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**THE RULE OF LAW IN ALBANIA'S INTEGRATION
PROCESS**

**(Overviews by diaspora law researchers)
(Tirana 2023)**

In lieu of introduction

'The rule of law in the context of Albania's European integration is a contribution of Albanian diaspora researchers on the country's democratization and integration processes in the juridical area. The research papers lay emphasis on the primary issue of the rule of law, both in its substantial and formal sense. The methodology used consists largely in comparative analysis, assessing its state of development in Albania on the basis of the latest international acts.

This volume does also appear as a colloquy with researchers who live and work in Albania, as an exchange of ideas on the progress of the rule of law oriented towards Albania's European integration. This approach has enriched the findings in this compendium, providing in this way useful suggestions for the concerns of Albanian society in the legal area. The papers contain a variety of concepts that are appealing to law researchers, law readers, students and to all professionals who are active in various public and private sectors.

In the four chapters of this book, the problematics of the rule of law is addressed in a prismatic manner, associated with the inner call of lawyers on the need of its consolidation, in keeping with the achievements of European constitutionalism.

The rule of law in the context of Albania's European integration

The first Chapter offers a juxtaposition of the challenges which the European initiative on the rule of law is encountering in Albania and in Western Balkans. It starts with a European insight, evoking the fact that the European Union (EU) ... *is making efforts to promote the rule of law via its policy of enlargement* to Western Balkans and Albania as its part. These states are largely semi-autocratic systems with a little political will to strengthen and develop the EU rule of law principles¹. Therefore, in all cases, the challenges are similar and they involve, in particular, the high level of corruption and the unfavorable domestic political and legal conditions which weaken the rule of law.

The papers in this chapter provide insights on the implementation of the justice reforms in Albania from the year 2016 onwards. This reform is examined as a study case and then as an experience from which we draw lessons on the good governance in the judiciary. The paper emphasizes in clear terms that upholding the rule of law in Albania is an important task for the courts and judges, in particular. Accordingly, visible space is given to the analysis on the independence of the judiciary power, which should not be *considered simply as a precondition to join the EU ...Thanks to its jurisprudence, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has turned into a corps of principles applicable to and judgeable by the ECJ and the national courts*².

Some authors underscore that Albanian judges are not only judges in their own country but also legal guarantors of the EU juridical order. *They are entrusted with the "sacred" task of protecting the human rights of individuals which emanate from EU treaties and the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) between the EU and Albania; therefore ... if Albanian judges would come across any incomptability between Albanian and the EU law (of any type of hierarchy), they should put aside the Albanian law and apply with priority the EU norms*³. In this

¹ See: Andi Hoxhaj, "Initiative on the rule of law in Western Balkans", here.

² See: Darinka Piqani, The judiciary independence as a fundamental condition in the journey to the EU for candidate countries as Albania. *Reflections from the crisis of the rule of law in the EU. Here.*

³ See: Klodian Rado, The significance and the role of the judiciary power in Albania's European integration, *here.*

stage of integration, this thesis may spark criticisms, but the author draws attention to the fact that it does also find support in the constitutional provision, which sets out that *in case of conflict, the norms deriving from an international organization prevail over domestic law, since the agreement ratified by the Republic of Albania for joining that organization has explicitly provided the direct implementation of the norms deriving from that organization* (Constitution of the Republic of Albania, Article 122/3).

A broad space is also devoted to the progress of the rule of law in the framework of the implementation of the justice reform. The contribution to this reform is closely connected with EU legal standards and its rule of law requirements. At the same time, the analysis of the justice reform is oriented towards the due legal process, in compliance with the standards established by the jurisprudence of the European Convention of Human Rights. The reader may also find hard critical approaches on some aspects of the implementation of justice reform in Albania (2016). There is a current wide-reaching debate, particularly in terms of provisional measures for the transitory re-evaluation of judges and prosecutors (*vetting*). *Such a situation ...creates the idea that it is easier to become than to continue to be a judge, even when one has practised this profession for over 20 years, as in the case of the prevailing part of those disqualified*⁴. As far as this process is concerned, questions are raised on issues of compliance with the due legal process and the court independence.

Moreover, certain criticisms are addressed not only to Albanian institutions but also to international organizations that oversee the transitory reevaluation.⁵ However, the transitory reevaluation of judges and prosecutors is only one side of the reforms; meanwhile, of equal importance is the outcome of other reforming measures. Actually, if we want the initiative on the EU rule of law to have an everlasting impact *in Western Balkans and strengthen the rule of law as in the case of Albania*⁶, *it is not enough to be confined only to the vetting reform in the justice system.*⁷

⁴ See: Ledi Bianku, *Krämer versus Krämer. Is it the justice reform compatible with European standards?* here.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Andi Hoxhaj, quote.

⁷ Ibid.

These comparative overviews do also refer to the latest judiciary reforms in Poland and in Hungary, *which show signs of “ a return backwards for democracy*. The Polish and Hungarian experience prove that achievements in this area can be undone; therefore it is important that the rule of law be consolidated, so that there can be no return back.

The entire analysis in this chapter tends to edge closer to understanding the rule of law as being compatible with international and with European standards, in particular. This analysis may serve the relevant bodies in the implementation of justice reforms and in upgrading their activity. Likewise, there are sufficient arguments which may be helpful to the legislator in the context of the new legislative initiatives designed to improve the reform implementation.

Apart from the lessons for the *vetting* bodies, they do also provide useful advice for other aspects which are conducive to the consolidation of the judicial system and the independence of the judiciary power. Among them are specific issues related to the ethic and professional proficiency of justice officials and the update of curricula for the School of Magistrates and Lawyers, which relate to the enhancement of knowledge on the EU law.

International standards and the development of the rule of law in Albania

Chapter II contains in its major part a comparative analysis of the regional and universal international law and the jurisprudence of international courts. There is a series of research papers on democratic norms in the integration period, the role of international law on the protection of human rights (specifically the protection of the vulnerable strata and persons with limited abilities), protection of the victims of criminal offences and the avoidance of anti-constitutional symbols. They do also highlight specific features of democratic norms in the transition period; however, the focus there is on the norms that guarantee free and fair elections. *Among the mechanisms that have gained superiority in the process of democratic transition is the institution of free elections, as a founding act, supported by the idea that such procedures represent the basic preconditions to legitimate good governance, establish the rule of*

*law and democracy.*⁸ Moreover, in a EU candidate state this is *not only a sine qua non condition for the enlargement process but also part of the "acquis communautaire" which binds the EU Member States*⁹.

A detailed approachable analysis is also made on the role of international law in upholding human rights in the Albanian legal system and practice. The scope of action of international norms on the protection of human rights and international law sources is ongoingly widened. Therefore, while addressing these aspects, the authors of research papers in this chapter have had the opportunity to go deeper into those aspects, especially with regard to the implementation of international norms in Albania. It goes beyond doubt that this represents a contribution of analytic character on the rule of law, since international standards today are the best system of reference for their protection in Albania, just as human rights are the main point of reference in estimating the scale of the rule of law development in a country. Thus, besides *the right to elect and be elected*, the chapter is focused on *the role of international law for the protection of the right to life and the abrogation of capital punishment, the rights of persons with limited abilities*¹⁰, *the rights of victims in criminal processes*¹¹ and *the right to a fair trial*.

These papers introduce important findings of relevance to internationally recognized norms by domestic courts in Albania and in general they highlight ... a high readiness by Albanian courts to approach international law and its implementation¹² in a constructive way.

The papers submit a critical perspective of the realities on the ground and they note that *the judiciary practice in these aspects in Albania is still limited*. This shows a lack of awareness among citizens to demand their own rights in the courts. There are also mentioned cases of a deficient and even erroneous implementation of international legal norms. *To a certain extent this reflects the lack of a solid methodological approach by the courts when it comes to apply the international norms*

⁸ See Enika Abazi, *Democratic norms in the conditions of transition: Albania between democratic challenges and European integration*, here

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See: Gentian Zyberi, *The place and uses of international law on human rights in the Albanian legal system and practice*, here.

¹¹ See: Rudina Jasini, *Participation of the victims as a civil party in international criminal processes*, here.

¹² See: Gentian Zyberi, quote .

on human rights¹³. Currently, *domestic and international systems are closely intertwined* ...and that is the most important guarantee for the protection of human rights and the rule of law in Albania. However, this guarantee becomes true only through the implementation of international court decisions.

The examination of legal achievements in international courts seems to be decisive in realizing and protecting human rights on a national-wide scale as well. Following the jurisprudence of the European Convention of Human Rights on the anti-constitutional symbols ... *what it should be underlined is that laws which restrict the use of symbols of the communist period have been already accepted in the sense of their own legal motif under European standards*; (this is a “must” in a democratic state, due to the urgent social need and the ability of democracy to protect itself) however, *these laws should be very specific in defining their key terminology (symbol, propaganda, denial of crimes, political organizations) and should not set out high margins of punishment for their offenders*¹⁴.

