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Section of Social and Albanological Sciences
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Shaban SINANI

**ON THE EPISTEMOLOGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF
ALBANOLOGY NOWADAYS**

I.

A new occurrence has been notable in Albanian sciences in the three last decades: *anarchy and chaos regarding the epistemologic significance of its constituent disciplines*. It has primarily affected the social and Albanological sciences.

The changes in the freedom of research, the liberation of knowledge from ideological overlays and not less even the ignorance of *those of the order*, the persons who were and continue to be engaged with scientific research in the framework of institutions or independently have shaken the inherited epistemology of social sciences. In this context, almost all social sciences have been suffering from the same disease: the old terms were terminologically speaking insufficient, *narrower than the epistemologic status of knowledge*; meanwhile, new names were defined in haste and largely in administrative ways; freedom of self-expression made people proclaim themselves as masters in the fields and subfields in which they considered themselves successful.

The transition into the epistemologic sciences could not be easier than in other areas. However, the evil becomes even more dreadful when one recalls that the transition in Albanian society has been regularly addressed through a historic period after passing from ideocracy to the society of free thought.

After this shift, there has been almost no discussion on the epistemologic status of sciences, except for a conference held by the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo in 2009, with a very clearly defined target: history of Albanian literature; in that context, there were

also research papers on the *role of philology, as the science of text in the conditions* when Albanian literature, in a large part, lacking publications under the principle of *criticio textology* continues to be an adaptive literature.

It is precisely *the terminologic uncertainty of the epistemologic status* which became and continues to be one of the causes for the *intellectual arrogance in the prescientific debates*; a precedent of the same arrogance has also appeared in the whole Albanian society in all other debates *for the standard language, the identity, the ethnotypical and heterotypical occurrences*. This debate has replaced the urgency of the epistemological redefinition of social sciences in a new epoch, at a time when their status should be necessarily aligned with those of the world where we are and which we interact with.

II.

Albanology was founded in the century of European romanticism, as an *expression of exotism* and keen interest on Eastern cultures and civilisations, based on the well-known slogan *Ex Oriente lux*; it developed in the epoch of state-nation building as colonialist and later on as neocolonialist knowledge; Albanology became a science with its subject matter, method and disciplines, with laws and nomocracies borrowed from the Austrian – German school of thought; until the second half of the 20th century, Albanology was recognized as *knowledge of the other*.

Meanwhile, cultural anthropology, as part of Albanology attempted in a particular way to monumentalize the social orders existing long ago in the West; to musealize the state of the islandized societies, so that it would be impossible for the modern world to view its own past in them. Rose Lane, an American scholar who visited the Highlands in Dukagjin, in her book *Majat e Shalës (The Peaks of Shala)* did not hide that her goal, as a *reactionary conservative* was not to change the situation in these highlands, since civilization needed to see with its own eyes the times of the *noble virtue*, although this would require the halt in progress as a *condition*.

Appearing in the local environment, originally among arbëreshë and arvanitë and later on in Albania as well, *Albanology* was for a long time

known solely as philology. An early article by Eqrem Çabejt “*Kundër pseudofilologëve*” (Against the pseudophilologists) warned the *ever threatened epistemologic status of Albanology*, due to its permanent attachments, in the shape of *amateurism, dilettantism and charlatanism.*

Of research interest is also the fact that local scholars of the period 1930-1940 preferred to keep a distance from the term *Albanology*, explaining it as *a science of foreigners and they stabilized the name Albanian studies.* This division, which was not due to the subject matter but because of the authors and the environment *where Albanian studies and Albanology* developed did also continue during almost the whole second half of the 20th century. Despite the familiarization with the term *Albanology*, even today it is very difficult to find out a case when an Albanian researcher, including its *seniors, as Aleks Buda and Eqrem Çabej* are referred to even from their own folks as *Albanologists.*

During the last three decades, *the epistemological status of Albanology, as a paradigmatic science* has eye - witnessed different changes. In terminological terms, for the first time ever the existence of *Albanology* was accepted as *knowledge of self-recognition, as a native science* alongside *Albanology of the other*, as an entirety of studies on Albanians in European schools, centers and beyond. During these three decades, thanks to the de-ideologisation of studies in social sciences, they have succeeded to stabilize natural contacts among local researchers and *Albanologists* abroad, associated with successful endeavours for the *international networking of Albanological centers.* Its constituent disciplines have broken away with the restrictions of pre-defined theses, experiencing to start with the *haste to shake off and disintegrate the traditional official paradigm*, misunderstanding it as *an ideological legacy*, although in essence, it was a structure of thought proposed and explained by European scholars.

The episteme of *Albanology* changed for the better with the enlargement of its scientific object with some essential ingredients from the Albanian world, which earlier were conceived almost as *pre-scientific issues*, as identity, ethnotype, ethnic psychos and national complexes, inter-religious relationships and traces of religions in the physiomy of the Albanian people, the history of *ethnonyms, archeonyms, exonyms, endonyms and lingonyms of Albanians*, cross-border linguistics and the concept on one another, the Balkanization of

occurrences of immaterial culture and the factorization of influences, due to the historic contents and space vis à vis tribal relations, the relationship *between* the genotypical and phenotypical developments, the bonds and inter-dependencies between independence and inter-dependence, independence and identity.

For the first time ever, *literary studies* were attached to the Albanological disciplines, first and foremost with *Kadareology*, which has already turned into a university and post – university knowledge in all continents. *Kadareology*, promoted to the level of *a comparative and hermeneutic scientific discipline*, with the internationalisation of Kadare's literary work has become long ago a promoting factor in acknowledging and evoking through researches some early authors of Albanian letters, as Pjetër Bogdani, Jeronim de Rada, Fan Noli, Father Gjergj Fishta and Migjeni. Part of this new presentation of Albanology are also the studies on *critical textology, philology of texts, genotextual studies, codicology, history of writings and manuscripts*.

Likewise, the epistemological status of Albanology was completely refilled *with modifications among its sub-disciplines*. For a long time, linguistics was making researches in the whole Albanology, *as a conservative standard bearer of fundamental theses of its own paradigm. If half a century ago it was considered a success that archaeology*, thanks to its uncoveries was assuming the role of an auxiliary science and was supporting the theses offered by linguistics, with the passing of time, with its in – depth penetration into the civilian sources and the urban regulation of pre-Illyrians, protoillyrians, Illyrians and Albanians, for the first time archeology took over the role of a competitor with the studies on the language, because archaeology, *with its own testimonies reaches destinations which are impossible for the language, setting up in this way a new hierarchy within Albanology*.

In the most recent period of Albanological studies, a few disciplines that were always considered to outreach Albanology, as *anthropogenetics, archeogenetics, ethnoflora, ethnofauna, ethnobotanics and mineral studies for albanites*, which are also now known as auxiliary sciences of Albanology were inserted for the first time in its epistemic definition. Today, the episteme *Albanology bears* a much broader significance, both in its object and disciplines, especially with the founding and development of some sub-disciplines developed

recently with transversal character, starting with anthropolinguistics, anthropology of myths, culture and religion.

From its outset, Albanology was developed from scholars who were not exclusively Albanologists, but who approached the Albanian language, the history of Albanians, the values and limitations of their own civilization thanks to other wider-reaching interests. Rarely has happened in Europe and elsewhere as in the traditional Albanology, which has had exclusive dedicated scholars, as Norbert Jokl. However, the change nowadays is more qualitative, since there is no more talk of individual foreign scholars finding interest to approach the Albanian world with research purposes.

By definition, current Albanology is romanist, helenist, slavic, balkanistic, byzantologic and with orientalist epistemes. Not because of any bad – wishing or averting intention but only due to objective inter-connections of knowledge, Albanology in an outer perspective has an objective cross-section even with regard to its scientific target. Researchers of these fields reach the Albanian heritage not because of their concern for their inability to find other keys to explain the occurrences but due to the *extension and the overall adaptation of epistemes albanology, romanism, hellenistic, slavonic, byzantologic and orientalism*.

Actually, pressures to modify the epistemologic status of Albanology have been going on for decades in successful cooperation with the media, *numerous science volunteers and patriotic science*, who do not recognize any result of the serious early and current science; accordingly, they view its fundamental theses as national betrayal, by interacting fiercely to discredit them both at home and abroad, relying openly on the science of the *fatherland, in a manifestive albanocentrism, implied as cosmocentrism*, which, as any other amateur occurrences sweetened with patriotism occupies its place easily in the opinion– making.

III.

The terminological disintegration and the absence of a direct scientific discussion, apart from unavoidable egocentrism and to some extent legitimated through knowledge (because intellectual activity is the most human individual activity) have encouraged capricious self-definitions,

which violate even the deontology of scientific research. We have so many times and frequently read in the scientific press and particularly in the prescientific press the following assertions: *I am the only anthropologist in Albania; Albania has only one anthropologist*". Today each one in Albania may entitle himself to be called *anthropologist* and so on.

The epistemology crisis led to the point of demolishing the order, in the sense of the community of responsible scholars in a field.

Although in official terms an Institute of Anthropology and the Study of Arts has been in place since a decade ago and therefore, the responsibility for the stabilization of the new status of anthropological sciences should have been entrusted to that Institute, the competent persons are always volunteer outsiders: they offer themselves for expertise and no one cares to know whom this expertise belongs to. If a researcher today pursues in – depth studies, the ones that *form a substrata* and he does it for children songs, then he *is more than an anthropologist; but that is not the case with another researcher who is engaged with the anthropology of myths or faiths*; its source lies not simply in the personal inescapable temptation to be the only one, or in the failure to recognize the equally unavoidable sympathy but exactly in the arbitrariness to use the terms under the conditions when the epistemology of knowledge is or is not any more. To be more precise, it is neither as it used to be nor it is as in the present time.

Indeterminability provokes in essential terms inclinations and temptations for self-proclamation. The epistemology crisis is lasting not only because Albania continues to be in transitional development, but on account of *self-promotion interests as well. This has led to the point of removing the dividing borders between the researchers of the Order, amateurs and dilettants*. Throwing mud at the name of the late Koleç Topalli after he was awarded the Prize *Eqrem Çabej* and also the enthusiastic involvement of individuals with a certain name in the academic-university activity in this mud-throwing campaign is only one of the ugly shows of this crisis. It is very evident now: neglecting a minimum consensus on the borders of knowledge and disciplines, fogging and lacking the epistemologic status has been and continues to be interesting to all those whom this situation comes to their liking for self-inauguration and they are not a few.

However, it is not only cultural anthropology in this state of crisis. As we mentioned earlier, despite the narrowness and rigidity in supporting scientific research, there is a research institute tasked with shaping young anthropologists. However, when issues of the character of philosophy of sciences are raised, one of which is the epistemologic status, opinions and assessments are asked from everywhere, but not from that center which officially speaking has both the name and the right to do so. For it is much easier to *become a judge in the field of others*.

Albanology itself has been lacking a status for years on end. In the research paper *Albanology today: first came the disintegration of paradigm* (2008) we have tried to voice the concern for the existing confusion within Albanology, precisely due to the fall of an epistemology and lack of a new one. Because of this confusion, the present Albanology promotes abundantly and incessantly *science volunteers*. This has also occurred in the premises of the Academy of Sciences. Last year, the scientific public was acquainted with the *first author of a book on the logic in the Albanian tradition*; actually, *Logic* is one of the three books of the protagonist of the brilliant century of Voskopoja, Theodor Kavalioti, part of his well-known triptych *Philosophy*, which includes *Physics (science of the corp)*, *Metaphysics (science of the soul)* and *Logics (science of the mind)*. Seemingly, pelazgologists, etrusqueologists and the patriots of science of messianic Albania were not enough!! Today, Albanologists are also those who are applauded for the most unheard stupidity: for Albanian *as a cosmic language, as a celestial language with which the knights of civilization have communicated with one another*, as intellectual beings coming from poliverse to civilize a mankind forgotten from divinities down the poor earth.

Three decades ago, despite its limitations on ideological grounds, the epistemologic status of Albanology was defined in strict terms. *Albanology was knowledge of the others on Albanians*. Although Eqrem Çabej was a linguist, the term *albanologist* was not used even in his obituary. The current epistemology crisis, while opening up the borders to each one who considers himself at ease albanologist has become one of the greatest promotions even for volunteerism in science, which is overturning the outcome of genuine professional research into a minority opinion. The situation has become so lamentable that the serious

knowledge contributors, relativist as they are, for they cannot be otherwise are being exposed before a dirty public trial for allegedly abandoning the national interests!!.

The issue of redefining the epistemological status of Albanian sciences is not a matter of curiosity. It is about providing the conditions for the dignity of knowledge competition, deontology and honesty in scientific research. It does not pose any problem if it is named *albanology*, *albanistics*, *albanian science*, or *science of identity*. For it is not a question of term, but a matter of status.

Likewise, there were and still are also historic reasons at the roots of the epistemologic chaos: the imitation of a pattern. The case of philology is the most telling in this respect. Until before a quarter of a century, due to an erroneous epistemology and to the reliance mainly on the Soviet epistemology, they did never recognize the merits of Father Justin Rrota, Dom Ndre Mjeda, Father Viktor Volajt, Namik Ressuli, Martin Camaj and to many others who were committed to the linguistics of text, critical philology and critical textology. It is strange how they allowed E. Çabej to consider the *Meshar of Gjon Buzuku* (Missal of Gjon Buzuku) a *critical-philological publication*.

Besides, the different obstacles were not only ideological. Due to the limitations of the Eastern model, the status of philology in terminologic terms belonged from its founding time to a Faculty in the University of Tirana, which brought together language and literature, with all their subfields. As a sum total of knowledge of linguistics and literature, philology is the science of text, authorship, authenticity, the graphematic transcription of ancient scripts, critical publications, variants of studies and the text genesis that are far away from one another in epistemologic terms. Currently, there is a compromise, seemingly on traditional grounds: critical textology with everything it contains in the European knowledge designed to develop in parallel and without racking the brain for the administrative name of a faculty with the same definition. Today, there is a total consensus on text philology, despite the erroneous *homonymy with the other philology* as an Eastern tradition. Currently, the Arbëri school of the *philology of the text* with the celebrated researcher Francesco Altimari and Matteo Mandalà and their associates (Gëzim Gurga, Vincenzo Belmonte, Fiorella de Rosa) is a model. With or without epistemology, with or without defining conceptual

discussions on sciences, this school has now established itself. Indifferent towards this *erroneous homonymy*, scholars like Rexhep Ismajli, Anila Omari, Bardhyl Demiraj, Dhori Qiriazhi and many others have stabilized the philology of the text, the text linguistics, the critical philology and the text criticism with a status that is more or less accepted by all.

Finally, it has become evident that the time of adaptations in literature, the time of recreation to the detriment of authorship is over. Another science should replace experience. And this has occurred more or less although not definitively, as long as even in academic – university institutions, some publications are praised as immense achievements of critical textology, where there is not only lack of criticism, but also lack of respect for authorship, for the new graphic presentation of the text based on alphabetic equations tested in and outside written contexts, which provide signs with objective phonological values, and even the transcript is uncertain with plenty of frequent mistakes, as the claimed case for a *successful comeback* of the linguistic work by Xylander in Albania, the country he dedicated it, a work which became publically known as a unique finding and a breakthrough discovery, although everyone could freely consult it in digital publications.

More or less, even Politology, a field that did not exist before terminology, due to epistemologic disagreements suffers from these pains together with philosophy and sociology, to mention just a few. This is why we have proposed to hold a scientific inter-academic conference next year, aimed at reaching a minimum agreement to avoid the existing arbitrariness and misused disintegration caused by unclear goals.

IV.

After history, which in chronological terms is correctly acknowledged as the first albanological science born during the resistance of Arbëreshi folk by the end of Middle Ages in the framework of *studia humanitatis* of the European Renaissance; following linguistics, which has left its early traces with the bilingual dictionary by Frang Bardhi; the cultural anthropology of Albanians, albeit the names which is introduced with, it came and took its place on their side as a fortunate tradition, much more earlier than some other disciplines.

Encouraged by the romantic rejection of the industrial civilization and the Bajronist nostalgia for the averted world and islandized societies on one hand and the ideas by Gottfried Leibniz on the attention that the unwritten languages of small -sized peoples of the continent on the other hand deserve or are simply forgotten, scholars, explorers, ordinary pilgrims, Orient researchers and foreign linguists from industrial societies have travelled to Albania one after the other in early 18th century. They found out that the unknown not only in Albania but also in all the countries of the region became known to the West in the form of books on the *lost virtues* of urbanized societies, where they had come from, the harsh codes of arranging social order, the chivalry honour, primitive rituals, original myths and faiths inherited from paganism which cohabitated with the Christian awareness. Most of them wondered why together with Christmas there were also the same pagan celebration of Budism among Albanians; why the highlanders saw off the dead in the life beyond with *mens' laments*, with the church preast present there; why his peers hit the bridegroom with fists before he joined the couple room; why did Albanians pray to maids in the same way and even much more than to Our Lady; why a man hacked off as if he was suffering like his wife from birth pains; why an Albanian with a christian name could also hold another name; why there could be two faiths in the same family; why mountains in Albania have their festive days and how is the cult of verticality explained; why Albanians are named and self-called sons of eagles, although an eagle has no relevance to their totemites, since *illyri fili serpentis sunt* (D. Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*).

Let us refer only to one of these magnificent traditions, which have remained as such even today. *The house of Albanians belongs to the Lord and to the guest; Albanian's house belongs to the guest and to the pilgrim*. This is how Albanian hospitality is quoted in the anthropology of law. The decodifying function has not yet gone deep into the romantic perspectives. Otherwise, the following questions should have been raised: Ok, the house belongs to the guest, but why to the pilgrim too? A response to that assertion may be solely provided through an anthropological survey: Because, Albanian highlanders say, *behind the door maybe a simple person, but it could also be the prophet*. So, the Albanian highlander proves to be even more anthropologist than Claude Lévi-Strausse. With his explanation he exhausts the such a magnificent

tradition. The laconic saying does not have much to do with the hospitality but with the apostolic christianity, when the new good preachers pilgrimed in the world in pursuit of believers disguised as poor. But to shut the door to an apostle with a poor dress was a curse for a highlander. This signifies that Albanian's hospitality is inherited from their ancestors, proto-Albanians of genuine apostles, who in year 56 founded in Durrës the Church of Christ and in 118 they were marked in Saint - Castin.

The cultural anthropology of Albanians founded by scholars coming from metropolises *came to light* as a science with *a colonialist looking*. The essence of this view is expressed in the relations among authors, readers and the subject matter. Its goal was to remember to them how the past of the previous generations in Europe looked like; how did the industrial revolution change the Western society and how the previous order is surviving very adjacent to them.

Even after romanticism and its esthetics with its critical awareness towards the community, in pursuit of an ideal society in the form of nostalgia (for the past) or in the form of utopia (for the future) in the 20th century was dissolved and replaced with more modern outflows, cultural anthropology but not only, while dealing with Albanians *continued to preserve the colonialist and neocolonialist* character, as knowledge of civilization for the backward peoples, as a fascinating discovery for the urbanized West. Despite this relationship, which apparently was unavoidable, Bayronism in literature and the laibnician linguistic illuminism encouraged a knowledge that provided opportunities to peripheric cultures for their promotion in the civilized world.

Foreign anthropologists have not attempted to conceal this position. In the first decades of the 20th century, Lord F. Nopcsa proposed to turn Albania *into a wildreservat and in a live museum of the chivalry honour*; additionally, he had proposed to modern Europe to invest and preserve the development of this country to the state it used to be, so that the future generations of the industrial world would have the opportunity to see how their past looked like: *The Land of The Living Past*. The musealization of primitivity was not good for Albanians, but at least their living mode, mindset, attitude on life and death, the sacredness and holiness would became known.

Western reader did not applaud as the local and even today's reader when Edith Durham depicted the regret of an Albanian in the deathbed: *I am leaving this world without killing anyone*"; however, *this reality bolstered the interest for a people who had not yet settled his own state*. A western reader would simply open up his eyes in astonishment from the unbelievable: a man who dies unhappy because he has not killed anyone; so, the typological distinction of a man *who knows how to live from the one that knows how to die had come to the surface*.

While referring to the state in Albanian northern highlands, Rose Lane, a US well-known researcher and activist of the first half of the past century in her book *The Peaks of Shala* has written: "I felt regret, perhaps simply as a romantic for the unavoidable disappearance of this last common living arian primitive remnant in which our grand grand fathers had lived through". Then, she went on stating: "I am conservative and even reactionary. For *I would like to preserve Albanian mountains just as they are*"

The Italian Albanologist Antonio Baldacci, persuaded that even in communist Albania the order of "Besa" as word kept would remain as before wrote to Enver Hoxha in 1948: *Vecchio di età, ma ancora giovane di spirit, sono sempre vicino all'Albania col desiderio vivissimo di vederla felice e di poterle ancora offrire quanto mi resta della vita. Oggi conto ottant'anni. Per questo, garantendoVi la besa, Vi chieggo di poter continuare a dedicarVi le mie modeste forze con quella abnegazione ...*

The openly confirmed goal of the US ethnologist – explorer today is followed up by researchers of ethnology, writers and scholars who promote with passion *the Moslem Besa of Albanians* to save hebrews in the West; *the house nuns, sworn virgins (burrneshat)*, which most recently are back as traditions and here and there live in the North of the country; the mourning laments by men, locked in towers, the most random rite that can be imagined as the acting power of canons and others.

The most vulgar shape and at the same time *the most reactionary form for the promotion of Albanian identity*, if they would test the evocation of the saying by Rose Lane, a critical well-wisher of Albanians and from Margaret Hasluck, who showed much more interest for the couvade rite of the father when his wife was giving birth to the child than for the contemporary Albanian life is the presentation of some ethic categories

that occupy a pivotal place in the verbal ethno-juridical tradition, as Albanian ethnotypical qualities and their exclusive virtues: besa, guest, honour. Because – even the current albanologist scholars, among them the Japanese doctor, Kazuhiro Yamamoto, who was committed to the Albanian world says: *Besa is the most special code on earth; it is found in the “Code of Lekë Dukagjini” but it will take 600 additional years to civilized Europe to catch up the values of the Albanian code”*.

The monumentalization of the verbal ethno-juridical tradition, explicitly expressed or through its mythic ideas (besa, honour, guest, bail) in the best case is an expression of a delayed romanticism, whereas in the opposite case it simply means to worship backwardness. Besa has also become part of scientific lectures by some foreign scholars. Moreover, the Albanian philologists of the *generation of second modernization*, who are frequently qualified as codifiers of modernization, think that one may bluntly say to an Albanian: *If you do not have what to offer to the world, offer your besa* (S. Hamiti). A new exotism appeared during the last two decades. The absolutization of the traditional ethno-juridical order as a monumental value, the identification of Albanians with besa and hospitality, without explaining the historic path of shaping these two notions extends a distorted imagination on them. *Besa is a serious codified persuasion. A given besa raises the dead from his grave ... Besa's trust leads to martyrdom, tragedy and martyrdom creates tragic heroes of life and literature*. Unfortunately, one of the fundamental laws of the anthropological science continues to be neglected: the might of verbal traditions (rites, magic, rules, orders) ceases to act since they are prescribed and they appear as a written speech. Among Albanians this was first realized by linguist E. Çabej, who in the year 1936, when writing the book *Elemente të gjuhësisë dhe të literaturës shqipe* (*Elements of Albanian language and literature*) was engaged with the study of the most important work by Father Shtjefën Gjeçovi, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit* (*Code of Lekë Dukagjini*) considering it merely a literary work, just as he did a little later with G. Schirò (J.) *Storia della letteratura albanese*.

Well, there is nothing worrying in these findings. The researches conducted by Claude Lévi-Strausse, the “Father” of *cultural anthropology*, whose indisputable merit of establishing the classic structuralism not later than a decade after it was acknowledged in

linguistics with the programmatic article *L'analyse structurale en linguistique et en anthropologie* (1945), *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949), *La notion de structure en ethnologie* (1950), and particularly with the *Anthropologie structurale* (1958), without exempting his other works as (Triste topics and the wild thought) are conclusions emanating from his expeditions in the tribal societies in Africa and among the para - European populations in Latin America (Some of them: *La vie familiale et sociale des indiens Nambikwara* (1948); *Le totémisme aujourd'hui* (1962); *Paroles données* (1984); *L'autre face de la lune: écrits sur le Japon* (2011)). Not long before the appearance of Claude Lévi-Strausse's works, the British anthropologist in Albania Margaret Hasluck was conducting researches on *some tribal unwritten laws* among Albanians.

V.

Over a century, apart from *cultural anthropology*, there were also other terms with a stable epistemologic status in the European and world knowledge. In the former Soviet tradition this knowledge was called *ethnography* and it continues to be named like this even today. This choice by the Soviet science had its own explanation. As a multinational and multilingual country, with an intercontinental extension, the term *ethnology* could give the idea that studies of this discipline would address only *the great nation*, the spiritual heritage of the “*great brother*” and the Russian spiritual legacy. Therefore, to avoid discriminatory misunderstandings, they bypassed the use of the term *ethnology*. As far as the *cultural anthropology is concerned*, as in the majority of the communist states, it was considered a science of the bourgeoisie. Accordingly, they did not spare with serious critical remarks even Vladimir Propp, the Russian anthropologist, who pursued the track of formalists in linguistics, whom Claude Lévi-Strausse wrote an exceptional preface for his great work (*Morphology of the folktale*) *Morfologjia e përrallës* (1928). Actually, rejection due to his success in the West and European criticisms (Claude Lévi-Strausse used the publication of the *Morphology of the folktale* to present the advantage of structural anthropology vis à vis Russian structuralism) against the

countries of the former communist East occurred not only in this discipline.

In methodological and ideological terms, Structuralism and Poststructuralism in linguistics and ethnology were alien developments. The fact that Claude Lévi-Strausse had sharply criticized the formalism of his old time colleague when he published the monography that made him famous (later on he published also the *Poetics of Folklore* and the *Esthetics of Folklore*, ultimately dividing the researches in this area from the literary theory, esthetics and history) in the name of the advantage of its structure vis à vis the form (*Structure and Form: Reflection on a Work by Vladimir Propp*); in the name of the advantage of para-diamantism versus *shintagmatism*; in the name of the advantage of diacronism versus *synchronism* did not help in the least the Hebrew-Russian scholar. Nevertheless, Claude Lévi-Strausse and Vladimir Propp, both of hebrew origin, each “on his own side of the rope”, unreconcilable and equally complementary to each other, they remained with dignity friends for ever and they published generously each other critical remarks in their books, serving as a pattern for the scientific criticism.

In France and Spain, after the World War II, two terms were parallely used: *ethnology for researches* in the tradition of the domestic immaterial culture and *cultural anthropology* for reasearches in their own worlds: respectively in the countries that used to be French colonies and in the whole hispanic para-written tradition.

The only country where the term *cultural anthropology* was stabilized in a sovereign way and without alternative were the USA; as a new nation, without ancient heritage and formed much later from the European migration; in the conditions when there was no local original heritage (except for the indigens, whom the Atlantic science referred to only by the end of the 20th century) there could be talk neither for ethnology (as in France and Spain), nor for ethnography (as in the former Soviet sciences that served as a pattern for all the former communist countries). It was in this way that the *cultural anthropology* took steadily its place, signifying a science that serves the enlightenment of the *heritage of the other*.

Decade after decade there was a sort of opposition between anthropology and ethnology, more implied than “spelled”: *anthropology*, besides demolishing the codes that divided the spitirual

human world with an impeding phanatism for successful researches, appearing as a *para-digmatic knowledge* is known for its transnational, *international, interethnic and supranational character*. Meanwhile, *ethnology preserved its earlier significance as a national science*. Anthropology inherited the tradition of comparative school, by discovering the presence of *the other within us*, whereas ethnology continued to maintain a critical, and to some extent, an exclusive attitude towards the presence of the alien. In this sense, it could be *an anthropology of the ethnos* but not an *ethnic anthropology*, since such definition contains a contradiction in itself. The anthropology of ethnos overcomes this inner contradiction, as it views the *archaeotypes, stereotypes and ethnotypes* as inseparable categories, which the so-called *ethnic anthropology of Albanians can neither promise nor achieve it*. Cultural anthropology ended puritanism in ethnological studies, with increased *attention to the anthropological and genotypical occurrences, it singled out the phenomotypical layers*, uncovered the universality of the human being, denying the distinctions on the ground of race, ethnicity, language, faith and cultural development.

Both these qualities of anthropology: jumping beyond national phanatism on one hand and surpassing the boundaries that divided its object in smaller pieces which were sufficient for the researchers with narrow formation (verbal folklore, musical folklore, ethnography, choreography, ethnomusicology and others) contributed to make anthropology a successful science with open - ended prospects. It did also become a methodological leadership. By virtue of its paradigmatic character, cultural anthropology offered immense potentials for transversal and transnational researches.

The credit for introducing the *concept of empathy* in the mentality of scientific researches, as a new behaviour among those that differ on the grounds of race, nation, language, faith, colour, region and gender goes to cultural anthropology. *See yourself to the other* – this is what empathy means – it is suffice to understand the distinction between anthropology and ethnology. Free from inherited rigidities, anthropological studies uncovered the open-minded character of national traditional cultures, they exceeded the *jealousies for primacy* in the spiritual values and fostered inter-disciplinary knowledge. The straightforward ethnic character was a tight match for anthropology. The researchers of this

knowledge had to make up their mind: to admit a knowledge with national or supraethnic character or to retreat. The almost century old debate whether the decasyllable belongs to Albanians or to the Serbs suddenly lost its value. The very concept of creation has changed its value. Northop Frye, a well-known neostructuralist changed the platform of debates with his work *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature*: in the world history of literature and arts there is only recreation, everything emanates from mythology and scripts. Under the impact of this theory many countries view competitive literature with reference to the Bible and the myths.

VI.

The epistemologic status of anthropology in the period between two World Wars was very seriously implicated. Until classic structuralism appeared in linguistics, especially thanks to Ferdinand de Saussure, anthropology signified an underdiscipline as part of archeology and adjacent to paleontology. It is common knowledge that anthropology was used by the nazi ideology to certify the existence of the hierarchy of races by comparing the historic development of the system of bones from ancient to modern times. Apart from and together with medicines, anthropology during the years 1930-1940 assumed the character of a science subdued to Führer's orders and his system to prove the superiority of the arian race and the unworthy hebrew race (together with the Roma) in order to legitimate the logic of the ultimate extermination of hebrews (*final solution*); then to provide a scientific basis for the right to live and the right to die (with ill-famous pogroms and massacres against individuals with physical and mental inabilities).

In a certain extent, anthropology was turned and even reduced to an “*applied science*”, helping and serving the nazi ideology, undertaking also the task to identify *the undignified race through* physical measurements of the skull, ears and the distance between eyes. Thus, the old anthropology compromised itself very badly. After the war, the term *anthropologist* provoked a strong feeling of rejection. The name of this science was seriously damaged. Meanwhle, Claude Lévi-Strausse had already published his fundamental theses on structural anthropology, although his monography was published a little later. Thus, there were

two reasons for a definitive division between *cultural anthropology as a social science* of the human spiritual heritage and *physical anthropology*, as a technical – natural science. The demarcation line between these two anthropologies, which left room for mutual freedom to one another to be developed independently was very accurate:

1. *Physical anthropology* would keep on its tradition, getting rid of the racist and applied character it had assumed, as the *science of the skull* for the study of the historic evolution of the skeleton system of human community, serving to prove either the continuity or its interruption from the foggy times until today. Actually, it did not lack the results in uncovering the typology of the ethnic pro-European and proto-Balkan, verifying the theses and hypotheses of social sciences, throwing light on the character of dead populations and cultures and always referring to the physical development of human beings. Suffice it to mention the data provided by the Anthropologic Institute of Geneva disclosed a few years ago, according to which, on the basis of comparing the skeleton system found in the Illyrian tombs with the current development of bones among the Balkan peoples, it turns out that the *highest degree of illyricity down Danube was inherited by Albanians*, less the Montenegrins and Croatians, very little Slovenians and then the Serbs.

2. *Cultural anthropology*, on the opposite, was founded as a science of evolution of the human mindset from the earliest primitive stages to modern times. *Cultural anthropology* perceives the history of mankind as a history of thought. It is not in its interest even as its object to know how the human skulls have evolved and how can the ethnicities and nations be identified through them, but what has happened with the human subskull, *how was the human thought developed from the wild thinking to civilization*; then, what primordial survivals are there still in the human thought; how did man come from barbarism and what does still remain *wild* within it; which were their *prius parens*, totemites and original taboos; how are the stages of division of the human mindset from primitivity testified; in what way and chronology was the human logic enlarged on its own power within the mindset of *homo sapiens* by increasingly narrowing down the instinct and physical possession; how was the human intellect emancipated by incessantly transforming the unawareness into awareness; what about its earliest relations with life and death, with the divinities and celestial myths, with leaders and

commanders; why ethnic cultures have the nature of palimpsests; how are the *substrates*, *adstrates* and the layers of genetic sources intertwined among them; and then the impact of ethnic communities, the historic and neighbourhood touch in the intercultural shared coincidences.

Little by little, *cultural anthropology turned into an authentic registry*, in a matrix of knowledge and social sub-knowledge. Everything that makes up the spiritual legacy of a people, both ethnic or benefited from others is target and a point of interest for cultural anthropology, starting with totemies and taboos, myths and rituals up to parenting.

VII.

Actually, there is not a single cultural anthropology. As a paradigmatic science, cultural anthropology has provided the researchers with the opportunity to continuously chart new subfields with interacting character within it. Besides the anthropology of myths, religion, ethnos, identity, anthropology of regulatory codes of human life from century to century (anthropology of law, juridical anthropology), social anthropology and anthropology of civilization, there are also several other subdivisions, which each constitute a subdiscipline. The anthropology of faith is attached to the anthropology of totemes and taboos; the anthropology of myths to the anthropology of rituals and rites, ceremonials and magic the social anthropology is attached to the anthropology of the family, kinship, border and the anthropology of life and death; the anthropology of law is attached to the anthropology of codes, statutes, venomes, regulations of masterships (corporations, tradesmen, syndicates); the anthropology of identity is attached to the linguistic anthropology (anthropolinguistics and anthropoliterature); and the anthropology of ethnos to the anthropology of geneses.

In the present time, anthropology is in pursuit of new potentials for its object enlargement. The universal character of plants and crops, whose development is regulated from the climatic generations is also well-known. However, there is more and more mention also on *ethnoflora* and *anthroflora*, on ethnopharmacy and *anthropopharmacy*.

There are many individuals in the tradition of Albanian studies of local researchers who have the credit by virtue of their research legacy: in the anthropology of ethnos (with not a less emphasized racial

tendency) - Jakov Milaj; in the anthropology of boundary - Rr. Zojzi, M. Krasniqi, N. Bardhoshi; in the anthropology of dress - A. Gjergji, A. Onuzi; in the anthropology of rituals and myths - M. Tirta, A. Papeka; in the anthropology of folk arts - R. Sokoli, B. Kruta, S. Shituni, P. Misa, V. Tole. Other researchers are contributors in the anthropology of faith and family.

ARCHAEOLOGY– HISTORY**Adem BUNGURI****PREHISTORIC METALLURGY DURING ENEOLITHIC AGE IN ALBANIA & KOSOVO****Abstract**

Archaeological researches in Albania prove that the beginnings of prehistoric metallurgy date back to very early stages, i.e. the fifth millennium BC. The earliest metallurgical material evidence comes from the multilayered settlement of Maliqin Korça basin, where 26 working tools of copper, earth molds of chisels, sludge and copper slag left-overs were unearthed in the eneolithic layer of Maliq Ila (renamed Maliq I Ib). A similar situation was also documented in Kosovo, largely in the settlement Hisar II (Suharekë) where, apart from some copper tools and a stone shape mold for casting rectangular chisels, two ceramic vessels of type "Gießgefäß" serving to cast the smelted copper into shape molds were also discovered. Referring to Eneolithic Age, one can talk of two independent metallurgical provinces: one in the Korça Basin (Maliq II) and the other in the Dukagjini Plateau (Suharekë). The accumulation of richness in the hands of metallurgists and merchants of metal products and the intensification of the socio-economic differentiation in the pre and protohistoric communities led to the ultimate break-away with the ancient tribal structures and the inclusion of the protohistoric period into the major socio-economic transformations, which went through the whole Eneolithic Age; these processes would be further deepened and stepped up during the Bronze and Iron Age.

Introduction

Copper Metallurgy is the most ancient form of prehistoric metallurgy, not only in the space including Albania and Kosovo, but all over the Balkans, the Basin Carpathian-Danubian, Caucasus, Anatolia and Near & Middle East. The study of prehistoric metallurgy is a new direction of archaeological researches in Albania. Copper is the first ore to be

discovered and used by the inhabitants of the relevant epoch, named the Copper or Eneolithic Age. The early use of copper to manufacture working tools, arms and decorations was conditioned both by the surface mining of this ore and its relatively low smelting temperature: $1.083.5^{\circ}\text{C}^1$. Prehistoric metallurgy entailed a chain of technical processes starting with the extraction of copper ore and its smelting into oxidizing ovens and casting the smelted metal to produce the required tools in the relevant shape molds, through cold working, pulling it out the foundry molds and forging them. The existence of prehistoric metallurgy of a certain country or geo-spacial region requires the compliance with some basic criteria, where abundancy with copper ores is undoubtedly a defining factor. The other elements of this metallurgical infrastructure are completed by the archeological evidence obtained in the territory of Albania and Kosovo, which includes archaeological testimonies of smelting processes, copper modelling and bronze objects manufactured at this non-ferrous metallurgical foundry.

The study on prehistoric metallurgy and its artefacts in Albania and Kosovo poses a series of essential questions. The researcher should provide well-founded answers on some fundamental issues connected with the most ancient metallurgy of human mankind, the Eneolithic and Bronze Age in chronological terms. When did the first copper and bronze tools appear? Are these tools imported or manufactured at home, under the models borrowed by more advanced neighbourly or even more distant regions?! What is the role played by the diffusion processes and the metallurgical aculturation in this geo-cultural space? Which is the relationship between imported and domestic metallurgical production? Do the archaeological data support the existence of a direct metallurgical province in Albania's territory? Can one talk for two or more of such metallurgical provinces that operated in Albania and in Kosovo? Were these provinces independent or parts of a broader Balkan or Carpathian-Danubian metallurgical region? Then, besides the existence of metallurgical provinces in this geo-cultural space, were also ambulant metallurgical ateliers working? The answers to these questions require in-depth metallographic insights on copper and bronze tools, the waste smelted in the molds of different tools or the waste in the form of slags in the cultural deposits of the major prehistoric dwellings in Albania and

¹Wikipedia, Free encyclopedia.

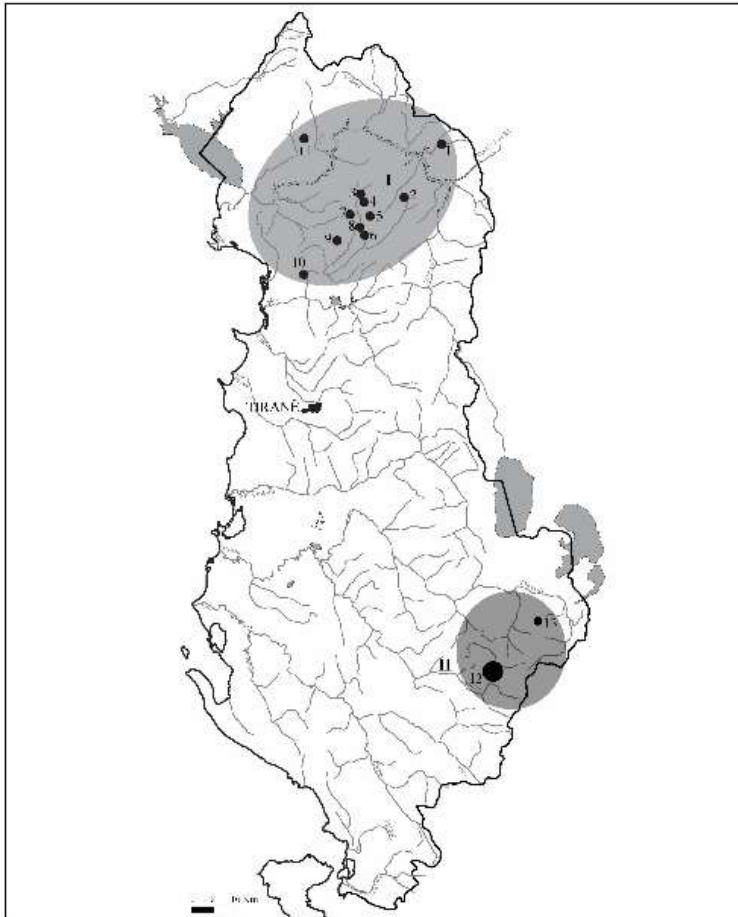
in Kosovo, which have provided metallurgical artefacts and comprehensive comparative analyses on the contents of these tools and ores from copper mines in Albania; this requirement while conducting this research, apart from the copper tools of Maliq was not possible to be complied with. Yet, given the rich archaeological evidence on the existence of this prehistoric metallurgy in the territory of Albania and Kosovo, we shall submit in this paper the basic elements to prove through archaeological documents the existence of a relatively developed prehistoric metallurgy. During the Copper Age, a considerable development was noted in all areas of social production, with a special deal of interest on metallurgical artefacts in Albania and in Kosovo. During this epoch of prehistoric development, there was a genuine metallurgical activity in the geo-cultural space of Albania and Kosovo.

The early development of prehistoric metallurgy was also favoured by Albania's numerous resources with copper ores, as the basis for the existence of an independent metallurgy. (*fig. 1*). In ancient times, in the metalifer zone in Mat and in Mirdita surface traces of a broad-based utilization of mineral layers were found, whereas in the Mine in Gjegjan (Kukës) there were also ancient underground excavations for copper ore extraction². According to engineering information, in the course of preparatory works for exploitation of copper in the Gjegjan Mine in Kukës, ancient horizontal, vertical and steeping excavations, in the shape of galleries with a semi-arch section coated with timber armature were observed. At the entrance of old galleries were signs of openings by picks or with other similar tools. In these galleries there are also found traces of a burned swimming pool laid with stones used as light in prehistoric Ages. These galleries passed through the ore lumps of present time without touching them. They were filled with mud sediments from underground flows³. In Gjegjan, besides prehistoric galleries, geologists have also noticed pits with water from smelting copper. Likewise, again according to them, in the villages Bardhoc and Pobreg, very near the

²PRENDI 1978, 22.

³*Idem*, 22, note. 75.

Gjegjan Mine, they have seen traces of antique copper⁴ smelting ovens, which may be considered as prehistoric furnaces. (*fig.2-3*).



Harta e burimeve te bakrit.

Rajoni I (Shqipëria veriqendore dhe verilindore): 1. Nikolie; 2. Thirrë-Fan; 3. Fushë Arrez; 4. Tut; 5. Munella; 6. Gjegjan; 7. Qalbari; 8. Spaç; 9. Kaçinar; 10. Rubik; 11. Pulaj-Karrie (Shkodër).

Rajoni II (Shqipëria juglindore): 12. Rehoë (Vithkuq-Korçë). 13. Kamenice (Korçë).

Fig. 1. Map of copper reserves in Albania

⁴According to the verbal information of Ing. Geologist, Prof. Dr. Jorgo Vllaho, who discovered Gjegjan.



Fig. 2. Gjegjan - View from the Copper Mine



Fig. 3. Gjegjan-layers with copper ores

Prehistoric metallurgy encompasses a chain of technical processes starting with the extraction of copper ores and their smelting in oxide ovens, casting the smelted metal to produce the required working tools in the relevant shape molds through cold working, pulling them out the foundry molds and then forging them. Actually, the existence of prehistoric metallurgy of a certain country or geo-spatial region requires the compliance with some basic criteria, whereby the defining factor is certainly the abundance with copper ores. Other elements of this metallurgical infrastructure are completed with archaeological evidence gained in the territory of Albania and Kosovo; it includes the archaeological evidence from the smelting process, the copper&bronze modelling and the objects produced at this foundry in non-ferrous metallurgy. Thanks to this evidence, we do possess not only casting and modelled smelted mold (Maliq, Hisar), but also clinker and gangues from smelted copper (Maliq, Fafos), fire tube blowers (Maliq, Sovjan), clay models of smelting ovens (Maliq), vessels of *Gießgefäß* type (Hisar) for casting the smelted ore into molds and surely the copper & bronze modelled working tools.

Archaeological researchers have collected sufficient evidence, which bear testimony to the early development of metallurgy in Albania. The first archaeological data on prehistoric metallurgy in Albania refer to the Eneolithic Age, with the copper discovery and then the process of smelting and casting for the production of different working tools. Maliq bears testimonies to this phenomenon thanks to the deposits of the Eneolithic Age (Maliq Iib) with 26 copper working tools unearthed there. The palaffiti of the Eneolithic layer in Maliq Iib built on hundreds

of splintered oak pillarswell sharpened with copper chisels before sticking them into the torphic layer testified to the usage of these copper chisels. Such pillars,sharpened with copper chisels were also discovered in the palaffiti in Sovjan⁵ (fig. 4).

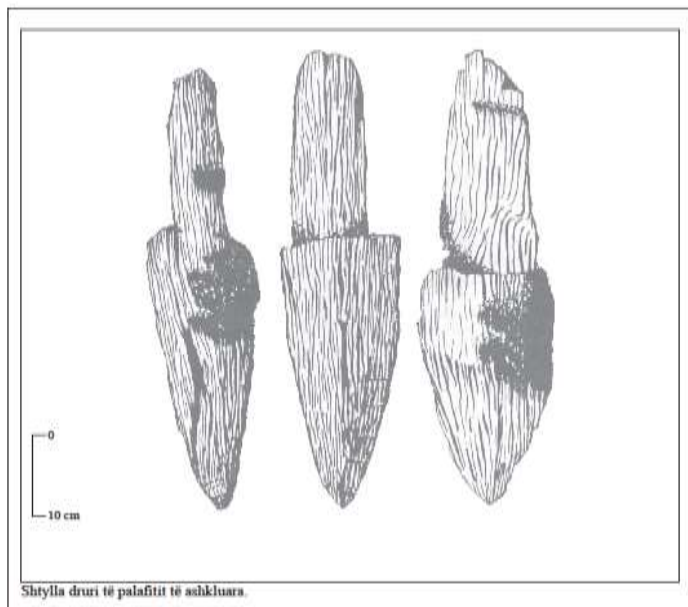


Fig. 4. Palaffiti pillars splintered with copper chisels
(according to Prendi *et al* 1996, 237, fig. 6)

Another very precious data derives from the Hisar settlement in Suhareka (layer Hisar IIb), which refers to the advanced eneolithic stage of horizon Kostolacas, synchronized with the phase Bubanj-Hum Ib-II-Krivodol IV-Salkuca IV andKaranovoVI. FromHisariwe have two clay vessels “*Giessgefäß*” type, used to cast the smelted copper into stone shape molds. The first vessel with a semi-spheric body and a flat bottomis fragmented and now restored. Parallel with the flat bottom, the vesselhas in both sides clay additions in the shape of a cylinder tube that do notgo through the vessel wallwhich served to catchthetimber coal tongsand to cast the smelted copper into shape molds. The vesselwas worked with a thick ceramic, very well baked until oxidation, with a light

⁵PRENDI *et al* 1996, 238, fig. 6; PRENDI-TOUCHAIS 1996, 23, fig. 12.

brown and reddish colour. In its lower part, the vessel retains traces of burns⁶ (fig. 5,c-d).

The next quadrangle vessel is worked with pure mud mixed with aluminium silicate, in dark grey colour in the lower and light grey in the upper part. It was unearthed during the excavations in 1963 in the horizon Kostolacas Hisar IIa, today renamed Hisar IIb. A vessel in quadrangle shape with its interior part deepened in the shape of a trough and a flat bottom. Parallel with the flat bottom, on one side, there is a plastic extension in the form of a cylinder tail 3.5 cm long and a diameter 3 cm, which apparently served to hold the timber tail and use the vessel to keep and cast the smelted copper into shape molds (fig. 5,e-f). These data complete the metallurgical process of casting and modelling copper working tools in this developed Eneolithic settlement.



Hisar: a. Kallëp për derdhjen e metalit (sipas Todorovic1963, Pl. IV/9, pa shkallë); b. Finshyell kocke me sashë bakri (sipas Antunovic 2014, 104, Taf. 42, no. 412); c. Linë për derdhjen e metalit në kallëp; d. Hisar II b enë për derdhjen e metalit në shkurrë në kallëp; e-f. Enë karrikozëdëshe e tipit Gucapofuris (Shk. 1.2) (His. 63: HDU4).

Fig. 5. Artefacts from copper metallurgy and foundry in Hisari IIb (Suharekë)

⁶GASHI 2010, 339, pl. L, no. 6; KATKOS 2013, no. 114.

It goes beyond doubt that the major argument for the existence of local copper and later on the bronze metallurgy is the shape molds used to cast various forms of working tools, slags and the gauges of copper waste as well as the copper ingots in the cultural deposits of layer Maliq IIB⁷. The above-mentioned testimonies suffice it to prove that during the Eneolithic Age, an independent metallurgical production was well established and that local copper metallurgy did exist already in the Korça Basin.

The earliest imported working tools in Albania come from the early Eneolithic phases Maliq IIA, respectively in Kamnik IIB and Blaz IVA, which in chronological terms refers to the second half of the fifth millennium BC (4600-4000 BC). The first copper tools produced by local metallurgists related in stratigraphic terms with the layer of Maliq IIB and in chronological terms with the beginning of the fourth millennium BC (4000-3700 BC). The largest part of these objects are single or bifunctional working tools, as chisels, awls, needles, hammers, ax-hammers and others. In Albania, these artefacts come mainly from the Eneolithic layer of Maliq, whereas in Kosovo mainly from the settlement in Hisar (Suharekë). Generally speaking, these tools are well-known shapes in the Eneolith of Balkan and Carpathian-Danubian area. If in the more earlier stages of eneolithic development, they were imported from more advanced cultures in the Balkans, in a later stage, they were produced locally, bearing witness to the development of local metallurgy. On the basis of this archaeological context, copper metallurgy in Albania in chronological terms has appeared earlier than in Western Europe. As far as the manufacturing technique is concerned, two chronological successive basic techniques are noteworthy: the tools produced with forging and hammering technique belong to an earlier stage while those with casting in molds originally prepared from clay and then from stones belong to a later phase.

