STUDIA ALBANICA

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CONFERENCE OF BALLAD RESEARCHERS

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BETWEEN GEOGRAPHY AND MOTIVES. MAPPING THE BALLAD OF IMMUREMENT IN ALBANIA IN THE 20TH CENTURY

I shall start by drawing a line of division between the practice of foundation sacrifice and its representations or references to it in the form of songs, legends or tales. The practice is well-known and well documented by different historical sources in different times and in various parts of the world, definitively in Euro-Asia from Japan and China to England, but also in such remote places like New Zealand. Its existence since early historic times is supported by direct archaeological data, and indirectly by myths and legends referring to human sacrifice. Representations, or spiritual reaction to these practices, do vary and include songs (mostly in the Balkans and Hungary), legends (in the Caucasus), tales (in western Europe and England), and even historical accounts (in Germany and France). The songs, mainly in the forms of the ballads, were documented and collected especially in the area south of Danube, all throughout the Balkans and stretching further east to modern Turkey and the Caucasus, where the motive embodies mostly in legends, tales and stories.[1]

When it comes to songs of immurement in the Balkans there are three objects, on which foundations a person is immured/walled-up so that the object can stand: a bridge (sometimes called also a saint bridge),

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[1] For a rather general, but indeed useful overview see: P. G. Brewster, "The Foundation Sacrifice Motif in Legend, Folksong, Game, and Dance", Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Bd. 96, H. 1 (1971), pp. 71-89. Obviously, a useful source of references is: A. Dundes (ed.), *The Walled-Up Woman. A Casebook*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison WI, 1996.

a monastery or a church, and a castle. Two issues arise here open for further interpretations. The first one regards the act of sacrifice, which in the majority of the cases is committed either in the form of immurement, or walled-up. I believe we have to divide them, since they refer to different practices, and, hence, methodological care is needed here. The former form leaves space for some final exchange of words, for the woman/wife to leave some last wishes, to show a kind of acceptance of her fate, and even to live for some time after the act of sacrifice. The later does not give the space for such an exchange and ends rather abruptly, without the lyrical tone of the previous one. The second issue deals with the nature of the buildings, on which foundations the sacrifice takes place. Why are these a castle, a bridge and a church/monastery? Why not a home, especially when one takes into account that the practice of sacrificing is still present in the Balkans, even when minor refurbishments are conducted, let alone with the starting of building of a new home? I would limit myself to pointing out to two elements related to each other: 1) the public interests, so the act of sacrifice serves to the common good, and 2) the hegemonic nature of the work that simple folk and peasants were supposed to provide for these buildings to stand and for taking care of them. As a rule, eradication and maintenance of this type of buildings was carried out through the obligation of forced work, commanded and required either by local feudal lords or by the power of the religious authority.

Specialists in the field know that the collection of songs and tales with the motive of immurement/walled up woman began in the 19th century. It started with *Zidanje Skadra*, which refers to the building of the castle of modern Shkodra. However, not all specialists are aware of the existence also of an Albanian version that refers to the building of to the same castle, called the *Ballad of Rozafat*.[2] It would not be an overestimation to enlist these two songs among fundamental texts of modern Albanian and Serbian cultures. Due to prior collection and publication (collected by Vuk Karadžić from Starac Raśko in 1821 and published in the second volume of the Leipzig edition in 1823) the most well-known is the Serbian/Montenegrin variant. The Albanian one was

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[2] The canonical version of the Albanian ballad of Rozafat was published in 1937. See: B. Palaj, D. Kurti (ed.), *Visaret e Kombit Vol. II, Kângë kreshnikësh dhe legjenda*, Shtypshkonja Nikaj, Tiranë 1934, s. 243-245.

first mentioned in 1871[3], then published in 1878[4], but practically started to be known outside of the Albanian-language context only in the 20th century. It is important to note that the first translation of this song was in Serbian by Gliša Elezović in 1928.[5] The earliest Croatian/Dalmatina variant of the *Zidanje Skadra* was collected by Ante Franjin Alačević, and published in 1888 by Matica Hrvatska, which also led to a fierce polemic regarding the origin of this song versus Vuk's version.[6]

Two issues have captured, if not dominated, the scholarly interest about these two songs: 1) the study of their internal structure[7]; and 2) the issue of authorship, or in other words, whose this song?[8] Both questions understandable stem from the very development the national folklore studies in the Balkans and Central and Eastern Europe, which combined diffusionism and ethnocentrism. This paradigm was an essential element of the nation-building efforts, social practices and politics since the first half of the 19th century and, through formalisation and institutionalisation, became the methodological backbone of social and cultural studies, including folklore studies and ethnography, in the 20th century. To a certain extent it remains still a powerful interpretative paradigm. Its main component is the concept of influence, or to call it differently – applied influencology – which in practical terms translates to the idea that there was a variant, which was the source of all other

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[3] H. Hecquard, *Histoire et description de la Haute Albanie ou Guégarie*, Arthus Bertrand, Paris 1858, s. 17-18.

[4] Th. Mitko, *Vepra*, ed. Q Haxhihasani, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS së Shqipërisë, Instituti i Kulturës Popullore, Tiranë 1981, pp. 17-30.

[5] G. Elezović, "Tri arnautske varijante motiva zazidjivanju neveste", in *Zbornik lingvističkih i filoloških rasprava A. Beliću o četrdesetogodišnjici njegova naučnog rada posvećuju njegovi prijatelji i učenici*, Mlada Srbija, Beograd 1937, pp. 391-398.

[6] A further step in my work will be to elaborate on a possible similarity between the names Ružica (in the case of the Croatian Ružicagrad) and Rozafat (Roza + fat). In his book on the siege of Shkodër, Marin Barletius mentioned the legend of the founders of Shkodra as the brother Roza and his sister Fat. See: M. Barleti, *Rrethimi i Shkodrës*, trans. H. Lacaj, 3rd ed., Sh. B. "8 Nëntori", Tiranë 1982, pp. 38. It is important to note that there is also a Razgrad in Bulgaria.

[7] M. Eliade, *Comentarii la Legenda Meşterului Manole*, Editura Publicom, Bucureşti 1943.

[8] M. Arnaudov, *Въградена невеста. Студии върху българските обредии легенди*, [w:] Зборник за народни умотворения и народопис, Vol. 34, Sofia 1920, s. 245-512.

variants, the oldest and the best. In order to illustrate this way of thinking and studying, I would use **the metaphor of the river**, that is a stream that follows from a small source, up from the mountains to cover a larger area down in the lowlands. There is a long list of scholars, who have argued in favour of the Greek, Hungarian, Slavic/mostly Serbian, Romanian, Turkish and Albanian origin of the ballad/songs.[9] Other scholars have pointed to India, through the Roma connection, or even to Western European sources. When it comes to the Serbian and Albanian variants of the songs related to Shkodra castle the arguments in favour of their respective origin represents a combination of mythological, historical and moral arguments. The presence of the vila, the Mrnjavcević brothers (real historical figures, though in Macedonia), and the very name – Skadar – were perceived, albeit initially in a rather rudimentary fashion, as arguments in favour of the Slavic/Serbian origin. Taking as a basis the motive of human sacrifice Svetislav Stefanović argued that the main source could have been Greek. The age of the castle of Scardus/Scutari/Skadar/Shkodra has been seen by Zihni Sako, and then other Albanian scholars and writers, as an argument in favour of the local, that is Illyrian/Albanian origin of the ballad. The high value ascribed to the given word, that is the *besa*, that three building brothers give to each other not to tell their wives about their intention to immure the one that would bring them lunch the next day, is seen as one of the backbone of Albanian moral codes and, therefore, a sign of the Albanian origin of the song. These rudimentarily sketched here discussions have gone on during the entire 20th century and have long transcended the limits of sheer folklore and literary studies. They have become part of politically driven discourses on national autochthony, historical rights over territories, and the very process of building of national cultures, both Serbian and Albanian. The act of sacrifice has become a founding component of national ideology – sacrifice for the nation – and in fact

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[9] See for instance: S. Stefanović, "Legenda o zidanju Skadra", *Studije o narodnoj poezji*, Beograd 1933, pp. 245–314; G. Sarudy, "Kőmüves Kelemené mondaya", in Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények, 1889, pp. 41-71; S. Skendi, *Albanian and South Slavic Oral Epic Poetry*, American Folklore Society, Philadeplhia 1954, pp. 50-54; Z. Sako, "Balada shqiptare për murimin dhe elementet e saj të përbashkëta me motërzimet ballkanike", Studime Filologjike, nr. 2, 1967, pp. 87-92.

the ballad of Rozafat has transformed into a symbol, present and expressed in various forms, to mention for instance post stamps.

Contrary to this scholarly/politicized discourse I would propose another way of looking at this problems, by using **the metaphor of the lake**, to which many rivers fall, and from which others take their route from. The lake in this case is the human sacrifice, whilst the rivers that flow from this lake are various variants of the songs. So this perspective puts the human sacrifice at the centre of the analysis, and/or origin, and not its representations, that is the various songs about this act. Perhaps the main shortfall of the diffusionist/nationally oriented paradigm is the lack of taking into consideration the difference between functioning of songs within orality and literacy, as well as the freezing component of the publication of the texts. In other words, since the publication of these songs in respective languages, folklorists have worked basically on written texts only, therefore focusing mostly on textual, literary, and historical elements, without taking in consideration the crucial element of the existence of these songs within an orally context, that is the dynamic of their performance. This last aspect comes to the centre of attention only by seeing these songs through the perspective of oral formulaic theory developed by Millman Parry and Albert B. Lord, and/or though the anthropological conceptualization of the interconnection between orality and literacy, developed at its best by Jack Goody, one of the leading anthropologists of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Seen from this perspective the songs appear not as texts walled-up within the frameworks of nationally precepted language and tradition, but as expressions and representations that transcend precisely linguistic, geographical, and semantic boundaries. As products of oral context, they defy divisions imposed by the literacy requirements, especially the fixation of the text in writing and printing. Song is created during the performance, and not a text for the sake of performance. Therefore, the issue of authorship does not appear any longer to be a problem. Instead of a monogenetic version, the focus is on a polygenetic origin, which shifts from **the song** to **songs**.

It is in this context that I approach the issue of mapping. Obviously, at a glance the aim of such an effort seems very simple: putting on the map all the known variants of the songs. Through this endeavour one would be able to see quite visibly the diffusion of the motive of

immurement/walling-up on a given geographical and linguistic territory. This would enable to see, how a certain central motive, or a theme to use Albert Lord's terminology, was spread out and performed at the moment of recording. In the case of the ballad of immurement in Albania this moment would correspond to 1950s and 1960s, when the main recordings were conducted. The same could be said also about neighbouring Kosova, although, due to political reasons, the majority of the recordings was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s. However, it seems to me that if we were to treat the mapping as a research strategy, then other implications appear, which seem interesting and thought-provoking.

Although this is work in progress, I can present some of my findings. On the basis of the recordings preserved in the archive of the former Institute of Folk Culture, today Institute of Cultural Anthropology and the Study of Arts at the Academy of Albanian Studies, I can conclude that there are 107 variants of the song of immurement/walling up. Around 2/3 of these recordings refer to the building of the bridge (either unspecified, Nartë in the South and Ura e Fshâj nearby Gjakova) the rest is about the castle (Shkodra, Drisht, Elbasan, Turrë and unspecified). On the basis of these recordings first Qemal Haxhihasani, and later Zihni Sako concluded that in north and north-western parts of Albanian inhabited land dominates the building of the castle, whereas in the north-east, east (Kosova, western Macedonia), south-east (Korca) and southern parts (southern Albania, Çamëria) dominates the building of the bridge. Building on their findings other Albanian scholars, to mention above all Arbnora Dushi and Olimbi Velaj, have reaffirmed this thesis. Two cases amounts as exceptions in this classification: that of the village Lin, where the object built is an Orthodox church, and the villages of Dardha and Sinicë, where the builders put up both a church and a castle at the same time. It should be emphasized that these cases are exemptions not only in the Albanian tradition, but on a much larger scale, since similar motives are not to be found neither in the Balkans, nor elsewhere.

However, if we put the variants on the map we will see that rather than speaking about larger geographical units, it would be more accurate to speak about circles, similar to the circles, and again I will use the metaphor of the lake, made at the surface of the lake, when we through a stone in it. Definitively the castle of Rozafat is such a central place and

then songs about this castle are to be found in the surrounding of Shkodër, for instance in the regions of Krajë. Similarly, despite being situated in the south of Gjakova the song about Ura e Fshâjt or Ura e Shenjtë has been recorded also in the areas around the town, like in Malësia e Gjakovës. Has, and Kukës area. I would call these places referential generators of singing traditions. As a rule, these were urban centres with a market and inns, where people from various hinterlands used to meet, interact and exchange goods, ideas and expressions of what we can call spiritual culture. Other places of exchange and transmission were places destined for leisure, above all coffee houses in towns and/or situated nearby important routes. And finally, of course, an important channel of transmission were weddings and exchange of wives from one environment to others. Whereas the two former paths were studied by various scholars, especially by Matija Murko, Parry and Lord, the latter element has very rarely come under scrutiny and I think it deserves a thorough inquiry.

Yet, the mapping has an important value also in other respects, connected not that much with the anthropological time, in this case the period of recording, but with contemporary state of arts. For instance, the above mentioned song on Ura e Shenjtë was recorded also in Tropoja, both among Muslims (Lluzhë) and Catholics (Lekbibaj). However, my research in the area has shown that the song is not sung anymore. Therefore, by confronting these two states of arts, that is the time of recording with contemporary situation, we will be able to investigate also the recent history of traditions. Obviously, folklorists are perfectly aware that tradition is by definition non-static, but still inquiring and grasping of its dynamics poses as a rule a methodological problem.

To the two above-sketched classifications (castle or bridge; immurement or walling up) others could be added. Even, when they are not mentioned as such, in the Albanian songs the builders, or master-builders, are three brothers. Hence, the building of the castle or the bridge is almost exclusively a family affair, the story of one family. The dramatic conflict that represents the backbone of the song is not only between sacrum and profanum, as Eliade proposed in his interpretation of the song, but also between *ius publicum* and *ius non scriptum*. In some of the songs the younger builder explicitly realises that he has been deceived by his elderly brothers. This is indeed a moment of epiphany,

although there never appears any wish of revenge or furthering the conflict between the brothers. As rule, the infant son is mentioned only as an object of special care of his mother, the sacrificed wife of the youngest brother, but in some of songs from central Albania there are descriptions of his further life, an emphasis of him becoming a good man.

And these remarks bring me to my final point, that is the interconnection between the canonical version and the variants of the songs. Turning of oral songs to texts and their subsequent publication led to their canonization, or to put differently, to the levelling on one version to the position of the canonical text, which since then has served as a matrix for further collection, research and interpretation. The mapping, which bring in mind archaeological work, goes in the opposite direction, that is from literacy towards orality, from text to songs. This approach translates at least into three methodological strategies, though they are by no means limited to only the following. First, it allows us to follow a different path of interpretation, that goes against nationally-centred influencology in favour of dialogic inclusiveness in a large geographical area, being the result of imperial and non-national territorial units. Second, this methodological shift allows scholars to move from the textual approach in favour of a formulaic oriented semantic analysis, which takes into account the element of edition carried out by collectors and later editors. Thirdly and finally, this approach may lead to a serious shift in linguistic and axiomatic terms, since it proposes to treat equally both "we-them" and "they-us" channels of communication. It is with these aims in mind that I embark on the mapping of Albanian songs with the motive of immurement/walled-up woman.

Nicola SCALDAFERRI

VOICE, RHYTHM, AND PERFORMANCE. NEW PERSPECTIVES IN THE STUDY OF ALBANIAN EPIC SONGS

This article intends to explore some new paths of research on the Albanian epic song. Starting from archive materials of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature (henceforth MPCOL) preserved at Harvard University, and the issues that they suggest for further investigation on the field, it will focus on some structural and rhythmical elements of the songs linked to their performance.

The persistence of the practice of Albanian epic song is above all in the Geg area, in Northern Albania and Kosovo. The tradition is present and active still today especially in regions such as Rugova, in Kosovo, at the border with Albania and Montenegro, where the epic songs are a fundamental part of the local cultural identity.

The main repertoire of epics songs is called *Këngë* (or *Kanga*) *Kreshikësh*, usually translated as songs of the frontier warriors; other ways to indicate it are *kënge trimash (*songs of the heroes) or *kënge të moçme* (ancient songs). *Këngë Kreshikësh* have their own specificity, both in the textual aspect and in the performative mode, which distinguishes it from other repertoires poetic.[1] They are usually performed by a singer who accompany himself with the one string bowed instrument, called in Albanian *lahuta*. The poems have legendary characters; they deal mainly with the deeds and the struggles of the two brothers Muja and Halil, their friends and relatives, or other heroes as Gjergj Elez Alia, against their enemies, with the presence of supernatural elements.

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[1] See Pipa 1978: 102-137, and Ahmedaja 2012.

Research and publications concerning *Këngë Kreshikësh* have been carried on since the end of XIX century.[2] Beside the wide number of local scholars and collectors, an important role in the study of the Albanian epics has been played also by some foreigner scholars; actually, the first 15 lines fragment, clearly recognizable as belonging to the *Këngë Kreshnike,* has been published by the Austrian linguist Gustav Meyer in 1897.

A relevant step for the documentation of the Albanian epic tradition it represented by the materials of the MPCOL, at Harvard University, collected by the Homeric scholars Milman Parry and Albert Lord, coming from the United States, between 1943 and 1937 . Recently, these materials have been the topic of the book *Wild Songs, Sweet Songs: The Albanian Epic in the Collections of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord*, it the first book entirely dedicated to these materials, as a result of the work of an international teams, composed by Nicola Scaldaferri, Zymer U. Neziri, John Kolsti and Victor Friedman.[3] The book provides a complete catalogue of the Albanian texts and recordings collected by Parry and Lord; a selection of twelve of the most significant texts, in Albanian with accompanying English translations, which include the longest Albanian epic ever collected[4]; some essays contextualizing the materials and outlining their significance; and an assortment of related photographs and documents. From these materials, we receive important stimuli for further specific inquiries, capable to go beyond the documentation and attestation on the practice of epic song, and indication of new paths of research in the field.

This Albanian corpus of the MPCOL is revealing important elements, both in the perspective of the study of the *Këngë Kreshikësh*, than in general for issues related to the analysis of epic repertories and performances. The presence of recording technology, especially the special apparatus used by Parry and Lord, allowed to document the

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[2] A wide account of the Albanian collection on legendary epics can be found in the different papers included in the volumes Neziri 2006, Neziri 2008, Neziri and Sinani 2016.

[3] *Wild Songs, Sweet Songs* 2021.

[4] *Kanga e Sirotin Alis* (*The song of Sirotin Ali)*, dictated by Adem Brahimi to Lord in 1937; it is 2163 lines long; *Wild Songs, Sweet Songs* 2021: 237-329.

Albanian performances and to have a first uninterrupted recording of a complete epics in Albanian language.[5]

These materials actually have been collected is the same years of the most relevant publications of *Këngë Kreshikësh* by local scholars. The year of Lord's collecting trip, 1937, is even the same of the publication of the landmark volume of *Visaret e Kombit*. Shkodër is the town where Lord started his Albanian journey; here he got in touch with the ambiance of the Franciscan friars involved in the publication of *Visaret e Kombit* (especially Bernardin Palaj), as well as with other local collectors who helped him in his research.

The singers contacted by Lord in Albania in 1937 sometimes are the same informants of the local collectors, that considered them the best of their generation. The information Lord collected about them are sometimes really precious. Following the method that Parry used a few years earlier, besides the transcription of the epics, Lord noted: biographical data for the singers (that included age, religion, knowledge of writing, training, knowledge of languages, travels, contact with other singers); song titles for the singer's entire repertory; the complete transcription of the text of one or more representative songs. We rarely find this kind of information in other epic collections of the time. A singular case is that of Gjergj Pllumbi, a famous singer from Shala, met, among other, by authoritative scholars like Ernest Koliqi, Fulvio Cordignano and Anton Çetta. In Lord's manuscript we find perhaps the most reliable information about Pllumbi's activity and his background, otherwise depicted in a romantic and sometimes unrealistic manner by the other scholars. All these elements are surely important from the perspective of the documentation, the ethnographic data, the cultural history of the collection, and for enlarging the corpus of the *Këngë Kreshikësh* itself. Moreover, above all, there are some suggestion than from the archive materials bring us back to the field, asking to pay attention especially to some aspects of the performance. This is a crucial point, specifically referred to the performance of the Albanian epics, that has relevant consequences in the matter of the versification, and that can

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[5]*Muji e Gavran Kapetani (Muji and Gavran Kapetan),* performed by Salih Ugljanin; recorded in Novi Pazar (1934) by Parry and Lord; *Wild Songs, Sweet Songs* 2021: 131-141.

be studied thanks of the presence of audio recordings used by Parry and Lord.

Let's focus on the Albanian recordings performed by the bilingual singer Salih Ugljanin, recorded by Parry in Novi Pazar in 1934; they include both sung lines and rhythmically recited songs, In the Albanian epics, the way to perform the lines, which can be sung or recited, results in relevant changes in the meter of versification. This is evident in one of the most singular recordings of Ugljanin, the song of *Mark and Musa* (PN 659), 154 lines long.[6] Here, Ugljanin starts it singing along the first 6 lines, and after that, without interruption, continues to recite rhythmically the texts.

In the performance of this song, the presence or not of the melody, is connected to changes in the metrical structure. The verses presented in the sung performance (1-6) are similar to the decasyllabic (with two long stress in the last syllables), while those of the recited texts (7-154) are similar to the octosyllabic, with two isochronous stresses (usually in the 3rd and penultimate or ultimate syllables). The change of the verse results as a consequence of the switching between reciting to singing, occurring inside the same performance of a same song. Here the transcription of the text performed by Ugljanin; in the following transcription the syllables stressed are underlined.

> (sung)
> E lum për ty-o, moro, j-lumi Zo-<u>jo</u>-<u>te</u>   12
> konka çua Kraleviçu <u>Ma</u>-<u>rka</u>   10
> edhe Marku n'kôm-o çi o <u>çu</u>-<u>a</u>   10
> me Sharanin n'shpid-o m'i kish <u>ra</u>-<u>me</u>   10
> e n'shpid Sharanit Marku çi i ka <u>shku</u>-<u>a</u>   11
> e n'Stamboll-o Marku kish pa <u>shku</u>-<u>a</u>   10
>
> (recited)
> kur po shk<u>o</u>n Marku n'Stamb<u>o</u>ll   7 (3,7)
> bash tu mbr<u>e</u>ti konka d<u>a</u>l   7 (3,7)
> bash tu mbr<u>e</u>ti konka d<u>a</u>l   7 (3,7)
> tri tab<u>o</u>rr i kan rreth<u>u</u>a   8 (3,7)

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[6] *Wild Songs, Sweet Songs* 2021: 126-130.

tri tab<u>o</u>rr i kan rreth<u>ua</u>   8 (3,7)
edhe M<u>a</u>rkun e kan nguj<u>ua</u>   9 (3,8)

(sung)
Glory to the Lord, the blessed Lord / arose Mark Kraleviç / Mark was standing on his feet / Mark hit his horse / and Mark arrived in Stamboll /
(recited)
when Mark arrived in Stamboll / he went to the King / he went to the King / three soldiers surrounded him / three soldiers surround him / and they blocked Mark

We can see here a kind of stretching/compression system of the line, thanks to the presence or not of repetitions and filling words; it allows the switching from a recited octosyllabic to a sung decasyllabic one. This point is of particular importance as it is also linked with the methods of collection of the songs themselves.

Recording a song while is sung, or recording its recited text, or transcribing it in a recited version under dictation, are different ways to collect a song under different performance. All these three forms were present in the MPCOL, as it is explained by Lord[7]. Let's remember that Parry started to collect the texts under dictation, in the same way his previous colleagues did the published collection of epics; however, even when he was using recording machines, Parry did not stop to collect texts written under dictation. His perspective of Homeric scholar, is closer to the ideal hypothesis of the Homeric text as a written transcription of a dictated performance.[8]

For Parry and Lord the moment of transcribing a recited text, dictated line by line, is actually a relevant form of performance, even

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[7] *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs* 1954: 18.
[8] This is revealed by the words of Parry himself in *Ćor Huso. A Study of Southslavic Songs:* "I even figure to myself, just now, the moment when the author of the *Odyssey* sat and dictated his song, while another, with writing materials, wrote it down verse by verse even in the way that our singers sit in the immobility of their thought, watching the motion of Nikola's hand across the empty page, when it will tell them it to the instant for them to speak the next verse"; Parry 1971: 451.

though it is not the usual one for the singers.[9] In the case of the Albanian epics, the difference between sung and recited performance goes beyond because, as we have seen, it is connected with a change of the meter. This opens new question related to the scholarship about Albanian epics, where the rhapsodic line is commonly reputed to be the decasyllabic line. Even though the most common Albanian folk verse is the octosyllabic line, in all the important collections, the legendary epics appeared mainly in decasyllabic line.[10] The case of Ugljanin discussed here is particularly striking because this change occurs during a same performance; it can be seen as a bed of Procrustes where the lines can be stretched or shortened, using filling words, and adapting them to the structure created by the presence of the rhythm of recitation or that of the melody.[11]

The song of *Mark and Musa* performed by Ugljanin have been a starting point of a research that from the MPCOL moved to the field, the border area of Rugova, focusing on different manners to perform an epic songs. The way of Ugljanin to recite a song in octosyllabic lines and to sing it in decasyllabic line, is confirmed by the work done with many other singers, especially with one of the most authoritative singers active today in Rugova, Isa Elezi-Lekëgjekaj.[12]

Isa Elezi is perfectly aware, like other singers, that singing and reciting are different ways to perform a text; let's consider some different performances of a same song, *Kanga e marteses se Halilit* (The Song of the Wedding of Halil), that Isa was asked to do; they were filmed in order

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[9]Some of the most sofisticated poems of the MPCOL, as the *Wedding of Smailagić Meho* by Avdo Međedović, have been collected in this manner.

[10] This happens, for example, in a major contribution on the oral Albanian versification, Pipa 1978. Namely, the repertory of *Këngë Kreshnike* in his opinion is based on the decasyllabic rapsodic line, and is separated from other Albanian epics, that are in octosyllabic lines. His analysis are mainly based on the epics texts published in *Visaret e Kombit*, and never in recorded material. Pipa 1978: 126-137. See also Skendi 1953 and 1954.

[11]A study of a similar mechanism, present in the arbëresh tradition. is discussed in Scaldaferri 2008: an improvised poetic text, in octosyllabic lines, is dictated, line by line, to a group of women, who "transform" and sing it in decasyllabic lines.

[12]In civil records Isa Muriqi (b. 1947). About this singer and his importance, see Neziri 2006: 149-182.

to verify the differences in the verse in the passage from a performance to another.[13]

In the first one *(A- Singing mode),* Isa sing the text with the *lahuta* in the "normal sung" way to perform. The lines are about 10-12 syllables (with repetitions and filling words) and the rhythm is set by the melody as well as by the movements of the hands playing the instrument with the bow:

Ani, o, lum-e për ty-e Zot-o i lumi Zot	11
e, po hiç s'jem kjenë, po ti na ke dhanë	11
e, hiç pa shybe po çaren na e ban	10
e, tridhet' agë-o po n'llanxhe janë dalë	12
e, sa kanë marr lafin e kan fol	10
e, sa kanë marrë pijen e po pinë	11

Glory to the Lord, the blessed Lord / He gave us everything / from nothing He created us/ the thirty Aga went in the field / they started to talk / they started to drink

In the second performance (*B-reciting mode*) Isa is rhythmically reciting the text without singing. We see here precisely the same situation of the recitation of Ugljanin: the verse rhythmically recited presents a number of 8 syllables (sometimes 7 and 9) and the rhythm is set by the regular presence of two isochronous accents:

Lum për ty, o i lumi Zot	7 (3, 7)
hiç s'jem kanë e na ke dhanë	8 (3, 7)
hiç pa çare, çaren na e ban	8 (3, 8)
ish çu Muja n'nate n'saba'	8 (3, 8)
avdes t'paç burri ki marrë	8 (3, 7)
Zot i madhi kabull ja pastë ba	8 (3, 8)
Halil ag's po i ban za	7 (3, 7)
çou Halil me u shtërgua	8 (3, 7)
se në llanxhe po duem me shkua	9 (3, 8)

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[13] See Scaldaferri 2011; For the video documents of these performances see: http://www.leav.unimi.it/epica.html (accessed December 2022).

Glory to the Lord, the blessed Lord/ He gave us everything/ from nothing He created us/ arose Muja in the morning/ he washed up before praying/ Lord blessed him/ Muja told to Aga Halil / get up Halil dress you / we must go in the field

At this point, Isa was asked to do a third performance: to dictate the text line by line, in order to allow a listener to transcribe it without the help of the recording. The aim in this case was to recreate the mode of collection of many texts before the advent of recording; a system of collecting that was used even after the recording technology, and concerns also the Albanians materials collected by Lord in 1937.

In this third performance (*C-dictating mode*), when Isa is reciting in order to write down the text, the timing of the recitation of each line in this case depends on the time required by writing it down; the regularity of the rhythm is totally broken, even though the number of syllables is closer to the previous case:

Lum për ty, oj lumi Zot //
hiç s'jem kanë // e na ke dhanë //
pa shybe çaren na e ban //
Ish çu Muja n'nate n'saba' //
po pin kafe me sheqer //
çou Halil, vëlla, i ki thanë //
dy en llanxhe tek janë dalë //
bashkë me agë llaf kanë ba //
venë e kuqe n'faqe u ka dalë //
sa rakia n'llaf i ka hapë //
janë dredhë shok't Muj's i kanë thanë //

Glory to the Lord, the blessed Lord / He gave us everything / from nothing He created us / arose Muja in the morning / he drank coffee with sugar / wake up Halil - told him / they both went to the field / they start to talk with the Agas / their face was red like the wine / they enjoyed the raki / the friends started to criticize Muja

The poem *Kanga e marteses se Halilit* is performer by Isa Elezi each time in a different form; each form has rhythmic specificity with

consequences on the metric of the verse. This situation shows how the idea to establish a canonic rhapsodic decasyllabic line seems quite problematic. Moreover, the terminology of octonary or decasyllabic line, as usually used in the written literature, seems to be inadequate; the rhythm set by the isochronous stresses, mainly in the recited version, is much more important than the number and the length of the syllables, than can sligthly change, as we can see in the examples.

And eventually, the variety of 'performances' related to a same song, reveals a gap with the fixity of the lines usually we found in the published corpus of texts. Surely this rise the point about the role of scholars in collecting – or more precisely, sometime, in "establishing" - the texts of epic songs; this matter was already pointed by scholars like Skendi, in discussing the methods of the collections, where very often the collector played an active role in making arrangements of the texts following romantic ideas, in order to give them an artistic and literary value.[14] This means that the printed verses perhaps can be coherently analyzed with literary metrical criteria; in the same time, it means than they are not always representative of the real practice of the performance, that follows very often rhythmical criteria. This gap makes even more precious recordings like the song of *Mark and Musa* performed by Ugljanin, where we can find a real performance of a singer (from a period when the epic performances were active) without the mediation of the scholars.

As usual it happens during a fieldwork, you can have some surprises able to suggest new paths of research. Actually the results of the fieldwork with Isa Elezi went beyond the verification of the existence of different way to perform a text and the importance of the rhythm. During a recording session, Isa Elezi was almost disappointed for the long recitation sessions he was asked to do, sitting in front of a videocamera and an audio recorder, without singing and without the possibility to use of the *lahuta*. Suddenly he arose and start to recite walking in the room. He was reciting the text like the previous cases, (B-reciting mode); however, he was also marking the two stresses of each line of the recitation with the footsteps, and explaining clearly what he was doing:

[14]See Skendi 1954: 20-21.

Ma mirë e thom fjalorin, se me kjenë unxhë, pa lahutë, pse unë e thom me kamë, me hap:

Lum për ty, e i lumi Zot	7 (3, 7)
hiç s'jem kjen, Zoti na ka dhanë	9 (3, 8)
ai pa shybe çaren na e banë	9 (3, 8)
M'ish çu Muja n'nate, n'saba'	8 (3, 8)
adet Muja e ki pasë	8 (3, 7)
pa le dielli sabahin m'e fal	8 (3, 8)
i madhi Zot kabull ja baftë	9 (4, 8)
n'ballë t'oxhakut Muja m'ish dredhë	9 (3, 8)
m'i ka shti iibrikat n'oxhak	8 (3, 8)
pike Muja kafe me shiqer	9 (3, 9)
po i ki ra Mujes për bjeshkë	9 (4, 8)

pse i bie n'hapje, mua ma kollaj, m'vjen se unxhun, e tash ajo n'varet prej njerëzve

I can tell it much better it this way, sitting without lahuta it is difficult; I tell it standing, with footsteps:

Glory to the Lord, the blessed Lord/ He gave us everything / from nothing He created us / arose Muja in the morning / washed up before praying / he greeted the sun of the morning / Lord blessed him / Muja was at the fireplace / put the pot in the fireplace / drank coffee with sugar / Muja went out in the field

because I mark [the stress] with the footstep, for me it is better than sitting, it depends of the person.

As has been pointed out, the singers find themselves in an unusual situation in dictating a text without singing, or in performing without an instrument that is usually required; this discomfort is largely documented among singers of many musical cultures around the world. However, the element missed in the recited version that seems to be crucial for the singers, is not the melody; it seems to be the body movement, which actually helps the singer in keeping the rhythm. Actually many scholars refers about singers, asked to perform without the *lahuta*, using some pieces of wood to imitate the movement of playing with the bow.

Coherently with many theories about this point, the body movement plays a crucial role in setting the rhythmical frame of the performance,

and in supporting the technique of memorizing and composing using formulas. Let's just mention here - among the many pages devoted to this topic - the famous pages of Eric Havelock in *Preface to Plato*, where actually he put in connection the mechanisms of the memory with the body performance thanks to the rhythmical movement; moreover, in Havelocks' discussion, this aspect is crucial in building up the Greek concept of the *Mousiké* that connected phenomena that later would be split in different performing arts: poetry, music, and dance.[15]

Almost demonstrating a continuity of some concepts and performance's form across the time and the space, in the living epic forms of the Balkans today it is often possible to find evidences of the importance of the body movement in the epic performance. The "walking performance" of Isa Elezi is a relevant case not only because it demonstrates the involvement of the body rhythmical movement, but also because of the consciously presence of the footsteps used by the singer as a rhythmical marker of the versification. In the case of Isa Elezi's walking performance, the regular rhythmical footsteps movement establishes a rhythmical frame that "pulls" the words of the lines and the formulas. This detail suggests us to think about the footsteps - a term very often present the poetry since ancient time - not only in a theoretical and metaphorical way, but perhaps in a more concrete connection with a real performance. It reminds us, once again, the connection between poetry, song, and rhythmical movement of the body, since the time of ancient performing arts.

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[15] Havelock 1963:148–152. For other aspects that link body, voice, memory, and technologies, see Scaldaferri 2104.

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Luan RAMA

LA CHANSON DE CONSTANTIN ET LES RACINES DE LA LEGEND A LA LUMIERE DU DOCUMENT DE TREBIZONDE DU XE SIECLE

La chanson de Constantin est sans doute une des perles du folklore balkanique. Chacun de nous de sa jeunesse a été émerveillé du monde poétique et magique de cette chanson: pour nous a été toujours l'histoire de la parole donnée, de "bessa" et du voyage du mort. Le mort se réveille. Le voyage du frère qui cherche sa sœur devient mythique.

Pendant la rédaction de mon livre sur le consul français Auguste Dozon, *Auguste Dozon et l'Albanie - Le consul qui aimait les contes,* j'ai pu connaître les versions différentes de cette chanson parmi les pays balkanique. J'étais devant une grande question: qui étaient les racines de cette chanson, qui était sa patrie. Dozon (1822-1890) est le consul de France à Janina de l'Albanie de 1869 à 1874. Avant ce poste, il avait été aussi à Belgrade et à Plovdiv de Bulgarie, et avait connu très bien le folklore de ces pays, dont témoignent ses éditions. Dès qu'il est venu en Albanie, il a commencé à rassembler les contes, les chansons et le patrimoine oral des Albanais. Il a publié *Le manuel de la langue schkype*[1] en 1875 et *Contes albanais*[2] en 1881.

Étant diplomate, il a beaucoup voyagé dans les Balkans et plus tard il a été consul à Thessalonique. Il connaissait bien les langues slaves, l'albanais et le grec. En Albanie il a lié amitié et a collaboré avec beaucoup d'Albanais de notre Renaissance comme Kristoforidhi, Mitko, Kamarda, Dora d'Istria, Sami et Naim Frashëri, Apostol Meksi etc. Mais il était le premier à étudier en profondeur et d'une manière comparative la chanson *Constantin, le mort voyageur* comme il l'écrit et dont il avait deux sources: la revue *Abeille chkype* de Thimi Mitko et la traduction de

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[1] *Chansons populaires bulgares inédites,* A. Dozon, éd. Maisonneuve, Paris, 1875.

[2] Éditions E. Leroux, Paris.

cette chanson dans son livre *Contes et chansons populaires* sur la version albanaise-italienne, versifiée de cette légende, rapproché des versions bulgares, serbe et grecque. [3] Incité de son travail je me suis penché sur l'épopée byzantine de Digénis Acritas, dont parlent en général Eqrem Çabej et Ismail Kadaré dans son livre *L'Autobiographie du peuple en vers*, sans parler du lien direct de cette chanson avec cette épopée byzantine et le document de Trébizonde. Dès la fin du XVIII siècle le monde connaîssait *La balade de Lenore* du poète allemande Gottfried August Bürger,[4] Mais au milieu du XIXe siècle les chercheurs ont commencé à publier *Le voyage du mort* en langue serbe, bulgare, albanais et grecque, où la ressemblance avec *La Balade de Lenore* tant aimé par Goethe était frappante. Comment cette ressemblance et pourquoi? Bien sur que les littéraires comme les frères Grimm, Charles Perrault et d'autres avaient droit de romancier les sujets folkloriques, les contes populaires mais Bürger n'avait pas raconté qu'il était inspiré d'une vieille ballade, ce qu'a montré plus tard dans ses recherches le linguiste et historien franco-grec Jean Psichari, trouvant les traces dans la correspondance de Bürger.

Mais revenons à l'étude de Dozon qui a rassemblé les différentes versions de cette chanson dans les Balkans. Il faut souligner que dans son travail il a été aidé par Konstantin Kristoforidhi et Naim Frashëri.

La version bulgare

Dans son livre *Chansons populaires bulgares inédits*, que Dozon a rassemblé pendant ses voyages en Bulgarie il parle de l'aide précieux qu'a donné le chercheur autochtone Verkoviç qui avait rassemblé des rhapsodes 20.000 vers de différentes chansons et entre autres sur le chevaucher funèbre.

"Une mère avait neuf fils qu'elle avait mis au monde, et une fille, Vékia. Vékia grandit. Pour elle il vint des entremetteuses à travers neuf forêts vertes, à travers neuf villages, dans le dixième. Sa mère ne la donnait point mais son frère, Dimitri veut la donner et il disait à sa mère:

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[3] Voir aussi dans *Collection des contes et chansons populaires*, A. Dozon, vol.3, p. 249-253.

[4] Poète allemand (1748-1794), auteur de "La balade de Lenore", traduit en français par l'écrivain français Gérard de Nerval.

"- Allons ! Donnons Vékia au-delà de neuf forêts vertes, au-delà de neuf villages, dans le dixième, car nous sommes beaucoup de frères, une fois dans l'année nous irons passer quelque temps chez elle. On donna Vékia, et la maria, au-delà de neuf forêts vertes.

Une nuée sombre s'abattit sur la maison de Dimitri, et fit périr les frères qui vivaient en commun et les neuf brus réunies, il ne resta que la mère toute seule pour remuer neuf berceaux, pour allumer des cierges sur neuf tombeaux. Elle en allumait et arrosait de vin les tombes; au tombeau de Dimitri elle n'allait pas. Elle le maudissait avec de terribles imprécations: "- Dimitri, puisses-tu n'avoir point de tombeau ! " Dieu s'émut de pitié. Dimitri sortit de sa tombe, il s'en alla chez Vékia. Quand Vékia le vit, elle lui baisa la main: "- Mon frère, pourquoi ta main sent-elle le sureau brûlé et la terre rouge?" Et Dimitri a répondu: "- Nous avons bâti neuf maisons. Viens, que je t'emmène en visite chez nos parents. " Vékia se mit en chemin avec son frère Dimitri. Ils traversèrent une vaste plaine et la forêt. Sur l'arbre un petit oiseau sifflait et disait: "- Où a-t-on jamais entendu et vu qu'un vivant chemine avec un mort? " Vékia a dit: " - Frère, que dit ce petit oiseau? "- Vékia, cet oiseau est menteur. Quand ils furent proche de la maison, Dimitri lui a dit: "- Va en avant, je resterai en arrière pour faire boire mon cheval, et puis je te rejoindrai." Dimitri s'arrêta, Vékia continua de marcher. Dimitri rentra dans sa tombe, Vékia arriva à la maison. Elle frappait et disait à sa mère: " - Sors, mère, viens au-devant de moi. " Quand sa mère sortit et qu'elle vit Vékia, elle disait: "- Vékia, mon enfant, qui t'a amenée jusqu'ici? "- Ma vieille mère, c'est mon frère Dimitri qui m'a amenée. " Vivantes elles s'embrassèrent, mortes leur étreinte cessa. "[5]

Quelles sont les particularités de cette chanson:

- Pendant le voyage Dimitri traverse neuf forêts et neuf villages.

- A part les frères sont mortes aussi leurs brus. Une nuée sombre était tombée sur leur maison.

- Seule, la mère est restée vivante pour remuer neuf berceaux et allumer les cierges sur neuf tombeaux.

- Elle arrosait de vin les fleurs, mais elle n'allait pas à la tombe de son fils. Elle le maudit.

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[5] Traduit du bulgare par A. Dozon, voir *Auguste Dozon et l'Albanie-le consul qui aimait les contes*, Luan Rama, Les Livres Rama, Tirana, 2018, p.51-60.

- Dieu écoute et s'émeut. Dimitri sort de la tombe. Il va et dit à sa sœur qu'il va l'emmener voir les parents, donc pas seulement la mère.

- Vékia baisse la main de son frère: Pourquoi ta main sent-elle le sureau brûlé et la terre rouge? - Parce que nous avons bâti neuf maisons.

- A l'approche de leur maison il lui dit qu'il va faire boire au cheval et reviendrait.

La version serbe

Dans le chant serbe sur le même thème, trouvé en Serbie, Dozon nous parle que les fils meurent, parce que la peste est tombée sur le pays. Trois années ont passé que Jelica est partie pour se marier loin de là. Parce qu'elle s'ennuie, elle se demande où sont ses frères et pourquoi ils ne viennent pas le voir. Dieu en est alors désolé et il envoie deux anges au frère, qui avait accepte que sa sœur parte loin, pour lui redonner vie. Ainsi, la pierre de la tombe de Joani est devenue un cheval, et avec la terre il a confectionné des gâteaux pour sa sœur. Et quand il est allé la prendre, elle lui a dit: " Pourquoi es-tu blême mon frère, comme si tu étais sorti de la terre. " Et son frère de lui répondre: "Parce que j'ai travaillé et érigé des tours pour mes frères…" Jelica confectionne alors des chemises en soie pour ses frères et ils s'en sont allés. Quand ils se sont rapprochés de la maison de leur mère, il lui a dit qu'il s'arreterait devant l'église, parce que quand son frère se marié, il avait fait tomber l'alliance et donc, il devait la retrouver. C'est ainsi qu'il s'en est allé et est retourné dans la tombe. Sa sœur l'a attendu, puis elle l'a cherché, et elle a vu qu'autour de l'église il y avait un cimetière, lui faisant comprendre qu'il était mort. Jelica est rentrée directement à la maison, et a dit à sa mère de lui ouvrir la porte. "Qu'est-ce que tu veux ombre maudite. Tu m'as tué mes neuf fils, et maintenant tu veux prendre une malheureuse vieille. " Elle a ouvert la porte, les deux ont gémi comme des jarres et enlacées sont tombées inertes à terre. "[6]

Des éléments particuliers:

- Dans cette version, les frères sont morts par la peste.

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[6] Traduit du serbe par A. Dozon. Voir *Auguste Dozon-le consul qui aimait les contes*, p.51-60.

- Jelica est ma riée outre-mer.

- Le retour du mort se fait 3 ans après sa mort. Il reste chez sa sœur 3 jours. Il n'existe pas le nr.9.

- Après trois ans, Jelica gémit amèrement: Dieu clément, la grande merveille! Quelle offense si grande ai-je commise envers mes frères, qu'ils ne viennent point me rendre visite?

- Dieu clément s'émut de compassion et il envoya deux de ses anges: Descendez, mes deux anges, ranimez Joan de votre souffle, de la pierre funéraire faites - lui un cheval, avec la terre pétrissez-lui des gâteaux, dans le linceul taillez-lui des objets à donner en présent.

- Il reste trois jours chez sa sœur qui veut préparer pour ses frères des chemises de soie et des anneaux pour leurs femmes.

- La sœur dit à son frère: tous m'aviez promis, frère, quand vous m'avez donné en mariage, que vous me feriez de fréquentes visites: dans l'année, chaque mois, dans le mois chaque semaine? Voilà aujourd'hui trois ans écoulés.

- Sa sœur lui dit aussi: pourquoi, frère, es-tu devenu si blême, on dirait que tu sors de dessous terre? " - Joan l'adolescent lui répond: "Tais-toi, ma sœur! Que n'ai-je pas eu à souffrir! Il a fallu marier huit frères et j'ai servi huit belles-sœurs. "

- Dans cette chanson on ne parle pas du long voyage, du cheval, des oiseaux. On passe directement à l'arrivée devant la maison. - "Un instant, ma chère sœur, que j'entre dans la blanche église ; au mariage d'un de nos frères j'ai perdu mon anneau d'or, je vais le chercher. "

- Elle l'attendait, puis se mit à sa recherche. Les tombes étaient nombreuses autour de l'église. Elle comprit aussitôt, que Jean était mort. Vite, elle court vers la maison blanche. Elle entendit au dedans gémir un coucou, mais ce n'était point un coucou gris, c'était sa vieille mère. La fin est comme les autres versions.

La version grecque

Dozon a continué à comparer les différentes versions balkaniques avec la version grecque, recueillie sur l'île d'Hio, dans la maison d'un villageois et traduite par lui. Voici ce qu'il écrit: "Mère de neuf fils, qui avec eux n'avait qu'une fille, une fille chérie, tendrement aimée ! Elle avait passé douze ans et le soleil ne l'avait point vue, dans l'ombre tu la lavais, dans les ténèbres tu la tressais, à la lumière des astres et de l'étoile du matin tu arrangeais sa chevelure ; quand on t'apporta des offres de Babylone, pour la marier au loin, bien loin en pays étranger. Huit des frères n'y consentent point, mais Constantin veut qu'on l'accorde: "Donne-la, mère, donne Arété en pays étranger, là où je voyage, afin que j'y trouvé une consolation, que j'y trouve un gîte." – "Tu as du sens, Constantin, et ce que tu viens de dire n'en a pas: si la mort passe chez nous, s'il me survient une maladie, s'il arrive affliction ou bonheur, qui me l'amènera?" - Il prit Dieu pour garant et les saints pour témoins. Or après qu'on eût marié Arété en pays étranger, voilà qu'une année fatale commença, la peste éclata et les neuf frères moururent, la mère se trouva seule. Sur huit des tombes elle se frappe, sur huit elle se lamente, mais du tombeau de Constantin elle soulève la pierre: "Lève-toi, cher Constantin, je veux mon Arété ; tu as pris Dieu pour garant et les saints pour témoins." - Cette adjuration le tira de sa fosse: d'un nuage il se fait un cheval, d'une étoile une bride, il prend la lune pour compagnon et part pour aller la chercher. Il traverse et laisse derrière lui vallées et montagnes, et la trouve qui se peignait dehors à la clarté de la lune ; de loin il la salue et de loin il lui dit: "En route, ma petite Arété, notre mère veut te voir. „Par le ciel, mon frère, quel moment est-celà? Dis-moi s'il s'agit d'une noce, que je mette mes beaux habits, ou s'il s'agit d'un deuil, que je vienne comme je suis. "En route ma chère Arété, et viens comme tu es. Sur le chemin où ils passaient, ils entendent les oiseaux qui chantent et qui disent: "qui vit jamais une belle fille emmenée par un mort?" - "Entends-tu, Constantin, ce que disent les oiseaux? Qui vit jamais une belle fille emmenée par un mort?" - "Sots oiseaux, qu'ils chantent." Et plus loin comme ils avançaient, d'autres oiseaux leur disent: "0 affliction! Nous qui voyons les vivants marcher avec les morts." - "Entends-tu Constantin, ce que disent les oiseaux que les vivants marchent avec les morts." - "Ce sont des oiseaux qu'ils parlent." - "J'ai

peur de toi, mon frère, tu exhales une odeur d'encens." - "Hier soir nous allâmes jusqu'à Saint Jean, et le prêtre brûla trop d'encens." Et comme ils continuaient, d'autres oiseaux leur disent: "0 Dieu tout puissant, tu accomplis une grande merveille, qu'une femme si belle soit emmenée par un mort." Dis-moi où sont tes cheveux, ton épaisse moustache?" -"J'ai souffert d'une grave maladie, j'ai vu de près la mort, ainsi sont tombés mes blonds cheveux, mes épaisses moustaches." Et ils trouvent la maison fermée, verrouillée, et les fenêtres couvertes de toiles d'araignée. "Ouvre-moi, ma mère, ouvre, c'est ton Arété." - "Si tu es Charos, passe ton chemin, car il ne me reste plus d'enfants ; ma pauvre fille, mon Arétoula, elle est bien loin en pays étranger." - "Ouvre-moi, ma mère, ouvre, je suis ton fils Constantin ; j'avais pris Dieu pour garant et les saints pour témoins." A peine avait-elle atteint le seuil, qu'elle rendit l'âme. [7]

Éléments particuliers

- Arete avait 12 ans, grandit dans la solitude, dans les ténèbres sa mère la tressait.

- Elle s'est mariée en Babylonie.

- Un an après le mariage, c'est la peste. Les frères meurent. La mère pleure sur les huit tombes. Au tombeau de Constantin elle soulève la pierre: "Lève-toi, Constantin, je veux mon Arété ; tu as pris Dieu pour garant et les saints pour témoins." - Cette adjuration le tira de sa fosse: d'un nuage il se fait un cheval, d'une étoile une bride, il prend la lune pour compagnon et part.

- Sur le chemin ils entendent les oiseaux qui disent: "Qui ne vit jamais une belle fille emmenée par un mort?"

- Arete lui dit: Tu exhales une odeur d'encens." - "Hier soir nous allâmes jusqu'à Saint Joan, et le prêtre brûla trop d'encens." " Dis-moi où sont tes cheveux, ton épaisse moustache?" -"J'ai souffert d'une grave maladie, j'ai vu de près la mort, ainsi sont tombés mes blonds cheveux, ses épaisses moustaches."

- La fin est comme dans la version albanaise.

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[7] Traduit du grec par A. Dozon. Voir *Auguste Dozon-le consul qui aimait les contes*, p.51-60.

La version albanaise

Dozon se réfère à la version des Albanais d'Italie, les arberech, publié par Gerolamo de Rada, à Firenze en 1866 dans *Rhapsodie d'un chant albanais*, Canto XVII.

" Il était une mère de noble maison, elle avait neuf fils distincts et en dixième une fille, qu'on appelait Garentina: Pour avoir celle-ci en mariage, allaient et venaient dans son pays des fils de seigneurs et des grands. Enfin il arriva un jeune homme d'un pays lointain. La mère et les frères refusaient, parce qu'il était de trop loin, seul Constantin, consentait et entrait en pourparlers. - Fais, mère, ce mariage. - Constantin, mon fils, quels pourparlers fais-tu là, pour l'envoyer si loin de nous? Car si je la veux pour quelque réjouissance, à la fête elle manquera, et si j'ai besoin d'elle pour un deuil, au deuil je ne l'aurai pas non plus. - J'irai la chercher, ma mère, et te l'amènerai. - Et on marie Garentina. Sur le chemin ils entendent les oiseaux qui disent: "Qui vit jamais une belle fille emmenée par un mort?"

Dans la suite il arriva une année fatale, qui moissonna à cette dame ses neuf fils sur un seul champ de bataille; et elle se vêtit de noir et assombrit sa maison. Quand le samedi des morts se leva pour les chrétiens, elle sortit et se rendit à l'église où étaient les tombeaux de ses fils, et sur chacun des sépulcres de ses fils, elle fit allumer un cierge et fit une lamentation; mais sur la tombe de Constantin deux cierges et deux lamentations. - Constantin, o mon fils, où est la foi que tu me donnas, de m'amener Garentina ta sœur? Ta foi, elle est sous terre! Quand le jour tomba et que l'église fut fermée, Constantin se leva de sa tombe. La dalle qui recouvrait le sépulcre se changea en un cheval ardent couvert d'une housse noire; l'anneau qui était fixé à la pierre devint un frein d'argent. Il s'élança sur le cheval et partit vers la demeure de sa sœur. Il trouva les enfants de sa sœur: - Où est allée madame votre mère - Seigneur Constantin, notre oncle, elle est à la danse dans la ville. Il s'en alla vers la première ronde: Il s'approcha et demanda: - Va plus loin, tu la trouveras avec sa robe de lampas et sa toque de velours. Arrivé à la seconde danse il s'approcha pour demander. - Constantin mon frère ! - Garentina, quitte la danse et partons; tu dois venir avec moi à la maison. - Mais dis-moi ce qu'il faut faire; car si je vais à un deuil, j'irai mettre des

vêtements noirs; si c'est à une réjouissance, que je prenne mes habits de fête. - Mets-toi en chemin telle que tu te trouves. Il la plaça en croupe sur son cheval.

Ils cheminaient quand Garentina se mit à dire: Constantin mon frère, je vois un signe funeste, tes larges épaules sont toutes moisies. - Garentina ma sœur, c'est la fumée des fusils qui a moisi mes épaules. - Mais Constantin mon frère, il y a un autre signe funeste que je vois: tes cheveux bouclés sont réduits en poussière. - Garentina ma sœur, tes yeux sont trompés par la poussière de la route. - Constantin mon frère, pourquoi mes brillants frères ne viennent-ils pas à notre rencontre? - Garentina ma sœur, ils seront plus loin. - Mais un autre signe funeste, c'est que je vois les fenêtres de notre maison fermées et obstruées d'herbes ! - On les a fermées contre le vent de mer, car c'est de ce côté que souffle la bise d'hiver.

