdh, nxjerr lotë (cry): *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).

20.5. Any explanation requires greater accuracy and clarity semantic. The word comes from the name **perçinë** denotes an item, a kind of metal buckle, while the explanation is given as the name of the process: **perçin** / ë, -a m. pressing the tip or pin to kiss two metal parts: *Qaforja ishte mbërthyer paq me perçina nga kovaçi i fshatit.* (H. Lilo, KMK).

20.6. Sometimes we have case defined word part compositions, which I think have not yet been conceived as a word, but appear with open two-limbed structure. Specifically, the unit of bread sugar is given as a feminine noun (p.), But it does not appear as such, although in the speaker's mentality it is related to the feminine noun bread. This shows that its structure is open. Illustrated by Dictionary: bukësheqéri p. Traditional dessert of the villages of Devoll, made with beaten eggs, flour and sugar syrup: *Sihariq se t'erdh jot ëmë/ buksheqeri sa një lëmë/ sipr' e posht' të djegur/ brenda qull papjekur!* (K. Zdruli, FDS).

Despite these remarks about some side shortcomings and, that as seen, are easily correctable and avoidable, I think the Dictionary is not only a recorder of a diverse wealth of linguistic material (especially the lexical and phraseological one), but it is a valued source and of great importance for future work short and medium term to take courses while working on the compilation of new national dictionaries, both normative and for the thesaurus dictionary of the Albanian language. Closing this overview of this work, I am referring to the academician Gjovalin Shkurtaç, who states that "For the fresh values and feeds, especially for the great wealth of words and phraseologies of Devoll, the work" Lexical-phraseological dictionary of Devoll "Completes a wide and missing knowledge of the lexical and phraseological richness of one of the most typical regions of Southern Albania. It ranks, without a doubt, next to the best dictionaries of today's Albanian and regional dictionaries, becoming a written proof of the word that lives in the spoken language, because when the living word takes place in a dictionary, it is surely it will not be forgotten as long as the people who speak it."³⁹

Valter MEMISHA

³⁹ Gj. Shkurtaç, idem, p. 11.

LEXICON OF THE TERMS OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS⁴⁰

Lexicon of the terms of linguistics, of the authors Rexhep Ismajli, Bardh Rugova and Shkumbin Munishi, continues the series of the linguistic lexicons, with an encyclopedia perspective, as well as with bibliographical explanations, started by Ismajli and Rugova. We highlight that in order to finalize the project of the dictionaries in linguistics, after this lexicon, the authors have stated that they will move on with the dictionary of the terms of grammar, and then with the one of historical linguistics, with the aim to recap all of them in a final dictionary for the terms of linguistics.

In the Lexicon of the terms of sociolinguistics, explanations about more than 850 concepts have been included, with use in different theoretical contexts, whereas in about 770 units, explanations regarding the use of the respective terms have been provided.

Even though sociolinguistics is considered an important field of linguistic studies, the different fields with which it has affinity such as sociology, ethnography, ethnology, study of texts, psycholinguistics etc., their impact and the linguistic tradition of the contrastive linguistic periods, structural linguistics and generative linguistics, have made the author to carefully treat the messenger included in this lexicon.

By accurately following the authors, we find it relevant to provide a short presentation of the treatment of this lexicon:

Generally speaking, sociolinguistics is considered a late discipline in report to the other linguistic disciplines. It became present as a new discipline especially after the '60-'70s of the XX century, a time when the linguistic studies in general had started to achieve new developments, when new hypothesis about the human discourse functioning were born, new methods on linguistic analysis were raising, but at the same time, through such developments the discipline's own foundations were questioned, first, due to the multi-layered reports with the close fields of studies such as: psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, text analysis, ethnography of communication, ethnomethodology etc. in some traditions, especially, the expression science of discourse was created, which can be seen even in the encyclopedic Dictionary of the discourse sciences of the prominent authors in their respective fields, Oswald Ducrot, in the philology of language and Cvetan Todorov, in the literary studies and the close sciences of semiology and pragmatics etc.

⁴⁰ Rexhep Ismajli made the full editing of the material.

Since the first use of the term sociolinguistics by Haver Currie, in 1952, and in further developments, in report to the sociology of language, social psychology of the discourse, anthropolinguistics, discourse analysis, ethnography of communication, and up to the reports between language and gender, specialized developments of the discipline, of the coherence of formation and of the selection of the notions and concepts have occurred, which had been possible to see even in the journals about sociolinguistics both for issues and methodologies that had not been raised questions about before, especially about the used techniques for data collection, about the means of the statistical analysis and the implications that such changes have brought. Transitions from the theories of the period of historical-comparative, genealogic periods of the regional dialects and of idiolects, of the traditional linguistic atlases and up to the theories of the free variation of the structuralisms, sociolinguistics has transited through different theoretical and methodological developments.

Sociolinguistics today is going through regular phases of development, whereas the preoccupations that are identified already as its own, are taking over the attention of an ever increasing and bigger number of researchers, from formulations and goals with theoretical weight of prominent personalities and to the connections with the topics constantly more current to the language policies.

Thus, in continuity, the necessity for the codification of the discipline through the semiology glossaries and explanatory glossaries is more evident. Explanations recognize a tradition already created which is testified through works, specific studies, but even with the limited number of the dictionaries of sociolinguistics or linguistics in general as the ones of: Trudgill-Campoy, David Crystal, Hadmond Bussman, of the Swann group, Deument, Lillis, Mesthrie and others in different traditions and languages.