Copper tools of the Eneolithic Age

During the excavations in the years 1961-1966 in the historic dwellings in the cultural layer of Maliq, in the cultural layer Maliq IIA,

⁷PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 281, pl.CXXIV, 6-8.

renamed Maliq I Ib⁸, 26 copper tools of different types and variants were unearthed and two ingot fragments (?), copper oxid slags and left overs after their casting. Likewise, a monovalve mold of hard baked clay was found, which was used to cast copper rectangular chisels of the type Maliq I Ib, which appear for the first time in this layer. During their production, besides casting, the hammering technique was also widely used. Among these tools, the most common are the chisels of different variants and dimensions. Chisels of different types, sharp-pointed needles, awls with quadrangle cutting edges through the corps, spatulas, fishing hooks and others are some of the most characteristic forms and simultaneously the oldest metal tools of this period. In some samples even the sharp-pointed awls in both ends were represented in Maliq I Ib, with a quadrangle body, which reminds us of their timber prototypes and the spatulas with narrow quadrangle cross-section of the body. Fishing hooks and copper decorations are not missing either.

Catalogue:

Chisels, awls, spatulas, needles

In the Eneolithic Age in Maliq (layer Maliq IIa renamed as Maliq I Ib), and in the prehistoric settlement in Kamniku. (I Ib) and Blazit (IVa), during archaeological excavations there were also unearthed a limited quantity of copper chisels. Actually, we have 12 complete samples with nearly similar shape and different sizes. Nine from these samples, or 75% come from the Eneolithic layer of Maliq (Maliq I Ib), whereas the next three samples stem respectively from the prehistoric settlement in Kamniku (phase Kamnik I Ib)⁹ in Kolonjë, from the cave dwelling in Blazi (phase IVa) in Mati Basin and another one, an occasional finding from the small town of Babunjë¹⁰ in Lushnje (*tab. LXVI*). Most of the chisels or 66.7 % of them belong to “Pločnik” type, but also chisels “Salkutsa” type (two samples) and “Cucuteni” type (two samples) or 33.3 % of the total were represented there. Given their size, the corps shape and the press modelling, the following variants are distinguished:

⁸FIAT, A11/1-5, nr.inv. 4685-4703; MHKT, no. inv. 3208; PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 278, pl. CXXIV, 1-9, 11, 12, 14; pl.CXXV, 4-15.

⁹PRENDI 1972, 86, pl. II, 13; PRENDI 1976, 34, pl.XII, 13.

¹⁰ÇUKO 1987, 221, fig. 1, d.

- a. Massive chisels with a convex cutting edge (pl.I, no. 1-3).
- b. Middle – sized chisels with a straight cutting edge (pl.I, 4-7)
- c. Middle - sized chisels with a broad convex cutting edge (pl.I, 8-9)
- d. Small-sized convex or straight chisels with a narrow cutting edge (pl.I, 10-12)

a. Massive chisels with a convex cutting edge

These chisels are represented with three samples, two unearthed in the Eneolithic layer of the multi-layer in (Korçë) and the next in the prehistoric settlement of Kamnik (Kolonjë).

1. Pl. I, 1, pl.IV, 1. No. inv. 3037. Flat copper chisels of the type “Pločnik”, complete. Unearthed in the layer Maliq Iib. (ML 1962). It is preserved in the MHKT, no. inv. 1006. Size: general length 14.2 cm, cross-section width 1.3 cm, length of convex blade 3 cm, weight 358.5 gr. The butt with a quarangle cross-section edge with sides 2.1 x 1.3 cm. Working techniques: casting and hammering. The surface fully clean, copper colour light brown in gold shade, without patina. Published¹¹.

2. Pl. I, 2, pl.IV, 4. No. inv. D. Flat copper chisel, type “Pločnik”, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib (ML 1962). It is preserved in the FIAT. Chisel type “Cucuteni”. Size: total length 14 cm, blade length 2.5 cm, cross-section thickness 1.8 cm, weight 312.5 gr. Convex blade. The butt with a quadratic cross-section with sides 1.8 cm. Working techniques: casting and hammering. Patina green. Published¹².

3. Pl. I, 3, pl.IV, 2. No. inv. 8273. Kamnik. Flat copper chisel, type “Pločnik”, complete. It is preserved in the MAT (Hall II, Show-Case 3). Unearthed during the archaeological excavations in 1969 in the later deposits of the neo-eneolithic settlement in Kamnik, which refers to Layer Iib¹³. Size: total length 14 cm, body width 2.3 cm, cross-section width 2 cm, length of the convex blade 3.1 cm. The butt with a rectangular cross-section with sides 1.9 x 1.7 cm, weight 518 gr. Patina pure green. The sample for the analysis was obtained through a spiral holedrilling. Analysis HDM 1455. Chisels of his type were found in

¹¹KORKUTI 1971, no. 13; PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl.CXXIV, 1

¹²PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl.CXXIV, 14.

¹³PRENDI 1972, 86, pl.II, 13; PRENDI 1976, 34, pl.XII, 13; PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 259, 279, pl.CXXIV, 15.

Plločnik¹⁴. Published¹⁵ and inserted in the Archaeological Album, year 1988¹⁶.

b. Medium-sized chisels with a straight blade

4. Pl. I, 4, pl. IV, 3, no. inv. 3038. Flat copper chisel in a rectangular shape, type “Salkutsa”, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIB (ML 1962). It is preserved in MHKT (no. inv. 1005). Total length 11.2 cm, cross-section width 1.7cm, weight 289.5 gr. The straight blade 2.5 cm long, cross-section thickness 1.7 cm. The butt with a rectangular cutting edge. Working techniques: casting and hammering. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina.

5. Pl. I, 5, no. inv. A. Flat rectangular copper chisel, type “Plločnik”, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIB. It is preserved in the FIAT. Size: total length 11.2 cm, the straight blade length 2.5 cm, weight 238 gr. The rectangular body with rectangular cross-section with the side 0.75 cm. Working techniques: casting and hammering. The surface is completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina. Published¹⁷.

6. Pl. I, 6, no. inv. C. Flat copper chisel, type “Plločnik”, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIB (ML. 1962). Preserved in FIAT. It is damaged in the butt part and in a side face in the shape of a shallow channel. Size: total length 9.8 cm, straight blade length 2.6 cm, weight 178.5 gr. Rectangular body with trapezoidal cutting edge, with sides 2.6 x 1.2 cm. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina, a variant of the local “Plločnik” chisels which we have named “Chisel Maliq IIB” type. Unverified through laboratory analyses. Published¹⁸.

7. Pl. I, 7, no. inv. Flat copper chisel, type “Plločnik”, complete. A sole piece was found by accident in town Babunjë (Lushnje) in 1980. It is

¹⁴GARAŠANIN 1955, 9, pl. I, 1-7, 11-17; JOVANOVIĆ 1979, 40, pl. I, 2-3.

¹⁵ISLAMI-CEKA 1965, 443, pl. I, 19; PRENDI 1972, 86, pl. II, 13; PRENDI 1976, 34, pl. XII, 13; PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 259, 279, pl. CXXIV, 15.

¹⁶PRENDI 1988, 187, no. kat. 22.

¹⁷PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl. CXXIV, 11.

¹⁸*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXIV, 9.

preserved in MHL. Size: total length 10 cm, maximum body width 1.8 cm, length of the sharp convex blade 2.2 cm, weight 185 gr. The body with rectangular cross-section with soft transitions to the sides, with a width 1.8-2.2 cm. The butt with rectangular cross section, sides 1.6 x 1.2 cm. Patina green. Published¹⁹.

c. Medium – sized chisels with convex blade

8. Pl. I, 8, pl.IV, 5, no. inv. 3048. Flat copper chisel, type “Cucuteni”, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib (ML. 1962). Preserved in the MHKT (no. inv. 1007). Weight 118.2 gr. Total length 10.3 cm, cross-section thickness 0.8 cm, convex blade length 2 cm. The butt with a rectangular cross-section. Worked with the casting and hammering technique. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without a patina.

9. Pl. I, 9, no. inv. B. Flat copper chisel, local version of the chisels type “Cucuteni”, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib (ML. 1962). Preserved in the FIAT. Size: total length 11.3 cm, length of the convex blade 2.1 cm, weight 124.5 gr. Rectangular body with trapezoidal cross-section and the side 1.2 cm, without straight face. The surface is in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade without patina. Working techniques: casting and hammering. Published²⁰.

d. Small-sized chisels with a narrow, convex or straight blade

10. Pl. I, 10, pl.IV, 6, no. inv. 3308. Flat copper chisel type “Plločnik”, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib (Maliq 1962). Preserved in MAT (Room II, Show - Ccase 3). Size: total length 6.7 cm, body's width 2.2 cm, thickness 0.7 cm. Weight 54 gr. The convex blade 2.3 cm wide. The butt with elliptic cross-section edge. Working techniques: casting and and forging. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina. The sample is obtained with spiral hole drilling. Local product of chisel type “Plločnik”, which we have named chisels type “Maliq Iib”, verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1442.

11. Pl. I, 11, pl.IV, 7, no. inv. 4694. Flat copper chisel type “Plločnik”, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib (Maliq 64, A11/4, no. 81).

¹⁹ČUKO 1987, 221, fig. 1d; PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl. CXXIV, 13.

²⁰PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279 Pl. CXXIV, 12.

Preserved in MAT (Room II, show - case 3). Size: total length 8 cm, body width 2.3 cm, thickness 1 cm, weight 100 gr. The light convex blade is 2.4 cm long. The buttwith a rectangular cross-section with the sides 1.3 x 0.7 cm. The outer face of the chisel is better polished than the interior one. Working techniques: casting and forging. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade, without patina. The sample was obtainedthrough spiral hole drilling. Local product of chisels type “Pllločni” which we have named chisel type “Maliq I Ib,” verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1446.

12. Pl. I, 12, pl.IV, 8, no. inv. 16.391. Flat copper chisel type “Salkutsa”, complete. Unearthed during excavations in the Eneolithic layer Blazi IVa in 1979. Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 8 cm, body’s width 1.8 cm, convex blade’s length 1.9 cm, rectangular cross-section with sides 1.8 x 1.3 cm, weight 116 gr. The butthas a rectangular shape with the sides 1.6 x 1.2 cm. The sample was obtained through spiral hole drilling. Hard metal. Working techniques: casting and forging. Green patina. Analysis HDM 1463. Published²¹.

Copper Awls

13. Pl. II, 13, pl.IV, 9, no. inv. 3309. Copper awls with two sharpened points complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq I Ib (Ml. 1964, A2/12). Preserved in MAT (Room II, Show-Case 3). Size: total length 15.7 cm. Straight body, lightly bent upwards; quadratic cross-section with sides 1 x 1 cm, dilutedin both end points, weight 77 gr. Working techniques: casting and hammering. The surface completely clean, in copper’s colour, light brown in golden shade, without patina. The sample was obtained through spiral hole drilling.Fragile metal. Published²². Local product verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1443.

14. Pl. II, 14, pl.IV, 10, no.inv. 4692. Copper Awl with two sharpened points, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq I Ib. (Ml. 64, A12/9, no.91). Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 15.3 cm, weight 40 gr. Working techniques: casting and hammering. Long body, lightly bent on the top, rectangular shape, with the sides 0.5 x 0.7 cm. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in golden shade, without

²¹*Idem*,279, pl. CXXIV, 10.

²²*Idem*,279, pl. CXXV, 15.

patina. The sample obtained through spiral hole drilling. Published²³. Local product verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1450.

15. Pl. II, 15, pl.IV, 11, nor. inv. 4686. Copper Awl with a light convex body, with two sharp ends, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIb. (MI. 1964). Preserved in MAT, Room II, Show Case 3). Size: total length 10 cm, weight 24 gr. Straight body, lightly bent in both ends, a quadratic cross-section with sides 0.6 x 0.6 cm and a sharpened point. The surface completely clean, in copper's colour, light brown, in gold shade, without patina. The sample obtained through spiral hole drilling. Published²⁴. Local product verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1445.

16. Pl. II, 16, pl.IV, 12, no. inv. 4685. Copper awl lightly bent upwards; with both end point sharpened, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIb. (Maliq 1964, A11/1). Preserved in MAT (Room II, Show – Case 3). Size: total length 9.5 cm, weight 23 gr. Straight body, the point lightly bent. The quadratic cross-section with the side 0.6 x 0.7 cm and a sharp point. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, lightly brown, in gold shade, without patina. The sample obtained through spiral hole drilling. Published²⁵. Local products verified through laboratory analyses; Analysis HDM 1444.

17. Pl. II, 17, pl.IV, 13, no. inv. 4689. Copper awl with straight body and two sharpened points, complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIb. (MI-64, A11/6, S.11B/6, no. 164). Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 6.4 cm, weight 13 gr. Straight body with rectangular cross-section and side 0.6 x 0.4 cm with the two sharpened points, one much more than the other. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina. The sample is obtained through spiral hole drilling. Visually it seems forged, cold worked with the hammering technique. Local product verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1448.

18. Pl. II, 18, pl.IV, 14, no. inv. 4691. Copper awl damaged in both ends. Unearthed in the excavations in 1964 in Maliq, layer IIb. (MI 1964, A12/6, no. 96). Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 10.7 cm, body's

²³*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXV, 14.

²⁴*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXV, 12.

²⁵*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXV, 11.

width 1 cm. Straight body with rectangular cross-section with sides 1.00 x 0.8 cm, weight 38 gr. The butt is broken, with a damaged and sharpened point, a thick copper luster is seen from outside. Visually speaking it looks as forged, cold worked with the hammering technique. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina. The sample is obtained through spiral hole drilling. Visually speaking it looks forged, cold worked with the hammering technique. Published.²⁶ Local product, verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1449.

19. Pl. II, 19, no. inv. 4693. Broken copper awl. Unearthed in layer of Maliq IIB. (MI. 1964, AII/15). It is preserved in FIAT, Size: total length 4.8 cm, weight 5 gr. Light and curved body, with quadratic cross-section and sides 0.4 x 0.4 cm, broken in the bottom and ending up with a sharpened point. Working techniques: hammering. The surface completely clean, with copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina. Identical with the above-mentioned awl. Local product unverified through laboratory analyses.

20. Pl. II, 20, no. inv. 182. Awl with a bone handle and copper point. It was found in the cultural horizon Kostolac Hisar IIa, renamed Hisar IIB (Suharekë)²⁷. Size: total length 10 cm. Property of the Museum of History of Kosovo (Pristina) with no. inv. 182²⁸. From the year 1998 it is in the National Museum of Belgrade (MHN), with no. inv. 137²⁹.

Copper Spatula

21. Pl. II, 21, no. inv. 4695. Copper spatula type "Ploçnik". Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIB. (MI-64, A11/2, no. 76). Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 10.4 cm, body's width 0.7 cm, length of rolled blade 1.3 cm, weight 12 gr. The rectangular body with rectangular cross-section 0.7 x 0.3 cm, with broken butt, straight and blunt blade, 1.3 cm wide. Working technique: hammering. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina. The sample

²⁶*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXV, 13.

²⁷TODOROVIĆ 1963, pl. IV, 7.

²⁸TREAS KOS 1998, 109, 500, no. kat.108.

²⁹TODOROVIĆ 1963, pl. IV, 7; TASIĆ 1998, 115, no. 500, no. kat.108; ANTONOVIĆ 2014, 104, pl. 42, no. 412.

obtained through spiral hole drilling. Published³⁰. Local product, verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1451.

22. Pl. II, 22, no. inv. 4696. Copper spatula, type "Pločnik", complete. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib. (ML-64, A11/7, no. 56). Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 10 cm, width of the rolled blade 1.1 cm, weight 18 gr. The end with sharpened point. The rectangular body with quadratic cross-section with the sides 0.6 x 0.6 cm. Visually speaking it looks as forged, cold worked with the hammering technique. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light broan, in gold shade, without patina. The sample obtained through spiral hole drilling. Published³¹. Local product, verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1452.

23. Pl. II, 23, no. inv. 5599. Full-fledged copper spatula with two rolled points. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib. Preserved in the FIAT. Size: total length 13 cm, weight 12 gr. The body with rectangular cross-section with the sides 0.4 x 0.3 cm. The body is lighty bent due to pressure. Working technique: hammering. Green patina. Published.³². Local product, unverified through laboratory analyses.

Copper needles

24. Pl. II, 24, pl. IV, 15, no. inv. 4688. Copper needle. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib. (ML-64, A11/4). Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 9 cm, weight 5 gr. The body has rectangular cross-section and with sides 0.3 x 0.2 cm, ends up with a sharpened point with a circular cutting edge and a rectangular end. The same needle was obtained with spiral hole drilling. Working technique: hammering. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade, without patina. Published³³. Local product, verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1447.

25. Pl. II, 25. Without no. inv. Copper needle. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq Iib. (ML-64, A11/4). Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 10.1 cm, weight 9 gr. Body with straight sharp point and rectangular cross-section with sides 0.3 x 0.2 cm and broken end. Working technique:

³⁰PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl. CXXV, 8.

³¹*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXV, 7.

³²*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXV, 6.

³³*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXV, 10.

hammering. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina. Published³⁴. Local product, verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1447.

26. Pl. II, 26, pl. IV, 16, no. inv. 4690. Complete copper needle. Discovered in the layer of Maliq I Ib. (MI. 1964, A. II/12). Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 5.5 cm, weight 6 gr. The body has circular cross-section with a diameter of 0.2 cm, with a sharp, thinner and damaged end point. Working technique: hammering. The surface is completely clean, in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade, without patina. Local product unverified by laboratory analyses.

27. Pl. II, 27, no. inv. 4687. Copper needle. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq I Ib. (MI 1964, AII/3, no. 290) Preserved in FIAT. Size: total length 4.1 cm, weight 5.4 gr. Quadrangle body, with a quadratic cross – section, sides 0.2 x 0.2 cm and sharp pointed, ending up with a rectangular end. Working technique: hammering. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade and without patina. Local product unverified through laboratory analyses.

28. Pl. II, 28, pl. IV, 17, no. inv. 4698. Copper needles. Discovered in the layer of Maliq I Ib. (MI 1964, found out in the casted earth) Preserved in the FIAT. Size: total length 3.5 cm, weight 9 gr. The body distorted due to pressure, with quadratic cross section and sides 0.2 x 0.2 cm; it ends up with a sharp point with circular cross-section and a rectangular bottom. Working technique: hammering. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade, without patina. Local product, unverified through laboratory analyses. Similiar copper needles are also discovered in other areas in the Balkans, as in the Eneolithic horizons in Ezero (Bulgaria)³⁵, in Vojvodinë (Deç and Mokrin), Eastern Serbia, respectively in the horizons Bubanj-Salkuša at the settlement in Lazareva pećina in Bori (Zlot)³⁶ and elsewhere.

29. Pl. II, 29, pl. IV, 18, no. inv. 4697. Copper ring finger. Atypical open – ended copper circle. It was discovered in the layer of Maliq I Ib. (MI. 1964, AII/17, no. 305). Preserved in FIAT. Weight 11 gr. It is made of copper thin wire with a diameter of 4.8 cm, with open ends and a space of 2.2 cm between them. The wire has a round cross-section with a

³⁴*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXV, 9.

³⁵GEORGIEV *et al* 1979, 171-172, fig. 106, a-b; fig. 107.

³⁶ANTONOVIĆ 2014, 100-101, pl. 41, no. 372, 378, 380-383.

diameter of 0.2cm. The surface is completely clean, in copper colour, light brown in gold shade, without patina. Published.³⁷

30. Pl. II, 30. Without no. inv. Copper fishing hook, complete. Unearthed in the Eneolithic layer of Maliq IIb in 1962. Preserved in FIAT. Size: 2.75 cm high, width 1.95 cm, depth 0.75 cm, weight 13.8 gr. Quadratic cross-section with soft curves. Published.³⁸. Similiar hooks were also discovered in Ikziktepe-Samsun in Antalya³⁹, Sitagroi Va⁴⁰ of Thealy, Majdanpek in Eastern Serbia⁴¹ and elsewhere. They were also found in Russia (Lobojkovska)⁴² and else where. Such hooks in Anatolia (Ikiztepe-Samsun) date back to the late Eneolithic Age (4300-3200 BC)⁴³.

Copper plate fragments (ingots?)

In the storages in the layer of Maliq IIb, apart from copper working tools, there were also found two small copper plate fragments with parallel cross-sections which could be ingots. (?)

31. Pl. II, 31, pl.IV, 20, no. inv. 4700. Copper plate fragment (ingots?). Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIb. (Ml. 1964, A 11/5). Only the part in the bottom in a rectangular form is preserved in FIAT. Weight 22 gr. The sample is obtained through spiral hole drilling. The artefact looks to be forged with cold working hammering technique. The surface is completely clean, in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade, without patina. Published.⁴⁴. Local product verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1453.

32. Pl. II, 32, pl.IV, 21, no. inv. 4701. Copper plate fragment (ingot) Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIb. (Ml. 1964, A 11/5). Preserved in part in FIAT. Weight 26 gr. Analysis HDM 1453. The surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade, without patina.

³⁷PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl. CXXV,5.

³⁸*Idem*, 278, pl. CXXV, 4.

³⁹BIGLI *et al* 2014, 47, fig. 2.

⁴⁰ELSTER-RENFREW 2003, Pl. 6, 13, b-d, tab. 8, 5, fig. 8, 2b.

⁴¹ANTONOVIC 2014, 100, pl. 41, no. 370.

⁴²LESKOV 1981, pl. II, no. 31-37.

⁴³BILGI *et al* 2014, 47, fig. 2.

⁴⁴PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl. CXXIV, 6.

Published.⁴⁵ Local product verified through laboratory analyses. Analysis HDM 1453.

Copper oxid slags

33. Pl. II, 33, pl.IV, 22, no. inv. 4702. Copper slags in dark green colour. Discovered in the layer of Maliq IIb. (Maliq 1964, A11/1). Preserved in FIAT. Weight 12 gr. The finding of copper slags in the Eneolithic layer of Maliq phase IIb proves the local character of copper metallurgy in this phase of Eneolithic development. Published⁴⁶.

Waste

34. Pl. II, 34,pl.IV, 19, no. inv. 4699. Parts of copper chisel, type“Pločnik”. Discovered in the layer of Maliq IIb. (Maliq 1964, A12/5, no. 89). Only the outer damaged part is preserved inFIAT. Size: total length 3 cm, body width 1.5 cm, weight 3 gr. The body has a rectangular cross-section with sides 1.5 x 0.1 cm. Surface completely clean, in copper colour, light brown, in gold shade, without patina.

III. 2. Shape mold for copper chisels

35. Pl. II, 35, no. inv. 3201. Monovalent mold of baked clay to cast rectangular copper chisels, type Maliq II. Unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIb. (ML 62, A1/12). Preserved in MAT. Size: total length 10.5 cm, width 7 cm, height 4.4 cm. Weight 196 gr. Hard mud baked to the point of oxidation. It has become porous due to burning of organic waste. Dark green. Damaged in the front side, where the mold height lowers to 2 cm. The thickness of mold walls varies from 1.5-2.8 cm. The modelling part has a rectangular shape with size 8 x 3.5 x 2.8 cm. The height in the damaged front side lowers to 1 cm. The laboratory analyses without results, the sample inadequate. Analysis HDM 1459. Products from this mold seems to be some of the chisels unearthed in the layer of Maliq IIb with no. inv. C, 3308 and 4694, which we have named as chisels type “Maliq IIb” (*tab. I, 6,10-11; tab. IV, 6-7*). Molds of rectangular chisels

⁴⁵*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXIV, 7.

⁴⁶*Idem*, 279, pl. CXXIV, 8.

(Gussform für Kupferbeile) type "Vinča" are also found in the dwellings in the region "Alihojha" in Bosnia⁴⁷, in Antalya and else where 48.

Copper chisels type "Pločnik" represent a standard Eneolithic type, widely known also in several contemporary cultures in the Balkans and in South East Europe. They reproduce very similiar shapes as those of the culture Kodžoderman-Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI in Bulgaria⁴⁸, then those of the phases Gumelnica A₂-B₁, Salkucain Roumania⁴⁹ and Hungary⁵⁰, in Vinča-Pločnik⁵¹, in Bubanj Hum I in Serbia⁵², Bosnia and Croatia⁵³, in Rrahman of Thesaly⁵⁴, in the Aegean Basin (culture of islands Keros-Syros) and in Anatolia (Ikziktepe-Samsun)⁵⁵, where stone molds for the production of these chisels⁵⁶ were found and else where. Many copper rectangular chisels as those of Maliq Iib are also discovered in Bulgaria in the neolithic layer of Ezero (over 36 pieces)⁵⁷ with stone molds of rectangular chisels.⁵⁸ Similiar chisels are also found in Russia (Lobojkovska)⁵⁹, Serbia (Pločnik)⁶⁰, in Montenegro (Crvena Stena, Polna/Blagotin)⁶¹ and elsewhere. Similiar chisels type "Gumelnitsa" found in Northeastern Bulgaria date back to the second half of Eneolithe, which corresponds to the phase III of the complex Kodžoderman-Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI⁶². In the Aegean civilization, such chisals have appeared since the late Neolithic age, as the copper large chisels from Thessaly (Sesklo) and a copper ax from Knossos⁶³ in

⁴⁷ZERAVICA 1993, pl.15, 169B.

⁴⁸GEORGIEV 1978, 70, fig. 2; TODOROVA 1981, 35,pl. 6-8.

⁴⁹COMŠA 1991, 109 vv, fig. 11-4; VULPE, 1975, 19-21, pl. I, 3, 4-6, 8-9, 11.

⁵⁰PATAY 1984, 38-39, pl. 8, 150-155.

⁵¹GARAŠANIN 1955, 9, pl. I, 1-7, 11-17; JOVANOVIĆ 1979, 40. pl. I, 2-3; TASIĆ 1995, 192, pl. III, 6,7; STOJIĆ-JOCIĆ 2006, 280, fig. 68 a-c.

⁵²GARAŠANIN 1954, 9, pl. I, 11-12, 14-16; TASIĆ 1979, 106-107, pl. XIV, 4-7; ANTONOVIĆ 2009, 167-169, fig. 3.

⁵³ŽEVARICA 1993, 5-6, pl. I, 1-6.

⁵⁴WEISSHAR 1980, 55.

⁵⁵BIGLI *et al*, 2014, 47, fig. 1.

⁵⁶Muzeu Arkeologjik, Istanbul.

⁵⁷GEORGIEV *et al* 1979, 174, fig. 108, a-b, fig. 109, b.

⁵⁸*Idem*, 174, fig. 108, c; fig. 109, l, m, n.

⁵⁹LESKOV 1981, pl. II, no. 14-15.

⁶⁰GARAŠANIN 1955, 9, pl. I, 1-7, 11-17; JOVANOVIĆ 1979, 40. pl. I, 2-3.

⁶¹PERNICKA *et al* 1993, pl. 7, no. 2 (nr. 1420) and no. 3 (nr.1415).

⁶²CHERNAKOV 2018, 10.

⁶³RENFREW 1972, 311, fig. 16. 2.

the Aegean basin, whereas in Anatolia (Igziktepe-Samsun) such chisels date back to the late stage of Eneolithic (4300-3200 BC)⁶⁴. Based on chemical and laboratory analyses of copper chisels and tools of Maliqi IIbas compared to those of the Copper Mine in Rehova (Vithkuq), it turns out that the metallurgists in Maliq have exploited the ores of this mine⁶⁵ which in geographical terms was located near the settlement in Maliq. The flat chisel type Maliq II, just as the chisels type “Gumelnitsa”, apart from the cutting function, could have also been prestige artefacts or indications of social stratification⁶⁶.

Copper Ax – hammer “Pločnik” type

Only two copper ax-hammer “Pločnik” type have been unearthed to date in Albania, in Blaz (variant A) and in Koplík (variant B). They add up to the list of 40 other pieces already known in the Balkans. Axes-Hammers and the copper axes discovered in storages or even as separate findings are also named “*heavy tools*”⁶⁷.

Catalogue:

1. Pl. III, 36, pl.V, no. inv. 16.392. A complete copper ax-hammer “Pločnik” type, variant A. It was found during excavations in the eneolithic layer IVb in the cave dwellings in Blaz in 1979. It is preserved in FIAT. The size: total length 13.6 cm, sheet length 8 cm, light convex blade 2.7 cm long. Weight 373 gr. The blade cross-section 8 cm long and maximum width 2.8 cm, whereas the butt with rectangular edge and sides 2.4 x 1.7 cm. Equipped in the upper part of the body with the cylindrical transversal hole, with a diameter 2.3 x 2.3 cm. The green patina in good condition and in a single shape. The sample was obtained through spiral hole drilling. Analysis HDM 1462. Classified as type “Mugeni-Kladari”⁶⁸ it was published as type “Pločnik”⁶⁹. Axes-Hammers of this variant are also discovered in the area of Pločnik⁷⁰ culture. It is similar

⁶⁴BIGLI *et al* 2014, 47, fig. 1,7.

⁶⁵PERNICKA-RITTERSHOFER 1995, 8.

⁶⁶CHERNAKOV 2018, 12; Иванов 1978, 112-113.

⁶⁷CHERNAKOV 2018, 1, Note. 1.

⁶⁸PERNICKA-RITTERSHOFER 1995, 7-8.

⁶⁹PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl. CXXV, 3.

⁷⁰JOVANOVIĆ 1979, 38, pl. I, 1; PHELPS *et al* 1979, 179; TASIĆ 1995, 155, fig. 1; КРСТИЧ *et al* 1983, 33, no. 12; ANTONOVIĆ 2014, 56, pl. 8, 118.

to the ax - hammer “Vidra” type, characteristic for the areal of Kodzoderman-Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI culture discovered recently in Polkovnik Taslakovo, Northeastern Bulgaria.⁷¹

2. Pl. III, 37, pl.V, no. inv. 1042. Complete ax-hammer type “Plločnik”. An accidental finding of the period of Pre-World War II in Koplík (Shkodër). Preserved in MHKT. It is included in the variant B, and represents an intermediary variant between type “Plločnik” and “Crestur”⁷². Size: total length 18.3 cm, maximum width 5.8 cm, blade length 3.5 cm, weight 1160 gr.

In its interior the body has a light curve. The cylindrical hole of the grip with a diameter 2.8 x 2.8 cm is reinforced in the exterior side with a plastic ring of a low profile. The green patina is in good condition and has a single shape. The sample for the analysis was obtained through spiral hole drilling. Analysis HDM 1460. Published⁷³. Axes –hammer of this kind were also found in Plločnik⁷⁴.

Copper ax-hammer of variants A and B type “Plločnik” are very wide spread in Southeastern Europe and in the Balkans, with 40 pieces recognized to date. The evidence for their locations follows this order: (Lókút, Marija Gorica, Dereža, Laktaši, Bočac-Tijesno Vrbasa, Travnik, Gorica-Ljubuški, Cerovac, Vukovar, Grgurevci, Szentes, Malo Središte, Šošdija, Veliko Središte, Ritopek, Kruševac, Plločnik I-IV, Pernil-Krakra, Ustra, Varna, Kladovo, Táuteu, Turdaş, Viişoara, Şura-Mică, Şeica-Mică, Teleac, Dragomireşti, Probota, Cárbuna, Trento, Bratislava, Trhyňa, Hrádok, Hodonin, Radslavice, Uherské Hradište⁷⁵, Olomouc-Holice, Frankfurt am Oder and Ruszkowice⁷⁶. They were discovered in the dwellings of Trepolje Culture (Varna, Dragoman, Karbuna and Koxhodermen-Gumelnica-Karanovo VI in Bulgaria, in those of the Vinča Culture in Serbia (Šumrakovac)⁷⁷, Velika Sredishte, Verbac-Tol, Tordosh, Ustra, Plločnik, Probota, Ripan, Kladovo, Kaholomvidek, Krushevac, Shoshdija, and in an unknown spot in Savë), in Bosnie

⁷¹CHERNAKOV 2018,7-8, 12, fig. 8,19-20, fig. 9, 21-22.

⁷²SCHUBERT 1965, 274-275, pl. I.

⁷³PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl. CXXV, 2.

⁷⁴JOVANOVIĆ 1979, 38, pl. I, 1, 4; TASIĆ 1995, 155, fig. 4; ANTONOVIĆ 2014, 56-57, pl. 9, 125-128.

⁷⁵RADIOJEVIĆ 2006, 211-224, fig. 1-2.

⁷⁶DOBEŠ-PEŠKA 2010, 117-125, fig. 2-3.

⁷⁷PERNICKA *et al* 1993, pl. 8, no. 3 (no.inv. 1308).

(Gorica-Lubushnji grupe, Lehtashi, Maxhavista, Mala Sredishtamajdan, Marija Gorica, Okna Sibilju, Orashje na Savi, Trovnik, Trient)⁷⁸, in Croatia (Sura Mica, Bočac-Tijesno Vrbasa, Grgurevci, Dereža, Trovište, Trhyňa, Uherske Radište, Cerovac Topolane)⁷⁹ and elsewhere. In Serbia there are recognized 14 pieces of “Pločnik” type axes and hammers of both variants A and B⁸⁰. Pieces of this type were also found in the “Cucuteni” Culture in Romania⁸¹, Transilvania and in Moldova⁸², in Central Europe, in the Czech Republic⁸³, Poland (Hanna, Opatowice, Ruzskowice, Skomorochy Male)⁸⁴ and in Germany (Frankfurt am Oder)⁸⁵. They refer to the phase Vinča B₂, known as C¹⁴, which dates back to the beginning of the fifth millenium BC.⁸⁶ The different types of axes-hammers are a characteristic element for the Carpathian basin and the areal of the Western Pont⁸⁷. Axes-Hammer type “Pločnik” discovered in Romania and in Transilvania are considered as products of the Eastern region of of Carpathe, wherefrom they passed to “Cucuteni” and then in “Vinča-Pločnik” culture. Meanwhile, hammers like these are rare in Greece and they are thought to be imported from the Balkans⁸⁸, whereas in Anatolia they did not appear before the the third millenium BC⁸⁹. The researchers believe that the first copper axe-hammers are an imitation of stone axes-hammers⁹⁰. In typological terms, axes-hammers of “Pločnik” type differ from type “Vidra”, due to the straight line of the blade and the unusual larger body size⁹¹. Axes-hammers of “Vidra” type do chronologically refer to the phase B of Gumelnița-Karanovo VI and phase A₃ of “Cucuteni” culture, approximately during

⁷⁸GARAŠANIN 1955, 9, pl. I, 8-10; JOVANOVIĆ 1979, 38, pl. I, 1, 4; TASIĆ 1995, 192, pl. III, 3,4.

⁷⁹RADIVOJEVIĆ 2006, 211-224, fig. 1-2; PHELPS *et al* 1979, 179.

⁸⁰ANTONOVIĆ 2014, 55.

⁸¹VULPE 1975, pl. 11, no. 79.

⁸²DERGAČEV 2003, 55-56, pl. 78,1.

⁸³SCHUBERT 1965, 274-275, pl. I; DOBEŠ- PEŠKA 2010, 120-121, fig. 2-3.

⁸⁴GEDL 2004, 18-19, pl. I, 1-4.

⁸⁵RADIVOJEVIĆ 2006, 211-224, fig. 1-2; DOBEŠ- PEŠKA 2010, 120-121, fig. 2-3.

⁸⁶RADIVOJEVIĆ 2006, 224.

⁸⁷HANSEN 2011, 141.

⁸⁸PHELPS *et al* 1979, 179; VULPE 1975, pl. 11, no. 79.

⁸⁹PHELPS *et al* 1979, 180.

⁹⁰*Idem*, 179.

⁹¹CHERNAKOV 2018, 8.

the years 4250-3950/3900 BC, or to the last quarter of the fifth millennium and the beginning of the fourth millennium BC⁹². In the Carpathian-Danubian Basin and in the Balkans were discovered 43 pieces of axes-hammers of "Vidra"⁹³ type. According to researchers, copper axes-hammers are typical for the tombs of the rich of eneolithic necropolis in Varna and a symbol of the might and power of their users⁹⁴.

Copper axe-pick of the type Jászladáni

This type of axe in Albania is represented only by a single piece originating from village Koman in Puka. It is an occasional finding dating back to the Pre-World War II period. Two other axes of this type come from Albanian space, one in Suharekë⁹⁵ and the next from Tuz⁹⁶ in Montenegro, both published in the archaeological literature.

Catalogue:

1.Pl. III, 38, pl.V, no. inv. 1645. Koman (Pukë). Complete copper axe-pick of the type "Jászladáni". It was part of the collection of Father Sh. Gjeçovi⁹⁷. An occasional finding from the Pre-World War II in Koman (Rame) in Puka. It is preserved in MSHS. Size: total length 22.5 cm, length of ax sheet 10.5 cm and of the hammer 9 cm, weight 984 gr. The hole of the cylindrical grip with a diameter 3.2 x 3.2 cm, it is lightly profiled. The convex cross-section 6 cm long is thickened after pressing, with a cut width nearly 1 cm; the same applies to the pick butt. Patina is dark brown in black. It represents the only piece of "Jászladáni" type in Albania. Published⁹⁸. The sample for analyses is obtained through spiral hole drilling to the butt hole. Analysis HDM 1465. According to the spectroscopic analyses of the fluorescence with rays "X" (XRF), the axe-pick of the type "Jászladáni" of Koman is made of pure copper: 99.35+-

⁹² ŠTEFAN 2008, 79.

⁹³ *Idem*, 82-84.

⁹⁴ CHERNAKOV 2018, 12; fig. 8, 19-20; fig. 9, 21-22; ИВАНОВ 1978, 112-113, no. 32-33.

⁹⁵ JOVANOVIĆ 1979, 38, pl. I, 1, 4; TASIĆ 1995, 155, fig. 4.

⁹⁶ IPPEN 1907, 3, fig. 2-3.

⁹⁷ PRENDI 1958, 109, fig. 1.

⁹⁸ PRENDI 1958b, 109, fig. 1; LAHI 2002, 34; PRENDI-BUNGURI 2014, 279, pl. CXXV, 1.

4.8% up to 99.36+-4.51% and 0.31+-0.06% up to 0.26+- 0.05% tin, i.e. it was worked with a copper purity of over 99%⁹⁹.

2. Pl. III, 39, no. inv. 198. Hisar (Suharekë). A complete copper axe-pick of “Jászladáni” type. It was found in a eneolithic dwelling in Hisar¹⁰⁰ in Suhareka and not in Prizren¹⁰¹. It is preserved in the Museum of Vranja (Serbia), no. inv. 198. Size: total length 31.5 cm, convex blade 4.8 cm wide, the diameter of the hole of cylindrical grip 3.5 cm, weight 1500 gr. No. inv. And the size is according to D. Antonović¹⁰².

3. Pl. III, 40, no. inv. Tuz. Copper ax-pick, type “Jászladáni”, fragmented. It was found in the beginning of the 20th century in the Tuzi plateau, north of Shkodra Lake, in the Albanian territory of Montenegro. According to its first publisher, it was the only found artefact, not very deep in the ground. The ax lacks the butt and a part of the grip hole. The preserved total length 17 cm. Weight 1250 gr. The blade with a length 8 cm narrows down towards the transversal grip hole to 3 cm. The largest thickness of 4 cm reaches to the grip hole, whereas the blade narrows down to the shape of a wedge¹⁰³.

Analysis and chronology

Copper axes of “Jászladáni” type used to be widely spread all over the Balkans and South East Europe. Copper axes of this type were found mainly in the Danube Basin, as in Hungary¹⁰⁴ (Bodrogkeresztur and Tiszapolgar culture)¹⁰⁵, in Romania (Tagadau-krahina Arad)¹⁰⁶, Bulgaria (Plakuder, distrikt Vidin)¹⁰⁷, the latter decorated with drilling lines in

⁹⁹ÇAKAJ *et al* 2013, 1, pl. 1, 1, grafik C.

¹⁰⁰IVANOVIĆ 1997, 13, fig. 8; VUKANOVIĆ 1973, 225, pl. I; PERNICKA *et al* 1993, 4, pl. I, nr. 1426; 11, pl. 3, 1426; 47, pl. 10, no. 4; ANTONOVIĆ 2014, 68, pl. 18, no. 192.

¹⁰¹PERNICKA *et al* 1993, 4, pl. I, no. 1426, pl. 10, 4.

¹⁰²ANTONOVIĆ 2014, 68, 192.

¹⁰³IPPEN 1907, 3, fig. 2-3.

¹⁰⁴SCHUBERT 1965, 276, fig. 3, no. 4-6; PATAY 1984, pl. 27, 318-323; pl. 31, 351-352; pl. 32, 359-364; pl. 43, 432-440

¹⁰⁵KIENLIN 2011, 127.

¹⁰⁶BOROFFKA 1995, 226, fig. 1, no. 16; SOROCEANU 1995, 228, Abb. 1, no. 16; VULPE 1970, pl. 12, no. 93-94; pl. 16, no. 120-121, 123, pl. 29, no. 214-216 and others.

¹⁰⁷МИКОВ *et al* 1952, 18, pl. IX, 3.

both sides of the grip hole¹⁰⁸, in Bosnie¹⁰⁹, Montenegro (Kotor, Tuz)¹¹⁰, Croatia (Split)¹¹¹ and elsewhere. Copper axes of “Jászladáni” type and its variants are widely known in Central Balkans, where 21 recognized copies were published in 1993 after the following list: Stojačak¹¹², Vrazogrnac¹¹³, Gradac¹¹⁴, Slatina-Selo Vrba¹¹⁵, in a unknown spot¹¹⁶, Donja Bela Reka¹¹⁷, Glogovica¹¹⁸, Pesak-Varoš Svrlijig¹¹⁹, Šarkamen¹²⁰, Donji Milanovac¹²¹, Bunar, Krivejl¹²², Svilanje¹²³, in unknown locations¹²⁴, Makrešane¹²⁵, Lazinje-Mokra, Bela Palanka¹²⁶, Krivi Vir, Niš¹²⁷, Pesak (Varosh-Nish)¹²⁸, Veloko Laole¹²⁹, Rečica¹³⁰ and Dušanovac¹³¹. The ax “Jászladáni” type and its variants is very wide spread particularly in Serbia¹³², where they have found 163 pieces of this type, classified in 5 variants¹³³. Copper axes of “Jászladáni” type or its variants are also found in Eastern Adriatic (Osijek, Bečmen in Srem, in Kikind-Livade, in Baranda of Pančeva, in Karavide, Posavin and in

¹⁰⁸SCHUBERT 1965, 276, fig. 4, no. 5.

¹⁰⁹ŽERAVICA 1993, pl. 2, 14-18; pl. 3, no. 19-23.

¹¹⁰*Idem*, pl. 4, no. 27-29 (Kotor) and no. 30 (Tuz). Krhs. IPPEN 1907, 3, fig. 2-3.

¹¹¹*Idem*, pl. 3, no. 25.

¹¹²PRNICKA *et al* 1993, pl. 8, 2, no. 1402.

¹¹³*Idem*, pl. 8, 4, no. 1311.

¹¹⁴*Idem*, pl. 8, 5, no. 1320.

¹¹⁵*Idem*, pl. 8, 6, no. 1408.

¹¹⁶*Idem*, pl. 8, 7, no. 1313

¹¹⁷*Idem*, pl. 8, 8, no. 1319.

¹¹⁸*Idem*, pl. 8, 8, no. 1318.

¹¹⁹*Idem*, pl. 9, 1, no.1419.

¹²⁰*Idem*, pl. 9, 2-3,no.inv., 1310 dhe 1304.

¹²¹*Idem*, pl. 9, 4, no. 1322.

¹²²*Idem*, pl. 9, 5, no.1326.

¹²³*Idem*, pl. 9, 6, no. 1405.

¹²⁴*Idem*, pl. 10, 1, no.1414, pl. 10, 5, no. 1416.

¹²⁵*Idem*, pl. 10, 2, no. 1413.

¹²⁶*Idem*, pl. 10, 3, no. 1418.

¹²⁷GARAŠANIN 1971, no. 227; PERNICKA *et al* 1993, pl.10, 6, no. 1417.

¹²⁸GARAŠANIN 1971, no. 228.

¹²⁹PERNICKA *et al* 1993, pl. 11, 1, no.1427.

¹³⁰*Idem*, pl. 11, 2, no. 1429.

¹³¹*Idem*, pl. 11, 3, no. 1301.

¹³²GARAŠANIN 1955, pl. XXIII, 2-5, 7-11.

¹³³ANTONVIČ 2009, 171; ANTONVIČ 2014, 64-79.

Stabnja, Northern Dalmatia¹³⁴. Axes of “Jászladáni” type were also found in the Dalmatian coast Popov Hendek-Tefanj¹³⁵, Tešanj (unknown spot)¹³⁶, Svilaj-Bosanski¹³⁷, two unknown spots¹³⁸, Glavska¹³⁹, Stabanj¹⁴⁰, Gripe¹⁴¹, Spinut-Split¹⁴², in Austria and in Poland (Konieczmosty, Krzeszyce)¹⁴³. They are also found in Italy (Polenzo¹⁴⁴ and Island Elba¹⁴⁵). Our ax piece marks the southeast point of the spread of copper axes, type “Jászladáni” in the Balkans. They date back to the Eneolithic period facilitated through finding a part of them in the eneolithic layer of their dwellings, or in depositions with safe chronological contexts. A case like this was reported by a deposit in Malé Leváre (Bulgaria), where a copper axe of this type was found together with a copper chisel and a copper spear point dating back to the transitory period between Eneolithic and the early bronze or between the years 3700-3500 BC.¹⁴⁶ They are considered typical tools of the “Cucuteni” Culture A-B₂. Although they usually date back to the Eneolithic Age¹⁴⁷, axes like these continued to be used even in the beginnings of Early Bronze Age.

¹³⁴JOVANOVIĆ 1979, 40-41, pl. II, 3; pl. III, 1-9.

¹³⁵ŽERAVICA 1993, pl. 2, no. 14-16.

¹³⁶*Idem*, pl. 2, no. 17.

¹³⁷*Idem*, pl. 2, no. 18.

¹³⁸*Idem*, pl. 3, no. 19-20.

¹³⁹*Idem*, pl. 3, no. 21.

¹⁴⁰*Idem*, pl. 3, no. 22-23.

¹⁴¹*Idem*, pl. 3, no. 24.

¹⁴²*Idem*, pl. 3, no. 25.

¹⁴³GEDLE 2004, 15, pl. I, 9-10.

¹⁴⁴CARANCINI 1984, pl. 171, no. 4470.

¹⁴⁵*Idem*, tab. 171, no. 4471.

¹⁴⁶VAJSOV 1993, 104, 138, tab. 28, no.3, 5-6; chronological table, 139.

¹⁴⁷VULPE 1960, 197.

Table with the chemical analyses of come copper working tools¹⁴⁸

no	no.inv	Discover location	object	Analys HDM	SN	PB	AS	SB	CO	NI	AG	AU
1	3308	Maliq IIb	chisel	1442	300	10	14200	4420	76.1	20000	138.0	4.63
2	4694	"	"	1446	110	10	115	315	0.2	3050	567	14.8
3	8273	Kamnuk IIa	"	1455	30	10	1.0	0.3	30.4	44	2.7	0.01
4	16391	Blaz IVa	"	1463	6	10	0.5	11.0	0.1	75	7.7	0.11
5	4695	Maliq IIb	spatula	1451	200	10	13058	3700	17.0	15050	109.0	136.01
6	4696	"	Hole drilller	1452	30	10	1560	35	1.2	31	173.0	5.54
7	3309	"	"	1443	93600	10	2640	429	35.2	3430	23.2	0.33
8	4696	"	"	1452	30	10	1560	35	1.2	31	173.0	5.54
9	4692	"	"	1450	70	10	10.0	6.0	0.2	225	160.0	696.00
10	4689	"	"	1448	30	10	10.0	113	0.2	312	31.0	1.59
11	4685	"	"	1444	70	10	3.0	4.0	0.3	49	106.0	237.0
12	4686	"	"	1445	33	10	20.0	11.0	0.4	56	28.4	37.30
13	4691	"	"	1449	60	10	544	2	76.6	118	1	0.01
14	4688	"	needle	1447	60	10	15650	171	3.3	495	14.9	5.54
15	4701	"	ingot(?)	1453	30	10	0.5	2.0	0.4	117	25.5	0.97

b. Table No. 2 for two copper working tools found in the layer of Blazi IVa-b

No.inv.	Cu %	Sn mg/g	Pb mg/g	As mg/g	Sb mg/g	Co ppm	Ni mg/g	Ag ppm	Au ppm	Bi mg/g	Fe mg/g	Zn ppm	Se ppm	Ir ppm
16391 Chisel	100.0	0.010	0.000	0.006	0.0004	16.2	0.089	7.2	0.44	0.000	0.09	25.9	3.9	0.001
16392 Hammer	100.0	0.006	0.000	0.005	0.0011	10.5	0.075	7.7	0.11	0.000	0.06	10.9	1.9	0.001

c. Table no. 3 with two axes in the Museum in Shkodra¹⁴⁹:

Ax	No. inv	The analyzed part	Cu (%)	Sn (%)
Ax-pick, typeJaszladani (Koman) ¹⁵⁰	120	In the corner of the upper part	99.36+-4.51	0.31+-0.06
		Tothe grip hole	99.35+-4.8	0.26+-0.05
		In the corner of the lower part	99.17+-4.63	0.4+-0.02

¹⁴⁸This Table was compiled by the author, based on the data of the chemical analyses made by DAI, Frankfurt am Main. Krhs. RITERSHOFER-PERNICKA 1995; cluster: 2, 4, 7, 9, 11. Names of the metals are written with their chemical symbols, according to Mendeleev Table.

¹⁴⁹ÇAKAJet al2013, 1, pl. 1, 1, graphic A, C.

¹⁵⁰ÇAKAJet al 2013, 1, pl. 1, 1, graphic C.

Conclusions

Albania is very rich in copper reserves, which serve as the necessary raw material for the copper and bronze metallurgy. They are concentrated in the North, Northwestern and Southeastern Albania, where during the Eneolithic and Late Bronze Age there were two independent operating provinces. There are two copper deposits that were presumably exploited in prehistoric times, the one in Gjegjan, Kukës in North East Albania and that of Rehova in Vithkuq in Southeast Albania. The territory of Kosovo is also rich in copper ores, which is also archaeologically testified in Fafos II (Mitrovicë). Prehistoric metallurgy is an important economic component for each prehistoric civilization. The elements of this metallurgy, both grouped or scattered, testify in archaeological terms the new developments within prehistoric communities. The production and trading of the first metallic products became a viable craftmanship; it did also help create an “aristocratic elite”. Albeit the original acultural processes, the birth of metallurgy, as a separate economic branch of pre and protohistoric communities is a clear indication of their socio-economic development and mutual relations of exchange with neighbouring communities.