En arrivant ils passèrent devant l'église. - Laisse-moi, que j'entre dans l'église pour prier. - Seule et par les hauts escaliers elle monta vers sa mère. - Ouvre la porte, ma mère. - Qui es-tu toi là, à la porte? - Madame ma mère, je suis Garentina. - Passe ton chemin, chienne de mort, qui m'as ravi neuf fils, et qui avec la voix de ma fille viens maintenant pour me prendre moi-même. - Oh! Ouvre-moi, je suis bien Garentina. - Mais qui t'a amenée, ma fille? - C'est Constantin qui m'a amenée, Constantin mon frère. - Et Constantin à présent où est-il? - Il est entré dans l'église pour prier. - La mère ouvrit vivement la porte: - Mon Constantin, il est mort! - Et la mère étreignant la fille, la fille étreignant la mère, rendirent l'âme. [8]

Éléments particuliers

- Les frères sont tués dans la guerre. La mère s'habille en noir et assombrit la maison.
- Au cimetière, la mère lui demande: " Constantin, o mon fils, où est la foi que tu me donnes !? "
- Il s'agît d'une famille de nobles.
- Il trouve sa sœur en train de danser.

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[8] Dozon se référe du livre de Girolamo de Rada, *Rapsodie d'un poema albanese*, Firenze, Canto XVII, p.29. Voir aussi *Auguste Dozon-le consul qui aimait les contes*, p.51-60

- Au retour elle lui dit: - Je vois un signe funeste, tes larges épaules sont toutes moisies. - C'est la fumée des fusils qui a moisi mes épaules. - je vois: tes cheveux bouclés sont réduits en poussière. - Tes yeux sont trompés par la poussière de la route. - Je vois les fenêtres de notre maison fermées et obstruées d'herbes. - On les a fermées contre le vent de mer.

Après avoir rassemblé et fait une étude comparative de cette légende, Dozon demande: quelle est la version originale sans donner une réponse précise. Il n'est pas d'accord avec le scientifique allemand Fallemayer qui donne la priorité à la version albanaise. La version *Constantin le petit* était chantée dans toute l'Albanie et la diaspora albanaise au sud d'Italie, chez les arbereches et dans la diaspora des Balkans. "*Le petit Constantin, / marié depuis trois jours ; / trois fois le soleil couché / avec sa jeune épouse, / lui est parvenue la lettre de sa mère, / pour qu'il devienne soldat.*"[9]

Dozon souligne que " Le coutumier albanais oblige les femmes à chanter des plaintes pour leurs proches. Cette coutume était plus forte chez les Albanais que chez les autres peuples de la zone danubienne. C'est pourquoi ils marient les filles proches de leurs familles. " Le philologue franco-grec Jean Psichari disait de sa part que "les filles slaves voulaient se marier très loin pour élargir la renommée de leur famille. "

Le processus de la création

Le voyage de la chanson d'un rhapsod à un autre, d'une region ou pays à un autre a été naturelchez toutes les peuples. Nous on la vue avec la chanson de la femme eemurée ou les chants épique de Muji e Halili. A l'époque où le texte n'était pas écrit et fixe, les rhapsods étaient libre d'ajoutes dans la structure de la chanson, sur les paroles, l'action dramatique, d'aller plus vite ou plus lentement. Garentina chez les Albanais s'appelle aussi Doruntina, Jeruntina ou Dhoqina comme on le

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[9] " *Pendant trois jours, j'ai vu en rêve - mon petit Constantin. - L'empereur lui a ordonné de partir pour la guerre. - Le jeune homme respectueux - a pris congé de moi et de sa mère chérie, - et ensuite de sa belle, - dont il a eu pour gage un anneau, - et à laquelle il a dit avant de partir: - " Adieu, ma chère belle, - je serai loin de toi neuf ans, - neuf mois et neuf jours. - Toi, ma belle, prends un mari. " - Maintenant les neuf ans sont passés, - les neuf mois et les neuf jours, - et la belle est devenue la fiancée d'un autre, - et elle lui donnera sa main dimanche…* "

voit dans *La chanson de Dhoqina*, où les frerès sont mort de la nourriture empoisoné et pas dans la guerre. Ches les Grecs c'est Arete, chez les Serbes c'est Jelica, chez les Bulgares c'est Veika et chez les Roumains c'est Voika. Dans la version grecque et albanaise, les oiseaux accompagnent la chevauchée funèbre. Chez les Grecs c'est le nouage qui devient cheval, contrairement à chez les Albanais que c'est la pierre tombale. *La chanson de Halil Garia*,[10] publiée aussi dans la revue *Visaret e Kombit* (*Les Trésors de la nation*) a été chantée dans le nord d'Albanie. Halil, un des neuf frères, avait promis à sa sœur de l'emmener à la maison quand elle le voudrait. Mais après sept ans, les frères sont morts. Sa sœur se plaint et demande à l'oiseau d'aller chez Halil et de lui rappeler la parole donnée. Alors Halil se lève de sa tombe, va chez sa sœur et l'emmènent chez leur mère, en retournant dans sa tombe. Mère et fille vont dans le cimetière et là elles tombent mortes de la douleur. Il est intéressant de noter que dans la version grecque c'est Constantin qui frappe à la porte de sa mère et tous les deux meurent devant la porte.

La chanson de Constantin et Garentina avait été publiée par Dora d'Istria en 1866 dans son article *La nationalité albanaise à travers les chansons populaires* dans la revue prestigieuse de la pensée française *Revue des Deux Monde*. Dans cette publication elle note les differents sources qu'elle a utilisées dans les travaux de De Rada, Hahn, Crispi, Camarda, Dorsa, Hecquard ou Masci. [11]Elle l'illustre avec des anciens paroles albanais du dialecte des arbereches:*"- Bila ime, kush të suallë? / - Konstantini erth e më suallë. / - Konstantini eni ku vate? / Vate hiri në qishë. / - Kostantini po po bilë / Kostantini u bë botë. / Tue qaiturë, ture*

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10 Voir *La nationalité albanaise à travers les chansons populaires*, Dora d'Istria, Revue des Deux Mondes, tome 63, 1866, p. 382-418.

11 *La nationalité albanaise à travers les chansons populaires*, Dora d'Istria, Revue des Deux Mondes, tome 63, 1866, p. 382-418. Elle se référe aussi de D. Camarda, *Saggio di grammatologia comparata sulla lingua albanese* (Livourne 1865); H. Dr G. de Hahn, *Chants tosques et Proverbes tosques*, dans Albanische Studien (Vienne 1853); - *Griechische und albanische Mœrehen* (Leipzig 1864); G. Petta, *Piana dei Greci nella Rivoluzione siciliana del 1860* (Palerme, 1861). H. Hecquard, *Histoire et Description de la Haute-Albanie ou Guégarie*;- V. G. Crispi. *Chants des Albanais de Sicile*, en albanais, dans Vigo, *Canti popolare Siciliani*. (Catane 1849); V. Dorsa, *Poesia popolare - Su gli Albanesi ricerche e pensieri* (Naples 1847); A.Masci, *Discorso sull' origine, i costumi*, etc., Naples 1847; G. de Rada, *Poésies albanaises*, en albanais, (Naples 1836); *Chants de Séraphina Thopia, princesse de Zadrima au quinzième siècle*, en albanais, (Naples 1843).

u puthurë / U shtrënguan e jëma dhe e bila / e aqë helmi, aqë taraksia / sa vëdiq e bila e e jëma."

La chanson de Constantin, cette belle et tragique legende, a inspiré l'écrivain albanais Ismail Kadare d'écrire son roman *Qui a ramené Doruntine*. Kadare soutient que le motif principal c'est la *" bessa "*, la parole donné, donnant la priorité à la version albanaise de cette chanson balkanique ce qui était discutable.

Dozon sans doute a entendu cette chanson à Janina, quand il rassemblait les contes albanais, aidé par Kristoforidhi, le poète Naim Frashëri et Apostol Meksi. Mais dans son livre *Chansons populaires bulgares inédites* il se refere sur la version de De Rada, repris après par Dora d'Istria. Dozon avait des contacts aussi avec Thimi Mitko qui dirigeait à cette époque la revue *Bleta shqiptare* (*L'Abeille albanaise*) qui publiait des textes de chanson populaires, de legendes et des contes. " *En Albanie*, - écrit-il dans son étude - *il n'est pas rare de voir qu'un homme est propriétaire terrien, mais qui a quitté sa maison et fait des expéditions pour gagner…* " " *La quelle est l'originale?* - demande-t-il, - *je me demande si c'est la balade serbe de la fondation de Shkodra ou celle du Pont d'Arta? Difficile de trouver la vérité de cela*. " Il n'est pas dans le même état d'esprit de l'homme de recherche allemand Fallmerayer selon lequel les Albanais sont prioritaires dans la création de la légende *Voyage du mort*.

Dans toutes les versions balkaniques c'est la même structure de la légende: le fils qui se lève de la tombe, le voyage du mort, la rencontre avec sa sœur, le retour pendant la nuit, le mort qui retourne dans sa tombe, la rencontre mère-fille et la mort de tous les deux. Donc, on comprend bien que la légende est restée dans la zone balkanique. Elle n'a pas été prise dans les autres pays comme l'Italie, l'Espagne, la France, les pays européenne en générale ou ceux de la Méditerranée.

La balade de Lénore - *Die Todten reiten schnelle, (Les morts vont vite)*

Un des seules occasions où cette légende à franchit les frontières balkaniques est la création du poète allemand Bürger publié en XVIIIe

siècle.[12] L'inspiration poétique est extraordinaire mais on voit que dans sa structure elle est semblable avec la *Chevauchée funèbre*. Lénore se lève au point du jour, elle échappe à de tristes rêves: "Wilhelm, mon époux ! Es-tu mort? Es-tu parjure? Tarderas-tu longtemps encore? " Le soir même de ses noces, il était parti pour la bataille de Prague, à la suite du roi Frédéric, et n'avait depuis donné aucune nouvelle de sa santé… Mais le roi et l'impératrice conclurent enfin la paix, et cling, et clang, au son des fanfares et des cymbales, chaque armée retourna dans ses foyers. Mais, hélas ! Lénore seule attendait en vain le baiser du retour. Lénore seule attendait en vain son mari. Elle parcourt les rangs dans tous les sens ; partout elle interroge. De tous ceux qui sont revenus, aucun ne peut lui donner de nouvelles de son époux bien-aimé. Les voilà déjà loin: alors, arrachant ses cheveux, elle se jette à terre et s'y roule avec délire. Sa mère la serre dans ses bras. " - " Oh, ma mère, il est mort ! Dieu n'a point de pitié ! " Arrachant ses cheveux, elle se jette à terre et s'y roule avec délire. Le désespoir déchirait son cœur et son âme, et lui faisait insulter à la providence de Dieu. Mais au dehors c'est comme le pas d'un cheval. Et puis il semble qu'un cavalier en descende Klinglingling et, à travers la porte, une douce voix parle ainsi: " Holà ! holà, ouvre-moi ! Veilles-tu ou dors-tu? Es-tu dans la joie ou dans les pleurs? - Ah ! Wilhelm ! C'est donc toi ! si tard dans la nuit !… - Nous ne montons à cheval qu'à minuit pour te remmener avec moi. Le cheval gratte la terre, les éperons résonnent ; je ne puis pas rester ici. Viens, Lénore, chausse-toi, saute en croupe sur mon cheval ; car nous avons cent lieues à faire pour atteindre à notre demeure. Nous et les morts, nous allons vite. Viens, Lénore, saute en croupe: le banquet de noces est préparé, et les conviés nous attendent. " E ils se lancent vers les forêts et les campagnes. " A-t-elle peur, ma mie? La lune est claire… Hourra ! Les morts vont vite. A-t-elle peur des morts? - Non… Mais laisse les morts en paix ! " Qu'est-ce donc là-bas que ce bruit et ces chants? Où volent ces nuées de corbeaux? Écoute… c'est le bruit d'une cloche ; ce sont les chants des funérailles: " Nous avons un mort à ensevelir. " - Courage, mon cheval noir. Je crois que le coq chante: le sablier bientôt sera tout écoulé. Je sens l'air du matin. Mon cheval, hâte-toi. Le lit

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[12] Gottfried August Bürger (1747-1794), *Die Todten reiten schnelle,* L'Almanach des Muses de Göttingen, 1773 et 1774.

nuptial va s'ouvrir. Les morts vont vite… Nous voici ! Il s'élance à bride abattue contre une grille en fer, la frappe légèrement d'un coup de cravache. Les verroux se brisent, les deux battants se retirent en gémissant. L'élan du cheval l'emporte parmi des tombes qui, à l'éclat de la lune, apparaissent de tous côtés. Et le cœur de Lénore palpitait de la vie à la mort. Et les esprits, à la clarté de la lune, se formèrent en rond autour d'elle, et dansèrent chantant ainsi: " Patience, patience ! Quand la peine brise ton cœur, ne blasphème jamais le Dieu du ciel! Voici ton corps délivré… que Dieu fasse grâce à ton âme ! "[13]

En apparence, il semblait que les textes du XIXe siècle sur la Chevauchés funèbre étaient inspirés par la balade de Bürger créé au XVIIIe siècle, mais en effet c'était le contraire. Dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes* (*La balade de Lénore en Grèce*) en 1875 mais aussi dans son œuvre philologique et historique publié plus tard *Quelques travaux de linguistique, de philologie et de littérature hèlleniques*, [14]Jean Psichari un philologue franco-grec se réfère longuement sur la ballade de Lenore de Bürger, la version grecque de la *Chevauchée funèbre* et les autres versions. Mais il se réfère aussi des exploits de Digenis Akritas pour trouver les vraies racines du *Voyage du mort* comme l'appelle Dozon. Dans son texte Psichari écrivait: " *Il suffit de noter que La chevauchée funèbre se trouve aussi chez les Bulgares et les Albanais. Ce fait est très important et la tentation est grande pour dire que le vrai intermédiaire doit être la version albanaise et que la version grecque est plus tardive.* " Psichari a même fouillé dans la correspondance de Bürger et enfin il a trouvé que dans une lettre à un ami, le poète allemand avouait que pour écrire ce poème il était inspiré d'une ballade ancienne. Mais celui qui a trouvé les vraies racines avant Psichari était, semble-t-il, l'historien français Alfred Rambaud, spécialiste du Byzance du Xe siècle.

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[13] *Revue des Deux Mondes* (*La balade de Lénore en Grèce*), Paris, 1875.

[14] *Quelques travaux de linguistique, de philologie et de littérature helléniques*, éd. Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1930. Voir aussi *La Balade de Lénore en Grèce*, Revue de l'Histoire des religions, vol.9, 1884, pp.27-64.

Le document de Trebizonde du Xe siècle

En 1875, Alfred Rambaud publie dans *La Revue des Deux Mondes* son étude *Les exploits de Digenis Akritas et l'épopée byzantine du Xe siècle*. Dans son longue étude, il nous parle du document de la bibliothèque de Trébizonde du XVI siècle en soulignant que cette épopée a été créée depuis le Xe siècle, à l'époque des guerres byzantines dans les frontières avec le monde arabe. De cette épopée ancienne les moines ont fait plusieurs copies que nous avons aujourd'hui comme la version T, la version G (de Grottaferrata-s publié par Émile Legrand, la version P, la version E ou la version slave. La plus longue version est de 3749 vers.[15] En fait, dans cette épopée sont intégrées aussi d'autres chansons comme celle de Constantin, le neveu de Digenis où l'oncle, comme on le trouve dans une autre version de ce document. Dans *la Chevauchée funèbre*, la mère d'Eudocie ne peut se consoler d'avoir marié sa fille en pays étranger. Ce sont ses fils qui lui en ont donné le conseil, mais maintenant ils sont tous morts. Dans son ardent désir de revoir sa fille, elle s'en va pleurer sur les tombeaux des neuf frères ; sur la tombe de Constantin surtout, qui a le plus contribué au mariage, elle s'arrache les cheveux: " Lève-toi, mon cher Constantin, je veux mon Eudocie. Tu m'as donné Dieu et les saints martyrs pour garants d'aller me la chercher, joie ou chagrin que j'aie, trois fois en été et trois fois en hiver. " - " La malédiction de sa mère fit sortir Constantin du cercueil: la pierre sépulcrale devint un cheval, la terre devint une selle, ses beaux cheveux blonds devinrent une bride, le ver du tombeau devint Constantin. Il court chez Eudocie et la ramène avec lui sur son cheval. Sur le chemin qu'ils parcourent, les petits oiseaux se mettent à chanter: " Comment se fait-il que les vivants marchent avec les morts ? " Eudocie commence à s'effrayer. Son frère la rassure ; mais sur le seuil de la maison paternelle,

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[15] Pour sa thèse, Rambaud se réfère dans ses documents: I. Constantin Sathas et Émile Legrand, *les Exploits de Digénis Akritas*, épopée byzantine du Xe siècle, publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de Trébizonde, Paris 1875. – II. E. Legrand, *Recueil de chansons populaires grecques*, Paris 1873. – III. E. Legrand, *Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique*, Paris et Athènes, 1869-1874. - IV. C. Sathas, *Bibliotheca græca mediiaevi*, Paris et Venise, 1872-1874. – V. Auguste Dozon, *Chansons populaires bulgares inédites*, texte et traduction, Paris 1875. – VI. Alexandre Vessélovski, *Fragment de l'épopée byzantine dans l'épopée russe*, dans la *Viestnik Europy*, Saint-Pétersbourg, avril 1875.

il disparaît. Eudocie tombe dans les bras de sa mère - cet embrasement est le dernier, et, morte, " on les ensevelit dans la terre où l'araignée file sa toile. "[16] Vu la lecture de ce simple texte, c'est le même récit des versions balkaniques qui sont devenues connues pendant le XIXe siècle. Rambaud raconte dans son étude que près de Trébizonde existe encore la tombe de Constantin et que les femmes qui accouchent, ont l'habitude d'aller devant la tombe et de montrer son enfant pour qu'il devienne fort comme Digénis et Constantin. Dans le plus vieux manuscrit de Digénis Akritas il manque en effet le premier livre, la moitié du deuxième, une feuille du septième, etc. Rambaud nous rappelle que Akritas (c'est-à-dire gardien des frontières - akras) est descendant des deux races: grec par sa mère, une Doukas (fille d'Andronic Doukas) et musulman (sarassin) par son père, émir d'Édesse) et que peut être les racines de ce poème anonyme de Trébizonde, "*nous vient aussi quand les croisés français, au XIIIe siècle trouvèrent tant de similitude entre les stratiotes grecs et les barons d'Occident que la fusion entre les deux noblesses s'opéra promptement. La Chronique française de Morée n'hésite pas à donner aux guerriers indigènes le titre de gentilshommes, et ceux-ci, dans leur langage, qualifient les croisés de stratiotes ou de cavaliers.* " Rapellons que la chronique des généalogies des estradiots albanais est découverte par l'historien allemand Carl Hopf dans les anciennes églises de Grèce. Il était spécialiste du monde franc en Grèce et c'est lui aussi qui a trouvé *Le Mémoire de Gjon Muzaka* à Naples.

Dans son étude sur Digenis Akritas, Rambaud se réfère de l'édition à Paris de cette épopée (traduit du grec) par Émile Legrand[17] et Constantin Sathas. " *Comme le dit Émile Legrand*, - écrit-il, - *en langue grecque existent plusieurs versions de cette légende. Nous avons trouvé d'autres versions chez les Albanais et les Serbes. Monsieur Dozon vient de publier un texte semblable des Bulgares.* " *Parlant de Sathas il dit que « cet ancien étudiant en médecine de l'université d'Athènes, s'est consacré tout entier à la recherche des documents qui se rapportent au*

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[16] *Les exploits de Digenis Akritas et l'épopée byzantine du Xe siècle,* Alfred Rambaud, Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, 1875.

[17]Helléniste français, éditeurs des anciens manuscrits en langue grecque et d'une bibliographie du livre en albanais ou sur l'Albanie, (*Déscription raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en albanais ou relatifs à l'Albanie du XVe siècle à nos jours,* Ed. Welter, Paris, 1912.

moyen âge grec. Son histoire de la littérature nationale depuis la chute de Constantinople jusqu'à la proclamation de l'indépendance, sa Chronique de Galaxidi, où sont racontées les tentatives sans nombre des Hellènes pour secouer le joug ottoman, avaient déjà attiré sur lui l'attention des savants. Il a édité en 1867 le poème de Coronaïos en l'honneur du capitaine d'estradiots Mercurios Bouas ; c'est un document dont la place est marquée dans toute collection un peu complète des historiens de la France. Le capitaine Mercurios est un de ces chefs de soldats helléniques qui furent mêlés à toutes nos grandes guerres du XVIe siècle, comme mercenaires à la solde des rois et des républiques d'Occident. Il combattit contre nous à Fornoue, où il se vantait d'avoir désarçonné Charles VIII ; il combattit pour nous à Marignan avec François Ier et l'Alviano. " Mais Rambaud il se trompe, disant qu'il est grec et pas orthodoxe albanais, d'une grande famille albanaise comme le dit aussi l'historien allemand Carl Hopf. Sur l'épopée de Digenis Akritas il faut savoir qu'il s'agit d'un manuscrit où il manque le premier livre, la moitié du second, un feuillet du septième et la plus grande partie du dixième. Il est intéressant de noter que les versions albanais et grecque ont gardé le nom Constantin de l'ancienne épopée.

La chronique de Morée[18] n'hésite pas à donner aux guerriers indigènes le titre de gentilshommes, et ceux-ci, dans leur langage, qualifient les croisés de stratiotes ou de cavaliers. Rapellons que la chronique des généalogies des estradiots albanais est découverte par l'historien allemand Carl Hopf[19] dans les anciennes églises de Grèce. Il était spécialiste du monde franc en Grèce et c'est lui aussi qui a trouvé *Le Mémoire de Gjon Muzaka* à Naples. Enfin, on peut dire que la Chanson de Constantin, n'est pas l'expression d'une volonté de foi et de religion mais l'action de déroule sur l'idée de l'amour et de la parole donnée, deux éléments sur lesquelles cette légende a été créé par les chanteurs sur le fond des guerres byzantines.

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[18] Rédigée au XIVe siècle qui relate la conquête du Péloponnèse byzantine. Il existe quatre versions: en grec, en français, aragonais et italien, éd. Veridière, Carez, Paris, 1825.

[19] Chroniques gréco-romaines inédits ou peu connues, C. Hopf, éd. Weidemann, 1873.

En conclusion on peut dire que les racines de la chanson de Costantin sont dans l'épopée de Digenis Acritas, qui est à peu près de la même époque des autres épopées de l'Europe comme la *Chanson de Roland* en France, la *Chanson de Sid* en Espagne, les *Niebelungen*s en Allemagne, l'épopée scandinave etc. Ainsi, la *Chevauchée funèbre* pendant des siècles a voyagé et a été chantée dans les Balkans et se présente aujourd'hui avec toutes ces couleurs originales de chaque peuple.

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Les exploits de Digenis Akritas et l'épopée byzantine du Xe siècle, Alfred Rambaud, Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, 1875.

Quelques travaux de linguistique, de philologie et de littérature helléniques, éd. Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1930.

Rapsodie di un poema albanese / raccolte nelle colonie del Napoletano, tradotte da Girolamo de Rada e per cura di lui e di Niccolò de Coronei ordinate e messe in luce. Firence, 1866. Lire aussi Rapsodi të njê poème arbëresh, Jeronim De Rada, adapté par Agim Mzato, Botimet Milosao. Tirana.

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Déscription raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en albanais ou relatifs à l'Albanie du XVe siècle à nos jours, Ed. Welter, Paris, 1912.

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Vasil S. TOLE

KABAJA WITH SAZE AS A BALLAD
WITHOUT WORDS

"Kabaja" with saze, an instrumental genre of "Albanian Folk Iso Polyphony,"[1] played with clarinet or violin, has been around for about 150 years, the most complete and perfect type formation in the popular (folk) music with instruments of Southern Albania, that can be compared very well with instrumental concerts of other cultured kinds of music. As a thousand-year-old popular (folk) musical heritage, moreover recognized by UNESCO as an integral part of the "Representative List of Intangible Heritage," it has long aroused the interest of local[2] and foreign [3] researchers. As for the meaning of this word, in the "*Dictionary of Today's Albanian Language*,"

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[1] See Albanian folk iso-polyphony - intangible heritage - Culture Sector - UNESCO

[2] Për kabanë me saze shih gjithashtu: Loli, Kosta "Kabaja, "Pararoja", 7 Shkurt 1976; Loli, Kosta "Vështrim mbi Kabanë si formë e polifonisë popullore instrumentale", "Nëntori", nr. 6, viti 1977; Sokoli, R. "*Gjurmime folkorike*", Tiranë, 1981; Miso, Piro "*Format e polifonisë instrumentale në Shqipëri dhe marrëdhëniet e saj me polifoninë vokale",* "Kultura Popullore", 1/1990; Loli, Kosta, "*Polifonia në formacionet popullore instrumentale të Shqipërisë së Jugut",* tek "Kultura Popullore", nr. 1/1991; Tole, Vasil S. "*Aspekte historike në evolucionin e muzikës popullore me vegla të Shqipërisë së Jugut*", Disertacion, Biblioteka e Akademisë së Arteve, Tiranë, 1994; Tole, Vasil S. "*Sazet, muzika me saze e Shqipërisë së Jugut*", Tiranë, 1999; Loli, Kosta *"Kaba dhe Avaze",* Janinë, Greqi, 2003 etj.

[3] Cvjeto Rihtman, "O iliriskom porjeklu polifonia oblika narodne muzike, Bosne i Hercegovine, Rad Kongresa Folklorista Jugoslavije", Na Bjelasnici, 1955, I u Puli 1952, Zagreb, 1958; Arbatsky Yury, "The Roga and Balkan bagpipe and its medico-magical. Conjurations read at the annual meeting of the musicological society in Chapitol Hill, Dec. 30, 1953; D. Peristeris, "Demotika tragoydia dropoleou Boreioy Epeteris toy laographikoy archaioy, 1958, nr. 9-10; Stockmann, "Zur Sammlung und Untersuchung albanicher Volkmusik", Acta Musicologica, Vol. XXXII, 1960; *"Folk Music of Albania"*, by A. L. Lloyd Review author[s]: Barbara Krader Ethnomusicology, Vol. 12, No. 2 (May, 1968), pp. 298-300; Stockmann, D.Flieder, W.Stockmann "Albanische volkmusic" , Vol.I (Gesange der Çamen), Berlin, 1965; Llojd Albert, "Mbi muzikën popullore shqiptare", "Shqipëria e Re", 4/1979, fq. 28; D. E. Stockmann "Die vokale bordun mehrstimmigkeit in Sudalbanien", "Ethnomusicologie", Paris, 1964, III; and E.

Kaba has several meanings. The first is connected to the interpretation of iso, "*Iso with a loud/high voice. Hold Kaba;*" the second meaning connects it with "*Popular pieces of music, set out and usually played with a clarinet or a violin. Kaba of Permet. Kaba with clarinet (accompanied by violin and tambourine/dajre). Take a Kaba." T*hirdly, the following meaning is related to a thick/low voice, similar to the voice of the bass, "Begin/Voice a Kaba." Its etymology, Prof. Ramadan Sokoli (1920-2010), sees it as similar to the word "Khaba"[4] in Arabic, through which several instrumental parts are named and which are elaborated with lively rhythmic movements, such as "horse galloping," etc.

Without delving further into the etymology of the word "kaba" (*which in Albanian folk music seems to have nothing to do with any "live rhythmic movements*," and moreover similar to "horse galloping," on the contrary), today the "kaba" is both a genre and a musical form, individualized and authentic, which is accompanied with musical features that differ according to the the ethnocultural and musical areas of Southern Albania.

In a sense, the kaba itself is a reflection of the birth and development of southern iso-polyphonic popular music and, in particular, of the refinement of this musical language.

The kaba, as a form of the existence of iso-polyphony in musical formations with instruments, was perfected by the musical formation of sazets[5] of Southern Albania. Studies prove that the creation of saze dates back to the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century, the time when tempered musical instruments such as the clarinet, violin, and llahuta came into use in Albanian folk music.

Stockmann, "Albania", at the "The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians", London, 1980; Samuel Baud-Bovy, "Chansons d'Epir du Nord et du Pont", Yearbook of the International folk council, Vol; 3, 1971; A. L. Lloyd, "Albanian folk song", at "Folk Music Journal", Vol. I, England, 1968; Sokoli Ramadan, "Albert Lankaster Llojd (1908-1982), personalitet i shquar i etnomuzikologjisë", Drita, Tiranë, 1982, 21 nëntor, fq. 14; "Dr. Diego Karpitela, etnomuzikolog i shquar, mik i Shqipërisë", Kultura Popullore, 1/1991, fq. 235-236; Birthe Traerup "Pa sporet af den albanske folke-musik: historien om en ekspedition til Kosovo og Makedonien 1959", Kobenhavn: Kobenhavns U., 1995; Rudolf M. Brandl "The yiftoi and the music of Greece: Role and function", The world of music: Journal of the International Institute for Traditional Music XXXVIII/1, 1996; Jane C. Sugarman, "Engendering Song, singing and subjectivity at Prespa Albanian weddings", Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1997 etj.

[4] Në gjuhën bullgare, me këtë emër quhet një tip vegle aerofone e ngjashme me zurnanë.

[5] Shih Tole Vasil S. *"Sazet, muzika me saze e Shqipërisë së Jugut",* Tiranë, 1999.

Ludvig Bettner, the Austrian consul in Ioanniona in 1872, mentions that in the city of Përmet, there is a lively life full of variety, stimulated by the jevgs/gypsy playing wind instruments[6]. According to the Albanian-American composer and conductor Thoma Nassi (1892-1964): the sazets are the ideal orchestra of the first class of Albanians, among them the first sazets of the Asllan Leksoviku family in Leskovik, the sazets of Jonuz Lamçe and Medi Përmet in Përmet, the sazets of Riza Bylbilit in Berat, those of Bilbil Vlora in Vlora, Cilo Qorri in Korça, etc. Eqrem Bey Vlora mentions the sazs of Berat as he saw and heard them in the city of Berat, in 1906. According to him, the saz orchestra consisted of four to six people with qemane, fyell, kanun, and jongar. In the people, we often come across the synonym music as follows:

Bini moj muzika, bini me te qare!
(Which roughly translates: *Play my music, play with tears!)*

The "Kaba" as a form of popular instrumental music is not a new type of formation. We would find its origin in the thematic plan closely related to the repertoire of traditional popular musical instruments (such as fiddle, longar, bicule, kavall, gajde/bagpipe, etc.), and especially originating from a part of the iso-polyphonic vocal popular/folk music of the tradition, mainly with many-voiced lamentations. Popular/folk polyphony with iso and its two major divisions, Toske polyphony, and Labe polyphony, is estimated to have its origins/roots in the hundreds of years of laments with many voices related to honoring the dead. Traces of that time can be found in the mythological figures of wailing/crying sirens, such as the first ancient wailing/crying sirens[7], which are also mentioned as such in Homer's works "Iliad" and "Odyssey."

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[6] Shih raportin e hartuar prej tij të titulluar *"Konfiguracioni gjeografik, historik dhe etnografik i Epirit në vitet 1866-1872, të Vilajetit të Janinës",* cituar sipas Adhami, Stilian *"Përmeti dhe përmetarët në udhëpërshkrimet e të huajve dhe kujtimet e popullit",* Tiranë, 2001, fq. 32-33.

[7] Qeniet mitologjike të sirenave vajtore janë pjesë e realitetit arkeologjik të gjetjeve në Shqipëri. Të gjitha gjetjet e arkeomuzikës shqiptare, që kanë të bëjnë me Sirenat, i tregojnë ato pa vegla shoqëruese dhe me sjella karakteristike vajtuese. Tipike për këtë janë *"Sirenat vajtore"* pa vegla muzikore të Apolonisë, për të cilat flet edhe Praschnikeri, Sirenat e Durrësit, Antigonesë, Vlorës etj. See (PDF) Vasil S. Tole, Odyseus and Sirenes-converted | Vasil Tole - Academia.edu

"Crying"[8] comes from the lament, the singing of mourners. Inspired by pain, mourners create the most vibrant/poignant/pathetic music and verses possible. At this point, it seems to us that the finding of E. Koliq is significant in that:... *the dead/death in her shocking fantasy is something that she feels and reasons: that's why she starts to tell/justify and commands a thousand things for inhabitants of the eternal kingdom while conveying those words with tears and shouts.*

The tragic effect of ascertaining the wonder of mass polyphonic mourning has not passed without leaving marks on many researchers and travelers who have crossed our lands at different times. One of these is the one related to the death of Pan the Great on the shores of Lake Pelod in Butrint, given by Plutarch, without forgetting here Faik Konica who, in time, drew attention to the unique values they present in the first place those lamentations of the Albanian mourners in the South of Albania. The well-known Turkish traveler Evlija Çelebi Sejjahatnamesi, who in his travelogues of the years 1660-1664 wrote that: *...the Girokastrites have another strange custom: they mourn people who have died seven or eighty years ago. ... On this day in the city, one can not stay due to the noise of the mourners. He baptized Gjirokastra, "the city of lamentation."*

The internationally recognized writer Ismail Kadare has noticed and has also evidenced the similarities that exist between primitive theater and "crying with commandments" in the South, but especially when he talks about the common role that both mourners and the ancient choir have as a response to their words in commenting on the features of the dead.

The polyphonic "a capella" laments themselves, between the solo singers and the iso choir, are considered as ballads, both because of the metrical organization of the verses and also for their themes dedicated to love and human losses, sorrow, tragedies, and the triumph of life at the same time. Equally interesting, the polyphonic singing structure with iso appears to be closely related to the narrative nature of the ballad, which requires the narration of the event through dialogue. Basically, the nature of polyphony with iso is a polyphonic dialogue that takes place between the polyphonic voice of the first voice, "Marresi/Recipient," and that of the "Kthyesit/Returner," which is the second voice. Moreover, this

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[8] Shih Tole, Vasil S. *"Pse qajnë kuajt e Akilit",* Tiranë, 2011.

musical-literary dialogue between polyphonic soloist voices must be confirmed by the voice of "iso," which is essentially a homophonic voice sung over a note held by the choir of singers, usually consisting of 5, 7, and 9 singers.

Here we return to the connection that exists between "Kaba" as an instrumental musical genre and the polyphonic lament ballad. We must reiterate that at the core of "Kaba," just as in "a capella" singing, there is "crying," the mournful and balladic nature of the music. From a musical point of view, the thematic material of the instrumental "kaba" was borrowed from the vocal music "a capella," as well as the instrumental texture of the human voice, which is rightly considered the first musical instrument of mankind. The great ability of the human voice in polyphonic singing with iso to transform into a virtuoso instrument, where the musical emotion comes to the fore and not the sung word, seems to have been the first spark that the saz musicians found during the process of passing the musical repertoire vocals on tempered saze instruments such as clarinet and violin.

The second important element was the transfer of the structure of the polyphonic organization of the vocal voices to the instrumental ones. Thus, the clarinet became the first voice of the "Marresit/Recipient," the violin became the second voice of the "Kthyesit/Returner," and the llahuta/lute and dajre/tambourine became the voice of "iso." This transfer of features from vocals to instruments seemed to leave out its language and semantics, but no. It was simply transformed from a sung language to an instrumental language that also communicates, but now through the sounds and emotions that instrumental music causes. "Kabaja" with clarinet and violin was the genre that perfected the features of the musical language of the saz, making it possible for it to be considered a musical "ballad" but without words.

At this point, the musical instruments of saz cannot be understood without the specifics of their sound "discourse," which is realized through the musical language of these instruments. This language is the realization of interpersonal artistic communication, precisely through those figures that make it truly a voice of the soul, codifying emotions with the ornamentation and micro melody of the instrumental presentation so that it can connect people with the same tradition and

learn with its semantics[9]. Its structuring as a "language of communication" was created during a complicated process, over a long period of time, and as a result of the interaction of many other elements, starting from extra-musical ones.

The cooperation of these language-forming elements aims to give the instrumental language all the necessary expressive, communicative, etc., parameters. Through it, the traditional repertoire conveys a philosophical load, aesthetic (generally emotional), which is utterly decipherable for the popular musician with the instrument who performs this transmission, but also for the audience. In the popular music repertoire, we find several such cases, such as in *"Balad of Tanë"* and *"Three shepherds,"* where the characters manage to break down the "sound language" of the songs into concrete actions and meanings.

That music is a language of communication in itself, that this instrumental language "speaks" without words and that the words, even though they are not sung, are inside it is not something new. The famous composer Felix Mendelssohn wrote in the middle of the XIX century a daring work for piano entitled "Song without words." In one of his communications from 1842, found in one of his letters, he writes: ... *If you ask me what I had in mind when I wrote it, I would say: just the song as it is. And if I happen to have certain words in mind for one or another of these songs, I would never want to tell them to anyone, because the same words never mean the same things to others. Only the song can say the same thing, can arouse the same feelings in one person as in another, a feeling that is not expressed, however, by the same words* [10].

According to Mendelssohn, music fills the soul with a thousand things, better than words. According to him: *The thoughts expressed to me by the music I love are not too indefinite to be put into words, but on the contrary, too definite.* It was Mendelssohn's genius that made instrumental musical language in cultured music give the weight and place it deserved in the space of communication between people, precisely emphasizing the fact that music accompanied by words always

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[9] Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Emil Supan (Austri), "Dy fjalë rreth studimit shkencor të etnomuzikologjisë". Tek "Çështje të folklorit shqiptar". Nr. 3, fq. 36, Tiranë, 1987. Studim i cituar.

[10] See Songs Without Words | work by Mendelssohn | Britannica

has the same meaning, while music without words creates a state emotion that can be expressed in different words.

Thus, the instrumental "Kabaja" managed to, from the ballad genre, which had a context, particular text, and content, be able to preserve its narrative and improvisational nature, and on the other hand, give the ballad genre an even bigger breath already through the musical language of instruments and the many emotions it causes. The act of improvisation[11] in popular music with saze is, in many cases, proven as the initial initiative of creating "kaba," which does not start from nothing but always refers to a finding of the moment, a theme or motif borrowed from traditional "a capella" music, or even from music with conventional instruments. This does not exclude that prominent musicians of saze music have also had other musical orientations.

There are dozens and hundreds of stories and legends about epic improvisations that took place under specific conditions, such as at funerals, where the will of the deceased was fulfilled to be accompanied by a "kaba," which later would get either the name of the deceased person or the name of the craftsman, of the individuality of the one who created it, on the spot, under the weight of the will/trust and the tears and eyes of people. That's why instant improvisation finds untrodden paths because it is not a cold process controlled in time and directly from the brain. And precisely, the haunting and limitation of this conscious control related to the central nervous system[12] make improvisation "capable" of being driven mainly by the heart, which fills it with its emotion and rhythm of the moment, under the background of the spiritual atmosphere of the surrounding community that reflects its social ethnopsychology.

Based on the collection of opinions of people in Albania, there is an unchanged constant that confirms that the live communication that takes place between the musicians who perform "kaba" and the audience is incomparable to any other genre of popular music, this is because the variety of conditions that they experience while listening to "Kaba" is not capable of causing any other popular musical creation that is sung with words and accompanied by music. An additional element in strengthening the balladic nature of "Kaba," in addition to their common

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[11] See (26) Usta Laver Bariu, Kaba with gernet - YouTube

[12] Për modelet e improvizimit shih edhe *"Improvisation: method and models",* by Pressing Jeff, tek "Generative procceses in music", Oxford University Press, 1987.

narrative nature, is the surprising closing of "Kaba" with saze, which usually develops the first part based on free rhythms or "ad libitum," meanwhile develops a second part which is usually a rhythmic and somewhat happy "dance." We see in this fact a kind of transition "from darkness" to "light," a sort of necessary contrast when it comes to musical genres that naturally require it.

In these 150 years, which include the time when the transformation of sung ballads into instrumental "Kaba" took place, are well-known kabas with clarinet[13] and violin[14] by masters such are Selim Leskoviku, Medi Përmeti, Vangjel Leskoviku (of the first half of the XX century), of Usta Laver Bariu, Remzi Lela, Lulushi in the second half of the XX century.

Another argument that reinforces the idea that "kaba" with saze is capable of causing multiple semantics after listening to it is also related to another fact. In the structure of the "kaba" we find the compositional phenomenon of the *fractus*[15] , which often combines not only different materials derived from popular vocal music or that with instruments but also musical materials belonging to relatively different ethno-musical areas, such as Toskëria and Labëria. So, to state it more clearly, in the "kaba" there are many layers of musical elements in it as a kind of musical palimpsest. On the other hand, we also encounter the phenomenon of hidden iso polyphony within the melodic line of the clarinet or violin, which we will not dwell on here this time in this presentation.

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[13] Shih dhe dëgjo tek Mjeshtrit gërnetarë – Odea Academy (odeacademy.org)

[14] Shih dhe dëgjo tek Mjeshtrit violinistë – Odea Academy (odeacademy.org)

[15] Termi vjen nga latinishtja "*fractus*" që kupton diçka të thyeshme ose më mirë të çrregullt. Fraktal është një term i zbuluar nga matematikani amerikani i lindur në Poloni, Benoit Mendelbrait (1924-2010).

Eno KOÇO

ALBANIAN URBAN LYRIC SONG, AUDIENCE AND CRITICAL NOTICES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The urban songs, traditional and lyric, composed on the extreme western edge of the Ottoman Empire, represented a fashionable version of the local urban song. This new type of song was initially created in the main centres of the Ottoman administration, in the Albanian *paşaliks*, those of Bushati in the north, with its capital at Shkodra, and of Ali Pasha Tepelena in the south, with its capital at Janina.

With the islamisation of the villages, which came rather later than in the towns, an interaction of musical features evolved and a greater ethnic and cultural diversity was permitted. The urban song of Middle Eastern modal inclination, not only adopted many elements of Ottoman modal scales, but also borrowed elements from the local traditional urban and rural song. This simultaneous existence of a typically urban traditional and rural music and the new urban songs of ballad-type of the same area created a characteristic type of Albanian urban song which had a distinctly recognisable regional character. The rural song was inclined to borrow, chiefly in north and central Albania, elements and features of an Oriental musical system already used in the towns, probably because the Turkish monophonic tunes could be absorbed more easily into the monophonic traditional or folk urban and rural (mountain) tunes of the northern and central part of Albania.

Traditional instruments, both local and borrowed, played a significant role in the acclimatisation of the mode. Instruments of Middle Eastern or Western origin mingled with local ones and were gradually assimilated, until they came to sound natural and familiar. Among the elements of this interchange, it may be added that the regional musical language, through the human voice and the instrumental sound, occasionally took Eastern features and adapted them to its own use.

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Albanian is the autochthonous language of a people who lived in the same Balkan area for many hundreds of years. It has an ancient oral tradition and its ballads and poetry have been transmitted in this way from one generation to another. The metrical values of folk and urban poetry have established certain traditional rules for their usage. The new trends, such as *bejtexhi* verses, were subordinated to the demands of the language. Folk, *bejtexhi* and art poetry all exercised some influence on the musical settings of texts in Albanian. The degree of that influence varied according to the region, the dialect and, of course, the skill of the creator-performer. The features of the individual styles, differences in shaping the tune, the use of modal and tonal harmony, and rhythmic flexibility were also based upon their responses to poetic metre. The words of their poems and the music they composed worked simultaneously. Several types of song also involved regular adaptation of the poetic metre: the rhythmic reading of the texts can closely resemble a sensitive recitation of the poetry itself.

The fact that during the first half of the 20th century the urban songs were mainly transmitted orally and that after this period they started to be written down, does not mean that their former existence was not documented. One cannot rely only on notated examples to draw the conclusion that only a written song would have been a real historical fact of the Albanian written music. Albanian survived until almost five hundred years ago as an unwritten language; Albanian songs, ballads or legends had the privilege of surviving and evolving without being written down, as literature or art music had to be; urban songs were born to live, die out or survive in their own way, during the course of Albanian history.

On the construction of the song "The North Wind" (*Fryn veriu*) based on a folk soul ballad

I do not have the original notation of this song; the version which I possess was harmonised by Kosta Manojlović, a Serbian musicologist and conductor, who showed a particular interest in arranging Albanian folk and urban songs. His arrangement for a four-part choir published in Belgrade in 1933 is a professional elaboration from the point of view of distribution of voices, the use of polyphonic lines and the depiction of

the cold atmosphere of the north wind.

"The North Wind" (Fryn Veriu), ballad on a folk theme, music Dhimitër Kovaçi, lyrics by Lasgush Poradeci, arranged for a four-part choir and published in Belgrade in 1933 by Kosta Manojlović

The orchestral accompaniment made by an Italian orchestrator (probably Rampi) and used in Tashko-Koço's soprano version of this song, was obviously influenced by the mood and harmony of *Manojlović*'s choral arrangement.[1] Dhimitër Kovaçi's song "The North Wind" (Fryn Veriu), based on Poradeci's poem, takes its title from the first line of the well-known "Folk Soul Ballad" (Balladë në frymë popullore). The song's version of the poem is in distichs with eight-syllable lines and comprises only the first two stanzas of the above mentioned six-stanza poem. The scheme of the verse rhyme varies, whilst the metre remains the same. The composer's evocation of "The North Wind" (Fryn veriu) recalls the atmosphere of the southern Albanian songs. The district of Korçë, where the song comes from, is a cold area of south Albania, and the "bare mountain", close by, is one of

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[1] Kosta P. *Manojlović*, "Fryn Veriu, Hajde dhe Ho" (Sever Duva—The North Wind), Beograd 1933.

the fundamental features which symbolise that ambience. It can be felt from the orchestral prelude, and later in the vocal part, that the north wind has created a frozen atmosphere from beginning to end. The *descending portamenti* which occur mostly in the minor thirds (as with the same intervals in the pentatonic modes) are used by the soprano as a form of expressive device, as if to depict melting icicles rather than inflammatory emotions. The orchestration of the song, set in a polyphonic style, gives the impression of slow-moving things in the cold, whilst the vocal line, especially when the intervals of thirds are used as pentatonic slides, emphasises an even stronger feeling of inertia: "keep (up) strong girl, we have to resist/ like the mountain resists the snow". There is a sudden change of dynamics and shading on the added meaningless words, "hajde dhe ho" where the *forte* [dynamics] not only lightens up the atmosphere, but also by means of an *accelerando* towards the end, makes the song sound bright and healthy, as if escaping from the grip of the cold wind.

Here is the text of the song.

It blows on the bare mountain	*Fryn veriu në mal të thatë*
Says the girl: I am freezing	*Thotë vajza lele ngriva*
Keep (up) strong girl, we have to resist	*Duro vashë të durojmë*
Like the mountain resists the snow	*Siç duron mali dëborën—*
If I can to catch you	*Në të shtifsha dot në dorë*
I'll melt you like a piece of snow, etc.	*Do të tret si cop dëborë, etj.*

Audio—"The North Wind", music Dhimitër Kovaçi, words by Lasgush Poradeci,
sung by Tefta Tashko-Koço, Columbia Records, Milan, Italy, 1937

Concert Audiences

In spite of the unsuitable acoustics of the existing venues, which were often objects of strong criticism in the press, it was accepted by both the artistes and audience that they were, in the absence of purpose-built concert halls, the best places in which to put over the message of art music. Here is a contemporary music critic observation: "The artistes are attended by crowds of art-lovers, who, when they cannot find a seat in the concert hall, queue up in the cafés in order to hear on the radio, with rapt attention, a concert given by Albanians..."[2] The major deficiency of these cinema-theatre halls was the absence of a piano, so that every time a concert was to be held, a search for a decent instrument had to be made, but usually the accompaniment had to be played on an upright piano of

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[2] S.S., "The Albanian Art in Action", *Drita*, 2 February 1938.

poor quality.

Before the stylised forms of urban music began to emerge around the 1930s, the majority of the Albanian people had enjoyed only folk, traditional urban or popular music, for voice or instruments. Even those living in the towns could not easily digest the so-called *urban lyric songs* and, to make matters worse, some *à la franca*[3] singers tended to sing well-known songs in a style that was unusual and unfamiliar to the audience. Unfortunately, there were also some educated people who, returning from Western countries during their university vacations or on graduation, were slow to praise any national virtues, or to attend the cinema or theatre halls where the vocal concerts were held.

However, a few of the intellectuals in the towns (or the intelligentsia social group) that had also graduated from Western universities in subjects other than music, were really hungry to see their own artistes interpreting in their own country not only the classical repertoire but also some of their national music. An effort was required from the artistes to fulfil this genuine public demand. Something was needed to draw a larger audience to the concert halls. The answer might be the inclusion of Albanian songs; at least, in that case, a larger proportion of the audience would understand the words. Many charming songs already existed, which were being performed by traditional or amateur singers. In most cases their origins are still obscure. One could also hear accomplished songs with a fine shape and structure, such as "Blossom You Flowers" (Çelni ju mo lule), "In Praise of Your Charm and Beauty" (Kenke nuri bukurisë), "O You Lovely Flowering Rose" (As amam trëndafil çelës), "Looking from the Window" (Dola në penxhere) and "Nightingale, You Poor Nightingale" (Bilbil o i mjeri bilbil).

What were these melodies and these songs? What did they evoke? Who composed them? Some of these questions are still not answered today, but it is certain that these urban songs came for the first time to be shaped into stylised or art songs in the interpretations of the art singers of the 1930s. A new era was imminent, that of the urban song interpreted by the art singer. The audiences seemed to enjoy the vocal concerts (sometimes interspersed with instrumental pieces), so they became not only one of the most evident demonstrations of art music in Albania, but

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[3] A term used in Albania to indicate the image of a Western pattern, similar to *à la* (*alla*) *turca* for a Turkish illustration.

also of cultural and national affirmation.

It was not just the singing that attracted the audience, it was the whole ambience and the opportunity which the occasion gave them to see and to be seen. Whenever the concerts were held, the halls began to be packed.

Critical notices

Assessing the role of these songs and the audience, Tajar Zavalani in 1939 stated:

> Let's be glad, then, that the Albanian song is not in the same peril [as ethnography, archaeology and the judicial codes]. Its contact with the Occident has led us to esteem that valuable part of our folklore. Thanks to the musical techniques of the civilised world, we have learnt to refine, take pleasure in, and harmonise the old songs, without obscuring the special flavour that the inspiration of the Albanian soul gave to them.… The silent relationship, or more accurately, the inherent collaboration between the singer and audience, was indeed surprising. From the first sounds, a partnership, a magnetic stream was created which continued throughout the concert. There were moments when, looking at that sea of heads facing towards the stage with rapt attention, one could feel the hearts of the nation beating with a shared affection.[4]

A recital programme where urban songs are included, 19th January 1939

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[4] Zavalani, "Impressions of the Concert Paluca—Aleksi", *Donika*, Tiranë, No. 1, 1939.

A recital programme where urban songs are included, February 1939

There were many enthusiastic reviews during the first half of the 20th century, which dealt only with the musical aspects. Here are some of them: "In the piece *The Poet's Longing* (Malli i vjershëtarit), Kristo Koço was presented to us as a first class, accomplished baritone.[5] "He sang the Albanian ballad 'Fryn Veriu' (The North Wind), by Poradeci, entirely in the characteristic style of our Albanian popular songs, but adorned with waves of musicianship".[6] "The North Wind" (Fryn veriu) or "Folk Soul Ballad" (Balladë me frymë popullore), was composed by the baritone Dhimitër Kovaçi from Korça.[7]

The *Fiera del Levante* (Manifestazione Albanese) held in Bari, Italy, in 1937 with the participation of Albanian art singers and pianists was a platform for displaying the virtues of Albanian urban lyric songs. An Italian critic commented: "The second half was dedicated to Albanian popular [urban] songs which aroused frenetic applause from the audience. Those songs spoke particularly about the soul of the Albanian artistes for whom the distant vision of their beloved country, family and native land appeared before them, awakening many dreams and a profound wave of poetry".[8]

In these manifestations nearly all trained artistes took part, exquisitely

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[5] Anon. "The Concert Paluca-Koço-Aleksi", *Java* (The week), 13 June 1938.

[6] Xh., "The Vocal Recital by M. Paluca, K. Koço, L. Aleksi", *Shtypi* (The Press), 11 June 1938.

[7] Here are two more ballad-type songs composed by Kovaçi: "In My Youth" (Të ritë e viteve të mi), taken from "The Dance of the Stars"; "The Poet's Longing" (Mall i vjershëtorit) or "The Mother Spoke in Anguish" (Foli nëna me vajtim).

[8] Anon., "Un Grande Concerto", 14 September 1937.

dressed in resplendent folk costumes, and proved that this new stylised type of song was now fully fledged.

Fiera del Levante (Manifestazione Albanese), Bari, Italy, 1937

Fiera del Levante (Manifestazione Albanese), Bari, Italy, 1937

It was one of the rare occasions on which Albanian artistes had crossed the borders as a group to demonstrate their individual and collective talents in the field of urban song. The Italian critics realised

what a significant moment this was in the history of Albanian culture:

> Let us say immediately that the initiative of this successful concert
> was received with genuine enthusiasm, not only because it made it
> possible to estimate the worth of these valuable artistes, but, also
> because it made it possible to fall in love with some Albanian popular
> [urban] songs of pure melody and to discover in them some of the
> inexhaustible musical resources which are sealed in the heart of the
> Albanian people.[9]

The idealistic and visionary manner of thinking in the critical notices
of the 1930s was gradually replaced by a sort of utilitarian-pragmatic
mode of thought during the Second World War. In the early 1940s, in
particular, criticism appeared to be more personal and judgmental. The
ethical code of the press did not always protect the artistes from biased
opinions. During Albania's years of totalitarianism, culture became
institutionalised and few attempts were made to appropriate the urban
traditional and urban lyric songs into a nationalist ideology.

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[9] Anon., "Un Grande Concerto", 14 September 1937.

Holta SINA KILICA

BALLAD OF TANA AND *URË MOJ E ZEZA URË* OF TWO-VOICES OF WOMEN OF TOSKËRIA

The sung ballads of the women of Toskëria, just like the two-part songs of the women of the South of Albania, are an integral part of our polyphony and folk-musical tradition and represent ethnomusicological interest. In this statement, we will try to make a small contribution to the Albanian sung ballad, since studies about it in a special way are almost absent.

Ballads, as well as other two-voices songs of Toskëria, testify to an early substrate of the development of Albanian polyphonic music, precisely considering pentatony, heterophonic tendencies and the pre-burdonal type (without iso), which speak volumes for their earlyness. While in another direction, these ballads sung by the soloist (corypheus) and the women's group also testify to an emancipatory stage since, as is known, "mainly, the two-voice lives in the women's repertoire. Only in the *Shpat* of Elbasan, we also find it in men"[1] and, moreover, being sung dances, they testify to a way of communication of Albanian women at the time. In addition to others, an important aspect of these ballads is the way of interpretation, precisely the relationships between the soloist (the first voice) and the group (the second voice) to create two different melodic lines through the individual character and that of the group, which necessarily affect the ratios of intonation and interval interweaving between them.

Concretely, it is the musicological analysis as well as the method of comparison that orients us regarding the musical components of the singing of both ballads, in relation respectively with their texts.

Thus, **"Ballad of Tana"** comes as a sung dance, from the group of girls from *Podgozhan*, a village in *Trebinjë* municipality, Pogradec

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[1] SHUPO Sokol, *Folklori muzikor shqiptar*, "Botimet Enciklopedike", Tiranë, 1997, p. 398.

district (sung at the FFK of 1978)[2]. Although the most numerous variants of Tana's ballad are known especially in the highlands of Labëria of the Vlora River or in the Himarjot variant of Tana or Qerana from Mount of Lightning - Akrokeraun: from gr. keraun-qerane), even the *Ballad of Tana*, sung by the group of girls from this village of Pogradec, is an 'asset' in itself.