The authors of the lexicon, Ismajli, Rugova and Munishi have given in a form of presentation of the explanation of its most important concepts regarding this rich history and problematics of sociolinguistics.

The adaption into Albanian language of the terms has been made according to the use in the limited literature, as well as according to the estimation of the authors. The authors have considered necessary to keep the international terminological references, given the fact that a lot in these disciplines is yet unstable.

Mehmet HALIMI, Kujtim SHALA

Scientific information**INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF ALBANOLOGICAL STUDIES**

The proceedings of The International Assembly of Albanological Studies were held on November 25-28, 2021 in Tirana. The Assembly was organized by the Academy of Sciences of Albania and the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo in collaboration with other institutions from Albania and Kosovo, such as: The Academy of Albanological Studies, the University of Tirana, The University of Elbasan, The University of Shkodra, the University of Prishtina, The Albanological Institute in Pristina and the Institute of Pristina.

The first activity of this kind was held back in 1972. The International Assembly of Illyrian Studies was held at that time in Tirana, which listed in full all the achievements that had been made that far regarding the history of Albanians, their origin, and the Albanian language, proving the Illyrian-Albanian continuity through historic, archeologic, and linguistic arguments. This activity organized today, 50 years later, has the same scale, and made Tirana the center of Albanological studies. During these three days, Tirana became the center of the most recent discussions and achievements on Albanological studies, with the participation of the most well-known Albanologists inside and outside the country. 182 speakers referred in this international Assembly. They came from all corners of the earth: specifically from the United States and Russia; Great Britain, Poland and Rumania; from Austria, Spain, France, Germany and Italy; and the neighboring countries, proving not only to their deep commitment to the Albanian language, history, identity and civilization but also their feelings of empathy for the Albanian people which they have inherited and kept over centuries and millennia. During the three days of the conference, four plenary sessions were organized in which referred some of the most renowned Albanologists from different disciplines. 16 parallel sessions were organized in the afternoon. Based on the selected disciplines, 58 papers belonged to

linguistic studies, 49 papers to history and archaeology, 33 papers to anthropology and 42 papers to literary studies.

The president of the Academy of Sciences, Acad. Skender Gjinushi, held the opening speech of the Assembly, wishing welcome to all scholars and academicians from the country and outside the country, describing the Assembly as the “greatest achievement of Albanology which is now at home”. This is an international Assembly of Albanological studies not only in terms of the geography but above all based on the standards and the criteria it is built on and its all-inclusive character. The International Assembly of Albanological Studies is for us the greatest scientific event. Decades have passed since similar events were organized in Tirana. Important thematic conferences were organized during these decades dedicated to the ethno-genesis of the Albanians, the history of the Albanian language and its ancient source; the traditions of the Albanological legacy in different regions of the world based on the linguistic border, the Arb medieval resistance and the historic role of Gjergj Kastrioti as one of the most renowned protagonists during the centuries of the European Renaissance; the legendary heroic epos; the new findings of tangible culture; the pre-Albanian and Albanian civilization; the gradual evolution of people and the formation of the national awareness; the issues of identification and self-identification of Albanians from ancient times to nowadays. All these events were stations in which the Albanian knowledge stopped at and reflected. During half a century, the Albanology has underwent through many qualitative and quantitative changes. The importance of Albanology has been growing along with the growing importance of the other sciences it is related with, such as Hellenism, Roman, Slav and oriental studies. Albanology is fortunate to hold a scientific interest not only for itself, but it is like a key to penetrate in the secrets of the nearby fields of knowledge, as a science which is important both on the Balkan and on the Indo-European level. It is beyond doubt that the importance of Albanology, like the importance of every similar science in the countries of the region, has grown by clearly defined process that have integrated the Albanians into a bigger world. These processes need the scientific expertise of Albanological scholars, underlined among others in his speech president Gjinushi. At the end of his word, on behalf of the Academy of Sciences and the Albanian institutions and scholars, acad.

Gjinushi paid special homage to the renowned Albanologists who established the Albanian studies as knowledge based on scientific methods and objectives; several generations of enlightened Albanologists, who over a century have illuminated the Albanological studies with their contributions. He also showed his satisfaction that Albanology today has a new generation of knowledgeable scholars, who have linked their lives with the Albanian language, history and civilization, being grateful to the latter for their dedication.

The topics presented in this assembly will redefine the meaning and the content of Albanology and its disciplines: the Illyrian-Albanian continuity, the Albanian as an Indo-European language and its relations with the similar languages of this family, and the legacy of the Albanians within the ethnic territories. History, archaeology, linguistics, anthropology and literature will be viewed differently because the centers of Albanological studies in Tirana and Pristina have now young scholars who will bring in this field of Albanian knowledge modern theories to analyse the traditional Albanological phenomena. These studies will be enriched by the disciplines of anthropology, ethno-music and by the analysis which are based on modern theories, shedding new light on the Albanian origin, language, culture and civilization in its territories.

The Assembly was greeted by the President of the Parliament, Mrs. Lindita Nikolla, who said that the Albanian Albanologists stand in dignity side by side to the renowned European and world scholars.

The minister of Culture, Mrs. Elva Margariti, in her greeting speech underlined that the protection of the authentic Albanian language and its simultaneous enrichment shows a high skill and the morality of a culture. In his greeting speech, The President of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo, acad. Mehmet Kraja, thanked the Academy of Sciences for the constant collaboration and the organization of the Assembly together with the Academy of Sciences of Kosovo. The Assembly was greeted by the rector of the University of Pristina, prof. Naser Sahiti, Director of the Albanological Institute of Pristina, prof. Hysen Matoshi; prof. Sabri Laçi, Dean of the Faculty of History-Philology; Minister of Education Mrs. Evis Kushi. Ms. Lucia Nadin, greeted the Assembly on behalf of foreign Albanologists.