Thanks to the justice reform (2016) Albania has enhanced for the first time ever the rights of participation by the victims in a penal process. Nevertheless, the implementation of the new legislation is encountering a series of challenges. In this area, even the *international criminal courts have been facing an enormous challenge in harmonizing the expansion of victims’ rights* ...¹⁵. Nonetheless, their participation rights have been strengthening thanks to judiciary practice in the international criminal courts. Yet, there is a need for a more thorough comprehension and implementation, since considerable faults are noticed in practice. Let us recall that *the right to indemnify the victims of a criminal offence, which although it is specified in legislation, it is not implemented even to date. Therefore, the new rights on the participation of the victims embodied in the legal amendments of the justice reform* deserve serious commitment during their implementation.

The authors of the papers in this chapter have presented many findings and suggestions. But what it matters most hereby is the

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ See: Fabian Zhilla, *An overview on the international law on the anti-constitutional symbols*, here.

¹⁵ See: Rudina Jasini, quote.

recommendation for the judiciary *to conduct a legal analysis on the basis of international acts of the organizations where Albania is a party, international customary acts and the jurisprudence of international courts*¹⁶. Likewise, improvements are recommended in Albanian legislation on the anti - constitutional symbols under the principles set out in the European Convention of Human Rights. *To be able to do that, pursuant to the legal initiatives of this type, society educational policies, both through teaching and scientific – research programs*¹⁷ *should be taken into consideration with the same seriousness*¹⁸.

Constitutionalism and the rule of law

The analysis of the constitutional route elaborated in the third chapter of the paper makes us reflect on the important role of *constitutional supervision*. The development of constitutional law and constitutionalization in Albania are conceived as closely connected with the promotion of the rule of law. Therefore, the chronological course of developments in the Court of Constitution in Albania in this paper refers to the rule of law. The authors provide evidence that at this point *the modern Albanian constitutionalism encounters difficulties of political nature and constitutional crises*. This is an outcome of some factors moving on in a negative trend, among which one could mention frequent constitutional amendments due to political conflicts, the need for the constitutionalization of politics and other factors.

Actually, there is a clear emphasis on the fact that *these factors have also had an impact on the prolongation of the transition period*. *“Adaptation of Albanian constitutionalism to modern trends of European constitutionalism should put an end to democratic transition in Albania, in order to have a state with a sustainable constitutional democracy and compatible with each EU state”*¹⁹. Likewise, the insights in this chapter

¹⁶ See: Gentian Zyberi, quote.

¹⁷ See: Fabian Zhilla, quote.

¹⁸ See: Arsim Bajrami, *The role of the Court of Constitution in establishing the rule of law in the Republic of Albania. History of constitutionalism in Albania*

bring to evidence the development of constitutionalism in Albania before World War II, a period which was either not studied or it was forbidden to do so.

The rule of law during emergencies

In the fourth chapter, its authors, while analysing the challenges which the rule of law faced during the pandemic that broke out in 2019, they draw lessons for its protection in the emergency period. The papers in this chapter explain the substantial weaknesses noticed during the pandemic regarding respect for the rule of law in Albania, which was further threatened due to health and economic hardships. Accordingly, in the authors' opinion, *natural calamities may turn into direct misfortunes for the rule of law in Albania and for democracy too: a genuine constitutional pandemic, which on the other hand may also have a negative impact on the EU accession process, slowing down the democratic consolidation in Albania.*²⁰

The papers in this chapter attach special attention to the protection of human rights in the periods of natural and civil emergencies, the maintenance of good governance standards and the balance among powers, averting the danger of concentrating them in the hands of the government. In this respect, the said papers highlight the significant role played by constitutional supervision, especially after noting that parliamentary control remains weak in a governing system like the one in Albania. Besides strengthening the constitutional supervision, the papers in this chapter accentuate the need to strengthen scientific and research institutions during emergencies.

* * *

Three decades ago, there were two political systems in the world, both claiming to be the most progressive. Meanwhile, a growing number of contestors in totalitarian states, bearing in mind the western liberal democracies which were justifiably praised to be the best pattern of political arrangement looked with optimism to the future in their own countries. On the other hand, western liberal democracies and their

19. See: Entela Cukani, *Constitutional pandemic? The first Covid-19 wave and the rule of law in Albania*, here.

theoreticians used to say that *ours is not perfect, but it has an historic advantage over every other system: because ours reforms itself incessantly and so it never becomes old*. Political rotation, freedom of initiative and competition were highlighted as the *magic of the consumption society against dictatorships whose mode of living was sparing*.

All these occurrences were hopeful also for Albanians, who overwhelmingly believed that *with the shift to the new political system they would decide everything on their own by virtue of the essential values of western democracies*. However, this naive trust and these idealized values did not hold for long the optimism of Albanians and the majority of Eastern countries. And it was precisely the time when two new categories, unknown before in the philosophical school on systems appeared, with a view to bolster the confidence on the new system: *the rule of law and good governance, the two only ideals that could be the new future horizon for the societies whose underlying principle and foundation is pragmatism*.

The Albanian society has tremendously suffered from this disappointment and the loss of trust on democratic values; an almost hostile relationship was established between the state and its citizens. However, in no other country in the East did distrust reach the point of considering the state as exploiter and plunderer of citizens. This was a warning about the *serious danger that the loss of trust on justice could turn into a loss of confidence across the system*; since in the Albanian society which had tried and tested both systems, the citizen with a lost trust was confined to think that *we were better when we were worse*. But to see the future with the eyes cast to the past posed indeed a great threat. Because *systems are international and the loss of trust to a system is not a local matter only*. Thus, this concern was internationalized, especially on the system representation models and this dictated the need to launch initiatives designed to restore citizens' hopes on the "resurrection" and then on remaking *the rule of law*. *The provisional legal canons* (together with law enforcement institutions) attached to the Constitution were received with rejection on one side and with moderate enthusiasm on the other. This is the point to recall that *in constitutionalist terms, independency in the epochs of continental federalizations is replaced with interdependency, just as the conditionality of domestic legal*

arrangement is inescapable from integration. Viewed in anthropological terms, it may be said that in modern times, one who has identity is independent.

Actually, with the provisional *vetting* legal package and the justice reform, new canons were added to the Constitution which are not found in other normal constitutions; these are temporary provisions that will be abrogated once the trust regains its independent power function in harmony with democratic standards and to the citizens' benefit. This painful intervention in the most fundamental state law was indispensable, because it was clear that Albanian institutions would not be able to move ahead, turn back its dignity to the state and ensure a state administration, judiciary and justice. Thus, there was no other way out except that a part of the state authority be delegated to these international actors, so that the Albanian society and its state would be revived.

Otherwise, democracy, beautiful as a facade and even with laws is threatened to be reduced to a moralizing statement. Because human rights are upheld with laws and the latter are not made voluntarily. But failure affected exactly the power that recognizes the citizen as the beneficiary of a right and the judicial power. This failure did also affect the trust on the rule of law. True, such reforms are not painless; yet, witnessing the encouraging results in the *vetting* process, some glamorous successes by the provisional institutions entrusted to heal the justice system and referring to the principle of proportionality as the most prudent regulator in law and decision - making, we may confirm this with the lawyers' favourite latin expression: *bonus minus mallus equal bonus est*.

Yet, are we certain that even when justice reform is complete, when free elections are restored, when the true independence of powers is in place and the positive inter-action relationships among citizens and their state are restored these problems would have been finally settled, the ideal society would be in place and the future would be a straight line to progress? In mathematics it is said that the shortest distance between two points is the line. Isn't it the same also in the way how a part of the present society is still functioning? Isn't it not only the institutions but also citizens themselves, who by seeking the shortest possible distances, i.e. the line that unifies its interest with the power that the ballot endows to them trigger daily corruption, distort the rule of law, demolish

competition and devalue freedom? Therefore, only a state-administrative reform accompanied with the overall emancipation of the political thought may turn us into the conditions of a normal society, which may be governed by justice and it could be self-perfected in an ideal way, towards the rule of law, a vigorous motivating power for the present world; but this is such an ideal that the closer you come to it, the further it unfolds on the horizon.

Even if we may want, on behalf of a *refined objectivity and impartiality*, we cannot live outside society concerns. And we do not conceal that we want to have an influence in repairing this process, so that the justice reform be carried out and brought to perfection and the spirit of conflict between the state and the citizen be overcome as in any other civilized society. And this is why this publication may serve as an *open window to lend knowledge to a society that believes in self-regulation, useful reform, the end of transitional periods and good governance*.

While inviting the reader to leaf through these research papers, contributions by researchers in the diaspora and lawyers in Albania, we also have the opportunity to encourage the juridical thought and draw lessons on the rule of law in Albania. These papers unfold intense and wide-reaching knowledge while paying attention to the respect for international standards and to analyses from a critical perspective on the current state of the rule of law in Albania in the context of its integration to the European Union.