The evidence of metallurgical analyses in this paper helps to better understand the relationship between acultural processes and local metallurgy, enabling the better comprehension of the relationship between import and local manufactured commodities. The first important conclusion deriving from our research is the clear scientific and well-supported evidence on the birth and development of local copper metallurgy, which dates back to the earliest stage of the development of independent metallurgical production in Albania, and namely in the advanced Eneolithic period. The study of prehistoric metallurgy and its products in Albania and in Kosovo has succeeded in providing as comprehensive and well-founded answers on some fundamental issues related to earliest prehistoric metallurgy, chronologically linked to the Eneolithic Age. In the cultural layer of Maliq IIb, during archaeological excavations, 26 copper working tools, mainly different types of chisels, hole – drillers, spatulas, needles, a fishing hook, body decorations, copper plates (ingots (?),) copper slags (slum) and other artefacts were unearthed *in situ*. In the same layer they

did also find a mold to cast rectangular chisels with an arched blade of type Maliq Iib, and some other chisels of this type modelled in this shape mold. They complete the scheme of local metallurgical production in this eneolithic settlement. Apart from chisels type “Pločnik and Maliq Iib”, in this cultural layer, chisels of “Salkutsa and Cucuteni” type were also found, which help us better understand not only the trade relations among the eneolithic inhabitants in Maliq and their orientation towards the Carpathian-Danubian Basin, but also the relationship between important local production commodities. The first imported chisels from more advanced neighbouring regions or even more distant cultures, namely from “Salkutsa, Cucuteni and Pločnik” cultures serve also as patterns of imitation with an impact in the processes of metallurgical aculturation in this geo-cultural space. Finding chisels of “Salkuca” and “Cucuteni” type in Maliq, besides the type “Pločnik” shows that the exchange relations of the cultural group Maliq II in its early stage were oriented towards the Carpathian – Danubian metallurgical basin. The chisels type “Pločnik” represent an eneolithic standard type, very similar with other contemporary eneolithic cultures in the Balkans. They reproduce identical shapes known in the Karanovo VI-Koxhoderman-Krivodol Culture in Bulgaria, Gumelnica A₂-B₁ and Salkuca in Romania and in Hungary, Vinča-Pločnik and Bubanj-Hum I in Serbia, Rrahmani in Thessaly, relevant cultures in the Aegean Basin and in Anatolia as well (Ikziktepe-Samsun). Import objects are also ax-hammers type “Pločnik” (Blaz IVb, Koman) and the axes type “Jásládani” (Koman, Hisar Iib, Tuz). Identical ax-hammers as those in Blazi Ivb were also found in Romania, Transilvania, where they are considered as produced in the region of Eastern Carpathes, then they passed over to the “Cucuteni Culture”, and later in Vinča-Pločnik. During the advanced eneolithic phase Maliq Iib, chronologically linked to the beginning of the 4th millennium BC, the first artefacts of local metallurgy appeared also in Kosovo. This phase there is represented with 4 objects that come from the eneolithic layer of Hisar Iib (Suharekë), namely a mold of axes or flat chisels, a bone hole – driller with a copper point and two ore casting vessels smelted into shape molds. Independent metallurgical production in Albania and in Kosovo started in the advanced eneolithic phase and continued during the whole Bronze Age. The first copper objects produced domestically refer to the advanced eneolithic culture of the

phase Maliq IIa (renamed as Maliq IIb). This phase of eneolithic development marks the introduction and use of copper metal to manufacture working tools, an occurrence which is characteristic for the culture of Maliq II. In the cultural layer of Maliq IIb there is discovered a considerable number of copper tools, largely chisels “Pločnik”, smelting traces, copper waste and a mud mold used to cast rectangular chisels, elements that bear testimony to the beginnings of copper metallurgy in Albania from the outset of the 4th millennium BC. The culture of the phase Maliq IIb provides the following sufficient evidence on the existence of local metallurgy during that period: splintering and sharpening the vertical pilings of houses of palafiti type with copper chisels, discovery in this cultural layer of a considerable number of chisels, brads, hole – drillers and copper needles, rectangular shape molds, copper ingots, copper oxide and waste, which do usually remain in the ore smelting location. The above-mentioned archaeological testimony prove that during the advanced neolithic phase, stratigraphically linked to the layer of Maliq IIb, in Maliq, a direct metallurgical province was in place in Korça Basin.

Apparently, this metallurgical province during the Eneolithic Age was also established in Kosovo, where a considerable number of copper artifacts were unearthed. The discovery of two vessels, type “Gießgefäß” and some objects of copper metallurgy in Hisar IIb entitles us to view eneolithic Hisar as an important metallurgical centre in Kosovo. The slag leftovers and the traces of copper ores in Fafos II, the stone mold of flat copper chisels in Hisar IIb, the vessels of type “*Gießgefäß*” for casting the ores smelted into molds and the artifacts of copper metallurgy (bone hole – driller with a copper head, ax type “Jásládani”) are sufficient to consider Hisar as the embryo of the metallurgical province operating in present Kosovo.

Abbreviations of the names of scientific journals:

AA:	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AeA:	Aegean Archaeology
AiA:	Arkivi i Institutit Arkeologjik
Ajug:	Archeologica Jugoslavica
Akorrl Bl:	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt
AM:	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung

- AnMet: Anatolian Metal
 AnSt: Anatolian Studies
 APregl: Archeoloski Pregled
 AVest: Arheološki Vestnik
 BArk: BuletinArkeologjik
 BCH: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
 Beitrf Amk: Beitrage zur ur-und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer Kulturraumes
 BerRGK: Bericht Der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
 BSA: The Annual of British School at Athens
 BSHSH: Buletini i ShkencaveShoqërore
 BUSHT: Buletini i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tiranës
 CAH: The Cambridge Ancient History
 CambrAJ: Cambridge Archaeological Journal
 CambrUP: Cambridge University Press
 CercA: Cercetări arheologice
 CWA: Cambridge World Archaeology
 Diadora: Diadora. Glasilo arheoloskog muzeja u Zadru.
 DocPraeist: Documenta Praehistorica
 FIAT: Fondet e Institutit Arkeologjik
 Glas Beograd: Glasnik Srpsko arheološko društvo.
 Glas Sarajevo: Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu. Arheologija.
 GSMK: Glasnik i Muzeut të Kosovës
 IM: Istanbuler Mitteilungen
 JAS: Journal of Archaeological Science
 JAZU: Jugoslavenkske Akademije Ynanosti i Umjetnosti, Zagreb
 JBalA: Journal of Balkan Prehistory
 JbRGZM: Jahrbüch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentral Museums Mains.
 JIES: Journal of Indo-European Studies
 JMedA: Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
 JMM: Journal of Mining and Metallurgy
 MAT: Muzeu Arkeologjik Tiranë
 PAS: Prähistorische Archäologische in Südosteuropa
 PBF: Prähistorische Bronzefunde
 PJZ: Praistorija Jugoslavenkih Zemalja
 PPS: Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
 PZ: Prähistorische Zeitschrift
 RA: Revue archéologique
 RScPreist: Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche

SSSHSH:	Seria e shkencave shoqërore.
StAlb:	Studia Albanica
Starinar:	Archaeological Review of Arheološki Institut Beograd
StCercIstorV:	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie
StHist:	Studime Historike
StPraeist:	Studia Praeistoria
StPreist:	Studii de Preistorie

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Gëzim HOXHA

**RESEARCHES ON THE ORIGJIN OF ARBËRI POPULATION,
ACHIEVEMENTS, DILEMMAS AND CHALLENGES FOR
ALBANOLOGY**

The renown thesis of the Illyrian origin of Albanians coined since a long time ago by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716)¹, Johann Erich Thunmann (1746 -1778)² and others has found an inter-disciplinary support in the new Albanian science of the second half of the 20th century to date; besides, it is formulated in such a way as to be widely accepted on international level as well.



Fig. 1. The mountain landscape of the Dalmace Castle (Koman) and the early medieval cemetery near it

¹ LEIBNIZ: *Sammelwerke*, IV Reihe, Bd. 3, S. 27 – 38; for a more detailed presentation see: DEMIRAJ 2014, 223-238.

² THUNMANN, Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen Europäischen Völker. Leipzig. 1774; THUNMANN, Über die Geschichte und Sprache der Albaner und der Wlachen. Hamburg: Buske. 1976.(reprint).

In linguistic terms, this thesis was more thoroughly upheld by the prominent linguist Eqrem Çabej. Whereas in archaeological terms, objective research opportunities were provided by the so - called “Komani Culture” discovered by the end of the 19th and the beginnings of the 20th century until presently (Figs. 1 and 2).

Originally, there were various viewpoints on this issue: French Consul, Alexandre Degrand considered this as a culture of pelasgians (pellazgë) (the second milleniums BC)³. Theodor Ippen, Panne Träger, Luigi Ugolini and Georg Stadtmüller have expressed the idea that it was an Illyrian culture⁴. Franz Nopcsa, and Domenico Mustilli saw the roots of romanized illyrians in this culture⁵. Salomon Reinach identified it with the german sueves⁶. Henrich Bulle was thinking of avars⁷, Jovan Kovačević and Josiph Korošec emphasized slavic elements there⁸. Whereas albanian researchers of the second half of the 20th century did largely identify elements of illyrian tradition there⁹.

However, as it always occurs in the field of science, the thesis of the illyrian – the arbëresh continuity, it is still obliged, just as before, to compete with different anti-theses, which continue to exist even nowadays. The latter range varies from categorical opposition to the denial of the illyrian – arbëresh historic ties.

a) Among researchers of categoric opposition we may mention the following:

The Bulgarian researcher Vasilka Tapkova-Zaimova thinks that the territory of today’s Albania was occupied by the slavs and that the “albanization” of slavs by some albanian highlander tribes who came in the Balkans after the 12th century has occurred later¹⁰.

³ DEGRAND 1901, 256-264.

⁴ IPPEN 1901, 603-670; IPPEN 1907, 16-22; UGOLINI 1927, 39-72; STADTMÜLLER 1966,118; STADTMÜLLER 1942, 18.

⁵ NOPSCA 1909, 86; NOPSCA 1912, 190-204; MUSTILLI 1940; MUSTILLI 1942.

⁶ REINACH 1901, 662-670.

⁷ BULLE 1934, 218.

⁸ KOVAČEVIĆ 1960; KOROŠEC 1953, 243; KOROŠEC 1954, 176.

⁹ See in summary: ÇABEJ 1974 , 7-26 ; BUDA 1974 , 60-63; ANAMALI 1974, 27-47; ANAMALI 1982, 35-69; SPAHIU 1979-80, 23-46; KOMATA 1979-80, 105-121; PRENDI 1979-80, 123-170; PRENDI, ZHEKU 1983, 203-208; MEKSI 1989, 109-136.

¹⁰TAPKOVA-ZAIMOVA 1966, 76.



Fig. 2. Archaeological excavations in the cemetery of Koman in the early 80s of the XX century

On his part, the Macedonian archaeologist Bojko Babić, denies any presence of Komani Culture in the vicinities of Ohrid Lake and he credits this culture to the slavic tribe of brsjacove¹¹.

In another view, Gottfried Schramm expresses the idea that it is not at all Albanians who are descendants of Illyrians, *but the thrachian Bessi, a people pushed in the hinterland of the Balkan Peninsula. The persecution against Christians by the Bulgarian Kingdom in the first half of the ninth century forced the Bessi to be finally displaced to the West. They settled in a mountainous location named Arbanon* (area between

¹¹ BABIĆ 1980, 103.

River Shkumbin in Central Albania and district Mat in the North) ¹². There are also other supporters of these ideas, but now they belong to the generations of the past.

b) In our days there are also theses casting suspicions on Illyrian – Arbëri links in terms of language, history and archeology. Most of these theses tend to approach the theories modified according to the political climate of Balkans researchers, mainly in former Yugoslavia, who started by accepting the Illyrian – Arbëri links, but later they found reasons to deny these ties.

Slovenian researcher Irena Rajterić-Sivec has noted in *Komani Culture in the '70 of the 20th century* “...a material and spiritual tradition of the native population, shaped as a culture on its own in the late antique tradition, under the Byzantine and Slavic influence”¹³.

Milutin Garašanin, Fanoula Papazoglou, Pavle Mijović and Vladislav Popović¹⁴ have expressed almost the same views. But afterwards, they remodelled their attitude mostly formulated in the Symposium “Iliri i Albanci” (Belgrade 1986), asserting that: “... the ancestors of Albanians – *Komani-Krujë Culture* belongs to a romanized population, whereas the slavs were among them in the areas with Slavic toponyms and that Albanian-Slav contacts occurred in areas extending to an altitude of 600-900 m¹⁵. In their opinion, this already romanized population does not have direct links with Illyrians.

These theses have also had their impact on the works of western scholars, as Oliver J. Schmitt, Bernd J. Fischer, Joachim Matzinger, William Bowden, Tom. J. Winnifrith¹⁶ and others. In a publication dated to year 2021, Winnifrith states clearly that the Yugoslav researchers, Garašanin and Papazoglou are useful in this respect¹⁷. Then, he concludes in an exotic way that: “*There has always been a fundamental*

¹² SCHRAMM 1994, the presentation made in the first Chapter. pp. 9-47

¹³ RAJTERIĆ-SIVEC 1976, 567.

¹⁴ See respectively: GARAŠANIN 1988, 144; PAPAZOGLU 1969, 151, 208; PAPAZOGLU 1988b, 199; MIJOVIĆ 1972, 68-69; POPOVIĆ 1984, 181-243 ; POPOVIĆ 1988, 251-283.

¹⁵ POPOVIĆ 1984, 181-243; POPOVIĆ 1988, 251-283

¹⁶ See respectively: SCHMITT 2012, 41-55; FISCHER, SCHMITT 2022, 17, 37-42; MATZINGER 2012, 38-39; BOWDEN 2003, 204-211; WINNIFRITH 2012; WINNIFRITH 2021.

¹⁷ WINNIFRITH 2021, notes to the Chapter 3.

division between the South of Albania and its mysterious, romantic North – more feudal, more tribal, more Catholic and more prone to Austrian and Italian influence; less affected by Greece, both ancient and modern, medieval Byzantium or the Orthodox faith. Northern Albania also has a more savage climate and landscape than the south of the country and its inhabitants have traditionally had little respect for law and authority while remaining greatly in thrall to an ancient honor code – the kanun – demanding blood feuds and terrible revenge”¹⁸.

c) In a totally different way has expressed himself the well-known Croatian historian of the beginnings of the 20th Century, Milan Shuflaj, pointing out that the ethnic basis of the Albanian people was known by the name “Illyrian”. After his opinion, this substrate is its backbone, which even the flows of history could not change. With the power of a brilliant reconnoisseur of historic sources, he draws a telling historic parallel while speaking on Albanians: *“Just as the Basks in Pyrennees, the Celts in Irska and in Wales, the Tuaregs and Kabyles in Atlas and the remnants of many nations in Caucasus, Albanians too, protected by their mountains, constitute a very ancient magnificent group. They are not in the least harsh and powerless remnants, but vivid national gatherings with a vigorous congregation around Kruja”¹⁹.*

The ideas of many authoritarian researchers of the second half of the 20th and the beginning of this Century do also head to this directions. In 2015, the well-known historian of byzantology, Johannes Koder underlines that: *“The cultural heritage of the Albanian nation is – like the cultural heritages of many European nations – complex and has manifold roots in the ancient and medieval history. Through the late antique and medieval centuries the Albanian people received cultural impulses from the Christian nations and institutions in Southeastern Europe and in Italy. Ancient Greek and Roman cultural influence was followed by Byzantine and Western. After the Middle Ages Albania was, under the Ottoman rule, also confronted for some centuries with Muslim culture and ideology. But the Albanians found the power to overcome foreign interests, political and ideological, and Albania’s role was not reduced to a melting-pot of foreign cultural elements. The Albanian*

¹⁸ WINNIFRITH 2021, on the first introductory page of the book.

¹⁹ SHUFLAJ 2003, 104

people integrated these elements and ideas in the main stream of cultural and national identity"²⁰.

The next well-known historian Noel Malcolm, in his latest book "Studies in the history of the Albanians (2020) clarifies that on many historic grounds, the thesis of the Albanian autochtone identity has been turned into a mythic tradition and actually it contains significant elements of the truth. But later on he says that: " ...modern researchers know that no Balkan population has remained in water – proof bowls and that all have gone through all sorts of ethnic intermingles"²¹.

The historian of Illyrians, John Wilkes, points out that: "By all means, it goes beyond doubt that the tombs in Koman-Krujë testify the continuity of the existence of a non-slavic population during the period between the fifth and the sixth centuries and it is very likely that their identification with a Romanized population of Illyrian origin separated them from the slavic settlements, pushing them farther in the north "Romanoit" as mentioned by Konstantin Profirogjenetios²² " (Fig. 3) . Then, in 1992, he admits with optimism that: " ... one should hope that any inaccuracy that has affected the performance of Albanian archeology will be fixed in the future. Actually, new publications are demonstrating that Albanian culture is equally diversified and remarkable with each other part of Europe²³.

²⁰KODER 2015, 15

²¹MALCOLM 2020, 671 and 682

²²WILKES 1992, 278

²³WILKES 1992, 280.



Fig. 3. Typical ornaments from Komani culture

Meanwhile, it should be accepted that apart from achievements, there were also weak points in Albanian researches during the period of the dictatorial state. Isolation, narrow ideological frames, outdated methods and few opportunities for modern researchers have left their traces behind. Today, thanks to the new spirit of openness, one may note that the categorical denial of the Romanization of Illyrian population has been a deficiency; but at the same time one cannot deny in absolute terms the old heritage, as some “open-minded” young and old researchers do. In fact, the phenomena of historic and cultural interaction and the presence of elements of a certain kind of acculturation have accompanied the long evolutive process of making Arbëri population. Therefore, such occurrences should be better highlighted with intensified multi-disciplined researches.

Actually, a new spirit has been spreading in the attitudes of Albanian researchers, particularly after ‘90. In 1989, the scholar Aleksandër Meksi highlighted that by the end of the sixth and the beginnings of the seventh century, these lands were subject to slavic attacks and their first settlements there. As a joint study with historic and archaeological

sources shows, these attacks were accompanied with plunderings, fires and devastations²⁴.

In 1998, Albanian archaeology celebrated its 50th Anniversary. On this occasion, experienced colleges took once again stock of the rich archaeological achievements. Besides their positive assessment, archeologist Lorenc Bejko pointed out *“the lack of theoretical debate, the presence of the Marxist mode of explaining the society and the over-emphasis on the typological methods of studies, to the detriment of the generic analytical method”*²⁵. Whereas, Gëzim Hoxha notes that: *“...it is necessary to avoid some declarative moments related to the thesis on the autochthony of Aalbanians...otherwise it would leave room to label it as a thesis of “dogmatic illyrism”*²⁶.

In 2001 (2004) archeologist Neritan Ceka made it very clear the point that: *“We find the traces of devastative invasions (slav 536, 538, 551-552 and then Justinian) in a large part of the settlements of this period, where the clearest testimony is the burning of the Cathedral in Bylis during the invasion in the year 548. Christianity became during these invasions an important factor of rezistence for the local population, which incomers identified not only from their language but their faith as well,”*²⁷.

In the year 2006, historian Pëllumb Xhufi, entitled with an historic wisdom his voluminous book "Dilemmas of Arbri" mentioning that: *“... at the time when national cultures were shaped, Albania was a country whose history and culture was characterized by diversity and uncertainties of an marginal country”*²⁸. *The meeting and the clash of state and cultural dinosaurs in these territories faced Albanians with the eternal historical dilemma of choice: “East or West”*²⁹. He also breaks away with the frames of dogmatic attitudes vis à vis the romanization process by admitting (even more by objecting the opinion of Prof. Çabej) that: *“...toponym “Αλβανov “ (lat. Albanum) and the ethnonym derived from it “Αλβανοι” (lat Albani) are nonetheless connected with the period*

²⁴MEKSI, 1989, 134

²⁵ Bejko 1988, 201

²⁶HOXHA 1988, 327

²⁷ Ceka 2004, 9

²⁸XHUFU 2006, VII-VIII.

²⁹XHUFU 2006, IX.

of the Roman occupation of Illyria and has a latin origin, as several other toponyms with latin origin alive even today in Albania ³⁰...Therefore, *this is nothing else but the transplantation of the name of the homonym region in Central Italy*³¹.

In the recent years, a joint Albanian-French archeological expedition, under the direction of archaeologist Etleva Nallbani, has undertaken the excavations in the sites of Lezha, Komani and Shurdhah and is continuing to run a multidispilinary research³².

The project in Komani is ongoing work to uncover new data and details in order to better understand the history of the settlement, from its origins in the late Roman period, to its organization in the late antique period, and of civilization in the medieval period.

The first element that connects the settlement and the cemetery of Koman with early Christianity is the presence of seven churches, which have been only documented recently (Fig. 4). The process to identify an extraordinary number of churches related to time period 7-8th centuries AD and bringing to light some of them is one of the main achievements of archaeological research in such site. During the later stages of the Middle Ages, such impressive element of the Christian presence was increased significantly. From the constructions of the ancient period up to those of 18th century, the total number of churches which have been documented reaches to twelve.

Based on historical resources and analogies with similar settlements, it might be stated that the church buildings in Koman are a clear evidence of the basic investmentst hat have been made by Christian clergy in each of the main neighborhoods of thearea above. In the context of historical

³⁰XHUFİ 2006, 11, Certainly, when we say this, we have in mind the opposite opinion of Prof. E. Çabej, according to whom the word *Arbëris* is an original word in Albanian. (some quotes by Cabej).

Meanwhile, M. Šufflay (Srbi i Arbanasi f. 25), thinks that the words *Ilirë* and *Arbër* were put to Albanians by the foreigners.

³¹XHUFİ 2006, 13.

³² NALLBANI 2007, 47-61; NALLBANI 2014, 67-81; NALLBANI 2016; NALLBANI 2017, 311-346; NALLBANI, BUCHET 2008, 239-261; NALLBANI, BUCHET 2013, 479-487; NALLBANI etj. 2016a; NALLBANI etj. 2016b; NALBANI etj. 2017; NALLBANI etj. 2018.

turmoil of the Early Middle Ages, ecclesiastical authority assumed the role of key persons for all aspects of life.

From the new excavations in Koman there is a progress in the more detailed understanding of the topography of the settlement and in its more precise chronological determination. Already in the area of the entire settlement, a second renovation phase has been identified, still not very accurate from a chronological point of view, somewhere around the 10th-11th centuries AD. In the first phase of the 7th - 9th centuries AD, the inhabitants of Koman buried their dead in their clothing, accompanied by tools, weapons, ornaments and offerings. Already in the second renovation phase, (9-11th century AD) they abandoned most of this type of grave inventory. Only a few very precious ornaments survive, with representations of Christian symbols. They demonstrate an integration with the contemporary cultures of the northern Adriatic region and of Byzantium in general.

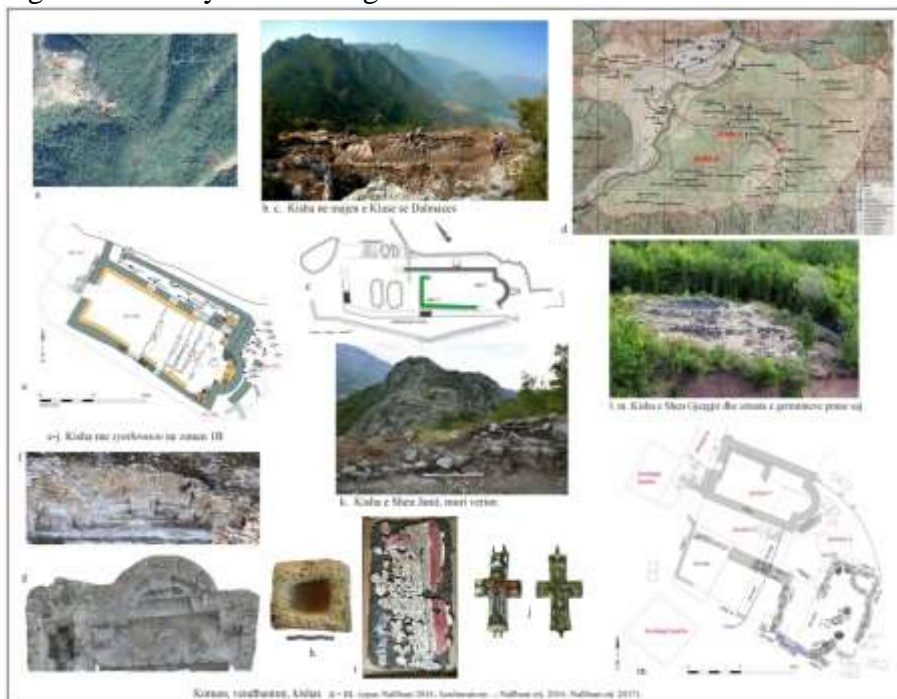


Fig. 4. Koman settlement, topography and its churches

With a multidisciplinary perspective, more in-depth studies are being conducted on administrative, social-economic, anthropological, religious, etc. aspects. From the point of view of the research potential, the settlement of Koman and the valley of the river Drin, constitute a perfect case study, to understand the mechanism of the creation and regrouping of medieval settlements in the Western Balkans³³.

In my opinion, all above-mentioned attitudes constitute moderate steps of Albanian Albanological scientific research in the face of an open – ended international reality.

Let me also take this opportunity to say a few words on the relationship between the scientific research and the printed & audiovisual media. Unfortunately, in most of the cases, these media outlets are much more in pursuit of sensational and thrilling news instead of the scientific outcome. They find this sort of offer quite easily among amateur scientists, who unfortunately are flourishing, by openly abusing with the freedom of speech and creativeness. Moreover, one notices that these “all-knowledgeable” contingents have been a point of reference also for foreign researchers, in their capacity as intentional and cunning sceptics of achievements of Albanian serious sciences.

While referring to the above-mentioned advisory opinion by historian Noel Malcolm, let me close with the concluding remarks that objectively speaking, the complicated process of the scientific research in this respect is not ended yet. It poses hundreds and thousands other questions. These questions demand persuasive and well – founded answers. These are questions that require untiring work and endless patience as in the Myth of Sisyphus. We should work on going by like ants to find out and put in their proper places the tiny tesserae of a historic mosaic with very complicated spiral motifs. Such a searching, enlightening and reconstructive work, on this mosaic of Illyrian-Arbërian history, is an immense venture. It is an undertaking that should provide answers to the three most fundamental questions that history poses: “Who are we?” “Where do we come from?” and “where are we heading for”?

* * *

³³ NALLBANI 2017, 311

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Pëllumb XHUPI

SOURCES OF LAW IN MEDIEVAL ALBANIA

Generally speaking, there are two juridical systems in Europe: the continental one, based on the positive law and the Anglo-Saxon juridical system based on the *common law*¹. In the history of the European peoples the latter reflects a primitive stage in the society. But, starting with the *Codex* of the Illyrian Emperor Justinianus (6th C), elements of the common law have been integrated into the various legal codes published anywhere.²

In Albania, the common law is explicitly mentioned in two letters of the year 1272 from the King of Naples, Charles of Anjou, who by that time was also proclaimed “King of Albania” (*Rex Albaniae*). In the said letters addressed to the nobility of the land and to the patricians of Albanian towns, Charles promised that he “would observe all their good practices and customs”³ However, these “good practices and customs” would have to cohabitate with the feudal law of the Kingdom of Naples, as it has been made up from the time of Frederick II Hohenstaufen into the so-called “Constitution of Melfi”⁴.

¹ Joseph Dainow, “The Civil Law and the Common Law: some points of comparison”, in: *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 15, no. 3 (1966-1967), p. 419 and then; Lisa Bénou, “Droit positif-droit coutumier: une relation conflictuelle ou un dialogue continu”, në: *L’Homme et son environnement dans le Sud-Est Européen*, Actes du X^e Congrès de l’Association Internationale du Sud-Est Européenne, Paris 24-26 Septembre 2009, éd. Association Pierre, Paris, 2011, p. 252, 253.

² G. Ostrogorsky, *Storia dell’Impero Bizantino*, Torino: Einaudi, 1968, f. 65-66.

³ “*omnes bonos usus et consuetudines eorum*”, *Acta et Diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, bot. L. Thalloczy, C. Jireček, M. Šufflay, vol. I, Adolph Holzhausen, Wien, 1913, no. 269, p. 77.

⁴ J. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici II*, vol. I, Parisiis, 1859, p. CDXIII; vol. IV, f. 182; vol.V, f. 958; J. Ficker, *Forschungen zur Reichs-und Rechtsgeschichte Italiens*, I. Band, Innsbruck, 1868, p. 364-365; D. Abulafia, *Frederick*

Thus, in Albania as well, as R. Cessi says “one may distinguish major moments of passing from the *custom*, which was originally the only form of cultivating good practices to the *written positive law*, i.e. the development of a juridical order, where they trusted not only the interpreter’s judgment or the council of *the wise men* but the law of the judge as well”⁵.

Certainly, there is no talk of a full-fledged triumph of the *law* over the *custom*. In Albania, the positive law displaced definitively the common law at the beginning of the 20th century when the modern state was established. Till then, both systems have co-existed near each other, interfering and impacting one another on mutual basis. Direct testimonies from the 11th – the 15th centuries prove that in the adjudication of civil and criminal cases related to issues of ownership, heritage, marriage, insult, fraud, robbery and murder, different legal systems intertwined and overlapped: the Albanian customary and the canonical law, the Byzantine, Angevin and then even the Serb law, the statutes of various medieval towns and finally the Ottoman juridical system (Kanunname)⁶.

The Byzantine law enshrined in the Code of Justinian and in its later supplements remained effective even after the fall of the Byzantine Empire following the onslaughts of the 4th Crusade in 1204. From the latest decades of the 12th century, a Principality of Arbanon is appearing in the Central Albanian lands with their centre in the Fortress of Kruja

II, a Medieval Emperor, London, 1988, pp. 202-225; P. Xhufi, “Shqipëria dhe Mbretëria e Sicilisë në kohën e Manfredit Hohenstaufen dhe të Karlit I Anzhu”, në: Pëllumb Xhufi, *Dilemat e Arbrit. Studime mbi Shqipërinë mesjetare*, Pegi ed., Tiranë, 1206, f. 147-154. (Albania and the Kingdom of Sicily at the time of Manfred Hohenstaufen and Charles I Anjou” in: Pëllumb Xhufi, “Dilemmas of Arbri. Studies on Medieval Albania”, Pegi ed. Tirana, 1206, p.147 – 154)

⁵ R. Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, vol. I, Milano, ed. Principato, 1968, p. 172.

⁶ J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vol. VI, Paris-Roma, 1891, col. 1-13, 21-25, 49, 339-350, 423-425, 437, 517, 521, 541, 568; Ernest Stein, *Histoire de Bas-Empire. De la disparition de l’Empire d’Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)*, tome II, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1949; L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari della prima metà del secolo XIV con le addizioni fino al 1469*, Edizioni Viella, Roma, 2002; J. Kabrda, “Kodet turke (Kanunname) në lidhje me Shqipërinë dhe rëndësia e tyre për historinë kombëtare”, në: *Buletin i Shkencave Shoqërore*, nr. 4, Tiranë, 1958.

(}!8E∇<≅<, Albanum, Рабѣнь)⁷ and later on, after the year 1204, another political formation was mentioned in its southern territories, the so-called Despotate of Epirus⁸. With the territories of these two state entities it is connected a significant number of civil and criminal cases, involving Albanian men and women adjudicated with high competence by two prominent representatives of the Byzantine public and canonical lawyers, Demetrios Komatianos and Johannes Apokaukos, the former Archbishop of Ochrid and the latter Metropolitan of the Naupakt⁹.

It is worthy to highlight a case dating back to the year 1216, which concerns the matrimonial right related to the Lord of Kruja, *pansebastos* Gregor Kamona. After the death of his first wife, daughter of the late Prince of Arbanon, Gregor Kamona passed on to a second marriage with Komnena, daughter of Stefan Nemanja of Serbia and niece of the Byzantin Emperor Alex III Engjëll. Komnena was also left widow when her husband Demetrios, Gjini's brother, passed away. However, this second marriage for Grigor Kamona provoked discontent in the public opinion due to its legal complications. Therefore, he wrote to the Archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrios Komatjanos, expert on canonical and public law to hear if his marriage complied with the state law and the church canons.¹⁰ Or otherwise, it was illegal, as his opponents claimed¹¹.

⁷ A. Soloviev, "Eine Urkunde des Panhypersebastos Demetrios, megas archon von Albanien", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 34 (1934) f. 305; A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen âge. Durazzo et Valona du XI^e au XV^e siècle*. Institut for Balkan Studies, Tessaloniki, 1981, p. 63, 138-145.

⁸ P.Lemerle and L.Stiernon point out that the terms "*Despotate of Epirus*" and "*Despot of Epirus*" used by D.M. Nicol are not testified by contemporary sources, i.e. they are inappropriate. Only in the Aragonese version of the Chronicle of Morea it is mentioned "*the Despot of Arta*, but now we are by the end of the 14th century. See P. Lemerle in "*Byzantische Zeitschrift*, 51 (1958), p.401 – 403; L.Stiernon "The origin of the Despotate of Epirus", *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 17 (1959) p. 124

⁹ C. G. Pitsakis, "Questions albanaises de droit matrimonial dans les sources juridiques byzantines", në: Charalambos Gasparis (Ed.), *The Mediaeval Albanians*, International Symposium 5, Institute for Byzantine Research, Athens, 1998, f. 187.

¹⁰ "fΔT9™ □B 6Δ4Φ4<, 9≅∅H N48,ΛΦ,ΞΞΦ4 <≅:≅∅H 6∇9R 9≅∅H ≅,Δ≅∅H 6∇9R 2,.:≅4H 6∇< Φ4 ΦΛ<□*≅ΛΦ∇<", J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica*, VI, col. 1.

¹¹ "∅ 6∇8™H N∇Φ9R< ≅≅ □<948Ξ(≅<9,H □2,Φ:≅ ∇↔9∈ ∄<≅:ς.≅<9,H", *Ibid.*, 1-2.

After long and complicated arguments, associated with quotes from the said laws and canons, the lawyer judged that the marriage complied with the law, the church *tomos*- and the synodal decisions¹². Komatiano ruled out any possible blood relation between Kamona first and second wife, “since they belonged to different roots and so no blood ties can be born from different roots”¹³. Here it is the proper place to remember that the same concern to avoid marriages between persons of “ the same blood” and “ the same kinship” does also come across to the Albanian customs law enshrined in the Code of Lekë Dukagjini (*Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*)¹⁴.

Among other cases relevant to the marriage law, it is worth mentioning the one dating back to the year 1394, which refers to Lord of Vlora, Mrkša. In 1391 he was married to Rugina, daughter born from the marriage of Balsha II with Komnena Muzaka. But even in this marriage something was wrong, since Mrkša’s mother, Teodora, was married for the second time to Gjergj Balsha, brother of Balsha II, Mrkša’s father - in - law. Actually, the Patriarch of Costandinople, whom Mrkša had asked for an opinion considered his marriage with Rugina as a “ serious and unprecedented case”. This marriage turned out to be unlawful in the eyes of the church due to the high degree of kinship proximity between the two spouses. Yet, the Ottoman danger which at that time threatened the very life of entire Christian populations should be accounted for. In the name of the shared interest among Christians, Ohrid Archbishop had approved a little earlier this abnormal marriage. Under these circumstances, the Patriarch declared that he did not intend to quash that matrimonial bond¹⁵.

¹² “)H ♣ <2, Φ:≡ < Φ9™ < ΦΛ <≡ 46ΞΦ4≡ <, 6∇9R :Z9, B∇Δ□ 9≡¬ < :≡Λ ≥ 9≡¬ 9 :≡Λ ≥ ΦΛ <≡ *46™ < *4∇ (<ΦΦ, T < Π09™H 6T8Λ : , <≡ <”, J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica*, VI, col. 11.

¹³ “≡↔ *∞ (□Δ : : ∇ 9≡β9T < ≡ Δ : ∇, □88□ *4ςN≡Δ≡H0 f6 *4∇N Δ≡Λ *∞ Π : .0H,)H □ < B4 < , ∩Δ09∇4, ∃∇2:εH ≡Λ *ΞB≡9, Nβ,9∇4”. Response letter by Komatianos for Kruja Bishop, who had asked his opinion on the case Kamona, J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica*, VI, col. 23.

¹⁴ Sh. Gjeçovi, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*, me parathënie të At Gjergj Fishtës, Shtypshkronja Françeskane, Shkodër, 1933, libr. III, cap. 16, art. 39.

¹⁵ “BΔ□ (:∇ ∃∇Δ· ♣ *≡ >, <, ∅H ≡: □H 6∇9R □Φβ < 02, H, f6T8β, 9≡ (□Δ *4□ 9← < f((β909∇9™ < ∃∇2:™ < ... *4□ 9∈ < BΔ≡N∇ < ↑ 6 : : *Λ <≡ < 9∈ < fΔΠ : , <≡ < , ∅H 9≡H ∇ ↔ 9 24 ΠΔ4Φ94∇ <≡ H... ” < ∇ (6ςΦ209, 6∇9R f34ςΦ209, *∞ B∇Δ□ 9≡¬

Among the legal cases that Komatjano adjudicated, given its difficulty and importance, they single out the one mentioned in his letter of 20 July 1219. The case related to a noble lady from Kolonja and one of her servants who had died in suspicious circumstances. Zoe, this was the lady's name, claimed that she had caught him "in flagrante felony" stealing inside the house. Although he was always warned by his owner who once had even more ordered to beat him in front of the whole serving personnel, the servant had not given up this vice.¹⁶ Moreover, during a night, after taking a dagger, he dared to enter into his lady's room and for sure he would have killed her, but after her screams the other servants appeared there unexpectedly, they succeeded to take their lady away safe from his hands.

Then, after disarming him, the lady ordered them to cut his two hands off and he was left to die, without helping him to stop the hemorrhage. Only then Mrs. Zoe suffered a crisis of consciousness for failing to look after him so that she could have at least saved the life of the poor servant. Therefore, she ran away and after a tiring bare-footed journey, she appeared repentant to the Ochrid Archbishop, Demetrio Komatianos. She admitted that she was responsible for her servant's death and she asked the high clergy "to tell her the medication she needed to liberate her soul from such a suffering". The Archbishop advised Zoe to do the following to purify her consciousness: not attend for three years

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¹⁶ “∇H *← 6∇ℝ f8,(Π ∴, <≅H 6∇ℝ □B≅9Δ,B ∴, <≅H 9≅- ∴← 9≅4∇-9∇ B≅4, φ<, ♣Φ94 *∞ 6∇ℝ ©9, 6∇ℝ BΛ≅Φ06 <9TH B80(∇ φH ΦTNA≅<4. ∴, <≅H, 9↑H fΔ(∇Φ.:∇H 9≅- 9≅4≅β9≅Λ 6∇6≅- ∴≅<6 □N.:Φ9∇9≅”, J. B. Pitra, *Analecta scra et classica*, tom VI, Paris-Roma, 1891, p. 531-532.

religious ceremonies, fall to knees 50 times a day, pursue a rigorous and moderate diet and offer charitable services.¹⁷

It should be said that the body mutilation was a punishment applied in ancient Rome for all those who killed or plundered and for other charges, as tomb violation, church robbery, pederasty and fraud against magistrates¹⁸. However cruel as it could seem, mutilation was less severe than capital punishment and as such it tended to replace the latter.¹⁹

Later in the year 556, Emperor Justinian did also try to reduce the number of capital punishment cases and mutilation of human body. Accordingly, in the legal summary called *Novellae*, he indicated that in certain specified cases, instead of capital punishment, the permanent expulsion from the usual place of residence be applied. As far as the punishment for body mutilation was concerned, it was decided to lift it in the cases of ordinary hidden thefts, when arms were not used and when the lives of other persons were not threatened. If the plunders were associated with violence and use of arms, then the accused could be punished with *abscissio*, i.e. mutilation, which nevertheless was limited only to the amputation of a hand only²⁰.

Hence, Zoe could not be guilty for mutilating the servant that she ordered herself but for the other charge, i.e. that she had left him die of hemorrhage, which was very serious, both from the legal and human point of view. At this point, Mrs. Zoe proved to be very ingenious by exposing her servant as follows: in the role of an ordinary thief, who stole

¹⁷ “f>∇((, ∴ 8∇Φ∇ ∴, 9’ ∄*β<0H □<0(Δ, ΛΞ 9, ♥∇Λ9←< ΦΛ<∇49 ∴ ∇< 9Ξ∴ 2∇<ς9ΞΛ 9Ξ∴ □<2ΔφBΞΛ f6, ∴ <ΞΛ 6∇∇ f.Z9,4 □B∈ 9↑H □(∴ ∇H 9Ξ∴ 1, Ξ∴ f6680Φ ∴ ∇H 9\ 6∇9□ PΛΠ←< ∇↔9↑H 9Ξ4Ξβ9T 9Δ∇β:∇94 6∇9ς8808∇ vςΔ:∇6∇”, *Ibid*.

¹⁸ J. B. Pitra, *Analecta scra et classica*, tom VI, Paris-Roma, 1891, p. 531-532.

¹⁹ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Duncker&Humblot, Leipzig, 1899, p. 982.

²⁰ The laws of Justinian provided the judges with the powers delegated from Constantinople to the province to chair the court proceedings and issue any kind of punishment “except for capital punishment and the mutilation” (*excepto tamen ultimo supplicio aut membri abscissione=* ∴ Π∇ ∴ Ξ< 9Ξ4 fΦΠς90H 94:TΔ ∴ ∇H ≥ ∴ Ξ8ΞΛH □BΞ6ΞB↑H*). J. F. Homberg, *Novellae Constitutiones domini Justiniani sacratissimi Principis ex graeco in latinum conversae*, Ph. C. Müller, Marburg, 1717, nov. CXXXVIII, cap. 20, p. 862; E. Stein, *Histoire de Bas-Empire. De la disparition de l’Empire d’Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)*, tome II, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1949, p. 417.

objects, food stuffs and similiar items hiddenly, although he was warned many times, and he was also punished with whips. But, in her opinion, the servant was also a violent man, who in that fatal night had entered dagger in hand in her chamber, certainly to kill her. But all odds are that this second part of her testimony first before the state judges and then before Archbishop Komatiano as “moral” judge” was merely a fabrication of her own and by her lawyers designed to insert the said case into the provision no. 134, Chapter XIII of *Novellae* of Justinian, that legitimated the hand amputation in the case of a robbery which threatened to kill a person. Nonetheless, Mrs. Zoe emanated from this case as a very severe and merciless woman. Because she had not only ordered to cut off both hands of her servant, when the law provided only the amputation of a single one, but notably since she left the poor guy die wriggling due to loss of blood.

It should be also said that even the *Zakonik* of the year 1349 of Stefan Dushan, Emperor of Serbia from the year 1346, which did also apply to the Albanian population at that time under his rule was inclined to turn the mutilation of body parts as a punishment for a murder into a cash compensation for the victim’s family. Yet, even in this case, a differentiated attitude is noted. Thus, if an owner would kill his enslaved farmer, he should pay to his family an amount of 1.000 perpere. Then the story was over. But, if the enslaved farmer would kill the owner, they would cut off his both hands and moreover he would pay 300 perpere to the victim’s family.²¹

While adjudicating grave cases like the above-mentioned as part of the criminal legal frame, it should be said that beyond the state law, it was also effective the unwritten “war law”. The punishment of enemies was mostly guided by customary practices and the winner’s personality. Thus, among Byzantines and Serbs, body mutilation usually consisted in the removal of eyes, amputation of hands, ears or the nose of war

²¹ “*Si vero tale sit crimen, ut morte dignum non sit, aliter castigetur, vel in exilium mittatur. Sin qualitas criminis membri abscissionem exigat, una solum manus abscindatur. Nullo autem modo propter furtum membrum aliquod abscindi, aut quem occidi, sed aliter eum puniri volumus. Fures vero vocamus eos, qui clam et sine armis talia committunt. Qui enim violenter aliquem aggrediuntur, vel cum armis, vel sine armis, in domo, vel in via, vel in mari, illos poenas legum sustinere jubemus*”, J. F. Homberg, *Novellae Constitutiones domini Justiniani*, nov. 134, cap. XIII, p. 906-907.

prisoners²². Somewhere by the year 1370, the Serb Despot of Ionannina, Thoma Preljuboviç ordered the amputation of body parts and the removal of eyes of Albanians who would fall into his hands.²³ On their part, the Albanians of the archdiocese of Tivar nurtured immeasurable hatred against the “schismatic” Serbs who had occupied their own churches and property²⁴. The catholic archbishop of Tivar, the French Guillaume Adam adds that beyond this hatred, “Albanians believed that they consecrated their hands with the blood of those Slavs” (*in predictorum Sclavorum sanguine manus suas crederent consecrare*)²⁵.

Yet, neither the French Archbishop of Tivar nor other sources mention any cruel act committed by Albanians against Serbs, neither at that time nor after the fall of the Empire of Nemanja. In fact, their customary norms did not provide for body punishment against anyone. This explains the fact that unlike the Serb Despot of Ioannina Preljuboviç, his sworn enemy, the Albanian *sebastocrator* Gjon Zenebishi confined himself to the humiliation of his war prisoners, by cutting their beard off²⁶.

Apparently, the other Albanian Prince, Gjergji III Balsha did not observe this norm; he did not hesitate to execute his opponent Pjetër Shestani and to amputate a hand and a leg of each of his five sons²⁷. However, Pjetër Shestani and his sons were treated like this because they

²² St. Novaković, *Zakonik Stefana Dušana, cara srpskog 1349 i 1354*, Belgrade, 1898, p. 73-74, 202.

²³ Mich. Attaleiates, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1853, f. 298; E. Tsolakes, *E synecheia tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitze*, Tessaloniki, 1968, p. 183.

²⁴ A. Mustoksidou, “Istorikon Komnenou monachou kai Proklou monachou”, in: *Ellenonmemon e symmikta ellenika*, quaderni 1-12 (1843-1853), Athenai, 1965, p. 526; Brocardus, “Directorium ad passagium faciendum”, in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Armeniens*, tome II, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1906, p. 484.

²⁵ “*et quia dicti, tam Latini quam Albanenses, sub jugo importabili et durissima servitute illis odiosi et abhominandi Sclavorum dominii sunt oppressi, populus scilicet anguariatus, clerus dejectus et minoratus, episcopi et abbates sepius vinculati, nobiles exheredati et in personis propriis captivati, ecclesie tam episcopales quam alie dissipate et in suis juribus anullate, monasteria dispersita et destructa*”, Brocardus, “Directorium ad passagium faciendum”, p. 484.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ “ $\text{9}\square(\Xi<,4\vee\theta\cong\Lambda\text{H}(\square\blacktriangle\clubsuit6\cong\text{P},<6\vee\text{R}6\vee\theta,<\theta\Delta \bar{\text{B}}4\vee\Phi\Xi<\theta\cong\Lambda\text{H}$ ”, G. Schirò, *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di anonimo*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma, 1975, p. 354.

were “traitors”. They used to be under Balsha orders but they abandoned him to join the Venetians with whom Balsha was at an open war. And, as it will be seen below, the very advanced statutes of Shkodra town specified capital punishment only in the cases of the indictment for “betrayal”²⁸.

Finally, it should be added that body mutilation punishments as a whole and the amputation of body parts, in particular were also applied by Italians, at least against foreigners and certainly against Albanians. Thus, in 1419, the Captain of the Adriatic Fleet, Francesco Bembo, ordered to remove the eyes (*fatto orbar*) of 60 Albanian pirates who had attacked commercial Venetian vessels²⁹. Many years later, in 1483, the Court of Recanati, an Italian province of Marche punished an Albanian emigrant indicted for robbery with the amputation of the right hand. In fact, the domestic law did not have a discriminatory nature against foreigners. It punished everyone, even the local residents in the same way and for the same charge. The problem was that it was always applied against foreigners but almost in no case against the Italian citizens of Recanati³⁰.

After analyzing the mode of their application and how they overlapped with different legal systems in medieval Albania, it is interesting to dwell at a more length on an advanced form of the positive law, which is also noted there and represented by the statutes of urban communes. In more concrete terms, the statutes of Shkodra, Drishti, Ulqini, Tivari and Durrësi frequently referred to the Venetian documents of the 14th until the 16th centuries, when the last two towns, Ulqini and Tivari fell also in the hands of Turks (1571)³¹.

²⁸ “*captus fuit a Balsa qui patrem dicti supplicantis penam capitis fecit subire et dicto supplicanti fratribusque suis, manum unam et pedem unum pro quolibet fecit mutilari*”, G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars II, tom 11, no. 2546, p. 44. Likewise, Balsha avenged against two persons from Drishti, whom he had bound into a sack and had thrown them into the sea (*ligati in uno sacco, fuerunt submersi in mari*). See N. Jorga, *Notes et Extraits*, vol. III, p. 170, 216.

²⁹ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CCXXVIII.

³⁰ N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*, v. I, Paris, 1896, p. 294, n. 1.

³¹ A. Ducellier, B. Doumerc, B. Imhaus, J. De Miceli, *Les chemins de l'exil*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1992, p. 344.

The statutes of Shkodra, drafted before the year 1346 and uncovered a few years ago among the manuscripts of the Muzeum Correr in Venice, represent the only single monument of public law in the Middle Ages in Albania preserved in its complete format³². It is a summary of 279 legal provisions (chapters) that radiate an exceptional spirit of secular, liberal and human organization in an Albanian urban community.

Recently, even the statutes of the Cathedral Church in Drishti have seen the light of publication. They have another nature, since they concern a “church republic”, as the town of Drishti, a close neighbour to Shkodra used to be in the 14th century. The introductory sentence in the said statutes is very impressive when it specifies: “Nothing is more useful for men in this life than to be governed by law”³³. Such a statement on a perception that worships the positive law in the statutes of Drishti is very conducive to the new winds of European civilization that swept even that town in the borderline with Albanian highlands, where the law of mountains had reigned for centuries there.