As a parenthesis, according to the well-known researcher Q. Haxhihasani (who is the most vocal researcher in this field in Albania), to whom we have referred in this statement, ballads are categorized into legendary ballads and realistic ballads and, specifically, this ballad is classified as a realistic love ballad, placed in a livestock context, where the extraordinary operates with the probability and the possibility[3], and where it is highlighted that in "Tana's Ballad with flute", among the most well-known, where it is likely to happen, through the melody of the flute it is announced that something will happen[4]. This particular ballad, although small in size, best escalates all the intensity and drama of the event where the flute, although "invisible", has the power to connect the "characters" (The girl and the shepherd) and determine the "fate" of the latter.

According to the researcher in question, it is said that there are 61 variants of the *Ballad of Tana* (or otherwise as they are called the Song of Tana or *Fyelli i Tanës*), while the Albanian encyclopedia emphasizes the fact that "in the funds of the former IKP (today IAKSA) in Tirana there are about 70 variants of this song from all over Albania"[5]. So this large number of variants has spread not only in Albania (as in Vlora, Saranda, Çameri, Gjirokastër, Përmet, Tepelën, Fier, Lushnje, Berat, Skrapar, Gramsh, Kolonjë, Korçë, Pogradec, Elbasan, Dibër, Kukës, but also in Greece, Kosovo (where in the latter it is named as "Kajka (song) of the shepherdess") etc.

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[2] According to: Bobina 1353/4 (19610) former archive of AIKP (today the archive of IAKSA, near ASA).

[3] HABAZAJ Albert, *Balada popullore shqiptare sipas folkloristit Q. Haxhihasani*, 13.07. 2016 (on-line); http://www.zemrashqiptare.net/news/43612/albert-habazaj-balada-popullore-shqiptare.html, read on 09. 05. 2022, (Zemra shqiptare).

[4] *Idem.*

[5] https://www.vasiltole.com/Albanian/Encyclopedia/EncyclopediaK.html, read on 21. 06. 2022, (Enciklopedia – gërma K).

Seeing the importance of the flute in this ballad, we would again quote the balladist Haxhihasani, who asserts, among other things, that "at its center lies the universal motif of the myth of music, of its cult as art, [...] but also as a message particular information. In this context, this song, which talks about the use of music as a language, draws parallels with the strength of the harp of Orpheus, the musician of Greek mythology[6]. While, according to R. Sokoli "even before the old fiddlers of our highlands thought that the ions of the flute exerted a beneficial influence on cattle"[7]. And the researcher V. Tole goes further when he asserts that "the familiarization with the language of the sounds of popular musical instruments, as a spokesperson for the human spirit in the *Ballad of Tana*, is an exaggeration of the message of the flute melody in oral folklore, as the best example of combining two alphabets (literary and musical), and of communication between them"[8]. Her singing is found both in iso-polyphony, monody, but also in monody accompanied by folk instruments"[9] (or *saze*, my note H.S.).

Therefore, from our consultation with its auditory examples in the IAKSA archive and other funds, for example in Lapardha, being described as a Shepherd's Song, it is sung by a polyphonic group of men with four voices (Nazif Çela with friends: receiver, returner, thrower and iso) where the flute is present only at the beginning and at the end of the song, while in Rrogozhina it is sung by the Çamëria men polyphonic group of Refat Sulejmani accompanied with *saze* (which brings Tana's song almost in the same way as Çelo Mezani's song) where the clarinet somehow 'replaces' the flute at the beginning of the song and we can say that for other cases of accompanying this song with *saze*, such as with the *saze* of Përmet, Këlcyra, but in the latter the songs are built on a common melodic bed). As for the saze accompaniment, it is known that it is late, so this song-ballad is also sung by the women of Podgozhan, after an ordeal where the song is thought to have been originally created as a pastoral melody with a flute and then it was added to it the text, taking into account the flute accompaniment throughout its entire length. So, the presence of the flute as the bed-element of this ballad song is

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[6] *Idem.*
[7] *Idem.*
[8] *Idem.*
[9] *Idem.*

thought to shed light on its time, perhaps for the time when people communicated with sounds and not with words. Apart from what Timo Mërkuri states in his article that "the fact of the existence of several siblings in the text with the same or almost the same melody proves this fact"[10] (of the melody created before the text, (my note H.S.) and that "also , the fact of some qualitative changes in the texts proves the fact that the text was produced later than the melody"[11] reinforcing it with the idea that "[…] in all variants, the different explanations are given in prose, in the form of a commentary and not are part of the song. This means that these explanations or comments are later"[12], so we would affirm in the other direction that even the melodic variants were and are close within the same area, but different from one area to another (taking into account the large divisions: Toskëri, Labëri but also Çamëri), also dependent on the way of singing such as polyphonic, monodic or with *saze* (as we mentioned above).

Since the genesis of this song is the flute, we know that "shepherds have a habit of talking and communicating with each other or with someone else with the sound of the flute or *cyldyjare* and not to feel the lack of words. Even today, it is customary for our shepherds to spend the day in the company of the sounds of the flute and through it to express their feelings, whether they are sincere worries or love and longing"[13].

In fact, the verses of the ballad are created for the boy (shepherd) who plays the flute and address the girl (Tana) with his sounds and in this context I would add for example that Delvina's variant as well as the variant we are considering are more special as far as the text is concerned, because it identifies the shepherd who plays the flute with the girl's brother and not as her fiance who is a boy in the village and, in in this case, the flute requires another explanation, where its sounds come and are heard 'from the other world' as the brother was meanwhile killed by robbers, highlighting in this way the brother-sister connection known in Albanian folklore as in Constantine and Doruntina or Faith of Constantine).

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[10]   MËRKURI Timo, *Fyelli i Tanës* (sprovë), 29. 05. 2017; https://atunispoetry.com/2017/05/29/fyelli-i-tanes-nga-timo-merkuri/, read on 25. 06. 2022, (Atunis Galaxy Poetry - Atunis Galaktika Poetike).
[11] *Idem.*
[12] *Idem.*
[13] *Idem.*

The variant that we have considered, which is sung by the women of *Podgozhan*, is also a testimony of emancipation for the women of Toskëria and beyond, who identify themselves in a kind of way with Tana the 'savior', addressing her with the words " Our sister" (on behalf of the boy, that is, the brother who seeks salvation), since the way of singing creates an increasing emotional dynamic from verse to verse.

Going to a musicological analysis, introduction of this ballad comes in a special meter: in meter 17/8, which is conceived in the metric formula: 7/8 (3+2+2) + 5/8 (3+2) + 5/8 (3+2).

The instrumental introduction of the flute and its accompaniment throughout of the melodic line of song is also special for the ballad, since according to the legend the melody of the flute it was the coded language with which the shepherd sent messages to the girl he loved and how they communicated with each other; and as further implied by the subtext, it was from the sounds of the flute that the girl realized that the shepherd was in danger and alerted her family to save him. So in this ballad, the melodic material which is exposed and repeated by the flute instrument, in musical language we could call it *leitmotif-leit'theme*, which guides its musical thought.

Specifically, the ballad is transcribed over the fourth pentatonic, with the tonic in gr. V: *re, mi, sol, la, si* (derived from the first pentatone: *sol, la si, re, mi*). The transcription is done on the new note (that is, it is lowered by half a tone from the original singing in *mib*) for reading and study effect[14].

It is the instrumental introduction of the flute, as we mentioned above, that introduces the entire melodic line of the ballad song. This introduction is drawn through melismas: *acakatures* and *mordents* that are performed by the flute, while the vocals, led by the soloist who always starts the verse and followed by the group, use more *glissandos* (especially in the descending *fifth la-re*) that testifies to "a stylistic element of old that usually takes place in a part of the ballads and mainly under the interpretation of the old generation"[15]. But in the other performances, the soloist (corifeu) only starts the motive and the group

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[14] Refer to the preface of the book: *Këngë e melodi nga Festivalet Folklorike,* 1 (1968, 1973, 1978), prepared by SHITUNI Spiro, DAJA Ferial, PANO Natasha, ASHSH, IKP, Tiranë, 1986, p. 12-13.

[15] KRUTA Beniamin, *Polifonia dyzërëshe e Shqipërisë Jugore*, ASHSH, IKP, Tiranë 1989, p. 53.

immediately follows, where the verse changes while the melody remains the same with slight variations. The group sings the two-voice in the intervallic relations of the *unison*, *second*, *third* and *fourth* (the latter in two cases: *re-sol* where the second voice in *sol* is in a leap *fourth* above the first voice in *re*). As you can see, the use of the *unison* interval shows their 'union' into one, while the *second*, *third* and *fourth* define the division into two-voices, that is, the polyphonic relationship that is created between them. The whole ballad lies in a *sixth* ambitus: *re-si*, in the central *octave*, thus being equated with the central vocal register.

According to the way this two-voice is structured[16], as it turned out and from our analysis (falling into a consensus with other researchers) we can arrive at the definition that "the melody of the second voice rises to a lower register than the melody of the first voice and is placed with it in ratios of *fourth*, *third*, and major *second*. This type is quite widespread in the area of Korça and Pogradec"[17]. The repetition of the same melody for each new verse is its characteristic, as well as the occasional joining of the voices in the first, from where we can also judge archaic heterophonic elements, while from an emotional point of view, the drama and the call for salvation verse by verse, is hidden as a metaphor through the lyrical line of the shepherd's flute, thus creating a rather original 'counterpoint' between words and music.

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[16] According to the categorization of the two-voice, this two-voice can be classified as a two-voice of second type (b), first kind. See more: SHUPO, 1997, p. 398-401.

[17] *Idem*, p. 400.

Ballad of Tana[18]

Tanë, o moj, motra Tanë,
hajdutët lidhur më kanë,
qen e zi seç ma vranë,
ogiçin në hell ma kanë,
5 dyzet rrunx[1] tufën ma ndanë,
mua skllav do të më marrnë.
Tanë, o moj, motra Tanë,
pa zgjo nënën dhe babanë,
lere fyellin, tamburanë,
10 shko, rrëmbe shpejt dogranë.[2]

In a concise way, we are stopping at another ballad entitled **"Urë moj e zeza urë"**, sung by a group of women from Ballsh-Fier (in 1966)[19].

Again making a parenthesis, referring to the researcher Q. Haxhihasani, the fact is emphasized that "dealing with motives of a general character such as, for example, the love between husband and wife, sister and brother, the custom of sacrifice in castles and bridges, the fall of the brave in distant places, etc., the ballads have found a wide

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[18] Transcription referenced by: *Këngë e melodi, nga Festivalet Folklorike,* 1 (1968, 1973, 1978), prepared by SHITUNI, DAJA, PANO, 1986, f. 374, with the data: Bob. 1353/4 (19610), Podgozhan-Pogradec, 1978, sung by the girls group.

[19] Audio: Bobina 491/ former archive of AIKP (today the archive of IAKSA, near ASA).

spread throughout the country"[20]. This is also a ballad that testifies to human sacrifice and self-denial, so it is a ballad of self-sacrifice, of walling in the bridge (like those in the wall and the castle) spread among us. The legendary folk ballad of the bridge of Arta or Narta in Greece is well known, which was also conveyed by Çamëria. Also, the well-known legend of the wall of Rozafa in the fortress of Shkodra is based on the idea of human sacrifice.

Exactly this ballad of the sacrifice on the bridge, as far as the text and the way of singing is concerned, has its variants both inside and outside Albania, *firstly* the variants are polyphonic without accompaniment and *secondly* are monodic accompanied by instruments (later) and with instrumental introduction by clarinet, for example this is sung in the region of Korça; also in this region, specifically in Devoll, it is also sung in men's two-voices without iso.

All the variants unite in only one point, and that is in relation to the text (not in the melodic structure, which is different, showing that the melody is then raised above the text - unlike what is thought of the *Ballad of Tana* where the melody of the flute has conditioned the rise of the text afterwards) and this happens concretely in the verse that talks about the ring, which is said to be "the motive of losing the ring at the foundations of the bridge, the motive with which the young bride is lied to descend to the foundations, where the wall will be made is a motif that can be found in almost all variants of Central and South Albania. But this motive is mainly the only one widespread in the Greek, Bulgarian or Aromanian variants"[21].

Returning to the musicological analysis of ballad sung by the women of Ballsh (Mallakastra), it is noted the way these women sing *Con anima* (*with soul*), while the meter is defined as 4/8.

This ballad is also transcribed for reading and study effect a half tone above (from *do#* to *re*) and is built on the fifth pentatone, with tonic in gr. VI: *mi, sol, la, si, re* (derived from the first pentatone: *sol, la, si, re, mi*), where it is noted from the second voice twice the sound under the

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[20] HAXHIHASANI Qemal, *Balada Popullore Shqiptare*, Shtëpia botuese "Naim Frashëri", 1982, p. 6.

[21] MËRKURI Timo, *Balada e murimit* (study excerpt), 09. 09. 2019; http://www.zemrashqiptare.net/news/51430/rp-0/act-print/rf-1/printo.html, read on 07. 07. 2022, (Zemra shqiptare).

tonic, the sound *re* (exactly the second time it has to do with the ending of the song). The verse (equal to the 4-measure musical phrase) is always introduced by the soloist and repeated by the soloist and the group, with the second voice (returner) hidden inside. Notice the relationship between the first voice of the soloist and the second voice (returner), which from the beginning is in a *fourth* relationship with the first voice.

So, the second voice testifies to a more visible individualization both in the interval ratio, but also in the melo-rhythmic figuration. In the repetitions of the verse (where the words change, while the melody is the same) a slight melodic variation is noticed, especially in its endings. The intervals in the ratios between the two voices are: *fourth, third, second, unison, fifth* and only in one case *sixth* and *octave*. The first voice has a *seventh* ambitus in *mi-re* ascension, while the second voice, has a *fourth* ambitus in *si-mi* ascension. The highest pitch between two voices at the same time reaches exactly the octave *re-re*, which is reached in the penultimate measure of the song (as a climax). In this song it is noted that it "builds the second voice (melodically) well developed and in a register that differs from the first"[22]. The feature of this type is the accompanying character of the second voice[23].

The verses are first built in the form of a dialogue (and this is characteristic of some ballads that are built precisely in the form of a dialogue) and, in its second part, follow the words of the young bride who sacrifices herself by leaving the bequest for her son and thus closing it tragically the ballad (unlike the Ballad of Tana which ends with salvation).

The minor *third mi-sol* asceding, which starts each line and the minor *third sol-mi* descending which ends each verse, testifies to the sadness and creates the possibility that something will happen towards the end, where the word and the sound create the synchronicity of the emotional state with elegiac colors, where the 'dropping' of the tonic in *mi,* a tone lower in *re* (so, one sound below the tonic) conveys the emotional state of this tragic closure.

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[22] This song can be classified in the second type (b) of two-voice and is more like the second kind. See more: SHUPO, 1997, p. 400.

[23] *Idem.*

Urë moj e zeza urë[24]

Kam tre vjet që po bëj urë,
urë, moj e zeza urë,[1]
un'e bëj e s'më qëndron.
— Do kurban të qëndrojë.
5 — Ngreu, nus'e madhe, shpjer bukë.
— Kamte rrobat në lumë.
— Shko, nus'e mesme, shpjer bukë.
— Kamte duartë me brumë.
— Ngreu, nus'e vogël, shpjer bukë.
10 — Bukënë e shpie unë.
Amanet u kam lënë çunë,
kur të qaj' çuni, t'ma pushoni,
t'ma lani e t'ma ndërroni,
njëher' në ditë t'ma dërgoni.
15 Mirdita im zot,
pse m'i derdh ata lotë?
— Më ra unaza në gropë.
Unazën ta nxjerrte unë,
se kurban t'u bëra unë.
20 Amanet të kam lënë çun', o im zot,
sisën e djathtë ma lini jashtë, o imzot.
Djalin ju të ma dërgoni,
me sisën time ta koni!

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As a conclusion, it can be said that both ballads from the two areas of Toskëria (from the Pogradec area and the Mallakastra region) where two-voice without iso is widespread, although with their special characteristics, are evidence of the Albanian musical reality, coming from mouth by word until our days. The value of knowing and studying them lies firstly in their early substrate that comes through singing with archaic heterophonic tendencies and without iso and secondly in the social and emancipatory one that they carry as two-voice songs sung by women.

Specifically, these two ballads, being part of the two-voice without iso "in which the second voice sometimes appears as a sub-voice (as in "Ballad of Tana", my note H. S.), sometimes as a contrasting voice (as in the ballad "Urë moj e zeza urë")"[25], thus testify to what we will call "its transitional phases from heterophony - the most primitive way of singing in a group (as in "Ballad of Tana") towards the most consolidated of the second voice, thus defining a special degree of polyphonic development in the ballad "Urë moj e zeza urë"[26], where the definition "break it" for the second voice concretizes exactly the contrasting second voice, unlike "Ballad of Tana" where the second voice is formed 'on the road' and the latter leads to the conclusion that "types of two-voice polyphony (without iso, my note H. S.) often present such intermediate stages that stand between heterophony and polyphony"[27], and are precisely those that testify to the early formation and consolidation of our polyphony over the centuries.

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[25] *Idem*, p. 4.
[26] *Idem*, p. 6.
[27] *Idem.*

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Oksana MYKYTENKO

"ORAL POETESSES" (JELENA ŠAULIC) – THE FOLK MOURNERS

Abstract

The regional modality of folklore is considered to be one of the most significant factors of cultural typology that defines the genre attribution of the folklore text. Historical, national and artistic tradition of South Slav epic and ritual folklore caused the development of mourning songs as the pecular genre of folk poetry which has its distinguishing features in the content, poetics, performance. Being genetically connected both with rirual tradition and epic narration, mourning songs belong to different levels of folk poetry creativity – singing and mourning, depict the relationship between the performer and the audience, and reflect the conformities which mark the folk tradition in the region. The paper analyses the performance of mourning songs and their functioning within various ethnic and folklore conditions.

Key words: South Slav tradition, mourning, ritual, epic song, performer, audience.

Introduction

Funeral laments belong to the most stable – central – part of the folklore tradition and form one of its most important family-ritual genres. The verbal text of the funeral lament concerns to the open folklore system and is marked with the high stability of traditional basis, preserves and demonstrates peculiarities of the ethnic culture, exposing the main distinction of the folklore that is the "memory of tradition"[1]. Marked with especial semantic significance among other rituals of transition, funeral ritual consistently manifests the notion "de passage" on all levels and reveals the deepest sense of the opposition life/death.

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[1] Viktor Gatsak. 'Tekstologicheskoe postizhenie mnogomernosti fol'klora.' *Sovremennaia tekstologia: teoria i praktika*. Moskva: Nasledie. 1997. P. 104.

The opposition of life and death as the principal meaning of the ritual text (including the verbal one) in addition is attained by the actualization of the number of the main semantically significant texture designations (gender, colour and plant codes, etc.).The concrete textual expression – concept-semantic, compositional-stylistic and artistic-poetic – is determined both by the ritual basis of the folklore text improvised in its nature, and by ethno-poetical tradition of the definite region as well.

Among factors that have contributed to the disappearance of the funeral mourning tradition in different countries in the second half of the 20th cent., social, cultural and religious changes are mentioned[2]. Today, with the spread of literacy and inroads of modern civilisation, laments have disappeared almost everywhere, with many other forms of folk art. Nevertheless funeral lamentation continues to be a creative genre of traditional ritual folklore that is still part of the living ritual tradition in some South Slavic regions that is organically included in modern life and maintains a special existence and continuity within folk tradition. Serbian folklorist Jelena Šaulić, who called folk mourners "oral poetesses", wrote:

When a visitor from abroad happens to hear the singing of a lament, his first reaction is one of real amazement. In such dirges for the dead he has come upon something utterly unfamiliar, which has long vanished from his own home scene. […] In laments grief inspires poetic creativeness, though of course not always on the same level [3].

I met Jelena Šaulić in early 1990s in Belgrade, and had the opportunity to communicate with her for several years. Middle-aged, but active, full of creative ideas, working till her old age in the Belgrade "Vuk and Dositej" museum, she told me about her activity and her life. Each time I came to Belgrade, I visited Jelena in her house. She came from a family of wellknown Serbian folklorists – Anica and Novica Šaulić. Novica Šaulić (1888-1959) was a major Serbian ethnographer and folklorist. Folklorists Milman Parry and Albert Lord used his folklore collections to record on phonographs the works of Serbian epic verse recited by guslars. The collection of Serbian laments (*Srpske*

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[2] Mahmoud Farghaly. "Egyptian Laments for the Dead". Folk Culture. Vol.12. No. 46. 2019. P. 10.

[3] Jelena Šaulić. 'The Oral Women Poets of the Serbs.' The Slavonic and East European Review. Vol. 42, No 98. 1963. P. 161.

narodne tužbalice, Belgrade, 1929), composed by Novica Šaulić, was of particular importance for the Slavic folklore studies as one of the first lamantations' collection, and from the standpoint of completeness of the material and its representation, methods in recording and investigation. Significant for that time, this edition, other his works rank high among those on ritual folklore.

Using available examples of funeral laments in sufficiently wide chronological period of living tradition in 19th – the second half of 20th cent., it is interesting to retrace the interaction and interdependence of genre indicators as a specific manifestation of their uniqueness in the historical and folk process. Proceeding from the definition of folk genre as "a whole set of works that are characterized by a community of poetic system, life purposes, form of performance, and musical harmony"[4], it is possible to define the typological features of performance of these folk lyrics.

The mourning performance typology

In the living heritage of mourning traditions, the presence of creatively gifted performers that express their individuality is naturally determined. The lyrics of mourning songs are marked by distinctive structural and morphological indicators and have appropriate functional and semantic features, and so they depend on the performance skills of the mourner. Taking into account the psychological traits of mourners, the nature of performance of the work, and the creative capabilities and life experience of the performer, it is possible to determine several types of performers and, accordingly, several categories of lyrics.

First, there are lyrics that are created during the ceremony at the time of the highest emotional stress, when feelings are given the most complete form of expression. Later, the consciousness of the performer retains only commonplace details, sometimes little related to one another. The next day, she often forgets what she sang the day before, or, as asserted by Vuk Karadžić, she cannot recall "even every tenth

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[4] Vladimir Propp. 'Zhanrovyj sostav russkogo fol'klora.' Russkaja literatura. N 4. 1964. P. 58.

word"[5]. Such laments are created mainly for those that perform them and have an exclusively everyday family purpose. Their meaning is literally embodied in their performance; in general, the lyrics may be very short or very long, but in either case they consist of clichéd formulas and phrases that are repeated. Such is, for example, the mourning song by a four-year-old girl for her father, as reported by Tatomir Vukanović[6].

Second, there are lyrics that are created by the performers, whose repertoire is broader and more stable and is also associated with personal emotional experiences. In this case, mourners try to fill the traditional pattern of motifs with autobiographical facts. In these songs of sorrow only female family members can praise the deceased. In performing these touching laments, the mourner "then mentions other dead relatives, then the family and homeland, and finally godparents, friends, and acquaintances"[7]. These laments are "songs of pain of heart and pride, through which the deceased is protected from death, non-existence, and oblivion"[8]. Such works do not require an audience as an obligatory prerequisite, although they are ordinarily directed to those present. The lyrics of such lamentations are monologues by those that deeply and sincerely suffer, and here the traditional compositional outline is filled with specific content. In recording such lyrics, Novica Šaulić noticed that, depending on individual characteristics, some mourners improvise their laments, whereas others at first consider and create the lyrics in silence. The function of psychological comfort is the main factor for such lyrics: "When I'm alone, I retreat into my sorrow and grief and begin to mourn for hours, and do it until someone interrupts me". If the mourner does not "communicate in such a way" with the dead, "she could not stand it"; if she does communicate, she begins to feel better, Šaulić notes. No wonder that people have long said *kukam da muku oteram* 'I cry to drive the pain away'.

Third, a separate group forms the lyrics of those mourners whose skills are generally recognized and well known. The power of their poetic

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[5] Karadžić, Vuk St. Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska. Beograd: Novo pokolenje. 1997. P. 192.

[6] Tatomir Vukanović. Narodne tužbalice. Folklorna gradja sabrana u Srba poreklom iz Crne Gore na Kosovu u Kosanici. Vranje: Narodni muzej. 1972. P. 191.

[7] Novica Šaulić. Srpske narodne tužbalice. Knj.1. Sv.1. Beograd: Grafički institut. 1929. P. 17.

[8] Šaulić, p.c. P. 16.

talent in creating laments is equal to the praise of heroes by "gusle" players. The aspiration for objective representation and the desire for greater social significance are manifested in the breaking of the purely weeping tradition, when motifs of struggle and revenge or tones of irony or sarcasm are added to the lyrics. Performers of such works realize the independent artistic value of their laments, and a spirit of competition can occur among them. In this living tradition of mourning and teaching mourning, there is a general recognition of lyrics created by mourners whose skills are widely known. According to Vukanović,

some mourners [were] offended if they knew that somebody else mourned for me, someone from a lower social stratum. After that they only occasionally agreed to mourn. ... Someone said to me "Do not confuse them with other persons because they do not want to be like others." [9]

Such mourners are also able to mourn without seeing, – by feeling or by hearing (*po čuvenju)* – that is, without knowing the deceased during his or her lifetime.

Traditional perceptions in this case regulate the correlation between traditional and improvisational elements, and this acts as a factor that supports the continuity of tradition with inherent performance standards. Thus, if for a mourner mourning is all that comes to mind, it is said that she began to "wag her tongue." In mourning it was also not allowed to mourn without desire, without feelings (*premizgivanje*), because then people say that the mourner is just making a racket (*dandara*). Poetically expressive lyrics find response among the audience, even if the mourner has no special vocal talent. The skills of the mourners are shown in such cases when traditional genre norms and devices are inadequate, and the circumstances require changes in the conventions of mourning[10].

Systematizing the lyrics cited by Šaulić, Đaković, Vukanović, Kilibarda, and others is very important and interesting. The images of mourners that arise, especially in the articles by Šaulić, elucidate the ways the laments are created and psychological characteristics of the performers. Šaulić was born in Montenegro and was personally acquainted with many of the performers. In the early twentieth century,

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[9] Vukanović, p.c. P. 17.
[10] Novak Kilibarda. 'Na marginama poetike narodnih tužbalica.' *Zora govora: Ka poetici usmenog pesništva.* Niš: Gradina. 1980. P. 95.

when he started his collecting work, he announced his democratic objective to record the creative heritage of ordinary illiterate women, and he remained faithful to this principle throughout his research activities. The best recognition of this work, to which he dedicated his life, are the words of the seventy-year-old mourner Đurđa Lakušić, as reported by the researcher: "She met me with cold and dignity and said that I had come to her for nothing because 'her sorrow had died out long ago.' But when she heard my name (she knew many of my relatives and she was aware that I record laments), she said: 'Even if I were dead I would rise from my coffin to mourn the grief of my heart and my sorrow for heroes. It is sad for me that I did not know the brother and the son, who come to me, a poor old woman"[11]. It should be added that Šaulić's collecting activities were known among the people, and the mourners were proud that their songs were saved for their descendants. It should also be noted that, even at the end of 1990s, mourners were "largely half-educated or illiterate women." Thus, according to some, old Savka Stojković (who died in 1998) entrusted a relative to mourn for her because her daughters were educated and "cannot mourn me"[12].

Fourth, among the creatively gifted performers, researchers have repeatedly distinguished professional mourners. Talented masters are not isolated and are mentioned in various Serbian and Montenegrin regions. Thus, Marko Miljanov wrote about "Neda, the wife of Jura Martinov from Medun," stressing that people were gathered around her like a good gusle player[13]. Šaulić tells about "one of the best," Krstina Krstajić from Javorje[14]. Vukanović identified "the profession of mourning" in Kosovo[15]. Often the performers of such lyrics also skillfully perform epic songs that are by rule exclusively male affairs. The number of recognized mourners seems to increase on the basis of the developed epic tradition of the region.

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[11] Novitsa Shaulich. 'Serbskie plachi'. Russkii fol'klor. Moskva-Leningrad. 4. 1959. P. 375.

[12] Milivoje Zlatanović. 'Tužbalica u Južnoj Srbiji.' Etno-kulturološki zb. za proučavanje kulture istočne Srbije i susednih oblasti. Svrljig. Knj. 5. 1999. P. 105.

[13] Tihomir Đorđević. 'Nekoliki samrtni običaji u Juìnih Slovena'. Godišnjica Nikole Čunića. 1938. Knj. 47. P. 186.

[14] Novica Šaulić. 'Tužbalice.' Zbornik etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu. 1953. P. 317.

[15] Vukanović, p.c. P. 14.

Such poems of lamentation create a certain tradition or school and later become an example to follow. If a known Batrić's sister lament from *The Mountain Wreath* by Petar Njegoš has become a literary and folk model, then the actual folklore lyrics of mourners of different social status at different times (e.g. the Montenegrin Queen's Consort Milena Petrović Vukotić lament for her daughter, Princess Zorka Karađorđević) became familiar songs and existed in many variants. In addition, some fragments of these lyrics were memorized and performed independently. So far these examples are not numerous, but they are considered especially valuable and demonstrate the genre transition from mourning to epic poetry.

From laments to epic songs: Serbian case

There have been many poetically gifted performers among young heroes and "gusle" players. The people's "oral poetesses," as they were called by Jelena Šaulić, bemoan the departed "with a feeling of love and heroism," creating highly emotional laments, brilliant in artistic and picturesque images. Each of them, for an only son, or for a brother, or for heroes, maintained pride for the fallen as well as grief. In their works, these "oral poetesses" not only supported the living but also preserved the memories of the fallen. It was said about such mourners that "to listen to them is lovelier than any gusle player: they glorify miracles". The culmination of such lyrics celebrates the name of the hero and expresses pride in him. Even after many years, these mourners are filled with vivid memories about the deceased and create impressive, strong mourning songs, citing the names of living heroes. These mourners are not just creating a conversation, the usual ceremonial mourning, but with the mourning "they aggravate wounds on their hearts" and assert the glory of the brothers of their nation. The main body of such laments is related to the principles of collecting activity (and not only in Serbian folklore studies), which is mainly aimed at recording the best performers. However, as noted by the Russian researcher Valentina Kharitonova, who analyzed genre variations of East Slavic traditions of mourning,

"material recorded from this type of informant is on the periphery of actual folklore"[16].

In drawing parallels between laments and epic songs, one inevitably moves away from the ritual dominant in mourning. However, it is those that differ from traditional mourning within the ritual that have features that attracted the interest of almost all researchers of mourning songs. Thus, a contemporary of Karadžić, Vuk Vrčević, who brought folk mourning to the attention of the outstanding scholar, noted that they "grieve only for men and boys," and the rest of the laments he called *jekavice* or *naricanje* 'lamentations' because of the lack of the motif of "glory." In his collection of folk mourning songs, Novica Šaulić stresses that mourning songs and epic songs are associated through a joint plot. The main attention is paid to the definite themes ('the way', 'the fate', 'the home forever' etc.) that form universal models of the concept sphere and underlie the certain artistic-poetical expression. Interestingly, Vrčević noticed such interrelationship between epic songs and mournings much earlier: "The poetic spirit [of mourning songs] in any case is not inferior to heroic folk songs, with the only difference that the women mourning, and the men accompanying on the gusle, glorify the fallen heroes. The first is a real folk chronicle, and the second is history"[17].

The figure of folk gusle players and artists is now in the past, although often their performances can be found during folk holidays and at festivals. In contrast, mourners can be heard, mainly in rural regions, even today. Previously, with the "circle" of mourners at folk festivals, especially at dedication days, there were gusle players in the vicinity of the circle, and the mourner and the gusle player competed in poetic skill before a wide audience.

However, it should be noted that, according to many collectors and researchers, mourning songs were not exclusively a women's domain. Šaulić repeatedly encountered men performing mourning songs. Describing such cases in detail, he stated that women very rarely sing to

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[16] Valentina Kharitonova. 'Vostochnoslavjanskaja prichet' i ee ispolniteli'. Fol'klor narodov RSFSR. Ufa: Izd. Bashkirskogo gos. un-ta. 1987. P. 147.

[17] Radmila Pešić. 'Vuk Vrčević'. Filološki fakulet Beogradskog univerziteta. Knj.14. 1967. P. 186.

the accompaniment of the gusle, but it is even rarer that men mourn because it is believed that it is not good for men to do so.

Matija Murko discusses women as performers of epic songs[18]. In contrast, Tatomir Vukanović writes about laments in men's performance beyond their existence in ritual. In 1967 Dušan Nedeljković recorded a mourning song for his only son from a gusle player, the folk singer Milutin Vuković from Šćepan-Polje[19]. It is significant that one family could be proud of their recognized gusle players and their talented mourners. Thus, Šaulić writes about the family tradition of poetic skills, whose mourner Milica Obradović was the daughter of a "good" gusle player and the granddaughter of a "great" gusleone. From Milica's father Radovan, Šaulić recorded the epic song "The Death of Smail-aga Čengić," which was played and sang earlier by Milica's grandfather, Šaban.

The heroic and patriotic performance of traditional mourning songs naturally also became the point of reference for this genre for gusle players. Šaulić illustrates this point: when a famous gusle player that had recently lost his son was asked to sing to the accompaniment of the gusle, instead of the expected heroic song, he poured out his sorrow in a mourning song. Interestingly, in such cases, when gusle players turned to the poetic form of a mourning song, it proceeded differently from the weeping form of the epic introduction, and only after a set of initial 10/12 syllable lines did such song-lamentation proceed into the consecutive traditional measures of a mourning in an eight-syllable style.

On the other hand, some mourning songs in women's performance often can be considered epic songs rather than laments, the category to which they belong emotionally, artistically, and thematically. In this case, only the eight-syllable style defines the genre of the lyrics. The question of mourners' imitation of gusle players contains many mysteries, such as Šaulić's statement about the transformation of a mourning song into a small epic song, in which a measure of verse (iambic decasyllable) and a formulaic composite construction create a

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[18] Matija Murko. Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike: Putovanja u godinama 1930-1932. Zagreb: JAZU. Knj. 1. 1951. P. 193-203.

[19] Dušan Nedeljković. 'Tužbalica za sinom jedincem. Od guslara narodnog pesnika Milutina Vukovića sa Šćepan-Polja zabeležio dr. Dušan Nedeljković'. Narodno stvaralaštvo-Folklor, 6 (22-24). 1967. P. 189.

set specific to the genre epithets and other poetic devices that are typical features of heroic songs.

The regional modality of folklore is considered to be one of the most significant factors of cultural typology that defines the genre attribution of the folklore text. Being genetically connected both with ritual tradition and epic narration, mourning songs belong to different levels of folk poetic creativity – singing and mourning, and reflect the conformities which mark the folk tradition in this ethnic and cultural region. The characteristic feature of Montenegrin funeral tradition is the ritual men's lament *lelek,* which defines the originality and distinction of the folk poetic potential. At the same time the tradition of men's lament exposes typological parallels with the laments-glorifications of other peoples in this region and widely, that allowed to raise the question about the Montenegrin funeral text as the certain local historical type of culture, and to consider the local fixations to be the tracks of more wide poetic tradition existed before.

Understanding the performing nature of folk art strengthens the awareness of the direct dependence of artistic qualities of the lyrics and their content on the special features of the performance[20]. Historical, national, artistic, and poetic traditions in the development of epic and ritual folklore in Serbian and Montenegrin traditions led to the development of laments – mourning songs – as a distinctive genre of folk song creativity that has certain features of content, poetics, and performance. Song-laments as a historically conditioned form of art and poetry reveal regularities that are inherent to the genres of folklore in this ethno-cultural region, with definite parallels to other Slavic and non-Slavic traditions, particularly in the Balkan.

Performers: Slavic parallels

When we compare laments in different Slavic traditions, we mention folklore texts created by improvisators and performers-professionals, in whose work the desire for individual, author's role is evident. Such aspect of the existing tradition raise the question of broadening of the

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[20] Oleksandra Britsyna. Ukrayinska usna tradicijna proza: Pytannia tekstolohiyi ta vykonavstva. Kyiv: NAN Ukrayiny, In-t mystectvoznavstva, folklorystyky ta etnolohiyi im. M.T. Rylskoho. 2006. P. 180.

genre sphere of the traditional ritual folklore and addresses both the problem of oral / written tradition and the phenomenon of folk professionalism. In this context analysis of the text, in particular the funeral mourning in South-Slavic traditions, requires broad parallels both in Slavic and non-Slavic traditions. The examples available in particular in North-Russian and Rumanian traditions can be qualified as the tendency to convey individuality in the folklore process in the form of author's written text. This tradition functionally tends to reflect "chronicle" folklore text widely presented in the Carpathian and Balkan region.

All collectors of the funereal laments have repeatedly emphasized that in the collecting activity the collector's interest in the material is especially important. Trust relationship, mutual respect and understanding between the collector and informant are also mentioned as an important condition for successful work, because recordings are carried out usually out of the ceremony. Folklore collectors note that performance of the mourning songs at the instance of the collector is a difficult work that requires considerable emotional, nervous tension, ability to repress own feelings, especially given that the bearers of the traditions are mostly elderly women. In recent decades it is not so easy to find mourners in the rural areas. However, even having found a woman, who can mourn at the funeral, it is not always possible to persuade her to mourn for the recording. In this situation, the performers always recall the specific events, which are associated with the burial, they mean a specific deceased, when perform mourning songs out of the rite, not at the cemetery. Out of the ceremony mourning almost always requires that the performer has something that was possessed by the deseaced, a symbolic attribute which excites the mourner's creative imagination. This may be "a picture, something of the clothing or insignia, etc."[21]. Ritual situation becomes a prerequisite for the performer, because they can concentrate on the presentation of sad feelings only at the funeral, near the deceased or at the cemetery and usually have no skills to mourn in abstracto, out of the real situation.

Refusal of the informants to perform mourning songs in the unnatural for them, artificial situation were noted by the researchers in

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[21] Murko, p.c. P. 269.

the first half of 19th century, that was associated with the notions about the magical power of the laments as a component of the burial rite. Even Vuk Karadžić observed it and wrote to E. Kopitar in his letter dated July 30, 1838:

"In Kastela (between Split and Trogir), I found the mourners, that are women, who mourn the dead for money. Yesterday asked them, listened and watched. It was very difficult to persuade them to mourn and when started, they laid down one in the middle of the room instead of the deceased"[22].

Despite the imitation of the ritual situation performing of the laments for reward can be considered as a factor of destruction of the tradition. Instead, in Montenegro, Herzegovina and surrounding regions, in the conditions of the developed tradition of existence and teaching of mourning, where "without these songs, even death itself can not be imagined", according to the observations of Šaulić in 1920-s, he "has not heard from anyone that women who mourn, could be hired for money or they did it professionally". The researcher distinguished two groups of mourners by psychological and creative features: some made their texts in advance, like "a poet the poem", others uttered their grief spontaneously, like a "poet improviser"[23].

Talented people's collector and singer of folklore from the Ukrainian Podillia Nastia Prysiazhniuk also recalled performing laments "extempore". Klement Kvitka, who in 1930s was the head of the music and ethnographic center of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, made phonograph recordings of some of her laments in 1932. According to him, laments were "little recorded. We heard them, but we could not take phonograph at the funeral, especially during procession to the cemetery". "I mourned to him, – wrote Prysiazhnyuk, – three laments impromptu. They were recorded in my heart". Attention of the researchers (records were made at the request of the British Museum, where they were transmitted), stimulated the creative personality of the performer, who further remembered and recorded, "what she had heard during

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[22] Vuk St. Karadžić. 'Prepiska' II. Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića. Knj. 20. P. 122.
[23] Novica Šaulić. Srpske narodne tužbalice. P. 10-14.

childhood". "Before 1970, – noted Prysiazhniuk, – I sent 60 laments, and there are many more recorded, but not presented..."[24].

These evidences can be compared with the Balkan Slav tradition. Thus, in a collection of mourning songs of the acknowledged Montenegrin mourner Grozdana Vuković published in 1965 there are texts of laments for those who died in the national liberation struggle of 1941-45. Such laments achieved their artistic excellence not at the time of creation, but later. "It always happens. When the news came to the village, that some from the guerrillas was dead, the spark of grief and pain died out, and the mourning song appeared, but yet without true poetic beauty", which the performer gave to it later, when mourned at the funeral repast, also repeated it at home, at work, at public meetings, constantly improving the text. Exactly at these moments, daughter of the mourner – Danitsa Vuković, having felt artistic and poetic value of these laments, began to write them down, trying not to be noticed by the mother. Later, the mother understood from the daughter's reply that she wants to learn to mourn herself. Interestingly, when the editor of Vuković's collection, who was also a teacher at a local school, read her mother's printed texts, it was revealed that she remembered texts very accurately, even those parts that have been issued by the editor. D. Vuković explained that her "mother agreed with my opinion, and recognized texts as her own"[25].

Even in those regions where mourning was practiced quite recently, destruction of the tradition of mourning is common. Thus, in 1992, folklorist Vuk Minić communicated with old mourner Drage Ilić (maiden name Pavić) – "one of the last" in the region Grbalj (between Kotor and Budva in Montenegro) – in her house in the village Lastva. Formerly known singer of mourning songs distinguished two types of ritual lamenting – *tuženje* and *đerkanje*, or *naricanje*. First (*tuženje*) is performed aloud, on the way to the cemetery and over the grave, often by two or three performers with strong voices. Second (*đerkanje*, or *naricanje*) resembles a spell, is pronounced in the house of the dead, over the deathbed and also at the funeral repast – at the fortieth day and at the anniversary. According to Minić, "baba" Drage refused to perform the

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[24] Holosinnia, tuzhinnia, plachi. Uporiadkuvannia Mykola Dmytrenko. Kyiv. 2007. P. 16-19.
[25] Grozdana Vuković. Tužbalice iz NOB. Plevlja: Plevaljske novine. 1965. P. 47.

text of the laments in the house, noting that "if we were somewhere in the wood, I would speak"[26]. In 2000 I had an opportunity to meet this woman, introduced to her by late Vuk Minić. Already advanced in years, she was very energetic and talkative, talked a lot about folk traditions and how little contemporary youth is committed to them, but she claimed that she did not remember laments and could only narrate the content according to the ritual context.

Such stories that are relevant to the disclosure of cultural "background" of the tradition are considered as extremely important in the modern study of folklore. Researchers emphasize that it is necessary to record texts not only from the performers themselves, but also from the people, who often watch as others do. These stories provide an opportunity to look at the tradition from the side of the audience, to consider the communicative context of the contemporary existence of the genre. This approach is intended to expand the existing number of records from the traditional "best performers" and also to complement the existing practice of recording laments out of the ceremony, when a performer only recalls and reproduces the text, while the conditions of living existence of mourning remain unrecorded.

One of the evidences that the tradition is being lost, is a fact that in many villages in the Russian North, where previously mourning was obligatory, women are now writing down burial and funeral laments into notebooks and even rewriting them from each other. This is usually done by those, who are unable to continue the tradition, but want to preserve what was practiced by the "old". At the same time recognized in such groups mourners often at their own initiative create and write down specifically for the "collector" texts of the lamentations[27]. For example, an interesting incident occurred when Novica Šaulić told his informants that their work was of great value and they ought to "save it for posterity": they were certain that he was making a joke of them[28], and agreed to mourn only due to respect and trust to the collector.

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[26] Vuk Minić. 'Ljubišine tužilice i Grbaljka Drage Ilić.' ARS. 1-2. Cetinje. 2000. P. 103.

[27] Mikhail Alekseevskiy. 'Rasskazy o prichitaniiakh Marii Modestovny Sakhatarovoi.' Fol'klor: Tekst i kontekst. Moskva: Gosudarstvennyi respublikanskii tsentr russkogo fol'klore. 2010. P. 295.

[28] Novica Šaulić. Srpske narodne tužbalice. P. 24.

In conclusion, the poetic system of the mourning, its pragmatics and forms of performance are characteristic features of the improvised ritual folklore genre. Exposing poetical structure elements common or peculiar in certain tradition, we conclude that the text of the funeral lament actualizes the main universal and folklore general constant combinations. Moreover, the modeling principles of the system organization of the laments' poetics are rooted in its pragmatics, ritual functioning and interaction of the tradition and improvisation that allow to define this genre as the endogenous code of folklore.

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Danja HOBDARI
Shaban SINANI

THE QUESTION OF HERESY IN THE MEDIEVAL ALBANIAN BALLAD OF THE RESURRECTION: "JUS CANONICA" VERSUS "IUS LAICA"[1]

Testamentum in Vetere latet: Vetus in Novo patet
The New Testament is hidden in the Old: The Old is made clear by the New
By St. Augustine, IVth century

Albanian "Besa" vs *Besëlidhja* (*New Testament*), *Canon* vs *Kanun: Ethnotext hidden intro the church canonic text*

Bible as a unique text distinct from all other epics and sacred writings.
Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature*

The three are main motifs of Albanian medieval popular ballads: there are three basic motifs in the fund of medieval Albanian ballads:

1. The motif of *the sacrifice* (human sacrifice, *immurement in a bridge or castle*): over than 160 versions throughout the Albanian historical space[2];

2. The motif of *the return* (recognition, *the motif of Odysseus*), in two main archetypes: "*Constantine the Little*" and *"Song of Ago Ymeri"*;

3. The motif of *the resurrection,* which is found in *Arbëresh* and *Arvanites* settlements and in all the provinces of historical *Arbër.*

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[1] Presented in *Ballads and the audience, their raports in time and space*, 50th International Conference of *Kommission für Volksdichtung* (KfV), organised in collaboration with Academy of Science of Albania, 1-6 September 2022, Tirana-Gjirokastra.

[2] Shaban Sinani, *Një urë apo një kështjellë?,* in *The Most and the Castle*, Tirana 2006, p. 7-24; *idem, ibid., Balada midis tabusë dhe eufemizmit*, p. 92-125; see too: *Prej ligjërimit ungjillor, përmes epikës legjendare, në "jus albanica" - "pax albanica" në traditën etnojuridike*, in *Etnos në epos*, bot. *Naimi*, Tirana 2011, p. 123-253.

The *ballad of the resurrection* is conserved like an oral-traditional song, and later in transcribed form by poets and researchers: 1. Among the Arbëresh people (Italy), where it is known with the name *Constantine and Jurendina*; 2. In the southern regions, where it is known by some the names: *Constantine and Dhoqina, Constantine and Garentina, Constantine and Doruntina*; 3. In the northern versions, it is known as the *Song of Halil Garria,* under the influence of formal superficial islamization.

The Arbëresh version titled *Constantine and Doruntina* has been *generalized* in the Albanian literature, in scholar programs, under the influence of literature, cinema and written culture. Some poems based in this version (Girolamo de Rada), many adoptions in modern Albanian language by writers and linguists (P. Kupitori, Dh. S. Shuteriqi, A. Varfi, Z. Kodra, A. Xhiku, M. Kuteli); and especially the literally works of I. Kadare (*Who brought Doruntina back*, *The three-arches bridge*) have influenced to establish the name of ballad in the form *Constantine e Doruntina*[3].

In the all versions of ballad, the title contains the brother's name, who rises from the grave to keep his promise, and to send back home (to their mother) his sister, who was married far way from their country (in Bohemia, in Venice, *nine mountains captured*).

Chronologically this ballad is established in albanian traditional folklore after the legendary epic songs is closed, *but sure before the cycle of Georg Kastrioti.* The collection of those ballads are *pre-Ottoman heritage*. The time of Georg Kastrioti is a *limitus ante quam no*n, in the timeline aspect of their creation, because the Great Hero of Albanians is not present: no one signal from epoque of *Great Time of Castrioti*.

The three ballads were created right after the legendary heroic epic is closed (the finish of Albanian song of Frontier Wariors is considered cyclus *The songs of Frontier Warriors*, 1398) had become *an "opus finita"*[4]. The cycle of *the Battle of Fushë-Kosova* (1389) marks the

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[3] Registred for the first time in *Codice Chieutino*, manoscrit of Niccolo Figlia, 1737. The novele of Kadare is published firstly in 1979.

[4] Shaban Sinani, *Tradita gojore si etnotekst*: 1. *"Great Code" në traditën gojore popullore shqiptare*; 2. *Ligjërimi ungjillor dhe kodet etnojuridikë të shqiptarëve*, bot. *Naimi*, Tirana 2012.

transition to the historical epic: one finish, the second start, no two epics in the same time[5].

Ballads were developed earlier in time than the *cycle of Gjergj Kastrioti among Arbëresh.* The spirit of the three ballads corresponds to the spirit of European humanism's centuries[6], *Renessance:* especially that of believing in the human power finding his own destiny (the myth of *Saint Man*)[7].

Something in your ear to whisper."
With his teeth did Millosh grab her,
Flung her off to Babimovci.
Swiftly they beheaded Millosh
What then did Millosh Kopiliq?
Tucked his head under his armpit,
Off he went and, fleeing, vanished,
On to Salabanj he travelled.
There a woman and a maiden
Who were busy washing garments
Caught a glimpse of headless Millosh.
What is it the maiden stuttered?
"Mother, mother, look and see that
Man who's passing us is headless!"
To her did Millosh give answer:
"Headless I, may you be eyeless!"
Thereupon did Millosh perish.
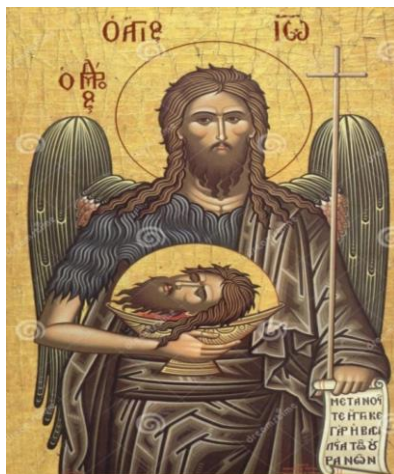
A parallel view: In Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet*, the prince of Denmark stays awake waiting for his father-king' ghost apparition, to get news from the other world. In a song from the *Battle of Fushë-Kosova*, the protagonist wanders around the world with his severed head *carrying it under his armpit, and replying to the living humans*. The

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[5] See Shaban Sinani, "*La bataille du Kosovo*" (*Kosovë*) - *une épopée albanaise*, in *Des valeurs européennes d'identité albanaise*, p. 140-149; and Enver Mehmeti, *Morfologjia e mitit serb të Kosovës*, SNGJLKSH, Prishtina 2013: *Tradita shqiptare është thjesht folklorike, është gojore, i takon periudhës parakombëtare prandaj nuk ka premisa kombëtare nacionaliste, ndërsa tradita serbe nis në manastire nga kallogjerët, murgjit serbë, kalon në epikën gojore në gjysmën e parë të shekullit XIX dhe meqenëse është e periudhës së zgjimit kombëtar serb është e mbushur me frymën ekstreme antishqiptare nacionaliste dhe ekspansioniste.*

[6] Shaban Sinani, *The Kanun* or *Jus Albanicae*, in *Beyond the linguistic border: Albanian Traditions and Literature,* edit. *Naimi*, 2021, p. 17-32.

[7] Shaban Sinani, *From the Biblical revival to the laic revival,* in *Beyond the linguistic border: Albanian Traditions and Literature*, Tirana 2021, p. 239-244; in Albanian too early: *Ringjallja laike dhe ringjallja biblike*, in *Pengu i moskuptimit*, Tirana 1998.

figure of Milosh Kopiliq is compared with myth of St. John Baptise[8]. Milosh Kopiliq in the Albanian inter-balcanic popular poetry and St. John Baptise are both described with the head in the hands: one in ballad, second in iconography, old church chronicle etc.[9].

How to compare *the presence of corpus juris canonici* and *corpus juris civilis* in each-other form os presentation during the medioeval centuries:

1. Is it in the text and spirit, in the *act Constantine's resurrection,* in the ballad of the resurrection, any conflict between *church canon law* (*corpus juris canonici*) *and secular law* (*jus laica, jus civica*)?[10]

2. Is there any conflict between the Albanian *Besa*, as an ethical and ethnic category, considered as *a resurrection power*, and *Besëlidhja* (*New Testament)*, as religious doctrine?

These questions may remain unanswered if not handled at the same time from both perspectives, the legal and anthropological one.

Some comparativ words about pagan sacradness and Christian sacrament: life, death, eternity, immortality, resurrection.

The relationships between life, death, resurrection, eternity (*eternitas*), immortality, in the Albanian folkloric heritage appear not only in the ballad of *Constantine and Doruntina*, but also:

1. As a *sacred mythological mindset* in the epic songs *Muji after death and Halili after death*. The *kreshniks* (*the Frontier Warriors*) wake up from death and rise from the grave after a century and it seems to them that they *only have taken a nap*; 2. And also, as a complete cycle of sacred ritual songs, which are sung on the day of St. Lazarus (*the Lazarus cycle*), in which the resurrection respects the *Gospel parable* in an almost canonical way:

One of the most complete *songs of Lazarus*, registred by us in 1995 during an anthropologycal expedition in South of Albania is:

Traditional song in original Albanian version:

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[8] Shaban Sinani, *Footprints of the Early Christianity in Albania*, in *Codices, statutes and Jews in the Albanian historical space*, bot. *Naimi*, Tirana 2021, p. 7-20.

[9] Shaban Sinani, *Parallèles entre les motifs prébibliques et bibliques dans les chansons épiques populaires albanaises*, in *Studia Albanica*, Tirana 1995-2000, p. 172 e pass; see too; *La bataille du Kosovo (Kosovë) - une épopée albanaise,* in *Des valeurs européennes d'identité albanaise,* Tirana 2020, edit. *Naimi,* 140-149.

[10] Danja Hobdari, *Kanoni biblik në kanunin shqiptar (me një vështrim të posaçëm në të drejtën e parëlindjes - të parilemit)*, in *Acts of Java e Shkencës,* Prishtinë 2017, p. 15 e pass.

Erdhi Krishti me fuqi,
Të haset me miknë e tij,
Qe dhe Lazëri ati,
Katër ditë i vdekuri,
S'besuan në perëndi,
U ngrinë e vanë pas tij,
Të shihnin ç'do bën ai,
Dhe foli si perëndi:
"Ngreu o mik, ç'bën ati!"
Edhe Lazëri u ngre,
Lidhurë sikundër qe.
Populli që ish atje,
Ranë mbë gjunjë e mbë dhé[11].
Qeparo, South of Albania, 1995

Free translation in English:

Christ came with power,
To meet his friend,
There was Lazarus too,
Four days dead,
They didn't believe in God,
They stood up behind Him,
To see what He will do,
And He spoke like a God:
- Get up, my friend, what you are doing there!
Lazarus also woke up from the death,
Bounded as he was.
All the people there
Fell to their knees and to the ground.

Songs of the resurrection are in the spirit of the canon (*Old Testament*). In a sacred form *the songs of evangelism*, in which Easter is explained in the same way like in the *Old Testament*, as an expression of God's wrath. Therefore, the children sing to warn the snake, *proto-Albanian totem*, *protective ally*, *prius parens*, to not face such wrath:

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[11] Personal registration, espedition of June 1995 year in the South of Albania.