LANGUAGE / LITERATURE

Tomorr PLANGARICA

CURRENT INFLOWS IN SPEECH SCIENCES AND DIRECTIONS/DISCIPLINES THAT DESERVE SPECIFIC CARE IN STUDYING ALBANIAN ¹**Introduction**

In the context of efforts to find the proper motivation or explanations for a certain kind of apathy in the Albanian language of thought in completing different areas of linguistics with subdisciplines and with trends in contemporary reviews that study the aspect of the *language use*, given a certain lack of attention to such entities, as the discourse and/or text and opinions (that in the current stage have “occupied” significant areas in the European and transatlantic language of thought) one is obliged to exempt as impact factor the lack of pressure that social development exerts or should exert on the language of thought, urging it to be focused also on this problematics, which is very relevant to every day speaking practices. The life of users or speakers of Albanian language through its space of use is characterized by indicators that are similar to those of other societies in European developed countries and beyond, with various uses unveiling the most common discursive and speaking practices in the usage spheres of a language which is relevant to a contemporary society with the presence of the state of the art media and technologies of communication.

In the framework of its development, *the language subject matter* that linguists should know is not lacking either; however, generally speaking, there is a certain slowness in turning it into a *study object* and

¹ Research paper read in the International Scientific Conference “Probleme të reja të albanologjisë në kohën e sotme“ (New problems for Albanology in the present time”) hosted by the University of Shkodra “Luigj Gurakuqi” and the Academy of Sciences of Albania, in Shkodër, 25-26 May 2023.

further on, so that, after possible reviews and interpretations, through an elaborated linguistic knowledge it could impact the spoken and discursive competence of Albanian speakers and users; accordingly, they would be more confident and successful in spoken communication and practices in their every day life.

Experiences with the development of language of thought prove that language review becomes more valuable for the local environment of its users just when apart from scientific theorizations there are also temptation needs for ongoing spoken practices, so that they would be more effective in the communication process.

Moreover, in the current stage, the language of thought should help users to upgrade the level of communicative competences for an easier integration in a society, whose further development reaches the highest levels of that competence rapidly. The current European experiences provide us with very telling examples on the evolution of the language of thought conducive to this scientific mission, which under linguistic study names in short appears as *a language of discourse*. This has triggered the expansion of *linguistic space*, gaining another name (which joins the traditional with the modern linguistic goals): *the speech sciences*.

- *Review of occurrences during the language use and its study directions*

Various speech occurrences that characterise the process of using a language(s) have captured attention from the early times with attempts to make this expression tool more functional; this has helped communication, social life and the satisfaction of intellectual and spiritual needs. Moreover, the beginning of the language of thought appeared exactly in the form of showing care in acquiring a language/speech in ceremonials and preachings. The language richness inherited by Vedat in the antic India was turned into an subject of study by the grammarians of that time, revealing also caution to help increase the speech competence of speakers.²

² In a study on the tradition of writings in Sanskrit language, Jan E. Houben inter alia emphasizes: "According to our new approach, Paninian's grammar is not anymore an intellectual game, reserved to hyperspecialists. On the opposite, it used to have a function in the every day

Likewise, one would say that it was the necessity to acquire the various forms of arguments, presentations and persuasion which urged the birth and development of rhetoric in the Roman Antiquity.

Nevertheless, the most direct study direction focused in spoken processes was outlined in a systematic and institutionalized way afterwards and only in modern linguistics; this occurred after the structuralist period in the last 3-4 decades of the 20th century.

Meanwhile, the language review in Antiquity and until the 20th century was notably focused in the logical and philosophical interpretation of linguistic occurrences and system units, in the approachive and descriptive or comparative aspect among languages, with the birth of modern linguistics, through the system perspective of linguistic appearances distinguished from its very start the linguistic occurrences from those emerging during the language use; this was an effect of the natural skills that humans display during communication: *language and speech* were distinctive.

Even though the first step starting with Sosyryn seemed to have left aside the linguistic care for “speech” for the purpose of explaining spoken occurrences the theoretical basis was laid down, which gradually bolstered the care for the next communication tool with obtained concepts, beginning with Chomski (with the linguistic competence concept, even in the case of an ideal “speaker”); then with Dell Hymes and the concept on the “communication competence”, with Austin, Searle and spoken acts, the discourse concept starting with Guillaume and then Benvenist (with the theory of enunciation) and with Culiolin (with enunciation operations); this was done in an intensive way, especially through sociolinguistic studies, spoken ethnography, the language pragmatism, textual analysis and discourse (in the framework

life, since it responded to the real needs of those that were familiarised with an entirety of forms of sanskrit and prakrit language – with a pluralism of forms or levels of what it used to be a single language for them – and this made it difficult for them to choose the best form of expression among all extremely familiar forms [...] Grammar has at the same time a practical function and plays an exceptional important role in: creating and preserving social and cultural cohesion ...”. (Cited by Jan E. Houben, “Sources et Histoire de la tradition sanskrite”, *Annuaire de l’Ecole pratique des hautes études (EPHE), Section des sciences historiques et philologiques*, 146/2015, 257-275; Référence électronique: URL:<http://journals.openedition.org/ashp/1748>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/ashp.1748>.)

Note: All quotes in the text were translated by the author of the paper.

of textual linguistics and discursive analysis) with a view to reach the discursive textual analysis.

A new space was provided in linguistic studies, which in the present European experience and beyond is named *discourse linguistics*, *external linguistics*, *linguistics beyond the system units* alongside the one established as more classic, as *the language linguistics*, *internal linguistics*, *linguistics of the system units*. On one hand, in this discursive linguistics are intensively developed such disciplines as studying mental and social conditions in gathering speech practices and on the other hand disciplines and knowledge that place at the epicenter characterising entities and units of linguistics that give rise to those practices, respectively *textual entity and/or discourse*, with a broad and extremely complex problematics, as entities with multiple internal and also external ties and beyond them - the socio-communicative context.

The knowledge gained in the field of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics reflect more rapidly the pressure of social settings and researchers in this area are engaged in a more natural way in responding to its needs in a certain period of time (which is also observed in the context of the development of Albanian language of thought, for substantially more pressing needs in the Albanian society within the state borders, and particularly beyond them, with Albanian researchers in Kosovo and in Northern Macedonia). Whereas those connected with the entities or units that make possible the review of spoken practices, *the text and discursive* entities, although they transform or should transform the object of study of a linguistic subject or matter that appears prosperous (especially in the current stage) they are elaborated through a more prudent review performance, because the research papers, the concepts and methodologies related to them depend on the theoretical perspectives and support which is obtained through a more complex development of linguistic knowledge in other nearby disciplines as well.

The European experiences of the language of thought have already collected various models of textual and discourse review aspects of different linguistic courses; therefore, the current state of play in these studies should be better recognized together with the development dynamics, so that even the adjustments in their inflows concerning the study of the same occurrences for Albanian at this stage of its development should be the most functional possible. Actually, what is

mostly required is extensive knowledge on these models and their approach aimed at understanding the priorities of each one related to the specifics of Albanian and other factors of historical, political and social nature.

These models are obtained in different European language schools, as the French one, through dynamic developments starting from '60 with the knowledge in the field of enonciative linguistics, development of semiotics of the Paris school, the textual linguistics, “ the textual grammar” the intepretative semantics, discourse semiotics, socio-discursive interaction, text pragmatics, theory of social discourse and others; or those of the Anglo-Saxon school with numerous inflows, especially in the context of the Critical Discursive Analysis in Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium and elsewhere, with special care shown for textual linguistics as influenced by the American poststructuralism and even more from hermeneutical approaches outlined by Heideger, Gadamer, Habermas and Foucault or Eco. In the different experiences of the textual and /or discursive review there are also outlined models which have been shaped as such in the context of an ever more wide-ranging scientific and eruditive infrastructure, which has engaged not only linguistics in reviews, but also other researchers engaged with literary studies, social and human sciences.³

The Albanian language of thought has gathered successful experience in the context of the *linguistics of language*, especially in the description of the units of Albanian linguistic system and their specifics. However, there is still an unjustifiable delay noticed in the use of Albanian, on the basis of the scientific inflows of *discourse linguistics*, whose various disciplines and subdisciplines represent a good part of the knowledge already entailed in the prevailing part of the so-called *speech sciences*.

Speech sciences as the institutionalization of a broader space for the language and speech review

Addressing the problematics related to the institutionalization of knowledge and the disciplines that make *the discourse language and the*

³ See for more info “Texte et discours en confrontation dans l’espace européen”, Driss Ablali, Guy Achard-Bayle, Sandrine Reboul-Touré, Malika Temmar (éds), Peter Lang, Berne 2018, page 12.

federating space in which they appear under the name of speech sciences implies a complex review. Within the possibilities mentioned by a research paper it is hard to accommodate all issues that deserve to be present; therefore, we have chosen some indicators which we think mean a lot for the evolution of the European linguistic thinking in the second half of the 20th century and onwards, which through their analogy enable to re-observe conscientiously the presence or non-presence of the same occurrences in various subdisciplines in our language of thought and their status in the area of speech sciences.