Similar to the other summaries of the Adriatic areal, the Statutes of Shkodra do also have a clear Venetian matrix. In fact, Venice of the 13th-14th century is their social and cultural model. Besides other signs, this is also proved by the fact that in different towns of Albanian Adriatic coastline there were also representatives of urban nobility who lived, behaved and even “hacked off as if they were Venetians” (*pro Veneto expediatur*)³⁴. They were the very “honorable citizens” (*honorabiles cives*) led by bishop of Arbanon, Demetrio Nesha, that in the year 1392

³² Statutet e Ulqinit përmenden për herë të parë në vitin 1357, ata të Durrësit në 1392, shih: G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars I, tom 1, nr. 163, p. 150; The statutes of Ulqini are mentioned for the first time in 1357, those of Durrës in 1392. See G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars I, tom 1, no. 163, p. 150; *Ibidem*, pars I, tom 2, no. 451, 458, p. 156, 165; M. Šufflay, *Qytetet dhe kështjellat e Shqipërisë kryesisht në Mesjetë*, Tiranë: ed. “Onufri”, 2009, p. 142-144; A. Pertusi, “Per la storia di Dulcigno nei secoli XIV-XV e dei suoi statuti cittadini”, *Studi Veneziani*, XV (1973), p. 213-219; S. Marković, “Lo statuto di Antivari, sec. XIV”, *Studi Veneziani*, LIV (2007), p. 239-278.

³³ M. Šufflay, *Qytetet dhe kështjellat e Shqipërisë*, p. 109.

³⁴ “*Nihil prestantius in hoc aevo mortalibus, quam regi lege*”, *Statuta et ordinationes capituli ecclesiae cathedralis Drivastiensis*, M. Ahmeti and E. Lala (Ed.s), Tirana: Ombra ed., 2009, p. 11.

handed over Durrës to the Venice Republic³⁵. However, before the latter took over the town and government, the people of Durrës demanded that even in the new conditions of the power change, the Republic should acknowledge the validity of their statutes³⁶. Certainly, Signoria was not willing to satisfy this demand, or at least not in full. Thus, in 1396, when it started its session, the Senate appealed to its own functionaries in the towns of Shkodra and Drishti that “it is up to you to pursue both the civil and criminal processes, to govern for our interests and make the largest possible adjustments to the country statutes, arrangements and customs, but always by deciding yourself on what is useful to God’s will and to our own interests”³⁷.

And actually, the Venetian representatives were very prudent to uphold the Republic interests but often they took advantage to mostly pursue their own personal ones. Thus, it did not take long before their confrontations with the natives started. In 1426, a representation from Ulqini complained that the Venetian government officials had made it common practice to appoint the commune judges on their own; moreover, they elected them from “popular” ranks and not from that of “patricians” causing in this way their frustration and above all violating the ancient statutes and privileges of that town³⁸. Thus, in 1396 the Senate agreed that the four judges of Shkodra should be elected by its own citizens. They would be entitled to judge the cases whose outcome

³⁵*Acta Albaniae*, II, 509; A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l’Albanie au Moyen Âge*, Institut for Balkan Studies, Tessaloniki, 1981, p. 532-542; P. Xhufi, “Venezia in Albania”, në: *L’Albania Veneta. La Serenissima e le sue popolazioni nel cuore dei Balcani*, Biblion Edizioni, Milano, 2012, p. 43-50.

³⁶ “*quod dominatio nostra debeat servare statuta et ordines dicte civitatis Durachii*”, G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars I, tom 2, no. 552, p. 250.

³⁷ “*regere in civilibus et criminalibus et gubernare ad nostrum honorem, adherendo quantum poteritis, statutis, ordinibus et consuetudinibus deinde in quantum vobis videantur secundum deum et honorem nostri domini*”, G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars I, tomus 2, no. 630, p. 338; *Ibid.*, pars I, tom 3 no. 663, 690, p. 38,68.

³⁸ “*cum aliquando Rectores frangant ordines suorum statutorum et suas poveias in faciendo iudices ex popularibus ad libitum suum in detrimento et verecundia aliorum nobilium civitatis, quod est inconueniens et contra ordines statutorum et suas poveias*”, where *poveia* (povelja) is related to the previous privileges of Serbian Kings. G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars II, tomus 12, no. 3062, p. 271; A. Pertusi, “Per la storia di Dulcigno nei secoli XIV-XV e dei suoi statuti cittadini”, p. 229.

would be penalties up to 10 perpere³⁹. Meanwhile, in the year 1440, things in Ulqin in this respect deteriorated, since the Venetian government officials abused by adjudicating the court sessions themselves, without inviting the town hall judges or calling them only when they wanted to do so. Apart from other reasons, they did this to benefit the whole compensation amount specified in the statutes for the trial, both for the government officials and their judges⁴⁰.

In Tivar, too, in 1406, when the town passed under the Venetian rule, the Captain of the Adriatic Fleet, Marino Caravello imposed the Venetian style in the trial proceedings: “the Commune judges should sit on the side of the government official, whom they should offer their opinion, but in the final analysis it is up to the government official to proceed as he deems it necessary with his consciousness”⁴¹. Back in 1406, the Commune of Ulqin was also forced to give up its own competences in cases of judicial administration, which was entirely left to Venetian government officials⁴².

Referring to the Statutes of Shkodra, edited nearly half a century before the town shifted to the Venetian rule, the situation there deteriorated in comparison to the period when the Serb King and then the Albanian Prince Balshaj was exercising their sovereignty. Thus, for instance, at that time, the representative of the sovereign power, the Count attended the judiciary proceedings more to legitimate his amount in cash that the statutes attributed to him for the civil processes⁴³, or to the King and respectively to the Prince for the adjudication of criminal cases.⁴⁴. However, as far as the ratio of forces among the judges of the

³⁹ “*per iudices solitos eligi per homines dicte terre, qui sunt quatuor, fieri debeat ius ab ipperperis decem infra*”, *Acta Albaniae*, II, 573.

⁴⁰ “*e molti di dicti Conti stati fin a hora azo contrafazando hano a so posta zudegado, et chiamando secondo i piaxe i zudexi et non chiamando per haver tuti o la mazor parte di charati*”, A. Pertusi, “Per la storia di Dulcigno nei secoli XIV-XV e dei suoi statuti cittadini”, p. 257.

⁴¹ “*terminatum fuit per ducale dominium, quod dicti iudices debeant sedere cum rectore et dicere suas opiniones, et nihilominus remaneat in libertate rectoris procedendi et terminandi sicut sibi videbitur, per conscientiam suam*”, G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars I, tomus 3, no. 1177, p. 515.

⁴² *Ibid.*, no. 1178, p. 517.

⁴³ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. XVI, XIX, XXI, XXIV, XXIX, XXXVI, XXXIX, XL, XLII, XLVI, XLVII, LIII, LIV, LVIII, LIX, ecc.

⁴⁴ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. LXXXII, CCXXIV.

Commune, the Count and, as a whole between the autonomous power of the Commune and of the King or Princ sovereign power is concerned, this is perfectly clarified in chapters CCXXIX and CCXXX of the said statutes, which specify a penalty of 8 perperes against the person who attacked the Count during a process, whereas the aggressor should have paid 30 perpere if the victim of his attack was the judge of the Commune.

Likewise, the situation must have been the same in Ulqin and Tivar before the arrival of the Venetians. Therefore, with the beginning of the rule by Signoria, the Commune of Ulqin and Tivar demanded that the communal judges adjudicate and decide on the processes of civil nature for punishments up to 10 perpere, even by leaving to the discretion of the Venetian government officials the right of final verdict in case of complaint⁴⁵. However, the situation went from bad to worse, after several attempts in Albanian towns of the Adriatic coastline to save the role of the judges and other functionaries of communes, as an expression of their autonomy. Moreover, in the year 1426, the statutes of Kotorr were sent to Venice “to be examined and corrected” (*examinar e coreçer*), since it had turned out that they complied with the interests of Signoria⁴⁶.

Meanwhile, it should be said that Signoria applied a smart practice, trying not to touch on the self-respect sentiment of the natives, imposing its will not through formal changes in the urban statutes, but by sending special ordinances to the Venetian government officials, thus keeping the said statutes unaffected. Its interest was to make communities live with the illusion of an autonomy already damaged by its continuous directives for its own functionaries in Albania, which always reminded them of the fact that its own possessions should be governed “according to the format of our own provisions” (*secundum formam ordinum nostrorum*)⁴⁷.

Nevertheless, the wording in the Statutes of Shkodra were an expression of a broad autonomy that Stefan Dushan himself as a cruel

⁴⁵“che li diti çudexi debia sentar da per si e tegnir raxion da yperperi X in çoxo, et se algun se tegnisse agravado, romagna a cognoscer de lo retor se le dicte sententie sera ben fate, o non”, G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars I, tom 3, no. 1177, 1178, p. 514, 517.

⁴⁶G. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, pars II, tom 12, nr. 3026, f. 216; L. Malltezi, *Qytetet e bregdetit shqiptar gjatë sundimit venedikas*, Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 1988, p. 206.

⁴⁷ *Acta Albaniae*, II, 573.

tyran was obliged to acknowledge to the Albanian citizens of the archdiocese in Tivar under the pressure of the Papacy and the catholic world in Europe⁴⁸. Their very first chapter is a true hymn for freedom. It says that an enslaved farmer belongs to the king or to any other Lord, and when deciding to come to Shkodra town he could do that freely and through this action he would become an independent citizen free from the earlier bonds of farm slavery. From that moment onward, he should obey only to the Commune and its laws. Moreover, “each Commune resident should protect it at all costs”⁴⁹.

The contents of this chapter is identical with the second one on the Budva statutes and even with the first chapter of the Statutes of Strasbourg compiled in the 14th century⁵⁰. Thus, it may be said that thanks to its statutes, Shkodra ranks itself among advanced towns in Europe with an autonomous government, which is also enshrined in the famous expression of that time “the town air makes you feel free”⁵¹.

Now, reading the chapters of the Statutes of Shkodra helps also understand the high degree of their impact, not only through their Venetian prototype, but also through other legal sources applying in Albania at different periods. Thus, chapters CLXX and CLXXI, which concern the relations among parents and their children lead to the Byzantine law. Accordingly, the widowed parents, father or mother, could expel from the house and even exclude from heritage the unworthy sons, who did not obey to them, who raised their hands or who did not

⁴⁸ C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, p. 366, 407-412.

⁴⁹ “*Se alcun vora venir à star in citade nostra, cioè homo de lo Re, voy homo de alcun zentil, che non sia tenuto à servir à nesuno, solamente al nostro Comune. Et se alcun de li nostri cittadini, voy Sclavo, voy Albanese vulissi lupir, voy apropiari à se che paghi perperi 50 à lo Rè, et lo homo sia francho et libero, et ciaschaduno de lo Comune nostro sia tegnudo à defenderlo per ogni maniera*”, L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. I.

⁵⁰S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici srpskih država srednjega veka*, Beograd, 1912, p. 47-48; H. Boockmann, *Das Mittelalter*, Verlag C. H. Beck, München, 1989, p. 141.

⁵¹P. Xhufi, “Statutet dhe kanunet në Mesjetën shqiptare”, (Statutes and canons in Albanian of Middle Ages” in: *Avokatia*, IV/2, Tirana, 2015, p. 190); Hans Strahm, “Stadtluft macht frei”, in: *Vorträge und Forschungen*, II. Band, Konstanz, 1955, p. 104-121.

take care of them.⁵² Even *Novella* no. 115 by Justinian provided the parents with the right to exclude their sons with bad conduct from their heritage.⁵³ Perhaps this was the reason why in 1223, a lady from Durrësi, Kabashilina, evicted her sons from the heritage, transferring her properties in her testament to foreign persons⁵⁴.

The laws of Justinian, as it is said, due to the interest shown by Teodora, his spouse, recognized significant rights to women and provided support for them both inside the family and in the society.⁵⁵ The same may be said for the Statutes of Shkodra. They stipulated that a daughter left orphan by their mother or father would receive an equal share in the distribution of family assets with her brothers. For them even the marriage dowry, over which they had exclusive rights should be also put aside. Whereas their brothers were forbidden to be married before they had accommodated all their sisters, lending to them their relevant part of the assets and a dignified dowry⁵⁶.

At this point one cannot fail to note how the norms of common law have entered into the Statutes of Shkodra. In fact, the *Code of Lekë Dukagjinit* specified father's exclusive obligation to find a husband and accommodation for their daughter, and in his absence, this responsibility

⁵² “*Ordinemo che zaschadun pare, over mare, che li fosse morto lo marito, over al baron la mulier, et havessino fioli che non volissino star cum lo pare, over cum la mare, over si stesseno e non fesse la volunta de lo pare, over de la mare, habia podesta lo pare e la mare de zetar li fioli de casa, e non dar cossa nesuna nè de pare, nè de mare*”, “*Ordinemo che zaschadun pare, over mare chi volissi disgradar lo suo fiolo, che non lo possa disgradar noma per questo modo. E la prima casone si è questa, se lo fiolo batisse lo pare, over la mare; anchora, se lo pare e la mare fosse in povert e lo fiolo non volisse nutrigarli habiando cum che nutrigarli; anchora se lo pare fosse in preson, over la mare, et lo fiolo avesse cum che reschatarli et non li volissi reschatare*”, L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CLXX e CLXXI.

⁵³ E. Stein, *Histoire de Bas-Empire. De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)*, tome II, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949, p. 416.

⁵⁴ “ $\equiv fB\forall\leq\exists:\forall.\exists:\exists<0\ 5\forall\exists\forall\Phi48.:\<\forall, f<9\in H\ 9\equiv\neg\ 6\zeta\Phi\theta\Delta\equiv\Lambda\)\Lambda\Delta\Delta\forall\Pi.:\equiv\Lambda, :<\leftarrow B\forall\Delta\ <9T< \ 9^{TM}< B\forall.:\ *T< \ \forall\leftrightarrow\theta\uparrow H\ *4\forall2,:\exists<0, \ 6\forall\mathfrak{R}\ 6\forall2\ 8\equiv\Lambda\ :<\infty< \ 9^{TM}< \equiv\emptyset6,:\ T< \ B\forall.:\ *T< \ f< \ 9\forall\beta\theta\forall4H\ \square.:\<0:\equiv<,\beta\Phi\forall\Phi\forall. \ \square \ * \infty \ 6\forall\mathfrak{R}\ \square6.:\<0\theta\forall \ \forall\leftrightarrow\theta\uparrow H\ B\Delta\zeta:(\forall\theta\forall, \ \equiv\leftrightarrow6 \ \notin8.:(\forall \ * \infty \ 6\forall\mathfrak{R}\ f6 \ 9\equiv\neg \ \square<*\Lambda\equiv\neg \ B\Delta\in H \ f>T946\ \square \ B\Delta \ \overline{\Phi}TB\forall\dots B\forall\Delta\forall B\Xi:P\forall\Phi\forall$ ”, J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica*, VII, col. 425-426.

⁵⁵ E. Stein, *Histoire de Bas-Empire*, p. 414-415.

⁵⁶ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CLX.

fell on their brothers⁵⁷. However, unlike the statutes and the Byzantine law itself, under the common law, a daughter of a family could be married even without having a share in the family assets and certainly without the dowry right. This narrowed scope of rights is understandable even with regard to the law in the previous centuries, if one takes into consideration the fact that the *Code* considered the daughter merely as an “appendix” of the family⁵⁸.

Whereas, in the Statutes of Shkodra, mention is also made to a certain sort of equality between husband and wife, if they lived alone and separate from the basic family core. In case of an economic transaction, the husband and the wife had the right to keep for themselves half of the profits but also half of the losses each.⁵⁹ Besides, the Commune offered special protection to women. It was prohibited to insult an honest woman with the words “bitch”, “thief”, “villain” and “witch”⁶⁰. The one who dared to “raise the hand against, hit or enter by force in a woman’s house was fined with a severe penalty.”⁶¹ If a married woman sued a priest for having raped, hit or stolen her, the judges should trust her without need for eye-witnesses⁶². If an unmarried man raped an honest unmarried woman, he was obliged to marry with her. Whereas, when both the rapist and the victim were married, the man should pay a salty fine of 50 perpere⁶³. In the meantime, the statutes were very severe against women engaged in prostitution. A girl who was prostituting was deprived of her parents’ heritage and they would not live with their brothers and sisters⁶⁴. The women with a bad reputation should not keep hats, neither were they allowed to keep company with to live near noble women. If they heard that a prostitute did dirty jobs and attracted other females to prostitution, then she was forced to leave the town and when she did not obey orders, they showed her in the streets beating her with thorny branches and then she was expelled for ever from the town.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ Sh. Gjeçovi, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*, libr. III, cap. 12, art. 31.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, chapter. 20.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, cap. CLXVI.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, cap. CCLV.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, cap. CCLVI.

⁶² *Ibid*, cap. CC.

⁶³ *Ibid*, cap. CCI.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, cap. CLXXI.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, cap. LXXXVII.

Although they do always recall their Venetian matrix, the Statutes of Shkodra contain in specific chapters traces of a sovereign power that the Serb King Stefan Dushan (1331-1355) did still exercise at the time when these statutes were written. There, Dushan is referred to as “king”, which proves that the said statutes were published before the year 1346, when the Serb King was proclaimed Emperor and even much before the year 1349, when Dushan published the summary of his own laws (*Zakonik*)⁶⁶. At that time, the Serb King had sovereign power over a good part of Albania and certainly over Shkodra. His highest representative in that town, the *count*, is often mentioned in the statute articles although now he was a vanishing figure. In fact, he was referred to mainly as participant in court proceedings, where he received his own part from the cash penalties. Otherwise, this person is totally absent in the town institutional life. The statutes themselves do not display any sort of esteem for him. Let us repeat it, Chapter CCXXIX of the statutes specifies a modest fine of 8 perpere against the person who hit the count during the process; whereas the next chapter’s punishment with an amount of 30 perpere when a victim from the relevant attack was the judge of the Commune.⁶⁷ So, an official of the Commune mattered much more than the King’s representative in that town.

In the Statutes of Shkodra, the impact of the Serb medieval law is more visible. This applies to the chapter on murder, which later on reappears *tale quale* even in the *Zakonik* of Stefan Dushan. Actually, chapter CCXXV of the Statute of Shkodra specifies that in the cases of murder, the King had imposed the application of the slavic law (*quisto capitolo sia scripto ne lo capitolo sclavonescho che ne ha dato lo re*)⁶⁸. Thus, while on one hand they specified accurately that the King should refer the verdicts of all cases related to Shkodra citizens (*miser lo re d’ogni caso che venissi in citade concedi a li zudesi de zudegar*) to the commune judges, on the other hand these statutes acknowledged the right of the King to adjudicate certain kinds of offences, which traditionally used to be the exclusive competence of the sovereign⁶⁹. Then, the King continued to play the role of a high court, which issued

⁶⁶ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. I-III

⁶⁷ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CCXXIX, CCXXX.

⁶⁸ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CCXXV.

⁶⁹ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. II, CCXXIV.

the final verdict for those criminal cases on which the judges of the Commune of Shkodra failed to reach a conclusion⁷⁰.

Beyond the developed coast towns, the judicial administration in feudal Albania was also attribute of the Lords. In 1209, Pope Inocenti III addressed Dhimitri of Arbri with the title “Princ i Arbri” and at times even as “judge of Arbërve” (*judex Albanorum*), underlining in this way one of his major attributes as a Lord of an independent feudal state formation⁷¹. But, if in the beginning of the 13th century Dhimitri of Arbri governed a small territory near Kruja and between Durrësi, Dibra and Ohrid, a century and a half later King Stefan Dushan had become Lord of a large part of the Balkan Peninsula and it is hard to image how did he perform the task of a superior judge, when at the same time he had to protect his own immense and multhiethnic empire. At least, with regard to Shkodra, there is no evidence that he has chaired or has even taken part in the decision making process of criminal nature. As far as his representative, the Count is concerned, he had assisted in legal proceedings of civil nature, where his role was insignificant: in fact, it was the judge of the Commune who chaired and decided. The Statutes of Shkodra provide that even in the case when the King would be in that town by chance, he would entrust the guidance of the court proceedings related to domestic and foreign persons to the judges of the Commune.

An exception was made only for the four specific following charges, on which it was exclusively the King that chaired them: betrayal, the murder of a servant, woman servant and a horse. However, as it is also seen in the chapters of the statutes, even during these proceedings, the King was represented by his man, the Count. And, as it was noted above, he had a very low profile in the eyes of the Commune judges and citizens themselves.

Apart from the positive law, which starting from the 14th century was applicable in the developed towns in Adriatic coast, the customary law was reigning as usually in the remote mountainous areas. The “customs” and the “ancient practices” that governed human relations

⁷⁰ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CCXXIV.

⁷¹ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 216, p. 107; A. V. Soloviev, “Eine Urkunde des Panhyprsebastos Demetrios, megas archon von Albanien”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 34 (1934) 304-310; Th. Haluscynskij, *Acta Innocentii P. P. III (1198-1216)*, Vaticani, 1944, p. 337.

there are continuously referred to in the historic medieval sources but not only. However, the more the power of the mountain lords and the more the fluxes of the inhabitants of those areas towards the coastline towns kept growing, the more the norms of customary law penetrated in the statutes of the latter.

Thus, in the 14th century, the Statutes of Budva, a town solidly linked to his rural hinterland expressed with their titles this co-existence between the positive and customary law. In fact, the preface of the statutes of that town start with the following sentence: “These are the customs and the statuses of the town of Budva”⁷² Likewise, during that time, the citizens of Ulqini referred to both their statutes and to the “ancient customs” (*antige uxançe*)⁷³. The “customs” are also mentioned in the Statutes of Shkodra⁷⁴. When there was a legal case of adjudication on a very serious crime unspecified in the chapters of the said statutes which the judges could not decide, then under the statutes, three or four wise men from the town should be summoned, (*boni homeni*), who together with the judges would try to find a way out for the solution of a such a complicated issue with precise reference to the “tradition”.

According to the statutes, the decision by this mixed college on such a case was to be codified and enter into their statutes as a separate chapter, using a format as a genuine legal basis for the solution of similar cases.⁷⁵ It is superficial to mention that in that case, the mixed college of the Commune judges and the “wise men” with their roots certainly in Shkodra mountainous hinterland played the role of a “constitutional

⁷²S. Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici srpskih država orednjega veka*, Beograd, 1912, p. 45.

⁷³ A. Pertusi, “Per la storia di Dulcigno nei secoli XIV-XV e dei suoi statuti cittadini”, p. 216-217.

⁷⁴ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. LXXXXVII, CXXXXIV, LXXXXVII.

⁷⁵ “*Ordinemo che ciaschadun plaito che venisse à li zudesi lo qual plaito non se trovasse scripto ne lo statuto, volemo, che li zudesi stessi non possa dar quella sententia noma cum tre, over quatro boni homeni de la nostra cita à li lor animi: è come fosse data la sententia per li dicti zudesi, quilli tre, over quatro personi; volemo quella sententia se scriva ne li statuti azochè se una altra volta fecisse bisogno à zudegar, chi se zudega per lo statuto senza pena nesuna; et che zo volemo, che nesun possa contravetare zoè à non scrivere la dita costione ne lo statuto*”, L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CCLXVIII.

court” while the law they had formulated had the power of a “constitutional law”.

Another specifics of the Statutes of Shkodra vis à vis similar statutes of the Dalmatian-Adriatic areal is the hard attitude in addressing insult cases. Thus, to call a person “traitor of the King” or “traiter of the Commune” implied a punishment with a breathtaking fine of 500 perpere⁷⁶. Let us recall that the only single case of capital punishment, i.e. decapitation as provided in the Statutes of Shkodra dealt exactly with the act of betrayal⁷⁷. Likewise, the one who cut off the beard of somebody was severely punished with 50 perpere⁷⁸.

In fact, the code of honour for Albanians considered the beard cut off and calling someone “traitor” a public insult that could not be tolerated and that it should be paid back only with life. Thus, such offences often ended up with murder triggering later the mechanism of blood vengeance, which encompassed whole families and generations. The *Code of Lek Dukagjini* specifies that “Insults cannot be repayed with money”, which left only one alternative of retaliation for the humiliated honour, and that was to kill the guilty person⁷⁹. In this sense, the chapters of the statutes of Shkodra that refer to insults with the word “traitor” or with the beard cut off are signs of the impact of customary norms on the said statutes that reached the town following continuous fluxes of mountainous folk groups. But, on the other hand, these chapters are the fruits of efforts by communal authorities aimed at disciplining in a civil sense these two offensive acts which in the mountains were repaid with life. Their punishment with an immense compensation cash amount intended to convince the damaged party to give up self-adjudication by admitting the legal solution of the case while receiving a good amount of cash for the relevant insult.

Following up the chapters referring to grave offences, the statutes deal also with *blood feud*. It is common knowledge that blood feud in the Code of Lekë Dukagjini represents a central institution, as a summary of the traditional juridical norms that have been in force in Albanian highlands until modern times. It should be mentioned that during the

⁷⁶ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. LXXXXII.

⁷⁷ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CCXXXVIII.

⁷⁸ L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, cap. CCXXXIX.

⁷⁹ Sh. Gjeçovi, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*, libr. VIII, cap. 17, art. 597, 598.

Middle Ages, blood feud was prevalent all over Albania, from the north to the south⁸⁰. Thus, in 1685, the missionary of the Order of Saint Basilio, Arcadio Stanila, reported to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith that blood feud in Himara areas was working havoc by exterminating whole families.⁸¹ “*Le sang veut du sang*” (blood demands blood) wrote in 1843 a descendent of Albanian emigrants originating from Morea, who by the end of the 17th century settled in Corsica, where he did also introduce blood feud.⁸² So, the overall phenomenon was there and without any class distinctions. In 1417, a whole tribe from Hoti in north of Shkodra was at war with Prince Balsha III, because the latter “had passed his hand over their blood” (*quia manus posuit in sanguine eorum*)⁸³.

However, an attempt is noted in the Statutes of Shkodra to stop the blood feud hatred from the very first phase through a cash compensation paid to the victim’s family. If the judges considered the proofs as indisputable, the family of the murderer would pay an amount in cash named after the slavic word “*urasba-vrasda*”. The Venetian documents use in various forms the term “blood money”: *pagamento di sangue*, *prezzo di sangue*, *rissarcimento di sangue*⁸⁴. The slavic term *urasba*

⁸⁰ P. Xhufi, *Arbrit e Jonit: Vlora, Delvina e Janina shek. XV-XVII*, Tirana: Onufri, 2017, p. 1271-1277.

⁸¹ “*Ma dividendosi le populationi in tante casate, se alcuno di loro commette homicidio, la casata della parte offesa prende le armi contra tutta la casata di chi commisse il delitto, et nella compositione et aggiustamento tutti contribuiscono, come se havessero di propria mano commesso l’homicidio*”, in: C. P. Karalewsky, “La missione greco-cattolica della Cimarra nell’Epiro nei sec. XVI-XVII”, *Bessarione*, anno XV, fasc. 2 (1911), p. 456.

⁸² N. Stephanopoli, *Génie des colonies grecques, spartiates et peuple indigène de la Corse*, Paris: L. Mathias, 1843, p. XXII.

⁸³ N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l’histoire des Croisades au Moyen âge*, vol. I, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899, p. 250.

⁸⁴ ASVe, *Dispacci Corfù, b. 14 (1625-1626)*: report by Baliu Lancilotto Maria Gabriel and Proveditor-Kapitenit Paolo Caortorta, Corfù, 30 april 1626 (blood money-*pagamento di sangue*); Biblioteca Querini di Venezia, ms. It., cl. IV, cod. 360: Dispacci di Sua Eccellenza Signor Girolamo Querini, Generale a Corfù, vol. I, fol. 94^r : Corfù 13 may 1756 (*prezzo di sangue*); Ibid, fol. 148^r : Zante, 28 agosto 1756 (*rissarcimento di sangue*).

appears in the statutes of Ragusa in 1308, where a special chapter refers to the “ancient custom of murder” (*antiqua consuetudo vrasde*)⁸⁵.

The procedure to pay the “blood money” was as follows: first, the killer paid a penalty of 5 perpere, which was divided between the King and the victim’s family. It is self-understood that the case was not closed up with that modest amount, which was clear that it served only to contain the blood feud and channel the solution into a legal track. Therefore, much more than the penalty, what it mattered in that first phase was the King’s authority, since he was not in vain involved as the major factor for the solution of the case. After paying the penalty, the killer had to lock himself up at home until his own and the victim’s family had agreed on the amount to be paid to restore peace among them. This must have been a large amount, since to be able to collect it, the killer was often forced to sell his bride dowry, which was explicitly forbidden by the Statutes of Shkodra, except for when the woman agreed on such a case⁸⁶.

The issues related to blood feud are addressed in Chapter CCXXV in the Statutes of Shkodra, borrowed from the slavic law (*capitolo Sclavonescho che ne ha dato lo Re*) and they were incorporated in the statutes with the King’s intervention. In fact, Chapter 94 of the *Zakonik* of Stefan Dushani published in 1349 was entirely devoted to the institution of *urasba*, i.e. the blood money⁸⁷. This is also embodied in the monument of Albanian customary law, the Code of Lekë Dukagjini, although it used to be very little applicable in practice. Nopcsa has noted that to pardon blood through money in some regions was considered a shame⁸⁸. Otherwise, there is evidence that it also applied to southern areas. Thus, in the year 1632, after an Albanian was killed by Arilla (Çamëri) his relatives insisted on having the blood money, which according to them should not be less than 1.000 reale⁸⁹. Another similar

⁸⁵ M. Šufflay, *Qytete dhe kështjella të Shqipërisë*, p. 145.

⁸⁶ The Code of Justinian in the sixth century insisted on the woman’s exclusive right on her own dowry: E. Stein, *Histoire de Bas-Empire*, p. 414.

⁸⁷ M. Šufflay, *Qytete dhe kështjella të Shqipërisë*, p. 145.

⁸⁸ F. Nopcsa, *Fiset e malësisë së Shqipërisë Veriore dhe e drejta zakonore e tyre*, Tiranë: Eneas, 2013, p. 337.

⁸⁹ ASVe, *Dispacci Rettori et altre cariche: Corfù*, busta 17: dispaccio di Andrea Vedramin, Corfù, 6 giugno 1632; P. Xhufi, *Arbrit e Jugut: Vlora, Delvina e Janina shek. XV-XVII*, Tirana: Onufri ed., 2017, p. 1271-1277.

case dates back to 10 November 1755, when after a physical confrontation in a square in Corfu among some sailors and a group of greeks by Kefalonia and Corfu, 5 greeks and another one from Ulqini were killed. The Ulqinaks declared before the Venetian authorities in Corfu that “ they would take blood vengeance for their friend” (*che vorrano vendetta del sangue di quello*)⁹⁰. It was Pascha of Shkodra himself, Albanian Preng Doda, also introduced as the uncle of the moslem killed ulqinak, who intervened to the Venetian official and to the Venetian Vice Consul in Corfu in favour of the ulqinak. Doda claimed precisely that the “blood price” should be paid back to the family of the killed ulqinak. (*il prezzo del sangue*)⁹¹.

As it was underlined above, the blood money (*urasba*) as sanctioned in the Statutes of Shkodra represents an attempt to end the ancient custom of blood feud which stained with blood the relations among various families for entire generations. It was an attempt to end the blood feud spiral, blocking it with a compensation in cash. However, it should be noted that after the Ottoman occupation of Albania, the invasions from mountainous population to towns brought significant changes there. Thus, if before there were 64 patrician families in Tivar, in 1553 only 12 such families had remained.⁹² This was an indice of the degradation of urban life and it was exactly at that time that under the pressure of the new settlers descending from the mountains that the Commune of Tivar demanded from the Senate in Venice to abrogate the statutory norm on *blood money*.⁹³ Apparently, the new inhabitants in Tivar found it much more practical to resolve the murder cases through the traditional method i.e. through blood feud and blood money.

Finally, another indication on the impact of customary law over the statutes of Shkodra should be highlighted, which refers to the ancient Albanian institution of “besa”. A provision added on 5 January 1391, which later on was included in the corpus of statutes punishing a person

⁹⁰ Biblioteca Querini di Venezia, ms. It., cl. IV, cod. 360: Dispacci di Sua Eccellenza Signor Girolamo Querini, Generale a Corfù, vol. I, fol. 109^r.

⁹¹ Biblioteca Querini di Venezia, ms. It., cl. IV, cod. 360: Dispacci di Sua Eccellenza Signor Girolamo Querini, Generale a Corfù, vol. I, fol. 94^r : Corfù 13 may 1756.

⁹² M. Šufflay, *Qytetet dhe kështjellat e Shqipërisë*, p. 80.

⁹³ M. Šufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët*, Pristina: Rilindja, 1968, p. 59.

who insults others “by making fake promises” (*non da vera cum besare*)⁹⁴. Thus, the name “besë” is exclusively accompanied with the verbal form “*besare*” which was possibly coined by the copyist to match with the requirements of the Italian language.

The Statutes of Shkodra represent a very precious moment in the history and culture of medieval Albania. They could be compared to the “Chronicle of Gjon Muzaka” (1510) discovered and published in 1873 by Carl Hopf and which J. von Hahn baptized as “the pearl of our sources on medieval Albania”⁹⁵. If the Chronicle of Gjon Muzaka uncovers many unknown aspects of the Albanian feudal society, the statutes of Shkodra unfolded to readers, as their sublime expression, a shining and exceptional town for its culture and history.

⁹⁴L. Nadin, *Statuti di Scutari*, disposizione aggiunta nell’anno MCCCCLXXXI.

⁹⁵J. G. Hahn, *Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar*, Wien, 1867, p. 284; G. Schirò, in the *Introduction to the book by R. Jurlaro, I Musachi, despoti d’Epiro*, Bari, s. a., p. 6; P. Xhufi, *Nga Paleologët te Muzakajt*, p. 365-377.

Irakli KOÇOLLARI

**FIRST CONTACTS OF THE BRITISH WITH THE ALBANIAN
WORLD ACCORDING TO THE BRITISH ARCHIVES
(END OF THE XVIII CENTURY – BEGINNING OF THE XIX
CENTURY)**

It was neither romantic motives, nor academic interests, nor other scientific-oriented requirements that prompted the attention of Europeans and especially the British to set foot on the land of the Albanians, for the first time in the late Middle Ages.

The end of the 18th century (year 1790) or the first years of the 19th century had for the first time put the coasts of southern Arberia, after four centuries of captivity (under the Ottoman Empire), in the attention and focus of France's political and military goals.

Bonaparte's armies had subdued for the first time, after almost five centuries of hegemony, the master of the seas, the Republic of Venice. Together with him, the French, based on the preambles of the "Treaty of Campo Formio" (1797), had taken possession of all the coastal military bases that this power had on the shores of the Adriatic, Ionian, Aegean and beyond. In these circumstances, Bonaparte's French troops were placed in the coastal fortresses of the Pasha of Ioannina, in Butrint, Parga, Preveza, and took possession of the Seven Ionian Islands. After settling in these parts, the French military staffs began to cast their eyes in the depth of the forest lands, for further expansions, activating informants of the military fields. The first French informants tasked with secret military missions on Albanian soil were two botanists, who arrived in these parts in 1797. (1).

Precisely at this time, France's greatest rival power, Great Britain, which followed with special attention all the military campaigns and expansionist intentions of Bonaparte, had concluded that the revan of his armies could advance into the territory of the Paschalik of Ioannina.(2)

This threat prompted the descent and first contact of British soldiers and informants with the Pasha and Pasha of Ioannina. Their "secret" confidential information began in the first months of 1803.

But the landing of the first British on Albanian soil, it must be said that it was carried out under the initiative of Ali Pasha, who, sensing the threatening Bonapartes danger, encouraged the arrival of the first British diplomat, William Hamilton, to come to Ioannina, from Constantinople, where was accredited. Ali Pasha had invited him for a visit and, among other things, had openly expressed to him all the necessary readiness and alliance in the case of an expected war with France (3).

Immediately after him arrived on the shores of southern Arberia, two very capable and cultured soldiers, Colonel John Morier and Captain of the Royal Artillery, William Martin Lik.

We must emphasize from the beginning that W. M. Liku published in two volumes all the memories of his stay in Albania and Greece (1804-1806 and 1809-1812), but in no case do you find in the lines of these public publications information related to his mission of the soldier or the scout. He wrote them in "secret" reports and sent them to his superiors in Down Street, without ever making them public.

These "secret" Reports remained unread and never exhibited for nearly two centuries. For the first time a part of them, which was taken in Hardfortshire, was published in 2013, under the title "Ali Pasha and Albania in the British Archives". (4)

Even today, this entire documentary fund retains important values, for a number of issues with a historical, social, ethnic, religious, economic character, the political body, the governance of the Albanian provinces, the figure of Ali Pasha, the confidential conversations of Ali Pasha with the British, the interests the political truth of the British towards Ali Pasha and the Albanian land, they even reflect issues and backgrounds unknown from other sources alternative.

But another, rather large, number of these documents of great value to our history are still preserved for this time period in the British Archives, informs Sir Noel Malcolm in his publication. (5)

GOALS AND INTERESTS OF TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ALBANIAN TERRITORIES

For these very interesting times and situations, we find in the British Archives the first written materials of the War Staff of the British Government, which had carefully followed all French developments, movements and preparations for a possible landing and invasion on the west coast of the Balkans, specifically in the territories of the Paschalik of Ioannina, has reacted by taking emergency countermeasures.

In the Hardfordshire Archive, - Great Britain, a whole, special fund of documentation of great interest is preserved, for the actions undertaken at that time by the British Government, Military Staffs and its military missionaries, through the territories of the Paschalik of Ioannina and personally with Ali Pasha . (6)

Through them, he clearly reads that the first step of the British Government was to send its men to the territories intended to be occupied by the French armies, to solve a series of delicate tasks and to react militarily in the event of such aggression in alliance with Pasha of Ioannina. (7)

The document of the beginning of this fund is a "Decision" with concrete tasks, that the British Government (signed by the British Prime Minister, Hawksburry), has drawn up for the mission that its soldiers had to choose, those delicate and dangerous times. The decision of the British Government, which is kept in this Archive, (Hardfordshire) is presented translated below. It says:

British Government,
Downing Street, 28 August 1804
new lord _

The British Government, considering as an object of special importance the protection of the border - of the Paschal of Ioannina (under the Ottoman Empire) against the threat of French attacks, has judged it reasonable to send an officer from ranks of the Royal Artillery. As His Majesty has been pleased to select you, (This is Captain Royal Artillery, W. M. Leak – our note I. Koçollari) I think it necessary to give

you the following instructions, in order that he may organize your chores and tasks.

First, you should familiarize yourself with the western coasts of Albania and the Morea, and in particular with those points, which, due to their proximity to the Italian coast, are not only directly exposed to enemy attacks, but also present with very easy from the point of view of landing.

Secondly, if you think that the Turkish commanders in those parts fulfill the conditions and have the means and means to carry out and fulfill the orders, you will suggest to them some measure of improvement for the defense of those places.

Thirdly, you will be accompanied and supported by the Royal Army surveyors and draftsmen. In case this cannot be done, you are authorized to employ other persons. You will undertake inspections and draw up sketches, trying to ensure that such an action does not arouse jealousy and resentment among the inhabitants of the country. To facilitate your work, His Majesty's Minister near the High Gate will help you to equip yourself with the necessary farms.

Fourth, you will visit all the fortifications along the coast in order to see their condition and verify if they meet the conditions to show resistance. If their demands can be easily met, you may, in conjunction with Mr. Morier, endeavor to induce the Governors of Turkey, to take, as far as lies in their power, the necessary technical measures to replace them at the most important points. You will forward this information to His Majesty's Minister at the High Gate, and if he sees fit, he may support you in this undertaking.

Fifth, - after you have provided the necessary information about the coastline, you will continue further inland in order to get a general overview of the country.

....

Sixthly, you will communicate with Ali Pasha, or the Beylerbe of Rumelia, and offer him your advice and opinions concerning a general plan relating to the defense of their territories, you will meet their demands, to the best of your ability, as to the advance organization and improvement of the artillery.

Seventh, - having accomplished your mission in Northern Greece, you will proceed to Corinth, from the North direction, and finally to set up a trenched camp on the Isthmos.

Eighth, - you will visit all the other strategic points, in the vicinity of the Morea, and in particular the fortifications of the Venerians, for the same purposes, as those specified in the preceding points, as regards Corinth and the places along the coast.

Ninth, - while traveling you will observe and report on the political and military leanings of the inhabitants.

Tenthly, - in pursuit of the same object you will pay particular attention to the general geography of Greece, in order to secure to the Government and the English nation more accurate data than we have hitherto had of this country. interesting,

Eleventhly, - in case the enemy, at present, makes a landing in Greece, and if the Russian troops in Corfu take more active action to achieve their aims towards European Turkey, you will offer to the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish forces, especially you will use this influence to persuade them to exercise care in the preservation of supplies and possessions of every kind.

Twelfthly, - you will correspond with Mr. Arthur..., Mr. Morier, and Mr. Foresti concerning such matters as may be relevant to their information; at the earliest opportunity you will report the results of your observations to Mr. Alexander Bull, Lord Nelson, and to that office.

To Captain Leak,
Royal Artillery (8).

Thus, in 1804, supported by this order of the British Government, the young Captain of the Royal Artillery, William Martin Leak, would go on a military reconnaissance mission, in the territories of the Paschalik of Ioannina, to stay until the winter of 1806. (and on a second mission 1809-1812)

Although only 27 years old, Leak knew with a strange precision the ancient sources and authors who had written about the Illyrians and Illyria. He remembered and quoted correctly the names of the Illyrian tribes, the limits of their extent, the places where the battles were fought, the known and unknown routes of the passage of foreign armies, the

location of the deployments of the Roman legions, the Macedonian forces, the consuls and the Roman generals Sulspicius and Paulus Aemilius, the settlements and fortifications erected by Caesar against Pompey, the coast towns where Mark Antony landed, &c. (9)

But, now that civilization was extinguished, many cities, once all splendor and beauty, were razed to the ground and covered by the ashes of fires and human forgetfulness. But, for Lik's eyes, it was not difficult to identify them, because the rivers and mountains, Apsus, Genesus, Aos, Tomarus, the well-known cities of Dyrrahu, Lissusi, Buthroti, Skodra, etc. remained in these geographical horizons. Knowing all this, with an admirable intuition, he identified the former settlements, fortifications, shrines and temples, which slept under the centuries-old silence, under the Albanian soil. (10)

With his historical identification tracings, with his scientific analyzes and conclusions, Liku is thus ranked among the first historians or archaeologists of our country, and why not, the man who declared and argued at that time, the still undeclared opinion, of Illyrian-Albanian continuity. He offered arguments on the origin of the Albanian race, presented evidence about traditions and ethnography, published studies about numismatics, the Albanian language, etc. In this way, Liku preceded, without a doubt, the constellation of albanologists, who followed in the second half of the 19th century, in Europe such as Hahn, Shuflai, Prashniker, Pach, Finlay, Fallmerajer, Jokli, etc.

Information about the organization political and administrative of the Pashalaqas

During the first two-year mission (1804-1806), Leak had traveled tirelessly, observed and focused all the objects necessary for his information, met and talked with people from different regions and strata, of the Albanian and Greek population, Chams, Toskas, Labs, Gega, Dibras and Musekers, functionaries of the Ottoman administration - Pashas, Beys, Vizirs, Spahis, career soldiers, etc. He had done tests and measurements, selected and used alternative sources for his information, then put everything on paper with incredible objectivity and realism.

Informing about the latter, Morier wrote in a letter sent to the Foreign Minister:

"...Another advantage that this country has in relation to all other parts of the territories of the Ottoman Empire, is its being in the hands of local officials, who, unlike most of the Ottoman government, due to the influence of their families, or by reason of influence and authority acquired in war, have secured a great authority among their fellow-patriots by raising themselves to the height of governors who inherit their powers in the districts over which they rule.

The main Pasaliks of Albania (Albania) are those of Shkodra and Ioannina. That one, of Vlora in the transitional situation, situated between the other two, has become less powerful.

That one of Shkodra, few time ago, was one of the most frightening for the High Gate, while the Pashallik of Ioannina is one today; its authority is special and its power is rising from day to day, while the history of its founder (the pashalik) would probably not be without interest to Your Majesty." (11)

The large volume of this documentation shows the concentration and hard work of this soldier, the gifted informant detective, and if we consider the tools with which he circulated at that time, for the collection of information, the instruments for its transmission, the extraordinary difficulties of movement, economic conditions, transportation, the uncertainty of the terrain, we can understand what difficulties and obstacles this young officer had to face.

Studies on the origin and the history of our people

Referring chronologically to the first information drafted and sent by Liku and his superior John Morier, we find important materials with historical identification values for our country. In the first report sent by these two missionaries (of 17 pages) we find estimates of the geographical spaces of the arboretum settlements, of the territories in which this population was spread, facts that were previously unknown not only to the United Kingdom but also to the Europeans in whole..

Speaking about the limits of the ethnic scope of the Albanian population, Morieri writes:

"Albania (Albania) means ... the country that stretches from the Gulf of Arta and goes far, towards the north, to Bojana, and beyond. This country is called Albania. The territories of these parts present to the conqueror an extremely resistant natural obstacle..."

"The main municipalities of Albania are those of Shkodra, Ioannina and Vlora. The latter, starting from the position between the other two, is less powerful..." (12)

In these same military reports, sent to the British military headquarters in London, we find these important historical and scientific analyzes and conclusions, related to the origin of the Albanian population, which inhabits these parts:

"The Arnauts, that's what the inhabitants of Albania are called, writes Morier, - with their customs, costumes and especially with their division into tribes, they clearly show once again their connection with their origin, as autochthonous inhabitants of Epirus and Illyria. We may find in Suli, the name of the mountainous region inhabited by the Suliotes, the name of the "Selli", — the barbarian tribe mentioned in Homer, as Strabo records, for the inhabitants in the vicinity of Dodona. Their language has undergone a fundamental change. They are the only ones who don't speak Greek. They speak a dialect, which does not exist written in characters and consists of Illyrian, with some mixtures of Turkishisms, Greekisms and Vlachisms..." (13)

Perhaps this scientific finding, in this military report, is one of the first, if not the first to institutionally determine the Illyrian origin of the Albanians, before the British cabinet, an opinion that later attracted attention and was taken into consideration by German researchers and albanologists, later Austrian, French, as well as our renaissance, of the second half of the 19th century.

Information on albanian topography maps and sketches of the territory of SLQPTR

In another concluding report, from 1805, after Captain Lik had traveled through the territories of the Pashalluk of Ioannina for several months, he informs his superiors about the situation in Albania as follows:

"The trip to Zalonga gave me the opportunity to take a good look at the area around Arta and Parga. On a previous occasion I had visited the provinces of Konispoli, Delvina, Gjirokastra, Tepelena and Himara. In this way, I was able to collect all the necessary material for the compilation of the Map of the entire Coast and the maritime area, from the Gulf of Vlora to the Gulf of Lepanto.

Along with the information, I am also sending you the map compiled for this occasion... " (14)

But what draws our attention more, from this information of Captain Lik, sent to London, is the very interesting assessment he makes of the Gulf of Vlora, defining it, from a strategic point of view, as one of the most important military grounds - sailors for all the waters of the Adriatic and Ionian seas. In this way, we learn that the value, the position, the strategic importance of this Gulf and the role it could play, were not discovered by the Russians, who erected after the Second World War, the important military-naval base of Pashaliman, but very before them, almost 150 years ago, the value and important position of Pashaliman had been discovered and defined as such by British military art specialists. In this report, for the Gulf of Vlora, Captain Lik notes:

"The Bay of Vlora is positioned at ... the entrance to the Adriatic ... it is one of the best to hold a large fleet, as it is able to hold a large number of ships...

The fleet can be positioned here with absolute security of protection from the land and rocky mountains. The strait between the island of Sazan and Cape Lingueta makes the passage to enter the Gulf of an adversary difficult..." "The closure of this strait, of Otranto, turns the Adriatic from an open sea into a closed lake, and only this country has this possibility. ..." (15)

In the ranks of this archival documentation, which is kept in the British archives, there is also a wide and detailed number of sketches of coastal or even peninsular terrains, which illustrate with concrete dimensions the periodical information that W. M. Leak has sent to London. We find this fact expressed in his own information, when he says:

"This map, compiled by me, I am sending to You, asking for forgiveness for any mistakes or inaccuracies, since as you know I am not a real draftsman, but that circumstances have forced me to do his work.

However, I am convinced that in many details they are precise and accurate... distances... angles... latitudes..." (16)

Meanwhile, John Morier, in a very detailed concluding informational report, after traveling for about two months in most of the territories of the Peloponnese, Attica, Pashalik of Ioannina, Chameria, Suli, Vlora, Berat, Thessaly, the Gulf of Arta, Preveza, Boeotia and elsewhere, predicts that a military attack by the French fleet can land, among all these territories, only at one point:

"... In these circumstances, it must be appreciated that Vlora is the most likely point in the event of a French attack from the coast of Italy, the Gulf of Arta can also be presented as the most favorable point for a landing from Toulon (of France). No ship would sink unless it entered ten feet of water inside the Gulf, but troops who could set foot ashore would have great advantages." (17)

These and many other pieces of information, prepared for superiors and military staffs, are only part of Liku's work, the part his government had commissioned him to do. And yet even in them, every reader can clearly distinguish the pen of a cultured man, the thought of a scholar with deep knowledge. Liku does not even appear in this information, although of a military nature, with a poor language under pedantic military hierarchical schematics, with narrow visions and closed within military clichés. On the contrary, even in these fascicles intended for war structures, you find subjects of great historical, archaeological, scientific and study value. This seems to be due as much to the traditions of the British military schools as to the ambitions and personal claims of this cultured young man. But this significant part of Liku's work, which we mention above, is still unknown.

We say "not a small part", because as is known, from all scientific circles and especially the historiographic ones, Ę. M. Liku has another, voluminous, well-known, announced and published in several books. This, known part, is his research, scientific creativity.

But one thing can be said for sure; Liku has done well both the task and mission of the military as well as the work as a researcher and researcher in the field of history, linguistics, numismatics, archeology, (of course we still do not know today what historical relics of ancient art the colonel managed to collect in the territories ours and where they are found today, etc. Not only that, but in this field, as a historian, he is

probably the first to study and approach the Illyrian origins of Albanians. (18)

Ali Pasha in the focus of british interests and studies

The British paid special attention to the lord of the territories of southern Arberia or the Pashallik of Ioannina, Ali Pasha. The latter would be their interlocutor for many issues, open or secret, for announced or unknown alliances, of mutual interest.