Run away snakes, run away vipers,
Run away animals and you rats,
Because the Evangelismo day will come,
And for he will cut you,
Throw you in the stream,
To be eaten from dogs and hounds[12].

Quoted (in Albanian) and free translation version in inglisht from *Visaret e Kombit*, selected and collected by frathers of Franciscan order in 1930 years and published in Shkodër in that time.

The interrelations between sacredness (*Canon*) *and the popular* (*Kanun*) *and desacralization is an essential problem.* In songs built in a *dialogic form*, where the *evangelical parable of the resurrection* is presented by elements of *catechetical didascaly* and by a *mindset unrelated to the canon features.* In some other songs the spirit is completely *desacralized*.

Lazëro, Lazëro,	*Lazarus, Lazarus*
Ku më ke lazëruar-o,	*Where have you been-,*
"Në udhë të mërguar-o:	*"Far away this world,*
Pa thuajna edhe ne,	*Tell it to us,*
Të dimë se ç'ish atje?!"	*To know how was there?!"*
Dhe Shën Lazëri u ngre,	*And St. Lazarus got up*
E tha: "Mos më piesni më"[13].	*And said: "Do not ask me again".*

The question of an *imaginater contradiction* of mindsets, doctrines, legal corpus, in the ballad *Constantine and Doruntina* comes late in time. Attested in writing for the first time in the *Codice Chieutino* (1737), this ballad has traditionally been considered a *literary monument* of the *Albanian Besa,* of the *given word.*

The ballad exists among Greeks, Bulgarians, Romanians, Serbs, and Slovenians, when the *Besa* notion is not present. In the XVIIIth century and onward, it spread throughout European poetry, known as the *Lenore motif* (*according to Gaspar A. Bürger's poem*).

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[12] *Visaret e Kombit*, vol. II, Shtypshkronja *Nikaj,* Tiranë 1937.
[13] Our registration during the exposition of 1995 year.

The overemphasis of *Besa* has been effected by national jealousy and the desire to *Albanianize* this motif by considering it as a *matrix*, as *archetype*. In this point *it spread throughout the continent*, through the category of the ethical *Besa*, which is known as an *authentic Albanian value*[14].

Besa or Besëlidhja: "Secular mens" or "Canonic mens": what is primary: There is *no crime, no incest, no enigma, no miracle*: *Doruntine was brought by Besa*. This is how Stresi, the count's investigator, ends his report in the novel *Who Brought Doruntine* by I. Kadare.

In the first edition (1979) Constantine is a "copy" of Jesus Christ, the second *resurrected*; the one who detracts the *exclusivity* from the Messiah: the resurrection happening on the third day and the call to heaven at the Father-God. Christ brought the *Gospel, Besëlidhja* (*New Testament*) the evangelism to Mankind; Constantine brought his *Testament, Besa*, to the Albanian world. In further editions this opositon has been mitigated and the writer who has brought into play the categories *Old Law - New Law*; symmetrically following the *Old Testament - New Testament line*[15].

Exactly, because of the fact of making use of it in the limits of abuse, led to the question if there is any traverse between *Besa* and *Besëlidhja* (*New Testament*) in the folk ballad. More precisely: Is there *sacrilege, profaneness, protest, heresy, paganism, question marks* towards Christianity, in Constantine's act, in his resurrection? Is Constantine a new Messiah, is the *Besa* another testament or just a category of the *corpus secularis juris*?[16]

All these questions put questions to the *canon*. In the *corpus juris canonica* there is only the *Lazarian resurrection, the resurrection of Christ, the resurrection of souls* and the *general resurrection*:

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[14] Shaban Sinani, *Albania in the centuries of European humanism according to the statutes that were established during Gjergj Kastrioti's lifetime*, in *Codices, statutes and Jews in the Albanian historical space*, Tirana 2002, p. 136-173.

[15] Cfr last official edition of thos work in the official edition of complete works of Kadare, *Onufri* 2008, with precedent versions of this book. In this edition, the precedent opposition *The Albanian Besa - The Catholic Bible* is remplaced first in the form *Besa - Besëlidhja* (*Besa - New Testament*), and leater: *Older Law - New Law*.

[16] Cfr Danja Hobdari, *Corporativo corpus iuris: la règlementation juridique des sociétés du xviii-ème siècle à Voskopoja,* Ohrid, 5-8 September 2018, Tradition in communication and in the spiritual culture of Southeast Europe (Law, Economics, Natural Sciences, Art, Literature, Language) International Symposium, organized by AIESEE, p. 34 3t pass.

> *The Christ rose from the dead*
> *Through his death he conquered the death*
> *And allowed salvation to the dead*[17].

The magic verse that excludes blasphemy, profanity, sacrilege. In the ballad of the dead brother who rises from the grave to fulfill his pledge, the conversation between *the Living and the Dead* seems superficially to ignore the *canon*, in which the world of the Dead and the Living one, are two separate worlds without possibility of communication[18]:

> Left was but the widowed mother:
> "Constantine, my son, where are you?
> While alive, you made a promise,
> This was what you said on parting:
> 'Be I dead or be I living
> I'll return to you Dhoqina!'
> Constantine, my son, where are you?
> What now of your word of honour?"   [19]

Another reason of it is the fact that the Albanian language, being of pre-Christian origin, preserves memories of sacral, pre-canonical eras. The most popular greeting in Albanian, *Rrofsh*!, this word contains in its depth a violation of the canon. In the northern, conservative *Geg dialects*, this greeting is written (*e*)*ternofsh*, a form that reveals the Latin root *eternitas*. The other Albanian greeting *Could you never die*, which reminds the motif of *the wandering Jew* (*le juif errant*), is also in contradiction with canon, which understands life as a gift and the death as a divine calling[20].

But in all these cases the regular speaker, who shows no interest for the word etymology, is not aware that he is having impact on the *canon*.

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[17] Popular periphrastic verses of the episode in the *Bible*.

[18] Translation of Robert Elsie, Robert Elsie and Anna di Lellio, *The Battle of Kosovo 1389: An Albanian Epic*, edit. *I.B. Tauris*, 2009.

[19] Transl. English by Robert Elsie, in Robert Elsie and Anna di Lellio, *The Battle of Kosovo 1389: An Albanian Epic*, edit. *I.B. Tauris*, 2009.

[20] Shaban Sinani, *Etnos në epos*, edit. *Naimi*, Tirana 2011. Cfr to *Des valeurs européennes d'identité albanaise,* edit. *Naimi*, Tirana 2020. Cfr too Shaban Sinani, *Les ponts de l'Arbër*: *études albanaises*, in *Des valeurs européennes d'identité albanaise*, Tirana 2022, p. 377-390.

In order to avoid the trap of the fictitious opposition between the c*anon* and the secular message, it is important to pay attention to the details, especially in the earliest versions, such as the arbëresh one, which begins with the verse:

> *In the day of "the soul Saturday"*
> *To Christians is dedicated,*
> *She went out as she was*
> *Directly to the graves of his sons;*
> *Over to the graves*
> *To each grave of her sons*
> *She lighted one candel*
> *And raised a lamentation;*
> *But to Constantine's tomb*
> *She lighted two candles and raised two lamentations.*

Excatly in these verses, the Arberesh researchers Francesco Altimari and Giovanna Nanci drew the attention, through the article *La ballata del fratello morto e la cavalcata fantastica.* By answering to the question when exactly the conversation of the mother with the dead son takes place, in the first verse: *in the soul Saturda*y - in fact it was proved that in this ballad it has never existed an *exclusionary contradiction* between the *corpus juris canonici* and the *corpus juris laici*, because[21]:

1. The mother murmurs to the dead son for not keeping his promise. This happens not on a common day, but on the only day of the year that the Byzantine Church not only allows, but dedicates it to interaction between this world and the afterworld: *the Soul Saturday, dedicated to Christians*;

2. *The soul Saturday*, *the dead's day*, *il sabbato dei spiriti, psychosabbaton*, is celebrated in the Orthodox Christian liturgy on the Saturday before *Pentecost.* Part of the ritual are the visits to the graves

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[21] Cfr Giovanna Nanci, *Problematiche traduttologiche* in *contesto interlinguistico del romanzo "Kështjella" di Ismail Kadare*: *analisi* contrastativa *e nuovi approcci traduttivi*, Università della Calabria, Cosenza 2015: *A tal proposito è immediato il riferimento ad un altro personaggio kadareano, Costantino, eroe del romanzo "Kush e solli Doruntinën?", personaggio preso in prestito dalle leggende balcaniche tramandate oralmente, e ampiamente riproposto nelle ballate albanesi, come metafora della fede che questo popolo ripone nella besa, la parola data, la promessa che va mantenuta ad ogni costo, alla quale neppure la morte può porre fine*.

of the ancestors, prayers for their souls peace, but also the questions to the dead, how they are doing, where they are, is there any unfulfilled desires in the world above. It is premised the conversation between the lives and deaths. No sacrilegde, no profany, all is conform the status of an *aliturgic day*, named in Albanian *the day of deaths*, or the *day of passed way* (*dita e të shumëve*, *dita e të shuemëve* në viset veriore)[22].

3. In the Roman ritual *The soul Saturday* takes place in autumn. People visit the cemetery with food and drink, the priest joins the devotees, discuss about the dead and communicate with them.

4. This day is considered as *giorno aliturgica*, *giorno senza liturgia* and, as such, it legitimizes the dialogue between the mother with her dead son (conversation between the lives and deaths generally) not only in the spirit of medieval folk ballads, but also in canonical point of view.

Some brief conclusions:

1. The ballad of *Constantine and Doruntina*, known as *the resurrection ballad* (the dead raises from the grave), was composed in an era when marriage on long-distance became a factor in establishing political relations.

2. The spirit of the ballad promotes not the arrival of another *Messiah*, another *Gospel*, but the birth of a new canonical ethical category that could influence positively on the social cohesion at a time when the danger of religious heterogeneity was emerging.

3. Constantine's resurrection and the spirit of the ballad do not compete with the evangelical resurrection (*St John the Baptist, Christ*); there is no sacrilege or profaneness. Constantine wakes up from death not like *Salvatore Mundi*, but to mitigate the violation of the taboo, *the transition from endogamous marriages to exogamy*, through a poetic euphemism: the promise should be kept even when in the other world.

4. The ecclesiastical spirit and the influence by Christian rituals are dominant in the ballad.

5. During a period, the opposition between the *canon and the secular spirit* of the ballad was accentuated by atheism.

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[22] Francesco Altimari e Giovanna Nanci, *La ballata del fratello morto e la cavalcata fantastica*, in Giséle Vanhese, *Eminescu plutonico: poetica del fantastico*, p. 117-148.

HISTORY

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 Epirus[1] 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

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[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 *Épeiros* "(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 Corfuisland. 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 Epriots 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.

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, 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 188 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 Princedom 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]

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[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.
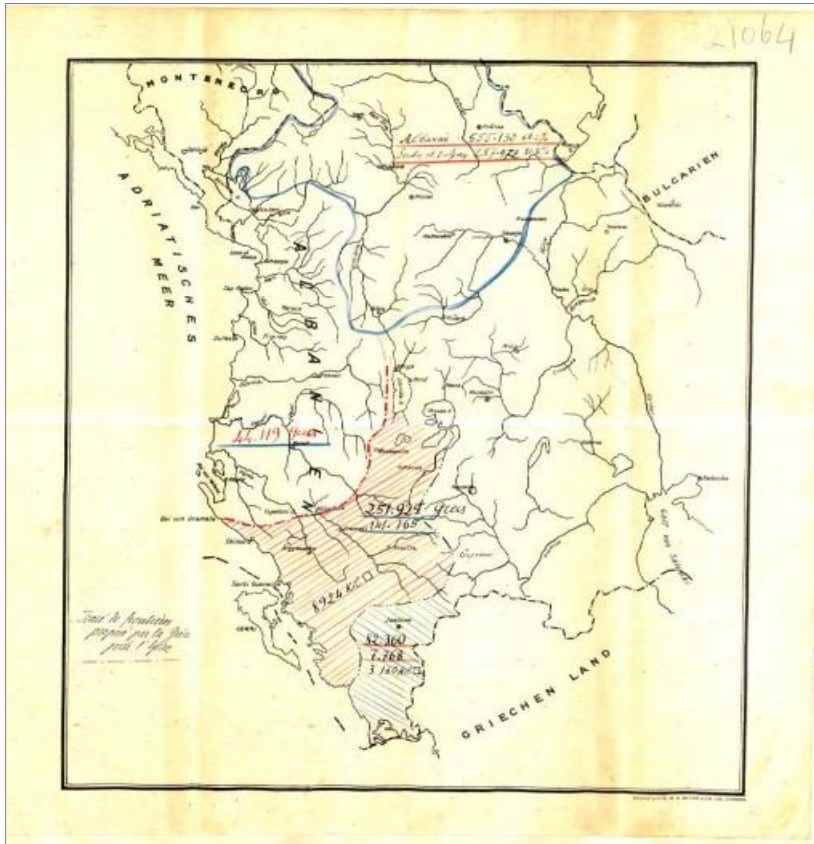
PRO.FO.925/ 21064, Albania, Trace de frontiere proposee par la Grece pour l'Epire
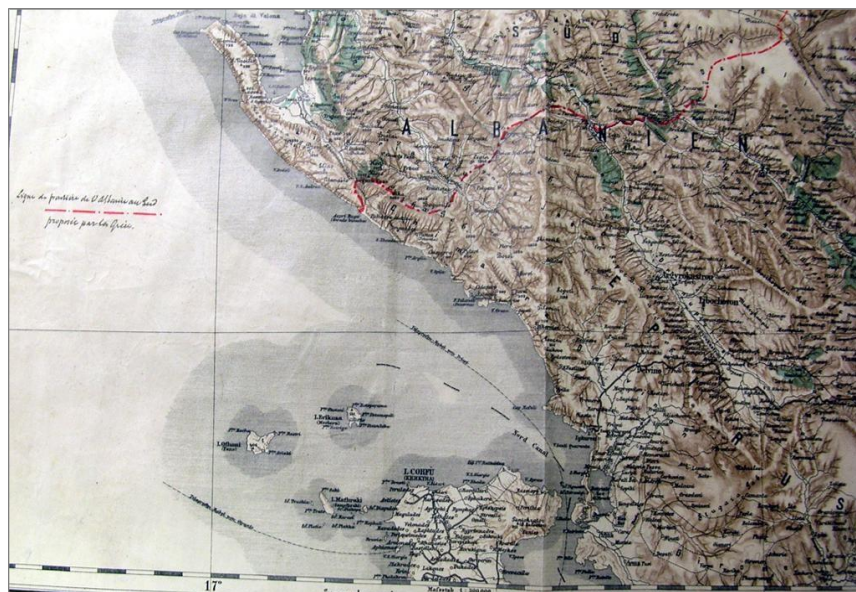
PRO.FO.925.21033

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-speakers[5]. So to speak, the statistics were

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[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.

unrepresentative for Albanian, because the majority of the Orthodox 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 Korça[6]. 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.

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[6] PRO.FO.371.1999, doc.no.24133/128, Greece, Annual Report 1913. Sir. F. Elliot on Sir Edward Grey, Athens, 20 May 1914.

The agreement also foretold that Chameria would be transfered to 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 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 epiriot 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

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[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.

even minor changes made to the inwards fundamental lines in the Albanian-Greek border.

Activity of Border Demarcation Committee in 1913

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 Austian-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,*

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[8] PRO.FO. 421.287, doc. no. 46121. Lieutenant-colonel Doughty-Wylie on sir Edward Grey, Monastery, 2 October 1913.

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 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]

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[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,

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[11] Lori Fisler Damrosch, Louis Henkin, Richard Crawford Pugh, Oscar Schachter, Hans Smit, *International Law, Cases and Materials*, Fourth Edition, St. Paul, Minnessota, 2001, f. 1392-1393.

Article 5 of the above-mentioned Convention clearly states that the normal demarcation line for the measurement of the width of territorial 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 Princedom 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.

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[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.

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 of the Sea on the Ionian coast, in 1914, does not mean that the preceding right was completely extinguised.

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 Zagradec, Vrnic, 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]
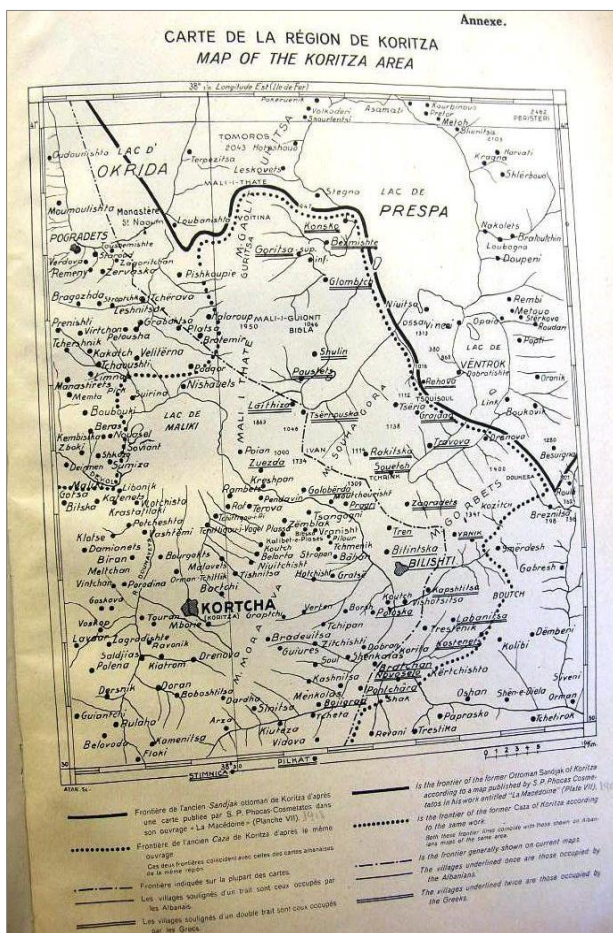
Map of the region of Korça showing the proposition of the border line in 26 villages, which should be attached to the line of Corfu Protocol.

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[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 Greece[18]; secondly, the League of Northern Epirus with its center in Florina. The president

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[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

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[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 Princedom 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

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[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.

the Conference of Ambassadors of November 9th, 1921; thirdly, the 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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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.

peculiarities, the protection of rights to national education and religions, 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.

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[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.

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 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.
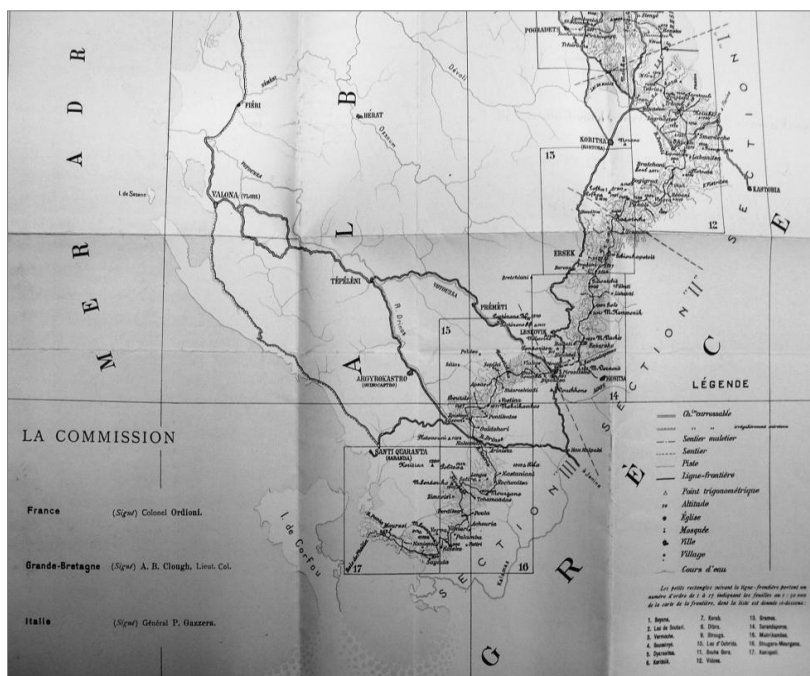
The ultimate border protocol of year 1926 (PRO.FO.371.11203)

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[33] PRO.FO.371. 11203, C9240/27/90. Caktimi i kufirit të Shqipërisë, Komisioni i Kufirit Shqiptar, 1922-1925, Raport i përmbushjes së punës.

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 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

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[34] PRO.FO.925.21007.

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 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 autochtonous 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.

Marenglen KASMI

ALBANIA DURING THE WORLD WAR I
(1914-1918)

The outbreak of World War I found Albania, in formal terms, a sovereign state under the leadership of the German prince Wilhelm zu Wied. The escape of Wilhelm zu Wied from Albania in September 1914, after a six-month reign, created a state of helplessness in the country although the influence of his government could not exceed the walls of the capital city of Durres. The old rivalry between the Albanian groups increased. This caused a re-fragmentation of the new country of Albania that had just been created by the Conference of Ambassadors in London 1912-1913. As a consequence the power had fallen back into the hands of the traditional local power holders.

Wilhelm zu Wied as Prince of Albania (March-September 1914)

On July 29th, 1913 the London Ambassadors' Conference definitively settled the question of the Albanian state in a three-hour session. Albania should be governed by a foreign prince, who had to be appointed within six months.[1] Until the election of the Prince an International Control Commission consisting of a representative from Albania and one representative of each of the other powers had to take over the administration of the country. The Commission had to become aware of the main features of the municipal administration and the administration of the country in general and submit proposals to the European powers

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[1] NIEMEYER, Theodor: Die Londoner Botschaftervereinigung, München 1914, S. 25; see also Wilhelm, Fürst von Albanien, Prinz zu WIED: Denkschrift über Albanien, 1917 (not published manuscript) p. 6; CASTELLAN, Georges: Histori e Ballkanit, Çabej, Tiranë 1991, p. 473–479.

for a further organization of the country. Dutch officers were commissioned with the organization of the gendarmerie.

In choosing the prince, disagreements of Austria and Italy stood out clearly. However, these two powers and the other four agreed on the German prince Wilhelm zu Wied. The choice was made for purely pragmatic reasons: Wied came from a country that had the slightest direct interests in Albania and was not affiliated with Albania's neighboring countries. He was not familiar with the Albanian problem and thus Wied could not be involved in any of the rival groups. [2] Most important was that Wied as a Protestant belonged to none of the existing religions in Albania. In addition, he was poor and therefore dependent on the support of the great powers, being easy to be kept under control. Such facts reveal that the above-mentioned weaknesses as well as his lack of political skills in Balkan politics were the main reasons for his appointment.

Wied agreed to accept the throne of Albania in general, but would give a definitive answer only after the powers accepted the conditions laid down by him.[3]

After Wied had received an advance of ten million francs, he arrived on March 7th, 1914 in Durres, where he was joyfully welcomed.

Wied became aware of the sensitivity of the situation only after his arrival in Albania. The withdrawal of Turkey from Albania had left a gap behind in the country. First three tasks demanded an urgent solution,

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[2] SCHMIDT-NEKE, Michael: „Fürst Wilhelm von Albanien Faktoren". In: *Aspekte der Albanologie* 18, (Akten des Kongresses „Stand und Aufgaben der Albanologie heute", 3.-5. Oktober 1988, Universität zu Köln, Herausgegeben von Walter Breu, Rolf Ködderitzsch und Hans-Jürgen Sasse) 1991, p. 210.

[3] These conditions were: *First*, since the first article of the London Protocol on the organization of Albania defined, that the prince was to be designated by the six major powers, it had to be gained their support for his candidacy first. *Secondly*, a deputation consisting of representatives of all Albanian country had to travel to Germany to offer him the throne of Albania. *Thirdly*, he demanded that the powers gave a guarantee that Esat Pasha recognized the will of Europe and would be submitted to the new prince. *Fourth*ly, the great powers or a part thereof, had to guarantee a loan of 75 million francs to 4%, which was to be paid in several installments. The first installment should be 20 million francs. *Fifthly*, the Prince should get a Civil List of 200 000 francs a year, which was to be paid up from the loan until the establishment of e fixed budget. *Sixthly*, the draft for the organization and management of the land was subject to the approval of the prince and *Seventh*ly, the southern border of Albania had to be set at least on the main points so that the dispute over the final border line were excluded (PA/ AA R 4298, Die fürstliche Familie. See also: WIED: Denkschrift über Albanien, p. 15).

namely the organization of internal administration, the control of public finances and the question of Epirus.[4]

Wied first appointed a Prime Minister for his government. Austria-Hungary and Italy recommended the 75-years-old Turhan Pasha, a retired Albanian minister and diplomat in the Turkish administration. The establishment of a government and administration was difficult in several respects. Most problematic was the election of the new ministers and officials. The Cabinet consisted of eight ministers, namely Turhan Pasha as Prime Minister, Esat Pasha Toptani as Minister of Interior and War, Myfit Bey Libohova as Minister of Justice and Religion, Dr. Gaqi Adhamidhi as Minister of Finance, Dr. Mihal Turtulli as Minister of Education and Health, Aziz Pasha Vrioni as Minister for Trade and Agriculture, Preng Bib Doda Pasha as Minister of Public Affairs and Hasan Prishtina as Minister for Post and Telecommunication. [5]

Not only did their election prove to be very problematic, but also the cooperation between the ministers, the military and the civil servants between themselves. The best example of such conflicts of highest level was the arrest of Esat Pasha and his exile to Italy. On the ground that the old Pasha was in contact with the insurgents, Wied had him arrested.[6]

Unlike the other Balkan states, the conditions under which the great powers wanted to create an Albanian state were much less favorable. The delay in socio-economic development of the country, the high rate of illiteracy and the lack of an Albanian school, the religious heterogeneity, the continued existence of the Turkish-minded Albanian elite, the lack of infrastructure and the backwardness of the Albanian society, the peasant uprising in central Albania and the military conflicts with neighboring countries made it impossible for the new government to create stable conditions.[7]

As already stressed, such challenges were not only wide ranging, but most of them demanded swift action. Most importantly two questions on

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[4] THOPIA, Karl: „Das Fürstentum Albanien. Eine Zeitgeschichtliche Studie". In: Ludwig von Thalloczy (Hrsg.): *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, Band II. München, Leipzig 1916, p. 246–247.

[5] KASMI: Die deutsch-albanischen Beziehungen 1912-1939, in: Zeitschrift für Balkanologie 49 (2013) 1, Herausgegeben von Gabrielle Schubert, Wolfgang Dahmen und György Hazai, Wiesbaden 2013, p. 66-67.

[6] See also KASMI,: Die deutsch-albanischen Beziehungen, p. 60-86.

[7] SCHMIDT-NEKE: „Fürst Wilhelm von Albanien Faktoren, p. 220.

the agenda needed a prompt intervention. The first was the ending of the conflict with Greece in the south of the country. Several Albanian areas along the border were occupied by Greek gangs. The solution of this conflict was very important because once the situation returned to normal in the south, the sooner the government could deal with the solution of domestic issues. The second was the urgent preparation of a constitution, so Wied would be able to expand his regime on a solid foundation.

The problems were detected correctly, but the cabinet of Turhan Pasha was powerless, unable to work and unpopular. It could not prove itself neither in peaceful nor in warlike days. Turhan Pasha was unsuitable for the post. He was not able to win over the support of the Albanians. Turhan Pasha had left Albania as a child and was not familiar with the politics of his country.[8] He was also not able to read or write in Albanian. The Minister of Justice, Myfit Bey Libohova, came from southern Albania. He was an extreme Italophile and also an old friend of Esat Pasha. These characteristics made him at this time, despite of his other qualities, as unsuitable personality. The new interior minister Aqif Pasha, was interested, but had neither the knowledge nor the necessary talent for his ministerial post. He was at feud with Myfit Bey Libohova just like Turhan Pasha and Turtulli, the Minister of Education could not tolerate each other.

The uprising

The situation worsened for Wied even more, when in central Albania, shortly after his arrival in Durres, an uprising began. This armed peasants' revolt was even considered to be the main reason of his failure in Albania. In essence, this anti-Wied movement was a peasant movement. The armed peasants gathered in Shijak, a small town between Tirana and Durres. The German Legation Councilor, Nadolny, reported that in a survey on the motives, the farmers responded that they had just called a revolution.[9]

However, the opinions regarding the movement's reasons were split. A part of the farmers were of the opinion that the motion was directed against the Beys and Aghas, while the rest took up the arms because they

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[8] THOPIA: „Das Fürstentum Albanien, p. 246–247.

[9] PA/AA, Diplomatische Agentur Durazzo, Aufstand in Mittelalbanien, Bericht Nr. 58, vom 18. Mai 1914, p. 94.

were not satisfied with the economic policies of the government, which favored through their actions more the Pashas and the Aghas and not the poor people.[10]

This movement was led by the Islamic clerics. Over time they took not only religious but also a political character. The Muslim religious leaders demanded the return of Albania under Turkey, as well as a Muslim prince, instead of a Catholic, as Wied was. Taking into account the backwardness and the religious divide of the Albanian population, one gets to the conclusion that it was not difficult for these leaders to manipulate the Albanian farmers.

However, this peasant revolt was nothing more than an agrarian movement against the feudalistic rulers who had promised the implementation of agrarian reform and did not keep this promise. The enemies of Wied made use of this dissatisfaction of the farmers. *The first*, who wanted to make a political profit of it were the Young Turks. They promised the Albanian Muslim population not only that Turkey would choose a Muslim ruler for them, but also meet all their requirements.

Secondly, Serbia intended to influence the rebellion by supporting the rebels with money.

Thirdly, Italy also was interested in this movement. Italy intended to establish a protectorate in Albania. The influence of Austria-Hungary in the Catholic northern Albania would be reduced. Esat Pasha would be the key figure in this scenario and *fourthly*, archival sources prove that Greece was involved in the organization of the uprising. The German diplomat in Durres, Lucius, reported the following to the Foreign Office: *"There can be no doubt for me that the current uprising is implemented and supported primarily by Greece. Apart from the fact that the Greeks do now work together with the Epirotes, I have also significant evidence that the local Greek envoy and the Metropolitan work diligently that the country does not come to rest, and for this large sums are spent (...)[11].*

Wied was in the center of the collision of these interests. He lacked troops to fight against the insurgents and more troops to fight the Greek andartes in the south of the country. The members of the International

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[10]   Ibid. p. 95.

[11]   PA/AA, Diplomatische Agentur Durazzo, Aufstand im Mittelalbanien, Bericht Nr. 86, vom 30. Juni 1914.

Control Commission tried to mediate between the warring parties, and they could conclude a truce with the insurgents for about two weeks. In this position Wied decided to establish the defense of the city and then put down the rebellion by force of arms.

The plan was not a secret and the insurgents attacked the city unexpectedly. The attack was well planned and led by Turkish officers.[12] The Dutch officers tried unsuccessfully to organize a counterstrike. As professional officers they planned pure military operations, but the Albanian soldiers and volunteers from northern Albania and abroad, who had agreed to fight for Wied, were simple people who had no military training and were not familiar with the fighting techniques. So the counterstrike was stuck and Durrës was surrounded by the rebels.

How was it possible that within a short time after Wied was jubilantly welcomed on his arrival in Durres, he was being fought?

One of the main reasons was that, after Wied's arrival, the Albanians had expected a radical change of the situation.. Contrary to this hope, the situation in Albania remained unchanged and became even worse, especially in southern Albania, where the Greek andartes continued exercising reprisals against the Albanian population. Soon after the first few days the Albanians noticed that apart from the fact that a new palace was decorated in Durres, nothing changed for them.

As just mentioned, the uprising made to the foreign diplomats - as Nadolny reported - the impression of a very well organized, widespread movement guided by professionals. Another proof was the internal agreement on the terms of the requirements of districts and villages participating in the uprising. The rebellion was based on an internal inspiration and it is unlikely that the movement was only organized by the mullahs.[13]

After the outbreak of the uprising in central Albania, the Great Powers lost interest in the Epirus matter. In Gjirokastra Zographos continued to rule as president of the self-proclaimed government of "North Epirus". Between this self-proclaimed autonomous region and the rest of the Albanian areas a buffer zone was created and the parties were waiting for a solution to the conflict by the International Control Commission.

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[12] THOPIA: Das Fürstentum Albanien, p. 273.
[13] PA/AA, Diplomatische Agentur Durazzo, Bericht (Nadolny) Nr. 67, vom 6. Juni 1914.

Also in southeastern Albania, im Korça-Gebiet, the intensity of the attacks of Greek gangs increased.

In Shkodra, where an international Detachment of the British Colonel Phillips took care of peace and order, the conflicts between Muslims and Catholics, between the followers of Italy and those of Austria, between the enemies of Colonel Phillips and his supporters continued. Under the circumstances Wied's real friends seemed to be only the Catholic northern Albanians, who saw in Wied not only the securing of their existence against the Serb reprisals, but were also interested in the care and preservation of their religion.

It was soon found out that Wied had no experience of governance. His indecisiveness, his way of leading, limited only to the role of a constitutional monarch leaving the affairs of state completely to his ministers, made him unable to achieve a better result in this chaotic situation. While the government consisted only of Albanians, he assigned only foreigners in his court. Also, the fact that Wied could not speak the Albanian language and had to communicate with "his people" either in German or in written Albanian led to the reduction of his popularity.

The reasons for his failure are also found in the negligence and passivity, and also the inability of the Albanian officers deployed in key positions, as well as in their numerous rivalries. However, it should be noted that Wied was not prepared for this task and not used to the Albanian conditions. Apart from that, it can be established that Wied had no ability to make decisions and the ability of command control. This was something unusual for a staff officer in the Prussian officer corps. For this reason the decisions took several days and often such delays were the reason for the next failure.

The inability of the administration can be explained by the Oriental work ethic. One meeting followed another. Each minister did everything but none of them could do anything that was decent.

In addition to internal rivalries, such as the rivalry between Esat Pasha and the Dutch officers, or the communication problems between the Dutch officers among themselves, or between the General de Veer and Colonel Thomson, there were also external rivalries, as the rivalry Aliotti – Löwenthal or Austria-Hungary and Italy

The controversy between the Central Powers and the Triple Entente seemed so obvious and unjustified in the functioning of the International Control Commission. Not all members of the Commission acted as representatives of an international Commission with a mandate from the London Conference of Ambassadors, in which all participating States agreed to the future of Albania. Particularly the Russian and French representatives followed a special policy of their governments.

Despite the difficult and hopeless situation in the country, Albanian nationalists led by Fan Noli prepared a program to save Wied. A point of this program was to replace the foreign Court Advisor with locals. In this way, Wied was to come closer to the Albanian people. The incomprehensible isolation of the prince in his palace and his absence from the people, led to his alienation. The introduction of a very strict court etiquette also helped.[14]

Wied took over the task of the new ruler of Albania on the grounds that he considered himself „as executor of a civilizing mission" for Albania. Likewise, his wife was very excited about this challenge and "she could not wait to make her contribution to the civilization of this country.[15] But it seems more credible that Wied after long reflections took over this difficult task, less rather than more because of principles. In all probability this decision had an economic, social and moral character. A poor prince, who lived a modest life in Potsdam as a cavalry captain, now had the opportunity to improve his financial and social status.

His desire, that an Albanian delegation came to Neu Wied - to his parents' house - to offer him the crown of Albania, is a proof of that. In this regard, Esat Pasha said in an Interview with the "*Berliner Lokalanzeiger*" of June 2nd, 1914: „*when we got a Prussian cavalry officer as a ruler, we had expected him to come alone into the country and implement what he had learned in Potsdam, and to make good use of the money he brought with him first of all by drilling a prototype battalion out of the good material found in Albania as the core of a future army. Instead, however, he seems to be more concerned about representation and domestic amenities; he is too much under the*

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[14]   B Arch R8034/II 8479, „Dresdener Nachrichten", 31. Mai 1914.
[15]   Ibid.

influence of his wife. I do not know if this prince, with all his nobility and loyalty is the one, that we need.,,[16]

In synchrony with this opinion was also the Member of the Italian Parliament, Tirmeni, who wrote with a certain irony in the "Stampa" that in Roman diplomatic circles, the situation in Durres appeared highly dangerous while the lack of energy of the prince was known. "Wied is stuck to the skirt of the princess and lets her accompany him even during his diplomatic visits," he wrote, among other things[17].

Two months after the start of World War I Wied was clear that he should leave Albania: "*After being delivered the intrigues of Italy without being able to count on the support of Germany and Austria-Hungary, with only a small, poorly armed crowd of Albanians, I would not have had the slightest chance of being able to resist the Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as the Italian naval guns".*[18]

After his return to Germany Wied asked Kaiser Wilhelm II for a position as an officer in the army. *"The German princes, if they are fit for service, have a place in the German army for the duration of the war"* remarked Kaiser Wilhelm. [19] Wied served as *Major à la suite* until the end of the war at the front, but he held the option to return to Albania always open.

As a new Austro-German offensive against Serbia was planned in the spring of 1915, Wied seized his chance and turned in a letter dated 24 February 1915 to Kaiser Wilhelm II with the request to assign him the supreme command of armies assigned against Serbia. The Austrian Foreign Ministry welcomed at first this plan. Kaiser Wilhelm II assured him that he would comply in this respect with the wishes of Austria.[20] However, the Austrian-Italian relations deteriorated so much, that a war between the two countries was to be expected and therefore a second offensive against Serbia was, for the time being, inconceivable. But when later the German-Austrian-Hungarian offensive was actually decided, it was no longer deemed necessary by the government of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to entrust Wied with the command of the armies. The troops of Austria-Hungary had already occupied nearly two-

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[16] B Arch R8034/II 8479, "Berliner Lokalanzeiger", 2. Juni 1914.
[17] B Arch R8034/II 8479, "Berliner Tageblatt", 6. Juni 1914.
[18] WIED: Denkschrift über Albanien, S. 48.
[19] PA/AA, R 4299.
[20] Ibid.

thirds of Albania and Vienna thought it no longer needed to defend its interests by third parties.

Despite his efforts, he was not able to climb the throne of Albania again. The overall political situation in Europe had changed. His six months of experience as a ruler in Albania had shown that the structure of the Albanian state was not created or improved by setting up a xenocracy.

The return of Esat Pasha and the re-occupation of Albania

Two days after the departure of Wied from Albania, on September 5, 1914, the rebels under the leadership of Mustafa Ndroqi entered the city of Durrës and immediately flew a Turkish-Muslim religious flag. [21] They formed a Senate and a temporary government for central Albania. The Senate decided to send a delegation to Istanbul, asking *"the Sultan to appoint a Turkish prince as the new ruler of Albania"* [22] The delegation was led by the former senator from Elbasan, Haxhi Aliu, one of the most outspoken opponents of Esat Pasha Toptani and member of the Young Turk Committee.

The uprising was put down in June 1914 by Esat Pasha and his troops, who returned with Serbian support back to Albania. [23] Esat Pasha appointed himself immediately president of the new government. Some insurgents joined him. Others, who wanted to continue fighting under the leadership of Haxhi Qamili were isolated with Serb military aid in 1915 and Haxhi Qamili and several other insurgents were hanged. Meanwhile, they had become powerless because Turkey had called all Muslims to a holy war in September 1914 on the side of the Central Powers.[24]

While central Albania was held under control by the insurgents, by the end of 1914 and the beginning of 1915, other parts of Albania, namely the city of Shkodra and the surrounding areas were under the

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[21] WIED: Denkschrift über Albanien, p. 30.

[22] Historia e Shqipërisë, vëllimi III (1912-1944), Tiranë 1984, p. 145.

[23] RAHIMI, Shukri: Marrëveshjet e qeverisë serbe me Esat Pashë Toptanin, në: Studime Historike, Viti XXXVI (XVII), Nr. 2, Tiranë 1982, p. 98-99.

[24] SCHMIDT-NEKE, Michael: Entstehung und Ausbau der Königsdiktatur in Albanien (1912-1939), München 1987, p. 41.

control of the international Detachment. [25] Preng Bib Doda and Ded Coku established again their rule in the north.

The outbreak of World War I established a good basis for all possible configurations of power in South Eastern Europe. Being aware of the problem the Serbian Prime Minister Pasic tried to reach an agreement with Italy.[26] Serbia and Italy agreed at a meeting in Niš, that Albania should not exist in its present form any more. [27] Beside Serbia and Greece Italy would also have a part of Albania or annex Vlora with backlands. This agreement took shape in the secret Treaty of London on April 26th, 1915.[28] H. Schwanke concludes rightly that "*Albania, [...] at the time of alliance negotiations, had become an important factor in Balkan politics from a" quantité negligeable" that it was before.*"[29]

With the declaration of war on Austria-Hungary on May 23rd, 1915, Italy entered the war too. Italy had already occupied the island of Sazan and Vlora in 1914. The allies of Italy, Serbia and Montenegro took the opportunity to realize their old hopes to Albania. [30] On June 12th, 1915 the Serbian army moved into northern Albania and sometime later to Central Albania while Montenegro initially occupied the harbor of Shëngjin (then San Giovanni di Medua) and Shkodra on June 27th, 1915. The Greek troops invaded southern Albania.

Both Montenegro and Serbia gave only strategic reasons as a pretext for the occupation of Albanian territories. The Great Powers would decide later. According to Prince of Wied, Pasic had added he would *"never tolerate a hostile Albania as the one of Prince of Wied"*.[31] Thus, the Serbian government supported Esat Pasha for the election of the

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25 See SCHIEL, Rüdiger: Skutari 1913/14 – eine frühe "Joint" oder eine "Combined Operation"? in: Am Rande Europas? Der Balkan - Raum und Bevölkerung als Wirkungsfelder militärischer Gewalt, (hrsg. von Bernhard Chiari und Gerhard P. Groß unter Mitarbeit von Magnus Pahl), München 2009, p. 89-104.

26 SCHWANKE, Helmut: Zur Geschichte der österreich-ungarischen Militärverwaltung in Albanien. Ungedruckte Dissertation der Philosophischen Fakultät Wien, 1982, p. 47.

27 SCHWANKE: Zur Geschichte der österreich-ungarischen Militärverwaltung in Albanien, p. 47.

28 See also BECKETT, Ian F. W.: The Great War 1914-1918, second edition, Pearson-Longman, 2007, p. 106-107.

29 Cited from SCHWANKE: Zur Geschichte der österreich-ungarischen Militärverwaltung in Albanien, p. 47.

30 WIED: Denkschrift über Albanien, p. 35.

31 Ibid., p. 36.

Albanian prince, trying to give him an orientation in favor of Serbia against Austria-Hungary.

The Entente states were against the occupation of Albania by the Serbian and Montenegrin troops. The main reason was not the respect towards Albanian neutrality during the war, but they were afraid that the resistance of the Albanian people against the occupying powers would exhaust their military power and would weaken the front against Austria-Hungary.

Albania at war

The Serbian and Montenegrin occupation regime in Albania lasted only a short time. The Bulgarian government declared war on Serbia in October 1915. Involved in combat between two fronts, first the Serbian and then the Montenegrin troops suffered a heavy defeat. Consequently the Montenegrin government signed in January 1916 the surrender, while the Serbian army took a long retreat with very high losses through the Albanian territory, first to Corfu and then to the Thessaloniki front. From the Albanian ports Shëngjin, Durres and Vlora were evacuated more than 150,000 Serb soldiers from about 220,000, who had crossed the Albanian border.[32] According to Albanian sources the Serbian army lost in this retreat one third of the army. Approximately 100,000 dead and injured soldiers remained within the Albanian territory.[33] Together with the Serbian forces Esat Pasha was also evacuated to Thessaloniki. He had formally declared war against Austria-Hungary early in January 1916. He declared himself as Prime Minister of Albania in exile and enjoyed the recognition of France.[34]

The Austro-Hungarian troops followed from January 1916 the Serbian army and thus Albania became part of the First World War. They first occupied Shkodra, Tirana and Elbasan. In February, the city of Durres, which was held in this period by only one infantry brigade of the Italian Army, was taken. After the Austro-Hungarian troops had occupied central Albania, the first convoy of the Austrian troops

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[32] BATAKOVIC, Dusan T. : The Kosovo Chronicles, Beograd 1992 (http://balkania.tripod.com/resources/history/kosovo_chronicles/kc_part2e.html)

[33] FIÇORRI, Ramiz: Ushtritë e huaja në Shqipëri 1912-1922, Tiranë 2002, p. 152.

[34] KACZA, Thomas: Zwischen Feudalismus und Stalinismus. Albanische Geschichte des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts, 1. Auflage, Berlin 2007, p. 66.

marched to the southwest of Albania and positioned itself on the right bank of the river Vjosa, on the opposite side of the Italian army,. The second Austrian convoy went to the south and formed the front against Greece. That front spread from Berati to Pogradec. The Austro-Hungarian troops quickly occupied about two-thirds of Albania. In the overall strategy the Austro-Hungarian military leadership planned to bind as many enemy forces as possible on the war areas of Albania. As a result the troops in the Western Front would be relieved.[35]

Some Bulgarian troops also participated in the occupation of central Albania. However, they retreated under the pressure of Austria-Hungary from Albanian territory. Only a few Bulgarian forces still remained in the area of Pogradeci. The deep penetration of the Central Powers troops in the Balkans worsened the situation of the Entente in this war area. The supply of the eastern army by Thessaloniki was worsened by the actions of the German submarines. Furthermore the opinions expressed in Greece were divided in terms of the attitude of Greece towards the war. A part of the population supported the idea of King Constantine I, who used a friendly policy to the Central Powers and stood for a neutral stance of Greece in the war, while the other part of the Greek population supported the Entente minded Republican rival government of E. Venizelos in Thessaloniki.[36]

By October 1916 southern Albania was under Greek occupation. The Royal Greek troops made contact with the Austro-Hungarian ones. This threatened the position of the Entente Powers in the Balkans seriously. The cooperation of the Greek and Austrian troops threatened the left flank of the Eastern Army and the Italian troops in Vlora. Being aware of this strategic risk, the Entente powers decided to drive out the Greek troops from southern Albania thus keeping the streets from Vlora and Saranda to Thessaloniki free. The attack was conducted almost simultaneously by the Italian and French armies. Until the end of October 1916, the Italian army occupied the areas of Vlora, Himara, Tepelena, Gjirokastra, Saranda, Përmeti and somewhat later Leskoviku. The French troops were operating from the west and occupied the city of Korça and its surroundings in October 1916. With the occupation of

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[35] SCHWANKE, Zur Geschichte der österreich-ungarischen Militärverwaltung in Albanien, p. 68.
[36] Historia e Shqipërisë, vëllimi III, p. 168.

southern Albania by the Italian and French armies the whole territory of Albania was occupied. The front between the central and the Entente powers took place in the Vlora-Berati-Pogradeci line and remained unchanged until the end of the war.

Albania between neutrality, occupation and autonomy

In terms of international law criteria at the beginning of the 20th century during the First World War Albania was in a complicated situation that extended between neutrality, occupation and autonomy. [37] The absence of a legitimate central government, which had to take over the affairs of state, worsened further the situation. In addition to the war interests of the Great Powers, the fragmentation of the Albanian political opinion also contributed so that the Great Powers renounced the warranty obligations of the London Conference of Ambassadors of July 29th, 1913 related to a separate and sovereign Albania, and relocated their armies to Albania. As of January 1916 the military operations between the warring powers took place within that territory. Consequently the geopolitical position of Albania gained great importance during the war. Every war party tried to strengthen their own position in Albania and at the same time to control Albanian strategically important territories. The propaganda and political promises about the future of Albania were the main strategies of all new occupiers. They tried not to give to the Albanians the feeling of a classic alien occupation. So the commander of the imperial and royal forces deployed in Albania said on the occasion of the first anniversary of the arrival of Austria-Hungarian troops in Albania on January 23rd, 1917, that *"the Austrian-Hungarian troops [...] did not come as enemies, not as those who oppressed your country for years and compromised your goods and chattels, but as friends"*[38].

After the occupation of Albania by the warring parties the question of the administering of the occupation areas arose. While the French created the so-called autonomous province of Korça, the Austria-Hungarian army established a military administration.

The French acted out of pure military needs and the solution was easier. For Austria-Hungary it was much more complicated. Vienna

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[37] MILO, Paskal: Politika e Jashtme e Shqipërisë 912-1939, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 2013, p. 247.
[38] Arkivi i Shtetit Shqiptar (AQSH), Fondi 347, Viti 1917, Dosja 11, Fl. 6.

considered Albania as a long-standing friendly and neutral country. In the provisions of the international law written down in the Articles 42 and 43 of the Hague Convention of 18/10/1907 it is established how is to proceed with the administration of an occupied foreign territory. [39] In contrast to the other Balkan countries such as Serbia and Montenegro, which had been defeated by conventional warfare and were therefore administered by military governments, the case of Albania was different as no enemy, which had previously represented a state power had been defeated there.[40]

With regard to the administration of Albania during the war, the opinions between the military and diplomacy or politics were divided. Should a military government, the same as in Serbia and Montenegro, be established in Albania, , , in which the executive power was to be held by the military having the support of civilian forces assisted by tribal administration forms from the period of the Ottoman rule, or an administration after the model of the western world had to follow?[41]

The Ballhausplatz wanted an autonomous Albania together with the Albanian territories that were occupied by Serbia and Montenegro during the Balkan wars. While the Foreign Minister, Burian, considered Albania as an "effective protectorate", which had to act independently and in the interest of Austrian interests, the chief of staff Conrad von Hötzendorf proposed the incorporation of northern Albania to Mati River in the monarchy.

The rest of Albania, namely southern Albania, should be encompassed by Greece and central Albania including Durres by Bulgaria. [42] However, the Austrian policy was willing to tolerate certain concessions to Greece concerning southern Albania, if Greece would remain neutral in the war, but not in the north of the country, whose territory had gained the status of "*Cultus Protectorate*" centuries ago.

After long discussions, on December 9th, 1916, the politicians and the military agreed on a common approach in Albania. Burian agreed that during the war the commander of the 19th Corps took the leadership of the entire administration and hereby had the right to decide on all

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[39] SCHWANKE: Zur Geschichte der österreich-ungarischen Militärverwaltung in Albanien, p. 85.
[40] Ibid., p. 87.
[41] Ibid., p. 88.
[42] Historia e Shqipërisë, p. 175-176.

important issues of military and administrative tasks. The General Staff of the army agreed to accept the establishment of an effective Austrian protectorate in Albania. [43] Beside the military authorities a political representative or a political civil consultant had to act. Consul General August Kral, a former member of the International Control Commission, who was familiar with the Albanian circumstances, was appointed as the first representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or national civil commissioner. Between him and the military authorities strong contradictions accrued, which in the end resulted in him giving up his task early before the withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian Army from Albania.

Immediately after the occupation of the city of Shkodra the imperial and royal army set up an administrative council with Luigj Gurakuqi as Teaching Director and Fejzi Alizoti as Finance Director. Albanian elementary schools were opened and a local government was established. Over time the organization of the administration was disseminated and improved from Shkodra. Moreover Albanian volunteer units were recruited and fought not only at the front but also partially fulfilled the role of a police service. They were paid in gold and silver. The Albanian administrative area covered approximately 16,000 square kilometers, which was to be defended by the 19th imperial and royal corps.

Similar efforts were also taken by the French army in the area of Korca. Until the outbreak of the World War I France had no direct interests in Albania. During the conference of ambassadors of 1912-1913 and in the secret Treaty of London in 1915 Paris had supported the interests of Serbia. Only after the landing of the French army in Thessaloniki in the fall of 1915, Albania became important under the military-strategic thinking of the French General Staff.[44]

After the French troops marched in Korça, the military leadership became aware of the explosiveness of the situation in this part of Albania. Just as the Austro-Hungarian troops, the French military leadership was also interested especially in keeping peace and order, as well as in the recruitment of Albanian military units. The leader of the French troops in Korça, Colonel Descoins, took the view that the Albanians had never shown hostile intentions against France. The

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[43] MILO: Politika e Jashtme e Shqipërisë 912-1939, p. 286.
[44] Ibid., p. 269.

fulfillment of their desire and the proclamation of the independence of the city of Korça under the military protection of French troops would bring only military advantages for their own troops.

Without notifying Paris the French commander of Eastern Corps in Thessaloniki, General Maurice Sarrail agreed and on December 10th, 1916, 14 people's representatives and Colonel Descoins signed the protocol of the Autonomous Province of Korça, or as it was called, *"the Albanian Republic of Korça."* [45] In this protocol with nine points, it was stipulated that the autonomous province of Korça (along with Bilishti, Kolonja, Gora and Opari) should be governed by a largely independent administrative council. [46] This council should also take care of creating a gendarmerie, the appointment of officials, the opening of Albanian schools etc. It should be emphasized, that the Albanian language became the official language and the Albanian national flag was also accepted by the protecting power France.

The autonomous province of Korça was an important success for the Albanian nationalism during the World War I. Not only the Greek occupation troops were driven out of Korça, but by their dislodgement from this region, the French occupation troops had recognized the Albanian ethnicity in the region. The commander of the Eastern Army, General Maurice Sarrail, gave the following answer to the question of Paris on the matter: "Korça wanted to be independent and it has been made. Since then there is peace in the region". [47]

The proclamation of the Albanian Republic of Korça represented an important step for Albania. That way not only the chauvinistic claims of Greece on the southern Albania were rejected but it was also a first nucleus for the establishment of a single administration of the Albanian territories.

However, the Republic of Korça had a very short life of only one year. After the King Constantine had to abdicate, the government of Venizelos returned to Athens and declared their alliance with the Entente block

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[45] See also Général Descoins: Six mois de l'historie de l'Albanie. Alfred Costes Editeur, Paris 1930, p. 14-88; ÇAMI, Muin: Shqiptarët dhe franzezët në Korçë 1916-1920, Tiranë 199, p. 160-162; DUCASSE, Andre: Balkans 14/18 ou le chaudron du diable, Robert Laffont, Paris 1964, p. 160-164; ÇAMI, Muin: Shqiptarët dhe franzezët në Korçë 1916-1920, Tiranë1999, p. 51.

[46] See also TAKO, Piro: Themistokli Germenji, Tiranë 1988.

[47] Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, Vellimi II, p. 172.

against the Central Powers. [48] As a result of the Greek pressure the command of the French army abolished the protocol that it had already signed. The region of Korça passed in direct administration of the French command. This permitted the reopening of Greek schools. After all, some successes that had been achieved in that period remained preserved. The Albanian flag stood beside the French one and the Albanian schools went on with their activity. The French held the territory under control. Although France harbored no direct interests in Albania, the French troops left Albania only after this obtained its status at the peace conference.

The Italians protested also against the establishment of the Republic of Korça. However, they behaved like the French a short time later. Italy pursued a dual strategy in relation to their Albania policy. The exercise of a pure occupation policy was carried out in the same time with the promises of the preservation of an independent Albania   .[49] After the establishment of the autonomous province of Korça on December 10, 1916 and the Austria-Hungarian declaration on January 23, 1917, the proclamation of the unity and independence throughout Albania under the auspices and protection of the Kingdom of Italy on June 3, 1917 by the commander of the Italian troops in Vlora, Lieutenant General Giacinto Ferrero, was considered as a belated and beyond belated response to the developments in other occupied territories of Albania.[50] The Albanian nationalists, especially the Albanian diaspora defined this development as demagoguery as the intentions or the plans of Italy to make Albania an Italian colony, were already known to the Albanians. The proclamation was announced on purpose in Gjirokastra, as a sign that Italy would not tolerate a division of southern Albania to Greece.