The terms or names *linguistics and speech sciences* are randomly interchangeable. Both names are present in the scientific experiences of the study of language and speech. Moreover, right from the beginnings of modern researches in the field of linguistics in the language studies of different countries *linguistics and the speech science* (science in singular) come across; however, the name *speech sciences* (*sciences in plural*) has found its expression in these research papers since '70.⁴

The underlying principles in the development of modern linguistics during the 20th century through unfolding an "innate" model, structuralist both in its approach and study, where the language is distinguished from speech, and the concentration in the first stage to the "language as a social phenomenon", as a common code" for all members of a language community", as a "system of signs that makes a coherent

⁴ Dan Savatovsky, in a study in which he examines the presence of namings *linguistique/linguistics/Linguistik, science du langage/science of language* (the *language science*)/*Sprachëissenschaft* (singular) dhe *sciences du langage/sciences of language* (the *language sciences*)/*Sprachwissenschaften* (in plural), appearing in the catalogues of three libraries in three large states - France, England, Germany in three languages, French, English and German notes that in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) from 2078 times that *sciences of speech* is mentioned (in plural) prior to the year 1972 (the year when it was published "Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences du langage" by O. Ducrot/Tz. Todorov); 98% of the cases mentioned date later than the year 1980 and 80% after the year 1990. In British Library (BL) *language sciences* is mentioned 300 times (there are also noted *sciences of language*, but these very rarely appear prior to the year 1980), and 1650 (or 85%) after this date. In Deutschen Nationalbibliothek (DNB) the overall number of references to *Sprachwissenschaften* (in plural) is very little (rare): 554.

D. Savatovsky emphasizes that "the use in plural is a federating name in a multitude of fields; it simultaneously means the trace of external and internal border of the discipline, which is unity attributed" (for more information see Dan Savatovsky, "De quoi les sciences du langage sont-elles le nom?". Guy Achard-Bayle; Marina Krylyschin; Malika Temmar (dir.) *Les Sciences du langage face au défi de la disciplinarisation et de l'interdisciplinarité. Actes du colloque 2019 de l'ASL, Lambert-Lucas, page 25-45, quotation page 30-31*).

whole”, a “system in which every element is defined by the community of bonds with other elements” were indeed successful but not sufficient.

The present levels of language knowledge outlined as an effect of complex reviews on language and speech have promoted the dissemination and have instilled the term or the name “speech sciences” to all approaches in reviewing language and speech.

This is a space which researchers have named “federation”, implying in this way territories occupied by disciplines with a visible tradition (differently expressed “classic linguistic disciplines) and other territories “occupied” by new scientific inflows, notably those of the second half of the 20th century and the following periods, which shed clear light on spoken and speech practices (understood as universal human skills, a characteristic feature of humans that distinguish them from other living beings, designed and obtained from complicated cognitive processes and elaborated, depending on the most diversified communicative situations in which this skill is employed).

In this “ federation” space have their natural place the inflows related to the basic linguistic occurrences reviewed through such linguistic disciplines, as phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, which in the tradition of linguistic studies are called subfields of linguistic knowledge or the “linguistics of the system/linguistics of the language”; scientific inflows related to the review of mechanisms and processes that characterize speech during communication, reviewed by disciplines or study directions as phonetics, philosophy of speech, pragmatism, discourse or text analysis, theory of enunciation, text and discourse; inflows dealing with diachronic or synchronic language(s) developments, with emphasis laid on inflows of a sociolinguistic or variationist nature; or those that treat speech through a transversal approach, with inflows of psycholinguistics and the neurolinguistic nature of spoken pathologies; outreaching inflows that provide a particular space to the implementation or planning of the knowledge acquired in concrete social and every day activity which outline a study direction, moreover an elaborated knowledge of an interdisciplinary nature, even more a crossed disciplinary nature, named *applied linguistics*, whereby the current developments highlight the automatic

treatment of natural speech, computational linguistics, lexicology, lexicography, language didactics and others.⁵

While analyzing the developments in the second half of the 20th and during these first decades of the 21st century, one notes new interdisciplinary relationships in a new space obtained through speech sciences. Sylvain Aroux affirms: “During the last 30 years (this statement was made in 2011- our note), the linguistic evolution is visibly noted in three aspects: 1. The unmatched development of historic knowledge on this discipline and the presentation of speech from the earliest Antiquity; 2. The escalating success of the mathematization of the discipline, based on the development of informatics; 3. A fading disciplinary identity and unity/unification; today is spoken much more on “speech science” than on linguistics. This is a telling type of evolution; it indicates the complexity of the field and it is not necessarily negative”. While making an analogy with mathematics, he adds on: “While we speak on” mathematics” in plural, this does not overshadow their serious and scientific character”.⁶

Another scholar, Patrick Charaudeau, who has delivered a great deal in the current stage of linguistic achievements on aspects of using language and speech has emphasized: “[...]speech science, a name that signifies very restrictively linguistics has been developing in two sides: one designed to recognize the structures of a language (or languages) which in some aspects tends and intends to reach the point of describing mental mechanisms that give birth or acquire them (cognitivism; and the next one aimed at making analyses of discourses, texts and communication facts/occurrences, which are encouraged by many currents (analytical philosophy, speech sociology, ethnomethodology, semiology and others) that are related to the study of social discourses. [...]Therefore, he emphasizes that there is a major split between the “*language linguistics*” and “*the discursive language*” relying on a shared basis.; [...] by always upholding the idea of a distinction between

⁵Such is the public approach on researches in linguistics and in the speech sciences by the *Institut des sciences humaines et sociales* in France, on 06 January 2023, which supports the configuration of language knowledge presented in the above-mentioned fragment (See <https://www.inshs.cnrs.fr/Linguistique/Science>).

⁶S. Aroux, *Le mode d'existence de la “langue”*, in “La linguistique aujourd’hui, Fondement & domaines”, volume 49, fascicule 1, 2013, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, page 11-33 ; quotation page 11.

the language and discursive analysis, I have always demanded that both be joined together”.⁷

The expansion of the review space was also boosted by another factor within the language knowledge. Structural linguistics and pursuant to that, the generative linguistics did not leave any room for the enunciator, who does not appear in the metalinguistic descriptions. In the opinion of another contemporary prominent researcher in the field of speech sciences, Jean-Pierre Desclès, the insertion of this category makes it possible to expand the concept on the very fundamental and specific speech function(s): “1. Speech serves to express thinking ; 2. Speech serves to convey messages between a speaker-deliverer and a interspeaker or interlocutor- receiver ; 3. Speech invents presentations bound to build up interactive dialogues between two “enunciators”, constructions that leave visible traces in the interchanged sayings, which makes possible the semiotization of such a dialogical activity, as a straight property of human speech.” This mode of comprehending speech functions has triggered the enunciation theory on cognitive and discursive approaches and other directions of language reviews (after Desclès – three linguistics, which he qualifies, as: “1. ‘linguistics of UNĚ’(I), or ‘linguistics of the speaking subject’; 2. ‘linguistics of UNĚ and TI’(I and you) or ‘linguistics of communication’; 3. ‘linguistics of ‘UNĚ – TI’(I – You or ‘linguistics of dialogue’”.⁸ In this way, another perspective is obtained in the language and discursive analyses of different social discourses, in different spheres of social activity.

In the space of the francophone linguistics, concrete and argued steps for this new trend in the treatment of the language/speech were noticed right from the publication in 1972 of the “Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences du langage” by O. Ducrot et Tzvetan Todorov. This work introduced a special approach, underscoring from its very introduction, where the word language/speech is implied as a common understanding of the “natural language” and not in the one spread in the linguistic knowledge, as a “system of signs”, which means the documented languages, the language of specified arts, the language

Quoted by Patrick Charaudeau, “Discipline Science du langage”, Texte envoyé au bureau de l’ALES et de l’ASL, consulté le 22 maj 2023 sur le site de Patrick Charaudeau – Livres, articles, publications. URL: <https://www.patrick-charaudeau.com/Discipline-Sciences-du-langage.html>.