"Ali Pasha is 52 years old, - writes Morieri in a secret information. Under his warlike tendencies and unrestrained dynamism, he collected and united around him so many determined men opposed to the late and indecisive measures of the Porte, that, if he continues to live, his influence and authority will be extended and spreads throughout Albania and Rumelia. His mind, though not directed or cultivated by any preceptor, possesses an unusual degree of natural intelligence, which appears in the manner of constructing his relations with the Gate, upon whose authority he has never trespassed by violent action, (demonstrative), open. Recognizing the corruption of this Government, he manages to realize his goals through gold, but at the same time maintaining his appearance as its loyalist." (19)

"...With the death of Kurd Pasha, 11 years ago, he replaced him and took command of the dervish and Trikalla itself. Since then his power has been increasing..."

"...Ali Pasha has already so consolidated his authority in the direction of the North and the East, through the command of all the dervish, that it can be said unequivocally that he is the undisputed Lord of the whole country that stretches from Lebedea to Boeotia, in a line that stretches north almost to Pella, near the Vardar River, in Macedonia and from there to Ohrid in Albania..." (20)

Tendencies and goals for separation and independence

With an admirable prudence, it seems that Captain Lik has managed to clearly understand the true political intentions, which Ali Pasha was grinding within his significant silence, or which he hid in the unsaid lines of dialogues with the attentive British. It is about Ali Pasha's tendencies,

plans and intentions, for secession and the creation of a simplified state. Speaking about this issue, W. M. Liku writes:

"If the Pasha will be successful in the complete realization of the (military) expeditions that he is currently undertaking, he will be master of the entire western coast of Greece, from Cape Matapan to the vicinity of Durrës with a single exception, Parga, and under these circumstances, there is a good chance, that he may without hesitation declare himself Lord, King of this country, which he has claimed very early". (21)

And speaking about the determination of Ali Pasha, in protecting the sovereignty of his country, in cases of threats from abroad, Liku informs:

"In these circumstances, (I asked Ali Pasha) what would be the attitude of His Majesty and Albanians in general, before such a situation? He replied that his maxim was: To meet his enemy wherever he appeared! And for this he would rely on their community and unity to respond and defend every corner of the territory where Albania could be attacked. I told his Majesty that, as I had foreseen that his answer would be just that, I had accepted with particular pleasure the mission entrusted to me, which concerned the security we would give to His Excellency to him (Ali Pasha) for the help and support he will have from His Majesty (the British Government), in the event of an attack and attack by the enemy (France-IK), to support him in the defense of independence and independence (sovereignty) over all his possessions in case the Sultan should lose his European possessions." (22)

Other scientific publications unknown lake

From 1804 to 1809, despite the difficult political situation for England in the Ottoman territories, the Colonel carried out, in parallel with his military duties, a number of topographical and archaeological studies, reaching amazing, quite accurate conclusions, supported in his deep knowledge of ancient authors, sources and documents of antiquity that spoke of the Illyrian, Hellenic lands and beyond. During those times he records and reads the epigraphs on the sites and monuments of antiquity, brings them out of obscurity and makes them known to scientific circles and the European public.

In 1815 he was called again by the British government to be charged with a new military task and mission, this time as an artillery specialist and adviser to the troops of the Swiss army of Archduke Johan, in Bern, where he remained until the establishment of peace in Europe. (23)

Upon returning to England, he devoted himself to scientific work, an activity which he continued tirelessly until the end of his life. His publications include:

In 1814; "Researches in Greece" - studies on the modern Greek language

In 1822; "Burckhards travels in Nubia, Syria and Arabia"

In 1826; "An historical outline of the Greek Revolution"

In 1829; "The Bull of Attica"

In 1830; "Travels in Morea", in three volumes

In 1835; "Travel in Northern Greece" in four volumes.

In 1841; "The topography of Athens"

In 1855; "Nomizmatika Hellenistica", Within the rich collection, accumulated during the years that stayed in Albania and Greece, there are a large number of coins minted by the Illyrian kingdoms. (24)

In 1859, a few weeks before he died, he republished under a new review and treatment many historical, topographical, numismatic matters of his previous findings and findings.

After his first publications and the success they found in scientific circles in England and abroad, in 1828, Colonel Lick was elected "Founding Member of the Geographical Society of Berlin". That same year, he was awarded the title: "Honorary Member of the Royal French Institute"

In 1838, he was awarded the title "Ambassador of Karl Wilkins".

He died in 1859 and was buried with honors in the Kensal Green cemetery, where he rests today. (25)

Other military and their valuable information

HUDSON LOWE

From 1809 to 1812, another British soldier, Hudson Love, was commanded as governor-general for the Ionian Islands, Cephalonia, Santa Maura and Ithaca. During his stay in these parts, he had close contacts and relations with Ali Pasha, and between them an intense

correspondence was carried out, with interest in the political and military events that involved the Paschalek of Ioannina and beyond, those years. Of great value are his assessments of the political and national situation in these parts and the figure of Ali Pasha himself.

Lowe is known for being the British soldier who imprisoned and kept in isolation on the island of St. Helena, the French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, until the last day of his life. It is often called the "Guardian of Bonaparte".

Speaking briefly about Ali Pasha, Lowe among others writes:

"Veziri Ali Pasha was undoubtedly a remarkable man for his talent and skills, but not so for his severity and arrogance. In those years he was at the height of his power and his friendly dispositions towards England were maximum. His acts, attitudes and movements clearly demonstrated this course." (26), (27)

SIR. THOMAS MAITLAND

The British general who took over the Ionian Islands in 1816, as Governor and Military Commander of the British units in these islands.

Talks were held with him and the agreement was signed for the purchase of Parga from the British by Ali Pasha. (28)

JOHN HAMILTON

Foreign Minister of England in 1816 - 1819. Distinguished British diplomat. Charged with the duty of the British Ambassador Plenipotentiary in Istanbul. From there, invited by Ali Pasha, he went and stayed in Pasha for a while. He created a close friendship and intense cooperation with Ali Pasha. He has institutionally expressed his very positive evaluations of Ali Pasha and the Albanians. He intervened with the British government to evaluate Ali Pasha's efforts for secession and independence. See point 2 of the "Historical Relationship". (29)

"Historical relation"

Ali pasha directed the british government

In the fund of documents of the "Archive of Ali Pasha" recently published, in the compilation titled "Arqio tou Ali Pasha", "Instituto Neoelekenikon Erevnon...", Athens, in the second volume, pages 639-649

and bears the number 829 is a "Historical Relation", which comprehensively and accurately summarizes the entire chronicle of Ali Pasha's relations with Great Britain. (30)

The document is written in Italian and as written in its introductory preamble, "it describes the services and relations of Ali Pasha with the English nation (state), the first of these in relation to the relations with the French, in the Seven Ionian Islands, from the year 1797 and after, as well as with the High Gate.

The "Relation" has an admirable accuracy in listing all the events in the relations between the Tepelenas and the British Kingdom, which shows that the protocol of his administration worked scrupulously and admirably correctness in keeping, recording and handling the documentation, especially that which was related to foreigners, international relations and especially to Ali Pasha's foreign policy.

The exact chronology of relations with the British also speaks of "a perfect memory" of the entire historical, political and diplomatic path in bilateral relations, which is based on facts, events, historical figures and concrete documents. Being such, this long relation drawn up in 59 points can serve as an orientation table, where researchers can rely to find the documentary funds of all the early relations between Albania and Great Britain.

In it, it is revealed that these relations between the two parties have been extended for a long time, more than has been known until now. Within the exchanges and legal and illegal relations between the two partners, many actors of different fields, professions and ranks are involved; ministers, ambassadors, high and low ranking military, spies, romantic travelers, politicians, diplomats, etc. All these exchanges, conversations and agreements, a large part still unknown, are reflected in information and stored on the shelves of the British archives. They will even further bring us surprising and very interesting events for the history of relations between our two countries.

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Hamit KABA

**A POLITICAL OVERVIEW OF THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENTS' POSITIONS TOWARDS THE GREEK
CLAIMS FOR SOUTHERN ALBANIA ***

British documentation cited in this paper concludes that from 1914 to the end of the Second World War (WWII), the governments of the United Kingdom have in general viewed with sympathy Greek claims for the annexing of parts of southern Albania. After WWII, the role of Britain as a great power dimmed as international circumstances changed. The British governments modified their stand towards Greek claims, taking into consideration the policy of the United States (US) and the role of the Soviet Union in the defense of communist countries.

In 1912, during the Balkan Wars, Greece invaded the southern part Albanian known as "Northern Epirus." The 11 August 1913 Ambassadors Conference of London definitively decided on the southern border of the Albanian state. The destiny of Gjirokastra would be decided by the Borders International Commission,¹ but Korça, the western and southern shores of Lake Ohrid, the strip of sea shore to Ftelia, and Sazan Island would be assigned to Albania. As a result of the "selfish policy of Italy and Austria,"² this line was considered by the British diplomat Eyre Crowe³ as a 'debt' that should be paid for the establishment of the new Albanian state. The International Commission

* Translated from Albanian by Dr. Gjon Boriçi.

¹For a treatment in depth of the case of southern border of the Albanian state see: Arben Puto, *Pavarësia Shqiptare dhe diplomacia e Fuqive të Mëdha*, 1912-1914, Tiranë: Toena, 2012; Romeo Gurakuqi, *Shqipëria 1911-1914*, Tiranë: UET Press, 2012; Ledia Dushku, *Kur Historia ndau dy popuj fqinj. Shqipëria dhe Greqia, 1912-1914*, Tiranë: Kristalina KH, 2012.

²The National Archives (TNA), FO 371/107289, 1953, Research Department, *The attitude of H.M.G. to Greek claims on Albania (Nr. Epirus)*, 29.1.1952, pp. 1-7;

³Eyre Alexander Barby Wichart Crowe (1864-1925), specialist for the German problems in Foreign Office and under State secretary during 1920-1925.

was established to define on the ground the southern borders of Albania, but came to an impasse and thus was moved to Florence where the final decision was made as to the finalized Albanian-Greek border. Great Britain, as in Florence, maintained a neutral stance between the parties. On 17 December 1913, negotiations were finalized by the signature of the Florence Protocol, the outcome of which was the inclusion of Korça and Gjirokastra within the boundaries of the new Albanian state, while to Greece were made 'few minor concessions'⁴ i.e., the entire Çamëria region.

In 1914, after the beginning of the First World War, Triple Entente (Great Britain, Russia, and France) encouraged Greece to occupy the so-called Northern Epirus which was in southern Albania. This occupation was followed by violence and terror against the local population. Meanwhile Italy, aligning with the Entente powers was rewarded by the London Secret Agreement of 26 April 1915, the outcome of which would be dismemberment of Albania. In addition, according to Article 7 of this agreement, Greece was acknowledged the right to permanently possess the Northern Epirus territories and, on March 1916, by royal decree of Greece, its union with Greece was proclaimed.

After the end of the First World War, disagreements arose between the biggest winners of the war as to the territories of the Albanian state. In the beginning, Italy exerted pressure on the other participants of the Paris Peace Conference to respect the borders of southern Albania which had been acknowledged in the Florence Protocol. Great Britain, on the other hand, urged Greece's claim at least to Korça and Gjirokastra. A 19 February 1919 document of Great Britain's Chief of Staff fiercely defended the Greek claims concerning Albania. The Peace Conference of Paris agreement between England, France, and Italy to dismember the Albanian territories was unsuccessful after the strong objections from the US delegation. The conference achieved no approval for any decision about Albania.

On the 9th November 1921 the Ambassadors Conference confirmed the Florence line of 1913, but compensated Italy, 'the big loser,' with the right to be the protectorate of Albania, a privilege which it exploited in the worst possible way. England was one of the four countries which

⁴TNA, FO 371/107289, 1953, Research Department, *The attitude of H.M.G. to Greek claims on Albania (Nr. Epirus)*, 29.1.1952, p. 2.

signed this agreement. The British former minister in Tirana, Sir Robert Hodgson, told his American colleague Herman Bernstein, “We signed the agreement, France signed it, and Japan signed it... recognizing the special interests of Italy in Albania. It was a mistake on our part to sign this document, but we did and, now it is not being easy to deny Italy, which has special interests in Albania.”⁵

The British government was one of the countries that signed the protocol of 1926 regarding the borders of Albania with its neighbors⁶ but, as was shown by the following events, Britain had reservations about having done so. The 1926 protocol to recognize Albania's southern borders was officially admitted, even by Greece.⁷ Indeed, until the Second World War, as is admitted in British documents, the governments of His Majesty expressed a great deal of sympathy for Greek ambitions for the southern Albania territories.⁸

The British government: the debate on the Greek claims will take place after the War

After the First World War, Great Britain signed the London Secret Treaty for the dismemberment of Albanian territories in favor of the enlargement of its neighboring countries, even questioning the independence and existence of Albania. During WWII, the British government proclaimed a statement of a different nature, acknowledging the right of the existence of an independent Albanian state after the end of the War. The issue of its borders, however, was left open.

Starting from 1940-1941, the British Foreign Office [FO] was aware of the Greek claims in official and non-official ways, articulated by the

⁵The National Archives and Record Administration (NARA), 875.51/149, Report of Bernstein, no. 726, 24 April 1933, quoted by: Agron Alibali, *Konica: Dritëhijet e një diplomati*, Tiranë: Argeta LMG, 2016, p. 483.; Tajar Zavalani, *Histori e Shqipnis*, Tiranë: Plejad, 2019, p. 401.

⁶NARA, 875.00/10-44, Territorial problems: Albanian-Yugoslav border, Secret N-46, 2 September 1943.

⁷Stavro Skëndi, ‘Gjendja e Shqipërisë sot dhe Detyrat e Shqiptarëve’, Detroit-Michigan: 1953, p. 7.

⁸TNA, FO 371/107289, 1953, Research Department, *The attitude of H.M.G. to Greek claims on Albania (Nr. Epirus)*, 29.1.1952, p. 1.

Greek government in exile. The Greek aspiration for southern Albania did not leave without mentioning Sazan Island and Vlora itself.⁹ M. Papandreou, in an interview given on September 1944, spoke about the claims of his government for Sazan Island, Korça, and perhaps Vlora.¹⁰

During the Italian-Greek war, when Greek military troops entered the Albanian territory [in November 1940], the British Ministry of Information suggested to the Foreign Office to ask General Metaxas to make a statement to recognize the independence of Albania and the borders of the Albanian state.¹¹ The British government would have preferred that her ally Greece make such a statement, because that would strengthen the potential resistance of Albanians against the Italians and would influence a softening of the claims on the territories by both parties.¹² This did not occur. The FO considered such a statement from the Greek general to be difficult to realize. General Metaxas made a general statement which, far from the British expectations, credited Greece as the liberator of the Balkans and Albania. He used Greek national feeling of the winter of 1940-1941 for the Northern Epirus as encouragement to oust the Italians, not only from Greece but also from southern Albania.¹³ "In my opinion," wrote P. Dixon [British diplomat in FO] on 23 November 1941, "to ask the Greeks to make such a statement in the suggested lines [from Harvey] would be unnecessary, and also would bring an unwanted complication in our relations with Greece."¹⁴ The Foreign Ministry of Great Britain respected the only ally of the war until then in Balkan- Greece.

King Zog was ready to resist the Italians in collaboration with the Greek army, but encountered in the rejection of the Greek government. The latter considered Albania to be in 'a state of war with Greece'. That Albania was headed by a quisling government under Italian occupation did not matter to the Greek government. On the contrary, the international negative image of Albania would make easier the future

⁹TNA, FO 371/29711, H. Beeley to Mr. Nichols, 18 February, 1941, pp. 72-88.

¹⁰TNA, FO 371/58500, 11 March 1946, p. 8.

¹¹ Beqir Meta, *Tensioni Greko-Shqiptar*, Tirane: Geer, 2002, pp.420-421.

¹²TNA, FO 371/24866, Proposal of Oliver Harvey to Orme Sargent, 21 November 1940.

¹³TNA, HS 7/70, Allied Military Mission, Albania 1942-1945, p. 41.

¹⁴ Beqir Meta, *Tensioni Greko-Shqiptar(1939-1949)*, Tirane: Geer, 2002, p. 421; TNA, FO 371/24866, Reply of Orme Sargent to Mr. Harvey, 25 November 1940.

fulfilling of Greek claims for the territories of southern Albania. During WWII, the Greek government was interested to know if, like Greece, the governments of the USA and Great Britain were in a state of war with Albania. Greece never received an affirmative answer from either country.

Despite lack of support from the US and Great Britain, the Greek military administration within the Albanian territories was careful in making statements and in its treatment of civilians. Still, Greece could not extinguish international doubts about its claims towards Albania. The positioning of the Greek army in the Northern Epirus borders claimed by Greece, the administration of the Albanian territories by the Greek authorities of occupation, their hypocritical statements, and behavior towards the Albanian population raised doubts among British journalists.¹⁵

In the beginning of September 1941, the Greek government in exile would remind the British FO of "the rights of Greece for the Northern Epirus territories." Those in the British Foreign Ministry at that time were thinking that was a strong argument in support of the Greek claims, but the fulfillment was not for this time.¹⁶ The fulfillment would be conditioned by 'destiny' of the postwar Albania state, from the Yugoslav claims towards Albania and from the victory of Antifascist Alliance against the Axes powers. At that time, His Majesty's government had little interest in Albania. The British government had recognized the Italian occupation of Albania, and had not withdrawn from this position, not even when Italy attacked France in June 1940 and clearly joined forces with the fascist countries. Until December 17, 1942, the British government had not made any declaration about a future independent Albania; nonetheless, supporting voices within the UK were not lacking.

The Greek aspiration for the annexation of southern Albania would have been easier to realize if the Yugoslav government in London has presented its claims regarding northern Albania. This was an old game, played in the past by both these neighbors of Albania. At this time,

¹⁵TNA, FO 371/29712, Memorandum of Maitland "on the situation of the Albanian territories occupied by the Greek army", 21 December 1940.

¹⁶Arben Puto, *Nëpër analet e diplomacisë angleze, Botim i dytë i ripunuar*, Tiranë: 8 Nëntori, 1980, p. 53.

however, the Yugoslav government in exile showed reserve in its claims towards Albania. Its first priority was the reunification of Kosovo and other territories, separated from it in August 1941. Yugoslavia was resolute to get this territory back if this right would be recognized by any international institution.¹⁷ But, If Greece would benefit from Albanian territories after the end of war, and then the Yugoslav government in exile would not give up its demand to be compensated with territories from northern Albania, specifically, Shkodra and its surrounding areas.¹⁸

On 17 December 1942, the British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden made an official statement in the House of Commons that, His Majesty's government would support an independent Albania, but concluded with the words: 'H. M. G. considers the issue of the borders of the postwar Albanian state as a problem that should be reviewed at the Peace Conference.'¹⁹ Foreign Minister Eden clarified this statement in a letter sent to the Greek ambassador in London on 30 December 1942, explaining that the policy of His Majesty's government was to not discuss territorial claims during the war. Eden reconfirmed this position on 27 April 1943 in a letter sent to the Greek Prime Minister, Emmanuel M. Tsouderos.²⁰ The Greek Premier Minister agreed with the declaration of the British government for the independence of Albania, but in a press conference raised two issues: *first*, that the statement had not defined territorial issues, specifically of Northern Epirus, which was of special interest for Greece, and *second*, that the declaration undermined the future arrangements of postwar Albania with its neighboring countries, but excluding Italy.²¹

On 2 July 1943, the FO sent a telegram to the British embassy in Greece about a possible landing of British troops in Albania. The telegram emphasized two important points. First, under the British administration Albania had to be treated as a friendly country and not as an enemy, and second, Albania's future administration should have no

¹⁷Tajar Zavalani, *Ditar (1942-1944), prepared for publishing from* Bejtullah Destani and Agim Morina, Prishtinë: 2018, p. 54.

¹⁸TNA, FO 536/5, G.W. Rendel for Anthony Eden, 1 November 1941.

¹⁹TNA, FO 371/33107, year 1942, p. 57.

²⁰TNA, FO 371/107289, year 1953.

²¹TNA, WO 204/9540, HS-AFHQ/108/4, Year 1943, Comments of Tsouderos towards the declaration of Eden, 15 January, 1943.

Italian, Greek, or Yugoslav employees.²² This judgment sourced from the decision taken from the British Foreign Ministry of 28 June 1943, when it made clear to the War Ministry that “Albania should be treated as a friendly territory.”²³

The recognition of Albania's status as a friendly country should British troops land on its shores had great importance for the future of this Balkan country in several ways. First, in a way it would affirm Albania as an ally to the UK. In contrast, treatment of Albania as hostile territory could pave the way for the entrance of Greek troops into the southern Albania territories, with the argument that they were in as ally forces in a "hostile" territory, a scheme that had been successfully used during the First World War. The Balkan Committee to Administer the Territories, depending on the War Ministry, qualified Albania as a hostile, not friendly territory.²⁴

The Greek government did not relinquish its claims to participate in the possible occupation of Albania with the British troops, whenever that would happen. On 5 September 1943, D. S. Laskey delivered to D. Howard at FO his opinion of this problem.²⁵ He wrote about claims of the Greek government on southern Albania, its demands to put Greek troops in these areas, and for their participation in the administration commissions that might be established in this case. Laskey, however, thought that the Greek claims for southern Albania were not solid and, if they were to be fulfilled, Albania could not exist as an independent state.

“To permit [the] Greek troops to participate in the occupation of this area, and to give their representatives any position in the control's commission or in the military government that would administer the area, would prejudice her [Albania's] future position...Moreover, it

²²TNA, WO 204/9540, Telegram of FO to the British embassy for Greece, 2 July 1943.

²³TNA, WO 204/9540, Telegram of FO to the British embassy for Greece, 2 July 1943.

²⁴TNA, WO 204/9540, 28 June 1943.

²⁵TNA, FO 371/37144, D.S.Laskey to D.Howard, London, 5 September 1943.

seems certain that the majority of the inhabitants are Albanians and not Greek.”²⁶

In November 1944, the Greek government under Papandreou demanded the British government to publicly proclaim that it would not forget the Greek claims when the time came for the Peace Conference. On the 28th, the FO prepared a memorandum for Albania, which also dwelt on the Greek claims towards southern Albania. This memorandum stressed that the direct interest of England towards Albania was limited, but that the British government had to honor the statement of 17 December, 1942 that Albania should be independent after the end of the war. The document shows a hesitant British government and its unwillingness to take a clear position as to Albania's border problems. If Greece's claims for southern Albania were fulfilled, not only would the existence of an independent Albania state become impossible, but the two countries would not have a friendly relationship for long time, and the Balkan region would turn into a "cyclone center."²⁷ ‘If it decided to not support the Greek claims for southern Albania, it's important to stop any Greek effort to occupy this territory’.²⁸ Both the American and the British governments were against Greek troops entering Albanian territory at the end of the war and after that leaving it to the Peace Conference to decide upon the Albanian-Greek borders.

During the Second World War some important studies were drafted for Albania, mainly about its international status and borders. The majority of the British studies were drafted from the Royal Institute of International Relations, Foreign Researches and Press Services at Oxford.²⁹ The studies aimed to precede the expected decisions of the

²⁶TNA, FO 371/37144, London, 5 September 1943; Hamit Kaba and Sabit Sylja, *Shqiptarët gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore: Arkivat Kombëtare Britanike*, Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë ‘Ali Hadri’, 2018, p. 144-145.

²⁷FO 371/143556, Memorandum prepared by the South Department (FO), on 28 November 1944, p. 105.

²⁸ Hamit Kaba and Sabit Sylja, *Shqiptarët gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore: Arkivat Kombëtare Britanike*, Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë ‘Ali Hadri’, 2018, p. 145.

²⁹TNA, FO 371/29711, Andrew Rayan, “The viability of the future Albanian state”, February 1941, pp. 77-88; FO 371/33107, R.G.D. Laffan, “The future of Albania”, 6 January 1942; TNA, FO 371/37135, McCartney-Laffan, “Albania as international problem”, 23 February 1943; FO 371/43567, “The Albanian-Greek borders”, 26 August 1944; Beqir Meta, *Tensioni Greko-Shqiptar (1939-1949)*, Tirane: Geer, 2002, pp. 429-431, 434-435.

British government about Albania and its future. These studies, which should not be considered as compulsory decisions, presented all possible alternatives, along with the strengths and weaknesses points of each. It should be said that Greece, Britain's most important ally in the Balkans, should profit something from Albania after the war, including even dismemberment of the latter from the neighboring countries.³⁰ In his study of Albanian-Greek borders, McCartney clarifies the "Northern Epirus" and "southern Albania" concepts, which in his opinion were the same. According to him, neither the religion nor the language could be decisive for the nationality of the inhabitants of this region, because the Greek language had been the language of church and trade. In McCartney's opinion, this area's residents felt less Greek after the founding of the Albanian national state. In addition, economic criteria would not justify Greek territorial claims. Strategic criteria could have been valuable in the past, but was lost by this time. The Greek claims for a border with Albania because of the Greek mountainous terrain and the lack of roads was, for McCartney, overblown. Nevertheless, he believed, the strategic crater should not be crossed at all, and any small territorial change in favor of Greece in the area opposite Corfu Island could be justified. He concluded that the national problem could not be solved by border changes because the Greek nationalism in Albania was in decline. He further suggested that the Greeks turn their eyes not to Northern Epirus, but to Cyprus and the Dodecanese islands, a suggestion not welcomed by the FO's Department of Southern Europe. D. F. Howard in the FO was inclined towards a solution favoring Greece.³¹

McCartney and Laffan, in their study entitled 'Albania as an international problem,' admitted that the Greek claims for Albanian territories were stronger than those of the Yugoslav, because at least Çam Albanians were living within the Greek territories. It was thought that the detachment of the southern Albania territories from their homeland would have grave consequences for the Albanian state. According to the study, Albania would suffer not only from the lack of economic resources, which did not have any significant weight for Greece, but also

³⁰TNA, FO 371/33107, Laffan, "The future of Albania", 6 January 1942.

³¹TNA, FO 371/37135, McCartney 'Albanian-Greek borders', 28 January 1943, p.

due to the separation of a population with a special pro-American and progressive feeling. The authors concluded that the only criteria that even partially justified the Greek claims were strategic criteria.³²

The post-war period: Dilemmas, and the impossibility of fulfilling Greek aspirations against Albania

At the end of WWII, Great Britain was in a dilemma. On one side it should respect the official statement of 17 December 1942 to re-establish a postwar Albanian state, but also at the same time to leave open the issue of Albania's borders. Fulfillment of the Greek claims would make the existence and the viability of the Albanian state almost impossible.

Although post-war circumstances did not favor the keeping of the December '42 promise, Greece was still of special interest for Great Britain.³³ Great Britain was no longer the "first fiddle" and the world's largest power, as it had been until the First World War. The world scene after WWII would be dominated by the USA and the Soviet Union, while Britain's role, and to an even greater extent that of France, would fade. The governments of His Majesty would be more careful, more realistic, and more sophisticated towards the Greek claims for southern Albania.

On 27 February 1945, the Greek ambassador in London delivered an aide –memoire to the Foreign Office, presenting again his government's claims for Northern Epirus. On 23 March 1945, Anthony Eden, in a dispatch to Athens said he was doubtful whether Greek claims towards Bulgaria and Albania would be recognized, stressing that the ethnic arguments were practically unsustainable, while the strategic ones were unsuitable. On 28 June 1945, the Greek claims became a subject of discussion at the highest levels of the FO.³⁴ The dispatch embodying the conclusions argued that the Greek claim to Northern Epirus was 'still more doubtful' than it had been in 1919, but that a reasonable case could be made for giving Greece some satisfaction in the coastal area opposite

³²By strategic criteria was understood the lack of motor-car roads in the area connecting Ioannina with Thessaloniki, because of the very mountainous terrain, in the face of the roads that connect the area in front in Albania's territory.

³³O. A. Rzheshesky, *Stalin and Churchill, Meetings, Talks, Discussions-Documents, commentaries 1941-1945*, Moscow: Nauka, 2004, p. 417.

³⁴TNA, FO 371/107289, 1953, Research Department, *The attitude of H.M.G. to Greek claims on Albania (Nr. Epirus)*, 29.1.1952, p. 3.

Corfu.³⁵ Greece should be satisfied with the area across from the island of Corfu, which would include Saranda and Delvina. Greece was advised to be patient and not to insist on introducing armed forces into Albania, because such an action could cause conflict with Yugoslavia. At any rate, considering the unfavorable international circumstances, the British government gave no advice to the Greek government, but tried to coordinate its policy with that of the Americans.

In a conversation of 11 September 1945, Orme Sargent made known to the Greek Regent the official view that the future frontier of Albania was not only a case for the British government, but also of other powers. He did not forget to express the opinion that the British government had in mind Greece claims and would discuss them at an appropriate time. The Greek regent, in turn, reminded the high FO official his confidential conversation with Prime Minister Churchill, who said him that “he would obtain for Greece what she required in Northern Epirus by offering compensation to Great Britain’s other allies elsewhere”.³⁶” Sir Orme “without attempting to elucidate this cryptic remark” reaffirmed the need for international agreement over the matter.

The Foreign Office modified its attitude in March 1946 when rumors of a Yugoslav-Albanian federation were rife: if this took place it was held that H.M.G. would have to give stronger support to Greek claims against Albania. When Greece formally brought her claims before the Council of Foreign Ministers in April 1946 H.M.G.’s policy was not to take the initiative in opposing them. However, the support also had propaganda goals, because Greece was on the eve of the plebiscite that would decide the form of its government. This act gave a kind of support to the rightist forces in Greece, which opted for the kingdom and not a republic.

On 11 April and 30 October of 1946, the Greek government officially presented to Britain’s Foreign Ministers Council the request

³⁵ TNA, FO 371/107289, 1953, Research Department, *The attitude of H.M.G. to Greek claims on Albania (Nr. Epirus)*, 29.1.1952, p. 3.

³⁶ TNA, FO 371/107289, 1953, Research Department, *The attitude of H.M.G. to Greek claims on Albania (Nr. Epirus)*, 29.1.1952, p. 3.

for its claims for the annexation of Northern Epirus.³⁷ British ambassador in Athens was instructed by Foreign Secretary Bevin to make known to the Greek Prime Minister Tsaldaris that when the Greek claims were to be discussed in the Council of Foreign Ministers or in the Peace Conference, the British representative would say that he 'hadn't thought about the Greek proposal, but anyway it should be examined. Neither the British nor the American government officially opposed the discussion of the Greek claims. The US never denied the right of Greece to present those claims in international forums, yet had not expressed readiness to support them. On the contrary, in a non-official way America favored to preserve the prewar borders. The British government hoped that the American government would change her stand on the Greek claims after the approved resolution in the Foreign Commission of the American Senate [the Pepper Resolution], but without result. The resolution was not compulsory for the American government and it kept silent.³⁸

Early in June 1946, Tsaldaris published his planned itinerary to London and Paris. This trip was for the purpose of securing support for claims of Greece towards Bulgaria and Albania. In July he visited London. During the meetings with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State, he did not obtain promise of support for the Greek claims towards Bulgaria and Albania, but was told simply that they would be completely and fairly examined. London and Washington in that time considered the Greek territorial claims towards Bulgaria and Albania to be unjustifiable, both ethnically and strategically. They warned the Greek prime minister that the Greek claims could be followed by counter claims of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia for Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, respectively.³⁹

In Paris, Tsaldaris met Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov to ask for support for the Greek claims, but determined [?] that he would withdraw this request if the Soviet government would withdraw its support of the

³⁷TNA, FO 371/101585, Year 1952, The British embassy in Washington for the State Department, top secret, on 12 June, 1952.

³⁸ See: Beqir Meta, *Tensioni Greko-Shqiptar (1939-1949)*, Tiranë: Geer, 2002, p. 504.

³⁹Thanasis D. Sfikas, *The British Labour Government and the Greek Civil War*, London: Rybyrn Publishing, Keele University Press, 1994, p. 118.

Greek communists.⁴⁰ With empty hands and fallen prestige, Tsaldaris returned to Greece on 23 July. The British found him "not only an old and bad thing, but moreover an embarrassment."⁴¹

In August 1946, a report of the Chief of Staff of the Committee of Common Planning [Anglo-Americans] mentioned that there be something in the Greek claim against Albania but in special circumstances: if would occur an attack on Greece by Albania alone, or both by Albania and Yugoslavia.

On 2 September 1946 in Paris, Sir Pierson Dixon, in a conversation with the Greek ambassador M. Aghnides said, "We have never attempted to conceal from the Greeks that we did not consider their claims against Bulgaria, and still less their claims against Albania, to be strong", and that "frankly, we found them embarrassing".^{42 43}

In December 1946, the Greek delegation, chaired by the Prime Minister, visited New York to protest in front of the United Nations' Security Council against northern neighbors that were helping the Greek communists. He handed to the British delegation a document regarding the claims of his government towards Albania. The response of the British government, however, was disappointing: the Greek claims not only would not be accepted, but further insistence upon them might cause friction between the Powers, and those who would be most harmed were the Greeks.

Prime Minister Tsaldaris met with Under Secretary of State Acheson. His goal was twofold: to gain American support for the Greek claims, and at the same time to empower his personal position in Greece. The discussion centered on a 'list of Greek demands' that the Greek Prime Minister had prepared for the Secretary of State. After listening for two hours, Acheson became quite irritated: "When he became eloquent on Greek claims to Northern Epirus, I quite lost patience with him and told him what sort of statesmanship it was that frittered away its

⁴⁰ Thanasis D. Sfikas, *The British Labour Government and the Greek Civil War*, London: Rybyrn Publishing, Keele University Press, 1994, p. 118.

⁴¹ Thanasis D. Sfikas, *The British Labour Government and the Greek Civil War*, London: Rybyrn Publishing, Keele University Press, 1994, p. 118.

⁴² TNA, FO 371/107289, 1953, Research Department, *The attitude of H.M.G. to Greek claims on Albania (Nr. Epirus)*, 29.1.1952, p. 4.

⁴³ TNA, FO 371/107289, year 1953, p. 4.

time and energy on territorial claims, when not only northern Greece but all Greece was headed hell-for-leather toward total destruction”.⁴⁴

During the time of drafting a peace treaty with Italy, the Greek government again made efforts to present its territorial claims, but once again with no positive result. The international situation was not favorable to Greece. Although Albania was not enjoying the full status of being a country on the winning side of the war, neither was it a loser as the Greek government wanted to portray it. On 28 October 1947, the Greek parliament ratified its peace treaty with Italy but, because of its unfavorable circumstances, did not ask to also sign a peace treaty with Albania. Albania had participated in the Paris Conference in November 1945 and was there recognized with the status of a ‘fellow power.’ As such, Albania gained the right to receive war reparations from both Germany and Italy.

Albania was morally, if not legally, recognized as a winning power, and could not be considered a country that lost the war as the Greek government tried to pretend. Knowing this, the Greek government made no official proposal to sign a peace treaty with Albania. For propaganda purposes and to make difficulties for the Albanian government, Greece continued to consider itself in “a state of war” with Albania. Greece did not give up its claims on southern Albanian territories, but waited for a more opportune time.

In the 1950s, the Greek government set a precondition to establishing diplomatic relations with Albania: the preliminary signing of a peace treaty between the Chiefs of Staff of both countries. This condition was rightfully refused by the Albanian government. The “state of war” with Albania was approved by the Greek government after the Italian attack on Greece came from Albania on October 1940, and the joining of the Albanian quisling government with the declaration of the Italian government, were considered ‘legal bases’ to support the aforementioned claim.

Even after Yugoslavia broke off of relations with the Soviet Union and other former communist countries in 1948, The British government did not change its official stand. Indeed, it supported the Greek-Yugoslav approach, while keeping the Greek claims in the background.

⁴⁴ Paul T. Calbos, *Cold War Conflict: American Intervention in Greece, USA*: Indiana University, 1993, p. 50

In December 1948, Pipinelis [Under Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece in 1947-1948] proposed to the British state secretary a new option. He expressed his government's readiness to give up the claims towards Albania if an international authority refused them. The proposal of Pipinelis was indeed a kind of 'trap' and a repetition of previous schemes, which were fruitless both in the Foreign Ministers Council and at the United Nations. They wanted their request to be examined by the Council of Foreign Ministers, again placing the borders problem at the center of the attention of international opinion. The goal was not some favorable solution for the Greek government, but simply to make some "noise" so that Greece would gain in prestige which was at the time very low. In the end, however, the Greek claims found support neither with the British nor the American governments.

During the last period of the civil war in Greece, in the summer of 1949, the FO unofficially overlooked some minor Greek incursions into Albanian territory, yet officially maintained that the Greek army was wrong to cross the Albanian border. The British government refused to acknowledge this point of view, but the FO's unofficial stance was enough for the Greek government, in August 1949, to cross into Albanian territory. There, however, Prime Minister of Albania-Enver Hoxha, knew how deep the Greek army could go.⁴⁵ Its armed and punitive incursion against Albania would be limited to the area near the borders, and would not go deeper into Albanian territory. The goal of the British and Americans was to punish Albania for involvement in the internal conflict of Greece, and to stop further from engagements of this nature. However, in the American archives of the early 1960s are documents that prove that the desire of the Greek government was to make it possible for Greek troops to enter deep into Albania, and ultimately the occupation of Albania with American and British support. Lacking such support, this goal remained unrealized. On 5 November

⁴⁵Enver Hoxha was thinking that the aim of the Greek government military forces provocations was to attack the Greek Democratic Army in its back from the Albanian territory. He thought that the fighting would not extend in the depth of the Albanian territories, but only along the border. See: Hamit Kaba, Ethem Çeku, *Shqipëria dhe Kosova në Arkivat Ruse, 1946-1962*, botim i dytë, Tiranë: Botimet Flamuri, 2017, p. 100-101.

1949, Ernest Bevin had a serious conversation with M. Tsaldaris in Paris and made known to him his government's stance on the Greek claims to Albania. 'Greece,' he said, 'would never be safe from Soviet interference if it doesn't give up claims for Northern Epirus.'⁴⁶ He made it clear to the Greek Premier that in any case the latter would have not the support of the British government or of the Americans for these territorial claims. Bevin assured Greece that it would have the support of his government for as long as it remained within the existing borders fixed by the peace treaties with the satellite [communist] countries.

Tsaldaris admitted that Great Britain had no official obligation to support the Greek claims for Northern Epirus, but did not leave without mentioning that in the last talks of Eden with King George of Greece, the latter mentioned a comment by the American Secretary of State Byrnes which caused the Greek government to believe that their claims would have the support of the western governments.

From 1949 through 1953, Great Britain and the USA did organize covert operations to overturn the communist government of Albania, but were not engaged in changing Albania's borders. The British government showed solidarity with the American policy, with the difference that it officially recognized the borders between Albania and Greece only at the beginning of the 1950s. In June 1952, observations of the State Department and of the FO for the future of Albania were identical.⁴⁷ Both respected the right of the existence of an independent Albanian state. However in the hypothetical circumstance that Albania would join the communist bloc for an attack against Yugoslavia or Greece, the latter was granted the right to occupy Albania. If this occurred Albania's occupation would only be temporary, then an independent Albania state would again be established, but this time oriented towards the West.

Conclusions

⁴⁶TNA, FO 371/107289, 1953, *the attitude of H.M.G. to Greek claims on Albania (Nr. Epirus)*, 29 January, 1952, p. 5.

⁴⁷TNA, FO 371/101585, British Embassy, Washington: Top Secret-Security Information Memorandum, United States-United Kingdom Views on Albania, June 12, 1952.

The attitude of the British government towards the Greek claims for southern Albania during WWII and afterwards was contained. The Greek territorial claims towards Albania are considered to have had weak support ethnically, culturally, economically, and strategically. British policy in general has aimed to discourage Greece's claims whenever it raises the issue, yet at the same time wanted to give Greece something more than just the Dodecanese islands. The door left ajar. The British government had made two official statements: that of 17 December 1942, supporting the independence of Albania, but leaving open discussion of its borders; and the second on 20 July 1946, expressing readiness to listen to the Greek territorial claims towards Albania and Bulgaria.

The British government had been trying to support the independence of Albania, but since a peace treaty had not been signed between Greece and Albania, the issue of the border between the two countries could not be considered fully resolved. Britain had not been against the version that the maximum territorial gain for Greece would be the Albanian lands to the east of Corfu Island, which included Delvina, Saranda, and Konispol.

In the Council of Foreign Ministers or in the Assembly of the United Nations, American and British policy acknowledging the Greek policy of territorial claims against Albania did not mean that these two countries agreed with Greece. Both governments wanted Greece to relinquish territorial claims and deal with its internal situation, its civil war. Bevin and Byrnes both wanted to see a decline in the Greek claims, but the FO was more sangfroid: both western powers openly decrying the Greek claims would anger the majority of the Greek people, which might cause Greece to turn to the Soviets. The FO calculated that until the Soviet Union vetoed the Greek claims towards Albania and Bulgaria, the wisest path for the American and British governments was to leave the Greeks to face BS directly. The outcome was that ultimately "the bill" was paid by the Soviet government and not from the two western powers. This logic seemed to be successful in the case of Greece, creating in the public mind the belief that both western allies were supporting their government's claims towards Albania. This sophisticated game seemed to have the opposite effect on the majority of Albanians, who really believed the Greek danger and the presumed support of the two western

countries towards the Greek claims.⁴⁸ Albania's government accused the former two major WWII allies of supporting the Greek claims against Albania. Even the Yugoslav government tried to exploit this situation, to enlarge the gap between Albania and both its western opponents. It amplified danger of Greece and exercise pressure on Albania's communist leadership to put in the proper military troops within Albania, with final aim of uniting Albania with Yugoslavia to make one federation.

⁴⁸See: Kostë Çekrezi, *Plani i Tretë për Copëtimin e Shqipërisë*, Tiranë: Naimi, 2013.

Marenglen KASMI

**PROBLEMS OF THE HISTORICAL TREATMENT
OF THE WORLD WAR II: ANTI-FASCISM,
COLLABORATION AND ANTI-COMMUNISM**

Like in all other countries of the former Eastern bloc, in Albania as well, the historiography during the period of socialism was dictated by the Party – State system, both in its interpretations and from the point of view of using archival sources. Besides restrictions with access to domestic archives, where a special permit was needed for the use of certain archival funds, as for instance those of the Party of Labor of Albania to work on certain research topics, particularly on the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle period, another more serious problem for researchers was also the inability to confront domestic with foreign sources, since access to foreign archives was extremely difficult, not to say impossible. These limitations applied to a larger extent to World War II period and more precisely the Anti – Fascist National Liberation Struggle and thereafter, since for researchers of previous periods it was easier and in essence not very problematic regarding the spirit dictated by the powers of that time on the historiography itself.

Certainly, exceptions were made even for the period of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle, as for instance the case with the late Prof. Arben Puto, who was allowed to make researches in the British Archives, which was crowned with his publication “*Nëpër analet e diplomacisë angleze*” (*From the annals of British diplomacy*) in 1976, or the purchase by the Institute of History in ‘1970 of some bobines with facsimiles with German military documents referring to the years 1943-1944.

Despite the above-mentioned, it was clear that during the communist period in Albania, one could not have access to sources which ran contrary to the political guidelines of that time while writing down history. Before such a study would see the light of publication, it was

subject to a critical review and censorship. Actually, this was not typical solely for the period of the communist dictatorship in Albania. Even during the rule of Ahmet Zogu, and notably during the period of Albanian monarchy, King Zog paid particular attention to censoring the periodic press and the publications of all kinds. With regard to that, the German researcher, Michael Schmidt-Neke writes that *“in the non-pluralist systems, it is the state that undertakes the interpretation of history and at this point, the Zog’s regime aligns with the communist system. Prior to the year 1939, the regime had confined the ways and means for the widespread of its overview on history only to schools and to the state propaganda”*.¹

During the years 1945-1990, the historic studies in their political perspective included all periods and epochs, and in particular, World War II, which the Albanian communists turned into the most powerful political and historic factor of that time. It goes without saying that this historic period was analyzed under the winners’ perspective; meanwhile, certain aspects of that period were not mentioned, staining also all their opponents as “traitors”, “collaborators and quislings”.²

However, it were not only the communist regimes of the post -World War II period that politicized in extremis the meaning of collaboration during WWII. In all European states where this phenomenon occurred, political trials were staged against that category in the first post -war years, where military courts frequently issued capital punishments. Nevertheless, the intensity and the severe verdicts in western countries were different from the Eastern ones. Among the latter, Albania pursued the cruelest form of punishing the collaborators, extending for years on end their prosecution and persecution even against their family members, although they bore no responsibility for the activity of their parents or relatives, who served the occupiers during the War period.

Then, always under this scheme of official codification of Albania’s history, the major issues of the science of history were Illyrians, the Ottoman rule and the uprisings against it, the National Renaissance and

¹ Michael Schmidt-Neke: *Mes luftës së ftohtë dhe teleologjisë: Shqipëria komuniste si objekt i historiografisë moderne, në: Historia e shqiptarëve. Gjendja dhe perspektivat e studimit, (përgatitur për botim nga Oliver Jens Schmitt dhe Eva Anee Frantz), botimet Përpjekja, Tiranë 2012, f. 154.*

² Ibid.

the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle. These four historical highlights did also make the dogmatic image on history, according to a definition made by Enver Hoxha himself that “*the Albanian people has hacked the road of history sword in hand*” – a quote which did always appear in the first page of history publications.³

However, during this period, a number of researches were made, which in partial continue to resist the time and serve even today as an unavoidable literature for scholars. A good part of the scholars prior to ‘1990, with the arrival of democracy and the removal of ideological restrictions in the historiography reviewed and completed their own studies with new facts and sources, making them more comprehensive and better scientifically accomplished. Certainly, among them, there are researchers who after the year 1990 overturned completely their scientific attitudes and perspectives. Although the dictate of the past communist regime to historical approaches is a strong alibi for them, their scientific overturned positions “cloak this category with a veil” of a suspicious moral. In the best case, this casts serious shadows on their scientific consistency and reliability and in the worst scenario it makes them collaborators in the instrumentalization, ideologization and politicization of history during the communist regime. With the introduction to democracy, a part of this category took the flag of history revisionism to deny almost each and every achievement of historiography during the period 1945-1990.

The need of historical re-assessment is a scientific Must, which occurs systematically and ongoingly in the historical sciences. This relates both to the access to new archival sources, to the societal development in democracy and to the evolution of the critical historic thought, both as natural and unavoidable processes. Likewise, it should be emphasized that the change in the historic perspective is utterly important for the development of historical sciences. Certainly, this process should be based on scientific principles and methodologies and on archival sources; it is also particularly important that it should not be instrumentalized by politics, for the interests of certain social groups or particular individuals, sham nationalism and others such alike.

³ Ibid, p. 158.

In this context, many actual research papers of contemporary history present almost the same problematics of history revisionism as in other former communist countries. This is largely linked to the political and social systems of the post '1990 period, with the altered perception of values and ideals and accordingly, the redimensioning of historical assessment and implementation of methodological principles. While referring to this phenomenon, Ulrich Schneider writes down correctly that *“the ideological fight over history interpretations is not an academic matter which could be replied simply with a single “right” or “wrong”. This disagreement – especially in Central and Eastern Europe began after the fall of socialist systems and has developed in parallel with the tendencies of political right, which often represent the symbols of history or the historical memory, referring particularly to the re-assessment or rehabilitation of the fascist past and collaborationism”*.⁴

After the fall of Iron Curtain, the occurrence of revising history first started in the Baltic states. Their common reference was the same social context in a region, which was occupied for centuries long - first by Poland, then by Russia, Germany and then by Soviet Union. The fact that their national governments during that time were not democratic is not taken into consideration by them, together with the fact that many domestic collaborators in the Baltic states were part of the fascist policy and devastating war against their partisans. On the other hand, the partisans, who fought side by side with the Soviet forces for their liberation by nazi-fascism today are denounced as pioneers of Soviet occupation and as “agents of Bolshevism”. This leads to the polarization of the society in a political – historical front.⁵ Therefore, the main characteristic of the history revisionism in the Baltic states is the restoration and glorification of the domestic SS structures and all those elements who collaborated with Germans during World War II and the attempts to proclaim them as “freedom fighters”, turning in this way the collaborators of nazi-fascism, with some among them also condemned as war criminals into heroes of national liberation.⁶ On the other hand,

⁴ Ulrich Schneider: Geschichtsrevisionismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Eine Bestandsaufnahme, in: <http://www.zeitschrift-marxistische-erneuerung.de/article/492.geschichtsrevisionismus-in-mittel-und-osteuropa.html>

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

this re-assessment is designed to criminalize the liberation struggle of Baltic partisans on the side of the Red Army, since their contribution during the struggle against anti-fascism allegedly enabled the re-occupation of these states by Soviet Union. As it may be seen, this is a case of the instrumentalization of history for political goals in the changed geopolitical context in Europe after the fall of communism in the former Eastern Bloc and the threat posed to these states from Russian claims in this region.

Generally speaking, the same spirit of history revisionism does also appear in the Balkan countries. As to the historic revisionism in Croatia, Marie – Janine Calic writes that *“each society is in pursuit of a historic legitimacy or ideological demarcation. Judging from what is happening in Croatia, one may clearly see that one of the tendencies in the Croatian history is to remake again acceptable for the society the extreme nationalism and the collaborators of Nazi Germany, with the argument that in 1941 they established “ The Independent State of Croatia” (even though only nominally) which included all areas of Croatian settlements”*.⁷ In this context, historian and politician Zlatko Hasanbegović, who was also Minister of Culture in the Croatian government in 2016 did publicly declare that the fall of the regime of Ustaše in 1945 was a “ national tragedy”.⁸ Croatian but also foreign critics accused him for the glorification of the Croatian fascist regime, because during the rule of the Ustaš regime, thousands of Hebrews and other opponents were systematically exterminated in concentration camps. The goal of this new historic policy is also to break away with the socialist past, as a political ideology and its ruling regime. Apparently, under this strategy, the proper tool to achieve this goal is to draw a parallel between the crimes committed by ustaše and by partisans, who fought very fiercely against one another during World War II. Hasanbegović has defined anti-fascism simply “Bolshevik phrase”.⁹

⁷ Marie-Janine Calic: Nach Jugoslawien hat der Geschichtsrevisionismus in seinen Nachfolgestaaten Konjunktur, in: *Journal of Modern European History / Zeitschrift für moderne europäische Geschichte / Revue d'histoire européenne contemporaine*, 2018, Vol. 16, No. 2, Resistance and Collaboration in the Second World War as Transnational Phenomena (2018), f. 169.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

The phenomenon of history revisionism is also very much present in today's Serbian history. At the epicenter of rehabilitations are the Çetnik extremists and the collaborationist government of General Milan Nedićs. Çetniks fought for "Great Serbia" and homogenous from the ethnic point of view, which was materialized also with the launch of a brutal "ethnic cleansing". Serbian historians tried to rehabilitate the çetnik leader, Draža Mihailović, painting him as freedom fighter, although in 1946 he was condemned with death as collaborator of nazism and war criminal. In fact, this effort succeeded in 2016, when a Serbian court rehabilitated him. Both in Serbia an in Croatia, this history revisionism is being opposed by professional historians, politicians, Civil Society, social-democrat political representatives and left liberals, supporters of anti-fascist values, who consider this popular nationalism as an attack against democratic values. Certainly, all those who oppose this far right very soon become victims of public calumny. This phenomenon is also widespread in Albania, where they talk in an absurd way on "left or right historians". Moreover, there are also attacks against researchers, labelling them as communists, when they argue pro anti-fascism, both as a value or as an historic truth and they hold critical attitudes towards fascist and Nazi collaborators. Likewise, a major push is given to this problematics by popular historians, who taking advantage of the liberalization of the publishing market and the lack of scientific critical reviews, also as a reflection of the chaos that has swept the institutions of historiography, they publish books that have serious scientific methodological concerns, mainly due to the lack of scientific formation, and often driven also by their political and family origin.