With the departure of the Austro-Hungarian army from Albania in the fall of 1918 most areas of the country fell under Italian rule. Shkodra, just as before the war, was held by an international detachment and the French army was deployed in the Pogradec-Korca-Gramsh area. Serbia occupied the eastern and north-eastern regions of Albania again thus

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[48] BIAGINI, Antonello: Historia e Shqipërisë nga zanafilla deri ne ditet tona [orig. Storia dell'Albania], Tiranë 2000, p. 134-135.

[49] MILO: Politika e Jashtme e Shqipërisë 912-1939, p. 289.

[50] KACZA: Zwischen Feudalismus und Stalinismus, p. 67.

creating the so-called "Serbian strategic line". From the autumn of 1917 southern Albania fell into Greek hands.

The Albanian nationalism during the World War I

The fact that the Senate of Durres in 1914 represented only a part of Albania indicated that the particularism in Albania was still present in its ancient form. Only during the occupation of Vlora by Italy and southern Albania by Greece the patriotic intellectual circles and the Albanian population recognized the risk the existence of Albania was facing. The coordinated actions of Italy and Greece have rightly been described by the Albanian public opinion as the beginning of the dismemberment of Albania.

After the return of Esat Pasha in 1915 it was fought primarily against him and his government. Esat Pasha was willing to cooperate with every war party in order to achieve his goals in application of the Secret London Treaty 1915. At the same time the fight against Esat Pasha represented also a resistance against the occupation plans of the neighboring countries. Due to intense disputes and rivalries between local rulers the enemies of Esat Pasha failed in forming an alliance. They fought against Esat Pasha from different perspectives and at the same time against each other. The fragmentation of Albania into smaller areas of control and the formation of political groups were clear steps backward for the Albanian nationalism.

The unification of the Albanian population as the most important prerequisite for the further existence of Albania became more and more noticeable. The calls for unification were more frequent during the war and the Albanian elite tried to transform these to specific measures. On November 1, 1914, a call of some patriotic circles in Shkodra attracted the attention on the holding of a national congress. Representatives of all Albanian territories including those occupied by Greece in the South were to participate therein. The initiative was taken unsuccessfully by Mustafa Qulli and Sali Nivica, who already had begun with the publication of the newspapers "Drita" ("*The Light*") and "Populli" ("*The People*") in Shkodra. The aim of the Congress was to design a common political program and the establishment of a single administration center

for the entire country.[51]

Neither at the beginning, nor during the entire World War did the Albanian national movement succeed to create a single administration center. The reason was the political dispute and the fragmentation of the country, the weakening of the Albanian Elite, which could not even manage to establish an own political party.

In the first months of the Austro-Hungarian occupation (February-March 1916), the Albanian nationalist forces undertook a movement that had two political objectives: the creation of an Albanian government and the preparations for a national congress. The Austro-Hungarian occupation forces considered this activity as "dangerous" for their occupation policy. After their expansion in Albania, the Austro-Hungarian troops permitted neither the activity of the government founded by Aqif Elbasani, nor the holding of the Congress of Elbasan. The authorities justified the prevention of the Congress with the fact, that such gatherings with political intentions were forbidden.

In order to solve the Albanian question the Albanian patriotic movement during the First World War tried to take advantage of the war between the warring powers as well as the conflicts within the coalitions. However, there were also illusions and hesitations within this movement. There were even rumors, according to which the end of the war was to be awaited and arrangements for the next Peace Conference were to be made only with regard to foreign policy. Therefore, memoranda and requests had to be prepared that would be presented to the winners of war when discussing the terms of peace and the future of the countries involved in the war.

The commitment of the United States into the war in 1917 had a strong influence on the developing of the Albanian national movement. The Albanian-American Association "Vatra" (*The Hearth*), which had originally supported Austria-Hungary, changed course and began to propagate the policy of the US President, Wilson, and in particular the importance of the principle of self-determination. In their opinion this was the best policy for the union of Albanian territories after the war. [52] Despite numerous problems and misunderstandings, such as the disagreements within the political groups, particularly in the Albanian

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[51] See also ÇAMI: Shqiptarët dhe franzezët në Korçë 1916-1920, p.124-125.
[52] GUY: Lindja e Shqipërisë, p. 176.

diaspora, who had made a great, both intellectual and financial contribution in the revival of the national feelings, the year 1918 is considered as the time of the true national awakening of Albania.

The Albanian nationalism had undergone several preparation stages in the 4-year war period and formed after all thanks to a structural organization their own political opinion. With the withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian forces from Albania and their replacement by the Italian troops it was clear to the Albanians that the war in Albania was at the end. It was also clear which would be the winning side.

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During the First World War the Albanian territory became a "*place d'armes"* between the warring parties fighting for a new division of the Balkan regions. Throughout the war seven foreign armies had entered Albania, namely the Italian, Serbian, Montenegrin, Greek, Bulgarian, Austro-Hungarian and French.

In 1915 the military actions began to move from the Balkan front to the south, thus towards Albania. So the Albanian territory was occupied. The Albanian front was, in proportion to the military actions in general, not of great importance, but of great strategic importance for the Southeast European front. A special importance was given to taking possession of the Otranto channel. The Albanian front posed a threat to the left flank of the "Army of the East" for the Balkan's area of war.

In 1917 the occupying forces carried out an intense political activity in Albania. Due to the behavior of the Albanian population in their occupation zone the French had to proclaim "*The Albanian Republic of Korça*". A mobile gendarmerie was established only for combat purposes, which initially consisted of a battalion of 1,000 persons and later, in 1918, was named "*Battalion de tirailleres albanais*".

An intense activity was carried out also by the Austrians and Italians. Both countries enjoyed certain popularity even before the war at various levels of society in Albania, which was related to their efforts for the independence of Albania. Thus the majority of the population started to get divided in Italophiles and Austrophiles. In northern and central Albanian areas, the Austrians were initially received as liberators from the Serbs and Montenegrins, while the Italians in the south as liberators from Greek barbarisms.

In the first years of occupation the Albanians were committed voluntarily in the Austro-Hungarian army. After that the population accepted the compulsory military service, which had never existed in northern and central Albania, hoping that the Austrians would defend these areas from Serbs and Montenegrins.

Although Austria-Hungary carried out an intense activity in other areas, such as the opening of Albanian schools in the most distant areas of northern Albania, thus a national awakening was stimulated in these areas, the support of the Albanians for Austria-Hungary became weaker with time and especially in the last year of the war a distancing of the population of the Austrian administration was clearly visible.

In 1918, when the Austro-Hungarian army was forced to withdraw from Albania and was replaced by Italian troops, the future of the Albanian state was to be determined by the post-war developments. The interest of the major powers towards Albania had changed in the course of the war, while the behavior of the neighboring countries remained unchanged.

With regard to national objectives, the Albanians had to deal with the objections of the Greeks, Serbs and Italians. Only at the end of the war, in December 1918, they succeeded in the establishment of a temporary government in Durres with Turhan Pasha at the top. This was a success for the Albanian nationalism. The dispute between the major powers was an advantage as they paid little attention to Albania. With the end of the war and the opening of the peace conference, a new dangerous phase began for the political and territorial future of Albania.

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John Bassett TRUMPER

LAST THOUGHTS ON ALBANIAN AND ARBËRESHË[1]

1. SPRACHBUND PHENOMENA.

One of the great debates in the Eighteen and Nineteen Hundreds concerned the question of the validity of the existence of a Balkan 'Sprachbund', replacing the earlier substratum theories of Kopitar (1829), Schleicher (1850) and Miklosich (1861, 1870). Without overdisturbing reknowned historical authors such as Meyer, Weigand, or Sandfeld, but taking into reasonable account the numerous contributions of giants in the field such as Çabej, Rosetti and Hamp, one tries to broaden out the field into the problem of 'Sprachmischung' and the intricacies of Contact Linguistics. Up to the Nineteen Nineties (see Banfi 1991, Wolf 1995) the 'special' relations between the various 'Balkan Languages' were considered assessable in terms of nine or ten characteristics which seemed to have many of the properties of structuralism's distinctive features, namely:

(1) the creation of vowel sub-systems involving central vowels such as /ɨ/ or /ə/ (even rounded congeners /ʉ/ or /ɵ/ for that matter);

(2) total morphological equivalence between Genitive and Dative case markers;

(3) the post-position of adjectives in the NP;

(4) the creation of analytical comparatives and superlatives;

(5) the locative organisation of numbers from 11 to 19;

(6) the loss (or even non-creation) of an infinitive category and the lack of infinitival strategies;

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[1] Xhanit, studentit tim të dikurshëm dhe miku tim të përhershëm.

(7) the creation of a periphrastic future[2];

(8) double objects;

(9) the reduction of enclitic pronouns to mere possessives. We might add to these a tenth feature

(10) relativisation strategies, with restrictive / non-restrictive relatives, which has not been thought interesting from the typological point of view. No one seems to have investigated it in Albanian and its dialects, a phenomenon difficult to deal with in a short article, unless as a separate phenomenon.

Many such features often miss the mark because they are present in geographically near IE language groups (sometimes in not so far-off non-IE groupings) and seem, accordingly, to represent something different from a 'Sprachbund', viz. trend similarities due to a common 'linguistic' trigger. Take as example the first 'feature'. Although present in S. Slav[3] (Bulgarian), Balkan Romance (Rumanian) and Albanoid (Tosk Albanian, Italo-Albanian Tosk), the historical and present-day presence of similar shifts is also witnessed in the most southernly group of N. Slav (Ukrainian develops a phoneme /ɨ/ after the loss of the palatal vs. non-palatal consonant opposition), in Brythonic Celtic and the most western varieties of E. Iranic (Ossetic etc.). It seems to involve, in most cases, the gradual centralisation shift of historical ĭ and ŭ (as in Iranian Ossetic), sometimes the graded fronting of ū which effectively kept in this way its 'high' position (i.e. ū > ʉ, which may either lose its lip rounding and become either /ɨ/ or, in a second moment, /i/, as in Welsh[4], or eventually

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[2] Given our doubts on the real existence of a (linguistic) 'Future Tense' in a temporal sense, one might propose 'Promissory or Probability Modality'. It is not just a question of the use of successors of 'will' and 'must' Futures (as in Romance dialects, alongside 'have', 'have to', or in Albanian the use of the 'will' verb as in Roumanian and S. Slavonic). In some cases, there is even a so-called future use of the Consuetudinary, as the use in Celtic languages like modern Welsh where the 2nd 'be' verb (*B[E]U-: *byddaf, bydd* Imperfect *byddwn, byddai*) in certain cases is used as a 'Future Modality', the 1st verb never (*WES-: *ydwyf, ydyw* Imperfect *oeddwn, oedd*), though there is a unique Aorist (*bum*) and Pluperfect (*buaswn*).

[3] The following Abbreviation will be used in the text: S., N., E., W. = the Cardinal points. Alb. = Albanian; Arb. = Arbëresh / Italo-Albanian; Cal.= Calabrian Romance; FEW see von Wartburg; IE = Indo-European; NP = Noun Phrase; OCS = Old Church Slavonic; PG = Patrologia Græca; RC = Reggio Calabria. RP is as usual (English Received Pronunciation), EE = Modern Estuary English, which is gradually replacing RP. Note AA = Afro-Asiatic. All Reviews are as internationally abbreviated.

[4] This is decidedly different from Old British/ Gaulish word-final –ō > -ū > -ʉ /-ɨ > -i (example *kūō[n] > Welsh *ci*, Breton *ki*, dog). Note that later ʉ > ɨ implies merger in final

be fronted to /y/, as in Breton and Old Cornish). Basing our considerations on Jackson 1953 ([5]1994: 271-305[5]) we can start from a Proto-Brittonic vowel scheme (4 lunghe, 5 short), as in Table 1.

Table 1

Proto-Brythonic Vowels		
LONG		
FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
ī	ᵾ—	ū
	ā	
SHORT		
FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
ĭ		ŭ
ĕ		ŏ
	ă	

In the first place ᵾ— (> ɨ with loss of labiality) is neutralised with ī, followed by the loss in Brythonic of the quantity oppositions. We arrive in this manner at OW, OBR etc. with a further series of centralisations, i.e. ĭ, ŭ (except for word-final cases) > ɨ, ū > ᵾ—, producing the vowel system in Table 2. In the meantime, ā moved to ɔ̄ (resolved later either as aw or o, but Breton ø, according to its position in the word). Jackson and Schrijver 1995 seem to be of the opinion, like earlier authors, that an IE ū passes through a /y/ stage (front-rounded), then becoming identical in outcome to ī. There is no proof of this and

I suppose a trajectory ū > ᵾ—, by centralizing > ɨ (by unrounding: vowels such as ᵾ—are extremely rare in the vowel systems of the world's languages), thence ɨ > i (by fronting), which seems a more natural step-by-step trajectory than ū > y (by extreme fronting) > i (further fronting and unrounding). The only cases where u > y are documented as

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syllables with ĭ > ɨ in Proto-Welsh. The only difference between these two outcomes is that ɨ < ᵾ never triggers Umlaut, while ɨ < ī always does, just like i < ī (< ī, ē).

[5] This subsumes Pedersen 1909: 30-40, 47-51 and Morris Jones 1913: 74-78. ᵾ— < IE ū, ū < IE ō, oi.

occurring (in Breton and northern Goidelic) are due to contact with languages which have /y/ in their repertoires by contact, Breton with Old French (a phenomenon inherited from Germanic Frankish contact), extreme northern Gaelic by contact with Skandinavian (again a contact phenomenon).

At this point, OW and OBR differ (5th-6th century AD), not in their treatment of ɨ, but in that of ʉ– (> Breton y, W ɨ), while the original ɨ is lowered, producing OW/ MW /ə/ (Breton /ə/ > /e/ with loss of centrality), leaving the Welsh (MiddleW > Modern) as in Table 3.

Table 2

Old Brythonic	Vowels	
i	ɨ ʉ–	U
e		O
	A	

Table 3

OW/ Middle W/ Modern[6]	Vowels	
i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
	A	

Breton and Middle Cornish make other adjustments (such as / ə / > /e/ hinted at), unknown in Welsh, but the continuous process of centralisation is not gainsaid.

The same observations hold good in the case of Estern Iranic, when short vowels centralise and long vowels lose their quantity. The result for Ossetic Digor is as in Table 4.

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[6] Attempts to postulate quantity oppositions are completely irrelevant, since they only regard recent anglicisms, i.e. *tîm*, team vs. *dim*, nothing, or *gêm*, Rugby/ Football match vs. *gem*, jewel.

Table 4

Ossetic Digor	Vowels	
i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
	a	

It is observed in some Afro-Asiatic languages (Amharic and Ge'ez in Ethiopia). The creation of $\bar{u} > \textit{ʉ}$ is observed in N. Germanic (Scandinavian), $\breve{u} > \theta > \Lambda >$ modern ɐ in Anglo-Frisian West Germanic (English[7]). On the other hand, only extreme N. Greek dialects observe this sort of shift. Mainstream Greek and the most southern dialects certainly do not. Even a banal morphological feature involving composition such as (5), though common to all languages of the postulated Balkan 'Sprachbund', is also usual composition in other IE languages: it is common to all Celtic languages by means of the use of an *ON* preposition, e.g. one-on-ten = eleven, one-on-fifteen = sixteen etc.[8]

Even if we take a pragmo-syntactic feature such as (6), we find Slavonia, Montenegro, Croatia and some extreme western varieties of Serb cut off from more eastern varieties of Serb as well as Macedonian and Bulgarian, alongside other problem[9]. It is true that non-infinitival strategies characterise Tosk (but NOT Geg with its *me* + Participle used as an infinitive category), mainstream Serb and Bulgarian, Rumanian and all Modern Greek varieties. On the other hand, it would be difficult on this score to exclude Salento Romance as well as Middle and Southern Calabrian Romance, from any possible Balkan Sprachbund (Trumper-Rizzi 1985, Calabrese 1992, Trumper 1996, 1997, 2004 (b), 2016, Ledgeway 1998, 2015). Even a part of North Calabrian as well as extreme northern Mid Calabria (we might even say the most southern Ionian sector of North Calabrian, i.e. on the Ionian coast from Crucoli

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[7] With specific cases of length loss in $\bar{u}$ this creates a new /ʊ ~ ɐ/ RP/EE opposition in *put*, *book*, *took*, *look*, *rook*, regional *roof* vs. *putt*, *buck*, *tuck*, *luck*, *ruck*, *rough* etc. There seems to be a gradual lowering process towards central [a] in the second case.

[8] Cp. Welsh *un-ar-ddeg, tri-ar-ddeg, un-ar-bymtheg, dau-ar-bymtheg, tri-ar-bymtheg, pedwar-ar-bymtheg* (lit. X-on-ten, X- on-fifteen, X-on-twenty etc.) with respect to true composition in 12, *deuddeg*, 15, *pymtheg*, even 50, rare *pymwnt*.

[9] We willingly leave this problem to researchers in Slav dialectology.

down to Crotone) avoid infinitival strategies, using not *[m]u / [m]i / ma* (< Latin mŏdō ŭt), as more southerly dialects, but *unni* (< Latin *ŭnde*, hinted at in Rohlfs' works), already reduced to *un'* or *nu'* in dialect poetry from the Sixteen Hundreds on (Trumper 2018: 118, Mendicino-Prantera 2019 and work in progress)[10]. It might also be noted that similar problems exist (presence / absence of infinitival strategies) creating a syntactic isogloss in the Slav dialects of Slavonia, while no Celtic language has ever developed any recognisable morphological infinitive but only what historical Celtic Grammar labels 'Verb-Nouns', which have no unique morphological formation, at least in Brythonic, where we have a cluster of nominalising morphs (in Goidelic the *-aid* morph is almost regular).

2. SLAV LOANS IN ALBANIAN.

Various scholars (Dodbiba 1972, Ushaku 1989, Trumper-Chiodo 1999, Trumper 1999) have argued that the relative lack of a sea and nautical lexicon in Albanian indicates a Middle-European landlocked Urheimat and a gradual flight southward to avoid Slav invasions in the Middle Ages. Albanian place names seem also to indicate Slav origins, therefore invasion, the most telling example being Berat, city- emblem of Tosk-Albanian language and culture (< Велград; for a complete study see Ylli 2000, vol. II, on all the cases of Slav-origin place names). On one hand we have attempted to show (Trumper 2002, 2005a) that plant-names studied in Albanian Tosk have more than 60% indigenous elements, more than 25% Byzantine sources but almost 12% Slav borrowings (2-3% unexplained: data on plant-names culled from Sejdiu 1979 and Papadhopull 1987). On the other hand, their Italo-Albanian equivalents (Arbëreshë) have about 40-50% indigenous elements, slightly more than 30% Byzantine loans, with slightly more than 20% Latin or Romance elements, compared with an almost zero Slav phytonymic element (four to five items). This would imply greater Slav pressure on Albanian Geg and Tosk than on the 14th – 15th century S.

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[10] Similar strategies exist in ancient Sabellian (Pre-Roman Oscan) with *púd, púz* (regular with respect to Latin *ŭt*, all from a relative *KʷU-D-), though this did not imply the abandonment or emergence of a nominalised infinitive category, except that morphologically it is in Osco-Umbrian an Accusative form (*múltaúm, deicúm / ezúm, hafíúm / heríúm*), rather than a Locative one as in Latin.

Tosk (Çamëria, Epirus, later Morea in Greece) that generated Italo-Albanian dialects. This does not imply that there are no Old Slav elements in Italian Arbëresh (typologically Tosk), as Guyon 1909, Jokl 1923, Desnickaja 1963, Çabej and Hamp 1970, Trumper 2007 had already underscored. Examples are:

bosht/ -i (spindle), the derived tree-name *bosht/ër, -ri* (Cornus sanguinea L., Ligustrum vulgare L.), *breg/ -u* (hillock, Svane 161), *dalt/ë, -a* (chisel, Svane 78), *dub/ë-a* > diminutive *dubic/ë –a* (bush[11]), *gati/gatënj* (ready > almost; to prepare), *gërlac/ -i* (throat; kneck, Trumper-Belluscio 2000: 457, Table 1 with dialect variants), *gozhd/ë, -a* (nail, Svane 30, 88), *gobaç/e, -ja* (firewood), *godit(ënj)* (to guess, estimate, Svane 229, 232 ff.), *gorric/ë, -a* (wild pear, Svane 125-126), *kyç/ -i* (< *klyç*, key, Svane 84), *lis/ -i* (Quercus robur L., Jokl 1923: 187, 323, with historical discussion in Svane 32 as 'harrow', one of Albanians' oldest Slavisms[12]), *lopat/ë, -a* (shovel[13], Svane 76), *mbraz(ënj)* (to empty), *nevoj/ë –a* (need; necessity, Svane 317), *pet(i)k/ùa, -oi* (horseshoe, Svane 85 potkua), *polic/ë, -a* (Svane 66), *porosì, -a / porosim/ë, -a* (order, command, verb *porosit(ënj)*: Jokl 1923: 93 derived this from Bulgarian, pgs.173, 222 he referred the Alb. to OCS poročiti; see also discussion in Svane 239), *prak/ -u* (threshold: variants *prag* and *prak* are discussed in Svane 53) and *pushk/ë, -a* (shotgun; Svane 204 discusses it as a Slav borrowing and the Slav word's longterm relation with Greek πύξος), *top/ër, -ra* (axe), *vetull, -a* (eyelash, Hamp

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[11] Cowan Curtis 2012 gives *dubë*, the base form, as usual Arbëresh, meaning 'oak', while only the diminutive *dubicë* is in regular use, and for 'bush' not 'oak' (see, for example, Baffa 2009 for Santa Sofia etc., lexeme *dubicë*). This obviously implies the historical presence of the base form, though the meaning seems never to have been 'oak' (Arbëresh has always had *lis, lis i but* in this sense). This author seems to have very little knowledge of Arbëresh dialects, whether present-day or historical, claiming as Arbëresh forms such as *bliznak*, twin, when Italo-Albanian has known exclusively the Latinism *jemull/ -i*, or the meaning 'shoulder' for *plesht/ pjesht*, the only meaning being 'flea' (masterfully treated in Demiraj 1997 as IE *PLOUS-TI-). There are other errors such as the Arbëresh conservation of the original clusters kl, gl, true only in the case of limited Sicilian Arbëresh dialects but not in other varieties. More might have been made of the conservation of pl, bl in Sicilian Arbëreshe dialects.

[12] A meaning such as 'harrow' implies a semantic shift from a plant specific to generic, hence to a rudimentary 'implement' made out of a specific wood or plant.

[13] This may or may not have been mediated by Late Middle Greek λοπάδιον, a Slav loan in very Late Byzantine. For details, see Trapp 5. 949 λοπάδιον.

1970's solution[14]), *vozit(ënj)* (row; navigate: Jokl 1923: 161 derived from Serbo-Croat *voziti*).

Here we might add *koza*, *kozlić* (already in Guyon 1909, kid) > Byzantine κατσίκιον > Salento Greek κατσίκι, Arb. *kaciq, kacaniq*, with metathesis *cakaniq*, all present as common terms in Arbëreshë. Of all the cases mentioned in Jokl 1923, later in Svane and Ylli, many are limited to Geg dialects, though cases such as *stan/ -i* (sheepfold; hut, shepherd's refuge[15], with discussion in Meyer 1894. 2. 59), *stullp/ë,*
-a (group; herd: already discussed as a Slavism in Jokl 1923: 234), and *vid/ë, -a / vidhez* (dove), present in Arbëreshë dialects, will have to be discussed. Alongside these should be added *bised/ë, -a*, conversation, discourse, present in all Albanian varieties (Jokl 1923: 131, 299, 331; Svane 220; Trumper- Belluscio 2000: 475 noted that the term, treated in detail by Çabej, was already present in Buzuku)[16].

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[14] We do not accept Haarman 1999's solution (pg. 563) as a Latinism (< *vĭttŭla), hypothesis based on Çabej's previous considerations. Here we accept Hamp 1970's hypothesis.

[15] Already late Byzantine, Proto-Modern Greek στάνιον, as in Agapius of Crete and other Late Greek *Geoponica*.

[16] Some cases that Svane indicated (some even underscored by Jokl) have nothing to do with Slav origins. Particular cases are: (1) *brom*, Maiskolben (Svane 104, Albanian *brom*) referred to Russian брона, whereas Arb. *brom/-i* and *vrumat/ë, -a*, like Cal. Romance of the Lausberg Area (very archaic Lucanian-Calabrian around the Pollino range, dialects similar in some respects to Sardinian and Roumanian), *vrūmə / vrumàtə* (Avena barbata Port., Avena fatua L., Bromus sp., Deschampsia sp., Hordeum bulbosum L., Lepturus incurvatus Druce, Setaria viridis Beauv., Trisetum flavescens Beauv.) derive from Greek βρόμος. (2) *çerrok*, Quercus pinnatifolia L. (Svane 125), is referred to the Slav 'black' theme (črn-ok) when it is obviously a Latin 'oak' theme (cĕrrus). (3) *krek, krekëz*, Acer campestre L. (Svane 126), when it is obviously a case of a Latin (arbor) crētĭcus (so resolved in Trumper 2013). The last claimed Slav-origin plant name is Albanian (not Arb.) *topolë*, Populus alba L. (Svane 128), which, though present in Slav languages as in Albanian Shqip (not Arbëresh), is also present in Venice and the Veneto region Romance with variants *tàpara -o, taparòto, talpón, taparón, tapa, tòpa, tòpo, tòlpo*, both as specifics (Populus sp.) and generics (tree-stump). The term is not a post-mediæval borrowing since it is present in Venice texts since 1300, cp. Leandreride book 1, canto 4, 16-17, Lippi's edition (*e questo come tolpo / che non piega sua cima a forza d'aura*), in which the reference to a poplar is evident. Since 1500 it has been used (*tòpo, tòlpo, talpón*) to indicate a small boat (probably made of poplar wood) used in the Laguna for unloading fish from fishing smacks. It is a rather mysterious plant theme (*TOPOL-, *TAPOL-, with metathesis *TOLOP-, *TALOP-) which cannot be claimed to have originated in any one of the three language groups mentioned. It may even be a Pre-IE theme. An animal name not of Slav origin, though claimed to be in Svane 156, is Arb. *karkarele, karkalec*, Hyla arborea L., which Rohlfs, though attempting to find a Greek origin (LGII² 215 καρκάλιον/ κρακάλιον, 275 κρα-κρα), concluded the frog-word to be "aus lautmalender Grundlage", given the presence of Pan-Calabrian Romance *carcarella -eḍḍa, carcarìellu, carcareḍḍu, cràchici, clàchici, cròcaci*, etc., sound symbolism for the same frog (cp.

Hamp 1970 added other cases present in Arvanitika Tosk (Greece) such as *brisk/ -u* (from Serbo-Croat. *bricka* for *britva*, razor, closed knife, pocket-knife: cp. Venice / Veneto *brìtola* id.), *gërdëlàn* (pharynx, cp. E. Friulian *gurla* id.), *kos/ -i* (curdled milk), *ved/ër, -ra* (milk pail: Meyer 1894: 2. 16, present in N. Greek dialects as βέδρον), and so on, including *shklerisht* (in the **Greek** manner), semantically distinct from Arbëresh *shklavun* (Slav, Serb, Bulgar). Compare.also the pertinent discussion of Alb. *shqa*, Slav, and *shklan* (someone who does not speak Albanian) in Demiraj 2006-2007. Such terms seem of more Byzantine origin (σκλαβός) than direct Slavisms. Similar derivatives from this last base seem to be slightly more common in Calabrian Greek via Byzantium (σκλαβήνα, mantle of rough cloth, originally military; σκλαβωνίσκος referred to dark colours), whence Calabro-Romance *schjavina / šcavina*, primitive coverlet or mantle, *schjavuniscu / šcavunìscu* (dark-coloured), *šcavune, -i* Spondyliosoma orbicularis Cuv. (the name is due to the fish's colouring). They are all formally interesting and significant[17]. Some of these seem, on the other hand, not to have passed through Byzantine Greek, even the γορότζια of various Late Mediæval Greek Glossaries, which, though similar to *gorricë*, seems to mean Vitis alba L. and cannot, thus, be the transmitting element[18]. We might also add here Arbëresh *vadisënj* (to water animals, see also Meyer 1894. 2. 16), *korb/ë -a* (Giordano documents it for Spezzano Albanese, meaning 'arco del

VEC 1. 288-289, with table of variants and referents). Another difficult case is *dragat/ -i*, guardian of orchards, of vinyards etc., which Çabej had attempted to derive from Middle Greek δραγάτης, ντραγάτης (as in Callimachus & Chrysorrhoe, v. 926: Καὶ τῶν χαρίτων οππουρος, τῶν καλλῶν δραγάτης, where δραγάτης = κήπουρος, as well as in later texts). See also Callimachus & Chrysorrhoe v. 2087 (Καὶ τρυγητὴν τῶν ῥόδων σου καὶ τῶν φυτῶν δραγάτην), as well as vv. 2430, 2465. On the other hand, Svane 197 proposed as starting point S. Slav драга (< Proto-Slav *dorgā) > Alb. *dragat*, Late Middle Greek/ Early Neo-Greek δραγάτης. The origin is for the moment without a definitive solution, though Matasović 2013: 83-84 makes out a good case for a substratum item, given alternation between –k- and –g- in the Slav 'pole' outcomes (a pole as a non-living support for vines).

[17] Cp. as well Venetian *s-ciavéna*, rough mantle, *s-ciòna*, cheap ring, *s-ciavo*, black beetle, apart from *S-cia[v]o* used historically like Austrian *Servus* in formal introductions, later to become Italian's *Ciao*. In modern Veneto *s-ciao* means 'finished, all over; nothing to be done about it' (*el xe tuto s-ciao*), or at Venice s-*ciavo*, black beetle. These cases demonstrate Byzantine mediation of the loans.

[18] This element may be connected with Slav *gruša* 'pear', considered by Matasović 2013: 92, 97 a substratum item.

basto'[19]), *kulaç/ -i*, *karkavec/ -i* (var. *kastravec, karcavec* etc.), *korit/ë, -a* (trough: Jokl 1923: 161 attributed this to Church Slavonic), *kral/ -i* (tyrant: literary term in Arb. shared with Greek dialects [κράλης]; it is not Italo-Greek: as in Meyer 1894. 2. 37), alongside historical *kurv/ë, -a* ('prostitute', no longer present in Arb where we now find only putërë[20]) already quoted, *labot, -i / labot i but* (Chenopodium sp.: Slav lobod < *OLB-OD- < *HaELB-, white, see also Meyer 1894. 2. 39, Neo-Greek λοβοδά, λομποτή, but not Italo-Greek), *llaz/ -i* (Sicilian Arbëresh, uncultivated land, brush, < lazina; see Meyer 1894. 2. 34), *pirrëz, pirrza* (< *pirrë*, as wasteland, though in Arbëresh it is usually and specifically Triticum repens L.[21]), *rrobì, -a = rrobërì*, slavery, servitude (as a literary term[22]: in Santori, well known to De Rada, who was Santori's model[23]), even *shklavun* (Slav, *ut sup*.). Earlier literary Arbëresh also used *shqeri* 'Slavs' (pl. of *shqa*), probably a loan from seventeeth century Blanchus, as Demiraj points out (see also Demiraj 2007-2008 on Albanian *shqau*). Some of these pass into Calabrian Romance, like *cullacciu,* or in the 5th case reinforced by Italo-Greek κοῦρβα (now relegated in today's Calabria to the surname *Corvace*, *Corvasce*, though present in mediæval Italo-Greek texts, just as it is in all the Digenes Akritas versions). In some cases, Slav elements pass into both Middle Greek and Albanian and it is difficult to say whether their passage into Calabrian Romance is due to Byzantine contacts in the period 590-1070 or to early Albanian in the Fourteen Hundreds. Such cases are вава/ вавас, ваган, влато (mud), грава (hole, depression), коравь (boat), кувель (bee swarm; bee-hive), сень (hay), снть (sieve), which appear in Middle Greek and its Italo-Greek varieties (βαβάς, βάγανον with dim. βαγένιον = γάβανον with diminutivo γαβάνιον / γαβένιον, βάλτα -ον, γράβα, καράβιον[24],

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[19] It is the arched bow of the packsaddle, even the wicker baskets on either side of a packsaddle. It would seem to be a derivative of S. Slav коруб, коруба (Svane pg. 159, though Svane did not associate with an Alb. *korbë*). It would seem to be a metaphorical or extended use of Old Church Slavonic korbъ, basket.

[20] The term seems to have been once widespread, see Meyer 1894. 2. 36 (Slav > Greek κοῦρβη > historical Alb./ Arb. *kurvë*).

[21] Demiraj 1997: 321 hypothesises it may be a Geg borrowing used by Santori in his writings, though Slav has heavily influenced the form: "*Ohne Zweifel mit Tagliavini [...] und Çabej [...] die hier einen sl. Einfluß vermerken, vgl. Skr. pìr, farro, spelta, Triticum spelta*".

[22] In no sense does it seem to belong to folk culture and lexicon.

[23] De Rada himself used the form *rrop, -i*, slave, in essence and form the same item.

[24] Here we propose Old Church Slavonic korbъ, basket (metaphorically for a 'vessel'), crossed with or influenced by Ancient and Hellenistic Greek κάραβος, crab, > Old Slavonic

κουβέλιον, σανός, σίτα), in Arbëreshë (*babat, -i / babazun, -i, govat/ë, -a* [Schirò, Sicilian Arb., obviously retransmitted by the Greek metathetic form, perhaps from an earlier *govànë < γαβάνι[o]ν], *baltë, graverë, karavë* (De Rada), *kuvele, sanua / sanòt, sitë*), but also, more to the point, even in Calabrian Romance (*babbu / babbanu, vàganu / bbàganu/ bbàünu*)[25], a muddy stream called *Vurtù* < βαλτῶδης, *grava*, hollow, > *gravinu / garvinu* (mushrooms named from their habitat in hollows), *garavìellu*, a ship-shaped basin or vessel, a place name *Cuvelli/* Cuvèddi[26], *sanènu –a / zanèna / zanèja* Trigonella sp., Melilotus sp., *sita / sitèdda,* sieve). These 7-8 elements are numerically at odds with what Caracausi had claimed as the paucity of extraneous Slav elements[27] (1 lexical item + *-ica* morph), even as Rohlfs had (2 lexical items + morph). Hamp 1977 claimed that it was impossible to decide on a scientific basis whether cases in Albanian such as *baltë, daltë* and *gardhë* were to be considered Slav loans or autochthonous Albanoid developments of the relevant IE bases, most probably indigenous lexical elements. Bardhyl Demiraj (oral communication) shares this informed opinion. We note that βάλτον –ος (= *baltë*), with the adjective βαλτώδης, is present in Middle Greek from 850-950 d. C. on, as in the (first) version of the Digenes Acrites epic (Grottaferrata), bk. 6. 152, where we have βάλτον pl. βάλτα[28], alongside βάλτος (fem.) in bk. 5. 30[29], or in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' De Administrando Imperio, in the Emperor Leo's Tactica, later in Anna Comnena's Alexias 2. 135, 24, 3. 107, 13, 3. 169, 13, 8. 227, 13, 14. 441, with the adjective βαλτώδης in Alexias 1. 396. 2, 2. 203. 15, 2. 284. 3, in the historian Scylize's works, up to the versions of the Historia Alexandri Magni, Recension E 77. 1. 1. We find present-day use in peripheral Greek of lateral areas, e.g. in Doric Zaconian (Kostake 1. 173) and in Calabrian Greek place-naming (the already mentioned stream at Bova, RC, called *Vultù = Vurtù*, < βαλτώδης, cp.

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korab, boat, > Middle Greek καράβιον. Some authors uncautiously take the Slav to be a loan from Middle Greek.

[25] Cp., as well, Friulian *vàgan* id. Here the direct contact with Slav dialects (Slovene) is evident.

[26] Rare as a lexical item for 'hive', though we have heard it used by rural informants at Rota Greco and rural Montalto (CS), i.e. *cubbìellu, cubbièddu*.

[27] Extraneous, that is, to Italo-Greek, whether historical or modern.

[28] Τινὲς δὲ με ἐλάνθανον εἰς βάλτα κρυβηθέντες) [some escaped me by hiding in the marshes].

[29] Namely, δένδρον ὁρῶ ἀπόμηκα πρὸς τὴν δασέαν βάλτον.

Alessio, STC 457, p. 41, Trumper 2016: 183). Obviously, the starting point is IEW 118- 120 *BEL- > *BL-TO-, though Pokorny considered Illyrian (whatever this epithet might mean!) *balta co-radical of Slav bloto and Baltic báltas, not a contact borrowing. Given the geolinguistic extension of this word (Balto-Slav, Pan-Balcanic, Pan-Hellenic), as well as gender variation in Greek (βάλτα, βάλτος [f.], βάλτον), though not in the Albanoid group, there are two possible hypotheses, (1) the word is a contact borrowing from Slav into Greek and Albanian, (2) the Greek is a loan from Albanian, where it is autochthonous. Given the time-depth of the Greek, we opt for one of the earliest Slav loans, much as is the case of zakon.

There are some rare cases where Slav elements pass into Italo-Greek, sometimes local Romance, but apparently not into Arbëresh, e.g. кора > κουράδιον[30], куна > κούνα / κουνέԁԁα/ κουνακούτσι[ον] (Alb. kunadhje, kunavje, pine marten, in Meyer 1894. 2. 36 but not Arb.), логх > λόγχος (also Calabrian Romance place names, e.g. the woods called Longhi near Castrovillari etc.), рухо > ῥοῦχον, -α[31]. There are also cases where Slav loans pass into Albanian / Arbëreshë, transmitted perhaps by Middle Greek, but are absent from Italo-Greek and Calabro-Romance. This is the case of zakon, -i / zakun, derived verb zakonem, Byzantine ζάκανον, ζακόνιον (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio; the lexeme is used, however, by Arbëreshe authors, but does not seem in general use in Arb. dialects[32]) or Middle Greek βογάτος, Albanian and Arbëresh i bëgatë (rich), Middle Greek βοΐλᾶς, βολιάδες,

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[30] Obviously present in Late Byzantine/ Early Neo-Greek, as in the Rebellion against Alikades v. 136 [κουράδια τ' ἀγριόβουδα, κοπάδια τὰ μπεγίρια] etc.

[31] Matasović 2013: 86 makes out a case for an original *ruk-so- for the Slav forms: interesting that a Proto-Celtic *ruk-so- will account for OIrish rucht (< *ruk-s-to-) and MWelsh rhuch (< *ruk-so-), so one might be dealing with a Celtic element in Slav that became a Wanderwort in southern Europe.

[32] For its use in Albanian Tosk, see Meyer 1894. 2. 27, and for comments Jokl 1923: 53 and note. One might add that it is known as zakon/ -i in archaic dialects like the waning dialect of Falconara Albanese (also reported in Camaj 1977: 148), or in historical Arbëresh such as Figlia's Chieuti Codex (ed. Mandalà), where there are at least seven occurrences. It has a feminine form zakon/ë –a in the Dictionaries of Baffa (2009) and Pignoli-Tartaglione (2007), though it does not seem to be in general, everyday use at the present in most communities. It is used regularly in Albanian translations of the Greek Byzantine eucharistic rite.

Alb. and Arb. *bular, bujar*[33], and so on. What is interesting is that in the midst of all these contact-loans we even find Slav *karan* (> Byzantine καράνος, as in Theodore Ptochoprodromus 1, 257[34]) > E. Sicilian Romance *carànu*[35], Albanian *derk/ -u* (the pig) > *derco* as an insult in the Stratioti speech of 15th-16th century Venice comedy (Calmo etc.[36]). The lake of Scutari and its fish has left *S(h)kodër > *scoδranza > scorànza, scorànsa* in Venice's fish-naming (from Caravia and Calmo in the Fifteen Hundreds on). We also have Alb. *rikëz* (piglet, dealt with in Trumper 2004a) >12th-13th century Italo-Greek ῥέκκος (Trinchera, donation of 1126[37]) > modern Salento Greek ρέκκο, piglet. In a similar vein is a jargon development Albanian trade slang *arbër, arben*, shepherd < man (< older arben-, Albanian), which then passes into Calabrian trade slang *arbàru*, *erbàru* (master of a trade, pronounced [əɾˈbəɾu], [ɛɾˈbəɾu]), perhaps helped along by derivates of *herbārĭus* in the sense of 'wizard', which is then promulgated in other regional slangs as *arvaro* (Marche), *ravâr* (Friuli) etc. We have also noted that *ferr/ -i*, brambles, thorns, gives common Arbëreshe bird names such as *ferràk/ -u, ferràkthi*, nightingale. This is transferred to dialects of the archaic Calabrian Lausberg Area (Romance) as *fərràchə* (variant *fəràchə*), Troglodytes troglodytes L. (= *pŭll'i macchjə, pŭll'i vŭcədə*, 'brambles-bird' i.e. wren)[38]. An Albanian word which appears to have had some fortune in the Romance Lausberg Area (N. Calabria, Pollino Range) and at Naples and its hinterland, viâ the Arbëreshe forms, is *i zi*, black, dark,

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[33] One wonders whether this transmission is direct or mediated by the Byzantine Slav loan (βοϊλάδες) already present in literature in the 900-950 AD period (Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De Imperio Administrando* 32, 48, *De Cæremoniis* 1. 681, 17-18 etc.).

[34] In other words, "Ἀφῆτε τον, πτωχός ἐνι, καράνος, πελεγρῖνος".

[36] 16th century occurrences at Venice are Calmo, *Lettere* 4. 352, 15-17, *Rime Pescatorie* 1. 18, Caravia, *Naspo Bizaro* 1. 197, 4-5/ 2. 215, 1-2.

[37] Trinchera 130, 8-10: "τα χωράφια τὰ πατρικα αυτοῦ· τὰ λεγόμενα τῶν ρεκκῶν" (sic: villages in father's inheritance called Pigstown).

[38] As proof of this Frascineto also calls the wren *zog ferri*. This is counter to the opposite tendency we find in Calabrian Romance *faüvèttə, faləvèttə, farvètta, fravètta / frabbètta* for Sylvia sp. (< Norman French *falvette*, *fauvette*, ultimately a Germanic-origin colour adjective), that becomes Arb. *fallëvètë* [not only 'beccafico', as specified in Giordano but any bird belonging to the Sylvia species], which from Arbëresh passes, in turn, into Shqip (viâ De Rada's literary production?).

[35] The question is whether the Slav term is of Osmanli Turkish origin. This requires investigation.

f. *e zezë*, derived *zeshkë* (root form *zez-*), fig. miserable, unfortunate; lugubrious. Here we have late Greek τζέτζος,

(1) blind (some Glossaries), (2) unfortunate (Suidas; the surname Τζέτζης; Theodore of Gaza's liber De Mensibus Atticis in the Fourteen Hundreds, chapt. 5), as well as Lausberg Area *żìeżə, żīžə* (written *zezu* in Cedraro 1885: 142), local Neapolitan *żiéżə*, miserable; unfortunate; useless[39]. One also questions whether Late Byzantine γουλ[λ]ίον, pl. τὰ γουλία, τὰ γουλλία, small stones, gravel (in Glossaries etc.), with outcomes in Salento Greek (γουḍḍία) and Salento Romance (*vuḍḍía*), might well be in origin an Albanian loan (*gur -i, ngurr* etc.: Demiraj 2006-07: 181 IE *GʷRH-). Arbëreshë *gul*, hornless, is more difficult (Demiraj 2006-2007: 181), and requires a joint discussion with Calabrian Romance (*muntùni*) *gullu / guḍḍu* and similar forms in Greek dialects (there may be a connection with Greek κύλλος and Persian *kul* [Horn 1893: 192 n. 861], hornless).

<center>Slav items that appear only in Albanian and Italo-Albanian but not in Italo-Greek or Italo- Romance are:</center>

[1] *Abòrr, -i / obòrr, -i,* cow-stall (Svane 58; comments in Meyer 1894. 2. 48, N. Neo-Greek ὀβορός, but absent from Italo-Greek), [2] *[i] bëgat*, rich; powerful, verb *bëgatënj/ bëganj* (enrich; Svane 267, already commented),[3] *grazhd/ -i* (manger, Svane 61), [4] *grop/ë, -a* (ditch), [5] *grusht/ -i* (fist, Svane 179), [6] *lug/ë, -a* (spoon: Demiraj judged the Albanian and Slav words to be congeners; there is uncertainty on the origin), [7] *gush/ë, -a* (crop; gullet; throat: Meyer 1894. 2. 23 and Jokl 1923: 330 insist on the Slav origin of Alb. / Arb. *gushë*, Rumanian *guşă* and late N. Neo-Greek γκοῦσα)[40], [8] *kravél/e, -ja (*dim. *kraviqe*, army

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[39] I thank my colleague Alberto Manco (Scuola Orientale di Napoli) for hinting at the presence of this 'old-fashioned' word in the strictly Neapolitan lexicon. The colour 'black' (dark) is in many cultures associated with negative forces, with misfortune and evil, as is the use of *tintu* (dark = evil) in Calabria (= *malignu*) and Sicily. In historical Celtic culture (Welsh) *gynhon duon* ('black' peoples) were invading Danes who brought misfortune with them, *y tylwyth teg* (the 'fair' tribe or family) the good elves of folk culture, and so on. It seems a constant in many folk cultures.

[40] At first glance the Balkan words for 'crop; gullet' seemed related to Gaulish *geusiæ* (the first three occurrences are in Marcellus Empiricus, *De Medicamentis* XI. 37 "ad eminentias quas callosas circa angulos geusiarum", XII. 19-20 "dolorem dentium et gingiuarum et geusiarum", XV. 90 "orificia geusiarum"). Probably the first to deny any connection is von Wartburg (FEW

bread; makeshift sandwich: Svane 92-93 cautiously ascribes it to Slav, with a wary discussion), [9]. *labot, -i* and *labot i but* (already discussed as Chenopodium sp.; Svane 114), [10] *llaz, - i* (uncultivated land: Jokl 1911: 111, Svane 40, 63; Giordano, place-name at Piana degli Albanesi in Sicily, at Rota Greca, CS, Calabria), [11] *mac/e, -ja* (cat, Svane 138), [12] *pet(i)k/ùa²*, *-oi* (Tussilago farfara L. at S. Costantino and S. Paolo [Potenza] = *thundër*, Frascineto, *thunder[ë]z* S. Basile, cp. Latin ungula caballina for the same plant[41]), [13] *pirr/ë, -a* (in Arb. it is specifically Triticum repens L., as said), [14] *pirr/ëz, -za* (< *pirrë* as wasteland), [15] *rrek/ë, -a* (stream, Svane 172), [16] *rreshtënj* (drive out), [17] *stavë* (sheep-pen, sheep-fold; haystack, haycock, Svane 61, with derived verb in Svane 242),

[18] *shapk/ë, -a* (hat, Svane 100), [19] *shir, -i* (back of the head), [20] *trap, -i* (ditch, Schirò, Sicilian Arb., Svane 38-39), [21] *trupjel, -i* (trunk in Bilotta[42] [instead of more general *kùcër*, tree-trunk, from Greek κούτζουρον < κούτζος], see Svane 178), [22] *zdrug/ë, -a* (spindle; distaff; plane; see Svane 47, 81), together with [23] *drug/ë, -a* (rolling pin).

Some cases seem used only by Sicilian Arbëresh, such as *ças/ -i* (moment, instant; Svane 176, though its use by Schirò and Santori might be fruit of their reading[43]), *drȳ/ -ri* (lock, door-lock, only in Schirò, thus suspicious as specifically Italo-Albanian), *luc/ë, -a* (var. *lusë*, mud; bog: Svane 170, following on from Çabej's studies, only deals with Geg *luzhi*, Sumpf, Morast, Wasserloch, slightly different outcome of this Slav loan), *llaz/ -i* already discussed, and *uhá* (debt, Schirò et al., thus it may be a borrowing from Shqip sources). *Groshë* for wild peas (annotated as a Slav loan in Meyer 1894: 2. 24 and Jokl 1923: 184-185) is documented in Giordano, though from field work it seems relatively unknown to Arbëresh landworkers and farmers, the usual term being *rrìpull/ë -a*

IV. 127-129) "*hier auch noch eine gruppe von wörtern aus den Balkansprachen, deren zugehörigkeit zu vorstehender sippe aber sehr fraglich ist*". I conclude that the question of any relationship is highly dubious.

[41] Svane 85 gives *potkua*, *petkua*, without mentioning plant names.

[42] From *trup* we have a common Italo-Albanian surname *Trupo* (information originally from Gianni Belluscio).

[43] Mandalà 2003, 2005, also gives it as a Slavism used by Chetta and other Italo-Albanian authors, probably a Geg loan used after reading Bogdani and other Geg Albanian authors.

(Pisum arvense Gams.), of unknown origin, also present in archaic Calabro-Lucanian Romance (*rĭpələ/ rĭpuə* in the Lausberg Area) and in Salento Romance[44]. Other cases (e.g. *këpurdhe / kërpudhë* mushroom, etc.) seem more uncertain (crossed with Greek, in this case), or are cases, like *groshë* discussed, doubtfully present in Italian Arbëresh, as is the case of *dromsa/ -t* (crumbs), *kurpër / kullpër* (Clematis sp.)[45], *mërzinj, mërzitënj / mërzí, (g)ostén* (= *astén*, prick), *përzienj* (assembly, union) or *puhjí, -a* (breeze), which until further dialectal research is carried out seem the fruit of Italo-Albanian authors' reading[46]. In conclusion, this first survey gives us about 80 Slav elements present in Italo-Albanian, in important and basic sectors of the lexicon, rather more than the few usually postulated.

TURKISH ELEMENTS

The absence of Turkish elements that pass simultaneously into Italo-Albanian, Rumanian and Calabro- / Siculo-Romance (apart from *eşek* > Sicilian *scèccu*, once considered only Sicilian Romance and a hapax[47]), formerly accepted as axiomatic, has now been gainsaid in Mandalà 2003, Trumper 2007, and in successive studies. I propose a re-study of the following Turkish elements:

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[44] Slavo грахь, pea, became Byzantine and Early Neo-Greek ἀγράχος, being remorphologised and re-interpreted as ἀγρ[ιο]- άχος. In this way it produced a new lexical creation for Pisum sp. in Northern Neo-Greek and the Apulo-Greek of the Terra d'Otranto (Italian Salento Greek ἄχο). Rohlfs (LGII[2] pgs. 73-74) recognised the Slav loan in Neo-Greek but seemed to have had no inkling that this was also the origin of the Apulo-Greek item.

[45] Clematis vitalba L. is *kùrp/ër, -ri* in Scutari 2005: 71, 92, though this plant name is not known south of the Pollino Range Arbërëshe dialects. It must, then, be considered as belonging to the Italo-Albanian linguistic patrimony.

[46] *Pidh, -i*, cunnus, is taken by some to be a Slav loan, certainly the case in Rumanian *pizdă*, extremely doubtful in the case of Albanian and Arbëresh. For useful discussion as a purely Albanian development, see Hamp 1968 and Demiraj 1997: 319- 320.

[47]Though it is present around RC and along the whole of Calabria's Tyrrhenian coast from Scilla up to Pizzo, now in a marine sense, *scecch' i mari = ciucci' i mari* for lost, stranded or dead whales or other large marine species. Strangely, it is not the relevant word for a 'whale' at RC and Melito, which is *uarda-canali*. Turkish *eşek* is in origin a probable remote Iranic borrowing, cp. Persian *esp-* < Pahlavi asp-, esp- < Avestan aspa-, horse (the nearest form seems to be Ossetic *æfsæ*), all deriving from the IE *HEKʷ-O-/ *HOKʷ-U- 'swift'/ 'horse' base (Hamp 1991). Notwithstanding Huld 2003's objections, I still find Hamp 1991's solution phonologically, morphologically, and semantically coherent.

(1) Arabic *baṭṭāl* retransmitted viâ a Turkish form *batal* > Italo-Greek μπαταλόκκο[ς], Calabrian Romance *bbataloccu, vatalaru, vàtale*, verb *vat[t]alijari*, Arbëresh *batallisënj* etc. (2) *belek* (challenge; battleground, < Turkish *beylik*; Serembe used *belek/ -u* and *belec/ -i* in this sense: literary use). (3) *boj/ë –a* [a] colour, [b] dye, derived *bojaxhi* (the base term seems known to Arbëreshë informants, not in Giordano). (4) *borí/-a* (trumpet, bugle, derived *borozan/ -i*, Giordano, De Rada *borí*). (5) *čāba, jāba* (useless, Räsänen 176; ζάμβα / ζάμπα, Calabrian *zàmparu, zàmbu*, Arbëresh *xàmbar, xambarùn*). (6) *čaruk, čarık* (clogs, Räsänen 101; τζαρούκιον, τζαρύκιον, Cal. *zarìcchja –e*, Arbëresh *cariqe / -ihe*). (7) *çifut* Jewish > miser, metaphorically 'wretch/ a wretched person' (B. Bilotta's Arb.). (8) *çil/ çile/ çilek* (greens, Arb. *çil/-i* pl. *çile*). (9) *čoha* (wedding dress, Räsänen 114 [who argues for a doubtful Persian origin?]; τσόχα, Crotone Calabrian Romance *zòca*, Arbëresh *coh/ë, -a*. (10) *daull/ -i* (drum, used by De Rada, passes into Arbëresh literary use. Osmanli *davul* (Räsänen 134) is probably a retransmission of Arabic *ṭabl*). (11) *erzi*, honour, Arbëresh *erzit/ë –a* (see Räsänen 49). (12) Arabic *fatīl* > Turkish *fitil* (with vowel harmony) (> Italo-Greek πιτέλα, SCal. *pitèla*, Arbëresh *fitil, -i*). (13) *hanjar* (Räsänen 155, re-transmitting an Arabism) [SCal. Romance *cangiarru*, slaughterhouse knife, Arbëresh *kanxharrë* in Giordano[48]]. (14) *horr/ -i* disagreement, discord, separation, with derived verb *horruar/ horrënj*, as in Giordano, though the use seems literary. (15) *jumak / jumbulak* (< *jum-* round object, knob, protuberance Räsänen 210, [τ]ζόμπος, Cal. *źumbu, źumpu*, also with metaphorical use, Arbëresh *xumbë*, big, fat woman). (16) *jası* (fat and useless, Räsänen 191, Starostin *et al*., 1. 465-466, Osmanli yassı; τζάσ[σ]ος, - α, only Cal. Romance *źassu, -a*; it seems to be lacking in Arb.). (17) Karaman > karamanlı, man from Karaman (a Christian Turk, thus naïve, incomprehensible, because, though a Christian, Turkish-speaking, thus even a country bumpkin) X *kara-mangu* (kara- 'dark, black; luckless; evil', Räsänen 235+ 334 E. Turkish *manku / mangu*, ultimately of Chinese origin) > Arbëresh (Siculo- Arbëresh, Schirò) *kalamà, kalamani* (pl. *kalamanj*, child, childish, naïve: this element may be doubted, given Schirò's usual Balkan borrowings), Cal. Area

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[48] The quotation from Marchianò does not constitute proof of its existence in Italo-Albanian, the inclusion of Frascineto use does. It is also known in Molise Arbëresh, *kanxhàrr/ -i*, dagger (Pignoli-Tartaglione 2007: 75).