⁸ See for more info: Jean-Pierre Desclès, Gaëll Guibert, *Le dialogue, fonction première du langage, Analyse énonciative de textes*, Honoré Champion, Paris, 2011, page 98.

of animals, the language of gestures and others; but if the word language/speech was in singular, the word science is in plural, because it means the approach to the language/speech in order to highlight different profiles of occurrences that appear connected accurately with the function and the linguistic products obtained in that process. Therefore, even the perspective and the problematics do extend into a broad area of research, part of which are also language and discourse, philology that binds them with relevant works but also with poetics, rhetorics, stylistics, psycho, socio- and geolinguistics, even semiotics, the philosophy of language and speech.⁹ This is why Jakobson's credo appears as motivated (although they do not refer by name) which is also mentioned by the authors of "Dictionnaire-" in *Introduction*: "Linguista sum: linguistici nihil a me alienum puto/I am a linguist: I consider alien nothing that is linguistic".¹⁰

Now, do we currently have these approaches and do scientific inflows and elaborated concepts help us in our reviews on these linguistic inflows? Is this "federalization" of scientific knowledge emerging into the discipline "speech sciences" through scientific inflows by our researchers to date?

The language of discourse in Albanian language thinking – a space of reviews that needs to be completed

Our researches on various communication phenomena in Albanian language, processes of its use and the product obtained in contexts, spheres of usage and specific communicative and enunciation rely on inflows of different European and wider experiences, language pragmatics, textual language and analysis, discourse analysis, conversational interaction and others; yet, we note that it is hard to affirm that the knowledge gained in these study areas for Albanian with the scientific inflows have made it possible to benefit from relevant disciplines in the Albanian language of thought or to affirm that these

⁹ See for more info: O. Ducrot/Tz. Todorov "Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences du langage", Editions du Seuil, 1972, page 7-8.

¹⁰ It is meant a periphrase by Jakobson related to the famous latin saying by Terentius (in latin Publius Terentius Afer), mentioned also later by other scholars starting with Saint Agustin to date: "Homo sum, et humani nihil a me alienum puto/I am a human and nothing human is alien for me". (This saying was used by Terentius in the comedy he wrote "Heautontimorumenos"/ year 165 BC.)

disciplines or review directions do already enjoy *cognitive/intellectual and social* institutionalization in our language science.¹¹

While making an analogy, we would stress that knowledge in the various disciplines of the language of discourse in our language thinking, in each of those disciplines is in certain stages passing over four thresholds defined by M. Foucault in view of upgrading the level of the scientificity of a discursive formation. Among the four thresholds that after him should be overpassed, various disciplines of the language of discourse in our language thinking are in different altitudes of that gradualization. The apathy which we mentioned in the introduction of this paper is noted exactly in the not -very -quick overpassing these thresholds.¹²

The routes that enable the institutionalization of scientific knowledge are already known (and as such they do also apply to these disciplines and subdisciplines). We may also adjust these demands in the institutionalization of discursive language, mentioning in brief that the following are necessary:

- The presence of relevant sectors of research in these fields of study in the research-scientific institutions (In the Institute of Linguistics and Literature attached to the Academy of Sciences of Albania, in the Department of Linguistics in the Faculties of History & Philology in the

¹¹ When we talk on cognitive/intellectual and social institutionalization of these disciplines, we do also bear in mind the parameters that imply the success or failure to attain such institutionalization. According to Robert Bouré “with cognitive or intellectual *institutionalization* (he refers also to R. Whitley, who has used these concepts before, our note) should be understood the formation of study issues, problematics, concepts and theories, the elaboration of methodology, object building, the acceptance of results and the definition of the scientific area, i.e. definition of the boundaries with other disciplines, boundaries that at the same time are hindrances and linkages”.

Whereas “social institutionalization” deals with the modes of organization of studying and teaching, the gained knowledge, the social structures of a continuous promotion of studies and the renewal of the community of researchers, the legitimization of financial aids for the sources, outline of scientific research programs and publication systems” (See R. Bouré, *Réflexions autour de l’institutionnalisation des disciplines, Sciences de l’information et de la communication versus économie?*, in “Communication”, vol. 24/1, 2005, page 9-37, quota page 11).

¹² M. Foucault understood as such the leap towards the scientification of discursive formation which enables the outline of scientific discipline: the threshold of *obtaining the knowledge that provides* autonomy in the field of knowledge; the threshold of the *epistemologization of knowledge*; the one *unveiling expression in that field*, with the concepts of the relevant terminology and the threshold of the *formalization* of relevant scientific inflows (See more M. Foucault, “L’archéologie du savoir”, Gallimard, 1969, page 241).

Albanian universities and in homologous institutions in Kosovo and in Northern Macedonia);

- Publication of periodic specialized journals on speech sciences, attaching priority to studies on the language of discourse;

- Drafting and publishing research projects and programs in the relevant areas, by defining the frontiers of relevant sub-disciplines and the opportunities for interdisciplinary approaches concerning the objects under examination;

- Compiling and launching synthetic works, compendiums, university handbooks but also publications designed to disseminate the results of researches among practicans of other similar sciences,

- Scheduling the work for the preparation of researchers' teams, who can undertake the updated publications of basic works of the language of thought, as the academic grammar of Albanian language, in keeping with the review in these subdisciplines, i.e. with data and interpretations also of discursive and textual nature; likewise, the work schedule to study different types of texts and genders of discourse;

- Promotion of synthetic publications to disseminate the knowledge instilled in a wide range of less specialized readers who are interested for this problematics;

- Promotion of the organization of scientific events in fields of scientific study& research and highlighting the accomplished researches, as a basis for further reviews in more advanced approaches;

- Translation of the most important works in different areas of speech sciences (with priority attached to the language of discourse) and the discussion of the terminology that comes in Albanian through scientific inflows and concepts in these works;

- others.

In this way, it would fill that part of the empty space of the cognitive/intellectual and social institutionalization and would provide our scientific inflows in these fields of study with the status of scientific subdisciplines, as part of this most recent linguistics. Thus, quicker steps would be possible for the institutionalization of the discursive language in the Albanian language thinking and it would be made fully functional for a part of the corpus of Albanian linguistics, which without that functionality would remain impaired.

If meeting these requirements is a general process that characterizes the institutionalization of scientific knowledge and disciplines also for other areas of linguistics and speech sciences, in the current stage we consider as most pressing the persistence in the scientific and methodologic accuracy of the problematics of the dichotomy *text/discourse*, and par consequence the issues related to the interpretation of dichotomy *process/speech product*.

Focusing the attention in these entities and relevant problematics will trigger more harmonious developments in a series of disciplines that are part of discursive language, completing with new concrete inflows the space which is not still inhabited to its proper size and mode in the edifice of Albanian thinking.

Accordingly, the following points deserve special attention:

- clarification of perspectives focused on *text* and /or *discursive text or entity according to various language trends and directions*;
- the same applies to various approaches towards them in the disciplines that have as their direct research object - the textual grammar, textual language, discursive analysis, textual semantics and others in view of gaining the most possible comprehensive knowledge on the theoretical models obtained and to make use of inflows of these knowledge for the interpretation of the usage reality of Albanian (i.e. to come to know different approaches related to the understanding of the discourse (as an act of production) and text (as its product);
- Highlighting the problems related to the typology of discursive texts and genders (considering text as a theoretical construction, defined by internally created properties, vis à vis discourse, as a concrete language achievement defined by qualities and social-communicative characteristics. (“*texte et discours...*”, page 15); hence the textual and/or discourse problematics elaborated and addressed by Sosyri and his semiological reflections on the legends,¹³ contributions to the intertextuality with their beginnings starting with Bakht and Volochinov with approachers towards the subjectivity in the perspectives of

¹³ The publication of the manuscripts found by Sosyr and published in 2003 by Simon Bouquet and Rudolf Engler entitled “*Ecrits de linguistique générale*” has made it possible to highlight an unknown profile of Sosyr inflows in the language of thought, displaying it not only as a linguist of the language, but also a linguist of spoken language and his linguistic knowledge not only as language of signs but also as language of texts (see for more also F. Rastier, “*Saussure au futur*”, Editions Les Belles Letres, Collection “*encre marine*”, 2015, page 9, 17, 110, 177.

Benvenist, the indications giving way to the argument according to Ducrot or the viewpoint by Rabatel, the analysis of the conversation after the Anglo-Saxon model elaborated by van Dijk, Wodak and others, make it also possible an approach among schools and review orientations and the temptation to distinguish the “bridges” of the ties among them;¹⁴

- Likewise, familiarization during reviews with the theory of language polyphony (among different theoretical paradigms) related to the speaker/enunciator’s position in the discourse, implying a majority of voices attributed to the speaker, hence the co-existence of several “textual/discursive beings” as part of an enunciation;

- Recognition of the model already provided in various language schools, as in the French school, where importance is attached to the hermeneutical approach, which places the text in relation to the intercourse and

- The social and historic situation in which language is read and written, apart from Anglophone, German or Latinamerican models which pay attention to the role of producers and receptors rather than to analyses of textual structures;

- The need to build on the scientific inflows of textual linguistics and discursive analysis while we study the types/genres of the discursive text and genre. It is noted that in the studies hitherto, in not a few cases, although there are attempts to make reviews on approaches of textual linguistics and discourses, they fail to create a true status from the knowledge gained through those disciplines, even though the facts are gathered to be reviewed by those who have been approaching those study fields. Generally speaking, there is a lack of elaborated concepts on methodological and theoretical supportive knowledge. Even worse, the presence of innovation and inflows in reviewing the text and discourse is not yet in place, although there are not few authors, works and concepts from the text language and the discourse analysis that may serve as points of reference.