As far as Albania is concerned, we may say that just as in the above - mentioned cases, the long transition is not manifested only in the political instability and democratic deficits, but also in its natural impact on the transformation of the basic values of society. One of these values is the approach towards anti-fascism and its historical assessment. Although the present politics in Albania asserts with half a voice that anti-fascism is an indisputable value, the interferences in history prove the opposite.

From the early '90, political culture in Albania was built on the platform of anti-communism, with a view to establish a modern identity, based on the democratic, pluralist, capitalist and western values. Thus,

politics intervened in historiography, starting with the modification of the day of liberation from the German occupiers and the launch of a denunciation campaign against the anti-fascist martyrs fallen in the War. Certainly, that this action, rather than an historic correction, as it was claimed at that time, represented more the initiation of the process of revising the history of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle, turning it from an historic reality and myth and accordingly the change of its character from an Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle to a civil war. For the representatives of the historic revisionism anti-communism is sufficient to relativize and justify collaboration with the nazi-fascist occupiers. Thus, anti-communism serves as an adequate argument to liberate the ideological collaborators of fascism and the military collaborators of Nazism from the historic shame of collaborationism and to show them off as patriots and anti-totalitarians, although both fascism and Nazism was themselves totalitarian regimes. The Serb historian Todor Kuljić is right when he writes that *“although the European a single – party socialism belongs since long time ago to the past, anti-communism continues strangely enough to be alive”*.¹⁰ As we did emphasize above, this conclusion applies to almost all former communist countries, including Albania.

Then, the concept of collaboration with foreign occupiers started to be simplified; meanwhile, the explanation of this phenomenon needs to be addressed in deeper terms. First, the reasons, causes and its effects on the Albanian society should be explained together with the danger posed by the collaboration with occupiers for the Albanian state, both during and after the war. Likewise, the nature of collaboration needs to be addressed, avoiding generalizations, just as the policies of the Albanian political groupings at that time should be carefully studied, above all through insights into the basis of anti-fascism as a whole and the Albanian one more specifically. The fact that Albania passed to a communist regime does not justify collaboration with occupiers. Besides, that Albania was bound to remain in the communist bloc, this

¹⁰ Milan Radanovic: Serbische Geschichtspolitik im Neuen Jahrtausend. Die Gleichzeitigkeit von akademischem Geschichtsrevisionismus und staatlicher Vergangenheitsumdeutung, in: <https://www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/5626/serbische-geschichtspolitik-im-neuen-jahrtausend>.

was already decided between Stalin and Churchill and it did not depend only on Albanians. The divergences in Albania among different political groups did only favorize this trend, turning the advent to power of the war winners into a natural trend.

Today, there are research tendencies to address the war and the post war period on the same par. The goal is to persuade the Albanian society that besides the thesis of the civil war, both the partisans and the nationalists, to be more precise the National Front or “Bellists” as they were called deserve the same status, that of freedom fighters. Well, this may be relevant for certain elements of the National Front organization, who are not more than the fingers of a hand and even they only in the first war stages. Meanwhile, with the passing of time, with the consolidation of the German occupation and of the National Front as an organization, there is no other case when a military detachment of the National Front has fought against Germans; the opposite is true, they have openly collaborated with them. Thus, the activity of the National Front was oriented towards an anti-communist and not an anti-fascist resistance – which naturally came also to the liking of Enver Hoxha. The reasons for the failure of nationalists are sought to the other side and mainly to the cooperation of the Communist Party with Yugoslavs. Nevertheless, the cooperation of Albanian political emigration with the Yugoslav UDB [*Uprava državne bezbednosti – Yugoslav Secret Police*] continues to remain a taboo theme, particularly after the year 1948, when the Albanian – Yugoslav relations broke apart after failing to overthrow Enver Hoxha’s regime. If Dušan Mugoša, one of the two Yugoslav emissaries who contributed to the founding of Albanian Communist Party in November 1941 during the war was considered by the Albanian nationalists as Enver Hoxha’s mentor, enemy of Albanians and perpetrator of many crimes in Albania, ten years later, during the period 1951-1952, when he was General of UDB and Chairman of Prizreni Committee, whose major task was the organization of the Albanian political emigration to plot armed actions for the overthrow of the regime in Tirana, unexpectedly Mugoša became acceptable for cooperation by a considerable part of the Albanian political emigration, both by individuals and political parties in exile.

Apart from the rehabilitation of the major protagonists and the historical legacy of the nationalist parties and organizations of that time,

an important element in revising history in almost all post socialist countries is also the purification of national history by communists. This was attempted to be achieved by relativizing anti-fascism, as communists were its main representatives and by normalizing collaborationism. Moreover, notable representatives of historical revisionism go to the point of criminalizing the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle.¹¹ The relativization of Anti-Fascism and the struggle against foreign occupiers, the attempts to present it as a direct fratricide war¹² and not an anti-fascist one has paved the way to the rehabilitation of many collaborators of nazi-fascism. What is worth discussing is also the question, whether anti-communism suffice to justify their entire political failure, whose culminating point was their collaboration with Hitler's Germany. Anti-Communism does not necessarily mean democracy, just as also anti-fascism is not equal to communism! So, just as in other Balkan states, in Albania as well, the most radical manifestation of history is the apologization and not seldom the victimization of renowned collaborationists who were killed while fighting against communists or who were condemned by the post – war courts.¹³

While summing up, it could be said that even in Albania, just as in other Balkan states with a communist past, the academic history revisionism consists of the following three major aspects:

First, the contextualization of efforts to overcome the totalitarian past.

Secondly, the construction of heroes, victims and new “hangmen” and Thirdly, the formulation of new scientific priorities.¹⁴ Each of these three aspects has its own supporters. The reasons are comprehensive, they go beyond political and financial interests, family background, and other factors.

¹¹ See Çelo Hoxha: *Krimet e komunistëve gjatë luftës 1941-1945*, Tiranë 2019. (Crimes committed by communists during the War 1941 – 1945).

¹² See (Grupautorësh): *Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX (1939-1944)*, vëllimi 4, kreu V dhe VI, Tiranë 2022. (Botim i Institutit të Historisë, Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike). (History of the Albanians during the 20th century (1939 – 1944) Volume 4, Chapter V and VI, Tirana 2022 (Publication of the Institute of Albanological Studies).

¹³ Milan Radanovic: *Serbische Geschichtspolitik im Neuen Jahrtausend*, p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 6.

From the historical viewpoint, this phenomenon will not have a large impact. With the passing of time the perspectives, politicization and emotionalization of history will clear up, making place for science. Archives are opened and the future researchers will have the opportunity to write in an objective way. However, historic revisionism has a very large impact on today's Albanian society, because it has split it, leading to its extreme polarization. Moreover and ironically speaking even harder than in early '1990, when after the fall of the communist regime this would have been much more possible to be the case.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that historiography is a science and not a product of arbitrary thoughts; it should rely on the usage of historic sources and literature, not in a selective way, but comprehensively and through their comparison. Like the other sciences, history is also dynamic. It develops, it arrives at better conclusions and finds out new sources. If history review is a product of new studies, its revisionism manipulates historic facts in order to reach the political goals of other social groups. Likewise, history remains a discipline of critical thought. Critical attitudes do not make historians "left or right", since history has several perspectives. Historical facts are defined with scientific methods, which may be interpreted in various ways, because their interpretation depends on observer's perspective. But this interpretation should be product of a solid scientific debate among experts of that field, based on comprehensive archival documentation and not on miss-interpretations, which would also take into account relevant facts and opposing ideas, without hiding archival facts and sources when they do not match with certain political or with other personal and family interests.

During the last 30 years, like the whole Albanian society, its historiography too has continued to be in its transition phase. It will come to an end when the level of the scientific institutions engaged with historiography would be strengthened, when the educational system which "produces" young historians would come out of the crisis and be also consolidated and, above all, when the civil consciousness would lift to that level so that it could be able to assess objectively the historic past, however bitter and problematic it would have been. The experience of European western countries has proved that this is possible.

LINGUISTICS**Aleksandr RUSAKOV****ALBANIAN DIALECTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE
LANGUAGE CONTACTS****Introduction**

The currently accepted classification of Albanian dialects was formulated in the late 1950s and early 1960s by joint works of Albanian and foreign researchers.¹ Like most "traditional" dialect classifications, it is based on the principles developed by comparative-historical linguistics in the early 19th century. The past decades, filled with intensive dialectological work, have not introduced any fundamental changes in this classification, thus confirming its adequacy and integrity.

However, along with the traditional comparative-historical ones, there are other approaches to the typology and classification of dialects, based in particular on the achievements of the theory of language contacts and sociolinguistics. Such approaches are especially important for the Balkan area, with its intensive interlingual and interdialectal contacts, population migrations and so on.

An example is the South Slavic dialect continuum, for which, along with the generally "genetic" opposition between its western (Slovene-Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian-Chernogorean and eastern Bulgarian-Macedonian) and eastern Bulgarian-Macedonian parts, the opposition between the Balkanised (Bulgarian-Macedonian and Prizren-Timokian dialects) and non-Balkanised (the rest) areas is relevant (see Sobolev 2003). The second opposition is realised at the linguistic level by features irrelevant for comparative-historical linguistics, but extremely important for typological linguistics - a variety of phonological and structural grammatical phenomena, traditionally called Balkanisms. There is no

¹ See, first of the studies by M. Lambertz, J. Gjinari and A.V. Desnitskaya.

doubt that linguistic contacts played a leading role in the development of these phenomena. This approach is transferable, it would seem, to other Balkan languages, in particular Albanian.

This paper is a brief overview based on a number of collective studies and consists of two main sections. In the first one, we will, on the basis of the application of modern quantitative methods, try to study - first of all from the point of view of language contacts – the opposition between the northern (Gegh) and southern (Tosk) parts of the Albanian dialectal area. In the second, we will attempt to typologise the Albanian dialects in a situation of actual language contact.

1. Gegh and Tosk dialects in the light of linguistic complexity²

Methods. In our understanding of the concept of linguistic complexity we proceed from the definition given by J. Nichols: “grammatical complexity – complexity of the strictly linguistic domains of phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon, etc. and their components. <...> [C]omplexity can be measured as follows.

1. For each subsystem of the grammar, the number of elements it contains. <...>

2. The number of paradigmatic variants, or degrees of freedom, of each such element or set of elements: allophones, allomorphs, declension or conjugation classes. <...>

3. Syntagmatic phenomena. <...>

4. Constraints on elements, alloforms, and syntagmatic dependencies, including constraints on their combination.”³ In our study, we use only the first two parameters.

² This section is based first of all, on: Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studying the history of Albanian dialectal landscape: Do quantitative methods help? The paper read in Wien, October 2021; Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studime të dialekteve të gjuhës shqipe: metoda dhe prurje të reja. In: Sinani Sh., Xhufi P. (red.). *Akte të Kuvendit ndërkombëtar të studimeve albanologjike*. Vëll. II. Tiranë: Kristalina-KH, 2022. F. 247–266.

³ Nichols, Johanna. Linguistic complexity: a comprehensive definition and survey. In G. Sampson, D. Gil, P. Trudgill (eds.). *Language complexity as an evolving variable*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. P. 111–112.

As a source of material for the study we used the first volume of the Dialectological Atlas of the Albanian language⁴, from which 27 phonological and grammatical features were extracted, presented below in Table 1.

The relatively small number of attributes is explained by 1) the fact that only binary attributes with two values "presence" (1) and "absence" (0) were selected from the atlas; 2) only attributes that could be interpreted in terms of complexity and simplicity were used (0); 2) only features that could be interpreted in terms of complexity and simplicity were used. The latter point led, in particular, to the fact that many isoglosses separating Gheg and Tosk, such as the presence/absence of rotacism and the opposition of the initial group *vo-/va-* (*vatër/vatër*), were not included in our features.⁵

Table 1. Complexification / Simplification features (Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studime të dialekteve të gjuhës shqipe...)

No.	Feature	Map in ADGJSH	S / C
1	Distinction of short and long vowels	1–7, 18	S
2	Distinction of nasal and non-nasal vowels OR presence of stressed /ə/	8–12, 18	S
3	Presence of /æ /	17, 74	C
4	Presence of /ø /	16, 73	C
5	Presence of /y/	4, 18	S
6	Presence of diphthongs /ie/, /ye/	100–112	S
7	Diphthongization of <i>i</i> under stress	75–78	C
8	Diphthongization of <i>u</i> under stress	86–87	C
9	Presence of /h/	21	S
10	Differentiation of vibrants /r / - /r/	22	S
11	Presence of /θ /	24	S
12	Differentiation of palatal obstruents /c /, /ʃ / and affricates /tʃ /, /dʒ /	26–27	S
13	Presence of palatal nasal /p/	28	S
14	Presence of velar nasal /ŋ/	29	C
15	Presence of ABL.SG.DEF (<i>mish lope-t</i>)	191–192	S
16	Presence of Locative (<i>në mal-t</i>)	193	S
17	Gender distinction in endings of participial adjectives (<i>i la:m - e lam-e</i>)	194	C

⁴ Gjinari, Jorgji, Bahri Beci, Gjovalin Shkurtaj, Xheladin Gosturani. 2007. Atlasi dialektologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Vëllimi 1. Tiranë; Napoli (ADGJSH).

⁵ Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studying the history of Albanian dialectal landscape...

18	Presence of the masculine declension with <i>-u</i> (<i>mik-u, zog-u, krah-u</i>)	195–197	S
19	Reflection of gender in 'three'	201	S
20	Presence of reflexive-possessive <i>i vet</i>	210	NA
21	Presence of compound demonstratives (<i>qeky, njeky</i> , etc.)	209	C
22	Distinction of PRS.2SG in Ind and Sbjv	260–267	S
23	Distinction of PRS.3SG in Ind and Sbjv	307, 309, 311, 313	S
24	Presence of supercompound forms	301–302	S
25	Two active perfect forms	303–304	NA
26	Two forms of future (<i>do të shkoj, kam me shkue</i>)	305	C
27	Presence of deverbal adjectives with suffix <i>-shëm</i>	351	C

The list includes phonological features (1-14), such as the presence/absence of individual phonemes or phonological oppositions, e.g. the long vowel opposition, which is present in almost all Gheg colloquialisms and absent in most (but not all) Tosk. Another part of the table contains features from the sphere of nominal and verbal morphology (15-27), such as the presence of the local case or supercomplex verb forms.

Historically, our 27 features can be divided into two types:

simplification, or *simplifying innovation* (=loss of inherited complexity): a feature is preserved in some dialects (1) and lost in the others (0), f. ex. presence of phoneme /y/ = 1 (inherited complexity), absence of /y/ = 0 (simplifying innovation), there are 16 such features in the Table 1;

complexification, or *complexifying innovation* (= development of complexity): a feature originally do not occur in some dialects (0) and emerges in the others (1), f. ex. presence of phoneme /æ/ = 1 (complexifying innovation), absence of /æ/ = 0 (inherited), there are 9 such features in the Table 1.⁶

Simplifications are marked in the Table 1 by S, complexifications by C.⁷

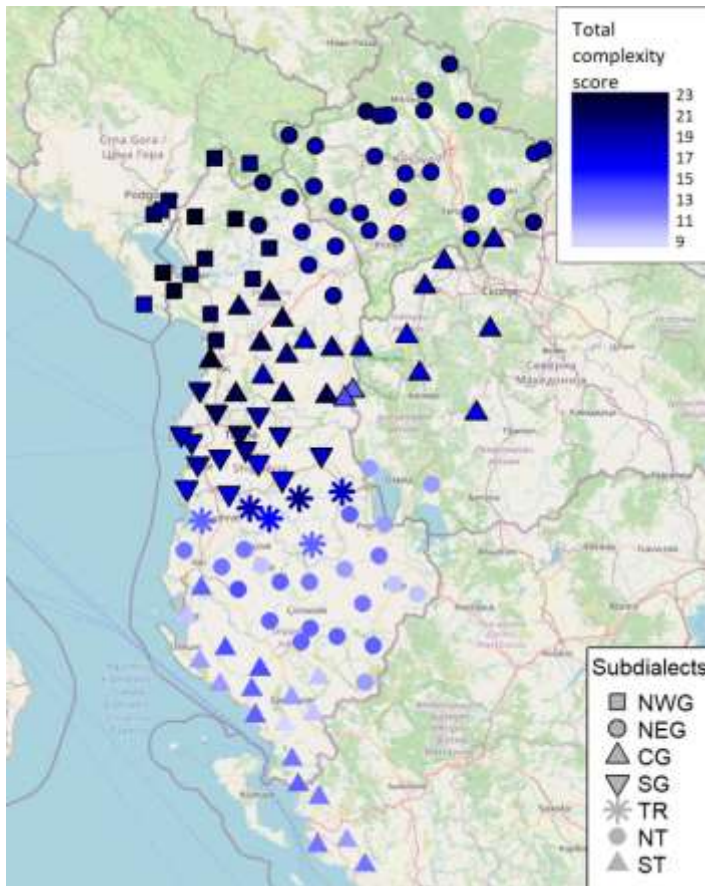
⁶ Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studying the history of Albanian dialectal landscape...

⁷ Two features (Presence of reflexive-possessive *i vet* and Presence of deverbal adjectives with suffix *-shëm* are not characterized as simplification or complexification, because we don't know if they existed in common Albanian before the dialect division.

The level of complexity of a dialect was calculated by simply adding up the values of the features characterising that dialect.

It should be noted that conventional Common Albanian (before dialectal division and the emergence of distinctive simplifying and complicating innovations) had a level of inherited complexity of 16.⁸

Results. The results of measuring the level of complexity of Albanian dialects are presented in Map 1.



Map 1. Total complexity scores (Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studime të dialekteve të gjuhës shqipe...)

⁸ Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studime të dialekteve të gjuhës shqipe...

The color gradient from light to dark blue shows the linguistic complexity from 9 to 23.

We may observe a strong decrease of linguistic complexity in the direction from north to south, i.e. from the Gheg to the TosC area. A less pronounced decrease is seen from west to east, especially in the northern part of the map.

Complexity scores are from 16 to 23 for Gheg (except for two locations in Dibra, with the scores 13 and 14) and from 19 to 14 for Tosk.

We may note tentatively that this lower level of complexity of the Tosk zone as compared to Ghegh coincides with the notion of a higher degree of balkanisation of Tosk as compared to Gheg (absence of the infinitive, future tense of the volitive type, in Tosk the absence of oppositions of long and short vowels in most of the Tosk dialects.⁹ Note in this connection that the Tosk area, especially its northern part is adjacent to the "centre of balkanization" in the region of Ohrid and Prespa lakes.¹⁰

The decrease of complexity from west to east may reflect *the actual Albanian-Slavic contacts*: Gheg varieties spoken in Kosovo and Macedonia is less complex than Gheg varieties in the territory of Albania.¹¹

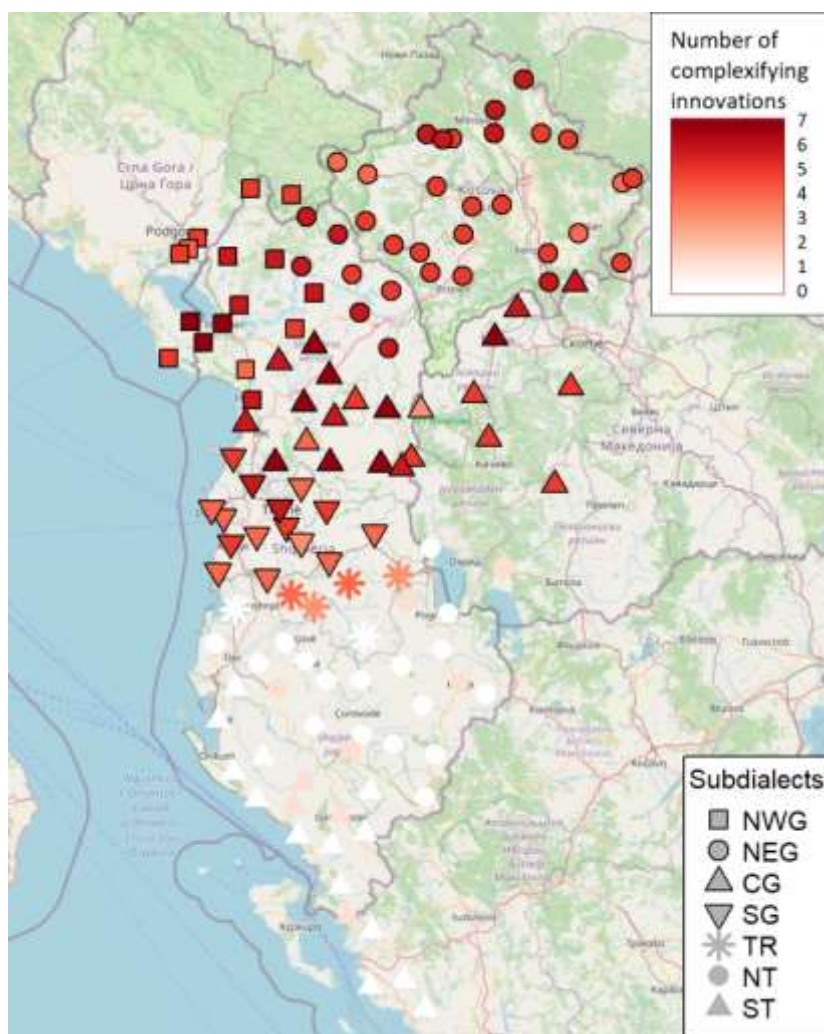
Map 2 and 3 represent the level of complexification and simplification, respectively, in Albanian dialects.

For 7 of 27 features, value "1" can be considered a complexifying innovation, the real scores in the map vary from 0 to 7

⁹ Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studying the history of Albanian dialectal landscape...

¹⁰ Lindstedt, Jouko. 2000. Linguistic Balkanization: Contact-induced change by mutual reinforcement. In D.G. Gilbers, J. Nerbonne and J. Shaeken (eds.). *Languages in Contact* (= *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* 28). Amsterdam — Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 234.

¹¹ Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studying the history of Albanian dialectal landscape...

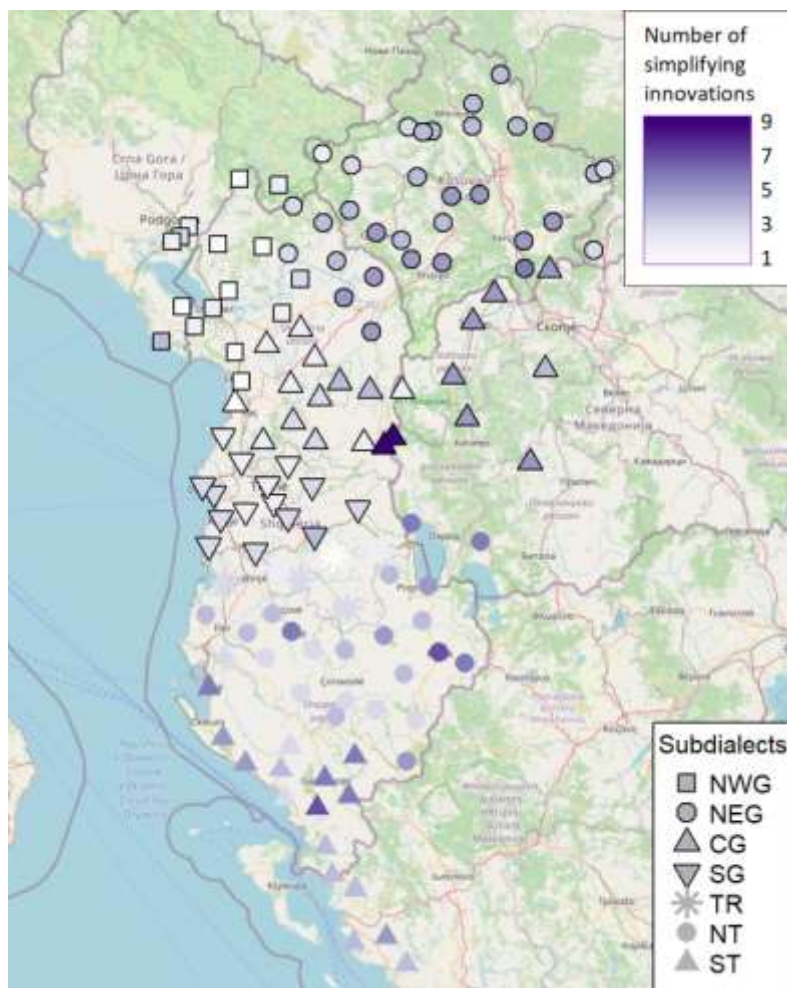


Map 2. Complexification (Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studime të dialekteve të gjuhës shqipe...)

The majority of complexifying innovations are represented in the Gheg area and nearly absent in the Tosk one. The highest rate of complexifying innovations is attested in Northern-Western Gheg dialects

and in the western (“Albanian”) part of Central Ghëg dialects. The complexifying innovations are virtually non-existent in the Tosk zone.¹²

For 16 of 27 features, value “0” can be considered a simplifying innovation, the real scores in the map vary from 1 to 9



Map 1. Simplification (Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studime të dialekteve të gjuhës shqipe...)

¹² Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studying the history of Albanian dialectal landscape...

The rate of simplifying innovations increases in zones of the respectively recent and ongoing contact: Northern-Eastern Gheg dialects (Cosovo and the borderline part of Albania), eastern part of Central Gheg, part of Northern TosC and Southern TosC varieties along the Albanian-GreeC border. Two Central Gheg points on the Albanian-Macedonian border show the highest possible rate of simplification.¹³

Some conclusions

1) The parameter of linguistic complexity distinguishes the areas of contact and isolation. We observe the decrease of the level of complexity both in the zones of the on-going contacts (the eastern part of the Albanian-speaking territory) and in the area of the intensive balkanization processes (Tosk zone).

2) The situation of the Gheg-Tosk opposition in respect of linguistic complexity is especially interesting. We would like to draw attention to two points. Firstly, the majority of changes that led to the arising of our Complexity / Simplicity isoglosses took place in the last three or four centuries. Secondly, we should note that the significant difference between the Gheg and Tosk areas in the level of complexity is achieved not so much by the presence of a particularly large number of simplifying innovations in the Tosk area, but by the complete absence in this area of complicating innovations characteristic of the Gheg. This lack of complicating innovations can also be explained by the linguistic contacts that were active in the Tosk area during the Ottoman period,¹⁴ which once again raises the question of a broader understanding of Balkanization processes - not simply as the acquisition of a number of common features by the Balkan languages, but as a continuous, centuries-long process of diverse contact interaction between various languages and dialects¹⁵ (cf.

¹³ Morozova M., Rusakov A., Ovsjannikova M. Studying the history of Albanian dialectal landscape...

¹⁴ The question of the nature of these contacts, which may have included situations of linguistic shift (transition of the non-Albanian population to the Albanian language), is very interesting, cf. Десницкая, А. В. Эволюция диалектной системы в условиях этнического смешения (из истории славяно-албанских языковых контактов). In Вопросы этногенеза и этнической истории славян и восточных романцев. М.: Наука, 1976, 186–197.

¹⁵ See in this connection, first of all, Friedman V. & Joseph B. The Balkan languages. Cambridge: CUP, 2023 (in print).

2. *The typology of the situations with the actual language contact*¹⁶

Preliminary remarks. In order to better understand the different types of contact situations existing in the modern Balkans, it is necessary to introduce some basic concepts. So, language dominance is crucial for determining types and degrees of bilingualism. Following Weinreich¹⁷ and van Coetsem,¹⁸ we will distinguish *linguistic* (the greater degree of the proficiency in one of the language used by the speaker)¹⁹ and social or *sociolinguistic* (dominant language is the language of power and prestige) domination. Sociolinguistic dominance acts on the level of the speech community. It influences, of course, the linguistic behaviour of individuals. Linguistic dominance is a characteristic of the speakers' linguistic competence; however we may speak about the linguistic dominance of the given language in the speech community as a sum of dominance configurations among community members or as a prevailing tendency among these members. These sociolinguistic and linguistic dominations do not need to coincide (see below).²⁰

Using the concept of linguistic dominance is extremely useful in distinguishing between the main types of contact situations, the *polyglossic* and *non-polyglossic* situations.

¹⁶ This section is based first of all, on: Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. 2021. Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique: the Montenegrin Velja Gorana and beyond. *International Journal of Bilingualism*; 2021. Vol. 25, issue 4. P. 999–1018; Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualism à la balkanique: A dynamic typology of Albanian-Slavic contact situations, the paper held on MELMUB, December 12–13, 2022 Ca' Foscari University, Venice, Italy; see also: Morozova, Maria. 2021. Mutual influence in balanced language contact situation: Velja Gorana and the Mrkovići in southern Montenegro. In A.N. Sobolev (ed.). *Between Separation and Symbiosis: South-East-European Languages and Cultures in Contact*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2021; Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Contemporary Language Contacts in the Balkans: Situations and outcomes. In: A. Sobolev (ed.). *Between Separation and Symbiosis. South Eastern European Languages and Cultures in Contact*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH. 2021.

¹⁷ Weinreich, Uriel. *Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1953.

¹⁸ Coetsem, Frans van. Outlining a model of the transmission phenomenon in language contact. *Leuvense Bijdragen*, 84, 1995, 63–85.

¹⁹ Coetsem, F. van.. *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer types in Language Contact*. Dordrecht:Foris, 1988.P.13..

²⁰ Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Contemporary Language Contacts in the Balkans...

Polyglossic (and diglossic) situations – “a prominent model of bilingualism based on **hierarchical relationships** holding between languages and functional differentiations for them”.²¹ The diglossic and polyglossic situations are understood **broadly** as **any coexistence** of two or more separate languages or dialects of one language with a strong functional differentiation and a different level of prestige.²²

Non-polyglossic (“balanced language contact”) situations – yet another particular type of contact situation, without hierarchical relationships of the languages involved.²³

Non-polyglossic situations

Situations of this type are rather rare in the modern Balkans. As an example, we will cite the village Velja Gorana not far of the modern Montenegrin-Albanian border. This situation was thoroughly described by Maria Morozova in some field trips (2012-2015).²⁴

We may characterize the linguistic situation in *Velja Gorana* as an example of a balanced language contact: “a long-standing linguistic area and stable multilingualism without any dominance relationships”.²⁵ The long-termed coexistence of Albanian and Montenegrin Serbian in Velja Gorana is supported by a kind of linguistic exogamy, by the constant influx by Albanian wives from neighbouring Albanian-speaking areas, which has been present at least since the beginning of the 20th century.²⁶ As a result, this community may be characterized by the nearly equal functional use of both languages – Montenegrin Serbian and Albanian – despite the =sociolinguistic dominance of “Montenegrin” as a state

²¹ Lüpke, Friederike. *Uncovering Small-Scale Multilingualism*. *Critical Multilingualism Studies*, 2016. (4)? P.41.

²² Fishman, Joshua A. Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23(2), 1967. P. 29–38.

²³ See in details Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. *Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...*

²⁴ Morozova, Maria. *Mutual influence in balanced language contact situation...*

²⁵ Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. *Grammars in Contact. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & Richard M.W. Dixon (eds.). *Grammars in Contact. A Cross-Linguistic Typology*. (Explorations in Linguistic Typology 4). 1-66, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. P. 42.

²⁶ See Jovičević, Andrija. *Crnogorsko primorje i Krajina* [The Montenegro coast and Krajina]. *Srpski*

etnografski zbornik, vol. 11. Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1922; Maria S. Morozova & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. *Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...*

language. The microanalysis of bilingual communication in the families of Velja Gorana together with the study of the “linguistic history” of individual speakers clearly demonstrates that the supposed balanced language contact situation results from some different micro-situations, themselves having a rather unbalanced character. The development of linguistic competence configurations on the part of individual speakers (when they are not bilinguals since their childhood) tends to be from monolingual or nearly monolingual to the bilingual often without the clear dominance of one or other language (Albanian women brought to the village acquire Montenegrin Serbian, and Slavic-speaking women learn Albanian)²⁷. At a given time in the community there are both speakers with a “balanced” competence in both languages and speakers with linguistic dominance in one of them. From the linguistic point of view, language contact in Velja Gorana leads rather slowly to the rise of a number of lexical and syntactic calques in both languages and does not result in any “radical changes” of their structure. The latter are prevented in Velja Gorana by the “balanced” Languages spoken – Serbian/Montenegrin, Albanian Velja Gorana and the villages in the east of the Mrkovići area are bilingual, due to their tradition of marriages with Albanians.

From linguistic point of view, the language contact in Velja Gorana leads rather slowly to the rise of the number of lexical and syntactic calques both in Albanian and Montenegrin/Serbian (Morozova 2021)²⁸. Balanced bilingualism, together with the open character of the community, prevents both languages from the more rapid and radical changes (Morozova, Rusakov 2018).

In the Balkans, only a few cases of (presumably) balanced, or non-polyglossic situations can be found in modern times. In the past such bi- and multilingual situations could have particular importance for the emergence of convergent features in the Balkan languages and dialects.²⁹

²⁷ See Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...; Morozova, Maria. Mutual influence in balanced language contact situation...

²⁸ Morozova, Maria. Mutual influence in balanced language contact situation...

²⁹ Friedman, Victor & Brian Joseph. Lessons from Judezmo about the Balkan sprachbund and

contact linguistics. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 226, 2014, P. 3–23; Sobolev, Andrey N. 2017. Iazyki simbioticheskikh soobshchestv Zapadnykh

So, the presence of the Albanian element for the whole *Mrkovići* region in the 15th century (fixed in the Ottoman defters) as well as evidence about the spreading of the mixed Albanian-Montenegrin marriages over a considerable part of the Mrkovići territory³⁰ allows us to assume that the bilingual situation described for Velja Gorana might characterize the previous situation for the whole region of the Mrkovići. Now the main part of Mrkovići (except its periphery including Velja Gorana) has ceased to be bilingual.

Polyglossic situations

Polyglossic situations are quiet more widespread in the modern Balkans. Using the parameter of linguistic dominance, we may distinguish two types of the Balkan polyglossic settings depending on which language, L1 or L2, is dominant in the community.

Polyglossic communities with L1 dominance

As an example of such a situation we may cite the case of Albanians in North Macedonia (the situation on the Albanian – North Macedonian border).

Albanians in Macedonia are first mentioned in the 14th century (some nomadic Albanian shepherds in Polog). Most Albanians came in the 18th–19th century (Selishchev 1931).³¹ Now the Slavic and Albanian populations of the borderline micro-areas (Debar, Prespa, Gorna Reka et al.) are separated from the point of view of their ethnic and linguistic consciousness and demonstrate the linguistic dominance of their respective L1s. (Nearly) all Albanians are *bilingual*, but Macedonian is only a sociolinguistically dominant language.

Macedonians as a rule are *monolingual*. The example of mixed villages Arvati and Krani (Makarova 2021)³² where both Muslim

Balkan: grecheskii i albanskii v kraine Khimara, Albaniia [Languages in the Western Balkan symbiotic communities: Greek and Albanian in the krajina of Khimara, Albania]. *Vestnik SPbGU Iazyk i literatura* 14(3), 2017, 420–442.

³⁰ See Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...; Morozova, Maria. Mutual influence in balanced language contact situation...

³¹ Selishchev, Afanasiy M. *Slavyanskoe naselenie v Albanii*. Sofia. 1931.

³² Makarova, Anastasia L. Mutual understanding among Albanians, Slavs and Aromanians in Prespa, North Macedonia: Perfect tense as a perfect tool. In A. N. Sobolev (Ed.), *Between separation and symbiosis: Southeastern European languages and cultures in contact*. de Gruyter, 2021.

Albanians and Orthodox Macedonians (mainly men) are bilingual is rather *an exception*. It should be noted that Albanian and Macedonian groups of the Arvati population do not intermarry. Thus, in this village we rather have two language communities, with Albanian and Macedonian as the dominant L1 respectively. The **linguistic** consequences of contact are modest and come down only to some simplification in the local Albanian dialects.³³

Situations of this type are rare in the modern Balkans. Such dominance configurations are typical for relatively large “language islands”, i.e. groups of speakers of the L1 living in a **geographically distinct region** in which they constitute an **overwhelming majority** and have a kind of **economic autonomy** from the surrounding speakers of the L2. In this kind of situation bilingualism exists in virtue of the **community-external needs** and not as an intrinsic property of the community.³⁴

Polyglossic communities with L2 dominance

Polyglossic situations of this type are characterized by *a turnover of linguistic dominance*. The speakers continue to use their L1, but *the sociolinguistically dominant L2* becomes also *linguistically dominant* for them. Nowadays such situations are more widespread in the Balkans. They emerge in relatively small bilingual and multilingual groups existing within the communities of another language’s speakers.³⁵

This situation is characteristic of many Albanian dialects existing in the diaspora. As an example, let us cite the Albanian dialect of the village of Mandrica (Bulgaria).

As is well known, the Albanian migration from the southeast of Albania towards the northeast (in Bulgaria) took place in 15th–16th centuries. According to Sokolova,³⁶ Bulgarians have always been living

³³ Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Contemporary Language Contacts in the Balkans...

³⁴ See Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...; Morozova, Maria. Mutual influence in balanced language contact situation...

³⁵ See Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...; Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualism à la balkanique: A dynamic typology of Albanian-Slavic contact situations...

³⁶ Sokolova, Bojka. Die albanische Mundart von Mandritsa. Berlin: In Kommission bei Otto Harassowitz, 1983.

in Mandrica. Bulgarian-Albanian bilingualism has been most common for women in the village. Albanians of Mandrica martoheshin me gratë bullgare nga fshatrat fqinje. Gratë mëThe women learned Albanian after marriage, while their husbands learned Bulgarian (Domi, Shuteriqi 1965: 110).³⁷

Linguistically, the Albanian dialect of Mandrica is *heavily interfered* by Bulgarian. It is subject to intensive lexical borrowing and shows a range of contact-induced structural features (see Sokolova 1983).

In the situations of this type, L2 becomes a linguistically dominant language (“turnover of linguistic dominance”) and community members cease to transmit their L1 to the next generation. The next step in the development of such situations is usually *a language shift to L2*.³⁸ In some cases the trend towards shift *may be stopped*, and the L1 maintenance with dominance of the surrounding language L2 may continue for a long time.

Some conclusions

Our analysis was based on the configurations of *linguistic dominance* which exist in the Balkan communities. ***Sociolinguistic dominance*** was viewed as an additional factor that may enhance the inequality of the languages spoken within a given community.

We have identified the main types of bi- and multilingual settings in the present-day Albanian-Slavic communities; these types may gradually develop into one another. This development may come down to a language shift:

(1) *non-polyglossic* > (2) *polyglossic with linguistic dominance of L1* > (3) *polyglossic with linguistic dominance of L2* > (4) language shift.³⁹

Not all stages in the proposed scheme are obligatory: for example, a situation with L1 dominance may be the “starting point”.

³⁷ Domi, Mahir & Dhimitër Shuteriqi. Një vështrim mbi të folmen shqipe të Mandricës. Studime filologjike 2, 1965. 103–119.

³⁸ See Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...; Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualism à la balkanique: A dynamic typology of Albanian-Slavic contact situations...

³⁹ Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualism à la balkanique: A dynamic typology of Albanian-Slavic contact situations//

The development may be stopped (or, at least, slowed down) at the each from the stages, so, the cease of linguistic exogamy, i.e. marriages between Albanian and Slavic speakers, might influence (among the other factors) on the erosion of the Type 1 situations, as, for example, in the most part of the *Mrkovići* region.

The factors relevant for the turnover of language dominance and the *development of Type 2 into Type 3* have mostly “objective” character (a historically and geographically consolidated area, size of the community and its relative economic autonomy). For the *development from Type 3 to language shift*, “subjective” factors, such as the preferences and choices of the community members – “language identity”⁴⁰ or “language attitudes”⁴¹ (Thomason 2001: 32–36) – should be crucial. They may speed up, slow or even stop the language shift.⁴²

This tentative typology can be applied to other Albanian-Slavic contact situations and to any other kinds of bi- and multilingual communities of the Balkans (see several examples in Morozova, Rusakov 2021⁴³), and outside them. Let us list some of them:

non-polyglossic (1) – probably, the Albanian-Greek contact in Himara, Southern Albania⁴⁴ (further study is required);

polyglossic with linguistic dominance of L1 (2) – Karashevo in Romania⁴⁵;

polyglossic with linguistic dominance of L1 (3) – Meglenoromanian, Balkan Romani;

⁴⁰ Adamou, Evangelia. Social networks in Greek Thrace: Language shift and language maintenance. *Slavica Helsingiensia*, 41, 2012. P. 7–32.

⁴¹ Thomason, Sarah G. *Language contact. An introduction*. Edinburgh University Press. 2001. P.32-36.

⁴² See Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. *Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...*

⁴³ See some of them in: Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. *Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...*

⁴⁴ Sobolev, Andrey N. *Iazyki simbioticheskikh soobshchestv Zapadnykh Balkan: grecheskii i albanskii v kraine Himara, Albaniia*. *Vestnik SPbGU. Iazyk i literatura*, 14(3), 2017. P. 420–442

⁴⁵ Konior, Daria V. *Minority within a Minority: Iabalcea and Caraşova in Romania*. A. N. Sobolev (Ed.). *Between Separation and Symbiosis: South Eastern European Languages and Cultures in Contact*, 157–188. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2021.

language shift – Iabalcea in Romania⁴⁶ (probably a development from (3) to language shift), Balkan Romani⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Konior, Daria V. Minority within a Minority: Iabalcea and Caraşova in Romania...

⁴⁷ See Morozova, Maria S. & Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Societal multilingualisms a la balkanique...; Alexander Yu. Rusakov. Contemporary Language Contacts in the Balkans...

LITERARY STUDIES

Stefan ÇAPALIKU**ANOTHER PATHWAY TO THE “HISTORY OF ALBANIAN LITERATURE”**

From the first history book of Albanian literature, which is thought to be that of Alberto Straticòe dating back to the year 1896¹ then going on with the latest contributions by Robert Elsie² and concluded by Florian Kienzle³ and Luan Topçiu⁴, little is spoken on the life of books as a vivid and dynamic culture. Par consequence, their focus was neither on the history of Albanian industry nor on the Albanian reader.

In a few words, this means that we have dealt intensively with authors, we have also analyzed the literary works, but we have not devoted the proper caution and attention to their point of destiny, i.e. the readers and even less to their receptive effects. Hence, it is evident that we are lacking one of the sides (not to say even the hypotenuse) of the triangle.

The history of Albanian literature as the history of reading

The issues of the methodology of reading and interpreting literature from reader's perspective rank among the most interesting in the current communication culture. Although the need for such an interpretation has arisen very early or together with the public appearance of a literary text, in today's scientific understanding, literary criticism is much more younger than the literary text itself.

But what is a text? The text is a sequence of linguistic acts linked to the circumstances of a certain social situation. It is not a *primum*, but a

¹Stratico, Alberto. Manuale di letteratura albanese, Milano 1896.

²Elsie, Robert. History of Albanian Literature. East European Monographs, 1995

³Kienzle, Florian. Ein Nehmen und Geben. Die Geschlechter in der albanischen Literatur. Harrassovitz, 2020

⁴Topçiu, Luan. Istoria Literaturii Albaneze, Craiva: Editura A, 2022.

structure addressed to someone but not merely a structure closed in itself, without an address or whose final point is just itself.

Nevertheless, it is hard to find out accurate and satisfactory explanations for our reply. First and foremost, it is the authors themselves who are hesitant and decline to provide explanations. They do not have more to say on their own texts than the readers themselves. Thus, the author turns out to be only partially “uthor” of its own text. In this way, the necessity arises to “fill” a text with interpretation. This issue, as we did also mention above, is not exposed for the first time in the history of literary studies; however, it is “dressed up” among modern folks with a new philosophical dignity.

Actually, the questions of interpretation in philosophy are summarized in the concept of hermeneutics. Hermeneutics or the theory of interpretation of signs represents the most philosophical codification of symbols, myths and all other forms of human expression by and large. Thus, hermeneutics is nothing else for philosophy but the attempt to shorten the distance between a soul with another soul (let us see it as reducing the distance between the author and the reader) and it has carried out its mision in an intuitive mode at different times.

Just before the time of Saint Agustin and the Bible interpretation, literary treaties payed much more attention to the process of creating the text rather than to the reading and interpreting methodology. Then, interpretation as a psychological process began to call for help from a number of other factors of the most different kinds.

Generally speaking, there is a consensus on the idea that both literary criticism and the next two literary branches - history and theory were institutionalized with the spread of the positivist philosophy in the Western culture. From that moment to date the literary criticism has passed over three important phases of development, which we may divide from the perspective of perception and the focus of interests.

The first phase, or the phase of interest for the authors, which inlcludes the schools of thought of positivism, sociological criticism and psycho-analysis, as the keys to comprehend and interpret a literary work.

The second phase, or the phase of interest for the text, which includes the school of thought “New Critique”, the Russian formalism, symbolic critique and structuralism. This is also called the formalist phase.

The third phase or the phase of interest for readers, which includes the school of thought of the reception theory, semiology and others.

Nevertheless, as long as many of these schools of thought prove to be intertwined or they give and take from each other, this division remains a theoretical and bookish classification. However, each of them presents an alternative for a better access to a text, for a better understanding of the symbols of a literary work and finally for its better judgment.

From another viewpoint, all these schools of thought, starting with positivism and the others may also be judged by their attitude to the so-called literariness, i.e. what makes it a text, a literary text, exempting it from the endless number of other typologies. Based on this viewpoint, we may single out two major groupings:

The first grouping believes that the literariness exists objectively and therefore in material terms in a work; therefore, according to them, our task as criticism is simply to uncover and bring it to evidence, as if a work could be broken down as a machine.

The second grouping is made of those schools of thought which believe that literariness exists objectively in a work, but not as an offspring of subjective reading with close links with the way how a literary work exists in our minds.

Hans Robert Jauss⁵, a significant representative of the Reception Theory in Germany (Rezeptionsästhetik) has provided a historic dimension of the reader – oriented criticism. He tries to reach a compromise between the Russian formalism, which ignores the history and social theories, which on their part ignore the text. Having to write in the period of social turmoils by the end of the '60, Jauss and others wanted to refer to the canons of the German literature and to show that it was more reasonable to act in that way. The prospect of new critiques did not promise the provision of messages and meanings.

He borrowed from the lessons of the scientific philosophy by Thomas Kuhn⁶ the term “paradigm”, which refers to the scientific constructions and ventures in separate periods. They did randomly their

⁵Hans Robert Jauss (1921-1997), author of the following works: “Towards an aesthetic of reception” 1978, “On literary hermeneutics” 1988 and others.

⁶Thomas Kuhn (1922-1996), author of the following works: “Structure of scientific revolutions” 1962 and others.

experimental work within the mental world of a special paradigm during a new one displaced in an paradigm, raising new issues and defining new ventures. Jauss used the term “horizon of expectations” to describe the criteria referring to the reader to judge the literary text in each and every given period. These criteria may help the reader to decide for instance how to judge an epic poem, a tragedy or a pastoral work. Likewise, it could help in several ways to define what is poetic or literary in opposition to the non-poetical and non-literary side of the language. Ordinary writings and readings may work in such horizons. For instance, if we take into consideration the English Augustin period, we may say that the poetics of Propp⁷ would have been judged relying on the criteria based on purity, clarity, natural and stylistic decoration. Yet, this does not define all the values of Propp’s poetry. During the second half of the 18th century, commentators started to ask why Propp was a poet in this sense of the word reminding us that he was a good verse writer, who put the prose in a double rhyme with the missed image of the force that genuine poetry requires. Even without mentioning the next example, we may say that modern readers of Prop’s works are involved into a changeable horizon of expectations. We do even now appreciate his poems for their sharp mindedness, complexity, the moral penetration ability and for repeating literary traditions.

The genuine horizon of expectations tells us only how a work looks like when assessed and interpreted after it appears, but it does define the conclusive meaning. In Jauss viewpoint, it could be entirely wrong to say that a work is universal, that its meaning is fixed throughout the literary work and that it is open to all readers and at all times. A literary work is not an object that stands by itself and that offers the same view to each reader in each period. It is not a monument that monologically reveals its timeless essence. This does undoubtedly mean that we might be never in a position to analyze subsequent horizons of expectations that would reach us from the time of the publication of a literary work to date, to highlight the fundamental values of the literary work and its meaning. However, to do this would mean to ignore our historic situation.

⁷Vladimir Propp (1895-1970), author of the following works: “Morphology of folktales” 1928 and others.

Whose authority do we want to admit? That of the first readers? The combined ideas of readers through times? Or the current aesthetic judgment?

The first readers perhaps were not able to see the writer's revolutionary statement. The same objection may apply even to readers' consecutive judgments, including ourselves.

Jauss reply comes from Gadamer's⁸ hermeneutics who argues that the interpretation of the past literature extends to the dialogue between the past and the present. Our attempt to comprehend a work may depend on the question as to which our cultural circle permits us to do. At the same time, we try to uncover the question that the work itself poses. Our current perspective includes the relations with the past, but at the same time the past may be grasped only through the current limited perspectives.