Lausberg + Castrovillari *calamindūnu -ə* (big and large but naïve and
tendentially stupid: at Castrovillari it is also mixed with *minchjūnu >
calaminchjūnu*), N. Cal. *calamandrune, caramandrune*[49], Mid and S.
Cal. *calaminduni*, apparently absent from Calabro-Greek, though present
in Cypriot Greek as καραμαντίτης (Yangoullis, evidently from
καραμανλίδης). (18) *kota, kotan* etc. (Räsänen 284; κατοῦνα, not just
'military camp' but also 'village' in late Byzantine, Lybistros &
Rhodamne vv. 1050, 1060, 1163[50], up to the 'Exploits de Michel le
Brave' v. 971 etc., in Calabrian place naming Catona / Catuna (RC, only
as a placename), Arbëresh *katund/ -i*[51]). (19) *leçit[ënj]* (divulge, spread
around, Turkish *lehçe*; Giordano, only in Nazione Albanese, but used in
Figlia, Chetta and other historical authors). (20) *maɣara, maara* (Räsänen
320, probably retransmitting Arabic *maġāra*), μαγάρον, μαγαρίζω, Cal.
magàru, brasier cover / damper, Arbëresh *magàrem, magàrtur*[52]. (21)
mill/ -i [1] dagger, stiletto, [2] part of the arm (graphical variant *myll,
mylli* used by Dara, Schirò and Bilotta). (22) *nenëz* Amaranthus spp.,
Euxolus deflexus (L.) Raf., Albanian and Arbësh (Giordano), in some
Pollino Arbëreshë dialects like S. Basile *nënëz, nënza* id. (from field
work): dealt with in Trumper 2010: 381-82 either as a derivative of the
'nettle' word (Albanian development of IE reduplicated form *NOD-
NO- + diminutive morph, thus 'false nettle') or directly from Osmanli
Turkish *nana* (Räsänen 350 column B, also spread in Serbian *nana*,
Aroumanian *nenă/ nană*, Bulgarian *nané*, modern Greek νένα, where the
plant-name also covers Hirschfeldia incana L.: Räsänen hypothesises
Arabic *na'nā'* as ultimate *origo*). It seems to be more likely a Turkish
loan. (23) *qush, qushk* (rustic, boor; Giordano, Nazione Albanese,
perhaps literary). (24) *rakí/ -a* (liquor, Giuseppe Schirò, Siculo-

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[49] This may well imply a further cross with outcomes of Mediæval Provençal *care[s]m-
entran* (< Quadragesima[m] ĭntrante[m]), the figurative representation of Carneval (pre-Lent) as
a stupid giant: see Trumper (ed.), *VEC* 1. 250-251 for further comments.

[50] κατοῦνα (RIL 77: 634 n. 948, Cusa 2. 532, Callimaco e Chrysorrhoe tre o quattro
ricorrenze, Libistro e Rodamne vv. 180, 269, 679, 686, 696, 731, 1024, 1050, 1163, 1176, 1817,
1903, 1978, 1985 [anche κατουνοτόπιον vv. 660-663, con verbo derivato κατουνεύω vv. 119,
1718, come già in Doucas varie volte], Belthandros e Chrysantza vv. 126, 479, 692, 1012,
Legrand 1. 129, 147, 158; Imperios e Margarona v. 479, Legrand 1. 300; Fables Etoliennes 37).

[51] Jokl 1923: 172 had mistakenly proposed an Albanian origin for all the derived Slav terms,
Middle Greek κατοῦνα, Rum. *cătun* etc.: the distant Mongol origin was, unfortunately, not
investigated. Obviously invading Turks brought their Mongol word for the tent camp with them!

[52] Rather than a derivation from μάγος, Cal. *magara*, witch, a semantically unjustifiable
source.

Albanian). (25) *şaban* (negative epithet of animals that have become useless, Räsänen 439; Cal. *sciabbànu, -a*, variant *sciabbàrru*, Arb. *shaban, -i*][53]. (26) *sherbet/ -i* (Italian 'sorbetto'), Turkish *şärbät*, as in Da Lecce *sherbet*, Räsänen 444-445 *şärbät*, Cal. Romance *scerbèttu*. (27) *şinik*, measure/ bushel (Räsänen 447, used in the review Arbri i Ri, *shini[n]k* in literary use, but doubtful in modern agricultural terminology). (28) *tabar* Osmanli, also *tavar* (Räsänen 451-452), ταμπάριον, Late Byzantine, mantle made of animal skin [Codinus, Nicetas Choniates etc. but not, apparently, Italo-Greek[54]], Cal. *tabbanu,-a, tabbarru, -a*, der. *tabbarranu*, Arbëresh *taban* [Bilotta but also documented as current Arbëresh at Frasnita; *Tabanra* is also used as a negative nickname for the inhabitants of Acquaformosa[55]]: also, Veneto / Venice *tabaro*, whence Italian *tabarro* and French outcomes viâ the *Commedia dell'Arte*, which would seem to underscore Byzantine transmission. (29) *taftìsj/e –eja*, derived *taftisënj* (to be obsessed, Giordano). (30) *tambur* (Arbëresh *tambur/ -i*, Romance *tammurru, tamburru, tammurrijata*, which Rohlfs [LGII[2] 1964: 498] declared to be of Arab origin). (31) *tel/ -i* (string; rope, Giordano, used in Arbëresh dialect). (32) *top/ -i* (ball; cannon ball, derivatives *topançe, topixhi* etc.: literary use from Serembe on). (33) *tuçla > tull/ë -a* (fortress: De Rada, literary use). (34) *xhan/ë -a*, later *zan/ë –a*, spirit; inspiration (in the Hymns to Doria d'Istria, comments in Giordano on literary use: see *çan* in Räsänen 184-186). (35) *xhep* (pocket, Giordano, in De Rada's use, literary standard). In conclusion 15/35 cases are, apparently, present in

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[53]Though present in all Arbëresh dialects, it does not appear to be a direct Turkish loan nor an Albanian loan in N. Calabria Romance, but a word mediated by some unknown Byzantine source (Turkish loan in Late Byzantine Greek?).

[54]See ταμπάριον (glossed *chlamys*) in Du Cange (late Greek), present in Codinus, *De Officiis* chap. 3, three occurrences [τὸ ταμπάριον αὐτοῦ κόκκινον μετὰ μαργελλλίων], [τὸ ταμπάριον αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ζητεῖται], [… δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς φορεῖν ταμπάρια καὶ κάλτζας], also in Nicetas Choniates and later authors. Meursius (pg. 548) considered it a variant of ταππάριον!

[55]For a discussion of ethnic *Tabanra*, Arbëreshe Inhabitants of Acquaformosa (CS), its real etymology alongside its folk etymon (Θεβᾶνος), see Bellizzi & Belluscio (2017, note 19). Unfortunately, they consider *taban* a post-mediæval Romance borrowing in Italo-Albanian, when the Romance is transmitting it as a Greek origin loan, viâ Byzantine use (Imperial), as in the previous note, in origin a Turkish loan word. It is perhaps inappropriate to hypothesise that the Greek transmission of such loans in Italo-Albanian is viâ Romance.

both Arbëresh and local Romance[56] (43%, more than a third of the cases investigated), while twenty belong purely to Arbëresh use, whether literary or everyday dialect (57%, more than a half). Only two Turkish origin items are known purely to Romance (Calabrian *zassu –a*, Salento *tacàru*) and not to Arbëresh.

Other Turkish-origin elements (nine) possibly present in Arbëresh but apparently absent from Italo-Greek and Calabro-Romance are:

(1) *dil*: Räsänen 478 *tyl, til* > Osmanli dil, tongue (with a diminutive and rhotacism l > r > Albanian and Arbëresh [57]*dërcikth, dërçikth*, uvula, dealt with in Trumper-Belluscio 2000: 459 Table 1 and pg. 467). (2) Middle Turkish *jaku*, cloak (sort of mackintosh, Räsänen 180) seems to have given not only Da Lecce's *jakë*, collar, but also Arb. *jàkull*, cord, collar string, collar (apparently only Molise Arb. *jàkull/ - i*)[58]. (3) *kazan* (kettle, used by Figlia; Räsänen 243, historical Turkish kazɣan, so-called as a product of the city of Kazan. It is now obsolete, in Arbëresh usually replaced by *halkom* < Greek χάλκωμα[59]). (4) *kol(l)aj* ('easily', used by De Rada in his news sheet La Nazione Albanese, historically also in Figlia, in the Chieuti Codex, Mandalà 1995a). Its everyday real use in Italo-Albanian is in doubt (for the Turkish see Räsänen 277, Osmanli *kolaj*). (5) Molise Arb. *pèpar/ -i* Piper nigrum L., black Indian pepper: either Byzantine Greek πιπέρι[o]ν or Osmanli Turkish *biber/ büber* may have mediated this plant-name. (6) *qirajë* (rent, documented in Giordano, but only as used in the review Arbri i Ri, thus doubtful as current use in

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[56]It is extremely difficult to conclude in limited cases whether the presence of such items in Italo-Albanian is a Balkan presence or a contact-loan from Italo-Romance.

[57] In Arb. it is usually *hardhith, -i* (var. *harith*), though *dërçikth* is known. However, it may be in origin a learnèd word.

[58]Giordano's *jàkull* seems to refer only to arrow strings or bows. The use is De Rada's only, according to Giordano, who was not apparently aware of dialect forms at Portocannone and Ururi.

[59]Even in the *Geoponica* and similar Byzantine works, this Turkism is rare, sometimes appearing in Dictionaries in the Fourteen and Fifteen Hundreds, e.g., Somavera KA: Καζάνι, κακάβι, χάλκωμα, τὸ. Caldaia, caldaio, caldara, or in folk literature, Révolte des Sfakiotes vv. 423, 446, and so on. It seemed to have been common in Macedonian Neo-Greek, since in the 17th century Synadinos' *Memoirs* have the derived verb καζαντίζω (exercise a trade, earn), for example Synadinos bk. 2 §9. 98 [ἐπτωχὸς εἶμαι καὶ ἂς καζαντίσω ἀκόμη, I am a poor man, let me learn a trade]. In the same period, we have the pl. καζάνια in the Rebellion of the Sfakiotes against Alidakis vv. 423, 446 etc.

Italo-Albanian). For Turkish use see Räsänen 273 Osmanli etc. *kira, kireje*. (7) *sahat sāt* (moment, in phrases, Sicilian Arbëresh, used only by Schirò and in the review Arbri i Ri: it may be doubted as real use in most dialects, though Mandalà gives it as real use in Sicilian Arbëresh). (8) *tumac, tumacë*, 'pastasciutta', < Turkish *tutmač*, noodles, < Verb *tut-*, bind up. Its use in Italo-Albanian dialects is general. (9). *xixë*, spark, verb *xixënj*, var. *xhixhë, xhixhënj*, used by the poet Serembe, thus doubtful as current use. However, it may be common baby-talk, in other words Turkish *cici, čig-* (Räsänen 110).

Out of all the possible Turkish loans discussed in this last section Arbëresh alone possesses more than 60% (29/ 44: 66%, i.e., two thirds), whereas Romance (Calabrian, Sicilian) possesses circa a third (36% = 16/ 44, i.e., slightly more than a third). There are other cases brought to light in Mandalà 1995a, 1995b, 2003 and 2004 where Italo-Albanian authors from the end of the 16th century to the end of the 18th (even writers in the early Nineteen Hundreds in some cases) have used a larger number of lexical items of Turkish origin, items that are not usually associated with Arbëresh use[60]. We obviously exclude examples from authors (especially Da Lecce's *Dittionario*) which have had only a very ephemeral existence in Italo-Albanian. They were perhaps limited to these authors' works as fruit of their reading, since many are associated with structures and organisation of the Ottoman Empire (the total is ca. 280 items). Examples of straightforward Turkish historical loans in Italo-Albanian authors of the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries are:

(A) *aga/ agalak* (castellan), akshini (cookery), arap (Arab), ashik (dice), axhami (stupid, idiot).

(B) *bajrak* (*bajarak*)/ *bajraktar* (flag/ standard, standard-bearer), *balëkdish* (baccalà), *barat/ borat* (gunpowder), *basa* (satrap), *beden*

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[60]We exclude from this list items such as *barr/ë –a*, definitely an indigenous IE element in Albanian (Demiraj 1997: 92-93), *krevet/ -i* (bed), a Greek borrowing rather than Turkish (κρεββάτιον), *samar/ -i*, a probable early Latin contact-loan (< sagmārĭus –ĭum), as well as *narënxh/ë –a*, variant *nërënxh/ë –a*, orange. Its spread viâ Turkish, Persian or Arab implies a loan path that comes indirectly from Arab (*naranǧ*) or directly from Persian (*nāreng*), whence the Arab form. The Persian comes from Indian dialects (Sanskrit *nāraṅgáḥ*), in turn a Dravidic loan (*nārram-gay*, aromatic plant, a generic), as in Trumper 2008: 225-226. Its passage may have been viâ the Byzantine Empire. Some have sometimes wrongly considered these as Turkish borrowings.

(bastion), *begani* (reverence), *belad* (accident), *beriqet* (abundance), *biber* (pepper), *bodull* (cowardice), *bolyk/ bolykbashi* (military squadron, regiment/ colonel), *bozë* (caraff)/ *boza* (a drink)/ *bozaxhi*, *brishim* (silkwork), *bukangi* (fetters), *bullë* (Turkish wife), *burki* (canon canopy), *burmë* (screw; part of a rifle), *byluk* (troup of soldiers).

(Ç) *çakçiç* (soldier's mantle), *çakmak* (lighter etc., Räsänen 96), (me) *çallastisunë* (to provide for, to find work), *çallëstis* (teach diligently, < Turkish *çalismak*), *çapin* (thief, < *çapkın*), *çapre* (leather bag), *çekerk* (spinning wheel), *çibakë* (jujube), *çinar* (plane tree), *çizme* (boot), *çullë* (horse blanket)/ *çullaxhi*.

(D) *dam* (prejudice), *davi* (controversy), *delikalli* (pomp), *derma/ dermani* (remedy), *divane* (Turkish government), *dor/-i* (thorough-bred, of horses), *duhan* (type of tabacco), *dulgjer* (building labourer), *dullamë* (*dollam*, gown, 'toga'), *duqan/ duqanxhi* (shop/ shopkeeper)[61], *dushak* (matress), *dyzgjin* (white lead).

(E) *endaxhi* (tailor), *erishte* ('lasagne').

(F) *fishëk* (cartridge belt), *futë* (apron).

(G) *gashagji = kafaçi* (horse-comb, currycomb, Turkish *kaşak*, Räsänen 240 *kašak* and so on), *gemi* (boat), *gozë* (oyster), *gyp* (type of canon). (GJ) *gjerdanë* (knecklace).

(H) *hajdut/ hajduk* (assassin), *hajn* (bandit), *hallete* (tackle; tools), *halli* (carpet), *hamam/ hamanxhi* (baths, baths attendant), *harar/ hanar* (sleeping bag), *hebe* (bag), *hiqer* (gardener's wage), *huxhet* (decree).

(I) *ilik/ illiquem* (1. cord, 2. eyelet), *inat* (spite), *inxhi* (pearl).

(J) *japançe* (cape), *jastëk* (pillow), *jelek* (waistcoat), *jorg/ jorgun* (trot), *jular* (halter; bridle).

(K) *kaçë* (remnants, remains), *kafë/ kafëxhi* (accommodating etc.), *kallëxhi* (tinker), *kamxhik* (horse- whip), *kapak* (lid), *karaboja* (sulphuric acid), *katëranë* (buckle), *kazan/ kazanxhi* (pot; tinker), *kefylë* (headcap), *kllapi* (frenzy), *kodosh* (pimp), *kollçak* (cuff), *konak* (domicile), *kondak* (= hundak, rifle case), *kuanxhi* (goldsmith), *kumash* (cloth), *kurban* (sacrifice).

(L) *lajlek* (stork), *lakërdhi* (reasoning; conversation).

(M) *masha* (trigger), *magjup* (executioner), *matkap* (drill), *matrasap*

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[61]Historical Arb. *duqan* is in reality Arabic *dukkān* mediated by Osmanli Turkish *dükan* (Räsänen 141).

(tradesman), *meqem* (court, tribunal), *mergjyz* (Coltha flowers), *meshin* (leather goods), *metaf* (penis), *meterizë* (rampart), *miftar* (landworker), *mihyr* (seal), *mireqep* (ink), *mjasël* (piles), *muft* (in vain), *murtasap* (tax collector).

(N) *nallbani* (farrier), *neshtar* (instrument for bloodletting).

(O) *ordak* (workmate; associate), *oxhak* (fireplace).

(P) *parmak* (eyelid), *pashmak/ pashmaxhi* (sandal/ sandal-maker), *pashtmalë* (1. apron, 2. tablecloth)[62], *pazi* (beet), *perper* (black pepper), *pinçere/ penxher* (small window), *postaf* (= *postak*, blanket), *pulla* (scales on the eyes).

(Q) *qahajç* (mayor), *qeli/ qelixhi* (pantry/ butler), *qepenik* (felt), *qerpik* (eyelash), *qeshxhi* (executioner), *qiraxhi*(cabdriver), *qiri/ qirixhi* (coach/ coachman, cabdriver), *qorr* (one-eyed), *qushki* (iron pole).

(R) *reshper* (merchant).

(S) *sajment* (soldier, < Turkish *saçmen*), *salxhak* (1. sling, 2. swings), *sanxhak* (baron, noble), *saraç* (saddle-maker), *saralik* (epilepsy), *sarami* (menage, menagerie), *saranxhë* (water-tank), *sarëk* (turban), *saxhak* (tripod), *sefat* (solace, relief, pleasure), *seir* (pleasure), *seis* (mule driver), *selvi* (cypress), *senxhir*, serge (canopy), *simixhi/ simixhini* (baker), *sipsi* (pipe), *sobash* (bath attendant), *sorfë/ sorfaxhi* (banquet/ waiter), *subash* (land agent), *surat* (doll), *synet* (circumcision).

(SH) *shamatë* (argument, controversy), *shap* (alum), *sharqin* (melon), *shegert* (boy, assistant), *shenti* (*shentinija*, hypocrite, hypocrisy).

(T) *tabak* (tannery), *tafte* (sheath; scabbard), *tamam* (wholely), *tatullçi* (metella nut), *tegel* (shirt tacking), *tellal* (town-crier), *tunç/ -i* (bronze, Da Lecce, Räsänen 499), *turbi* (telescope), *turritunë* (to cause to flee), *tutkall* (glue), *tutun* (tobacco).

(V) *vazxhi* (question; exhortation).

(XH) *xhid/ -i* trickster (Turkish *cid[d]ī*), *xhumerxhill* (saltpetre).

(Z) *zamam* (integrally, wholely), *zanat* (commercial exercise; shop)/ *zanatxhi, zamatxhi* (tradesman), *zap/ zapxhi* (rule; regulator), *zil* (bell), *zirkë* (point), *zymbyl* (hyacinth).

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[62]This is really a Persian loan (*pēšdāman*) in Osmanli (*pašt[a]mal*), thence into historical Arb. *pashtmalë* (no longer current).

At least these ca. 190 cases are historical and literary: they seem to have no modern day-to-day existence in Italo-Albanian. Sometimes *kallëp* (mold, form) is included amongst these plausible Turkish elements, notwithstanding Turkish *kalyp* itself (same meaning)[63], like Arabic *qālab, qālib* thought to be its origin, is most probably the product of a mix between Greek καλόπους, καλοπόδι[ο]ν ('wooden shoe-model', with variants in καλα-) and Persian *kālbut, kālbud* < *karp* (< Pahlavi *kārput, kālput* < Avestan *kerp*, Horn 1893: 282-283, item 123: IEW 620 *KREP-, *KRP- [1] compared with Indian, Latin, Celtic, Albanian and Germanic forms).

3. ARABIC RETRANSMITTED BY TURKISH.

There are a number of cases in Italo-Albanian historical repertories (Figlia, Chetta, Da Lecce etc.) of Arabic elements plausibly transmitted via Turkish. The following elements, originally Arabic in origin, sometimes claimed to be Turkish, seem not to have survived in modern Italo-Albanian, though it might be claimed that a couple have survived marginally (*hizme, xhenét*).

(A) *Alla* (< allah, by God! Exclamation that might seem strange to the Christian Orthodox-rite Italo- Albanian minority). (B) *belad* (mishap, disaster). (GJ) *gjinasit* (pun; double sense). (H) *hadum* (eunuch), *haraç/ haraçinik* (tribute; tax-collector), *hashash/ -i* (opium-poppy), *hile* (wrongly; deceptively), *hizme* (food cellar, pantry). (K) *kadi* (judge)/ *kadilik*, *kafas* (cage: the Turkish seems to be of Arab origin [*qafas*], see Räsänen 219), *kallabë* (tumult, riot). *kana* (henna). (M) *mahall* (quarter, zone), *mahram* (handkerchief), *majmun* (baboon; monkey), *minarè* (minaret). (N) *nakuf* (tax-exemption), *nishan* (target; sign). (R) *raje/ raja* (subjects; non-Islamic subjects of the Porte), *rid/ë -a* (kerchief). (T) *tabak* (tanner). (XH) *xhenét*, Islamic Paradise (Turkish interpretation of Arabic *ğannat*). Its use in prose by Giuseppe Schirò may represent real Siculo-Albanian usage. It represents a Turkish mediation of Arabic

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[63]Räsänen 1969: 226 had argued, perhaps rather hastily, that Turkish *kalyb* derived directly from Arabic *qālab/ qālib*, itself a borrowing from Greek, without considering a possible mix between distinct Persian and Greek forms, of different etymology but semantically akin.

ğannat id. Note that very sweet small Easter cakes in Calabro-Romance are called *ginetta* pl. *–e/ -i*, or in a m. form *ginìettu/ ginèttu -i*.[64]

4. GREEK LOANS (SOMETIMES VIA TURKISH).

To these might be added cases of Greek loans in historical texts. They are no longer vital in the modern dialect complex. Some of them seem mediated by Turkish, while others are definitely not. Examples are:

(A) *Abinok* (ebony, Greek ἔβενος, originally an Egyptian loan, see André [2]1985: 92. The –ok morph suggests Turkish mediation). (H) *Hiremit* (tile: Greek diminutive κεραμίδιον. The consonants and front vowel harmony suggest a Turkish rather than Arab mediation). *Horrjat/ -i* (country bumpkin; poor, in misery), derived *horratjí/ -a* (directly perhaps from Greek χωριάτης rather than mediated by Turkish: Arbëresh authors still use it). (K) *Kandil* (lamp, church lamp: Greek κανδήλιον for the lamps in church, < Latin candēla). *Karafill/ -i* (carnation, Middle Greek καρυόφαλον < καρυόφυλλον, if not directly from καρυόφυλλον[65]). It seems more likely that we have a direct contact-loan from the Byzantine diminutive καρυοφύλλιον. (P) *Pulakë* (a coin: this would seem a direct loan from Byzantine Middle Greek φόλλα, φόλλις, φόλα, obolus, a small coin[66], which has obviously passed through a Persian *pūl/ pūlād* derived from the Greek (Horn pg. 72 n. 325 note 2, pg. 75-76 n. 340) or through a Turkish form derived from the same source or viâ the Persian. (T) *Talazë* (wave; swell, surge, < Greek θάλασσος: the consonants suggest a Turkish mediation). (TH) *Themell* (foundation: Çabej argued that the Albanian *themell* does not come

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[64]Arbëresh authors who refer to Islamic culture sometimes use this word. It may well be the origin of Calabro-Romance *ginetta/ ginìettu* (type of cake associated in some Calabrian villages with Easter).

[65]Many Greek magical, medical, and botanico-medical texts in the period 800-1600 use correctly καρυόφυλλον (first introduced by Galen in the 6th century AD), beginning with Alexander of Tralles through Nicolas Myrepsius up to later mediæval treatises. The graphical variants are legion, from the classical spelling to καρεόφυλλον, καριόφυλλον (Anonymous Botanical Lexikon, Delatte II. 326, 1-2) to καριόφηλον (Langkavel 1866 section 58, 2), καρυόφαλον (Ideler II. 321, 29), καρεόφαλον (Langkavel 1866 section 58, 2), and so on. What are more interesting, are the initial phases in the use of its diminutive καρυοφύλλ[ι]ον, as in the late Anonymous Magical (botanical) Treatises in Delatte I. 24, 2 and I. 64, 17. This diminutive seems to be the basis of Da Lecce's Italo-Albanian karafill/ karafilli.

[66]The monetary unit exists since the 4th century AD (at least from the documentation in Eustasius' Historia Ecclesiastica on).

directly from Greek [τὸ] θεμέλιον but indirectly viâ the Slav loan, with a path Greek > Slav > Albanian, more complex than a straightforward Greek > Albanian loan).

These constitute another nine cases, to be excluded. Added to these are four cases of obvious Venetian mercantile or administrative loans (Venetian or Tuscan), i.e., (1) *bajloz/-i* (standard-bearer, probably < Venetian *baíle*, perhaps viâ a late Byzantine μβάιλος, in Venetian dialect an original French borrowing, < Latin *baiŭlus*). (2) *berber* (*barber*, < Venetian *barbiér*). (3) *ibrik* (jug, < Italian *bricco*). (4) *velence/ levence* (rough cloak or cape, based on Venetian *velada* etc. with remorphologisation). This would leave us with a small but consistent Turkish corpus of some importance used in literary sources, though no longer in contemporary use. Obviously, they have no modern use, at least in Italo-Albanian.

There remain some few cases where probably Ottoman Turkish (Osmanli) has transmitted to Albanian and Arbëresh lexemes, which were, originally, of Arabic origin, and which may still exist or be used in modern Arbëresh. Some of these are also used normally in Calabro-Romance, for example:

(1) *Ḥair* > Turkish hajr, goodness, nobleness, generosity (Räsänen 152) > Arb. *hajdhí* id., derived *hajdhjar*, generous/ good person (in modern use only Molise Arb., cp. Pignoli-Tartaglione 2007: 62).

(2) *Ḥīla* > Turkish *hıla*, Räsänen 160 > *i irrëbar* (rascal, used by De Rada; its real Italo-Albanian use requires investigation). (3) *Ḥayāt* > Turk. *ḥayat*, Räsänen 152 > Arbëresh variants *halth, galth, galt*, landing (in everyday Arbëresh use). (4) *Ḥalqa* > *halka*, Räsänen 154 > *karkal*, helmet (this may be learnèd use). (5) *Hesap/ -i* (estimate, opinion, < *hisap*, Räsänen 160 Osmanli *hısap*, which mediates Arabic *ḥisāb*; its use by the review Arbri i Ri may or may not indicate a bookish word. (6) *Kofë*, variant *kufë*, round basket, which though claimed by some to be Arabic mediated by Ottomans, seems more likely to be Greek κοῦφα, κόφα (x Latin cophinus) x the Arabic *quffa* (already in Papyri, see Preisigke 1. 831-832 κούφη, κοῦφον, Weinfass), in the Physiologus 235. 3 [εἰς τὰ κούφη τῶν δένδρων], and in mediæval sources (Late Byzantine, as in Delatte 1. 85. 22 [τὴν γλῶσσαν τῆς κούφης νὰ τὴν βαστᾷ], 1.122. 25, 1. 127. 6 and so on): from this mixed source κοῦφα, κόφα (x cophinus) x Arabic quffa come Calabrian and Sicilian *cuffa*, basket, and

Albanian *kofë/ kufë*, a word of everyday Arbëresh use. The mediation would seem more Byzantine than Ottoman. (7) *Šāṭīr > ṣatīr > shat/ër, shatri*, servant, boy (bookish use, introduced by De Rada). (8) *Tabut, tavut*, coffin (everyday Arbëresh use, as well as Pan-Calabro-Romance *tavutu*, variants *tambutu, tabbutu*: the loan might be directly from Mediterranean Arab, from Romance dialects which have had a direct Arab loan, or viâ Ottoman use, cp. Räsänen 453 *tabut*, Kasten, Sarg < Arabic *tābūt*).

The fourth case is of interest since there is little phonologically in common between *halka* and *karkal*. We seem to be dealing with a Middle Greek intermediary, in the form καρκάλιον (Byzantine romances like Callimachus & Chrysorrhoe use this lexeme[67]), variant καρακάλλιον (already present in Palladius' Historia Lausiaca[68]; for a late example of καρκάλιον see Poulologos vv. 416-417, Wagner's Carmina 191[69]). This provokes the question of the lexeme's remote origin. One also wonders whether Arb. *g(h)ajdhur/ -i* (variant *g(h)adhur/ -i*), donkey, with its precise equivalent in the Calabro-Lucan Lausberg Area as *gadŭrrə,* as well as *gadùrru* in specific N. Calabrian Romance (Dipignano-Paterno-Rogliano as far as the Savuto Valley)[70], as 'an old decrepit donkey or horse no longer fit for agricultural work', is either Balkan-introduced or a Byzantine loan. In Arbëresh it is difficult to refuse the hypothesis of a Romance contact-loan, though this would seem less probable. The word is obviously of Afro-Asiatic origin (Pellegrini 1972: 201, hypothesis taken up in Trumper 2005b) and seems transmitted by Byzantine Middle Greek γαδούριος, -ιον[71].The negative sense attributed by Calabrian

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[67]See, for example, vv. 1430 (τὰς ἀμυθήτους χάριτας καὶ τέλος τὸ καρκάλλιν), 1556 (καὶ τὸ καρκάλλιν τὸ λαμπρόν, τὸμεμαργαρωμένον).

[68]§46, 3 (Bartelink pg. 222, 25-27, section on the life of St. Melania: αὕτη παιδαρίου καρκάλλιν λαβοῦσα ἐν ταῖς ἐσπέραιςἔφερεν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρός τὴν χρείαν). Here it seems more headcap or bonnet.

[69]Precisely "πικρόφωνε, κακόθωρε, μυριοατυχισμένε, // Αἰγύπτισσα μὲ τὸ μανδὶν, γυλοῦ μὲ τὸ καρκάλιν"

[70]Giovanni Alessio in RIL 74: 690 n. 401 considers γάιδαρος Calabro-Greek (Bova), with only Siculo-Romance outcomes [*sguèdaru*], while Rohlfs in LGII² 100-101 γάδαρος, γάιδαρος rightly gives additional N. Calabrian Romance outcomes as *gadurru*.

[71]It exists as γαϊδάριον in anonymous Papyri (Preisigke 1. 281), while, in the form ἀείδαρος or σγαύδαρι, it appears late in Middle Greek (Koukoules 3. 303), in the Lexicon Cyrilli, in the Chronicon Alexandrinum 780 (Ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκραζον· ἐπιορκεῖςσγαύδαρι), in George Acropolitas' Annals p. 138 (C15-17: ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς δήλοις καὶ οἱ ἀείδαροι λέγουσιν. ἦν δ'ἐγώ· ἰδοὺ μετὰτῶν ἀειδάρων καὶ ἡμεῖς συντετάγμεθα), in the Physiologus (interpolation v. 396, Sbordone pg. 31

Romance would seem to suggest some Turkish Osmanli intermediary, since Turkish borrowings seem to convey only negative meanings in such dialects.

An item such as *(h)od/ë, -a*, room, an obvious Turkish loan (as in Late Medieval Greek ὀνδᾶς), though used by De Rada, must have been a bookish term, since it is generally unknown to most Italo- Albanians. A word often supposed of Turkish or Arab origin, Arb. *galtan* (Sicily), Italo-Greek / Byzantine γαϊτανόν, γαϊτάνιον, cp. Turkish *kaytan* (Arabic *ḫayṭān*), is really of Latin origin. More to the point, Räsänen 223 *kajtan* had already posited a Greek origin (γαϊτανά) mediated by Arab (*ḫayṭān*). Instead, we have the placename Caieta (Virgil)[72] > Gaeta (200-300 AD, Latin geographers) > linum gaetanum / linum gaitanum ('Gaeta flax' = lint) [Marcellus Empiricus, *De Medicamentis* VIII. 27: *et gaitano lino inserto pro phylacterio uteris*: you will use a lint bandage]. The Latin is later Hellenised as γαϊτανόν in Galen, with its diminutive γαϊτάνιον. In late Byzantine use, it is found in both 'learnèd' high style and popular authors (folk, low style) up to George Codinus (*De Officiis* bk. VI) and Simeon Seth (1050-1100). We find it at the end of the Thirteen Hundreds in Stephen Sachleces[73], later in folk verse in the folk romance Lybistros & Rhodamne γαϊτάνιον (4 occurrences) together with the compound τριχογάϊτανον as in v. 3511 (Στρατιώτη, τὸ γαϊτάνιν μου τὸ τριχογάϊτανόν μου), and vv. 3518, 3523, 3527. The correct drift is Latin > Byzantine Middle Greek > (1) Albanian, (2) Turkish, (3) Arabic. A similar discourse can be made for *kandàr/ -i* (hundredweight) which is

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under the subtitle Περὶ ὄναγρου: "Ἐκεῖ ὅπου πορεύονται τὰ ἄγρια γαδούρια"). It also occurs in the Ptochoprodromic poems (III 356: γαδούριν παλαιόπληγον, ὀρνιθοκορυτζιάριν), in Giovanni Malalas' Chronographia 397, 73 who partially repeats the passage from the Chronicon Alexandrinum (interpolation: ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκραζον· ἐπιορκεῖς, σγαύδαρι). Cp. also Delatte I. 74, 1-2/ 96, 4/ 187, 17 γάϊδαρος, 169, 33-34/ 170, 21/ 503, 5 γάδαρος [together with ἀείδαρος and ἄϊδουριος in the same texts, as alsoTheodore Ptochoprodromos [3 v. 479], Legrand 1. 69 [γαδούριον παλαιόπληγον], up to and including three examples in George Aitolios' Fabulæ Æsopi, in mediæval medical writing, up to the Fifteen Hundreds in Agapius of Crete (*Geoponica* 17 §22 [βάνε γαδάρου κόπρον εἰς τὰς ῥίζας της]), the poetry of Stephen Sachleches and other late authors (e.g., Pulologus v. 544, Wagner pg. 195). Pellegrini 1972 had already pointed out its Arab origin (Arabic *ġaydār*).

[72]The distant origin of the place name is: καίατας, καίατα, καίετα bay; grotto, < IE *KEI-/ *KEU- hollow (perhaps 'bay').

[73]Γραφαί καὶ Στιχοί vv. 258-259: ποτέ της ἡ πολιτική εἰς ἕν'οὐδὲν ἰστέκει// ἑνὸς σακκούλιν τάσσεται κι ἄλλου γαϊτάνιν πλέκει.

usually taken to Turkish *kantar*, because of its vowel harmony, < Arabic *qinṭār*. However, the Arab term is a reduction of late Hellenistic κεντηνάριον (< Latin centēnārĭum). That the Turkish is the mediating term for the loan seems assured by the vowel harmony operated. There are some (very few) Turkish-origin items present in Siculo- and Calabro-Romance but neither in Arbëresh nor in Italo-Greek, for example, the already discussed *eşek > sceccu*, donkey rather than horse, or Osmanli *mavuna*, transporter, pack boat; wooden supports (Räsänen 331) > Area Lausberg / N. Cal. *muna / mŭnə, munètta*, Mid and S. Cal. *'mbuna*, the wooden side-plates (slats) of fishing smacks[74].

There are, of course, Arabic loans, which, at least in terms of their phonology, have been mediated by Turkish (which, of course, simplifies geminate 'long' consonants), where the mediating factor would seem to be the Byzantine Empire, even before Ottoman occupation. Byzantine sources may well have mediated these. They are often represented in Italo-Greek sources and in Calabrian Romance (sometimes even in the Genua and Venice dialects), sometimes also in Italo-Albanian sources. Examples are:

(1) Arabic *ǧubbā*, tunic, which passes into Persian *ǧubba*, Turkish *ǧuba, žuba*, thence into the 'dream-interpretation' Greek-Arab writers such as Achmet, in the Oneirocriton as ζούπα (chap. 228: [ἐὰν ἴδη τις ὅτι ἐνεδύσατο ζούπαν … etc.]), in the late 9th century AD, which first appears in Romance as *zippa*, or *juppa* (Cava Cavensis, period 1000-1050), Arbëresh *xhipun, -i / xhypun -i*, traditional bridal jacket, Calabrian Romance *juppune, jippune* (VEC II. 209, with dissimilation of the pre-tonic vowel)[75].

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[74]A derivate is also present at Venice and the Veneto as *maón, -i*, stay(s) of a chair. As the name of a pack boat (as originallyin Turkish, successively *tot pro parte*) it is already present in Venice texts (long boat lists) from the Fifteen Hundreds, cp. Calmo, *Lettere* 3. 206, 3-8 (*è sì bel magisterio de la galia, nave, galion, barza, fusta, schierazzo, **maona**, ganzera, caraca, gripo, bergantin, marciliana, caravela, maran, burchio, peota, fregata, gondola, barceta, palaschermo, piata, burchiela, grotesca, fisolera, sandolo, copano, zopolo e batelo, che la creatura va donde la desidera, sora l'aqua, senza andar a fondi*).Demetrakos 5. 4476 quoted this Turkism (τὸ ξύλον τοῦ δένδρου σουιέτεία τὸ μαόνιον τὸ ἀκάτον ξύλου) without giving indications of the borrowing period. We find it as μαόυνα or μαοῦνα in Late Mediæval Greek, e.g. The Story of George Stavrakoglou vv. 175-176, 214 etc.

[75]Kokkore 2013, commenting on Koukoules (6. 20-25)'s observations on Achmet, underlines the immediate Arab origin andthe longterm Indian origin of 'dream-interpretation' literature and its terminology. Clothes' items may, then, be of Turkish orPersian transmission of original Arabic items, or even Persian transmission of original Indian terms in Sanskrit, though

(2)   Arabic *ḥannāka*, necklace, neckband > Calabrian Romance *cannacca, hannacca, gannacca*[76], Arbëresh *(h)anak/ë, -a / kanak/ë, -a*: they do not seem to be mediated by Turkish. (3) *tumn*, eighth part, Calabrian Romance *tùmminu, tùmmunu* etc., Arbëresh *tùm/ën, tumni* (bushel): this may have been mediated initially by Turkish *tuman* (Räsänen 498), successively through Calabrian Romance. Others are definitely not represented in Italo-Albanian:

This first survey gives us a minimum of circa fifty items in Arbëresh which are either directly Turkish in origin or have been mediated by Turkish in a decidedly Turkish form. In this last case, they may be of a remote Arabic origin. We now attempt to sound contact-loans of Iranian origin, which either the Byzantine or Ottoman Empires may have mediated.

PERSIAN LOANS.

What is surprising is the presence of some 50 Iranic items, presumably transmitted by Byzantium as the result of commercial and military contacts, some of which [4-5] were of Arabic origin but have been re-transmitted by Iranian sources[77] into the Byzantine lexicon. Examples are:

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occasionally they may be direct loans from any of these sources. The term transmitted starts from Achmet's ζούπα (slightly before 900 AD), goes through *zippa* and *juppa* in the Codex Cavenis ca. 1000, after 1100 Old French and Provençal outcomes,Italo-Greek's γίππα (Gallipoli or Belcastro, 1191, Trinchera pg. 519, 29-30 [μαντέλλιον υραίυον γιναῖκϊον καὶ γίππαν καθαρειομέταξον], a short woman's mantle and a pure silk tunic) and the adjective ζουπούνιος in the Anonymous Author ofSolomon's Magic Treatise (Delatte 1. 476,27-477,1: [ὀφείλει σ᾽ἔχειν ἱμάτια λινᾶ, ὁμοίως καὶ ζουπούνιν λινὸν …]), in the Anonymous Alphabetical Oneirocriton (Delatte 1. 537, 7 in the margin [ζούπα πολυποικίλη … ζούπα γερανέα …ζούπα κοκκίνη … ζούπα κιτρίνη], where the colour of a ζούπα in a dream is interpreted), through γιούππα in other Italo-Greek sources in 1200-1250 (Trinchera 356, 376, 532), up to 14th century ζουπόν in Agapius of Crete etc. It is difficult in this sequelof loans (with differing phonological forms) to discover who is the lender, Arabic, Turkish or Persian viâ Byzantine Greek and where the original chain of borrowing began, in some cases evidently in India.'

[76]In S. Calabrian Romance the name for the hawk Falco subbuteo L. is based on this term, i.e., *cannaccutu* (variant *chennaccutu*), *jannaccutu, and ggiannaccutu, hjannaccutu* (Scilla, Reggio Calabria, Lazzaro, and Bagaladi etc.).

[77]Since the morphology and structure of such words is not Arabic. One of the problems of Mandalà's extremely useful workis his difficulty in separating out Iranic (IE) sources from Arabic ones (AA), even of separating Persian origin Arabic (*nërënxë< naranğ < nāreng* < Sanskrit < Dravidic) from Arabic origin sources mediated by Persian (*masur < maʔsara*, Iranic nominalisation of the Arab verb ʔsara, a nominalisation unknown in Arabic).

(1) *Āzād* (free; unmarried; batchelor / spinster, Horn p. 6 n. 19, Italo-Greek ἀζάτης, Arbëresh *axat, -i*, as a noun it seems learnèd, though the adverb *axatu* seems common Italo-Albanian[78]). (2) *Bāzār* (emporium, Horn p. 38 n. 166), Italo-Greek παζάριον, παζαριότης, Calabrian Romance *bbaźźariùotu*, Albanian *bazar* [Venice *bazariòto*]. (3) *Bulbul/ -i* or *bylbyl/ -i*, nightingale (documented in Giordano: a more bookish form than the usual *ferrakëth/ -kthi*), restricted to the poetic milieu of Serembe and Giuseppe Schirò. Meyer 1891: 36, *bilbil, bülbül, birbil*, id., had suggested it was a Turkish loan (< *bülbül*), but Räsänen 92 Osmanli Turkish *bülbül* suggests its origin was in Iranic *bolbol/ bulbul*, most probably of Indian origin (type *buliṅgah*, Mayrhofer II. 510), of remote Dravidic origin, e.g., *puḷ-pulla* 'dull brown/ dull yellow bird'[79]. A Persian loan, ultimately from India, which either Byzantine or Turkish means may have re-transmitted. (4) *Čante-, čante-k-* (sack, > σάνδυξ, σανδύκιον > σεντούκιον, Italo-Greek σεντούκι, Arbëresh *senduq, -i* viâ the Greek diminutive σεντούκιον). (5) *Çapū-k-* > *çabūk, sabūk*, greedy or stupid, Asbaghi 153, Italo-Greek τσαβούκκης, Cypriot τσαπούκκης, Calabrian Romance *ciavùccu, 'ngiavuccari, -atu*, Arbëresh *çavuk/ -u*). (6) *Çark/- i* (listed by both Chetta and Da Lecce, historical, no longer current use), [1] spinning wheel, [2] rifle cock, firing hammer). Räsänen 100: Osmanli Turkish *čarχ* < Persian *čarḥ*. Horn item 437 pgs 97-98 *čerχ*, mod. *čehre*, wheel, < Pahlavi *čark*, Hübschmann 1895: 52 *čarχa*, Spinnrad, metathesised output of Pahlavi *čaχr (Hübschmann's correction of Horn, the modern form re-metathesises). (7) *Cengel*, hook, prick (*cenber*, ring, hook, Horn 446) > Turkish *čangal*, Osmanli *čengel*, hook, ring (Räsänen 99, Lokotsch 1927: item 392a) > Middle Greek and Early Neo-Greek τζαγκρουνίζω, τζαγκουρνίζω[80], punzecchiare, pungere, apparently not in Italo- Greek but in the base form tsingr- present in Arbëresh *cingërdhi(k)s*, *cingërdhi(k)sënj*,

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[78]I owe this information to the late Gianni Belluscio.

[79]A compound of *puḷ* 'bird' (Burrow-Emeneau item 3544 pg. 286) with *pulla*, dull brown color (Burrow-Emeneau item 3535 pg. 285). The nightingale, Luscinia luscinia L., renowned for its song, is the least colored of the Sylviidae, a dullish brown in color. It seems to have acquired a metaphorical extension in Molise Arbëresh (*bùlbur*, Pignoli-Tartaglione 2007: 17) as either 'gunpowder' or 'cash'.

[80]Stephen Sachleces Γραφαί καὶ Στίχοι II vv. 665-666 (Wagner pg. 103) [ἀναντρανίζω, βλέπω τὴν κ'ἤτον τζαγκουρνισμένη, // ἀκόμη μέ 'πε "δέσποινα μ'ἔχουσιν καμωμένη"].

pungere, punzecchiare etc., Cal. Romance *zingarda* (var. *zangarda*, slight blow, click with fingers, prick). (8) *Čep*, bent, curved (a curved shoe, Horn 435, cp. Sanskrit *çāpa-*, curved; bow) > *čabatān* > Turkish *čabata* (Räsänen 94, Lokotsch n. 379: both admit the Persian loan) > (Italo-) Greek τζαβάτα > Cal. Romance *zavatta, zavattijari* (cp. also Venice and Veneto *çavata, s-*, whence Italian [Tuscan] *ciabatta*, *(ac)ciabbatare*), Arbëresh *xavat/ë, -a*. (9) *Çezme* (spring, fountain), documented in Da Lecce in the phrase *çezmeja e kronit* 'pila della fontana', in Chetta as *çismeja*: often interpreted as a Turkish loan, though Räsänen 106 *čäšm* [1] well, fountain, [2] eye, confirms the Persian origin in *čašm*, eye, *čašma*, source/ spring. See Horn item 440 *češm*, variant *čišm*, [1] eye, [2] spring, source < Pahlavi *čašm, čašmak* < Avestan *čašman-* related to Indian forms for 'eye'[81]. (10) *Čugū-*, owl (Iranian onomatopea) > Turkish *čuguz* (Räsänen 119, not for an owl but strangely for Merops apiaster L.), also *ğuha* (Lokotsch n. 739 pg. 58 considered this the Arabic *ğuhā*, but the Arabic has most probably an Iranian origin[82]) > Late Byzantine, Early Modern Greek χιοῦχας[83], Calabro-Romance N. Cal. *jugale -i* [ju'γa:lə] var. *juvale, -i*, *giufà* (as barn owl in the Crati Valley [Rende, Montalto, Rose], elsewhere a Carneval figure, VEC 2. 209), Mid and S. Calabrian Romance *ggiufà, juhà* id., Arbëresh (S. Benedetto Ullano, S. Demetrio Corone) *jugall/ -i*[84]. (11) *Fil/-i*, elephant (documented by both Chetta [*filli*] and Da Lecce, no longer current), as in Lokotsch 1927: 48, item 605 Arabic *fīl*, Osmanli Turkish *fil*, < Persian *pil*, originally a loan from a Semitic source, as in Orel-Stolbova 1995: 360, Proto-Semitic base 1662 *LEB- / *ELB- (> *B[E]L-). The form *fil/ -i* implies a passage from Mediæval Arabic < Persian (Pahlavi < Middle Egyptian?[85]). (12) *Gebr* (wild goat,

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[81]That 'eye' becomes 'source of water', 'spring', is not only a Semitic extension (of 'ain) but also Indo-Iranic and Celtic (e.g., W. llygad), present, therefore in Indo-European, without any need for supposing a Semitic contact-loan at the semantic level.

[82] Both the Arabic and Turkish forms would seem to derive from an Iranic original.

[83] Sakellarios, in the Early 19th Century gave the Cypriot form as σιούχας (pg. 862, quoting folk texts: χιούχας ἐσφ. ἀντὶ σιούχας· ἄνταρ, ἀετὸς ἢ χιούχας. Νῦν δὲ σιούχας καλεῖται), where σι probably represents an alveopalatal fricative (sh), as inmodern Cypriot Greek.

[84]The form suggests that the term is most probably influenced by the Calabrian Romance word.

[85]Mayrhofer 2. 296 Sanskrit *pīluḥ*, elephant, discussed this problem: perhaps a borrowing from Avestan *pīl*, which may be Dravidic in origin, though Mayrhofer preferred to hypothesise an Akkadian source (pīlu), i.e., in origin an Afro-Asiatic creation.

X Arabic *kāfir*, Horn pp. 209-210, n. 938, > κιαούρ, κιαβούρ, γκιαούρος, Calabrian Romance *źaùrru, źagùrru, źagùrdu, źavùrdu, 'nźavurdari*, Arbëresh *xavardarënj*).

Ducas 91. 19-20, 105. 7, pl. καβουρίδες 49. 15 (ἐν κριτηρίῳ καβουρίδων), 132. 2 1(παρὰ καβουρίδων). It may well be crossed with Arabic *kāfír* 'infidel', documented as κιαφίρες in Synadinos pgs. 68 (διότι πᾶσα ἔναν κιαφίρην ἔκραζαν), 126 (Μπρὲ, κιαφίρ). In such cases it would seem that tramission is viâ Turcish *gjawr*, though the distant origin is in Persian *gäbr/ gebr* 1. Wild goat, 2. Onager (cp. Indian *gāurá* 'water-buffalo'). See Horn 1893: 209-10 item 938 *gōr*. Probably Lokostch 1927: 632 was right to insist that the real solution consisted in a mix of Persian *gäbr/ gebr* and Arabic *kāfir*, mediated succeedingly by Turcish *gjawr*.

(13) *Gulāb* (Horn 927 *gul*, rose, + Horn 2 *āb*, water, i.e. rosewater), viâ Arabic *ğulāb*, pronounced *ğulèb*, perhaps retransmitted by Turkish *ğulèp* (comments in Räsänen 151) > Calabrian Romance *gilèppe, -i*, Arbëresh *xhilèp/ -i*, icing.[86] (14) Arabic *ğulğulān*, Sesamum indicum L.: most scholars postulate an Arabic origin for Late Greek γιοργιολένη > Italo-Greek dζιρdζολένη (LGII[2] 108 *γιουλγιουλάνη[87]), Pan-Calabrian Romance with variants *ggiurgiulèna, ggiuggiulèna, ggiuggiulèju, ggiurgiulèju*[88], Arbëresh *xhurxhullé/ -u*. Asbaghi 89 argues for a Persian origin in the form *golgolān* ("*wahrscheinlich aus dem pers. golgolan …*"), a probable composition of *gol, gul* (plant, root, Horn item 927, pg. 206-207) + *gūn* (colour, Horn item 946), i.e. *gulgūnān*, with dissimilation of the two nasals (*gulgūnān > *gulgūlān). The derivation is open to discussion. (15) *Hurmā* (*χurmā*) Phoenix dactylifera L., date, date-palm, > *urmā* (see Hübschmann 1895: 265 for h- added in Pahlavi to themes beginning with a vowel, e.g. Avestan *āya-* egg, > Pahlavi *χāya*, in a passage in which explicit

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[86]Italian (now dated) *giulebbe* must, then, come from a Southern Italian source. In Italian ('Tuscan') use, we now have theFrench loan *glassa* for icing.

[87]The Arab form of the Iranian *gul*, rose, is already transmitted through Turkish into late Byzantine/ early Neo-Greek γιούλιον-ια (for example, The Boy Crucified by Jews v. 49 "ὁ τόπος νὰ μοσχοβολᾷ τραντάφυλλα καὶ γιούλια").

[88]Origin of the name of the Cosenza town ward *Gèrgeri* (along the Crati River and its bulrush and reed beds).

mention was made of *χurmā* < *urmā*, date, date palm)[89], which will explain how Byzantine κουτζούμβερ, κουτζούμβριον, that first apparently indicated Styrax officinalis L., passed as allotrope of κουτζουβάϊν, Phoenix dactylifera L., with κοῦτζος 'cut' > 'cut short' > 'short; small' prefixed both to βαία, date-palm, and to its Iranian equivalent urmā (> *umra by metathesis). This was used to indicate the dates that never matured (because of climate difficulties) when date palms were introduced into Calabria by the Byzantines[90], thence to figs which never matured. For a discussion of this origin of N. Calabrian & Area Lausberg *cuzzùmmuru, -aru, cuzzumbrìellu, cuzzumbrīllə*, cp. VEC 1. 496. The Arb. equivalent is *kucumb/ër, -ri*. (16) *Kandan, kenden* (dig; dig holes > hole; furrow, Horn p. 194 item 869, χάνδαξ, χανδάκιον, S. Calabrian *candàci*, Arb. *handak/ -u*: the presence of velar or laryngeal fricatives may imply the passage Iranian > Turkish > Greek > Albanian, Calabrian Romance). (17) *Kanduš, kunduš*, short dress, shirt (< kūt, kūnd-, short, Horn p. 194 n. 871, > καντούσιον, κοντόσιον, Calabrian Romance *cantùsciu*, Arbëresh *kandush/ -i*). (18) Pahlavi Kapīč (Hübschmann 1895: 89) > καπίθη (Iranian loan in Greek), > kavīž > kavīz > Arabic *qafīz*, which in turn influences the later loan in Middle Greek, i.e., Byzantine καφίσιον > Calabrian Romance *cafisu, cafiẕu, caviẕẕu*, Sicilian Romance *cafisu*[91], and the Arbëresh term *kafis/ë –a*, with change of gender, documented both in Nicolò Chetta and in Da Lecce's Dittionario but apparently no longer used. (19) *Karkas* variant *kerkes* (bird of prey, > late Byzantine

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[89]The argument was taken up in Laufer 1919: 385-391 where the original Iranian form *urmā / armā* for a 'date' was borrowed into Chinese and Armenian in a pre-Pahlavi form, id. pg. 385 note 4 "*In Old Armenian of the fifth century we have the Iranian loan-word armau, and hence it is inferred that the χ of Persian was subsequently prefixed (Hübschmann, Persische Studien, p. 265) …*". Apparently, the word is extremely late in Middle-Modern Greek, as in Somavera KO 196B (κουρμαδιά, dattero;κουρμάς, dattero), though documented regularly in Gennadios pg. 543 (κουρμαδιά, χουρμαδιά, Phoenix dactylifera L.). Lagkavel 1866 only cited χουρμᾶ under Ruta graveolens L., quoting Dioscorides 1. 391 (Lagkavel §16. 1), while under Phoenix dactylifera L. (§117) he gave Middle Greek forms βαΐα and κουτζουβάην but no χουρμάς or equivalent.

[90]Up until the 1960's such semi-indigenous dwarf date palms were present at Scalea (CS), but were then uprooted in buildingschemes, in the name of modernisation and tourism. They now appear to be present only on the undisturbed Isola di Dino.

[91]Rohlfs (NDDC etc.) attributes these Romance terms to Arabic, i.e., he lists them as Arabic loans, not realising the complexnature of the contact in this particular case. We also note that Trapp et al. IV. 816 derive late καφίζιον, variant καφίσιον, fromArabic *qafīz*, without considering the relationship between Hellenistic Greek and Pahlavi Iranic. Καφίζιον/ καφίσιον is well represented in Mediæval Italo-Greek texts.