The international Assembly of Albanological Studies was organized under the care of: I. *Organising Committee*, composed of: acad. Skënder Gjinushi, co-chairman; acad. Mehmet Kraja, co-chairman; prof. dr. Artan Hoxha, member; acad. Marenglen Verli, member; prof. dr. Skënder Topi, member; prof. dr. Suzana Golemi, member; acad. Eqrem Basha, member; acad. Ali Aliu, member; acad. Kujtim Shala, member; prof. dr. Lindita Rugova, member; prof. dr. Hysen Matoshi, member, II. *Scientific committee* composed of: acad. Pëllumb Xhufi, co-chairman (ASHSH); acad. Eqrem Basha, co-chairman (ASHAK); acad. Ethem Likaj, member; acad. Sabri Hamiti, member; acad. Kujtim Shala, member; acad. Jusuf Bajraktari, member; prof. dr. Neritan Ceka, member; prof. dr. Sabri Laçi, member; prof. dr. Valter Memisha, member; acad. Shaban Sinani, member; acad. asoc. Kristina Jorgaqi, member and III. *Honorary Board*, composed of: acad. Ismail Kadare, co-chairman; acad. Francesco Altimari, co-chairman; acad. Rexhep Ismajli, co-chairman; acad. Luan Starova, co-chairman; acad. Rexhep Qosja, co-chairman; acad. Muzafer Korkuti, member; acad. Edi Shukriu, member; acad. Peter Schreiner, member; acad. Johannes Koder, member; acad. Peter Bartl, member; acad. Titos Jochalas, member; acad. Pierre Cabannes, member; prof. dr. Brian Joseph, member; prof. dr. Alexander Rusakov, member; prof. dr. Irena Sawicka, member; prof. dr. Lucia Nadin, member; prof. dr. Petya Assenova, member; acad. Răzvan Theodorescu, member; prof. dr. Noel Malcolm, member; prof. dr. Aleksandër Meksi, member; prof. dr. Zheng Engbo, member.

Vitore VELI

A jubilee scientific conference "Migjen and Dritëro - two writers gazing towards the future", dedicated to the 110th anniversary of the birth of Migjen and the 90th anniversary of the birth of Dritëro Agolli (October 13, 2021)

Scholars, academics from Albania and Kosovo gathered at the Academy of Sciences to celebrate a two-fold anniversary of two very special jubilees, the 110th birth anniversary of Migjen birth and the 90th birth anniversary of Dritëro.

The conference was facilitated by the vice-president of the Academy, Mr. Vasil Tole.

In his greeting speech, the president of the Academy of Sciences, Acad. Gjinushi said that "It is not by chance that Dritëro and Migjen have their birthdays on the same date. They were both poets with a view towards the future; poets who rose to become the most representative and most honored of their generations: Migjen as the main name of the 1930s and Dritëro Agolli the face of the 1960s."

"All of us today have taken on a difficult task: to present through some words and papers the life and work values of Agolli and Migjeni, an almost impossible mission, which Dritëro himself would free us of this weigh by sarcastically telling us: don't worry what you are going to say about us; our work and legacy speaks for itself.

Dritëro was and still is one of the main emblematic figures of Literature and the Academy of Sciences. He is one of the supporters and defendants of the Academy and academism in Albania even during difficult times and it is our honor to remind and appreciated his figure and life work". – said Academic Skënder Gjinushi.

Alda Bardhyli, director of the Book and Reading National Center, also gave a greeting speech, thanking the Academy of Sciences for the cooperation for the activities dedicated to prominent personalities and literary figures of Albanian literature.

Renowned scholar of literature, acad. Ali Aliu (The Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo) considered Dritëro Agolli to be the writer of great challenges; he said that the characteristics of his work are closely tied to the themes and characters he chose. With regard to the development of the characters in the work of Dritëro Agolli, acad. Ali

Aliu called Dritëro Agolli as the most original voice in Albanian literature.

Well-known playwright and writer Pëllumb Kulla presented The Temptation of "Getting out of line", during which he recounted numerous events the writer had rebelled against censorship during the dictatorship and, among others, said that there are few and rare people like Dritëro Agolli, in whom human character and vital work are so strongly connected to the same person.

During their joint presentation, prof. asoc. Merxhan Avdyli and prof. Bajram Kosumi reviewed the presence of the "the lyric of the earth and the demon of the word", especially regarding the literary work of Agolli in Kosovo.

Dr. Shpëtim Çuçka presented "Dritëro Agolli and society today. Prof. dr. Ali Jashari (University of Fan S. Noli Korça), talked about the influence of the place of birthday in the work of Dritëro Agolli. Diana Çuli talked about the influence of Dritëro Agolli on people, beyond being a literary person.

Dr. Eris Rusi (University of Fan Noli Korça) presented an interesting topic "The futurists" of the 1960s and futurism: the poetry of Dritëro Agolli, going deep in the modernism of the creativity of Dritëro Agolli.

Dr. Edlira Birko in the novel "The Good Man" analyzed the humanist man in the works of Dritëro Agolli. Thanas Jorgji (Muenchen) presented as well, while dr. Dorian Koçi, Director of the MHK talked about the Byronic influences on the poetry of Dritëro Agolli.