- Recognition and elaboration of a whole number of concepts (with the relevant terms), i.e. not only texts and discourses, enunciations

¹⁴ See also “Texte et discours en confrontation dans l’espace européen”, quoted work. A compendium of studies which intends and tries to view this problematic even more closely in various European and transatlantic schools. References for the models in this paragraph are shown in page 15.

and their sequences, but also different types of texts, discourse genres, enunciation and communicative situations, speaking and discursive practices, enunciative contexts, communicative models ... and others. And then an entirety of other concepts elaborated for different types of texts or certain discourse genres, extending into the spheres of politics, jurisprudence, written and spoken media, religion...up to literary text and discourse.

More specifically, the development of different linguistic discourse disciplines, discursive and textual analysis, psycholinguistics, pragmatics, textual semantics and others, as disciplines which carry a heavy weight in the language of discourse and in speech sciences implies or it makes it indispensable the collection of data in the form of various language corpuses, whose preparation requires unavoidably the development of corpus linguistics, the experiences from Europe and on a wider scale. The collection, disciplining and elaboration of data through tools of different nature, which in the current stage enable multifaceted elaborations of registrations of spoken language creates a safe basis for precious reviews in the textual and discourse analysis, but also the review of other natures, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics and others; these reviews that can be also concentrated in the cognitive processes during speech and other processes. In this way, the reviews are naturally expanded not only in the dichotomy text/discourse, but also in the dichotomy of speech process/product, whereby the enunciation beneficiaries (the person who produces the message and and the “textual being” that undertakes and conveys the message) maintain a close relationship with the enunciators/co-enunciators (or the reader/listener) in the reading and listening process.

In conclusion

The current inflows in speech sciences in Europe and elsewhere, particularly in discursive linguistics, in subdisciplines and in various theoretical aspects, as an integral part of that linguistics require self-awareness for the complexity of scientific undertakings in this area; they cannot be successful without a systematic knowledge with tangible developments, not simply in the sociolinguistics or psycholinguistics, but in all other subdisciplines and aspects, both developed or under

development, starting with the intense knowledge on *theoretical and general linguistics, the speech philosophy, language pragmaticism, language semantics (lectures, but also grammatical and discursive/text, the discursive textual analysis, language anthropology, ethnomethodology, the text semiotics and others*; the same applies to the *sociology of discourse and psychology of the language*, being self-aware of the interdisciplinary nature of gained knowledge and the multiple competence of researchers who will undertake studies in these areas.

The achievements in the so-called “linguistics of the language” in our scientific mindset, the experience gathered in the cognitive and social institutionalization of various subdisciplines of that linguistics (in the field of phonetics, lexicology, semantics and terminology, grammar, dialectology and history of the language) may also help these new profiles which are indispensable in the Albanian language of thought.

However, improper developments in the external or discursive linguistics have an impact on slowing down the movement even in the “linguistics of the language”. The scientific inflows in the discursive linguistics in different European experiences have had a direct impact also in the further review of the units of the language system going beyond the structuralist approach and the formal interpretation of grammatical and lexicon occurrences, attaching the comprehensive value transferred in the system occurrences to the scientific claim. Now they persist that “the development of the language of thought” has indicated the limitations of the formal system study. The language structures should not be reduced to a geometry without substance, syntax should not be conceived as separate from its understanding. On the other hand, as a co-satisfier of syntax requirements, semantic researches should not make any abstraction from syntax, the latter meant as organization of the understanding by the language. The comprehension depends on a complex of lexico-syntax relationships; it depends on the very form of the lexicon and discourse.”¹⁵

Meeting the current demands in this respect is not only a duty or mission for researchers in these areas, but a task and mission for the whole “institutional and scientific edifice” in the appropriate and

¹⁵ Cited by *Introduction*, prepared by Aude Grezka, Malory Leclère, Malika Temmar, in “Les sciences du langage en Europe”, Actes du colloque 2011 de l’ASL – Association des Sciences du Langage, Lambert-Lucas, 2014 ; quotation page 8-9.

promising spaces in which the researchers could further deliver the desire and a product welcomed by them.

In the present ever growing globalized world, in which communication among speakers and especially public communication is present in unimaginable proportions than just a little time before, with unprecedented opportunities for information and scientific interchanges, the necessary requirements (also for development in different science fields) are that the levels of achievements be measured and complied with the end-results and achievements in the scientific environments outside and beyond us.

We hope and wish that this Conference will take and carry on this mission!

Linda MËNIKU

**GIVEN NAMES IN TIRANA VIEWED FROM AN
HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE (1907-2017)**

Abstract

Given names reflect social interactions and significant social structures at different historic periods. They are also reflections of the socio-cultural context of people relevant to their specific experience. Given names are influenced by various factors, occupations and the preservation of cultural heritage.

This research paper will provide an overview of given names in Tirana vis à vis the trend on a national-wide scale, focusing largely on the five most popular names for over a century time period (1907–2017). The presentation and comparison of these data may shed light on the impact of historic changes and developments of given names. This paper will also analyse the trends related to these names in Tirana at different time periods, as a byproduct of political and historical changes in Albania.

This analysis is based on the socio-onomastic theory, which deals with names in relation to the social context in which they are found. In the socio-onomastic researches on first names, statistical data are also frequently used.

This research is also based on data published by the Institute of Statistics in Albania (www.instat.gov.al) for the five most popular given names in every year: <http://www.instat.gov.al/al/k%C3%ABrko-emrin/top-5-emrat-sipas-viteve>.

While analysing given names in Tirana during different time periods, this socio-onomastic research shows that these names in Tirana serve a social identity function. The changes in the trends in the given names emanate from the country's socio-political shifts.

Introduction

Although a separate discipline, Onomastics is also interlaced with other disciplines. More specifically, given names are studied in sociology, anthropology and in other sciences.

According to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu “There is no social agent who does not aspire ... to have the power of naming and creating the world with names.”¹

Bourdieu considered the name “official” as an “imposed symbolic act [that makes] state the single holder of the legitimated symbolic violence”.²

Given names can mirror social structures in a very genuine and straight way. Researchers think that both given and family names, should in particular be a barometer of sociological changes in a speedy and flexible way, unlike the rest of the language. As Van Langendonck³ emphasizes “inventories and structures of personal names reflect very rapidly the new developments in the society, i.e. the relationship husband – wife, distinctions among social classes, the elderly and the young, or socio-onomastic aspects among ideologies. Apparently, both naming and given names reflect these social phenomena.”

Socio-onomastics is defined as the socio-linguistic study of names. It examines the use and their diversity through methods, revealing social and cultural conditions and the situation in using names. Researchers analyse different historic periods, trying to provide different prospects for the changes that social and cultural developments introduce through names.

Socio-onomastics is focused on the “cases of variations”. Likewise, it is accepted that variations were created by various social and cultural registers (Nicolaisen 1995, 123).⁴

Socio-onomastics researches on names do also encompass the study of variations of their popularity. At the focal point of these researches is

¹ Bourdieu, P. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ, 1991, f.105.

² *Ibid*, f.239.

³ Van Langendonck W. *Theory and Typology of Proper Names*. De Gruyter Mouton 2007, f.309. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197853>.

⁴ Hough, C. Izdebska D. *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*. Oxford University Press, 2016, f.372.

the analysis of names' fashion for a given period of time and the name variations related to ethnic classes and minorities, pointing out in this way the role of power and status.⁵

Given names may reflect important social structures and help understand structural problems and through the study of the historic material, we may better realize what is currently happening.

Palok Daka emphasizes that "... given names for all persons, as proper names have been coined mainly through usual words, phrases and expressions from the language, i.e. they stem from units of various spheres of the language lexicon of the relevant country or from units of different spheres of language lexicons of other countries, mainly borrowed as anthroponyms"⁶

Onomastic studies in Albania have revealed that given names and the naming system depends on the ethnolinguistic origin and the religious affiliation of persons. Çabej, Domi, Kostallari, Ajeti, Stipçeviqi, Daka, Shkurtaj, Bidollari and others have provided a great contribution in the field of Albanian onomastics from the viewpoint of historic linguistics and historic phonetics of Albanian language. Among the researchers of personal names (anthroponyms) and extralinguistic influences on Albanian softening and diminutive suffixes, Çabej, Lloshi, Shkurtaj, Bidollari and others occupy major place.