The reception theory developed in Germany in the '60 in an atmosphere of change in literature. The German researchers proved the case with the poetry of Baudelaire (*The flowers of the evil*) which despite the much fuss it provoked up to the point of criminal prosecution against the author, since he had allegedly violated the norms of moral and the canons of the romantic poetry, it produced a new esthetic reception horizon.

For a sociology of Albanian literature

This is an appeal to open another gate to enter in the tower of our literature. For this we need some more refined ideas connected mainly with the extension process and the role of Albanian literary occurrences from their beginnings (15th century) and at least until the end of World War II. (1944).

All abstractions stemming from different surveys on a literary fact fail to give a full picture of these occurrences. Naturally, statistical researches suffer from several unavoidable symptoms. They tend to attach the priority to the quantity aspect of fact or facts. However, this is the accepted evil of statistics.

⁸Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) author of the following works: "Truth and method" 1960, "The actuality of the beautiful 1977" and others.

Then the problems with the birthdays and death dates of authors, places of birth, places of residence, origins of authors according to the type of birth and residence venue, professions, number of literary works, the text types, the language, dialects, recognition and their significance; these have been and will always remain important to the historians of literature and culture in general terms, however anti-positivist a study could be. It is a usual occurrence for a literature historian to take and handle these facts separately from one another; the said historian uses them in the case of one or more authors, not all of them simultaneously but following his principles with regard to the relations between the author's life and his work. Taken and viewed like this as a whole, the above-mentioned data for each author could boost interesting ideas on the object and the presentation of the history of national literature.

And what about the reader? Which is the destiny of a literary work? How can one manage to "harvest" complete data on the typographic book characteristics: the printing venue, the print run and the format, distribution, prices, re-publication and other similar issues? These could make us think on the relevance to their judgment on the horizon expectations of various authors at different times.

Actually, the almost total lack of information on the distribution network for the bookstores and to a certain extent to the libraries has hacked the outcome of literary historic-graphic researches.

Nonetheless, some of these problems could have been resolved by taking into consideration the indirect data. Thus, for instance, while leafing through the correspondence of one of the greatest Albanian writers, Father Gjergj Fishta, we learn that his book "Anzat e Parnasit" (The bees of Parnass) published in 1907 and printed in Sarajevo, sponsored financially by the Austro-Hungarian government was published with a print run of 1000 copies, which may be considered a large size for that time. Here is another example again from Fishta: I am quoting here a fragment from one of his satirical verses entitled "Kontrata"⁹ (The Contract) published in 1907. True, this is a verse, yet it may provide us with a good dose of the truth on the state of play of literary reception in Albania at that time:

⁹Shih: Fishta, Gjergj. "Anzat e Parnasit", Sarajevo, 1907 (The bees of Parnasse) Sarajevo, 1907

<p><i>Ndigjo i 'herë se ç' i ka ndodhë Me një libër shqyp Dom Ndocit, Libër shqyp, po, mje n'palc t'kocit: Dom Ndoc Nikaj, si xhakue, Historinë e Kishës pat shkruet E me ndihmë të Dodmaseut, (Që asht bamirsi i gjithë këtij dheut, E botoi s' di ku n' Evropë, Jo ma shumë, veç n' pesqind copë; Edh' e qiti, -ndigjo 'i fjalë! Jo m' e shitun, por m' e falë. Por, a e din sa vjet kanë shkue Q' prej se libri kje botue, Der q' s' falnit u mbarue? Plot njëzet e dy motmote!!! A merr vesht, Zotnija e Jote!</i></p>	<p><i>Just listen what has happened to Dom Ndoc with a book in Albanian a book in Albanian as its backbone Dom Ndoc Nikaj as a pastor has written the history of the church and with the help of Dodmaseu (who is the philanthropic of the whole world) published it I don't know where in Europe not more than 500 copies And he published it, listen to my words Not to sell it but to grant it for free. but, do you know how many years have passed from the time when the book was published? And it was over by lending it free? 22 full years! Do you see, Sir?</i></p>
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The quoted verse has a real history behind. It is about the book written by Dom Ndoc Nika “Vakinat “e sceites kisc, n’scei t’itaatit e t’gymertiis tii....” translated in Albanian by D. Ndoz Nikai and sponsored by Mr. Pieter Dodmassei (Propaganda Fide, Rome, 1888) 320 pages. These (Propaganda Fide, Rome, 1888) 320 pages. These examples offer us interesting pieces of information. The first and the most important one is that reading was a very hard job for Albanians at that time; secondly, that a print out of 500 copies was considered medium – sized and thirdly, that surprisingly enough even during that time there were mecenats and sponsors.

Actually, thanks to carefully conducted researches we know that in the first half of the 20th century there were 300 writers - 90 from Shkodra, 50 from Korça, 20 from Kosova, 15 from Vlora, 15 from Gjirokastra, 15 from Elbasani, 15 from Berati, 10 from Përmeti and 10 from Tirana, nearly 40 from smaller towns and 20 writers from the diaspora¹⁰.

¹⁰Shih: Çapaliku, Stefan. “Prijës për sociologjinë dhe gjeografinë e letërsisë shqipe”, Hylli i Dritës, Tiranë, 1997. (Guide Book on the sociology and geography of Albanian literature, ‘Hylli i Dritës, Tirana, 1997)

Likewise, we know that during the first half of the 20th century were published nearly 700 literary works - 400 in prose, 200 in poetry and 100 drama plays¹¹

These data indicate that during that time, taken as a whole, the number of writers quadrupled in comparison to the previous centuries. More or less the same occurred with the literary works.

During the brief period of King Zog monarchy, state-owned bookshops were opened all over the country and new secular pre-cultural structures started to take shape. And, most importantly, the social climate of “acceptance” was created for the writer and the entire accompanying superstructure. Many Albanian writers returned on their free will to their native country from much more civilized nations, where they used to live and work. Finally, the center for the development of Albanian literature became Albania itself.

Shkodra in the north and Korça in the south, especially the former became the most important center of the Albanian literary development. The new Albanian state installed in Tirana as the new political capital did not show any tendency to centralize Albanian culture.

In the first half of that century, thanks to the high degree of the emancipation of Albanian society, the independence from Turkey and evident trends for a renewed communication with the European West, the number of Moslem authors grew up substantially. The last century, despite romantic and aesthetic leftovers from the previous one paved the way to Albanian literature. Literature began slowly to forget the “great” issues: nationalism, liberation from occupiers, comeback to the “great Skënderbeu epoch” and others and it turned its attention to the human being, its interior world, psychosis and even to its unawareness.

Typography and Printing Houses

The first printing press in Albania was installed in Shkodër in 1871 by the Jesuit fathers and it was named “Shtypshkronja e zojës së papërljyeme”¹². (Printing House of the unstainable Lady) From that time

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ref: Markus W.E. Peters “The oldest publishing house in Albania and its contribution to National Movement, education and culture”: “Typography of Zoja e Papërljyeme” in Shkodër (1870- 1945)”. Tiranë, 2016.

on and after the proclamation of independence Albania did not have more than seven printing houses. Four of them were in Shkodër, one in Durrës, one in Korçë and the last in Vlorë.

Ten years later, on the eve of the June Revolution 1924, there were 13 printing houses. If Shkodra continued to have 4 of them, the other towns increased their number. Tirana had three and Korça two Printing Houses, whereas Berati, Elbasani, Gjirokastra and Vlora had only one each. Only in 1928, with the establishment in Tirana of the Printing House "Dielli" (The Sun) and that of the Technical School, Shkodra fell to the second place.

The activity of printing houses consisted in printing newspapers, journals, books and administrative ordered documents. Given the retrospective Bibliography of Albanian periodic reviews until 1944, in Shkodër were printed 77 titles of newspapers or journals from 268 printed in Albania, leaving behind other towns, as Korça with 49 titles, Vlora with 29, Gjirokastra with 23 titles and others.¹³

Another very important aspect of the activity of printing houses used to be the publication of books. It should be emphasized that printing houses had a very extensive publishing activity, playing also the role of publishing houses. In the years '30 of the 20th century in particular, they played an exceptional role in spreading knowledge and in enriching the inventory of libraries.

The printing houses which served also as publishing houses were distributed as in the following:

1. In Shkodër: printing house "Zoja e' Papërlyeme"¹⁴; The Franciscan printing house¹⁵; printing house "Nikaj"¹⁶; printing house "A. Gj. Fishta"¹⁷

2. In Korçë: Printing House&& Bookshop "Korça" Koti&Xoxe¹⁸; printing house and library "Dhori Koti"¹⁹; printing house and stationery Store "Peppo & Marko"²⁰, printing house "Ida Antoniadhi"²¹

¹³Ref: Pero, Pauli. "Typography and printing houses in Shkodra", Shkodër 2023.

¹⁴Refer to book: "Zefi i njoftun", 1909.(Known Zefi)

¹⁵Refer to book: "Burgjet e mija", 1939 (My prisons)

¹⁶Refer to book: "Hionja", 1920.

¹⁷Refer to book: "Iliada", 1941

¹⁸Refer to books: Kalendar, 1917. (Calendar, 1917)

¹⁹Refer to books: "Gabimi i tmeruar" (Terrified mistake), "Gogomelët", 1935;

²⁰Refer to books: "Demosteni" 1934, "Lulet e majit" (Flowers of may), 1935.

²¹ Refer to book: "Fyelli" (The flute), 1930

3. In Tiranë: printing house “Dielli”; “Tirana”²²; publishing house “Kristo Luarasi”²³; military printing house²⁴; Ismail Mal’Osmani Publisher²⁵, Ministry of Education²⁶; printing house “Kastrioti”²⁷; Library “Argus”; printing house “Gutenberg”²⁸; Mesagjeritë Shqiptare²⁹; publishing house “Ora”³⁰, printing house “Nikaj”³¹; printing house “Atdheu”³²

4. In Vlorë: printing house “Vlora”³³;

5. In Elbasan: printing house “Saide”³⁴

6. In Durrës. Litho-Tipografia "Stamles"³⁵

Distribution and libraries

The oldest library in Albania is the one opened in Shkodër by Gjergj Qirjazi in 1891. Pjetër Marubi has fixed this “books storage” in his photographs. We have data proving that other libraries must have been afterwards in Shkodër. In early 20th century, apart from the bookshop opened by the family Qirjazi, it was also the one owned by Ndrekë Kaçulini, then the bookshop owned by Adem Nikshiqi, only a few meters away from that of Kaçulini and another third one at the end of current pedestrian street or near the City Hall, called bookshop of Shyqo Xhaferi. Besides the above-mentioned in Shkodër, there were also some smaller bookshops, as the one owned by Filip Shiroka and “Dugajtë e Reja”, bookshop “Laçej”, stationary& bookshop Nikshiqi, bookshop Broja and others.

²²Refer to books: “Evangelina”, 1923, “Këshilli i Atdheut” (Fatherland’s Council), 1924

²³Refer to books: “Skenderbeu”, 1935; “Aleksandri”, 1931; “Dr. Decroly”, 1936

²⁴Refer to books: “Njoftime mbi historinë dhe gjeografinë shqiptare”, “Hymne dhe këngë patriotike” (Announcements on the Albanian history and geography) (Patriotic Anthems and songs)

²⁵Refer to books: “Vargjet e lira” (Free lines), 1944, “Kasollja” (The cottage)1944

²⁶Refer to books: “Historia e letërsisë romake” (History of Roman literature)

²⁷Refer to book: “Lule të përgjakuna” (Flowers with blood)

²⁸Refer to book: “Gega prej Rugove” (Gega from Rugova)

²⁹Refer to book: “Makbethi”, 1938

³⁰Refer to book: “Lufta e bretkosave me minjtë”, (The war of fogs against the mice) 1936.

³¹Refer to book: “Flamur i shejt” (Sacred flag), 1930

³²Refer to book: “Ligjërata e Shk. R. Mitrovica”, 1944. (Lecture by Shk.R. Mitrovica) 1944

³³Refer to book: “Sakuntala”, 1933

³⁴Refer to book: “Mino”, 1939

³⁵ Refer to book: “Gjini, Pjetër. Çaste Rinie: kangë origjinale të përkthyme dhe t'adaptue me”

The bookshops were located in the main town streets. To ensure a stable client's network, the book shops tried to advertise books in the journals of that time, or to hold the exclusive marketing rights. As there were no publishing houses, they contacted the printing enterprises directly. The books offered for sale were mostly in foreign languages or translations. The books in Albanian were offered in very small numbers. Numerous periodic reviews were offered instead.

By the end of '20, the bookshops “Kotti” and “Argos” were opened in Korça.

The first bookshop in Tirana belonged to Hasan Bakiu (1869-1944). He opened “Libratori “Bakiu” (Bookshop “Bakiu”) which was the only one during the years 1917 - 1925, when the second bookshop “Carnavon” was opened. In 1930 the bookshop “Argus” was also opened in Tirana; located in the Royal Street, facing the Old Mosque, owned by Dhimitër Canco from Korça. During those years, Tirana was in the first stages of its urban development and Canco's private initiative was considered as almost “crazy”. However, opened somewhere between the “Harry Fultz” and the Economic School, its activity reaped its first fruits, opening a few years later a publishing house with the same name. Apart from foreign books and translations in various areas, at “Argus” one could also find the first books published in Albania in the years '30 and in the periodic press. His friends, according to the contemporaries of that time were also Mitrush Kuteli, Lasgush Poradeci, Petro Marko and others. Here it is how one of the eye-witnesses of that time recalls that ambiance there: “At the book shop “Argus”, where I used to go every evening to throw a glance to foreign newspapers and journals (Canco was very kind and he permitted us to do so, knowing that we could not afford to buy them.)³⁶

In the same street was also the bookshop “Lumo Skendo” whose owner and seller was the Albanian outstanding intellectual of that time, Mithat Frashëri. Likewise, at Tirana's center was also the bookshop “Mesagjeritë Shqiptare” of Musine Kokalari. Whereas in “Durrësi” street in Tirana was the bookshop owned by Fadil Dizdari³⁷, which mainly offered for sale books in foreign languages. A small bookshop in

³⁶Grebllëshi, Mustafa. Kujtime, Cabej, f.22, 2019(Memoirs, Çabej, page 22, 2019)

³⁷Fadil Dizdari, një intelektual nga Kosova që u pushkatua nga komunistët në vitin 1951 (An intellectual from Kosovo who was executed by communists in 1951)

the street “Abdi Toptani” (exactly where “Torre Drini” is today) belonged to Tahir Dizdari, from Shkodra, specialized for eastern languages, who was also the author of a Dictionary in Persian. Meanwhile, a bookshop owned by Sul Kurani was opened in Elbasan and another one owned by Ibrahim Shyti in Vlora.

Among others, Profesor Injac Zamputi in his work “Kujtime (Memories) explains to us the mixed status and the great difficulties that books faced during their production, distribution and reading; he writes on that “I decided to start myself such an activity beginning with the publication of this melo drama³⁸. I borrowed a sum of money just to buy the paper. I went myself in the market to the Buna River bridge, I entered in the storage of a merchant with different kinds of paper there. I chose the paper with the cheapest price and sent it to the printing house “Së Papërlyemes”. Its Administrator, Fratel Gjoni offered to me all possible facilities and published it free of charge. It was so to say a kind of bonus he wanted to make for me to soften the pain effects from the trauma I suffered when they expelled me in an unjust and unexpected way from the Kolegja Saveriane (Saverian College). And the book was published and launched. But I have not thought who was going to distribute it, because even the book distribution is a speciality of the commercial field. However, I did the utmost and I sold some copies to some book shops in the town. I lended a good part of them to my friend who had opened a book shop in Tirana, but I did not get any cent from him.”³⁹

Post scriptum

With the advent to power of communists in 1945, the situation of book selling in our country started to change. According to the “Statistical Annual Report 1988 in the PSR of Albania” compiled by the Department of Statistics of the State Planning Commision, Albania had 45 public libraries in 1988 with 4.019.000 books, i.e. 2 books per capita, without accounting here the personal libraries. Likewise, on national wide scale there were 2.262 houses¢ers of culture, most of which had also librazries. Near a good part of them there were also bookshops.

³⁸Është fjala për veprën e tij “Damjani himarjot” Reference is made to his book (Damjani from Himara)

³⁹Zamputi, Injac. “Kujtime”, Tiranë 2020, f. 191 (Memoirs, Tirana 2020, p.191)

After the '90 as it occurred all over Albania there was also a transformation in the destination of the books inherited by the past system. A part of them since they were created in state-owned premises which were returned to their owners and the rest since book handling was not any more economically speaking viable. Thus, the books ended up in kiosks or as a second hand activity of some mixed, mainly stationary stores. The state-owned enterprises of book distribution were shut down and for a long time there were no private distributors. This situation lasted until the year 2000, when efforts to establish some medium-sized bookstores restarted.

Today, the situation with the reception of Albanian literature and its horizon of expectations should become an urgent target of studies, if we want to have a more genuine history of Albanian literature, which would take into consideration the three basic factors: the author, the literary work and the reader.

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REVIEWS

On the publication:
Critical Reception of Kadare abroad
by Floresha DADO

The decision to publish these three volumes, in catalogue format, of the critical writings on Ismail Kadare's work extended over half a century in the European and world press, was taken by the publishing entity of the Academy of Sciences; on the belief that, the material included in them, represents an intellectual asset which is inseparable from the Albanian literary and cultural heritage.

For literature scholars, the beginnings of the globalization of Kadare's work is the publication of the French translation of *Gjenerali i ushtrisë së vdekur* (*The General of the Dead Army*) by the Paris publishing house *Albin Michel*, in 1970. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the Bulgarian translator, Marina Marinova, had translated this novel into Bulgarian shortly before the French publication, and therefore the Bulgarian readers were the first to be acquainted with Kadare.



The reception of Kadare in the West also began a few years before the French translation of *The General of the Dead Army*, with the Italian publication of the volume *Tre poetidell'Albania di oggi: Migjeni, Siliqi, Kadare* (*Three Poets of the Albania of Today: Migjeni, Siliqi, Kadare*), by Joyce Lussu in 1969. The laborious selection of the many articles dedicated to Kadare's work in foreign languages, carried out after a persevering work of many years by one of the authorities of the field of Kadare's critical readings, Professor BashkimKuçuku, is another major help in making the Albanian readership at least partially acquainted with the history of the global reception of Ismail Kadare, member of the Academy of Sciences of Albanian; a lack of information for reasons which could be easily presumed. The Albanian press provided readers with very scant information during the communist period, and only in those cases in which the foreign scholars' attitude towards Kadare's work was ideologically aligned with the official framework and goals of the Albanian authorities. It might be safely assumed that, apart from a very limited number of reviews, evaluations, and scholarly writings which foreigners have dedicated to Kadare's work during 1970-1990, the majority of them become known to the Albanian intellectual and literary circles only in the present publication. This also applies to the second period of Ismail Kadare's literary activity, after the year 1990, when the Albanian literary press became indifferent to a certain extent towards the continued interest about Kadare's work in Europe and all over the world.

The informative value of this publication should be emphasized, and it should be also mentioned that a history of Kadare's reception could never be written without first becoming fully aware of the reception it has had in over forty-five languages. Indeed, it is a known fact that the history of literature cannot be understood without taking into consideration the first reception of a literary work, something which conditions in a way, if not outright determines, the interaction between the writer and the reader.

Ismail Kadare's literary work now constitutes a global phenomenon, as it was pointed out by scholar Peter Morgan in the academic activities dedicated to the eightieth anniversary of our writer, and it is not an issue open for debate. His work is regularly studied at universities, and now there are several scholars who consider themselves "Kadareologues", and they are everywhere in the world; from Japan to Australia, from

Russia to China, from France to the United States, from Turkey to Brazil, in the Balkans and Europe. There are at least a hundred Master's and doctoral theses all over the world on Kadare, which have been defended or are underway.

It could be naturally assumed that Kadare's work should be historically positioned between two kinds of reading: the national and the foreign, in the native language and in the foreign languages. It is equally true that it has two primary languages: Albanian, as the language in which it was created, and French, as the language of international promotion. There have always been differences between the two readings and functions fulfilled by the two languages. Foreign scholars have seldom been acquainted with, and taken into account, the critical work of Albanian scholars, and vice versa.

The publication of the three-volume selected writings *Kadareja në kritikën botërore* (*Critical Reception of Ismail Kadare in the World*) will help Albanian studies in particular in tearing down this wall, so that the various readings and receptions may interact. Consequently, the criticism of Kadare's work will itself be enriched. This would also contribute to the enrichment of the Albanian cultural and intellectual storehouse. On the occasion of the publication of this voluminous collection of scholarly writings and reviews (around 2.500 writings from the international press), the Academy of Sciences of Albania expresses its gratitude to all those literary scholars and critics from all over the world who, through their dedication, have highlighted and featured the extraordinary merits of Kadare's prose; those who have confirmed the importance of the literary oeuvre of the Albanian writer not only on the local level, but also internationally. The publication of the present three-volume collection is also an homage to the translators of Ismail Kadare's work, whose numbers are fortunately increasing; furthermore, more people are now translating his work directly from the original Albanian. Ismail Kadare himself, in a meeting with translators of his work in 2016, elegantly asserted: "*You have devoted yourselves to a very peculiar language, a small language, and, probably, all of your life the authorities of this country will not be reminded of you, but you must be sure that, no matter what, the Albanian language will be eternally grateful for the role you are playing in transmitting into your native languages those literary messages that you deem worthy from the Albanian language.*"

With the publication of *Ismail Kadareja në kritikën botërore* (*Critical Reception of Ismail Kadare in the World*) the Academy of Sciences of Albania also expresses its special gratitude to our great writer, for the extraordinary importance his work has bestowed to the Albanian language, and for the international recognition of the most prominent values of our literature.

**La riabilitazione della reputazione del grande umanista albanese
Marino Barlezio.**

**A proposito dell'edizione del
*De bello scodrensi brevissimus libellus***

Lucia Nadin - Aurel Plasari, *Barleti i hershëm sipas një dorëshkrimi të panjohur*, Shtëpia Botuese Onufri, 2022, 289 f.

Il ritrovamento di un'opera ritenuta perduta, o di cui addirittura si ignorava l'esistenza, è un evento che costituisce motivo di grande compiacimento non solo per chi lo ha promosso, ma anche per i numerosi altri, in particolare gli studiosi, che potranno usufruire dei dati assicurati dalla nuova acquisizione. Di certo, con il rinvenimento della redazione manoscritta del *De bello scodrensibrevissimuslibellus* di Marino Barlezio (1450 ca. – 1512ca.) nella sezione dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi, si è avvantaggiata la storia della cultura storiografica albanese, venutasi ad arricchire di un prezioso e, come si dirà, decisivo testimone documentale.

La notizia della scoperta era stata comunicata già nel 2018, quando Lucia Nadin e Aurel Plasarine diedero in anteprima un rendiconto pubblicoscogliendo per l'occasione una ricorrenza oltremodo significativa: il 550° anniversario della scomparsa dell'eroe nazionale albanese Giorgio Castriota Scanderbeg, di cui proprio Barlezio è stato il primo e più importante biografo. Con la riproduzione anastatica del *brevissimuslibellus* recentemente apparsa per i tipi della casa editrice Onufri, si corona di successo la fase iniziale e decisiva di un importante progetto di studio che, come si potrà constatare, ha dovuto superare non poche difficoltà prima di raggiungere il formidabile approdo scientifico della pubblicazione. Da questo punto di vista, se non è superfluo precisare che l'esito della ricerca non è stato affatto casuale, è necessario ribadire, invece, che esso deve legittimamente considerarsi come la felice conclusione di un lungo e faticoso percorso nel cui alveo sono confluite le indagini erudito-bibliografiche condotte indipendentemente dai due illustri protagonisti della scoperta, le cui abilità e competenze, non comuni e mai fin troppo apprezzate, al pari della loro riconosciuta e

solida conoscenza dei principali temi e problemi storiografici del periodo più convulso della storia civile e culturale albanese, concedono un'ulteriore prova a beneficio dei successi che gli studi albanologici, se reiterati sulla base di questo modello, auspicabilmente potranno guadagnare in futuro. Il libro *Barleti i hershëm*, infatti, che è soltanto in ordine di tempo l'ultima preziosa testimonianza del collaudato sodalizio tra Lucia Nadin e Aurel Plasari, per un verso si configura come una luminosa dimostrazione dei vantaggi che la collaborazione scientifica assicura al progresso del sapere albanologico e, per un altro verso, si accredita come un paradigma multidisciplinare di cui le giovani generazioni di studiosi potranno avvalersi, trovandovi applicazioni euristiche rigorose di sicura affidabilità metodologica. Anche per queste ragioni è da elogiare la decisione assunta dall'Accademia delle Scienze d'Albania di sostenere le spese di stampa dell'edizione in lingua italiana del libro *La guerra di Scutari, da un manoscritto sconosciuto di Marino Barlezio*, pubblicazione che apparirà verso la fine del corrente anno. In tal modo, se con l'edizione albanese la fama del grande umanista scutarino è stata ricondotta nel suo Paese d'origine, con quella italiana viene idealmente ricondotta in quello che lo ospitò in un momento cruciale della storia dei due paesi bagnati dall'Adriatico.

L'individuazione della collocazione dell'opera manoscritta di Barlezio, si diceva, non è stata agevole e, anzi, ha costituito la prima ardua sfida che ha impegnato Lucia Nadin e Aurel Plasari in una serrata analisi critica della documentazione disponibile. Lo scopo era quello di dipanare la complessa e intricata rete composta da rimandi in atti privati e da citazioni bibliografiche, di sceverare criticamente la miriade di informazioni, a volte contraddittorie e a volte confuse, rese in diversi e distanti momenti storici, infine di risalire alle ragioni che, invece di agevolare il ritrovamento del manoscritto, hanno finito per ingenerare ipotesi fuorvianti o del tutto infondate, sino a provocarne non solo l'oblio increscioso prolungatosi sino ai giorni nostri, ma anche il grave ritardo di una revisione storiografica tanto opportuna quanto urgente. Basterebbero queste motivazioni per affermare che il recupero del *brevissimus libellus* alla memoria della comunità degli storici è motivo di plauso unanime, pari soltanto al notevole contributo di chiarificazione che, squarciando la fitta nebbia che inverosimilmente lo ha avvolto, ha permesso ai due

illustri studiosi risalire alle origini delle interpretazioni controverse – chesenza tema di smentita possiamo definire errate – a causa delle quali una lunga teoria di storici di ieri e di oggi, a volte basandosi su suggestioni effimere e altre volte in valutazioni non suffragate dalla necessaria documentazione, senza soluzione di continuità non solo ha seminato dubbisull’originalità e sull’autenticità del primo lavoro storiografico che Barlezio mandò al torchio con il titolo di *De obsidiones codrensi*, ma anche insinuato blandi sospetti sulla sua identità, sul suo profilo intellettuale di storiografo e sulla sua integrità morale di storico, giungendo persino a diffidare sul suo ruolo di testimone oculare dei fatti occorsi durante il celebre assedio sofferto dalla sua città natale conclusosi con la vergognosa resa di Scutari.

Ora, senza voler ripercorrere gli argomenti che gli autori del libro espongono con dovizia di dati, è appena il caso di dedicare qualche osservazione a una questione filologica cruciale che è stata a lungo dibattuta e che il *brevissimus libellus* aiuta a dirimere in modo definitivo. Com’è noto, al centro della *querelle* che ha riguardato la figura e l’opera di Barlezio vi erano le convergenze testuali, tanto oggettive quanto singolari, tra il *De obsidione* e il *Panegirycus* che lo scutarino Marino Becichemi (1468 ca. – 1526), contemporaneo del suo concittadino sebbene di qualche anno più giovane, riuscì a pubblicare ben due volte: la prima in un’edizione venuta alla luce presso la stamperia di Angelo Britannico di Brescia, priva di datazione e presumibilmente risalente alla seconda metà del 1504, se non addirittura al 1505, come lasciano supporre le date in calce alle due lettere dedicatorie poste alla fine del libro; la seconda nel 1506, quest’ultima presso l’opificio tipografico di Bernardino de Vitali, editore di origini albanesi che ebbe in sorte di stampare anche le due principali opere di Barlezio. L’incertezza sulla data della prima edizione ha costituito uno scoglio filologico insormontabile giacché nel tentativo di offrire una plausibile spiegazione ai “prestiti testuali”, come ebbe modo di definirli Francisc Pall (1911-1992) in un suo celebre saggio giovanile, fu necessario postulare che la stesura del *Panegirycus* doveva rimontare a un periodo precedente la pubblicazione del *De obsidione*, che com’è risaputo apparve il 10 gennaio 1504. Il tutto scaturito dalla convinzione pregiudizievole che una personalità come quella di Becichemi, celebre tra gli umanisti del suo tempo grazie all’illustre carriera accademica e agli apprezzati lavori

retoricisui classici latini, giammai avrebbe potuto contraffare la sua opera. Sicché per lo storico rumeno e per i suoiepigoni è stato giocoforza attribuire a Barlezio la responsabilità delle imitazioni. Trascurando in questa sede di analizzare i dettagli della ricostruzione filologica di Pall, è il caso di rilevare che proprio da questa impostazione logico-deduttiva è discesa la soluzione strabiliante del problema della datazione del *Panegyricus*, la cui stesuravenne arretrata *ad hoc* al 1503 e la sua stampa, al massimo, alla fine di quell'anno. Il punto di forza di tale ipotesi erano le poche, marginali e insignificanti convergenze tra il *Panegyricus* l'*oratio* che Becichemi lesse il 30 luglio 1503 davanti al Senato di Brescia. Tanto fu sufficiente per "dimostrare" che il *Panegyricus* risaliva necessariamente a un periodo antecedente l'edizione del *De obsidione*, dovendosi comprovare *a fortiori*, come appare evidente, che fosse l'opera di Barlezio, e non quella di Becichemi, minata nella sua autenticità.

È questo uno di quei casi eclatanti nei quali il principio epistemologico galileiano viene tradito dall'impossibilità di verificare le ipotesi teoriche con dimostrazioni inoppugnabili e oggettive – lo scienziato pisano le avrebbe definite "esperienziali" –, le stesse che il ritrovato *brevissimus libellus* mette a nostra disposizione permettendo di ribaltare le errate valutazioni nel frattempo sedimentatesi, di ripristinare la verità deifatti, di ricomporre una sana storia della tradizione storiograficae, infine, di restituire a Marino Barlezio i meriti che gli spettano.

Grazie all'accurata analisi testuale, alla discussione dei rimandi intertestuali e alla puntuale ricostruzione del contesto storico Nadin e Plasariacclarano che la stesura del manoscritto parigino rimonta in anni antecedenti la supposta edizione del 1503 del *Panegyricus* e, più precisamente, a un periodo collocabile tra il biennio 1498-1499 e il 1501, i due termini *post* e *ante quem*che registrarono, rispettivamente, gli anni della recrudescenza dei conflitti trala Serenissima e i Turchi e l'anno di morte del doge Agostino Barbarigo (3 giugno 1419 – 20 settembre 1501), dedicatario del *De bello scodrensi*.

Barlezio, come precisano i due studiosi, probabilmente scrisse la sua opera con l'intento esplicito di esortare il Senato veneziano e il suo Doge a perseverare nella politica di contrasto dell'avanzata ottomana proprio in un periodo in cui la Serenissima subiva ripetute sconfitte. La

circolazione del testo manoscritto, che non giunse alla stampa, dovette essere piuttosto ampia, come dimostrano le citazioni recuperate dallo studio propedeutico delle fonti. Nulla esclude e, anzi, è agevolmente ipotizzabile che Becichemi possa averlo letto e fatto l'uso di cui si è detto, suscitando la legittima reazione di Barlezio che decise di pubblicare immediatamente, questa volta ricorrendo alla stampa tipografica, una nuova versione aggiornata del suo originario *De bello scodrensi*, modificandone il titolo in *De obsidiones codrensi*.

Non v'è dubbio che se Francisc Pall e altri studiosi di vaglia avessero avuto conoscenza di questi dati di contesto e, soprattutto, se avessero avuto a loro disposizione il manoscritto parigino i loro giudizi critici si sarebbero avvalsi di ben altre congetture e, di certo, ben altro corso avrebbe seguito il loro pur meritorio sforzo di riscrivere una pagina tanto decisiva della storia dell'umanesimo albanese in terra italiana. Va infine precisato, qualora ce ne fosse ancora bisogno, che una piena conferma dell'attribuzione di paternità delle due opere, rispettivamente del *De bello scodrensi* e del *De obsidiones codrensi*, proviene dalle collazioni testuali, le quali in modo paradigmatico disperdono anche le più residue incertezze e accordano a Marino Barlezio il merito indiscusso di aver fondato la storiografia albanese.

La figura dello storico umanista scutarino, così come tratteggiata nel saggio introduttivo, appare non solo nitida e per più ragioni interessante, ma anche in perfetta simbiosi con il contesto storico e culturale della città che lo aveva accolto insieme a numerosi altri esuli albanesi e balcanici in fuga dalle guerre. Le meticolose indagini archivistiche condotte negli ultimi anni da Lucia Nadin e da Aurel Plasari hanno arricchito la nostra conoscenza di un'epoca storica attraversata da cambiamenti radicali nella cultura, nell'economia, nella politica, nelle relazioni tra le popolazioni inter-adriatiche. Venezia e i suoi territori non solo accolsero i loro fedeli alleati costretti ad abbandonare le proprie città cadute in mani nemiche, ma seppe sviluppare illuminate politiche dell'accoglienza e favorire la creazione di sistemi avanzati per l'integrazione dei cospicui nuclei di genti straniere che vi risiedevano. A differenza di quanto accadeva contemporaneamente nelle regioni più meridionali della Penisola italiana, dove le prime fasi del convulso processo migratorio di consistenti gruppi di migranti balcanici, perlopiù albanesi, si conclusero

con la predilezione di forme di inurbamento in piccoli e isolati centri rurali medievali abbandonati che ritardòdi almeno un paio di secoli la nascita e l'affermazione di una élite intellettuale arbëreshe, nei territori della Serenissima e, in particolare, a Venezia l'inserimento dell'elemento straniero albanese, che pure fu impiegato per ripopolare aree paludose e insalubri o addirittura per contrastare le offensive ottomane nei confini del Friuli, favorì la costituzione di un ceto culturalmente piuttosto vivace che riuscì a partecipare in modo attivo alla vita sociale, economica, culturale e, in qualche modo, politica dell'imponente città lagunare e dei suoi territori.

Nel corso del secolo che va dalla fondazione della *Scuola degli Albanesi* (1442-1448) alla pubblicazione della traduzione in albanese del *Messale* eseguita da Giovanni Buzuku (1554-1555), i conterranei di Scanderbeg mostrarono uno straordinario attaccamento alla propria lingua, alla propria identità culturale, al proprio paese, delle cui sorti non smisero mai di interessarsi. In molti contribuirono a mantenere desta l'attenzione verso quel martoriato Paese che per un quarto di secolo era riuscito a trattenere il dilagare dei temibili Turchi. Tra questi vi fu anche Marino Barlezio, la cui vita in esilio fu scandita da una faticosa ma inarrestabile ascesa sociale, dalle occasionali attività commerciali dei primi anni, agli studi successivi conclusisi con il sacerdozio e, infine, alla pubblicazione di due opere di impareggiabile valore storiografico che ebbero il merito indiscusso di innalzare un monumento di imperitura memoria europea alla sua città natale e al suo eroe Scanderbeg. Oggi la figura di Barlezio, recuperata magistralmente alla nostra conoscenza grazie ai nuovi dati archivistici portati alla luce da Lucia Nadin e Aurel Plasari, può ben considerarsi un prototipo ragguardevole dell'intellettuale albanese militante vissuto sul crinale della transizione tra l'epoca del tardo umanesimo e l'alba del primo rinascimento. E di ciò il libro *Barleti i hershëm* ne è una icastica rappresentazione.

Matteo Mandalà,

Hora e Arbëreshëvet, settembre 2023

Foundations of literary theory”: a brief genetic history of Jakov Xoxa's contribution to the literary theory
(by Shaban Sinani)

The least known in Jakov Xoxa's intellectual and creative activity is its research part. Written for a decade and a half in the form of school texts, lectures and university publications, it was incorporated neither in the publication of his complete work in Pristina (in eight volumes, 1971) nor in Tirana (in six volumes, 1983).

Actually, all the reasons to include it were there, as it was the case with the *essays and publications of the complete literary work of Ismail Kadare and Dritëro Agolli*. However, at least two of the titles with research character of his work: *Introduction to the science of literature and the bases of the theory of literature* were published and republished by universities and other reputable publishing entities, besides its circulation in the entire historic Albanian space, in Kosovo and in Macedonia.

A unliterary cause for the non-publication of Jakov Xoxa's *complete work* may relate to the fact that out of modesty, he has not mentioned his name as author in the front cover of university and school texts books. Nevertheless, their scientific value and practical usefulness were esteemed long ago as *undoubtful*. In 1979, in the writings *in honorem*, Xoxa was portrayed as a well-prepared professor, who left traces with the way he conceived literature & *tradition and with his exceptionally high theoretical level* (R. Ismajli, *Takime me Jakovin, në Fjala*, Prishtinë 15 mars 1979, f. 3) (Encounters with Jakov at “Fjala” in Pristina, 15 March 1979, page 3).

Even in those rare cases when Jakov Xoxa's study work was consulted in later researches it was praised *as one of the first and most serious works of that time in this area*, acknowledging his merit in providing *wide - reaching literary knowledge and theoretical experience, which went beyond the frames of the official contemporary theories*; he was the first intellectual who proposed to separate *literary criticism and to stage discussions on issues of stylistics and metrics*

(Griselda Doko, “*Lumi i vdekur*” di Jakov Xoxa: romanzo di un’identità ritrovata, Università della Calabria, p. 59).

There are precisely two of his most important research works, *Hyrje në shkencën e letërsisë dhe Bazat e teorisë së letërsisë* (Introduction to literature and the Bases of the theory of literature) by the University publications in Tirana and in Pristina, which have served several generations in their scientific training for over two decades; since they have become a book rarity, now it is the last chance to save them through photo-typical publications and re-introduce in *scientific circulation*. This could explain why in some case, while consulting research papers that were possible to be found in the form of mimeographed lectures (dispensa) it was presumed that this work, important as it is for the Albanian literary science and which has exceeded the frame boundaries of official theories of that time - *Bazat e teorisë së letërsisë* – (*Bases of the theory of literature*) was never published, because official criticism was not comfortable with his beliefs, with the vision with which Jakov Xoxa viewed and projected arts by and large (Flori Bruqi, *Diademë letrare - kritikë, gjuhësi, pikëpamje, poezi*, II, Tiranë 2014, p. 217 – Literary diadema – criticism, linguistics, views, poetry, II Tirana, 2014, p. 217). One may go even further with the following affirmation: as his works were not allowed to be published by the Albanian state, it was “*Rilindja*” that did this in 1971 (*Gjuhë dhe letërsi shqipe, tekst mësimor për klasën XII të shkollës së mesme, Prishtinë – Albanian language & literature, teaching text for the 12th class of the high school, Pristina*).

In fact, reconstructing a *genetic record* of the university textbook “*Bases of the theory of literature*” (*Bazat e teorisë së letërsisë*) in the form of lectures and brochures reproduced by mimeographs (dispensa) pending the independent approval by the scientific councils of both universities, in Tirana and in Pristina (apart from a publication in Tetovë by the Macedonian Publishing House *Napredak*) had become a “Must” from the very beginning. Because in the period between, for over more than a decade there were no other publications depicting the evolution of Jakov Xoxa’s theoretical & literary thought on the internal laws of literary development, on its major methods and aspects, the order of their appearance in the national and world history, the creative principles (including those of Socialist Realism), prosody and metrics, on style and pragmatics, the literary genres, devices and figures.

A genetic record of the road for the realization of Jakov Xoxa's two most important works for the theory and science of literature would also require consultancy and comparison among textbooks for general secondary and professional schools; one he drafted it alone while the next with other co-authors, although this remains to be fixed in the future, when it will be possible to find these texts, which actually becomes ever more difficult to believe and achieve.

Jakov Xoxa was assigned to teach the *theory of literature in 1957, i.e. the first year of the founding of the University of Tirana*. Until he started this job, he had published over 20 writing pieces on literature and the same number or even more critical reviews and research articles during the period 1957-1972.

He compiled the Course of the Theory of Literature and made it available to the students within five years. In 1963 he published for the first time the textbook *Hyrje në shkencën e letërsisë (Introduction to the science of literature)* for the State University of Tirana. To satisfy the teaching needs, this textbook was republished twice with additions by the State University of Tirana, in 1967 and in 1969 (the latter with 259 pages). In the meantime, three mimeographed brochures on this subject were published in the form of a trilogy: *Hyrje në letërsi, Teoria e letërsisë dhe Metrika (Introduction to literature, Theory of Literature and Metrics 260 pages)* in harmony with the scheduled structure of the subject "Albanian language and literature". In 1965 Xoxa published the text *Teoria e letërsisë dhe stilistikë – Theory of literature and stylistics* (theoretical and practical course) which was qualified as *academic text*.

Our researches on its publication *a parte* show that this text is not preserved in any of our university libraries where it was expected to be; however, it is likely that it is preserved in the personal libraries of the students of that epoch. Even two titles that are preserved, in technical terms they are *copies for archives*; they cannot exit their preserved fund and may re-enter into circulation only through photo-typical publications. The same applies to the university textbook dating back to '1960 entitled *Teoria e letërsisë (Theory of Literature)* with the subtitle *Stilistika – Stylistics* (theoretical and practical course).

Actually, the book *Introduction to the science of literature* was published under the same title in Pristina from 1970 until the year 1976, which marks its final publication. The first one was launched in parallel

by the *University of Pristina together with the entity of textbooks and teaching aids* of the Region.

It is very likely that even two manuscripts entitled *Hyrje në teorinë e letërsisë - Introduction to the theory of literature* which are preserved in the archives of the Institute of Language and Literature (the first with 115 printed and the second with 147 printed pages) belong to Jakov Xoxa's history-literary legacy.

After its last publication, i.e. *Introduction to the science of literature (Hyrja në shkencën e letërsisë)* in Tirana in 1969, in Pristina and in Tetovë in 1970) there were polemics and disaccords. *Its author was sharply criticized by the system of that time and so, without glamour and noise, as he was during his entire life, calm and locked in himself Jakov Xoxa retreated in total loneliness* (Griselda Doko, *ibid*).

It was evident that Jakov Xoxa picked up most of illustrations for literary devices from traditional literature. Meanwhile, Albanian researchers in Kosovo have continuously described him as a *realistic and pure realistic writer*, without ideological epithets (I. Rugova, *Pure realist of a great realism*, in *Fjala*, Pristina, no. 6, 15 March 1979, p. 7). It was not accidental that the great *official "freeze" with Jakov Xoxa* happened immediately after the reform on education was launched in 1968, which accentuated the ideologization of school & university texts and programs that were permeated through by the "*red Marxist - Leninist thread*". Jakov Xoxa's theoretical & literary thought, as well as his realistic work went beyond the boundaries of *theoretical formulations, canonical taboos, exaggerated restrictions*, thus remaining a testimony to the fact that the great works may be achieved even without "drowning" into the waters of *unconditional novelties* (Mehmet Kraja, *Jakov Xoxa - in memoriam*, in *Rilindja*, Pristina, 3 march 1979, p. 14).

While referring to the issue of extremely complicated relationship between Jakov Xoxa's work and the *typical & atypical*, especially in relation to the novel "*Lumi i vdekur*" (*The dead river*), we have had the chance to express some "ancient" views in the article *Mendime mbi tipiken në romanet e J. Xoxës (Viewpoints on the typical in Jakov Xoxa's novels)* in the Newspaper "*Studenti*" (22 may, p. 5-7), including the question whether *the Marxist definition on the conditionality between characters and circumstances, under the formulation of the renowned letter that Friedrich Engles had addressed to writer Margaret Harkness:*

realism, to my mind, implies, besides truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances, had in its essence the meaning of placing characters in typical circumstances or sub-circumstances, assuming objective determinism in the human personality.

It is this official distrust based on ideological grounds against the author that could explain why the publication of the three volumes in 1972 *Bazat e teorisë së letërsisë*, (The basis of the theory of literature) based on his previous texts has appeared as a work of three authors: Jakov Xoxa, Neki Lezha and Palokë Kraja. Neki Lezha at that time was a young teacher in the Pedagogical Institute in Shkodra. Whereas Palokë Kraja, who was graduated in Soviet Union for literature, widely known as a silent and very hard working man at that time was just transferred from Tirana and was posted as a literature teacher in Shkodra; apparently, given also his Russian knowledge, he was invited to work together with Jakov Xoxa on this text. Kraja is even today an almost unknown figure. As far as we have been able to verify, the most quoted volume which bears Jakov Xoxa's name is the second one; its target is the most technical side of science and literature: *literary devices and metrics*.

In this publication, the full title of the work was completed with a definition *for higher schools*, giving an all-inclusive status to *the University of Tirana* and to all the country's pedagogical institutes where literature was studied.

The Bases of theory of literature as a publication of the University of Pristina does not have any distinction with that of Tirana University, except for the cautious avoidance of mentioning Enver Hoxha's name, apparently for the sake of *ideological correctness*.

After this double – folded avoidance: “fortifying” his own work with two supportive authors and predestining it as an area of further work for *terminological explanations*, Jakov Xoxa was not engaged anymore with literary researches. Moreover, he discontinued even the publication of critical articles in the press.

The re-publication of this book in Pristina seemed to warn the danger of averting it as a teaching text in Tirana, while in Pristina it continued to be considered official until '1980. There are three publications of the “Bases of the theory of literature” that are quoted: a

single -volume with nearly 190 pages, apparently the part by Jakov Xoxa and separated from the whole, a three - volume publication in Tirana with nearly 500 pages and the publication in four volumes in Pristina in 1972 which we could not know.

The only work by Jakov Xoxa without other authors during '1970 is *Fjalor i termave të letërsisë* (titulli në origjinal: *Terminologjia e letërsisë*) - Dictionary of literary terms (original title: Terminology of literature), with 119 pages, part of a paradigmatic initiative by Androkli Kostallari (until that time with 15 volumes) and published by the Institute of Language and Literature. As contemporary researchers have particularly pointed out (from those rare researchers who have dealt with his work) *the definitions of the basic language and literary devices - metaphors, metonymy of synecdoche up to the devices of emotional expression* (irony, sarcasm, ridicule) as they come across in Jakov Xoxa's works have a clear explanatory value and the *necessary didactic functions* (Niazi Xhaferaj, *Vështrim i figurave stilistike në traditën shqiptare dhe në trajtimet bashkëkohore*, Fakulteti i Historisë dhe Filologjisë, Universiteti i Tiranës – Overview of stylistic figures in the Albanian tradition and in the contemporary contributions, Faculty of History and Philology in Tirana

Shaban Sinani
Tiranë, 29 April 2023

Stefan ÇAPALIKU
« I am from Albania », Tirana 2005

À peine quelques mois à ce poste, et voilà que les invitations pour participer à des réunions officielles à l'étranger m'arrivent au même moment que mes trucs... Mes règles, quoi...

Le premier jour, tout particulièrement, je devrais interrompre mes réunions pour aller aux toilettes et me changer. Vous imaginez, en pleine réunion, je me sens toute mouillée, là... ! Je dois me coller un beau sourire, me lever et sortir avec mon sac, celui où il y a les tampons.

Dix minutes plus tard, je reviens dans la salle avec le même sourire et mon ami autrichien doit se pousser pour me laisser passer. C'est un vieux monsieur sympathique, c'est la première personne que j'ai connue. Par hasard. On nous a mis sur des chaises côte à côte. C'est comme ça, par ordre alphabétique : Albanie, Autriche, Biélorussie, Belgique, Bulgarie, et ainsi de suite.

Et c'est pareil cette fois encore. Je ne comprends plus, là. Ou j'ai les règles les plus irrégulières au monde, ou alors le Conseil de l'Europe organise ses réunions du Comité de protection de l'environnement d'après mon cycle menstruel.

« Trilogia Albanica », Éditions L'Espace d'un instant, 2017,
 traduit de l'albanais par Anna Couthure-Idrizi)

Vœux d'Europe? Assurément. Le fragment ci-dessus, tiré du monologue théâtral « I am from Albania » (2005), dit cependant tout et son contraire au sujet d'une Europe de nations qui peine à sortir de ses carcans bureaucratiques et que Çapaliku, dans son essai « Effleurer l'Europe sans jamais l'atteindre » (Vers l'Europe ? Éditions Meet, 2018),



considère comme « une invention de l'esprit », tout en se considérant lui-même, dans son aventure européenne, une sorte de Palinure moderne – l'habile barreur de l'Énéide, trompé par les dieux – destiné à être sacrifié afin que son peuple puisse un jour arriver à bon port.

Le passage cité rend surtout compte d'une propriété essentielle à la création artistique de Stefan Çapaliku : l'œuvre de Çapaliku s'inscrit toute entière sous le signe du paradoxe. Sans jamais tomber dans la provocation facile, Çapaliku mobilise le redoutable potentiel du paradoxe au service d'une œuvre centrée sur l'examen critique de la société albanaise contemporaine. Il affirme notamment que la matière esthétique de ses œuvres provient « de la même source qui m'a nourri depuis mes débuts : une recherche dans le vide, dans notre grand vide social ». Cette recherche s'avère assez douloureuse au niveau du ressenti personnel de l'auteur, dans la mesure où la notion même du patriotisme, tellement à l'honneur dans les Balkans, est mise en question de façon radicale mais existentielle :

*çka të baj me ty dashni për vendin tim
të t'kapërdij
të t'nxjerr në pshtymoren e klinikës së protezave
çka të baj me ty
më ke mbetë në fyt e s'jam as ai që t'kapërdij
as ai që t'pështyj
je halë gjidande e ngulun
ndër korda t'zanit tem mashkullor*

*que faire de toi amour de ma patrie
t'avalier
t'éjecter sur le crachoir de la clinique des prothèses
que faire de toi
tu m'es resté à travers la gorge je ne puis t'avalier
ni même te recracher
tu es une arête géante plantée
sur les cordes de mon discours viril*

Né à Shkodra en 1965, diplômé en 1988 en langue et littérature, pour ensuite être converti, par goût et vocation personnelles, en professeur d'arts et d'esthétiques modernes, Stefan Çapaliku s'impose dès le début des années quatre-vingt-dix comme un créateur polyvalent. Il s'illustre presque dans tous les domaines de la création artistique, aussi bien en poésie (Asgjë më shumë se kaq s'ka ndodhë, Il ne s'est rien passé de plus, 1993 ; Kohë e ndalur, Temps figé, 1994 ; Fjalë për fjalë, Mot pour mot, 2000), que dans le domaine du récit (Tregime për Anën, Récits sur Anna, 2002), du roman (Kronikë në lindje, 1996, Quelqu'un de passage ; Secili çmendet simbas mënyrës së vet, en trois volumes, 2016-2019, Chacun s'affole à sa manière (un premier volume publié en France en 2018) ; Virusi më përndjek, Le virus à mes trousses, 2020).