Presenters dr. Eljon Doçe (University of Tirana), dr. Teuta Toska (University Aleksandër Xhuvani Elbasan) talked about the disruption of linguistic order in the work of Migjen; prof. asoc. dr. Kristaq Jorgo (University of Tirana) analyzed the "Free Verses" by Migjeni.

Dr. Gëzim Puka talked about the man, as a meeting point between Migjen and Dostojevski.

Very special of this conference, besides the selected papers, is the presentation of the book "Sketches and stories of the Albanian revolutionary writer Migjeni". This book is the Albanian edition of the diploma thesis which writer Dritëro Agolli defended in 1957 in Petersburg. It narrates a beautiful thread connecting the talents and sensitive souls of both writers.

Academician Vasil Tole, Vice President of the Academy of Sciences presented the work and said that “Five years ago, the author, our poet, our academician, gave us the consent to translate for scientific purposes his diploma thesis which he defended at St. Petersburg University and received an "excellent" mark by his opponent – and what an opponent she was - the most knowledgeable lady of Russian Albanology, Ms. Desnickaja.

The publication was prepared by acad. Shaban Sinani and has a synthetic preface by the president of AS, acad. Gjinushi.

This thesis is published today, not so much to honor the author or the subject, even though this would have been a very important reason as well, but first of all because this diploma thesis, while circulating in our albanological libraries will encourage new reviews, because the ideas therein are not outdated and contain new facts that are important for both Migjen and Agolli himself.”

A precious manuscript of Dritëro Agolli was donated to the Academy of Sciences by the daughter of the writer, Elona Agolli. Titled by the writer "Midnight Notebook", this manuscript was delivered to the President of the Academy of Sciences. She said that it was not easy to remove this precious memory from the house, but it deserves to be in the big house of academician Dritëro Agolli, at the Academy of Sciences of Albania.

In addition, the Academy of Sciences has opened an exhibition with paintings and sketches of the portraits of Dritëro Agolli by some of the most notable painters in the country, in which they have expressed admiration for the humane profile of the writer.

Vitore VELI

“Honoring, surviving and returning Fishta to the three epochs of literature”, a scientific conference on the 150th anniversary of Gjergj Fishta

On the 150th anniversary of Father Gjergj Fishta, the Academy of Sciences held an *ad honorem* scientific conference: "Honoring, surviving and returning Fishta to the epochs times of literature".

The Academy of Sciences, with this conference, is taking a step to encourage Fishta's return. "It is not the return of the prodigal son, but of the expelled poet, who has waited for decades to tell us, as one of his followers, Martin Camaj, wrote: I am yours, you are mine. Or as Naimi had written: "I am in your soul / Do not take me as a foreigner.", - said in the opening speech of this conference the President of the Academy of Sciences, Acad. Skënder Gjinushi. He further portrayed Fishta as a dominant figure in the Albanological world of the time he lived, quoting: "Fishta was always where history was being made with all its light-shadows; it is a name that cannot be separated from its most important moments.

Monsignor Gjergj Meta, vice-president of the Episcopal Conference of Albania praised the Franciscan father Gjergj Fishta (1871-1940), as the greatest and most powerful figure of Albanian literature in the first half of the twentieth century, who more than any other writer gave an artistic expression to the demanding spirit of the new sovereign Albanian state.

Prof. Dr. Bajram Kosumi (University "Kadri Zeka" Gjilan) spoke about the educational function of "Lahuta e Malcës" and its place in the school curricula ". He said that critics and readers of Fishta's work, seeing its high value, have raised the issue of Fishta's place in the history of Albanian literature. Fishta's work is special in the Albanian literary tradition. First, Fishta wrote the Albanian national epic in the spirit of Romanticism, when Romanticism was a matter of literary history and when writing epic, as a literary form, was also considered a work of the past. The Albanian national epic "Lahuta e Malcës" by Fishta, is the last epic of a European literature.

Acad. Ardian Ndreca (Pontifical University, Rome) called Fishta's work "The Donkey of Babatas" a manifesto against the legitimacy of ignorance. He also touched on the history of this work.

Prof. Assoc. Dr. Eldon Gjika spoke about Fishta's "Aesthetic Notes" which deal in a synthetic way with a series of concepts of discipline, such as beauty, art-imitation ratio, aesthetic taste, intuition, genius, etc. Fishta proves a deep knowledge of aesthetics in diachrony and synchrony, formulating personal attitudes and theses, which also act as decoding keys to various issues related to Fishta's poetics. After De Rada's "Aesthetic Principles", Fishta's "Aesthetic Principles" are the second valuable contribution in this field of Albanian culture, in which the authors show the awareness to distinguish "aesthetics" as a separate discipline.

Acad. Bardhyl Demiraj (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich) presented the paper "Between the Sutjeska Bridge" and the Kaaba Bridge: folklore motifs in "Lahuta e Malcís"", with a comparative analysis, linking the texts above with their analysis.

In the paper dedicated to the Lyrics of Fishta, Prof. Assoc. Dr. Evalda Paci (Institute of Linguistics and Literature) touched also on the reception issues of more specific texts by Father Gjergj Fishta, noting the fact that in many publications and reprints various authors have not merely reviewed this work. One can notice a genuine linguistic and literary wealth along this way of writing, especially in the latest editions of the early 1940s which have a rich from the critical and philological point of views.

Dr. Arian Leka (Institute of Linguistics and Literature) presented the paper "Christian Mythology in Fishta's work", in the context of a cultural horizon which separates between previous myths and "true" myths. According to Dr. Arian Leka, this was due to the fact that Christian mythology echoed the rediscovered realities, which have at their core metaphors such as divinity, crucifixion, the Eucharist, the miracle and pilgrimage which stand as salvation myths and miniature forms of exodus. This approach projects Fishta on a cultural horizon.