In the opinion of Kostallari et al.⁷ "Just as in the case of every other people, given names among Albanian people were formed layer by layer from ancient times to date. Naturally, these layers retain the characteristics of the time of their creation and the specifics of the path that our people has gone through its history. Likewise, Albanians' names were shaped layer by layer from ancient to present time. Generally speaking, given names have their source in the words of the general lexicon of the language. In most cases this source is visible and easily discovered, but in other cases, due to modifications, words "languish" during the tenses, both in form and in contents and so it is hard to define it. The repertoire of given names used in Albania is divided in two large

⁵ About socio-onomastics – New trends in Nordic Socio-onomastics (nordicsocioonomastics.org).

⁶ Daka, P. Vëzhgime mbi emra vetjakë të ardhur nga leksiku i përgjithshëm i shqipes, SF, nr. 3, 1970, f. 147.

⁷ Kostallari, A.; Domi, M.; Daka, P.; Mansaku S. *Fjalor me emra njerëzish*. Tiranë, 1982. Shtëpia Botuese "8 Nëntori", f.3.

groups: names from domestic source, Albanian and Illyrian and of foreign source (laic and religious) used in our country.

After Bidollari's⁸ opinion, the first foreign layer in the Albanian anthroponymic system is made from early paleochristian names, which today, due to the rigid codification by the Catholic Church are preserved in catholic areas in Northern Albania. Given names like: *Gjon, Gjin, Gjergj, Gjokë, Gjikä, Mri, Mrikë, Nikë, Kolë, Lec, Hilë, Mëhill, Ndue, Palok, Shtjefën, Pashk, Fran, Zef* and others were replaced with the original native layers and were used for centuries due to strict church canons which did not allow pagan names".⁹ The split in the Roman Empire, the Byzantine rule and the slave occupations during the sixth century have left their traces in the Albanian anthroponymic system with the insertion of christian Greek-Byzant names: *Anesti, Nesti, Dhimitër, Daniel, Eftim, Arqile*.¹⁰

The five century old Ottoman rule was also coupled with the islamization of the majority of Albanians. Par consequence, a new Albanian anthroponymic repertoire was created, as that of oriental names (Perso-Arab-Turkish), which despite their origin started to be used by Albanians in their Turkish form.¹¹

During the Renaissance period there were used names of the antiquity (*Akil, Hektor, Helena, Parid, Odise, Aleksandër, Piro and others.*) and notably those coined with Albanian "substance" (*Arben, Ylli, Luan*). These names saw a boost in use, especially after year 1945, when the Albanian anthroponymic system witnessed an unprecedented widespread.¹²

In this research paper we shall analyse given names in Tirana during given periods, which because of important political events have influenced historical domestic developments:

1907–1920 (the first data for the mos popular names -Tirana becomes Albania's capital)

1920–1928 (The first years as a capital and Republic)

⁸ Bidollari, Ç. *Tradita dhe risi në fondin e emrave të shqiptarëve (antroponimikoni shqiptar). Studime filologjike* 1–2, f.56

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, 53.

¹¹ Ibid, p.54

¹² Ibid, 58.

- 1928–1938 (Albanian Kingdom)
- 1939–1944 (World War II)
- 1944–1960 (the first years of the communist regime until the break off with Soviet Union)
- 1960–1968 (break off with Soviet Union; Albania, the first atheist state)
- 1968–1975 (first atheist state until Enver Hoxha's death)
- 1986–1990 (final years of communism)
- 1991–2017 (collapse of the communist dictatorship and transition to democracy)

1907–1920

From the year 1865 onwards, after the reform of the Turkish administration, vilayets were organized and Tirana became a separate Sub-Prefecture reporting to the Prefecture of Durrës (Sanjak) of Shkodra Vilayet. During these years Tirana had 10-15.000 inhabitants. The last Turkish census in 1911 registered a population of 15.000 inhabitants for Tirana.¹³

Among the major events in Tirana during the period 1907-1920 it should be mentioned that the self-government was located there on 26 November 1912, two days prior to the proclamation of Independence in the town of Vlora. Under the pressure of approaching Serb troops which were to occupy Kruja, the patriots of Tirana changed the flow of historic events, declaring independence from Turkey on 26 November 1912.¹⁴ The first years of independence, as for the most part of Albania were hard also for Tirana, since it was under occupation by foreign armies. According to data provided by the Austro-Hungarian administration in 1917, Tirana town had 1848 houses with 10251 inhabitants from which 9468 (92,36%) muslims, 757 (7,38%) orthodox, 18 catholics and 8 hebrews (0,26%).¹⁵

On 19 December 1920 it was held the Congress of Tirana; it convened following the efforts for holding an All -Albanian Congress with a view to consolidate the new Albanian state.¹⁶ All these

¹³ Myderrizi O. Tirana, 1937. Shtëpia botuese “Luarasi”, p23.

¹⁴ Dalliu I.H. Patriotizma në Tiranë, Tiranë, 1930, p. 84.

¹⁵ Mëhilli S. Tirana 1920-1944. Mediaprint, Tiranë, 2012, p.145.

¹⁶ Ruzi E. *104 vjet më parë mbahej Kongresi i Tiranës*. <https://ata.gov.al/2022/12/19/104-vjet-me-pare-mbahej-kongresi-i-tiranes>.

developments led to the Congress of Lushnja in 1920. On 9 February 1920, the members of this Congress declared Tirana as the provisional capital of their Government. They entered in Tirana on 11 February 1920 and from that day on, under an act by the Constitutional Assembly in 1925 Tirana would be for ever the capital of Albanians.

As far as religious affiliation is concerned, as it was mentioned above, based on the data of the Austro-Hungarian administration dating back to the year 1917, nearly 92 per cent of Tirana's population was Muslim.

As it is known, the richest source of names in the Muslim world has been the historic and moral heritage of Holy Quran.¹⁷ The given Muslim names are always religious names related to the following:

- Ninety nine attributes by Allah mentioned in Quran, as for instance *Naser, Latif, Rahman*;

- Name of Prophet, *Muhammad* (glorified, with brilliant qualities) with its variations *Mahmud, Ahmed and Hamid*.

- Names of prophet's descendents or his close family: *Ali, Hasan, Hysen, Omar, Osman*. For females, the most favourite are the names of prophet's and other sacred women - *Fatime, Aishe, Hafsa, Zejnepe, Emine, Merjeme*.

The list with the five most popular given names in Tirana for the period 1907-1920, shown in Table 1, provides more data and testimony on the religious affiliation of Tirana's population during that period. The most favourite names are those of Arabic origin, which have entered into use mainly through the Turkish language. This is shown by the fact that in Turkish for example, all female first names end with -ye, whereas in Albanian they take the suffix-e (for instance, *Fatime, Rabie, Hamide, Hamide, Aishe, Sabrie, Hatixhe, Sanie* and others).

¹⁷ K. M. Sharma. *What's in a Name: Law, Religion, and Islamic Names*. Denver Journal of International Law & Policy Vol. 26. No. 2, january 1998, p.157.

Table 1: The five most popular given names¹⁸ in Tirana (1907–1920)

1907-1908	Ilira	Ina	Mario	Sanie	Sherife
1908-1909	Anisa	Erisa	Eriselda	Lena	Lime
1909-1910	Endrit	Noçe	Prena	Sulbie	Sybe
1910-1911	Burhan	Dile	Endrit	Naile	Prena
1911-1912	Naile	Ndriçim	Sanie	Theodhor	Zarie
1912-1913	Hirie	Ndriçim	Razie	Sanie	Zarie
1913-1914	Dafina	Demirhan	Enxhi	Gazo	Hamide
1914-1915	Demirhan	Guge	Hamide	Hatlie	Hume
1915-1916	Dile	Hatlie	Hume	Ibrahim	Kade
1916-1917	Bajame	Dile	Djella	Shuaip	Vitori
1917-1918	Arif	Gani	Hatixhe	Muharrem	Sabrie
1918-1919	Arif	Gani	Halit	Hatixhe	Sabrie
1919-1920	Bedrie	Kudie	Qazim	Rabie	Ramazan

This Table shows that the prevailing names for the newly born babies of those years in Tirana are Arabic and Turkish names, which do also show the religious affiliation of Tirana's inhabitants: *Sanie*, *Sabrie*, *Hatixhe*, *Hamide*, *Hatlie*, *Naile*, *Sybe*, *Razie*, *Rabie*, *Arif*, *Gani*, *Burhan*, *Ibrahim Qazim*, *Muharrem*, *Demirhan*, *Shuaip* and others. The most favourite name for females seems to be *Sanie*, which entered the list of the most favourite names of this period within three years, whereas for males *Gani* and *Arif*. *Gani* is one of the 99 names of Allah (in Arabic, Al-Ghaniyy (self - sufficient), whereas *Arif* (Aarif) means *knowledgeable* or *devoted*.