κάργα[ς], Horn pg. 189 item 849, extreme S. Calabrian *carraggiàu* Coracias garrulus L.[92] (20) *Kūze* (Horn pg. 194-195, item 872, < Avestan *χawza-*) > Byzantine κυτίς/ κυτία (Dioscuris, John Lydius), κυτζία in Daremberg's *Notes et Extraits*, S. Calabrian *cuzzìu*, Arbëresh *kusí/ -a*. id. (21) *Xud/ χod*, self, oneself, individual (Horn pg. 111, item 504, < Pahlavi *hvat* < Avestan *χvatō*) > *hodhe* (Molise Arbëresh idiot, individual > stupid, Pignoli-Tartaglione 2007: 64. Mediated by Turkish?). (22) Asbaghi 247-248 *Marzangūš, marzangōš* Origanum majorana L. (> ar. *murdaqūs*), perhaps a composition (merz-, marzan-, boundary land, + gōš), Late Byzantine and Early Modern Greek (Somavera) μαντζουράνα, ματζουράνα (Chios, Cyprus, Crete, but NOT Italo-Greek[93]), Calabrian Romance (Area Lausberg & N. Calabria) *majur[u]ana* Origanum hortense Moench (member of the ethnolinguistic class *arìganu*), Arbëresh *majuràn/ë, -a*. (23) Pahlavi *Margār- / marvār-* (based on *marγ- / murγ-*, Horn item 975, note 4 p. 218, Old Persian *marvārid*, Avestic *mereγa-*) > Middle Greek μάργαρον, pl. τὰ μάργαρα[94], Calabrian Greek τὰ μάργαρα, the long strands of a goat's beard, S. Calabrian Romance *màrgari* id. (Arbëresh has only the general European *margaritàre*, as Frascineto use in Giordano). (24) *ma-'sara* (Iranic nominalisation of an Arabic verb, unknown morphological outcome in Arabic) > Italo- Greek and Greek dialects μασούριον, Calabrian Romance *masùli, masùdi, masùri*, Arbëresh *masur/ -i*).

(25) *Panğara, > pinçere > pinxh, pinxhar*. (26) *pašm* (wool, Hübschmann 1895 pg. 42) *-bāγ* (Horn n. 39, 1. garden, 2. plant, i.e., wooly plant) > *pambak*, wool-plant or wool-garden (see *pämbä* in Lokotsch n. 1617, Baumwolle, cotton-plant, Gossypium herbaceum L., Kahane and Kahane 2. 20), > Greek βάμβαξ- ακος, diminutive

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[92]From Scilla to Reggio Calabria and its wards, thence to Melito and Brancaleone along the coast.

[93]Meyer 1894. IV. 49 considered μα[ν]τζουράνα in Neo-Greek dialects a borrowing from Venice's *mazorana*. Genadios pgs.638, 733 considered the plant-name a variant of ὀρίγανον τὸ ἀμάρακον, without further discussion, Langkavel 1866 a sort of 'Europeism' of the Fifteen Hundreds (Somavera etc.). French *marjolaine*, English *marjoram* seem in fact closer to the Iranian original. The story seems, however, more complex.

[94]Cp. Constantinos Porphyrogenitus, *Three Treatises*, ed. Haldon C847-848: χρυσοῦν στέφανον κατεσκευασμένον ἐκ λίθωντιμίων καὶ μαργάρων πολυτίμων.

βαμβάκιον[95], Apulo-Greek βαμβά[κ]ι, προπαμβά[κ]ι[96], Arb. *m(b)umbak, -u* (common Italo-Albanian)/ *pambuk* (Gossypium sp., Gnaphalium sp.: Giordano gives this as the form for Eianina), Cal. *vammàcə -e, vambàci* etc. for Gossypium sp. + Gnaphalium sp. (27) *pambak-*[2] > diminutives (derivates of 21) as various plant names e.g. Arbëresh *vambaç[j]el* Cirsium sp.[97], Cnicus benedictus L., Calabro-Romance (Area Lausberg *vammacīllə, vummacīllə, vummacèlla* Cirsium arvense Scop., Cirsium erisithales Scop., Cirsium vulgare Ten., *vommacīllə cĭtrənə* Anacyclus tomentosus DC, N. Cal. *vommacèḍḍa*, variant *vommarèḍḍa*, Cirsium sp. et al. as before). (28) *pā-puš[an]* (Horn p. 63 n. 281 pā[ī] < Avestan *pāda-*, foot, > παπούτζιον –ια, Cal. *papuscia, papusci*, Arbëresh *papuc, -i*, cp.

Veneto/ Venice *papuçe, papusse*, slipper, but Italian *babbucce*, as if retransmitted by different but similar sources). (29) *rūza* horny substance, knot (Horn pg. 139 item 628 *rūde/ rōde* < Pahlavi *rōt-ik*,

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[95]The loan is pre-Ottoman, even pre-Islamic Arabic since we find it already in Hesychius (T1462: τριχαπτόν· τὸ βαμβύκινονὕφασμα ὑπὲρ τῶν τριχῶν) and in Sophronius (PG 87. 3383C: ἕτεροι δὲ τοῖς ἐκ σηρικῶν καὶ βαμβυκῶν ὑφάσμασιν). It then becomes a common word, often used in Twelfth Century Italo-Greek texts (Trinchera 295, 23, text of 1188, Cusa 1. 394, 10-11 text of 1101) etc.

[96]Rohlfs LGII ²1964 pg. 7 ἀγριοβαμβάκιον defined this derivate as a "specie di cotone selvatico", with excessive approximation. Heldreich- Miliaraki 1926 (pg. 104) defined such derivates in Neo-Greek more correctly as Cloropha sp. Middle Greek (Byzantine) βάμβαξ, βαμβάκιον seem to occur for the first time in Hesychius and Sophronius (7th century AD, as in the previous note), then in the period 900-1000 AD, in Achmes, Oneirocriticon chap. 100 […τὸ φυτὸν ἐξ οὗ ἡ βάμβαξ…]or in Myrinos, in the Palatine Anthology 6. 254, 6 [καὶ τὴν γρυτοδόκην κουτίδα παμβακίδων] (this supposes πάμβαξ as the original borrowing), with the adjective βαμβακερός, made of cotton, in 950 in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Three Treatises, C294, Haldon p. 113 [ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια, βαμβακερά ἀληθινὰ ἐνθάδια], in the 12ᵗʰ century in Michael Ducas, in his Orneosophium 579, 16-17 [καὶ βάλε ἐντὸς τοῦ βαμβακίου θηριακὴν ξυλόκοκκον ἔν]. Venetian borrowing as *bombaso* is already present and used even figuratively in the 14ᵗʰ and 15ᵗʰ centuries (rare), then more commonly, even in particular figurative uses, in the period 1500-1650, cp. Tomaso Mondini, El Goffredo Canto XVII. xvi, 5-6 [… *ha fin desso fata / La so vita in bombaso…*]. In 1520 we find the adjective *bombasin* in the Veneto 'Frottola' vv. 552-553 (Milani 1997: 227 "*ch'è a pe de la Rosina // che ha quella [bella] bombasina*"). However, the first appearances appear to be in the period 1312-1319 invarious wills or Cedole from Venice in the form *bambas[i]o*, cp. Stussi 1965, Cedole nn. 64, 26 (*che è scrito in doe carte debābacio*), 75, 84 (*su carta de bābasio*), 100 (*como eo scriverò su sta karta de bābaxin scrito de mia man*). Evidently the pre-stress 'a' of *bambaso* is rounded to 'o' (*bombaso*) between two labials. It is from such Venetian sources, rather than SouthernItalian ones, that Tuscan & Italian *bambagia* comes. The Tuscan intervocalic [-ʒ-] evidences the late interpretation of a slightly backed Northern dialectal [z], rendering the intervocalic voicing of intervocalic simple /s/.

[97]Molise Arbëresh has a variant *damaçèl* (Pignoli-Tartaglione 2007: 30), glossed Cirsium arvense L.

Hübschmann 1895: 67, *rūdan* past part. *ruθa*, origin of Osmanli Turk *ruza* and *oruğ*, recognised as borrowing in Räsänen 1969: 390) > Late Middle Greek- Early Neo-Greek ῥόζος, knot in wood / chilblain (1300-1600)[98], Albanian and Arbëresh *rroz, -i* (are the Greek and Albanian items mediated by the loan in Turkish?). (30) Arbëresh *shabkë*, [1] long net, [2] smack equipped with such a net[99], is usually taken with Calabrian Romance *sciàbbaca, -ica* (> *sciabbacanu*, 1. fisherman, 2. shabby, shabbily dressed etc.) either to Turkish *şabak* or Arabic *šabbāk* (Räsänen 443 took the Turkish to the Arabic form). The word first appears in Greek in the *Septuagint* (LXX, IV Kings 25, 17, σαβαχά, fishing net, 200-100 BC), later in glossaries (Hesychius, not long after 600 AD) in the diminutive σαβακάθιον (1. netting, covering > 2. shroud), too early for any Arabic influence or contact, even viâ the sea. This would tend to confirm Asbaghi 176's hypothesis of an origin in Pahlavi šVpka-. (31) As Laufer 1919: 537-539 had argued in detail, Greek σηρικός, derived traditionally from an ethnonym Σῆρες, cannot derive from any Chinese *Se'r, since the ethnonym Se was "*never provided with a final consonant*" (Laufer pg. 538), because the agglutinating element *-'r* did not develop until 1100-1200 AD, while σηρικός is already to be found in the biblical *Apocalypse* (Revelation of John, written before 400 AD), and the combination *Se'r has no real existence in the Chinese languages[100]. Laufer opted for a Persian *sarah*, which concords with Asbaghi 159's later hypothesis: the latter derived Arabic *saraq*, silk, from a Persian form *sare, sare-k-* (probably Pahlavi). Iranic > Hellenistic & Byzantine Greek σηρικός, which is the mediator of N. & Mid Calabrian Romance *sìricu*, silkworm, Arbëresh *sirk/ -u* id. (32) Iranic *surb, uzrub*, Pahlavi *srpīn* (Horn item 728) > Byzantine and Proto Neo-Greek σεράπιον (form used by Joannes

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[98]Cp. Stephan Sachleces 1. 20 (Wagner p. 63) [δέντρον ῥοζιάριν καὶ κυρτὸν, a knotted and bent tree], up to the 16th- 17th century in Synadinos bk. 1 §8 (pg. 76) [καὶ ἔκαμαν ῥόζους τὰ δακτυλά του, and it produced chilblains (lit. knots) on his fingers] etc.

[99]As such (*shabkë*) the word is used by De Rada in his Milosao. It may well be the case, as Gianni Belluscio once suggestedto me, that this was a Calabrian Romance contact-loan on the part of De Rada, rather than a loan from some Turkish source (already present in Albanian authors).

[100]Cp. Laufer 1909: 538 "*The word **se**, however, has never been amalgamated with 'r …*".

Actuarius in the Methodus Medendi), συρόπιον, συρούπιον[101], probably helped along or influenced by Arabic *šarābb, šarūbb*, produce both Sicilian *xirùppu*, Pan-Calabrian Romance *scirùppu,* Arb. *shrup/ë, -a, shërup/ë, -a,* syrop, while the influence of the above Arabic forms has produced Pan-Calabro-Romance *scirubbètta*, Arb. *cirubèt/ë / sherbet/ë, -a*, sorbet, originally prepared with snow and vin brûlé. (33) Arb. *shkapixh/ë, -a*, like Calabrian Romance *scapīcə, scapèce*, typical culinary preparation of pickled vegetables with roasted meats, is usually taken to Arabic *sakbağ*, though it has more sense, as suggested in Asbaghi 163, to look for the origin in Iranian *skibeğ < sikibeğ*. (34) *sipāh*, army (> *sipāhī*, army officer), Horn item 699 pg. 155 (< Pahlavi *spāh* < Avestan *spāδa-*) > Da Lecce *spah/ -i*, [1] highranking army officer, [2] nobleman (no longer current in Arbëresh). Osmanli *sipahy* (Persian contact-loan) may or may not have mediated this as a loan (Räsänen 423), though it may well have penetrated into Albanian varieties through Late Byzantine use, with the technical use as 'guardians of the palace doors'[102]. (35) *spajneshe, -eja*, noblewoman (Da Lecce), the feminine form of item 34. (36) *Siper-*, cover, shield, Horn p. 155 n. 700, Ancient Gr. σίφαρος, Middle Gr. τσίππα, τσήππα, N. Calabrian *zippa*, omentum, Arbëresh *cep/ë, -a* id.

(37) *Šāgird*, Persian pupil, youngster, Horn pg. 201 n. 900 *-gird*, note 1, Pahlavi *ašākart*, Asbaghi pg. 172 Persian > Arabic *šākir*, Turkish *šejirt, šegird*, Räsänen 446 (he recognised the Persian origin), >Calabrian Romance *sciagùordu / sciagòrda, sciagàrda*, young sheep, young donkey (in some dialects 'old, useless animal', hence confused with outcomes of Latin exabŏrtus, *sciavùortu, sciavòrta*), Arbëresh *shavord, -i* etc. (38) *Šarp* < šan[a]p-, *čarp / čerb* (Horn p. 97 n. 436,

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[101]This carries on to the period 1300-1500, as in Agapius of Crete §39 p. 75 [δι' αὐτὸ βάνουσι τὸ νερόν του εἰς τὰ συρόπια], §126 p. 130 [Πίνε ἀπ'αὐτὸ δύω ἢ τρεῖς δραχμὰς μὲ ἄλλο συρόπιον βιολάδον] etc.

[102]It is already present in the early Fourteen Hundreds in the Ἀποδείξεις of Laonicus Chalcondylas, bk. V (Bekker 230, 6: τούτων δὲ αὐθὶς ἔχονται οἱ σπαχίδες καλούμενοι, ἀμφὶ καὶ διακοσίους) and bk. 10 (Bekker 441, 5: καὶ τοὺς τῶν θυρῶν καρπίδας σιλικτάριδας ἀλλοφατζίδας τε καὶ σπαχίδας καλουμένους). Meursius (Glossarium pg. 520) took this up in the mid Fifteen Hundreds, giving the Persian loan incorrect stress as σπάχιδες. In the Early Fifteen Hundreds, after the fall and occupation of Constantinople, it is present in the Ecthesis and Chronicon Athenarum as σπαχῆδες, cp. Lambros 49, 3 (μετὰ γενιτζάρων καὶ σπαχήδων καὶ φοσσάτων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς μετ'αὐτοῦ) and 79, 22 (εἰσῆλθον δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς ἁρμάδας σπαχῆδες καὶ γιανίτζαροι καὶ σαντζακμπέϊδες).

σιανάπ[π]η, Cal. *scirubbètta* [influenced by Arabic *šarūbb*], Arbëresh *shrapë, shërapë* [Plataci and other Pollino Arbëresh dialects]).

(39) *Shishe/ -eja*, 'ampolla', jar, jug etc. (both in Chetta [*scisceia*] and Da Lecce's Dittionario, no longer current Arbëresh use), possibly a Persian loan also in Arabic *šīš* (Lokotsch 1927 item 1918). (40) *Šubān* (< fšu-pāna, Horn p. 171 item 776), τσοπάνος, Albanian, Arb. *çoban, -i*, shepherd, goatherd, *çoban/ -i* in Da Lecce's Dittionario but *çobar/ -i* in Nicolò Chetta, again as *çoban/ -i* in De Rada, probably no longer Italo-Albanian current use)[103]. (41) *Teftir/ -i* register, list; document (only in Da Lecce's Dittionario), derived from Turkish *däftär* or directly from Persian *defter/ daftar*, certainly not from Arabic (Räsänen 135 Osmanli *täftär/ däftär*). It would seem preferable to take it to older Pahlavi *dipīvar*, document, document-container, rather than to a more modern *dibīr, debīr* (whence depr-tar > *defter/ daftar*). Various references to δαβείρ/ δαβίρ as 'ark of the covenant' in the LXX, e.g., 3 Kings 6/ 3 Kings 8, may imply that a Hebrew *dabīr* is an Avestan loan rather than the contrary. (42) *Zahr[a]* > Arbëresh *xàhar*, Calabrian Romance *żàgara*, orange-flower, var. *żàhara*. (43) *Zarparān*, gold colour, gold-piece, possibly from *zer, zar*, gold (Horn item 654, Pahlavi *zar, zarīn*, connected with *zerd*, yellow, Horn item 656) in composition with *pāre*, piece (Horn 271), a 'gold piece' > Arabic *za'farān*, Turkish *zafran*, which, unwittingly, Lokotsch n. 2178 gave as the remote origin of the whole 'safron' series, even Byzantine Greek ζαφοράς[104], as erringly did Babiniotis ³2008 (ζαφορά[ς], ζαφράν < Turk. *zafran* < Arab. *za'farān*). Calabro-Lucanian archaic dialect (Lausberg Area + Lausberg's Zwischenzone) *zafarana, -ə* (first documented as 'peperoncino' in Cedraro 1855), Arbëresh *xafaran/ë, -a*, both Arbëresh and archaic Romance indicating Capsicum annuum L.[105] (44) Iranian *zemī*, Pahlavi

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[103]It is certainly absent from the Calabrian Romance lexical heritage.

[104]The first reference is probably in Aetius, book 1 (κρόκος, ὃς καὶ ὀνομαζόμενος ζαφορᾶ …), in ca. 550-600 AD (a period that predates literary Arabic and is most certainly pre-normative Osmanli Turkish). It carries on into Late Byzantine and Early Modern Greek, e.g., in the Anonymous 14th century Oneirocriton in De Latte 1. 78, 16 (magic for winning over a woman: Γράψον εἰς χαρτὸν γαζέλλιον ἤγουν ἐλαφικὸν μὲ ζαφαρὰν), with nine other occurrences in similar texts, up to the Fifteen Hundreds in Agapius of Crete §152 (καὶ ὅταν ἔβγῃ τῆς ζαφαράνας ὅλη ἡ δύναμις) and in many other authors. Given the dating for Aetius, one can only conclude that the Greek word is a Persian borrowing.

[105]The loan in Veneto/ Venetian is limited to saf[a]rán Crocus sativus L., *saf[a]rán máto* Carthamus tinctorius L. These areprobably the ultimate source of Italian's *zafferano*.

zemīk < Avestan *zāo, zemō* (Horn pg. 148 item 667), Ossetic *zänχä* (Pashto *zmaka*), earth, ground > Byzantine (1000-1100) ζάμβαξ (George Cedrenus, Historiæ, 1050-1100), diminutive ζαμβάκιον, derivative ζαμβακέλαιον (Simeon Seth, De Alimentis, pre-1100)[106] > Italo-Greek, Albanian and Arbëresh (Sicily, but not in Calabrian and Lucanian Arbëresh) *zamak/ -u*, unknown in Calabrian Romance. (45) Iranian *zambīl* mediates Arabic *zambīl* into both Turkish *zimbil* (with vowel harmony) and Byzantine ζεμβίλιον, ζιμπίλιον, Italo-Greek ζεμπίλι, Calabrian Romance *źummĭlə, źummìle-i / źimbìli*, Arbëresh *ximbìl/ -i*, present apparently in some dialects, and as *xhamìn/ -i*, in the Arbëresh Dialect of Greci (AV). (46) *Zīrek*, jug, vase (Horn pg. 151 item 681, < Avestan *jīra-* id., Byzantine and Italo-Greek τζίρρος, pan-Cal. *źirru*, 1. vase, 2. young tuna, Arbëresh *xirr/ -i*, sometimes said to be of Arab origin, but the Arabic is an obvious Iranian loan. (47) *Yār*, friend (Horn 250-251 n. 1121, < Pahlavi *āyār* etc.) > Arbëresh [De Rada] *jar/ -i*, fiancé; husband, absent from Calabrian Romance. (48) Calabrian Romance *ggesuminu*, Arbëresh *xhesumin/ -i*[107].

Of these 48 items, if we exclude items (19), a doubtful solution still *sub judice*, and (39), probably IE congeners, we must only consider 46 items. Thirty-four are possessed by Calabrian Romance (68%), 43 by Arbëresh (91%, but not always the same items). Ten of these items (21%) have been used historically only by the Arbëreshe. Such cases are indicative of the type of Middle Greek and Turkish that is being mediated in Albanian and Arbëreshë, as well as in Calabrian Greek and Romance. It points in a definitive manner to the mixed nature of all such contact-loans. An Iranian element perhaps once present in Italo- Albanian, certainly in Italo-Greek, absent from Calabrian Romance is Arbëresh *tufiq/e, -ja* (Frascineto according to Giordano, though this needs investigation; it is certainly present in Chetta and in Da Lecce's Dittionario as *tifeq/ -i*), variants *tifeq, -i* (*dufek, -u*), *çufek, -u* (pl. *çufeqe*)

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[106]The origin of the series ζάμβαξ, ζαμβάκιον, and ζαμβακέλαιον, had already been shown to be Iranian in Cardona 1967.

[107]Such forms cannot derive directly from Italian *gelsomino*, which seems the product of an original *gesomino crossed withsome other plant name (gelso?). The dialect and Arb. forms derive directly from the Late Byzantine ones, which mediate an Iranian loan word. Whether the Arb. form derives directly from Byzantine use or from Calabrian Romance (which definitely shows Byzantine Greek mediation) cannot be proved. However, one does not feel that in the 15th and 16th centuries Italo-Albanians needed Calabrian mediation for a Byzantine loan.

in some Arbëresh authors (Santori etc.), rifle, Italo-Greek ντουφέκι[ον] (now obsolete) (Osmanli *tüfek*, Räsänen item 503), < Iranian *tufang* id. < Pahlavi *tuvānik* < *tuvān*, powerful, potent, Horn pg. 89 item 401.

At the present stage we now propose to deal with Iranian elements definitely present only in Italo- Albanian, i.e.

(1) *Banxhurrn/ë, -a,* Pæonia sp. (S. Costantino, Scutari 2002, 2005: 62, 83, cp. Sejdiu, shqip *boxhur*, perhaps mediated by Turkish *panğur / pançur*, Räsänen 379, in turn mediating Persian *panjara, penje*, with five leaves). (2) *Çarap/ë, -a* (sock; shoe made of skin), a horse-hair coat etc. The word is documented in Turkish *sarapšın*, Räsänen 403, connected with Iranian *čar[a]m-*, skin; leather (see Horn item 438): the item is present only in the Emira of Santori and may be the fruit of reading Shqip authors, though we do have *çorap/ -i* in Chetta and *çarap/ -i* in Da Lecce. (3) *Çibuq/e, -ja*, pipe, pipestem (according to Giordano in the dialect of Eianina, though its use needs confirmation; present in Da Lecce as *çibak/ë -a*), in Late Mediæval Greek as τζιμπούκι, from Turk. *čybuk*, Räsänen 106 < *čyb* < Iranian *čōb*, Horn p. 99 n. 448, Pahlavi *čōp*, cp. Sanskrit *kšupa-*. (4) *I gosnuk*, fine, happy (De Rada, Mandalà), Räsänen 161 *hoş, hoşnuk* < Iranian *hōš, hūš*, good (Horn pg. 244 item 1093 *huž[īr]*, Avestan *hučiθra*).

(5) *Hambar/ -i*, grain store (both in Chetta and Da Lecce as *hambār/ -i*), < *embāšten*, Present stem embār- (heap up, Horn p. 26, n. 111). (6) *Llull/ë, -a*, reed, stem [pipe stem] (Turkish *lüle*, Räsänen 319, < Persian *lūla*[108]). In Chetta as *llull/ë -a*. (7) *Manusaq/e, -ja / monosaqe*, wild violets (Pan-Arbëresh, late Mediæval Greek μενεξές –έδες[109], Neo-Greek μανουσάγκιον, < Turkish *menekşe* < Iranian *benefše*, Horn item 231, Pahlavi *vanawša* etc.). (8) *Shatorr/e, -ja*, tent (late Mediæval Greek as τζαντήρι[ο]ν[110], Schirò, Siculo- Albanian, De Rada, historically in Chetta (*shatorre/ shatorreja*), Iranian *čātur, čādur* [Modern Persian *čādir*], an Indo-Iranic base, Pahlavi *šatr* < Avestan *χšaθrya* = Sanskrit *kšatriya-*).

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[108]For details see Doerfer 1971: 158 lulä < Persian lūla 'Röhre'. In Giordano (he quotes Schirò), this may be the fruit of Schirò's reading of Shqip authors and ought probably to be excluded. The word is common as 'pipe stem' in Late Byzantine/Proto-Neo-Greek λουλές (Story of George Stavrakoglou etc.). It requires further investigation.

[109]An example is in The Story of George Stavrakoglou v. 37 ('Σ τ'ἀριστερὸν ζωγράφισαν λαλέδαις, μενεξέδαις: with tulips and violets).

[110]Rebellion of the Sfakiotes vv. 40, 69, Δασκαλογιάννης τῶν Σφακιῶν v. 34 and so on.

Very probably, cases (2), (3), (6), perhaps even (8), would have to be eliminated from this list as literary loans. Furthermore, items such as Arb. *shat/ -i* (hoe), derived *shatar/ -i* (gardener, landworker), have nothing to do with Turkish *satır*, as Demiraj 1997: 358-359 had already rightly asserted, but are straightforward derivatives of IE *S[E]K-TO- etc. (cut). A word such as *zog/ -u*, bird, deserves discussion, because, as Demiraj 1997: 429-430 has pointed out, the only congeners are Armenian and Indo-Iranic. The most appropriate base seems to be IE *G[E]N-, be born, at least for Iranic *zāq* (*zāγ*, new- born > nestling; cub, Horn 143 n. 645: Persian zāden, be born, Present stem zāy-, < Pahlavi *zātan, zāk* < Avestan zan, zaθa-, cp. Sanskrit jan-, jāti). Positing an Iranic loan might not be so absurd, but there appears to be no Byzantine or Turkish intermediary, thus it might well be considered an independent congener. A particular case is that of Calabrian Romance *marzapani*, meaning (1) a jewel box, (2) small container, with respect to the Italian sweet *marzapane* (also European). The meaning is more consonant with Cardona 1967's etymology of this term as the outcome of an Arabic loan *marṭabān*, a box for sweet meats, in contrast with Asbaghi 1988: 249's proposal to derive from Iranic *maze / meze* (Horn 979 mezīden, Present stem meze-), taste, tasty, with pān (Horn 285 puχten, stem pez-, < Avestan pač-, cook), i.e., *mezepān-*, a tasty cooky. The question remains to be thrashed out for Romance (Arbëresh seems not to know this item: it requires investigation). An interesting case for discussion is Arbëresh *modhull/ -a*, vetch, = *modh/ë -a*,[111] where the only congeners, apart from similar cases in other Balkan languages like Romanian *mazăre*, are Iranian (*māš*, [1] vetch, [2] peas) and Indian (Sanskrit *māṣa-*, beans). The lexeme is transmitted into Byzantine Greek in various forms (μούσουλον [pre-1100 Simeon Seth,

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[111]*Modhull, -a* (f.) in Arbëresh is botanically Vicia sativa L., *modhull e egër* Vicia cracca L. etc. (in other words Vicia sp.).Sejdiu defined Geg *modhull* as "i fondit autokton". Greek authors (ca. 600 AD) gave it as 'Dacian'. Ciorănescu n. 5174associated it with Rum. *mazăre, măzăriche*. Arbëreshe authors such as Camarda (1. 178) associated this plant-name with μόδος, μάδος, Bryonia alba in Dioscorides 4. 182 (200 d. C.). The plant name was Latinised and commented in Pliny, NH 23.21, the Greek used in Galen XIV. 186 (he quoted Heracl. Tar.). Bryonia goes better with pumpkins and courgettes rather than with peas. A Proto-Albanian base *mŏd[-ŭl-] might well be related to outcomes of IE *MAD- 'fat' (Pokorny IEW 694-95: 'fat', therefore 'good to eat'). Bryonia seems, in terms of Realien, rather distant from 'pea' or 'vetch', while these latter belongto the same phytological subfamily.

De Alimentis 55, 12 (ἄριστον δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον μούσουλον …)[112], with Seth's folk-etymology which derives it from the city name Mosul], diminutive μουζούριον [1300-1500, Agapius of Crete, Geoponicon] alongside μούσουλα[113], μασουλά [1400: Nicomedes, De Latte 2. 315, 24-25, Anonymous, De Latte 2. 328, 1], even μασουχά [1300-1400: Anonymous, De Latte 2. 336, 1-2]). They indicate apparently different referents, though all are plants of the same family. It is difficult here to plead there is no Byzantine intermediary to transmit oriental IE phytonymy. There are even cases where Iranic items pass into Greek (already in Aristotle's Historia Animalium), and in the Byzantine period become Calabrian Romance, as in the case of *rōbāh*, fox (Horn item 626, Pahlavi *rōbās*, < Avestan *raopiš*, compared with Sanskrit *lōpāka*-, jackal) Greek ἀλώπηξ, 1. fox, 2. fox shark, thresher shark (according to Thompson 1947. 12-13, with detailed comment on authors' technical use) > Calabrian Romance *lòpata, lopatèlla/ lopatèja*, variant *lopantèdda* (Paola), not sharks but Lichia amia L. (Pizzo Calabro), Lichia glauca L. (Tropea), Seriola Dumerili Risso (Paola, Falerna, Gizzeria, Pizzo, Vibo Valentia/ Bivona, Briatico). Such cases seem, however, few on the ground and are not present in Italo-Albanian.

It often seems to be the case that, in the case of Tosk dialects, medieval Byzantine Greek is the intermediary for contact-loans from the Iranic, Latin and Turkish lexica. Interesting cases of this complex transmission are Latin mangănum > Greek μάγγανον (already in the Byzantine historian Theophanes and the Strategy of the Emperor Mauritius, as well as in many Byzantine Scholiasts to Aristophanes, e.g. Vespæ 155, 17[114] etc.), with new diminutives in later texts, e.g. μαγγανικά, μαγγανέλλα and μαγγάνιον. Μάγγανον and derivatives (original Greek, derived from Persian *mangane*, or is the Persian derived from Greek?) survive in Italo-Greek (μάγγανο), *mànganu* is usual Calabrian Romance, as is Arbëresh *mëngën* with stress on the

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[112]Even before, in Pseudo-Dioscorides (600-700 AD), we find the plant name μόζουλα (with variæ lectiones μίζουλα, μίζηλα)surprisingly used in a description of thyme [bk. 3. 36RV: θύμος … Ῥωμαῖοι θούμουμ, Αἰγύπτιοι στέφανοι, Δάκοι μόζουλα].Interesting that the author says Dacians and not Illyrians and the plant reference is unexpected!

[113]Agapius chapter 164: Τὸ ζουμί ἀπὸ μούσουλα, καὶ σουλέναις.

[114]Βάλανον: τὸν μοχλόν. Κυρίως δὲ τὸ εἰς τὸν μοχλόν σιδήριον, ὃ καλοῦμεν μάγγανον, καὶ βάλανοι τὰ μάγγανα …

first syllable, while the Arbëresh variant *mangán, -i* supposes a late diminutive μαγγάνιον. An unexplained case is Arb. *mangùr, -i* (wooden frame for hanging a slaughtered pig), corresponding to Turkish *mankır, mangur*, which corresponds, in turn, to Calabrian Romance *mangùnu* with nasal assimilation (m__Ng__r- > m_Ng__n-) and to Italo-Greek μαγκούρι[ον], all with apparently the same meaning (the Turkish with slight differences in meaning but apparently applied to a hooking device for slaughtered animals). Its appearance in Greek is late, 15th century Pseudo-Georgillas. I propose a drift Latin manĭcŭlum, manŭcŭlum > Byzantine μανίκουλον (Myrepsus and medical writings), diminutive *μανικούλιον, easily reducible to μαγκούριον, the late Byzantine form which mediates Turkish, Arbëresh and Calabrian Romance.

To sum up we have slightly more than 70 Slav items present in Arbëresh, of which only 14 are currently present in Calabrian Romance, though other two items exist in placenames, one as a surname. Turkish-mediated lexical items number 21-22 (minimum)[115], while we seem to have about 40-41 Iranic- origin items mediated or by the Late Byzantine Empire or by the Ottomans. In the last case various Calabrian dialects have received 37 items, 73% of the whole bunch (51 items), Arbëresh 35 (69%), which seems to imply a strong Byzantine mediation. However, overall, these extraneous items are slightly less than 200[116], about 1-2% of an agrarian society's complex lexicon.

CONCLUSION:

In an attempt to move away from previous substratal theories and the very concept of a Balkan *Sprachbund*, Leochber 2016 had hypothesized a quasi-Nostratic origin of some items, going far beyond

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[115]Of these we find 13 in various Calabrian Romance dialects, one in place names.

[116]Obviously, we will not consider the conspicuous Greek element present in Arbëresh. Italo-Albanians have for the most part kept, as Christians, to the Byzantine Rite in Greek, with a clergy prepared in Greek. In the liturgy, Albanian plays a lesser role, though all Greek hymnology is glossed in Albanian, as well as the fixed liturgical parts, matter for future in-depth research, though a start was made in Belluscio 2018.

previous research, i.e., his is a search for the presence of common roots in a quasi-Nostratic dimension, concluding (pg. 241-242):

"*Some Balkan words, show roots bearing far-reaching and deep-level connections with an extensive time depth*".

He then proposes a discussion of the roots *MAL- (MOL), *MAG-, *MUG-, *KUK-, *MURG-. In some cases, the discussion seems fruitful, though not in all. For example, in the discussion of the first item more precise knowledge would be needed of the particular language groups and of their internal relations, e.g., the possible relationship of the *mol-i- derivates with those of *mal-i- (Matasović 2009: 260) for 'bald', 'bald-top', in the Celtic group (higher mountains have 'bald' tops, i.e., are without vegetation). Faulting and failed attempts to reach out into Nostratic constrain one into turning to Kahl 2014's Balkan mixing. The attempt to show lexical mixing is interesting but not all the cases discussed convince. Albanian *bale*, Neo-Greek μπάλιος should be looked at in a wider context that involves Germanic and Celtic, as in the case of *mal* just mentioned, while *ceafã / qafë* is very probably Turkish and not autochthonous (see Turkism n. 9, note 34, and Räsänen 114), though the Turkish probably mediates an Arabic loan. We have already dealt elsewhere with Rum. *zară* < Alb. *dhall/ë, -a*, buttermilk (Trumper 2001)[117]. What is relevant is that Buzuku in 1555 documented very few Turkisms (less than 10), which increased in the period 1550 to 1920, though the Slavisms and Greek borrowings were generally present at the earliest date. The Iranic element is completely ignored in most studies. Following on from Desnickaia 1988's distinction between cultural-historical and ethno-

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[117]La Piana 1957 had already proposed starting from a Proto-Albanian *dlag- base, without realising that this had repercussions on the whole treatment of 'milk' in IE. Hamp 1960 for this item opted for a base *golX-/ glXkt-, relating it to other IE 'milk' bases. Demiraj 1997: 153-154 discussed a double solution: (1) Albanian is the loaner to Rumanian and other Balkan languages; (2) the item is a pre-IE substrate word (id. pg. 153 "*Sehr umstritten bleibt aber rum. **zară**, das bisher entweder als alb. Entlehnung oder als Substratwort angesehen wird*"). Albanian seems to be the only IE language group thatpresents a merger between GL- (former GʰL-) and DL- (former DʰL-) in a uniform DVL-, cp. *GLHP- > *dhelpër* (IEW 1. 451) with outcomes as dhal- etc. See arguments in Trumper 2001: 151-160. We propose, then, turning back to a *DLAG- structure: this would explain Latin lac, lactis, since only *DLAG-T- would give DL- > TL- > L- (concording systematically in part with Italic DR- > TR-), GL- would not (*GʷL- > heluus). The details have still to be thrashed out, but our present position is to deny any substrate hypothesis and concentrate on an internal IE development borrowed by other Balkan languages.

historical borrowings[118], Kahl also claims that syntactic and morphological similarities are less relevant than the lexis (same lexical choices) and it is this underlying vocabulary that determines a Balkan similarity image, id. pg. 314:

"*The uniqueness of the Balkan languages is defined by the intensiveness of lexical interactions of the cultural-historical type during the Byzantine Empire and later during the Ottoman domination.*"

John Gumperz's epochal research into bilingualism and creolisation at Kupwar village (state of Maharashtra, India) along the border between Indo-European (Marathi) and Dravidic (Kannaḍa), summed up in Gumperz-Wilson 1971, seemed to point to an overall structural convergence (phonology, morphology and syntax) between Marathi (IE) and Kannaḍa (Dravidian) with lexical differentiation, where the lexica of the two languages could substitute each other within the same overall grammatical structure.[119] In other words, Gumperz's position is diametrically opposed to the later one of Kahl. We tend to agree with Gumperz's position that convergence in grammatical structure leads to a contact situation in which two different lexica are poured, as it were, into the mould of similar grammars, so that only the lexical differences have to be learnt by speakers. To take a few telling examples, we note that in Calabrian Romance the Ø Genitive is quite common in the Lausberg Area and parts of North Calabria called by Heinrich Lausberg the Zwischenzone, a geolinguistic borderline between the extremely archaic of the Lausberg Area and a less archaic N Calabrian Romance, and not just in landscaping elements. The definite article is used with personal female names and in South Calabria both with male and female names, the infinitive-less strategies of most Balkan languages are reflected in the same strategies in Mid and South Calabrian Romance and to some extent in the most southernly parts of North Calabrian. In other words,

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[118]These last would seem to be restricted to agricultural lexis and what the Russian scholar called 'elementary notions', as noted by Cowan Curtis 2012: 78 where he re-interprets Desnickaja's categories as referring to "*not the typical importation of cultural novelties, but rather the melding together of two agrarian cultures*". One might have modified the last part as "*two or more agrarian cultures*". Note that none of these cultures, with the exception of Greek, mediates or transmits genuinely maritime culture.

[119]No mention seems to be made, however, of the semantic relations involved.

in the Early Middle Ages there seemed to be active convergency strategies involving grammatical structures between spoken Middle Greek and local Calabrian Romance. The most striking effect of this is total convergence between the vowel systems, since we have in Greek the gradual creation of a pentavocalic system ι, υ (between 9th and 10th centuries, lower class neutralisation remarked on in Constantinus Porphyro- genitus' writings), ει (200-300 AD in lower class spoken varieties, first viâ a stage /i:/, witnessed in Ulfila's transcription of Gothic using mostly Greek graphemes such as ει for Germanic /i:/), η (ē > ī) >

/i/

ε > /ε/,

ου > /u/ (already late classic), ω > variably ου (= /u/) or ο (= /ɔ/), ο > /ɔ/,

α > /a/

as we do in pan-Calabrian Romance (with the exclusion of the Lausberg Area and parts of the Zwischenzone where the situation is much more complex), i.e., the North-Mid-South vowel drift in Calabrian Romance is:

ī, ĭ, ē > /i/

æ > /ɛ̄/, ĕ > /ε/, then both > /ε/ ū, ŭ, ō > /u/

ŏ > /ɔ/, and ā, ă > /a/.

The result is the same five-vowel system in both groups, arrived at in a similar manner[120]. All these phenomena appear to be the products of intense centuries-long contact. This was already hinted at in *civilisation mixte* terms in the Sermons of St. Luke of Bova (end of 12th century). In the third Sermon conserved at Grottaferrata (Joannou 1960: 226, 12-16) Luke[121] discusses the spiritual needs of mixed congregations (Latins and Greeks), especially of those under his spiritual jurisdiction at RC and Bova, in the following terms:

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[120]This parallelism has been hinted at in various works by F. Fanciullo (1996), F. Fanciullo-R. Librandi (2002), J. B. Trumper-M. T. Vigolo (1997: 256-257, paper in a 1995 SIG Congress, where the equivalences were first made by these authors), thelast treatment being in J. B. Trumper 2016: 232-234.

[121]One must remember that he was a product of the Cosenza Seminary, which underlines the fact that both Latin and Greekwere used ecclesiastically even in North Calabria.

"καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶνδε πάντων ἐπαινῶ, μεγαλύνω τὴν ὑπὲρ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ πολιτῶν, Γρήκων τε Λατίνων, ἐνδίκως φημιζομένην καὶ ἀψευδῶς ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἀδομήνην καὶ δι᾽ ἔργων βεβαιωμένην Ῥηγινῶν τὴν ὑπερτάτην καὶ λαμπρὰν μητέρα τῶν πόλεων. ·χάρις ἐκ θεοῦ τῇ μητρὶ σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις, ἱερέων τε φημὶ, μοναχῶν, προυχόντων καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς τῶν [πατέρων] Ῥάῳ τε φημὶ καὶ Ῥωκέρι καὶ πρὸ τούτων τῆς θεόθεν χάριτος, ὅτι τὸν Σαῦλον ὡς εἰμὶ ὡς ἄλλον Παῦλον ἐδέξαντο ἐν ἔργων καὶ ῥήματι."[122]

There was, consequently, an ethnic, cultural and language mix, in those places (Calabria) where Luke administered socially and spiritually the 'things of God' (i.e., spiritual, and socio-moral values). We might say, then, that the Balkans and Calabria show throughout the centuries a similar ethnic symbiosis, even more so with the arrival of a consistent Albanian Tosk-speaking minority in Calabria and Lucania in the fifteenth century.

With regard to relations between all Albanoid varieties and Northern and Eastern Slav varieties, Hamp 1970 had already underscored "*the long-standing symbiosis of the two languages*" (= language groups) and a centuries long intermingling of populations, with trade and work specialities based on different ethnic and linguistic groupings. This, he concluded, made the dating of loanwords extremely difficult. All the proposed analyses and the level of language-mixing seem to point to a model that Guillou 1989 and Burgarella 1989, though discussing pre-Norman Calabria, called a '*civilisation mixte*' model, as already hinted. Such a situation becomes obviously more complex after the arrival of Albanian στρατιῶτοι with their families at the end of the Fourteen Hundreds in Italian society (Venice, Naples, Hirpinia-Lucania, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily). It is also possible that in their midst we were to find Albanised Slavs (in certain trade occupations or as mercenaries) and

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[122]"And above all I praise and magnify that city which is above all cities and its citizens, I mean both Greeks and Latins; it isjustly and with good reason praised amongst the 'good', consolidated in its good works, Reggio, esteemed and shining example, mother of cities. Grace (is given) by God to this mother with her children, I mean her priests, her monks, men in authority, and all her people, because through the prayers of her fathers Raul and Roger, and above all by the grace of God, they have received this Saul that I am, become another Paul, showing this (conversion) in my deeds and words." Raul is Arnulph II, the Normann Metropolitan Bishop of Cosenza, Luke's mentor, Roger is Roger I, Normann king of the first Kingdom of Sicily.

Albanised Greeks (especially amongst the clergy), apart from previous '*civilisation mixte*' situations. Using only lexical or lexico- semantic findings – we also introduce morphological and pragma-syntactic indicators, as in the longstanding tradition on the Balkan *Sprachbund* – it is perhaps methodologically incorrect to insist on a cause-and-effect model, which would insist that more lexicon absorbed by the host language implies a more in-depth contact between the codes involved. It is undoubtedly true that one cannot theoretically insist on any cause-and-effect model (McDonald 2015, re-iterating perhaps Sayers 2001), but all the more recent contributions, including those of Sayers himself on lexical borrowings and calques, demonstrate that a statistical relation between codes involving lexico-semantic, morphological, phonological, and pragma-syntactic markers, differentially weighted, constitutes a good index of contact types. A courageous attempt in the case of Albanoid varieties and the relative weight of contact elements is made in Cowan Curtis 2012, though vitiated by an insufficient knowledge of Italo-Albanian varieties and their literary products over the last three centuries[123]. However, with sufficient knowledge of Albanoid varieties, including good dialectological work, two objectives can be reached: (1) real weighted statistical studies can now slowly and patiently begin, (2) 19th -20th century substratum and 20th century Sprachbund can now be satisfactorily replaced in precise situations by contact-linguistic typologies involving the concept of a centuries-long 'mixed civilisation' model that awaits more in-depth elaboration than an article can at the present provide. Suffice it to have shown the complexities of the contact situation examined and the necessity of an in-depth acquaintance with **all** Albanoid variants and dialects.

NOTE: While in Shqip Albanian (Tosk) 'l' = /l/, 'll' = /ɫ/, in Italo-Albanian 'l' = /ʎ/, 'll' = /l/. This seems to imply that Proto-Tosk had a maximal opposition /ʎ~ɫ/ (later represented graphically as 'l' and 'll' respectively). Italo-Albanian loses velarity in the second case, Shqip palatality in the first.

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[123]The Atlas by Gjinari and others contains information culled from eight Arbëreshë points, which, though extremely useful,perhaps the most useful among more recent contributions, has all the problems of a traditional Dialect Atlas.

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Alexander RUSAKOV

AGNIA DESNITSKAYA AND THE BEGINNING OF THE ALBANIAN STUDIES IN THE USSR: SCIENCE AND POLITICS (1946 – 1968)[1]

Instead of Prologue: Soviet Albanology before Desnitskaya

Scientific knowledge of the Albanian language in Russia before the October upheavel did not exceed the information contained in the standard works on comparative-historical linguistics.[2] he first "monographic" work about the Albanian language in Russian was a small article by N.J. Marr "On Yaphetidisms of the Albanian language", published in 1922[3]. The name of Marr will be mentioned more than once in this article. Here we will only say that this orientalist with a pre-revolutionary experience, rather an orientalist than a linguist, went down in history as the creator of the Japhetic Theory (or the New Theory of Language), a pseudoscientific theory that tried to directly connect the facts of linguistic and social evolution. The initial impetus for the emergence of the Japhetic theory was a reaction to the dominance in modern linguistics of the Young Grammarian view with its separation of the atomically considered linguistic system from the social function of language. In this respect Marr can be united with such outstanding linguists as G. Schuchardt, I. Baudouin de Courtenay, etc. However, this fundamentally sound linguistic idea was compromised by the further

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[2] On the early Russian mentions about Albania, Albanians and Albanian see Zhugra A.V. Albania v russkoy culture. Spravochno-bibliografucheskoye izdaniye [Albania in the Russian culture. Reference bibliography]. Sankt-Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriya, 2007.

[3] Marr N. K voprosu ob yafetidizmah v albanskom. In: Yafeticheskiy sbornik. I. Peterburg, 1922. P. 57-66.

development of Marr's theory, in particular by the rejection of the methodological achievements of comparative linguistics, which led to complete etymological arbitrariness. The skilful use of (pseudo-)Marxist terminology, as well as some of Marr's personal qualities, led to the New Theory of Language becoming the dominant trend in Soviet linguistics for several decades.[4]

In his article, Marr, on the basis of several fantastic etymologies, tries to show that Albanian belongs to the ancient group of "Japhetic languages".[5] Marr's views on the Albanian language were developed in his article "Albanology and the Albanians" by his closest follower, the Slavist N.S. Derzhavin (future academician).[6] His article is characterized by a strange combination of excellent knowledge of the Albanological scientific literature and piling up of quite fantastic etymologies (for example, he denies the Latin origin of the Albanian *arë* 'field' and compares it with the Georgian bar "valley"!).[7] It is interesting that Derzhavin was also a pioneer of a truly scientific study of the Albanian language in the USSR. In 1910 - 1920s, he discovered the Albanian-speaking villages on the territory of present-day Ukraine and carried out the primary description of their dialect.[8] In general, we can state that by the time of Desntskaya's first trip to Albania, scientific Albanian studies did not exist in Russia.

Beginning

First trip to Albania. Visitor

In summer 1946, Agnia Desnitskaya arrived in Albania as part of the official Soviet delegation that participated in the Congress of Albanian Women, held in early July. We do not know exactly what the

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[4] On the Marrs theory see, first of all Alpatov V.M. Istoriya odnogo mifa: Marr and Marrism [The history of one myth: Marr and marrism]. Moscow: Editorial URSS, 2004.

[5] Marr. N. K voprosu

[6] Derzhavin N.S. Albanovedeniye i albancy. In Jazyk i literatura. T. 1, vyp. 1-2. P. 171-192.

[7] Idem, p. 183.

[8] Derzhavin N.S. Iz issledovanij v oblasti albanskoj immigracii na territorii b. Rossii I USSR [From studies in the field of the Albanian immigration on the territory of former Russia and USSR]. In: Sbornik v] čestʹ na prof. L. Miletič za sedemdesetgodišninata ot roždenieto mu. 1863–1933. Sofija, 1933. S. 504–512; Janʼi Janakʼi // Sergeju Fedoroviču Olʼdenburgu k pjatidesjatiletiju naučno-obŝestvennoj dejatelʼnosti 1882–1932. Sb. statej. L., 1934. S. 181–185.

program of the delegation's stay consisted of. It is only known that in addition to participation in the meetings of the congress, this program also included some trips around the country.[9] Subsequently, in her personal stories, Desnitskaya repeatedly told about her first acquaintance with Albania.[10] Even at that time, this country made a strong impression on her.

Albania was undergoing truly grandiose changes. It was the second post-war year. The communists came to power in the country, setting as their goal fundamental social changes and, in particular, the eradication of "remnants of the past" (the aim in which they had succeeded quite well). But in 1946 this process had only just begun. Albania of that time was distinguished by an unusually high concentration of ethno-cultural processes and phenomena. Diverse social, confessional and cultural traditions were represented in a relatively small geographical space. Their diversity was ultimately determined by the historical fate of different regions of Albania, whose territory since antiquity has been an object of interest and an arena for clashes between various forces and states. In the second half of the 1940s, these traditions were still quite alive. The very history of Albania was coming to surface to become an object of direct observation. For Agnia Desnitskaya, with her ability to observe the situation in its entirety[11], it was, of course, extremely attractive.[12]

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[9] In her unpublished essay on Albanian phonetics (which she worked on from 1953-54, ILI RAS Archives) Desnitskaya writes about some "dialectological" impressions she received "during her trips around Albania in the summer of 1946" (Desnitskaya A.V. Albanian Phonetics, s.d.).

[10] Agniya Vasilyevna was a great master of improvised oral narratives-reminiscences, always plot-driven and complete. They were not simply impressionistic sketches, but vivid illustrations designed to better reveal some problem - the problem could be related to the history of the country, the history of language, dialectology, the image of a fellow scholar. These stories, no less than her published texts, manifested what A. V. Zhugra called "the artistic side" of Agniya Vasilievna's personality (Zhugra A. V. Ocherk zhizni i dejatel'nosti A. V. Desnitskoy [Essay on the life and work of A. V. Desnitskaya] // Agnia Vasilyevna Desnitskaya. Biobibliograficheskiy ocherk. Saint Petersburg: Nauka, 2002. S. 7; see also Modestov V.S. Učenyy s dushoy hudožnika // Studia linguistica et balcanica: Pamjati Agnii Vasilyevny Desnickoy (1912–1992). SPb.: Nauka, 2001). Alas! These stories remained unpublished and are gradually being erased from the memory of the diminishing circle of people who heard them...

[11] Zhugra A.V. Ocherk…, P. 13.

[12] In her oral memories Desnitskaya especially often talked about the "young female partisans who went through the fire of the heroic national liberation struggle" who impressed her in Albania. Indeed, against the background of the patriarchal Albania – women and old men in

It is impossible not to say here a few words about, so to say, a change in historical "optics". Now, referring to this period in the life of Albania, we think, first of all, about the formation of one of the most cruel and repressive regimes in the history of Europe in the second half of the 20th century. But in 1946, Desnitskaya, who arrived from the USSR, saw, first of all, "ordinary people" triumphing over fascism and sincerely striving to build a new, just life (and there were more than enough injustices in pre-war Albania).

Stalin vs. Marr. Desnitskaya and ideological control in Soviet science

After the 1946 trip to Albania, several more years passed before Agnia Desnitskaya turned to Albanian studies. It is necessary to make here a small digression.

The creative path of Desnitskaya clearly falls into two parts, the border between which coincides with the very important event in the history of Soviet linguistics - the linguistic discussion of 1950[13], or rather, with a period covering approximately two years before and after the publication in "Pravda" of the famous article "Marxism and problems of linguistics" by Joseph Stalin. By 1948 Agnia Desnitskaya was a well-known and prolific linguist of the "middle" (by the standards of the time) generation.[14] In 30s and 40s, her scientific work developed mainly within the framework of the "New Theory of Language" (initially developed by Nikolay Marr) in its less categorical Meshchaninov's version which had a rather serious typological orientation for that time.[15] Of all the scientists in this field, Desnitskaya, perhaps, was the one who to the greatest extent combined her interest in typology with the professional skills of a

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national clothes, differing depending on the regions from which they came; Sunni religious leaders and Bektashi sheikhs; Franciscan monks (not yet completely destructed at that time) and Orthodox priests; elegant professors educated in Italy and Austria – these girls dressed in shabby military uniforms could be making a particularly strong impression on a visitor.

[13] See Alpatov. Istorija…

[14] Agniya Vasilyevna Desnitskaya (1912-1992) was the daughter of V. A. Desnitsky (1878-1958), a revolutionary and historian of Russian literature. His friendship with Gorky and his acquaintance with Lenin ensured him (even despite his Menshevik past) and his entire family a relatively comfortable existence.

[15] I.I. Meshchaninov (1883-1967) was Marr's closest disciple. First an archaeologist and then a fairly serious linguist, becoming, after his teacher's death, the head of Soviet linguistics, Meshchaninov tried to maintain a balance between demonstrative fidelity to dogma and support for serious research.

comparative linguist in her publications. Her research was based primarily on the material of the Germanic languages and ancient Greek.[16]

The situation in linguistics began to change in the late 1940s, when the "New Theory of Language" ceased to be a set of ritual clichés, using which the researcher could relatively calmly go about his work,[17] and again turned into an actively enforced doctrine, which was supposed to completely determine the direction, method and the content of any scientific work. Under these conditions, a number of prominent scientists who combined their existence within the framework of the "New Theory" with really serious research were subjected to rude and massive criticism. Among them was Desnitskaya, who was accused, in particular, of "sliding to the concept of the proto-language while putting forward the question about the Indo-European linguistic community that allegedly existed in distant historical epochs."[18]

As is well known, in these circumstances the appearance of the Stalin's letter – despite the absurdity of this very situation for the development of science in normal social conditions – allowed the Soviet linguistics to turn to more normal scientific activity, without waiting for the death of the ruler and the de-Stalinization that followed a few years later. However, ironically, after the Stalin's letter Desnitskaya (just like Solomon Katsnelson, Mirra Gukhman and some other linguists associated with the Moscow and Leningrad branches of the Institute of Language and Thinking) ended up from one tongue-lashing campaign to another, no less rude and tough. Now she was accused of Marrism and unwillingness to retract from it. Subsequently, Desnitskaya recalled this

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[16] For the list of Desnitskaya's work see Zhugra A. V. Agnija Vasil'evna Desnitskaya (1912–1992). Saint Petersburg: Nauka, 2012.

[17] If we talk about the essential influence of the New Theory of Language on the young linguists of the late thirties and forties, we should note that, apparently, it is not so much a question of assimilation of its specific provisions (overwhelmingly anti-scientific) as of Marrism belonging (as was mentioned above) to a wide range of phenomena, which was later called by V. M. Zhirmunsky the dissident movement against Young Grammatism (Zhirmunsky V.M. Predisloviye. In: Obshcheye I germanskoye yazykoznaniye. L.: Nauka, 1976. P. 8-9). In this respect, the typological orientation of research and the "semantic approach to grammatical phenomena" (Zhirmunsky V.M. Predisloviye… P.9), characteristic of such scholars as Desnitskaya, S.D. Katznelson, etc., undoubtedly also drew on the critique by the "New Theory" of "traditional" linguistics.