Prof. Assoc. Lili Sula focused on the analysis of some melodramatic works of Father Gjergj Fishta.

Prof. Dr. Lekë Sokoli delivered the paper "Sociology of Gjergj Fishta". Professor Sokoli proposed to hold cycles of university lectures on the sociology of Fishta.

Prof. Dr. Blerina Suta (L'Orientale University of Naples) in her paper "Manzoni and the poetics of Fishta", outlined some meeting points

between Fishta's poetics and Manzonian romanticism, democracy, enlightenment and creator of the doctrine of art according to the principle of historical criticism. The explicit and implicit poetics in Fishta's work was analyzed with the help of references from the Balkan world where Manzon's literary model circulated to the same extent as the cultural spirit of the ideas of Herder, Cantù, and Tomaseu about popular culture.

Acad. emeritus Gjovalin Shkurtaj (Academy of Sciences) in the paper "Wisdom of the Great Highlands and Highlanders and the wealth of highland discourse in Fishta's Lahuta" noted that Gjergj Fishta knew well and loved the Highlands. According to him, Fishta wrote one of the most beautiful poems of Albanian literature about the brave acts and the generosity of the highlanders. He sang in his masterpiece to wisdom, bravery and to the proverbial generosity of the highlanders, affirming and fixing in lapidary verses the pride and patriotism of the highlanders of Hoti and the whole Malësia e Madhe. He further spoke of the knowledge of the linguistic phenomena derived from Fishta's work.

Prof. Dr. Walter Memisha (Institute of Linguistics and Literature) in his talk about phraseology in Fishta's journalism, said that Fishta has numerous values and values still undiscovered. Fishta knew Albanian more than anyone, and he skillfully used its expression tools, enriched them significantly, elaborated the language to a degree of perfection, so much so that his works remain a source of linguistic expression and not only.

Prof. Dr. Mimoza Priku (University "Luigj Gurakuqi", Shkodra), focused mainly in her paper "Critical and linguistic interpretations of the poetics of Fishta", on revealing elements with a certain graphic, lexical-semantic and grammatical character. She did this by looking at the differences and the modifications that were made to Fishta's lyrical creations over time. This study was based on the volume "Lyrics" (Franciscan Publications of 2020) with summaries from "Mrizi i Zânave", "Vallja e Parrizit" and "Shna Ndou i Padues", while seeing these volumes in retrospect and comparing them.

Prof. dr. Kristaq Jorgo (University of Tirana) and Edlira Birko presented in the conference the study of Gjergj Fishta – project designer of the Albanian world in text; emphasizing the vision, mission and function of the whole work of Fishta.

Prof. Assoc. Dr. Monika Hasani spoke about some verbal structures in Fishta's poetry; elaborating with arguments and facts some of the orthographic strategies that transcend dialectal forms.

Acad. assoc. Stefan Çapaliku (Academy of Sciences) spoke about the aesthetics in the satire of Fishta. He said that Fishta's satire imitates, explores and analyzes evil, or the "ugliness" if we are to use the Aristotelian term. At the same time this work makes the reader aware of the existence of a long, contracted index finger pointing towards the evil and the ugliness, reflecting whether should or should we not have this or that thing, this or that man and mentality. Satire helps him to take a moral position and openly express his reflections. Further, Çapaliku said that Fishta's satire is built on an aesthetic examination.

Prof. Dr. Shaban Sinani (Academy of Sciences) presented the paper "The Sibyls" by Bogdan and "Hours" by Fishta". "Although the evocation of the sibyls from Bogdan and the fairies and watches from Fishta seems without any connection between them, a strong and provable connection exists. Both tend to Albanianize great worlds and civilizations: Bogdani by re-baptizing the sibyls in Albanian and Fishta by taking the names of the Hellenic muses and give them to the fairies of his people. Both are creators who do not see boundaries between the secular and the religious, not even a strong hierarchy between them. Both replenish with their own meaning the myths and deities they choose. Essentially prof. Sinan said that an in-depth study can also reveal cross-textual connections.

Dr. Tonin Çobani (University "Luigj Gurakuqi", Shkodra) spoke about the golden "Shkrola" (Letters) of Fishta. He emphasized the use of the word "Shkrola" in Fishta's creativity as an archaism that has a lot of value for the Albanian dictionary, being a rare word, which was taken into consideration by the great linguist Eqrem Çabej.

Vitore VELI

IN MEMORIAM**HASAN ÇIPURI, THE PROMINENT MILITARY
TERMINOLOGIST (1935 – 2017)**

The linguist in uniform, professor Hasan Çipuri passed away. May his memory be eternal!

32 Albanian- foreign languages military dictionaries hold the name of professor Hasan Çipuri as author, as co-author and as a scientific director (chief editor). He has drafted 160 encyclopedia items. He has written 350 scientific papers and scientific-popularizing papers. He has translated and published 14 military historic books. He has lead around 400 external collaborator of the scientific sector at the Military Academy- now Academy of Defense. He has drafted and published 6 university text books. he has edited 34 books of different fields. He has been a pedagogue at the University of Tirana for Serbo-Croatian languages. Professor Hasan has been a member of the American Biographical Institute, "International Personality" for the year 2001 (Cambridge, 2002); one of the "2000 prominent intellectuals of the XXI century (Cambridge, England, 2001); one of the "Prominent Europeans of the XXI century" (Cambridge, 2003); "Honorific General Director for Europe" of the International Biographical Center of Cambridge, England.