Çapaliku brille aussi dans le domaine de l'essai littéraire ou celui de la recherche (Fishta satirik, Fishta le satirique, 1995 ; Letersia e interpretuar, La littérature interprétée, 1998 ; I vetëm në Europë, Seul en Europe, 2005 ; Estetika moderne, L'Esthétique moderne, 2006), et surtout au théâtre, avec une trentaine de pièces écrites et/ou portées sur scène, dont la Trilogia Albanica, 2015 (publiée en France en 2017), en passant par le documentaire cinématographique et l'installation.

Auteur postmoderne dans une Albanie postcommuniste, Çapaliku touche à tous les genres, en les mélangeant savamment et savoureusement, particulièrement dans son théâtre. Aussi, il ne parlera jamais de drame, de comédie ou de tragédie, leur préférant le jeu dramatique, le drame comique, le caprice, la comédie noire, ou tout simplement la pièce lyrique. Ses romans ne suivent généralement pas le fil d'histoire d'un personnage donné, la narration regroupe plutôt des scènes juxtaposées faisant sens pour elles-mêmes et pour le récit auquel elles apportent sa cohérence.

Le travail de Çapaliku, par ailleurs, essaie de cerner de plus près l'incohérence sociale de la période dite de transition démocratique à l'albanaise. A cette fin, ses créations multiplient humour noir et paradoxe, censés rendre intelligible une réalité brouillée par le discours populiste et les médias compatissant. Dans son premier roman *Kronikë në lindje*, c'est un fœtus qui apprend l'humanité aux hommes. Dans le suivant, *Secili çmendet simbas mënyrës së vet*, la vie sous la dictature est tout sauf blanc et noir, victimes et bourreaux partageant des quolibets en regardant ensemble, dans l'unique télé qui leur est accessible, les

premiers pas d'Armstrong sur la lune. Ailleurs, (Mbaje derën hapur, Laisse la porte ouverte), une actrice très aimée finit ses vieux jours en soliloque, abandonnée par ses propres filles parties en émigration. Dans une autre pièce, (Një engjëll në katin e njëmbëdhjetë, Un ange au onzième étage), on rencontre un témoin du Jéhovah faisant du porte-à-porte pour vendre sa foi en Dieu. Et on se rend compte que les grands médias nationaux racontent tout sauf ce qui se passe de sérieux dans le pays (XXL TV, 2014, La Télé XXL). Parfois, le paradoxe scintille dans le titre même de l'ouvrage, à l'instar d'Allegretto Albania, une comédie noire n'ayant rien d'allègre, sinon son ironie percutante.

Suivre l'œuvre de Çapaliku dans toute sa diversité rend compte d'un dernier paradoxe : il est parfois stimulant pour un artiste de vivre dans un pays où la réalité peut à tout moment virer à l'in vraisemblable, pour ne pas dire au cauchemar, comme ce fut le cas en 1997 lorsque la crise de l'économie rentière fit sombrer le pays dans l'anarchie totale. Çapaliku, tout de même, y trouve son compte en tant que créateur protéiforme, en nous offrant une œuvre authentique, riche en situations inédites et en surprises garanties.

Ardian MARASHI

CHRONICLE

Academic lecture:
Kur'an-i, the holy scriptures of Islam and Islam in Europe,
 academic lecture
 given by prof. Roberto TOTTOLI

On 16 march 2023, in the framework of the Centenary of the Congress of Tirana and the proclamation of the independence of the Albanian Muslim Community, a special event was hosted in cooperation between the Academy of Sciences of Albania and the University of Naples "L'Orientale". On the occasion of this significant day in the history of the Albanian Muslim Community, Professor Roberto Tottoli held the academic lecture "Kur'an-i, the Holy Scriptum of Islam and Islam in Europe".



In his opening remarks, Academician Shaban Sinani, Scientific Secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Albania said the following in the audience with academic personalities, representatives of Albania's religious communities and the Diplomatic Corps:

The lecture by Prof. Roberto Tottoli, Rector of the University of Naples "L'Orientale", Corresponding Member of the "Accademia dei Lincei", Member of the European Academy of Sciences and Member of the Academy "Ambrosiana" of Milan, an internationally recognized

expert in the study of Islam and Kuran is an historico-scientific overview on the presence, originally of manuscripts and translations of Kur'an-, its European receptiveness of culture and afterwards also of Islam as one of the three Abrahamic faiths in Europe together with Christianity and Hebraism. This lecture is presented exactly on the Centenary of the Congress of Tirana, the congress that proclaimed the independence of the Albanian Muslim Community from its world headquarters and sultan's caliphate, as an event that together with the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church and the restoration of the Bektasian Order in Tirana did also serve the independence of the Albanian state.

Through his lecture "Kur'an-i, the Holy Scriptum of Islam and Islam in Europe", Profesor Tottoli shared with the participants of this event important facts and information on the first translations of sacred islamic texts and Kuran in Europe.

The history of translations of Kuran, as Prof. Tottoli highlighted, started in the 16th century. First, Kuran was translated into latin. However, an important change occurred when Kuran was translated for the first time in the italian language by Gian Battista Castrodardo and it was published in Venice in 1547 by the Arrivabene press. Likewise, he stressed the significance of Humanism and European Renaissance for the widespread of arab teaching and the study of islam. In the centuries following the Renaissance, the interest on Kuran and Islam gradually grew up, with a view to better know this religion.

The lecture by Prof. Tottoli raised a number of current issues influencing the relations between Islam and Europe in the 21st century. It helps the deep understanding of the history of interaction among cultures and in bolstering the esteem for the heritage of religious cultures in Albania and beyond.

This lecture marked an important contribution to the reflection on the significance of faith and inter-religious relations in an open and unified soiety. Meanwhile, on the day of the Centenary of the Congress of Tirana and the Independence of the Albanian Muslim Community, this exceptional event will remain in the memory of those who are present, as an important step towards a better comprehension of different cultures and faiths.

At the end of the event, an interesting discussion followed among those present and Prof. Tottoli.

***“Diary of Transition”,
a book series in 8 volumes by academician Anastas ANGJELI,
a publication of the Academy of Sciences of Albania.***

For the first time, a book series in 8 volumes with a compendium of economic studies and analyses was launched on 11 April 2023 in the Academy of Sciences of Albania. This octology bears the fruits of the work of Academician Anastas Angjeli. With a scientific synthesis of economic occurrences in Albania during the interval of the last 30 years, the author is undoubtedly one of the most prominent scholars in the field of economy and in that of finances, in particular.



The President of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Dr. Skënder Gjinushi, gave his assessment stating that: *This Octology, or the Diary refers to an unprecedented period in the economy of Albanian history - that of transition. Its author has always been alternatively protagonist and opponent in these developments and in the intensive and special reforms unfolded during this period. He knows from close at hand the economic grounds, the political trends and the specific interests affecting solutions, choices, reforms or the measures adopted for years on end.*

In her address, the Special Guest in this event, Deputy President of the Academy of Sciences of Kosovo, Academician Justina Pulaj-Shiroka highlighted that in his publications, Acad. Angjeli *reflects prosperous knowledge on reforms and social & economic developments in Albania.*

For the author himself, Acad. Anastas Angjeli, the octology “Diary of Transition” contains an account of several working years. As such, it

may be a manual of our latest history, identifying the destinies of all Albanians, both with their expectations and disappointments, and “a parade” with the portraits of all those who have governed this country in more than 30 post-communist years. Then, he spoke on the road traversed by the 8 volumes of the “Diary of transition”. He said that this book series emanated from his personal obligation to leave footprints in the history of transition and offer some more information to young generations, researchers and students on the reforms and processes that have taken place in our country.

The octology “Diary of transition” had a very positive bearing on the participants at this event - academics, representatives from banks, the Ministry of Education, intellectuals, professors and representatives from media community, who commended this book as a response to the challenges which the Albanian economy has been facing during transition.

This event continued with a series of discussions, expanding in this way the perception on the picture of Albanian economy.

International Scientific Conference “New challenges for Albanology nowadays”,

(Shkodër, May 25, 26, 2023)

“What are the major challenges for Albanology in the present time?” Answers to this and many other questions were given in the Conference hosted by the University of Shkodra “Luigj Gurakuqi” in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of Albania and 36 researchers of Albanology. This two - day Conference held on 25-26 May addressed some of the current major concerns of Albanology - its perception in the context of European culture, its epistemologic significance, archaeological prospects and writing patterns in the Albanological studies, Albanological studies in Middle Ages, the role of language dialects in the standard language and vice versa, rewriting history, literary researches in Albanology and the contribution of eminent albanologists in Albanian studies.



This Conference was held immediately after the signing of the Agreement of Cooperation between the two institutions and in the framework of the special importance that the Academy of Sciences of Albania attaches to Albanological studies, with the priority on researches in archaeology, identity, language, history and Albanian literature.

In his greeting remarks, the President of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, Academician Skënder Gjinushi laid the emphasis on the concerns related to the unequal development in higher education;

although regulated under a special law, it is without status and clear obligations for scientific research, which today is translated as the cause for its demotivation. Acad. Gjinushi went on stating the following:

The enactment of the new Law on Science which is under way will regulate the whole academic system, providing opportunities for the parallel promotion of scientific studies in all research and scientific institutions.

The University of Shkodra 'Luigj Gurakuqi', as an institution of knowledge, ranking among the most important for higher education in Albania has expressed its keen interest and willingness to continue hosting international conferences and launching different publications, which serve the strengthening of relations between the two institutions; they do also foster the scientific work on the issues of Albanology and other specific topics related to language and contributions by writers and researchers who have been addressing these issues for centuries.

The Rector of the University of Shkodra, Prof. Dr. Suzana Golemi congratulated all researchers and teachers who became part of this international scientific conference. She thanked, in particular, the President of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, Acad. Skënder Gjinushi, who instantly after signing the above-mentioned agreement entrusted the University of Shkodra "Luigj Gurakuqi with co-hosting this international scientific conference.

Then, the Scientific Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Acad. Shaban Sinani, emphasized that during the last three decades the epistemologic status of Albanology, as a paradigmatic science has undergone many changes. For the first time, it is accepted the terminologic existence of Albanology as knowledge of self-recognition, as a local science separate from the Albanology of the other, as an entirety of studies for Albanians in European schools and centers and beyond. Acad. Sinani described the road of Albanology, founded as a cultural colonialist and post-colonialist science in the century of romanticism and exotism; it became a science with subject matters and methods, with disciplines and laws from the Austrian-German school and that in the second half of the 20th century, foreign and local Albanologists maintained contacts largely through congresses and conferences. In the last three decades, thanks to its de-ideologisation, the

natural contacts have resumed and now there are endeavours for the international networking of Albanological centers.

The Head of the Section of Social and Albanological Sciences to the Academy of Sciences of Albania, Acad. Asoc. Gëzim Hoxha gave a summary of the theses and countertheses on the Illyrian origin of Albanians, defining it as a historic fundamental problematic, which marks the achievements, dilemmas and challenges lying ahead for further researcher, which objectively speaking is not closed yet. Whereas in the archaeological terms he said that the so-called "Komani culture" discovered between the 19th century and the early 20th century and to date offers objective research opportunities.

In this two-day Conference, Albanologists from the University of Shkodra "Luigj Gurakuqi", the Academy of Sciences of Albania, the Institutes of History and Literature and other university departments in Albania read their research papers, addressing and viewing from different perspectives the major problems of Albanology.

**“Jakov Xoxa – writer and researcher”
International Scientific Conference on the Centenary of the
Writer’s Birthday**

On the occasion of the Centenary of writer Jakov Xoxa’s birthday, the Academy of Sciences of Albania hosted on 7 June 2023 an International Scientific Conference “Jakov Xoxa – writer and researcher”. To pay tribute to the prominent personality of Albanian letters, this conference was organized thanks to an extensive inter-institutional cooperation among academies, universities, scientific institutions, governmental and diplomatic bodies. It was also attended by renown writers of Albanian literature, who through their research papers expressed their scientific appraisal of Jakov Xoxa’s literary creativeness. The Conference was honoured by the presence of the Mayor of Tirana, Erjon Veliaj, who considered the late Jakov Xoxa, as one of the most important founding personalities of modern Albanian literature.

Attending this Conference were ambassadors, representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and special guests from the Regione di Puglia, academics and professors, publishers and stage managers as well as representatives of Jakov Xoxa’s family.

While affirming that the Academy of Sciences of Albania considers Jakov Xoxa as the personality of the year 2023, Associated Acad. Gëzim Hoxha gave the floor to the President of the Academy of Sciences, Acad. Skënder Gjinushi for his greeting remarks. President Gjinushi commended the prose by Jakov Xoxa as an original and very valuable heritage, which belongs to and honours not only the author’s name but also the destiny of Albanian literature in the post - war decades. Likewise, Acad. Gjinushi emphasized that:

“the work by Jakov Xoxa bears a historical significance with its role as a conscientious unifier of Albanian readers everywhere. He has the exclusive merit of uniting “the old time Albanian” of Kosovo in the settings of old time Albania and state in a literary work; he is the first to introduce the Albanian character of muhajirs from Kosovo, with his destiny, language and tradition in literature.

In conclusion of his greeting remarks, the President of the Academy of Sciences, Acad. Skënder Gjinushi awarded Jakov Xoxa the Prize of

Gratitude “Honour of the Academy”(Posthume) with the following motivation:

“For his pivotal place in the history of the Albanian novel, which he developed and modernized as a major literary genre; *enriching it with landmark characters from the entire national historic space; for his mastership in storytelling, interlacing the vocal expression elevated to the level of the pan-national albanian language, which was important for its richness; co-founder of the University of Tirana and professor for two decades there; researcher of literary theory and stylistics; author of basic school and university text books, which have served several student and teachers generations, both in Albania and in Kosovo.*”

Then, the Ambassador of the Republic of Kosovo, Skënder Durmishi and the Director of the International projects for the Regione di Puglia, Dr. Lino Manosperta spoke on the importance of studying and the international recognition of Jakov Xoxa’s work.

After the greeting remarks, the deliberations of the Conference unfolded the assesment and laudation for Jakov Xoxa’s personality.

The Chair of the Foundation for Culture and Arts “Fan Noli” Naim Zoto spoke at length on the book “Introduction to science of literature” by Jakov Xoxa, a phototypic publication of “Fan Noli” Foundation, with an analytical preface on the writer’s full-fledged work by Acad. Rexhep Qosja.

“In the assessment of a literary work one cannot proceed only with the writing techniques and conventions, i.e. with the taste of a certain generation; its survival and life does also depend on the relations with readers who may belong to “another fashion, style or taste”; however, as Rexhep Qosja correctly puts it, no one has the right to deny him/her the literature he/she prefers, feels as useful and close to him/her. On the other hand, a country or society with a literature void of traditions does not have the luxury of many choices. The same applies to the area of researches or branches of literary sciences.”

An integral part of this event was also the Book Exhibition opened by the National Library, *Centenary of the Writer Jakov Xoxa’s Birthday*. Dr. Etleva Domi, representing the National Library spoke on the idea of this exhibition, which shows Jakov Xoxa not only as a personality of Albanian letters/writer, as he is mostly known by the public, but also as

a personality with contributions in the academic field with precious university publications.

During this conference, the scientific research papers and the latest studies highlighted the values of Jakov Xoxa's works as a writer, his exceptional place and role in the Albanian language and literature and in compiling scientific and university publications in the field of lexicology, theory of literature and stylistics.

Prominent academics, as Ali Aliu and distinct professors in this conference made references to the language of his work, where the assets of all dialects are presented in eloquent ways and purely stylized in Jakov Xoxa's literary creativeness.

At the end of the conference, Acad. Shaban Sinani, Scientific Secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Albania offered a panoramic and chronologic view on Jakov Xoxa's contribution to the theory of literature.

After the scientific conference held in the Academy of Sciences of Albania, the scientific and cultural events for the Centenary of the birth of writer Jakov Xoxa continued on 9 June in the writer's native town, in Fier and in Apolonia, one of his retreat venues during his creative activity. The literary - scientific conference presented the writer in a perspective which is equally scientific and human, culminating with the memories of his friends and family members.

On the official visit of prof. Maria Bulatova, Directress of the Olympic Institute of the National University of Ukraine, to the Academy of Sciences of Albania.

“If we want to encourage sports, the Academy of Sciences is the “brain” of a nation and the promotion of sports in high levels cannot take place without assistance from science”. This was the highlight phrase by Prof. Dr. Bulatova, Directress of the Olympic Institute of the National University of Ukraine in her meeting held in the Academy of Sciences of Albania on 12 June 2023

. Academician Skënder Gjinushi, President of the Academy of Sciences of Albania welcomed Prof. Dr. Mariia Bulatova in this official visit accompanied by the President of the Albanian Olympic Committee, Mr. Fidel Ylli and the Directress of the Albanian Olympic Academy, Mrs. Enkelejda Çausi.

After a brief introduction to the history of the Academy of Sciences of Albania and the reforming work during the most recent years, Acad. Skënder Gjinushi praised the experience of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, pointing out that the combination of sports with science is a good track to bring the youth closer through the sport and scientific events.



During this encounter, Acad. Gjinushi mentioned that sport investments in our country have increased and this is also reflected in the

educational system. Then, the conversation focused on the future cooperation between the two academies in the field of sports as well.

During these talks, in her capacity as Member of the Commission of the International Olympic Committee for Culture and Olympic Heritage, Prof. Dr. Bulatova showed her academic interest on the the history of the olympic movement, social and cultural aspects of Olympic Games and in the olympic education.

At the end of this meeting, Prof. Dr. Mariia Bulatova extended her thanks for the hospitality and the prospects of the future cooperation between the two academies.

Lectures hold by academician Maria Todorova in the Academy of Sciences of Albania and University “Fan Noli“ in Korça

In cooperation with the University of Korça *Fan Noli*, the Institute of European Studies of the University of Tirana and the Mediterranean University of Albania in Tirana, the Academy of Sciences of Albania invited the well-known Academician, Maria Todorova to hold a lecture there on 27- 30 June 2023.

As a professor of socio-linguistics, language and communication in the University of Illinois in the USA, Maria Todorova is widely known for her excellent work in analyzing history and identity in the Balkans. Many academics and researchers were present in the Academy of Sciences, where Todorova held the lecture "Balkan studies: history, debates and the places of Albania".



Academician Skënder Gjinushi, in his welcome remarks praised Todorova's work and her well-wishing scientific attention to Albanians in the context of Balkan developments, both in their history and in mentality, identity, relationships and their contributing role in the region.

Her scientific personality was described in details by the Scientific Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Shaban Sinani. He placed Prof. Todorova's name among the most famous contemporary world thinkers, as Samuel Huntington and Edward Said, with a noticeable

individuality in the most advanced flows of science. Acad. Shaban Sinani's laudatory speech follows this chronicle.

In her two lectures, *Studimet për Ballkanin (Studies on the Balkans, history, debates and the places of Albania)* which address Balkans through years and *Ballkani imagjinuar 25 vjet më pas (Imaginary Balkans 25 years later)*, Maria Todorova has explained numerous forms of Balkanization with sources varying from Venetian commercial chronicles dating back to the 16th century to opinions of the '1990 published in *New York Times* and to the dramas affecting Balkans in the last two centuries. Likewise, she dwelled on other important issues, as the Europeanization process in our problematic peninsula, inter-ethnic, empathetic and sympathy relationships, the perception on one another in time of peace and conflicts and others. In these two lectures, she laid the emphasis on the Balkan studies and on the concept of "Imagining the Balkans" after 25 years.

At the end of her academic lecture, Mrs. Todorova answered to several questions by those present, turning the event in a fruitful scientific discussion.

Maria Todorova was internationally recognized with her book "Duke imagjinuar Ballkanin" (Imagining the Balkans) translated in all the languages of this region and in most of other European languages. This publication is highlighted as one of the influential works of essential interest connected with its excellent quality as an historiographic work. In the recent years, Maria Todorova has devoted particular attention to the history of left-wing ideologies in the Balkans and in Western Europe.

As a token of respect for scholar Maria Todorova, the Rector of the University of Korça, Prof. Dr. Dhimitër Bello handed over to the eminent Bulgarian historian and anthropologist the title "Doctor honoris causa" which was proposed by the Academy of Sciences of Albania with the following motivation:

"A well-known Bulgarian-American scholar; prominent historian and anthropologist, who with her over 15 original works has emancipated the world scientific thinking with an immense impact among scholar generations in addressing such major issues, as the hierarchies of civilizations, the anthropology of religions, inter-ethnic relationships in the Balkans, its Europeanization processes and others,

making the peoples of this region look one another in the eye and Europeanizing their mindsets”.

Then, Prof. Dr. Dhimitri Bello provided a scientific profile of the scholar, followed by Academician Shaban Sinani, who held the laudatory speech on behalf of the Presidency of the Academy of Sciences of Albania.

Below we are giving the welcome speech of the Scientific Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, academician Shaban Sinani.

Balkan studies: history, debates and the places of Albania
Maria Todorova: first time in Academy of Science of Albania
 Shaban Sinani

I.

It's the great responsibility to provide a brief telegraphic answer to the question as to why Maria Todorova, whose name has been at the top of the European and global scientific spheres for the past several decades, possesses the qualitative merits to be awarded the *doctor honoris causa* title proposed by the Academy of Science of Albania and Korça University *Fan S. Noli*.

Several days ago, with his characteristic kindness, prof. Dhimitri Bello asked me about the approximate body measurements of *our Maria* - as he put it - *because we plan to give her the robe of the "honorary doctor" as a keepsake*. After consulting some of my friends, I responded to Mr. Rector that *Maria has a small stature and is short, like myself, and esthetically proportional*.



This brought to my mind a lively discussion between the academic colleagues *in the field of history and us anthropologists*, where both sides were greatly insistent. One of the proposers to invite prof. Maria Todorova to visit Tirana, prof. Pëllumb Xhufi, as well as Anila Omari, insisted that *it was well known that she is a historian, as is her title at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign; furthermore, she herself prefers to be referred to as a historian in her official CV^s*. With respect to us anthropologists, in reference to the significance of Maria

Todorova's work to scientific mentalities, to the theoretical and philosophical context of developments in the region, in Europe and between the East and the West; acknowledging the emancipating role of her activity in terms of methodology, worldview, Balkans' self-identification, in freeing the region's peoples from traditional complexes and outdated psychoses, and from the wrongful identification with the view from the metropolistic perspective, we were certain that she could only feel somewhat free in *our robe*.

This is no laughing matter: for the past three months, in the scientific section of prof. Todorova's agenda on the visit to Tirana we have referred to her as a *historian* one week, as an *anthropologist* another week and, lastly, as a compromise, both a *historian and anthropologist or historian anthropologist*; until even the historians themselves were divided into subgroups, wavering between *the philosophy of history, theoretical understanding of history, geopolitics, political history and ideologies, history of systems* and the "cold war".

We anthropologists stuck to our original arguments, emphasizing the role of *our Maria's work* in *breaking down classic taboos, debunking false myths, and replacing hate speech with empathy*; refuting geopragmatic perspectives on the Balkans by replacing the oriental approach with the *Balkan in se* approach; and strongly criticizing European arrogance, both past and present, in regards to its view of the Balkans.

Because the agenda was quickly distributed and replaced several times, orientalists did not refrain from partaking, as they wanted it to themselves, but not as strongly as the balkanologists, both internal and external; followed by the hellenists, slavists, romanists, and ottomanists, to the point that the matter then faced the question of *what should be understood by history, anthropology, politology, balkanistics, orientalistics etc., in the epistemological perspective*. The only thing we agreed on was *that, despite our robe being the best, it would still not fit Maria*; hence, we would have to *compromise*, for example, by referring to her as *a model of interdisciplinary studies; the one who proposed the paths toward Balkans' europeanization; the historian that unraveled the Balkans through anthropological readings and interpretations*; forms of compromise that were proposed by several groups and groupings.

We had no other choice but to consult with our albanologist colleagues worldwide, who had received her as a visiting professor at

their universities, starting with those furthest away: Ke Jing and Fenghua Chen at Beijing Foreign Studies University, who believed that Maria Todorova is primarily a *europoistic scholar*. I am not sure about what the Bulgarian colleagues Russana Hristova and Ekaterina Terpomanova at the *Kliment Ohridski* University of Sofia would have said.

At last, we managed to find a solution, as all Balkan people are wont to do. We asked Maria Todorova directly about the most appropriate way to refer to her in our agenda; obviously, without letting her into the arguing above. The reply we received was quite modest, as follows:

That's funny! Old fashioned historians think what that I am doing is not standard history, and I have been complimented by anthropologists that I am one of them. But technically I was trained as a historian and have always been in history department, so, the sequence should be history, anthropology.



Understood, professor Todorova. We anthropologists would have preferred a different order. Balkanologists, from Maja Bošković-Stulli to Pettya Assenova, would have asked *what about us?* Orientalists of Edward Said's category might feel more relaxed, since there is no one else to disrupt their peace as you have. The rulers of the Balkan countries, who fear the nostalgia about the past and utilize it in their running for office, will rub their hands together because your retrospective works

regarding the totalitarian Eastern regime and the major disappointments in the political Europe, were rendered secondary.

What I mean to say is that there is no robe that would fit Maria Todorova; the classic disciplines with their limitations and restrictions are a *Procrustean bed* for her. I am certain that our dear friend and colleague has managed to tailor a fitted robe for *Doctor honoris causa* Maria Todorova, thanks to the talented women of Korça. The rest of us will carry on bickering as it suits us.

II.

We are very grateful for *caring scientific attention of Maria Todorova toward Albanians, in the context of historical and mentality developments in the Balkans with regard to their identity, relations and contributing role in the region*; therefore, we consider her addressing this respected community of scholars with a speech *about the land of Albanians in Balkan, history studies, and debates, a great opportunity*.

At the time of your earlier books, in the 1980^s, father of Maria Todorova, prof. Nikolaj Todorov, was the chair of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He later became the Speaker of the Bulgarian National Assembly and President of Bulgaria. I do not mention this to make more accolades, but to simply underline that during that period, the historic founding President of the Albanian Academy of Sciences, academician Aleks Buda, *was awarded the title "honored member" of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*. This took place during a time of isolation that is beyond today's comprehension.

Now, allow me to briefly inform those present about your work; not as an academic liturgy, but because I believe it necessary to provide them with a simple overview. Respected fellows and colleagues, without striving to provide an in-depth description of Maria Todorova's multifaceted scientific activity, I wish to focus on *three key periods in her scientific life*.

Maria Todorova was initially perceived as a somewhat *traditionalist* with studies on the Balkans based on European romantics; on the attitude of the Western and Eastern superstates toward the former Ottoman Empire; on the impact of the *Tanzimat* on the Balkan peoples.

The 1990^s, during which she published *“Imagining the Balkans”* and *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*; mark a qualitative transition from a Balkan researcher to a European and global researcher. Through these two works, Maria Todorova *changed the mentality of history, by viewing it not simply as a collection of events, not just as a history of wars, but jointly with the periods of peace, cultures and civilizations, their religions and identities; heritage and memory.*

The name of Maria Todorova was elevated at a time when it seemed there were only two global scholars and no other could compare: Samuel Huntington and Edward Said. Huntington had warned that *civilizations will fatally clash*. Edward Said was known as the *theorist of orientalism*. *Maria Todorova was the researcher who challenged the status-quo and proved there was indeed space for other figures.*

Based on the *in se* consideration of the Balkans; by avoiding *external* analysis of the Balkans; *by replacing orientalism with Balkanism*; she freed the history of the Balkans from outdated complexes; she did away with the labelling of the Balkans as a “*powder keg*”; she freed the compatriots from European subservience and Eastern imperial nostalgia; without ever refraining from criticism.

For more than a decade, Maria Todorova’s studies have been focusing on the *history of the Cold War and ideological totalitarianism*. With her latest works, *she changed the concept of past nostalgia, from a propagandistic and ideological category into matters of history theory and philosophy*, into an actual scientific concept. With works such as *Post-communist Nostalgia, Remembering Communism; Imagining Utopia: The Lost World of Socialists at Europe’s Margins; Private and Public Recollections of Lived Experience in Southeast Europe; Genres of Representation* and many others, she changed the debate on the failures of the democratic system in Eastern Europe from the pragmatic aspect into actual scientific discourse.

The key work of Maria Todorova in the second period, *Imagining the Balkans*, has been translated into more than 40 languages, including Albanian. Currently, two subsequent works are under way: *Remembering Communism and Post-communist Nostalgia*. Researchers acknowledge her *merit as the founder of the Balkans’ self-identification theory; of the replacement of traditional historiography, which was marked by a colonialist perspective at times, and neo-colonialist at*

others, always viewing the region at the intersection of the East and the West; with an emancipating approach without taboos or complexes, as a scientist that modernized the history of the Balkans and carried out a methodological approach rivaling other schools. We are glad that Albanians are occupying an increasingly greater space in her work.

*In memoriam***Grigore Brâncuș**

(* 20 March 1929 - † 2 April 2022)



Prof. Grigore Brâncuș, one of the most prominent Romanian linguists, Principal Member of the Academy of Sciences of Romania passed away on the 2nd April 2022.

Grigore Brâncuș graduated from the Faculty of Philology in the University of Bucharest in 1953 and began working in the Department of Romanian Language where he taught until 1999. His scientific activity extends into a number of areas of Romanistics - the history of the Romanian language, dialectology, lexicology, philology, toponymy and anthroponymy, history of the literary language and stylistics, including Romanian language in all stages of its evolution.

He has also rendered a significant contribution in addressing several other issues of the Romanian language viewed from the perspective of an Eastern and Balkan Romanity language. He was one of the best experts in studying the issues related to the Romanian substratum in a comparative way with Albanian language.

Gr. Brâncuș is the author of a series of other referral works and researches among which: “Limba română contemporană. Morfologia verbului” (*Romanian language. Morphology of verbs*), “Vocabularul autohton al limbii române” (*Autochthone lexicon of the Romanian language*), “Istoria cuvintelor. Unitate de limbă și cultură românească” (*History of words. Unity of Romanian language and culture*), “Introducere în istoria limbii române” (*Introduction to the history of Romanian language*), “Cercetări asupra fondului traco-dac al limbii române” (*Researches on the thraco-dacian fund of the Romanian language*), “Concordanțe lingvistice româno-albaneze” (*Romanian –*

Albanian linguistic concordances) and author of many articles in scientific journals. He has also taken part in compiling a voluminous Dictionary of the Romanian language, a publication by the Academy of Sciences of Romania.

In 2006 he was elected Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of Romania and in 2011 Principal Member. In the last years of his life, he was Honorary Director of the Institute of Linguistics “Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti” of the Academy of Sciences of Romania.

Gr. Brâncuș has given a remarkable contribution to the field of Romanian dialectology, analysing the data on dialects from their relationship with the literary and folk language, the material and spiritual culture, anthroponymy and toponymy. He was also attracted in his research work by the grammatical structure of Romanian and the structure of its lexicon, especially from the viewpoint of its fundamental components. He has also provided a significant contribution to the Romanian literary language, assessing in a new light the researches of some distinguished representatives of the Romanian linguistics and philology.

A fortunate circumstance in the scientific career of Dr. Brâncuș was the support by Academician Alexandru Rosetti, Head of Department and Dean of the Faculty of Philology, whom he mentioned as a pattern of intellectual nobility and well-wisher of young researchers who embarked with a full-fledged will and trust into the difficult path of scientific research.

Al. Rosetti (1895–1990) as an authority in the European and wider linguistic circles, one of the most prominent personalities with a social authority of the Romanian science and culture, a man with the vision of the future, supporter of scientific innovation and of the youth had the far-sighted idea to send some of his assistants for specialization in foreign universities. Accordingly, Gr. Brâncuș came to Tirana in 1959 to learn Albanian language and to be specialized on Albanology. During his one - year study stay he did not only master the Albanian language perfectly (he read “Meshari” by Buzuku) but he also shared the working atmosphere of Albanian linguistics and he knew well the best authorities of Albanian linguistics of that time, among whom Aleksandër Xhuvani (1880–1961), Eqrem Çabej (1908-1980) and Mahir Domi (1915–2000). They became precious colleagues, cordial and close friends for Al.

Rosetti. Thanks to the friendly relations among these prominent Albanians and their colleagues in Bucharest, Romanian linguistics became better known in Albania and Albanian linguists gained a great deal from his experience. Later on, Gr. Brâncuș was sent for two years as lecturer of Romanian language to the University of Amsterdam and Gröningen, where he was acquainted with new trends in linguistic studies in Western Europe. Thus, Al. Rosetti's "scientific investment" bore its fruits quickly. Thanks to Gr. Brâncuș it may be said that Albanian studies in Romania entered a new phase. On one hand, there was an intensification of previous researches on common or similar elements of both languages that were noticed long ago; on the other hand, there was an enhancement of interest by Romanian linguists for Albanian as a Balkan language, its history and the specifics of its grammatical and phonetical structure. Gr. Brâncuș started also to teach Albanian language in a special university course.

In his early research activity, Gr. Brâncuș devoted particular attention to researches designed to approach the phraseological and semantic structures of Romanian and Albanian languages, outlining the special character of Romanian language in the Roman and Balkan languages. His researches on early relations between Romanian and Albanian languages deserve a particular place together with the interpretation of common elements between them regarding the lexicon, phonetics and grammar, which constitute one of the most attractive topics in the study of the history of these two languages in the period of late Antiquity and early Middle Age (from the fall of the Roman Empire until the ninth-tenth century).

In 1966, Gr. Brâncuș came again in Albania to conduct a linguistic survey among Aromanians, during which, as he has stated, he collected materials in view of scrutinising the destiny of Romanian autochthonous words from the Aromanian spoken language in Albania.

In the Bibliography of Gr. Brâncuș publications, the researches on the linguistic relationships between Albanian and Romanian occupy an important place; they represent an area of accentuated and detailed researches. His major works in this area are "Vocabularul autohton al limbii române" (1983), "Cercetări asupra fondului trac-dac al limbii române" (1995), "Concordanțe lingvistice româno-albaneze" (1999), "Studii de istorie a limbii române" (2007, 2008, 2013).

He wrote a special preface to the Albanian publication of “Cercetări asupra fondului traco-dac al limbii române”¹ whereby, while reviewing the problematics in the relations between Albanian and Romanian and their place in the Balkans ensemble from the altitudes of 50 years of experience, he formulated some general findings and evaluations which may be summed up in the following points. *Firstly*, the proximity between Romanian and Albanian is not confined only to a certain number of words, but it includes all language structures - phonetics, morphology, syntax phraseology and word formation. *Secondly*, apart from the linguistic proximity between the two peoples, a shared mindset shaped in time and based on the same historic experience, common elements in the field of culture and folk civilization, folklore, mythology and folk arts were also noted. *Thirdly*, in the Balkans ensemble, the Romanian and Albanian (the former as language of the Roman group, the latter an isolated language in the Indo European family) form a separate group characterized by the mystery related to their proximity. *Fourthly*: the explanation of common and similar elements in both languages through later mutual borrowings or from a single direction seems to be inadequate for their wide-ranging extension in all language structures; given the above-mentioned, the hypothesis that the similarities between Albanian and Romanian languages are explained by a third language spoken in their space in pre-Roman times (the so-called *sub-stratum theory*) is closer to the truth. Meanwhile, while referring to this thesis, E. Çabej has noted that what for the Romanian language is a substratum, as a Roman language, for the Albanian language is nothing else but a very early stage of its history.

While referring to linguistic arguments on the sources of Albanian from this or that language of ancient Balkans (Thracian or Illyrian), Gr. Brâncuș has correctly stated that the material they have preserved is so poor that “any hypothesis can be formulated”; therefore, he separated this case from the treatment of common elements of Albanian and Romanian. However, the intention to necessarily find the ultimate explanation of this occurrence should not avert researchers from describing and researching the similarities on the richest and most credible possible material.

¹ Grigore Brâncuș. “*Kërkime mbi fondin trako-dak të gjuhës rumune*”. Përktheu nga rumanishtja: Luan Topçiu. Shtëpia botuese “55”. Tiranë, s.a., 206 p.

It is a well-known fact that by virtue of their common or similar features, Albanian and Romanian constitute the axis of the Balkans Linguistic League which bears many unresolved enigmas. In this case, referring to H. Pedersen, Prof. E. Çabej has said that the task of a linguist does not consist in showing *to what extent* the languages *are* similar but *to how have they become* so similar. This task should not be neglected while studying the relations among Balkan languages, especially when it comes to the relations between Romanian and Albanian; the static principle herewith should be replaced with the dynamic evolutive principle.² In this regard, Gr. Brâncuș should be especially credited because through his researches he has enriched the materials on this topic substantially, proving in this way its real complex character.

One should also mention the well-wishing attitude and the high esteem that Academician Gr. Brâncuș kept intact until the end of his life for Albania, Albanian colleagues and his role in making Albania and Albanian linguistics more widely known in the Faculty of Philology where he worked for half a century and among Romanian linguists by and large. One of his students, Dr. Cătălina Vătășescu, scientific researcher in the Institute of Southeast European Studies (Bucharest), following the footsteps of her mentor has contributed significantly to further researches on the relations between Albanian and Romanian, between Albanian *vis à vis* Romanian and on a number of other issues of the Albanian internal history.

Academician Gr. Brâncuș holds a place of honor in the rich history of Romanian Albanology; he will be missed for long, but his memory and the values of his work are eternal.

Emil Lafe

² Khs. E. Çabej, *Studime filologjike* 29/1975, nr. 1, 54.

In memoriam
Pierre Cabanes
(* 30.12. 1930 - †13. 06. 2023)



Prof. dr. Pierre Cabanes, historian of antiquity and a celebrated scholar in the field of greek epigraphy passed away on 13 june 2023 at the age of 93. His rich scientific life was closely linked with the territory of Southern Illyria and Epirus. Accordingly, his scientific and human personality has taken its place of dignity on the side of the founders of Albanian archaeology of the 20th century. Late Prof. Pierre Cabanes has been awarded by the Albanian state with the high title "Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu".

Pierre Cabanes was born in 30 december 1930 in Puy-en-Velay district of Haute-Loire in the Region Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes in France. He was still a child when he lived through the World War II. His father and two eldest brothers took part in the rezistance in his native Region. It was his grand father that nurtured him with passion for history. He pursued this track until he finished the higher studies in the field of

history. In 1965, he defended successfully the doctoral degree with the dissertation “*Epyrus from Pyrrhos death until the Roman occupation (272-168 B.C.)*”.

In 1969, Prof. Cabanes started lecturing in the University of Clermont-Ferrand. Then, during 1977-1982 he was elected as the first President of the University Clermont-Ferrand II. Afterwards, he was appointed to the University of Paris X-Nanterre, serving for some time also as Research Director in the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS). He ended his long and very successful scientific career in Paris.

The “Arsenal” of Prof. Cabane’s scientific activity is very extensive with the publication of 20 books and over 120 scientific articles. His closest Albanian associate and colleague, epigraph Faik Drini has pointed out that “.. *his contribution to Southern Illyria and Epirus are the best affirmation of his name as historian of antiquity and as an expert “par excellence” of Albania’s ancient history*”³. His work follows the contribution of French scholars of the territory of Southern Illyria and Epirus in the 19th century - F. C. H.L Pouqueville⁴, Ami Boué⁵, H.

³ Faik Drini, *Une vie consacré à la science au service de l’humanité. L’exemple de Pierre cabanes à l’égard de l’archéologie albanaise*, in : Epire, Illyrie, Macédoine..., Mélanges offerts au Professeur Pierre Cabanes (textes réunis par Daniele Berranger- Ausserve), Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, Clermont Ferrand (France) 2007, 17-34.

⁴ F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Travels in Epirus, Albania, Macedonia and Thesaly*, London 1820; Id. *Voyage de la Grèce*, Tome premier Paris MDCCCXXVI (1826).

⁵ *Ami Boué*, *La Turquie d’Europe; observations sur la géographie, la géologie, l’histoire naturelle, la statistique, les moeurs, les coutumes, l’achéologie, l’agriculture, l’industrie, le commerce, les gouvernements divers, le clergé, l’histoire et l’état de cet empire*, **Vol. I-IV**, Paris 1840 (*Arthus Bertrand*, retrieved 27 December 2012).

Hecquard⁶, L. Heuzey, H. Daumet⁷, Leon Rey⁸, Allain Ducellier⁹ and many others during the 20th century.

After gaining the doctoral degree in 1965 thanks to the unsparing assistance of his mentor, Louis Robert, a well-known professor of the greek epigraphy, Prof. Cabanes travelled twice in Albania, in 1971 and in 1974. In the following years he maintained ongoing contacts with Albanian colleagues of archaeology. Although during that time Albania was under a totalitarian regime and the extreme ideologisation of scientific research, Pierre Cabanes managed to avert several of its barriers. He kept on working together effectively with Albanian colleagues, escaping ingeniously the existing “rigid ideological frame” while shedding light on and publishing new scientific results¹⁰.

⁶ H. Hecquard, HECQUARD, Histoire et Description de la Haute Albanie ou Guegarie, Paris 1858.

⁷ L. Heuzey, H. Daumet, Mission Archéologique de Macédoine, Paris, 1876

⁸ Përmendim së pari botimin e revistës Albania të drejtuar nga Leon Rey, në gjashtë vëllime I (1925); II (1927); III,

1928; IV (1932); V (1935) dhe VI (1939); si edhe artikujt: L. Rey, *Rapports sur les fouilles d'Apolonie*, in : Bulletin de

la Societé Française des Fouilles Archéologiques, Paris 1925-1926, 135-165 ; Id. *Seize années de fouilles en Albanie*, in : Revue de Paris, V, Paris 1939, 685-696; L. Rey, *Répertoire topobibliographique des antiquités de l'Albanie*, Albania 3, Paris 1928, 45-59, dhe Albania 4, Paris 1932, 90-113.

⁹ A. Ducellier, *Observations sur quelques monuments de l'Albanie*. in : Revue Archéologique, 1965,2, 153-207 ; Id. La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Age: Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVe siècle. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1981; Id. L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise : Xe - XVe siècles, London 1987.

¹⁰ Për bashkëpunimet e kësaj kohe artikullin Genc Pollo, *Pierre Cabanes, Recherches archéologiques en Albanie 1945-1985*, «Revue Archéologique», Paris, 1986, 1, f. 107-142, Iliria, XVII, 1987, 1, 283-288.

Prof. Cabanes, by virtue of his scientific authority played a special role in awarding journal "ILLYRIA" with the "Golden Medal" by the International Academy of Lutèce, (France) in 1982. In 1985 he took an active part in the Second Congress of Illyrian Studies (Tirana, 1985) with a greeting address and with his analytical research paper: "The political and social organization of the dimalite community in the III-II century BC." ¹¹.

In 1991 Prof. Cabanes was entrusted with the management of the project of the French archaeological and epigraphic mission in Albania, focusing largely on the excavations in the antique town of Apollonia, exactly in the same venue where a French team led by archaeologist Leon Rey had made excavations that were interrupted during World War II. He led successfully this project for almost a 10 year period. Younger generations of Albanian and French archaeologists continue this project even today with a forward looking approach.

Likewise, Professor Cabanes has launched several scientific publications, with the highlights on four volumes on the corpus of greek inscriptions in cooperation with Albanian colleagues Faik Drini and Neritan Ceka¹². He has also hosted a series of internatinoal events on

¹¹ Shih respektivisht: P. Cabanes, Fjala pershëndetëse e Prof. Pierre Cabanes (Francë), Iliria, 1985, 15-2, 31; Id., *Organizimi politik e shoqëror i bashkësisë dimalite në shek. III-II p. e. sonë / L'organisation politique et sociale de la koiné de Dimalé durant les IIIe-IIe siècles av. n. ère* . Iliria 1986, 16-1, 101-111.

¹² Përmendim ndërmjet tyre punimet: Pierre Cabanes, *Les Illyriens de Bardylis à Genthios (IV-e . II-e sciecles av. J.C)* Paris, 1988; Id. *Albanie-le Pays des Aigles (me prathënie nga Ismail Kadare)*, Edisud 1994 ; Id. *Grecs et Illyriens dans les inscriptions en langue grecque d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion et d'Apollonia d'Illyrie*. Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale (Clermond-Ferrand 19-21 october 1989) Paris, 1993 ; *Histoire de l'Adriatique* par P. Cabanes en collaboration avec O.Chaline, B.Doumerc, A.Ducellier, M.Sivignon, Paris 2001, (botimi shqip Tiranë 2005).

--Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I, 1, *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion*, par Pierre Cabanes et Faik Drini, EfA et Fondation D et É. Botsaris, coll. « Études épigraphiques » 2, 1995, 587n°;

-- Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I, 2, *Inscriptions d'Apollonia d'Illyrie*, par Pierre Cabanes et Neritan Ceka, EfA et Fondation D et É. Botsaris, coll. « Études épigraphiques » 2, 1997, 393n°;

--Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire II, *Inscriptions de Buthrôtos*, par Pierre Cabanes et Faik Drini, EfA et Fondation D et É. Botsaris, coll. « Études épigraphiques » 2, 2007, n°;

-- *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire, 3, Inscriptions d'Albanie (en dehors des sites d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion, Apollonia et Bouthrôtos)*, par Pierre

Southern Illyria and Epirus in antiquity¹³, where Albanian and French researchers, mainly from the countries of the Adriatic-Mediterranean space introduced plenty of new scientific novelties, making the antique history of this region increasingly known in the international arena.

The jubilee of the 50th Anniversary of Albanian Archaeology, commemorated with an International Symposium in Tirana (9-10 November 1998) gave the opportunity to Pierre Cabanes to synthesize his work experience in Albania, now set free from “ideological barriers”¹⁴. He visited Albania almost each year until he became 85 continuing also with new scientific publications. He has simultaneously followed important scientific events organized by the French Embassy in Tirana. Under UNESCO’s auspices, he has guided the publication of Albania’s Archaeological Map presented by his Albanian colleagues, Muzafer Korkuti, Apolon Baçe and Neritan Ceka¹⁵. He has also rendered precious contribution in the framework of the engagements of the Association “Patrimoine sans Frontieres”, for the promotion of the Phototec “Marubi” in Shkodër and the restoration of churches in Voskopojë. His unsparing organizational assistance made also possible the construction of the house of archaeologists in the antique town of Apollonia.

Starting with his first visit in Albania (1971) to date, Prof. Pierre Cabanes has objectively acknowledged and praised the work of his Albanian colleagues. In his opinion, the founding generation of Albanian archaeology undertook the uncovering of Albanian terrain travelling it back and forth and frequently on foot. He has emphasized that this generation of archaeologists deserves honour and gratitude, both from his compatriots and the whole mankind, since they have saved and promoted

Cabanes, Faik Drini (dir.) avec la collaboration de Miltiade Hatzopoulos, Athenes « « Études épigraphiques » 2, 2016.

¹³ Përmendim kolokiumet ndërkombëtare periodike, të organizuara nën titullimin « Illyrie Meridionale et l’Epire dans l’Antiquité » (Iliria e Jugut dhe Epiri në Antikitët): I - Clermond-Ferrand (22-25 octobre 1984)(reunis par Pierre Cabanes) Adosa 1987 ; II - Clermond-Ferrand (25-27 octobre 1990) (reunis par Piere Cabanes), De Boccard 1993 ; III - Chantilly (16-19 octobre 1996)(reunis par Pierre Cabanes), De Boccard 1999 ; IV - Grenoble (10-12 octobre 2002 (reunis par Pierre Cabanes et Jean Luc Lamboley, De Bocard, Paris 2004. Kjo seri aktivitetesh ka vazhduar edhe për të pestën herë në Grenoble (8-11 octobre 2008) De Boccard, Paris, 2010 dhe të gjashtë herë në Tiranë (20-30 maj 2015), Boccard, Paris 2018, të botuara nën drejtimin e vazhduesve të punës së Pierre Cabanes, si në Francë ashtu edhe në Shqipëri.

¹⁴ Pierre Cabanes, *Regards sur 50 ans d’Archeologie albanaise*, Iliria XXVIII-1998, 49-72.

¹⁵ Harta Arkeologjike e Shqipërisë, nën drejtimin e Pierre Cabanes, paraqitur nga M. Korkuti, A.Baçe, N.Ceka, Tiranë 2008. Libri është botuar njëkohësisht edhe në gjuhën frënge.

the values of an outstanding cultural heritage, achieving “exalting” results”¹⁶ within a short period of time. He has written on the pioneer archaeological work of Hasan Ceka, the assistance by Skënder Anamali, Selim Islami and Frano Prendi, from whom he has learned a lot on Albania’s historic geography¹⁷. The late French professor has continued to extend this gratefulness by helping the younger Albanian colleagues to gain scholarships and study visits in the French universities. Apart from this collective help, almost all these colleagues have been generously hosted in his house where together with his Madam have offered them cheerful smiles, human warmth and love. The ongoing contacts with Albania and the exchange of experience through communication of various forms have expanded the mutual cooperation and respect of the Albanian colleagues for and with the learned professor with brilliant communication capacities.

The bibliography of Piere Cabane’s works is a testimony of his intensive scientific knowledge, the activity of a man bestowed with exceptional energies, with magnificent working strength, with high requirements for quality, accuracy and scientific scrupulousness. His long experience of scientific studies and exchanges, the brilliant eloquence, the sublime human qualities combined with a very cultivated civil level push us to show the maximum curiosity to lecturing by Professor Pierre Cabanes. Indeed, the most concise incarnation of his entire shining personality is the following latin locution: “*Iurare in verba magistri*” (« swear on the words of a master »).

With Professor Pierre Cabanes death, his family and society lost the beloved person, the community of historians and archaeologists lost a very precious colleague and friend, the Academy of Sciences of Albania lost a very active Honorary Member for a period of 50 years, the scientific world lost a researcher and creator “par excellence”.

May you rest in peace, our honoured Professor, Pierre Cabanes!

Gëzim Hoxha
Tirana, on 15 June 2023

¹⁶ Pierre Cabanes, *Regards sur 50 ans...* , 62-64

¹⁷ Pierre Cabanes, *Regards sur 50 ans...* , 63