[18] V moskovskom otdelenii Instituta Yazyka I myshleniya im. N.Y. Marra (In the Moscow department of N.Y. Marr Institute of language and mentality]. In: Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdeleniye literature I yazyka, T.8, Vyp. 3, 1949, P. 274.

period of her life as an extremely difficult time – not only of fear, but of the complete distortion of human relations[19]. For almost five years, instead of doing full-fledged scientific work, she had to write numerous texts of speeches and scientific articles, each of which contained a new criticism of the previous ones. As she noted, "in the late 1940s, I was reproached for being an insufficiently consistent Marrist, and in the early 1950s, after a linguistic discussion, I was reproached for being a Marrist after all."[20]

By mid-1953, the suppressive campaign in the Soviet science began to calm down. This was explained both by the properties of the campaign itself (as a rule, such activity would end at some point and the ideological authorities would start to prepare the next one), and, first of all, by the gradual softening of the social climate after Stalin's death. However, a degree of inertia still remained: it was practically impossible for linguists – especially for those who "compromised" themselves with a connection with Marrism – to deal with typologically and semantically oriented historical linguistics, as before. Desnitskaya briefly switches to "pure" Indo-European studies,[21] and – most importantly – from 1952–1953 she

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[19] Zhugra A.V. Ocherk…, S. 13. Both the publications of the time (above all, Izvestia Olya) and recently published archival materials (Druzhinin P.A. Ideologiya i filologiya. Leningrad 1940-ye: Dokumentalnoye issledovaniye[Ideology and philology. Leningrad, 1940s: Documentary Study]. M.: Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye, 2012) show an almost Kafkaesque picture of how the same people were forced to play the role of both denouncers and repentants at almost the same time (see in particular Druzhinin P.A. Ideologiya i filologiya…, vol. 2, P. 327, 379, 496, etc.).

[20] Perel'muter I. A. A. V. Desnitskaya kak komparativist [Desnitskaya as a comparative linguist] // Kazanskiy N. N. (ed.). Studia linguistica et balcanica. Pamyati Agnii Vasil'evny Desnitskoy (1912–1992). Saint Petersburg: Nauka, 2001. P. 53. In this regard, it becomes understandable while Agnia Desnitskaya gave the rather positive characterization of the creative situation at the Institute of Language and Thinking at the end of the 30s in her article (Desnitskaya A. V. Voprosy tipologii predlozheniya i problema proiskhozhdeniya nominativnogo stroya indoevropeiskikh yazykov v issledovaniyakh sovetskikh lingvistov 30–40-kh godov (Glava iz istorii sovetskogo yazykoznaniya) [Issues of sentence typology and the problem of the origin of the nominative structure of Indo-European languages in the studies of Soviet linguists in the 1930s–1940s (Chapter from the history of Soviet linguistics)] // Desnitskaya A. V. Sravnitel'noe yazykoznanie i istoriia yazykov. Leningrad: Nauka, 1984. P. 7–56), written in the early 80s. A contemporary reader (and again we are faced with a difference in "optics"!) may be surprised by the phrase: "I am overcome by a feeling of nostalgia when I recall the scientific life of the Institute of Language and Thinking, which especially blossomed towards the end of the 30s." Of course, Desnitskaya could not forget about the terror that reigned at that time! However, in the 1930s, people could be distracted from the fear of arrest by their scientific creativity. In the late 40s and early 50s the fear remained, but the opportunity for truly creative work practically disappeared.

[21] Perlmutter I. A. A. V. Desnitskaya kak komparativist…

begins to study the Albanian language. The world Albanian studies received one of its largest representatives, while the Soviet science got a developed school of Albanology.

Of course, the above does not mean that Desnitskaya would not have begun to study Albanian if the abovementioned dramatic events had not taken place at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s. What is meant here are only the external factors which may in one way or another facilitate, accelerate or slow down the personal evolution of a scientist. In those years, Desnitskaya was by no means the only linguist for whom the forced (or at least partially forced) change of research topic resulted in new outstanding scientific achievements. One can mention here the example of Solomon Katznelson (who suffered from the severe criticism to a greater extent than Agniya Vasilyevna), who began to study Germanic accentology at that time, which ultimately resulted in the publication of his famous monograph.[22]

The very first stages of the Albanian studies of Agnia Desnitskaya can be reconstructed mainly from the manuscripts stored in her archive, which is still waiting for an attentive and thoughtful researcher. The first manuscripts on Albanian date back to 1953. In the 1950s, Desnitskaya worked on several topics, which, apparently, were conceived as parts of a large generalizing monograph, supposed to be a comprehensive description of the Albanian language.[23] The archive holds parts of this large-scale work: "Essays on the phonetics of the modern Albanian language", "History of the study of the Albanian language", "Essays on the history of the Albanian language", "Towards the history of the development of the Albanian national literary language", etc.[24] The reasons why such a generalizing work was not created and why its parts were not completed and published are not entirely clear. One way or

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[22] Katsnelson S.D. Sravnitelnaya akcentologiya slav'anskih yazykov. Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1966.

[23] See "The mission (1956 - AR) was related to the collection of necessary material for the planned topic "Essays on the Albanian Language" (Desnitskaya A. V. Soobshchenie o nauchnoi komandirovke v Albanskuyu Narodnuyu Respubliku [Report on a scientific trip to the People's Republic of Albania] // Izvestiya AN SSSR. Otdelenie literatury i yazyka. 1957. Vol. 16. Issue 3. P. 252).

[24] To establish the exact chronology of Desnitskaya's work on these studies (all of them exist in numerous manuscript and typewritten versions of varying degrees of completion) is a matter for the future. Apparently, chronologically the earliest work is "Essays on the phonetics of the Albanian language".

another, even a superficial acquaintance with the manuscripts allows us to conclude that by 1956, the time of her second trip to Albania, Agnia Desnitskaya had perfectly mastered the scientific literature on the subject available by that time and acquired a deep linguistic knowledge of the Albanian language. As for the trip, it played an extremely important role in Desnitskaya's formation as an Albanologist.

Again in Albania in 1956. Researcher

In 1957, the Bulletin of the Department of Literature and Language of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR published Desnitskaya's detailed report on her trip to the People's Republic of Albania, which lasted more than three months, from September 10 to December 14, 1956.[25] It should be noted that this text goes far beyond the usual routine report on a scientific trip and represents the first concentrated presentation of some of the scientific problems that Desnitskaya dealt with in subsequent decades.

At the beginning of the report she writes about the three main lines of her research activities during the trip:

"a) acquaintance with the research work of Albanian linguists and the establishment of necessary scientific contacts (participation in discussions, reviewing of scientific works, consultations, discussion of chapters of my planned work, etc.; b) study of Albanological literature, not available in the libraries of Leningrad and Moscow - with priority attention to issues of literary language development and dialectology; c) direct observations on the processes of the spread of literary language norm in various dialect environments, as well as on the process of interaction of the prevailing norm based on the southern dialect with the still existing northern norm"[26].

The report provides a detailed description of the three directions lines of Agnia Desnitskaya's scientific work during the trip. On the first pages, Desnitskaya gives a brief overview of the scientific life in Albania of this period, acquaintance with which was one of the goals of her trip. She tells about the organization and the five-year plan of scientific research of the Institute of Linguistics and History (a subdivision of the Institute of Sciences), where her trip took place. She mentions her

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[25] See Desnitskaya A. V. Soobshchenie…
[26] Desnitskaya A. V. Soobshchenie…, P. 252

participation in one of the meetings of the Presidium of the Institute of Sciences, dedicated to the discussion of a new project for the orthography of the Albanian language, oriented towards the norms of the southern (Tosk) dialect, and talks about her personal conversations with Albanian linguists, historians and anthropologists – A. Xhuvani, M. Domi, D. Shuteriqi, E. Çabej, A. Kostallari, A. Buda, O. Myderrizi, R. Zojzi and others. In these conversations they discussed issues of history and dialectology of the Albanian language, as well as the organization of scientific work and philological education in research institutes and universities in the Soviet Union and in Albania.

Further, Desnitskaya writes about the goals and methodological approaches that she used in the study of Albanian speech. It is interesting that in 1956 her main research goal was not so much the study of Albanian speech as such, but rather "the degree, nature and speed of spread of the literary norm, its correlation with dialects in urban and rural ecologies, as well as the interaction of the southern and northern forms of the literary language and the role of school education in the Albanian language unification". This goal also determined the research methodology: communication with representatives of different generations and social groups, observation of speech in different situations, etc.[27] Before proceeding to the description of the routes of her trips (first to the southern, then to the northern regions of Albania), Desnitskaya briefly touches on the question of the dialect division of the Albanian language[28] and, in more detail, on the history of formation of the Albanian literary language and its current state.

As for the routes, they are striking in their coverage of almost all areas of Albania that are significant from a dialectological point of view. Here, of course, it is necessary to note the professionalism of Albanian colleagues who developed these itineraries and accompanied Desnitskaya on trips. During these trips, she had a particularly strong

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[27] Interestingly, this program - essentially sociolinguistic (to put it in modern scientific terms) in its orientation - probably did not find a complete and consistent continuation in Agniya Vasilyevna's Albanian studies.

[28] By 1957 Desnitskaya had not yet reached the final conclusions about the division of the Gheg language area formulated in "The Albanian Language and its dialects". Thus, she divides the Gheg dialects into northern, eastern and southern, which agrees with the ideas of the researchers of the early twentieth century (AYA: 75), and does not single out the Middle Gheg dialects as a separate group.

impression from the communication with the most famous Albanian ethnographer Rrok Zojzi, and often returned to the episodes of this communication in her recollections.

The report ends with some significant conclusions, subsequently developed in the works of Desnitskaya: about the greater differentiation of the Northern (Gheg) dialect area compared to Southern (Tosk), about the high degree of mutual understanding between the speakers of both main dialects, and about the relationship between Tosk and Gheg literary norms.

Scientific Zenith and Political Nadir
1957. First articles and Albanian department

In general, after the 1956 trip, the "latent" period of studying Albanian studies ended for Desnitskaya, and her articles devoted to various aspects of the existence of the Albanian language began to appear one after another.[29] Of the twelve papers published between 1957 and 1963, eleven are devoted to the Albanian language. Some of these articles are revised sections of the larger studies already mentioned above, work on which continued in parallel over the following years. The topics of the works are varied: the grammatical structure of Albanian, its phonetic structure, its history, the history of the literary language, Slavic and Turkish borrowings, and the development of philological studies in Albania.

An important role in the creative biography of Agnia Desnitskaya was played by the opening of the department of Albanian language and literature at the philological faculty of Leningrad State University

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[29] In 1959, Agnia Desnitskaya once again visited Albania. Unfortunately, the report on this trip has not been published. It is known that in Tirana Desnitskaya acted as an opponent in the defense of candidate dissertations of the largest Albanian linguists Eqrem Çabej and Selman Riza and gave a course of lectures "Main Problems of Comparative-Historical Linguistics" for students of the University of Tirana. Apparently, it was during this trip that Desnitskaya's unpublished work "History of Albanian studies until the beginning of the 20th century" (or some part of this monograph) was discussed at the Institute of Language and Literature of the Albanian Academy of Sciences. The well-known Albanian linguists of that time Aleksandër Xhuvani, Eqrem Çabej, Mahir Domi, and Selman Riza took part in the discussion (Kastrati. J. Historia e albanologjisë (1497-1997). V. I (1497-1853), Tiranë, 2000, P. 24). In addition, Agnia Desnitskaya was present at the celebrations on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the first Albanian secondary school (Shkollë normale) in Elbasan. She recalled this event with especially warm feelings (Zhugra. Ocherk…).

(1957). This event predetermined further development of Albanian studies in Leningrad / Saint Petersburg for the next decades.

Another point is also important. During the first years of the department's existence, Desnitskaya was the only professional linguist dealing with Albanology. As a result, she had to give and, accordingly, prepare almost all theoretical courses.[30] Her archive contains hundreds of pages of notes she prepared for these courses. Dialectology occupied an important place in the theoretical education of Albanologists. In the early '60s, in parallel with the preparation of a course on dialectology, Desnitskaya began to write a large work on Albanian dialects. This monograph was published in 1968 under the title "The Albanian language and its dialects"[31] and to this day remains one of the most significant works on Albanian dialectology. But before that, there was another important political event that could not but affect the development of Albanian studies in the USSR.

1961. Soviet-Albanian split

In 1961 there was a complete break in diplomatic and all other relations between the USSR and Albania.

It should be noted that this conflict did not have a particularly devastating effect on the development of Albanian studies in the USSR. First, the regime at that time was relatively liberal (compared to Stalin's times, of course) and did not particularly hinder scientific research - such as linguistics - relatively far from the centres of ideological tension. There were no restrictions on publishing research on the Albanian language. Second, the official view of the Soviet authorities was that the

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[30] A few years later she was joined by the literary scholar Gertruda Iosifovna Eintrej, who had recently returned from Albania, and Irina Ivanovna Voronina, a graduate of the first intake of the Albanian department, who became an outstanding researcher of Albanian grammar. This was the composition of the Albanian department's staff until Desntskaya's death. A little "lyrical" digression. When I was a student I was lucky to listen to all the theoretical courses on albanistics performed by Agniya Vasilyevna. Usually she read them from her notes - little pages, filled in small clear handwriting. But quite often (usually two or three times per lecture) she would take a break from the text and tell something of her own experience - meetings with leading scholars, a vivid impression of an Albanian literary text, a sketch depicting the life of Albanian or Kosovar peasants. Perhaps it was from these excursions that the students (of course, those who wanted to learn something) got the most important things for understanding Albania and Albanian language.

[31] Desnitskaya A.V. Albanskiy yazyk yego dialekty. Leningrad: Nauka, 1968.

Soviet Union was not hostile to the friendly Albanian people and was ready to resume relations with them at any time. Everything depended, they said, on the position of the leadership of the Albanian Labor Party. As a consequence, the Albanian department of the LSU was preserved, translations of Albanian fiction (in very small quantities) were published, and generally it was pretended that Albania continued to be a socialist country, only temporarily alienated from the Great Socialist Mother's womb.

In general, in the 60's, 70's and 80's the volume of research on the Albanian language in the USSR increases. This refers both to the works of Desnitskaya herself and to the publications of her students – graduates of the Albanian Department – V. P. Neroznak, I. I. Voronina, A. V. Zhugra, Y. A. Lopashov, A. P. Sytov. The study of the Albanian language is also developing outside Leningrad (and outside the sphere of direct influence of Desnitskaya). We should mention here the study of the Albanian dialects of Ukraine (N.V. Kotova, L.Ya. Demko), but above all the activities of two prominent Balkanists – M.A. Gabinskiy in Kishinev (he studied in Leningrad, but not in the Albanian department) and T.V. Civyan in Moscow. But all this is beyond the scope of the topic of this article[32].

But for Agnia Desnitskaya the Soviet-Albanian break has also another very important dimension. She lost the opportunity to visit her beloved country, to communicate with Albanian scientific colleagues and with Albanians in general, and to hear Albanian speech. Albanian colleagues she knew, whom she met sometimes at international linguistic conferences, passed by without greeting her. Desnitskaya subsequently recalled this with pain (I rememberI well her stories about these (not)meetings, but without any condemnation, knowing full well what they risked. She remembered the Stalin's time…

1968. "Albanian language and its dialects"

This monograph to this day remains one of the most significant works on Albanian dialectology, and, without any doubt the greatest Desnitskaya's achievement in the field of the Albanian studies.

The analysis of this brilliant book should be the topic of the special study. Here I will focus only on three points.

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[32] See Zhugra A.V. Albania v russkoy culture…

First. "The Albanian language and its dialects" is the first full dialectological description of the Albanian dialect landscape (apart from a relatively small rotaprint monograph by Y.Gjinari, unknown to Desnitskaya at the time of writing the "Albanian language…"[33])

Second. The monograph has not only and not so much descriptive as analytic and conceptual character. For Desnitskaya, modern dialect division is of interest, first of all, as a derivative of the history of the Albanian people as a whole and from the history of individual communities that make up this people. This also determines the composition of the main part of the book – each section devoted to a large dialect area or a specific dialect – opens with a subsection that describes in detail the territory of distribution of this dialect. Such descriptions include "such phenomena as the type of economy, the nature of the geographical environment, the periodic movements of pastoral communities from summer to winter pastures, property relations between tribal groups, the role of cities, confessional features, the traditional arrangement of bazaars and holidays, the presence of supra-dialectal oral-poetic and literary standards of speech, etc."[34] It was in these parts that Desnitskaya's gift as a master of scientific prose was most clearly reflected.

Third. The monograph is based on the relatively limited material. Desnitskaya used here (apart of the few western monographies) materials from 21 monographic descriptions of Albanian dialects published up to and including 1965. Nevertheless, nearly all important conclusions drawn by the author have stood the test of time!

Instead the Epilogue: Desnitskaya after 1968, the turn towards the philology. Kosovo. Last trip to Albania

Starting from the end of the 1960s, without abandoning her studies in the Albanian language, Desnitskaya began to pay more and more attention to "adjacent" areas – Albanian folklore and its language

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[33] Gjinari J. Dialektologjia shqiptare. Tirana, 1963. In the 1950s, Ginari had an internship at Leningrad State University at the Department of Phonetics, and he had warm friendly relations with Agnia Vasilievna

[34] Zhugra A.V. Ocherk…, P. 20.

(including epic formulas) and Albanian literature.[35] At the same time, she did not leave the "old" Albanian topics, including dialectology.[36] I must say that for Desnitskaya, language and literature (and, more broadly, culture) never existed separately. Over the years, this genuine philology grew in her scientific work.[37]

After 1961 all contacts with Albania were ceased. Under these conditions the opportunity to travel to the "other Albania" – Kosovo, which appeared in the mid-1970s, became extremely important. The first time Agnia Desnitskaya came to Kosovo was in 1974. She came to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and went to the capital of Kosovo from Skopje for a few days at the invitation of the rector of the University of Prishtina. At that time, Desnitskaya already enjoyed great respect and fame in Kosovo: in 1972, a translation of "The Albanian language and its dialects" was published in Prishtina.[38] In 1977–1986 she took part five times in the "Seminar on the Albanian language, literature and culture" held in Prishtina since the mid-1970s (at that time it was called the "Seminar on Albanian culture for foreigners"). In the situation of increasing self-isolation of the People's Republic of Albania, this seminar became the only window into the Albanian language and culture for all foreign specialists. Desnitskaya liked Kosovo and made many friends among the local intellectuals – philologists and historians.

In the '70s, Kosovo experienced a period of short-term prosperity: rapid construction was carried out in Prishtina, culture and science

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[35] Desnitskaya's works on Albanian literature and folklore are collected in the book Desnitskaya A.V. Albanskaya literature I albanskiy yazyk [Albanian literature and Albanian language]. Leningrad: Nauka, 1987.

[36] In general, Agnia Vasilievna, as a rule, did not leave the scientific topics that she had ever dealt with, and subsequently returned to them again - sometimes after decades. In this regard, we can mention the publication in the collection "Comparative Linguistics and the History of Languages" (Desnitskaya A.V. Sravnitelnoye yazykoznaniye i istoriya yazykov. Leningrad: Nauka, 1984) , chapters from a doctoral dissertation defended in 1946 and not published in connection with the events of the late 1940s - early 1950s (see above).

[37] Rusakov A. Yu. Albanskaya literatura v nauchnom tvorchestve A. V. Desnitskoy [Albanian literature in the scientific work of A. V. Desnitskaya] // Kazanskiy N. N. (ed.). Studia linguistica et balcanica. Pamyati Agnii Vasil'evny Desnitskoy (1912–1992). Saint Petersburg: Nauka, 2001. P. 41–48

[38] Desnickaja Agnija V. Gjuha shqipe dhe dialektet e saj. Prishtinë: Enti i Teksteve dhe i Mjeteve Mësimore i Krahinës Socialiste Autonome të Kosovës, 1972

developed, many fiction and scientific books were published.[39] Agnia Desnitskaya constantly followed the events in Kosovo, which had become more and more tense since the beginning of the 1980s, worrying about the fate of her Albanian friends. In particular, she was very worried about the fate of the leading Kosovo linguist Rexhep Ismajli, who was arrested in 1981 in connection with student protest and spent several months in prison.

Agnia Desnitskaya received another opportunity to immerse herself in everything Albanian in 1988, already in the era of "perestroika", during her visits to Palermo, where she participated in the work of the Congress for the Study of Linguistic and Ethnic Minorities in Italy, and Calabria, where she lectured at the University Cosenza. Desnitskaya visited the Arbëresh settlements in southern Italy, still preserving their cultural and linguistic traditions, strengthened scientific and personal contacts with Albanologists at the University of Calabria. In Palermo, Desnitskaya, for the first time since 1961, had contacts with prominent Albanian scientists who also came to the Congress. In those years, Albania had already begun to develop its own – slow and painful – "perestroika"...

Finally, in the fall of 1990, the year when communist Albania ended, Agnia Desnitskaya had the opportunity to visit her beloved country for the last time. She participated in the conference dedicated to the 90th anniversary of the death of Naim Frashëri, the classical author in Albanian literature, whose poetic work she dearly loved. In addition to Tirana, Desnitskaya visited Shkodra. On the trip she was accompanied by one of the largest Albanian dialectologists, Bahri Beci. This trip brought her joy, coupled with sadness. Desnitskaya saw the Albanian economy ruined by decades of isolationism, and was especially upset by the disappearance of many ancient monuments destroyed during the era of building socialism and the fight against religion – the Old Bazaar in

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[39] This period began after the well-known Brioni Plenum (1966) and Tito's visit to Kosovo (1967) and ended in 1981 with the beginning of unrest among the students of the University of Pristina. My colleagues and I, who visited Pristina in the 1970s, often recall the special atmosphere of elation, celebration and hope that characterized the Albanian language seminars at that time, an atmosphere supported both by the special hospitality of the hosts and the opportunity to speak Albanian, and the presence of many people from different countries, united by interest and love for the Albanian language and culture (in particular, in those years, many Italo-Albanians (Arbresh) came to the Seminar, somehow enhancing this general festive atmosphere.

Tirana, quarters in Shkodra near the famous fortress Rozafat, many mosques and churches... Two years later Agnia Desnitskaya died.

For a Soviet scientist of the post-war period, Desnitskaya traveled abroad a lot[40], participated in international conferences, met with foreign scientists belonging to different scientific fields. It is symbolic, however, that the list of her scientific trips abroad opens and ends with Albania, a country that has had such a strong influence on her scientific work. In one of her speeches on the radio, addressed to Albanian listeners, Agnia Desnitskaya said: "You love the country like a person! This love is made up of many memories which are dear to the heart – about meetings with people, places of striking beauty – and of experiences that forever leave their inerasable trace in the memory".[41]

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[40] Let's not forget that despite the difficult upheavals that were mentioned at the beginning of the article, Desnitskaya belonged to the Soviet scientific elite all her life and never dropped out of it.

[41] Archiv of the Institute for Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

CHRONICLE

ROUND TABLE
"**MARTIN CAMAJ IN THE ALBANIAN LITERARY SYSTEM**"

On 28 June 2022, the Section of Social and Albanological Sciences of the Academy of Sciences hosted a Scientific Round Table "Martin Camaj in the Albanian Literary System".

This event was held on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the writer's death. It was attended by prominent personalities in the field of literature, linguistics and arts, both from Albania and Arbëresh community in Southern Italy.

The Round Table was opened by Academician Shaban Sinani, who said: "Martin Camaj started up his literary creative activity with two poetic volumes, written like a rhapsody from the North with the Gheg dialect of Elbasan, going on with other poetic volumes and numerous novels, distinguishing himself as the founder of a supra - dialect Gheg, neither from Shkodra nor from Kosovo, which would be also easily read in the southern spoken language. For half a century, Martin Camaj was the most important writer of Albanian literary sub-system of the diaspora, the herald and founder of Albanian published literature in Albania and in Kosovo"

While concluding his address, Academician Sinani affirmed that "*Martin Camaj belongs to those few writers - scientists of Albanian literature. He is a researcher of Buzuk and Bogdani, author of a dictionary completed with explanations from Kristoforidhi, author of grammar books and literary anthologies in Albanian. Camaj stands at the helm of those men of letters, who selected with consciousness the creative principles he was supposed to pursue and, it was not by chance that he embraced his esthetical personal choices. He remains a unique phenomenon in literature and researchers will have to work hard for a long time with him".*

Academician Francesco Altimari read the paper "Traces of Arbëresh world and culture in the work "**Shkundëllimat"** *by Martin Camaj".* He shared personal memoirs from the friendship and cooperation with Martin Camaj in München and then in Rome, outlining his dimensions in literature, linguistic and cultural heritage. Cooperation with Camaj was double-fold: with studies in the field of Arbëresh literature and in Arbëresh culture. While in Rome, Camaj was engaged with the systematic collection of Arbëresh verbal literature with Ernest Koliqi as his mentor, with whom he led the journal "Shejzat" (Pleiades). During this time, his researches on the ground have left deep imprints on Arbëresh culture.

Prof. Bashkim Kuçuku read the paper "Independency and inter-connection – *inside and beyond Albanian literary system", whereby he revealed the multiple independence of Camaj's work* . While dwelling on his specifics, he singled out three aspects: independency through recycling nature, himself and the creative process.

"His work is an independent and very genuine system. In appearance, it seems as detached from the entire contemporary Albanian literature. The independency of his work is first of all independence from his cultural, scientific and human existence which incarnates his work. There one distinguishes a recycling of native symbolics. The starting point hereby is contemporariness, the writer's awareness that through the literary context he inserts in word layers and figure layers, meanings of different bonds through verbal articulated speech inherited through generations, from the mythic legend to the totemic symbolic, from faiths and cults of ancient Illyria and from other European and Mediterranean cultures."

Referring to the next specifics, the relevance to works by other authors, Prof. Kuçuku affirmed that Camaj's prose may be compared to the renowned writer Dhimitër Shuteriqi. Meanwhile, in Camaj, he finds out common features with Dritëro Agolli's poetry, particularly when it comes to comprehensive, figurative and the materializing perspective of objects in nature and its occurrences.

In the paper "*Martin Camaj*, *part of Albanian political -intellectual diaspora",* Prof. Bardhyl Demiraj gave an overview of Martin Camaj biography, touching on aspects of his intellectual life. He described Camaj "the most prominent writer of literature in exile during the second half of XX Century and as the Albanologist with the largest inflows in the diachronic and synchronic linguistics*, in Albanian philology and modern Arbëresh dialectology".*

Then, Prof. Demiraj mentioned that he has worked on documents that are part of Camaj family archives, Archives "Monacensia" in München, his work dossier in Maksimilian University there and on the correspondence as part of memoirs of his fellow men. These additional interesting information are unfolded in time and space, taking also into consideration his academic qualification, as a motivation to his professional career.

In his paper "*Martin Camaj through an epistolary", Associated Academician* Stefan Çapaliku disclosed unknown details from Martin Camaj's life in his youth, including the exchange of letters and memoirs with the writer. In these exchange of letters, Martin Camaj is quoted to have said: "My literature is not functional*, i.e. it is not under the impact of ideologies or ideologies manipulated by totally ignorant people: I do not want to have the same description with the literary colleagues of my time: for them, I just want to be a man and nothing more. As you may see, I am not modest, I do not know what I have written and I do not repent for any written line. I am keen on processing the line or expression and I am in love with Albanian language, as a sound, written form and a multi-dimensional semantics"*

Prof. Mimoza Priku in her paper "*The linguistic code through Martin Camaj literary work*" dealt in details with Martin's writing style in Albanian language, both in the literary and linguistic aspect. According to this author: "Camaj prose is characterized by not small orthographic variations within the Gheg version. *Camaj is recognized both as a traditional and modern writer, including the language code he employs, both in prose and poetry. He even tried to produce a literary Gheg dialect."*

Prof. Evalda Paci in her paper "History of a research model in Martin Camaj studies"*,* dwelled on his research performance in the field of Albanian ancient literature. She mentioned that " *Thanks* to *Martin Camaj work, the Albanian ancient literature has succeeded to attract the proper attention, keeping away from the superficial and mediocre views".*

In her presentation "Codes of **Camajane** *poetics"*, DR. Viola Isufaj pointed out that at first glance, Camaj poetry shows the still nature of Buzuku psalms, Bogdani's theological clarity and lute sounds, which can be seen in the first creative stage. However, afterwards, his poetry appeals on us to pay special attention to a sort of musical code in further studies.

Prof. Blerina Suta spoke on the theme "***Camaj and the myth of word in exile".*** **She** described Camaj as the most sublime example of Bogdani's dream for creating Albanian language from the core *of spoken Gheg* dialect and as a " second to none" observer, who became a pattern for the promotion of Albanian literary language in exile.

This event ended with the presentation "Multi- dimensional dualities in *Martin Camaj poetry "* by researcher, Ms. Jolanda Lila, who spoke on some characteristics of Camaj poetry, with features and realities that cohabitate despite their antagonism.

SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE
"MITRUSH KUTELI, WRITER, SCHOLAR, TRANSLATOR"

On the occasion of the 115th Anniversary of his birthday, the Academy of Sciences of Albania hosted on 8 July the Scientific Conference "Mitrush Kuteli, writer, scholar and translator". This Conference shed light on Kuteli's personality as writer and translator, as one of the most prominent intellectuals of his time.

In his opening address, Academician Skënder Gjinushi, President of the Academy of Sciences said: "*Mitrush Kuteli left to the Albanian civilization an exceptionally large number of works as his legacy; some of them are not known even by researchers themselves, due to the multi - dimensional character of his creativity, but also since the Albanian society and its institutions have been less engaged with his work"* Then, he described Kuteli as *"writer with original creative activity, both in prose and poetry; one of the major founders of Albanian modern prose; master of speech **and story - telling, phantasy and the magic; virtuous creator and recreator based on traditional motives of Albanian world**; translator of world master- pieces in Albanian and enricher of Albanian language; critical publicist and thinker; researcher with successful*

works in several areas of knowledge; an activist who has left his traces in the path of the country's social and civil advancement"

Mr. Ilir Xhakolli, Mayor of Pogradeci defined Mitrush Kuteli as the pride of the city and founder of modern Albanian prose. He did also commend his valuable contribution to Albania's cultural and spiritual heritage. Mayor Xhakolli donated to the Academy of Sciences a portrait of Mitrush Kuteli painted by Mrs. Meri File.

The Rector of the University of Korça, Prof.Dr. Dhimitër Bello, in his address showed his appreciation for the image that Mitrush Kuteli crafted as a gifted banker and economist in Romania and as a writer, translator, folklorist and literary critic in Albania.

Prof. Kujtim Shala in his paper spoke on the novel "E madhe është gjëma e mëkatit" (Great is the havoc of the sin") which is considered as Mitrush Kuteli's greatest work (Dhimitër Pasko). It was based on two well-known legends in Pogradec. Its manuscript was given to the Academy of Sciences as a souvenir by his family.

Academician Anastas Angjeli, in his paper "Kuteli not only writer but also an economist&banker: new data by "Diario di Banca Nazionale*",* disclosed new information on Mitrush Kuteli. This diary throws light on Dhimitër Pasko's profile as a banker with a great contribution in a very difficult period, when fascist Italy had just surrendered, when the nazi forces did not have yet under their control the territory and the nationalist forces were attempting to seize the control of certain parts of its territory. Associated Academician, Adrian Civici spoke on the same topic, introducing Mitrush Kuteli's contribution to the economic and monetary school of thought.

In his paper, *"Symbolic meanings in* Mitrush Kuteli's stories*",* researcher Neli Naço touched on some symbols used by the writer, which are affected by romanticism. "He displaces himself towards modernity, producing a work that maybe called *post romantic, using the symbol in a very simple and almost intimate way, to the extent that it is lost in the entireness of story - telling, with a very natural sounding, being close to but without losing the distance from story-telling"*

Prof. Ardian Kuçuku spoke on the theme "Strange things with and without brackets in Kuteli's Balkans*". According to* Kuçuku "…it is very little written on *Kuteli, and even with controversies at times, with the intention to spoil the writing through life description and the latter through the writing"*

Prof. Asoc. Blerina Suta spoke on her theme "The scene of Oedipus myth in Kuteli's modern story - telling*", emphasizing once again that*: "T*ogether with Koliqi, Kuteli is founder of modern Albanian prose. He built the plateau of contemporariness with a view to break away irreparably with the identity values of the times prior to ottoman occupation*".

Prof. Dr. asoc. Marenglen Kasmi spoke on "Mitrush Kuteli – a life with complications*", highlighting the most painful period of writer's life*, his arrest and political persecution by the past regime.

Dr. Arian Leka in his theme "Albania's Literary geography in Kuteli's critical observations" *spoke on his creative work as a researcher of Albanian literature which has been left under shadow.* In his opinion, "literary geography" started up with the criticism of Albanian literature 80 years ago, when Mitrush Kuteli made this term part of his articulation in his article "Literary notes".

Prof. Virion Graci spoke on the theme: "The havoc and the grace **of God** - *critical and comparative reviews of some Mitrush Kuteli works". Among other evaluations, he pointed out that* Mitrush Kuteli ranks among the most read classics.

In his paper entitled "Kuteli or the enrichment of a language from simplicity", Prof. Assoc. Teuta Toska showed Mitrush Kuteli's personal style. She highlighted the special qualities of his work, showing one's feeling upon reading his work.

Then, it was the turn of Kuteli's son, Pandeli Pasko to speak on the theme : « A close view on Kuteli" » and Mr. Luan Topciu : « Stylistic benefits in the prose « The great havoc of the sin" by Mitrush Kuteli »

The Conference was closed by Academician Shaban Sinani with the paper « *Kuteli excluded even in the history of the return of the forbidden"* (1968). » He focused on three moments of Mitrush Kuteli's exclusion from Albanian literature, when a comeback was impossible, when some others did, although they were even more problematic. Then, he pointed out the frequent reference of Mitrush Kuteli, alia Dhimitër Pasko's name by the press or the institutions of that time: newspaper "New Albania" printed in Bucharest, Romania and inserting his image in the philately of the Republic of Northern Macedonia. We find his name mentioned also in the "*A history of Albanian literature" by* Koço Bihiku and by Dritëro Agolli, or in the newspaper "Drita", outlet of the Writers and Artists' League, which Dhimitër Pasko co-founded in 1946.

In deep appreciation of the great contribution of Mitrush Kuteli's in the field of letters, an Ad Hoc Jury, made up from the Presidency of the Academy of Sciences and the Chairs of the Permanent Commissions, pursuant to its Decision No. 40, dated 7.07.2022, based on the unanimous proposal of the Section of Social and Albanological Sciences awarded Dhimitër Pasko with the highest public recognition of this Institution "The Honour of the Academy" with the following motivation:

"Writer with original creative activity in prose and poetry*; one of the major founders of Albanian modern prose; master in speech and story - telling, imagination and magic; virtuous creator and recreator based on traditional*

motives of Albanian world; translator of world master pieces in Albanian and enricher of Albanian language; critic publicist and thinker; researcher with successful works in several areas of knowledge; an activist who has left his imprints in the path of the country's social and civil advancement"

The President of the Academy of Sciences, Academician Skënder Gjinushi handed over to Atalanta Pasko, daughter of Mitrush Kuteli(Dhimitër Pasko) the diploma "Honour of Academy"

THE 50TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BALLAD RESEARCHERS
"BALLADS AND THE AUDIENCE IN TIME AND SPACE"

The Academy of Sciences and the International Commission of Ballads in Tirana and in Gjirokastra hosted the 50th World Conference of Ballads entitled "Ballads and the audience in time and space" (1-5 September 2022).

The Conference was organized under the special auspices of the President of the Academy of Sciences, Academician Skënder Gjinushi and Academician Shaban Sinani, supported by the Ministry of Culture, in particular, Minister Mrs. Elva Margariti and the experts that curated the Festival "Divani Lunxhjot".(Divan of Lunxhëria") Part of the Organizing Committee were also: Prof. Nicola Scaldaferri (University of Milan), Acad. Francesco Altimari, Acad. Vasil Tole (Academy of Sciences of Albania), Acad. Shaban Sinani (Academy of Sciences of Albania), DR. Olimbi Velaj, (University of Durrës),

Prof. DR. Marjetka Golež-Kaučič, Institute of Ethno- Musicology, Ljubljana, President of the Committee of Ballads.

Prior to this event, on 27 June, the Scottish band "Duncreagan" performed a Concert with Scottish, Irish and Albanian ballads in the premises of the Academy of Sciences in Tirana.

In a second stage, from 1-5 September 2022, the renown ballad and folklore scholars came to Albania to hold this 50th Scientific Conference in the Albanian capital and in the Museum town of **Gjirokastra.**

This international event brought together 60 ballad researchers from the most important European and world universities and research centers from **Albania, Italy, Kosovo, Northern Macedonia, Slovenia, Greece, the UK, France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Ukraine, the Netherlands, Scotland, the USA, South Africa and others.**

The Conference was declared open with a welcome address by the President of Albania's Academy of Sciences, Academician Skënder Gjinushi. He stated that: "*Ballads in the Balkans have been major food for literature and visual arts, opera and ballet, for the cinema and modern arts of scene performance. In their essence, Albanian ballads represent the European affiliation, the cultural identity and the folk spiritual world that they have inherited to date. The Arbëresh fund of our ballads does not have any sign of "oriental flavor". This is the reason why, based on their motives, first class European ballads have been written, starting with "Lénore" by Börger up to Stendhal novels.*"

Academician Shaban Sinani, Scientific Secretary of the Academy of Sciences described this event as an opportunity to present achievements and comparisons of thesis and schools of thought in this field. He also considered the event as an opportunity to present in the best possible way the results of researches by Albanian ethno-folklore scholars in front of a very broad scientific environment and international expertise.

Academician Vasil Tole, Deputy President of the Academy of Sciences expressed his confidence that this event is a good chance for cooperation among ballad researchers in our countries.

The ballad researcher, DR. Olimbi Velaj, in her capacity as Member of the International Commission of Ballads admitted that the participation of researchers of such a high profile in Albania, which is still under the integration process, will re-establish normal communication among professionals in this area, build on experience and provide foreign colleagues with new study opportunities.

Meanwhile, one of the most experienced members of the Ballad Commission, Prof. Thomas McKean, expressed his enthusiasm for this meeting

with such a large number of scholars in Albania, "the land of ballads and epos" and in a region known for his folklore heritage.

The current President of this Commission, Prof. DR. Marjetka Golež-Kaučič (from the Slovenian Academy of Sciences) said that holding this Conference in this state in the Balkans and its organization, combined with the local festival and folklore concerts is a tangible success for the hosts.

This event held during 3-5 September in Gjirokastra followed the Festival "Divani Lunxhjot" (Divan of Lunxhëria) and a traditional reception in characteristic houses in Dhoksat village; the latter is part of 100 Albania's tourist villages. Afterwards, the participants were received in the University "Eqrem Çabej" in Gjirokastra by the Deputy Mayor of Gjirokastra, Mr. Engjëll Serjani and the Rector of this University, Prof. DR. Bektash Mema.

This Conference was focused on the complex relations among rhapsody-creator-performer and audience. In their presentations, the researchers voiced their opinion on the development of these relations, the audience role, the mode of defining or shaping the roles of singer/creator and audience, the change in these relationships in modern times and even in terms of technological development.

Likewise, some of the papers provided summarized accounts on the way the ballads or other folk songs were treated in former communist states, especially during the second half of 20th century. They did also discuss on the ballad transformation and their audience.

With a great deal of interest was followed the paper by the Arbëresh Academician from Italy, Francesko Altimari, who focused particularly on the inner ballad textual techniques. In his opinion, they permit distinctions among collections of National Renaissance authors that have arrived to date. There are also techniques of a more traditional nature than those worked out by collectors and of a more literary nature. Academician Altimari did also analyse the external contexts in which they have been observed and ritualized. Such examples were introduced with the "the Saturday spirit" (*psikosabaton*), evoking the memory of the dead related to the ballad on " Besa (promise kept) and the ritual of marriage for little ballads, respectively.

Another novelty of this Conference was the paper "Kalimera e Llazarit" (Kalimera of Llazar) with its Sicilian-Arbëresh textual versions by the Arbëresh Academician Matteo Mandalà. It represents the first part of a broader research which includes spring rituals and the "Ancestors Cult" (Kulti i paraardhësve.) It reconstructs and documents the manuscript and printed traditions, which provide testimonies on different stages of transmitting the "Llazar cult" by means of processing the song text. The Sicilian Arbëresh version, in particular, does prove through documents some reprocessing aspects while adapting it

from the original "mythic" pagan tradition, which was considered heretic by catholic bishop authorities, against the " official" version adopted in Holy Gospels.

The attention of participants was then casted to the paper by Prof. DR. Zymer Neziri: "The *Ballad in the repertoire of rhapsodes of Albanian legendary heroic epos and audience in time and space: examples by lutists of Rugova region" The author pointed out: "Legendary heroic epos or the "Songs of the Frontier Warriors" (Eposi i Kreshnikëve) and ballads: their distinctions and proximity with Albanian lands, particularly in the North, i.e. also in Rugova region. The very broad space of the repertoire of lutists in Rugova region with the songs of the Epos of the Frontier Warriors and the shrunken space of ballad songs in their repertoire bears testimony to the great and tragic confrontations among the peoples in that region, especially in recent centuries. The values of those 15 ballads is significant also for ballads with national reach. They mark their existence even in Kelmendi region and in our Alps over Peja, testifying their poetic values, which are important, since they show their affiliation with the songs of our legendary heroic Epos of the Frontier Warriors, which in Rugova have reached to 355 "sosh" or over 100.000 lines, equal to 1/5th of the national fund"*

Of special significance is the fact that during this event, the problems of the fund of ballads and Albanian folk songs were addressed extensively, not only by local, but also researchers from Arbëresh region in Southern Italy and other European countries.

At the end of the proceedings of the 50th Conference on Ballads, researcher, DR. Marjetka Golež-Kaučič from Slovenia was reconfirmed as President of the Commission for Ballads, while Prof. DR. Arbnora Dushi was elected Deputy President of the 51st Conference, due to be held in Helsinki.

This event was concluded with an organized tour for participants in the Archeological Park and the antic town Butrinti.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF ALBANIA CELEBRATES THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDING

Photo from the jubilee celebration of Academy's 50th Anniversary in the Assembly's Plenary Hall.

The Academy of Sciences of Albania was founded on 10 October 1972, as an elite Centre to promote scientific research in all the areas of knowledge. The jubilee celebrations of the 50th Anniversary of its founding took place from 9 until 11 October in Albania's Parliament, the venue where the first meeting of the Assembly of this Academy was held.

This event was attended by the highest representatives of Albanian state, local prominent personalities of science and invitees from Balkan and European sister academies, domestic leaders of higher education institutions, personalities from the art world and family members of founding academicians.

The event started with the ceremony of paying tribute to the busts of the two founding academicians, Aleks Buda and Eqrem Çabej and continued in the Assembly Plenary Hall.

The Conference moderator, Valbona Sota, member of the Youth Academy gave the floor first to the President of the Assembly, Mrs. Lindita Nikolla for her greeting speech. She extended the appreciation for the founding act of Albania's Academy of Sciences, as the most important event of the last century, which encouraged the country's intellectual and spiritual development:

"Even though the decision for its founding was reached during the political system of that time, these 50 years of the Academy of Sciences have proved that the dream of national thought found its expression in this Academy, whereas the elite scientific researchers gained independence from other activities, including university ones. The Academy of Sciences came to life, first and foremost, as an institution focused on the fundamental issues of the history of Albanian people, its origin, ethno-genesis and continuity.

The second decade of Academy's life was focused on strengthening the natural and technical sciences. The network of institution established and attached to the Academy to the benefit of the country's economy gave essential evidence with its multifaceted impact; starting with sciences applied in agriculture and animal husbandry up to the construction of hydric works, which today efficiently represent the country's hydric network."

Mrs. Nikolla commended Academy's current reforming process and the important role that the newly established commissions and units are playing in the scientific research and for a better work coordination in cooperation with domestic institutions of higher education.

The President of the Academy of Sciences, Academician Skënder Gjinushi, after praising its 50 year- old performance, highlighted the vision and the concrete steps in the reforming process and the establishment of a network of elite centres, in cooperation with higher education institutions:

"At this 50th Anniversary of the founding of our Academy of Sciences, first and foremost, we pay tribute to the century - long history of Albania academism in its entireness, which started to emerge from the shining centuries of European humanism.

The founding of our Academy of Sciences, which crowned the process of establishing and enhancing the network of research institutions in Albania legitimated the historic decision taken, as a fulfilment of century - long dream of the most brilliant minds of Albanian people; year after year and decade after decade, it towered and ranked with dignity among the European knowledge academies. The new Academy became the most important institution.

The credit for that goes primarily to the first Assembly, to Aleks Buda and Eqrem Çabej, who together with Shuteriqi, Kostallari, Domi and Pollo gave

their deserved place and prestige to albanological sciences; to Petrit Radovicka, Selaudin Bekteshi and Mentor Përmeti, who together with Hoxha, Preza, Kumbaro, Daja, Biçoku, Këlliçi and Kakariqi laid down the foundations of engineering sciences, agriculture and medicine, making them available to the service of economy and society; to Popa, Pilika, Paparisto, Kuneshka, forefathers of Albanian school, Omari,to Xholi, Mara, Dedja and Çami who contributed to social sciences.

Reformation turned the Academy back into its own functions renewing it with 14 new members. Currently, over 90 scientific researchers are attached to the Academy, apart from seven research units& centres and two virtual institutes.

In its half a century route, the Academy of Sciences has managed to gradually set free from the single- party state ideology, without fear and unaffected by pluralist pressures and mud-slinging, capable of dividing the scientific and historic truths from their political mis-interpretation and abuse."

The President of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo, Academician Mehmet Kraja, in his greeting address stated that this 50th Anniversary of Albania's Academy of Sciences is a telling Jubilee of Albanian knowledge and science as a whole. It has been associated with more inflows of ideas, closely connected with vital dimensions of national identity, the history of Albanian people, Albanology, other social, technical and natural sciences.

The Minister of Education and Sports, Mrs. Evis Kushi, after expressing once again her appreciation for the Academy of Sciences, as the most important institution of Albanian Science and Knowledge pointed out as follows: "At this anniversary, not only today but with each passing day, we feel always deeply grateful to Albanian academicians and, in particular, to the contribution by the Presidents of this Academy, *academicians Aleks Buda, Shaban Demiraj, Ylli Popa, Teki Biçoku, Gudar Beqiraj, Muzafer Korkuti and certainly, the current President, Skënder Gjinushi*".

The President of the European Federation of the Academies of Sciences and Human Sciences, Academician Antonio Loprieno addressed the role that academies play through "capacity building", exchange of expertise, erecting bridges of cooperation with each other and through the obligation of these academies towards their respective countries, with their impact on drafting policies beneficial to the social-economic and cultural development.

The concluding speech was held by Prime Minister, Edi Rama, In his address, among others he stated "*For each person engaged in science, the term 'Academy' has a major meaning. For us, Academy was like a dream. It materialized the desire of Renaissance prominent representatives for more knowledge and on future research institutions" These are the words of one of Academy founders, honoured professor Aleks Buda. As an institution based on*

the values created by the new Academy in Voskopoja, the programs of Renaissance and the ideas of Noli, Lumo Skëndo and Ndre Mjeda for the promotion of critic and scientific thought, even in that gloomy period for freedom, the Academy kept however away from the domestic political- social influence. One of the episodes I want to recall is Prof. Buda's speech, the farewell address in the funeral of linguist Selman Riza."

Then, Prime Minister Rama mentioned the events hosted by the newly established units. At the end of his speech, he said: "*Today we are under the circumstances when we could build on Albanian science and higher education without waiting for the full-fledged integration to Europe; we need to push it further and give an example. This example is closer now, when from only 50 professors engaged until yesterday with EU – sponsored programs, today there are more than 400 such professors; this proves that we are part of them and now we know that the problem is to turn all these inputs into knowledge for the society.*"

After this event, the official family photo was taken in front of the building of the Assembly of Albania, followed with unfolding the commemorative plaque devoted to the first Assembly of the Academy of Sciences in "Aleks Buda" Hall, and then with the documentary film "50 years Academy of Sciences of Albania."

The academic delegations from the region and Europe were received by His Excellency, Bajram Begaj, President of the Republic of Albania.

The event ended with the ceremonial awarding of "Certificates of Recognition" and Honorific Titles to outstanding personalities in science and with a festive concert by the orchestral band "Academia Albanica".

JUBILEE CONFERENCE ON THE OCCASSION OF THE 50ᵀᴴ ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONGRESS OF ORTHOGRAPHY OF ALBANIAN LANGUAGE


On 10 November 2022, under the auspices of the President of the Republic, H.E. Bajram Begaj, the Academy of Sciences of Albania and the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo, hosted a Jubilee Conference to pay tribute to the 50th Anniversary of the Congress of Orthography of Albanian Language, 1972-2022. Attending this event were prominent personalities of science, participants in the Congress of Orthography 1972 or their family members, the highest personalities of Albanian politics and heads of some foreign Diplomatic Representations in Albania.

As a jubilee event with a special national significance, the participants were greeted by the highest representatives of three states: Republic of Kosovo, Republic of Northern Macedonia and Republic of Albania.

In his Opening Remarks, Academician Skënder Gjinushi, President of the Academy of Sciences of Albania stated: "*This 50th Anniversary does also coincide with the founding of our Academy of Sciences. This is not by accidence: both these events are products of the historic process of raising the all-Albanian scientific, patriotic and cultural awareness to a new higher stage; this has been continuously manifested in Albania and in Kosovo, in all cultural areas where Albanian is spoken and written. Certainly, the unified language is not merely an act for archives, but a living, developing, enriching and*

perfecting organism; its order and regulation is not a process closed once for good. The Congress of Orthography provided the proper solutions; but, just as a language user should adhere to its norms, the norms should also follow the inner language development, as a living organism continuously enriched, brought to perfection and consolidated. A norm does not impose word borders, but just its proper writing. Orthographic rules specify norms but not restrictions for proper writing, which requires more time and culture. Albanian language is part and parcel of our national identity, which distinguishes us from other nations and a key element in the European integration process"
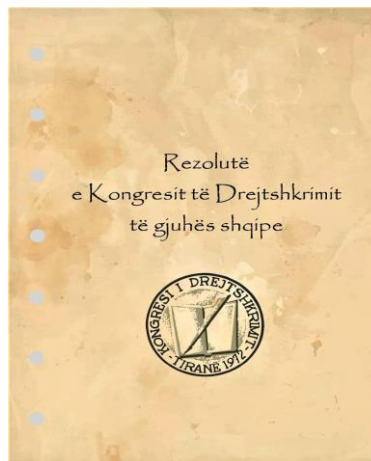
Academician Mehmet Kraja, President of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo who attended the 50th jubilee Conference said that Albanian literary language has never disappointed him.

In his greeting address, Prime Minister of Kosovo, Mr. Albin Kurti mentioned with pride the linguistic and political significance of the Congress of Orthography 1972.

"*Language for us Albanians is a foundation of identity and not merely a communication tool. The history of the standardization of Albanian language is closely linked with the history of our national awareness; therefore, the different stages of the process of standardization of written Albanian are at the same time stages for the crystallisation of this awareness. The goal to unify written Albanian for Albanians turned into program that would also enable the political and national unification. This was the reason that for all Albanian men of letters, especially for those coming from the period of Renaissance and onwards, the idea for a common Albanian became the major patriotic project. However, the road to attaining this goal was not easy*"

The Prime Minister of Republic of Albania, Mr. Edi Rama in his address highlighted the following: "*Written and standard language are nothing else but a process of consolidation of both the spirit and the letters of a nation and its existence. The unification of written Albanian language and its standardization is one of those historic processes that to the greatest luck of Albanians proceeded in similar terms with the unifying process of European languages. But first, it occurred more softly than the unifying processes of other languages and secondly, it is among the few processes in our history which unifies us with other European countries, both in terms of the structure and method used. Well,*

this is credited to another good luck for us Albanians. Although without a state of our own, and that even when we had it we lacked the opportunity and the substantial means, we were lucky to have the brilliant minds and the amazing talent of outstanding personalities of this nation; Albanian human resources and wonderful characters, personalities with a much larger vision then Albania's geography, its narrowness and, as a whole, the area where Albanians are located, whose names follow one after another in a chain, a golden chain, fortunately unbroken until late. If the Congress would be stripped off its values only because it was held under an absolute regime, then the whole earlier work of all those personalities, from the Congress of Manastir up to the literary Commission were to be delegitimated; for actually, it was under total absolute regimes that all these were achieved and that the dangerous opponents of the Congress of Orthography are very dangerous, because of their great ignorance in focusing on this point. Actually, captured by xenomania, they have more obsessions than strait linguistic concerns; besides, for the sake of the truth, they lack the proper culture to have them, to be very clear."

In his greeting address, President Begaj underlined that: "The Congress of Orthography *1972 remains one of those developments in which the national aspect won over the ideological one, it was a significant development in the path of modern Albanian language and its unification in Albania, Kosovo, Northern Macedonia, Montenegro and in diaspora. The signatories of this Congress deserve historic gratitude. From the demographic point of view, we Albanians do not have the luxury to be inattentive in encouraging the versions that proceed independently, or with a reduced number of speakers. Neither do we have to accept the solidification of Albanian language. This does not help its development and longevity".*

This event was accompanied by a documentary exhibition on Albanian orthography, prepared by the Directorate General of Archives of the Republic of Albania.

Following this great jubilee event, the Academy of Sciences of Albania and the Centre for Openness and Dialogue (COD) to the Prime Minister's Office co-hosted from 21-25 November the scientific event "Ditët e Drejtshkrimit"(Days of Orthography)

This event was designed to take stock of the achievements to date and give an overview on new developments and inflows in the current Albanian language in all Albanian speaking lands. The following researchers addressed a variety of other linguistic issues: Prof. DR. Emil Lafe, Prof. DR. Shezai Rrokaj, Acad. emeritus Gjovalin Shkurtaj, Prof. As. DR. Gëzim Gurga, Prof. As. Linda Mëniku, Prof. DR. Valbona Toska, Prof. DR. Ylber Sela, Prof. DR. Tomor Plangarica, Prof. DR. Seit Mansaku, Prof. DR. Anila Omari, Prof. DR. Teuta Toska, Prof. As. Evalda Paci, Prof. DR. Enver Hysa, Academician

Francesko Altimari, Academician Matteo Mandalà, Prof. As. Flora Koleci, Prof. DR. Lindita Aliu, Prof. DR. Mimoza Priku, Prof. DR. Vilma Bello and Academician Shaban Sinani.

During the days of this event, the archival documentary exhibition: "From the Alphabet to Orthography" – on the occasion of the 50Th Anniversary of the Congress of Orthography stood open in the premises of the Academy of Sciences.

This Jubilee Conference and some other side - line events were closed with the ceremony of awarding Certificates of Recognition "Honour of the Academy" to celebrated personalities for their outstanding contribution in studying and promoting Albanian language and letters.