During his 54 work experience, professor Hasan Çipuri had 12 important functional work positions. The scientific leader was here. It was Hasan, sage and lovely to everyone. Nicely dressed and beautifully aesthetic. With his characteristic voice and his moving words. Head of Sector (later- Department) of Terminology and Military Encyclopedia at the Military Academy, now Academy of Defense (1980-2002), was one of his 12 work positions. We have observed this work closely as we have had the chance to review some of his works.

Professor Hasan has written the history of the military terminology of Albanian language. The history begins with the Renaissance period, goes on with Independence, with the Royal Army, the period 1939-1944, the period after the Liberation up to the present days. This terminology has been and is an important part of the Albanian army, because as it is

known, it has to do with the military communication, all-time highly important. It has been and it is an important part of our language, not only because it is one of the biggest terminologies of Albania (the army includes many sciences, techniques, technologies, weapons, equipment etc.- every military ward has its own weapon and its own technique- and consequently its own terminology), as well as the dense use, almost on daily basis of the definitions has made it possible that they surpass their boundaries (as definition) and be used as general lexicon (for instance, *target, shooting, hanging bridge* etc.) in the military environments, in the military trainings, earlier in the villages, at schools and universities too.

The language is a social phenomenon, which means that it exists, is preserved and developed only in a society. But, it is a historical phenomenon too, because it develops and is enriched according to the development of this or that society which speaks it. Professor Hasan presents such a development within its parameters in his monography "The military terminology of Albanian language", published in 1993. Here we go with just one example: In The General Staff of the Albanian National Army, a commission for the military terminology was set up for the first time in the history of our Armed Forces, *and platoon, superior, trigger, fuse, attention! at ease! get in line!* etc. may other definitions have been collected, selected and reflected in the dictionaries of military terminology, and at first however, in the doctoral dissertation of professor Hasan.

Professor Hasan is the founder of the contemporary military terminology of Albanian language, based with persistence on the national principles and scientific principles.

Professor Hasan says: Our military terminology, has already been formed and functions as a system. The concepts in compliance with the development of the thought and the Albanian military practice have been differentiated, clarified and specified. With regard to this type of terminology, it was professor Hasan who was a prominent researcher. In addition to the theoretical studies during the '80s of the past century, at the Military Academy (today Academy of Defense), there started the organized scientific work about the system processing, rendering into Albanian and the complete codification of the technical-military terminology. Professor Hasan was the creator and chief organizer of such an extensive work. For this purpose, military literature was collected

(regulations, textbooks, guidelines, magazines and newspapers military and non-military etc.) from the renaissance period up to the present days, and a scientific terminological file with around 200 000 files was created. All this voluminous work was done following the leading and the scientific examination of professor Hasan. Commissions of military specialists and linguists were set up. The commissions themselves were led by professor Hasan. As of the collected materials and the perfect organization, 25 dictionaries were drafted, with about 67 000 terminological units. The chief editor of the dictionaries, professor Hasan lead all this scientific and voluminous work. Dictionary of all types of weapons (1989) drafted by a big number of military, specialists and linguistics following the directions of professor Hasan. The entire and systematic processing of the technical-military terminology is provided in the dictionary. It includes 11 000 definitions; Dictionary of the military topography definitions (Albanian-English-Russian), 1985; Dictionary of the artillery terms (Albanian-English-Russian), 1987; Dictionary of the terms of discovery (Albanian-English-Russian), 1989;

Dictionary of terms of rearguard service (Albanian-English-Russian), 1987, Dictionary of the terms of armament and munitions (Albanian, English, Russian), 1989, Dictionary of terms of air defense (Albanian-English- Russian), 1990, Dictionary of terms of genius weapon, (Albanian-English-Russian)1990, Dictionary of terms of the tank weapon. (Albanian, English, Russian), 1990, Dictionary of abbreviations and acronyms of NATO. (English, French-Italian-German-Albanian), 1997, Dictionary of terms of intercommunication (Albanian-English-Russian), 2000, Dictionary of marine terms (English-Albanian) 2000. Such a great and wonderful work. Chief Editor-professor Hasan Çipuri. Professor Hasan Çipuri has drafted even two big military terminological dictionaries (20 000 terms), published in 1990 and 1993- Military dictionary Serbo-Croatian- Albanian and Military dictionary Italian-Albanian and a General dictionary Albanian-Serbian (with about 45 000 words and more than 25 000 expressions and phraseologies, 2008.

All this work of professor Hasan made him secure an honorable name in the Albanian science as linguist, terminologist, thermograph, and as irreplaceable lexicologist and lexicographer. But this was not enough for the professor. Papers for the scientific activities, reviews about other's dictionaries, doctoral oppositions, translations and university academic

teaching as chief of ‘‘Serbo-Croatian language’’ at the Faculty of Foreign Languages in Tirana, required time, however such a beloved activity to professor Hasan and much appreciated by the others. He has written and published papers about the military terminology, as well as papers about military strategists such as Scanderbeg, Alexander the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte, Genghis Khan, Zhukov etc.

The army has many weapons, services and specialties, consequently it has many terminologies and many terms. There are terms of techniques and strategies, of troop’s organization and directing, armament techniques, services of the armed forces structures. The military has also political-military and historical-military terms. And other terms. And it is not easy to distinguish and accept a specific term when it marks the reality of certain arm, services and specialties.

So it is not easy to determine the volume of the concept and the volume of the term according to the narrow thematic feature. It is not easy to neither distinguish or specify the general military lexicon from the specific military lexicon. There are still plenty of concepts which are indirectly connected to the army. This means that it has not been easy to make the inventory of the technical, scientific terms etc., and within this framework, preserve the symmetry of the dictionaries. However, in all this work a general synthesis of the military terminology of Albanian language and there have been harmonized its specific fields and sub fields and with pleasure we have noticed that the choice and selection of the terms has been accurately done and the symmetry in the dictionaries has been preserved.

As it is widely known, science and technology develop rapidly. A terminological dictionary of a specific field of science of technique should be contemporary in concepts or terms, otherwise it is considered outdated and useless. The terminological dictionaries, with the chief editor professor Hasan ipuri, have always been updated. The concepts and terms have been credible, because they have been collected from contemporary written sources- regulations, textbooks, brochures, articles, etc. (see e.g. video-phone intercommunication, neutron bombs etc.).

Thus, the dictionaries covered every part about military knowledge, technical-military and technical-scientific, even for some type of professionalism of the work of the military. As parenthesis: if someone

wants to know, let's say, about the aerodromes and the types of the airplanes, can just check the dictionary of the terms of air defense.

The dictionaries were mainly Albanian- foreign language. Therefore, they were international dictionaries, Albanian language confronted widely used big languages, and it resulted successful in this confrontation. However, we want to reach so somewhere else. As a linguistic action, translation is much complicated, because the linguistic transformations are not perfect parallels like the ones in Math or in Mors cod. But, with reference to terminology, translation too- if someone would consider it translation- is not a word transference, but a concept transference. Therefore, *the equivalence in the foreign language is not translated, but it is searched for and found*. It is similar to the phraseological units or the wise words and proverbs- they cannot be translated. The terminological equivalence is a "translation" of the concept and then a finding of the term- such a difficult work. Thus, knowledge on the branch of science or of the technique, knowledge about the topic, knowledge on the mother tongue and knowledge of the foreign language provide a satisfactory terminological dictionary. Due to his military, scientific and intellectual formation, as well as of the excellent knowledge of the foreign languages (English, Russian, Italian, Serbian, Croatian etc.), professor Hasan would untie the Gordian knot, when a specific terminological commission would get stuck into.

As it is known, in the Albanian language, there is always a creative and innovative process at word creation and word formation, especially in the language of science and technique. Thus, new words can be created in terminology, but with the condition that: a) provide the accurate concept or notion; b) they must be created according to the rules of Albanian word formation. The authority to create and accept a new term belongs to the terminologist and specialist. However, the creation of the new word is not enough. A strategy which provides the evaluation and the acceptance of a specific as well as general innovation, the development of a special language for a specific branch of science, technique etc., must be provided. This strategy is built even with such military terminological dictionaries. We have pleasantly noticed that in this strategy, the effort of professor Hasan and the terminological commissions, chaired by him, in order to enrich Albanian language with new words and at the same time keep Albanian language clean and clear,

by avoiding foreign unnecessary words, has been continuous and has resulted successful. See for instance, *rrugështruese* (road paving), *urdhërveprim* (command order), *gjurmëti* (tracking), *ujëveçues* (water separator), *pikëlidhje* (connection point), *dritëmatës* (light meter), *vetërregullues* (self-regulator) etc. we can clearly observe in these examples the model of Albanian language, which makes them more acceptable (as there is for instance *shenjëtari* (sniper), there is also *helmueshmëri* (toxicity), and *i kapshëm* (reachable) and *i mbartshëm* (portable). *Çndotje* dhe *çndotës* (depollution and depolluting) are Albanian formations of professor Hasan. Terms of popular-folk formation have been traced and found too (*type kushtrim* (war cry), *shpatinë dyjare*(two-sided slope), *aeroplan bukël* (wild weasel etc.), thus aiming the further democratization of the Albanian military terminology, and as well the military speech itself.

The Albanian word and the Albanian formation in the Albanian military terminology has been righteously aimed for but without falling into linguistic nationalism. The linguistic nationalism- cleaning of the language from any type of borrowings, is naturally unacceptable. Languages give and take. Languages take in order to complete any empty cell in their structure they borrow international words (internationalisms). Languages do not borrow unnecessary words, or words or formations of foreign origin, unnecessary too. Therefore, professor Hasan Çipuri did not like words such as *t bocman*, *difensivë*, *dislokim*, *eksploziv*, *paramilitar*, *oksidim*, *plasdarm* etc. therefore he wanted: *shenjëtar*(sniper) and not *snajper*, *pamor* (visual) not *vizual*, *dyluftim* (duel) not *duel*, *denduri* (frequency) not *frekuencë*, *nxënësi* (capacity) not *kapacitet*, *njehsim*(calculation) not *kalkulim*, *qëndresë* (resistance) not *rezistencë*, *nismë* (initiative) not *iniciativë*. Thus, professor Hasan has written about 20 articles for the translation of many military terms.

All his dictionaries aim to be normative, because it is their duty to provide the term that must be used. This means that they help the user choose the terminological term or word group that the standard Albanian language has accepted (or will accept). The dictionaries of the author, co-author and chief editor Hasan Çipuri are normative in all its elements and indicators. So are even the equivalents in foreign language. Thus, the

user is given the possibility to both read and translate in foreign language.

The military terminology reflects the developments that have taken place in the field of defense in specific economic-social-political conditions. It reflects the level of modernism of the Armed Forces. Therefore, today, the work with the military terminology- professor Hasan would say- shall not be considered as complete. Although it seems to have a stable character, there are moments of instability and non-acceptance. But, as it is known the instability in the military field means consequences. Therefore, professor Hasan suggested to trace the military terminology of NATO, where we are a state member too, in order to include it in the respective terminological military dictionaries. Because standardizing the concepts (within NATO) brings the standardization of the military terms and military terminology.

Hajri SHEHU

Prof. Dr. FAIK DRINI (1943-2019)

On 6th of May 2019, Prof. Dr. Faik DRINI passed away at the age of 76, archaeologist and prominent researcher of the field of Greek and Latin epigraphy. He was born in 4 April 1943, in Berat, where he graduated as excellent. He attended the higher education at the University of Tirana, Faculty of History and Philology during 1963-1967, with specialty history and classical languages. Immediately after graduation he started working as lecturer at the Faculty of History and Philology, a commitment he never abandoned, up to the end of his life, by teaching a various number of generations of new researchers. In 1972-1974 he attended the post university studies in Paris, France, at College de France, Ecole des Hautes Etudes (IV^e Section, Historie et Philologie), where he was student to the great historians and epigraphers such as Lui Robert and Pierre Cabanes. He specialized there in the branches of Epigraphy and Historical Geography of the Hellenistic world. In 1975 he was appointed to work at the Center for Archaeologic Research, later the Institute of Archaeology. In 1983 he earned the title Doctor of Historial

Studies, in 1994 Prof.Asoc.Dr.- Master of Research and in 2000 he earned the high title Prof.Dr.- Leader of Research.

He has been chair of the Department of Antiquity for many years, which he directed with professionalism. He has been member of the Scientific Council of the Institute, Scientific Secretary and member of the Editorial Office of the journal "Iliria" for many years, co-director for the Albanian part of the Albanian-French project for common archaeological excavations in the city of Apollonia, co-leader of the project in Butrint for the excavations in the tower with inscriptions etc.

With his life full of activities, Prof.Dr. Faik Drini created a long successful work experience of more than 45 years in the field of scientific research and pedagogical-teaching. He was characterized of a professional solid education earned during his studies in the country for History and Classic Languages (Latin and Old Greek), and particularly due to this post university specialization in France (1972-1974). His formation was affected even by the acquisition of some modern languages, particularly French and Italian. This professional formation has enabled that he achieved a series of important achievements with his work, particularly the study of the inscriptions in Old Greek, which provide very valuable data for the ancient history of Albania. A great achievement in this direction is marked by the publication in four volumes of "The Corpus of the Greek Inscriptions in Albania", in France, in collaboration with the prominent epigrapher Prof.Dr. Pierre Cabanes. This fundamental publication summarizes all of the inscriptions in Old Greek that have been found so far in the ancient centers in the territory of Albania.

The scientific activity of Prof.Dr. Faik Drini I obviously completed with his active participation with papers in archaeological symposiums and congresses held and published in Albania as well as in France, Italy, Greece, Germany, Austria, Egypt, United States of America etc.

He has actively contributed with his help in all the important moments of the Albanian archaeological scientific activities organized at the national and international levels. Upon these important activities, Prof. Faik Drini has been by the side of the generation of founders of Albanology and particularly of the Albanian Archaeology such as: the linguist Eqerem Cabej, historian Aleks Buda and the archaeologists Hasan Ceka, Selim Islami, Skender Anamali and Frano Prendi.

The bibliography of his works consists on plenty articles too, published in the scientific journals (press). This rich activity of the publications has been crowned with earning the Prize ‘Fundamental Works in Albanology’ in 2008, for the publication of ‘The inscriptions of Butrint’, volume III of ‘The Corpus of Greek Inscriptions in Albania’.

In a summarized way, the help of his research-scientific activities consists of two main aspects:

In the archaeological aspect, for the first time, it was achieved, the documenting with authentic professional requirements of all the inscription materials in disposition in the Old Greek and the full publication of this material abroad in a series of scientific publications of high reputation. In regard with the scientific activities in the terrain, Prof. Drini has participated in a number of archaeological expeditions, particularly as co-leader in the common excavations Albanian-French excavations in Apollonia.

In the historical aspect, his help consists mostly of the study of the history of ancient Kaonia and more specifically the area around Butrint, in the III-I cent. B.C., mainly after the Roman invasion, which is characterized by a deep absence of the data of literary sources of the ancient authors. Highly important is the summarizing of the conclusions, which is obtained by the investigation of the Burtinti inscriptions for all of the ancient Epirus, thus completing or making more accurate, the vision for some problems introduced in the present historiography about this area in regard with the nature of the Epirus political nature of the institutions after the year 168 BC., for the character of property, elements of the legislation of the time, problems of the cult, of onomastics etc. recording the parallels and differences between Epirus and the Illyrians have also composed a topic of interest in his scientific-research commitment.

Prof. Faik Drini passed away unexpectedly due to a heart attack in 6 May 2019, leaving behind plenty of grief to his family, friends and colleagues and to many other admirers in the scientific circles in the country and abroad. The Institute of Archaeology lost the scrupulous scholar, the highly valuable epigrapher and the one of a kind connoisseur of the history of Southern Illyria and Epirus in antiquity. The Albanological scientific environment lost the rare colleague, the word

and pen of whom had always been particularly valuable. In the social aspect, we lost a warm smile, a kind humor, plenty of optimistic and tolerant colors during the friendly discussions and talks.

However, our professor Faik Drini, has just physically left, as the presence of his scientific contribution has now remained as an asset to the Albanian archaeology. He left behind a highly evaluated activity in the national and international level. His memory is already fixed in many generations of historians and archaeologists, whom he taught and formed throughout years with scientific competencies, passion and love.

Gëzim HOXHA

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