The onomastic situation in Tirana during that period was similar to that of the whole country, where as it is known and as we have documented even in the previous researches¹⁹ for the same period (1907-1920), the most popular female names are Arabic and Turkish: *Fatime*, *Xhemile*, *Hava*, *Hajrie*, *Aishe*, *Rabie*, *Razie*, *Hatixhe*, *Farie*, *Nafije*, *Zyra*, *Hanife*, *Hamide*, *Sybe* and others with the difference that the mos

¹⁸ In the INSTAT page it is used the term *top names*: <https://www.instat.gov.al/al/k%C3%ABrko-emrin/top-5-emrat-sipas-viteve>.

¹⁹ Mëniku L., Marku M. *Trends in Personal Names in Albania (1907–2017)*. Zeitschrift für Balkanologie, 2021, 57(2), p. 260.

favourite Muslim female name in the country is *Fatime*, the name of the daughter of Prophet Muhammad.

The presence of the Christian community in Tirana is also proved by the appearance in the list of the following five most popular names: *Mario, Theodhori, Vitori, Prena and Lena*.

Although Tirana of early 20th century was overwhelmed with religious names, the preference for Albanian names was also visible there. Thus, during the Independence period 1911-1913, the telling Albanian name, *Ndriçim* was inserted in the list of the most popular names; this certainly expressed the desire for a future with plenty of light for the children.

Likewise, *Dile* and *Djella* rank among the most popular names in Tirana town during this period, *both related to the Albanian word 'diell' (sun)*. As we have noted even before, *Dile* was also widely used across the country by all religious communities, as one of the most popular names during the period 1907-1920.²⁰

Two other non-religious names in the list of the most popular given names for the period 1907-1920 in Tirana and Albania are *Dafina* and *Bajame*.

As it may be seen, there is a similar onomastic situation in Tirana and in Albania during this period. With its most popular names of the time, Tirana town shows that it followed the general local trend but at the same time it preserved its preferences for religious and Albanian names.²¹

1920–1928

Tirana's proclamation as capital in 1920 and its location as the seat of the government marks the beginning of a new epoch for the town, which was also reflected in the first years with changes in the town urbanistics (the first urban plan in 1923) and with demographic changes. As location for different institutions it triggered the increase of Tirana's population and the settlement of officials and professionals in the capital.

²⁰ Ibid, p.261.

²¹ We should clarify that the inclusion of some names in this list remains disputable, since based on the voters' list for the Year 2008 they started to be used much later and respectively: *Endrit* (1948), *Ilira* (1945), *Ina* (1959), *Erisa* (1973), *Eriselda* (1974) <http://www.cec.org.al/http://95.107.129.71/ListatDPGJC/listat/Informacione.html>.

After Teki Selenica's opinion²², in 1923, Tirana town had 10845 inhabitants from which 72 orthodox (7%) and 21 catholics. In Tirana's district lived 34333 inhabitants, from which 902 were orthodox (2,6%) and 102 catholics. The largest part of the population (44%) lived in the town. In 1926, Tirana had 16513 inhabitants, 12513 were native and 4000 had come there after Tirana's proclamation as capital.

The changes in the demography and in the capital's political and cultural life were also reflected in the modifications related to preferences for the given names for the children born during that period.

Table 2: The five most popular given names in Tirana (1920–1928)

1920-1921	Bedrie	Hajrie	Qazim	Rabie	Zeqine
1921-1922	Hajrie	Sabrie	Shpresa	Thimi	Zeqine
1922-1923	Afërdita	Aishe	Hajrie	Halime	Sabrie
1923-1924	Aishe	Bedrie	Hajrie	Nurie	Sanie
1924-1925	Ahmet	Servete	Skënder	Sofie	Xhevahire
1925-1926	Hava	Nazmie	Sabrie	Selime	Sofie
1926-1927	Ervehe	Hajrie	Hava	Lirie	Sabrie
1927-1928	Barie	Bedrie	Hamit	Nurie	Sabrie

As we have pointed out in previous research papers, the most popular names on national – wide scale during this period continued to be those derived from Arabic and Turkish: *Aishe, Fatime, Hajrie, Hava, Sanie, Xhemile, Razie, Nurije and others.*²³; this is explained with the religious situation in Albania, where the largest part of the population belong to Muslim faith. The same onomastic situation appeared also in Tirana, where the top names are those related to the Islam faith: *Hajrie, Sabrie, Nazmie, Selime, Ervehe, Hava, Aishe, Zeqine, Qazim, Hamit*. The popularity of Christian names is not missing in Tirana either. In the list of the most popular names of that period is also *Thimi*, used largely among the Orthodox community.

In the list of the most common given names does also appear *Sofie*. Under the data of the voters' register of the year 2008, this name was

²² Mëhilli S. Tirana 1920-1944. Mediaprint, Tiranë, 2012, p.146.

²³ Mëniku L., Marku M. *Trends in Personal Names in Albania (1907–2017)*. Zeitschrift für Balkanologie, 2021, 57(2), p. 260.

used both by the Muslim and Christian community (catholic and orthodox) in Albania.

The years 1924-1925 marked a rising popularity of the name *Ahmet*, the Turkish variant of the Arabic name *Ahmad*, originating from Quran, oftenly considered also as a variant of the name *Muhammad*. Although the name *Ahmet* in Albania came to be used at early times and this is proved with evidence at least from the year 1875, given the voters' list of the year 2008²⁴ we think that the growing popularity of this name in the period 1924-1925 bears relevance to the name of the- then Albania's Prime Minister and then President of the Republic during those years, Ahmet Zogu.

The list of the most popular names in 1924-1925 highlights the name *Skënder*, which is proved to have been used across the country starting from the year 1892 (based on the voters' list). It is considered as the Turkish variant of the name *Aleksander*, and it is known that Gjergj Kastrioti was given the name Skënderbe, i.e. like Alexander the Great, when he was taken hostage by Sultan Murati II.²⁵

The growing popularity of this name first in Albania's capital (1924-1925) and then across the country (after 1930) may relate to the importance that Ahmet Zogu attributed to Skënderbe. Thus, on 3 December 1925, he created the *Order of Skënderbeu*²⁶, which was awarded to different individuals in recognition of their civil merits for the nation.

The impact of changes in the capital's political, social and cultural life began to be reflected in the growing preference for meaningful Albanian given names in Tirana town as: *Afërdita*, *Shpresa*, *Lirie*; meanwhile on national level, the Albanian most favourite names of that period were: *Dile* and *Lule*.

1928-1939

In September 1928, Ahmet Zogu was crowned King Zogu I, King of Albanians. Almost six months after the proclamation of Monarchy, on 16 July 1929 (published in the Official Gazette on 1 February 1930) King Zog decreed the Law on the Administration of Religious Communities.

²⁴ <http://www.cec.org.al>, <http://95.107.129.71/ListatDPGJC/listat/Informacione.html>.

²⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Skanderbeg>.

²⁶ <https://albanianroyalcourt.al/sq/urdhrat-mbreterore>.

Under Article 8 of this Law, “*The leaders of the religious communities ... their assistants and deputies should be Albanian nationals from kinship and language, they should know to read and write freely the native language.*”²⁷

Although it sparked discontent in the religious communities, this Law had its impact on essential amendments in the organization of religious communities in Albania. Thus, the Statute adopted in the Congress held in August 1929 provided that the official language of the Muslim community should be only Albanian.²⁸ Likewise, at the Orthodox Congress in Korça in 1929, the Albanian Orthodox Church adopted its own Statute, which set out that *liturgy service should be in Albanian.*²⁹

The rising interest for Albanian language and names appears also in the law adopted by Albania’s Parliament on the “Modification of the proper names of some towns, villages, quarters, rivers and others” published in the Official Gazette no.119/1, dated 22.4.1937 and promulgated by King Zog on 5.5.1937.³⁰

During the monarchy years, the number of Tirana inhabitants kept growing. Under the census of 25 May 1930³¹, Tirana town had 30.000 inhabitants, whereas in 1938, it amounted to 36 200 inhabitants.

As it may be also seen in Table 3, even during the monarchy period in Tirana and across the country it is Arabic and Turkish names that prevail: *Bedrie, Nurie, Hajrie, Sabrie, Sanie, Zyra, Rukie, Zyra, Hamit, Nuri and others. The most popular name for the Orthodox community was Ollga.*

²⁷ Duka, V. *Institucionet fetare gjatë mbretërimit të Zogut.* <https://www.zaninalte.al/2014/01/institucionet-fetare-gjate-mbreterimit-te-ahmet-zogut-nje-veshtrim-te-legjislacionit-te-kohes-1928-1939>.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Dervishi K. *1938/Ndryshimi i emrave të fshatrave dhe qyteteve me origjinë të huaj.* <https://27.al/1938-ndryshimi-i-emrave-te-fshatrave-dhe-qyteteve-me-origjine-te-huaj>.

³¹ Mëhilli S. *Tirana 1920-1944.* Mediaprint, Tiranë, 2012, p.146.

Table 3: The five most popular given names in Tirana (1928–1939)

1928-1929	Bedrie	Bukurie	Hamit	Razie	Rukie
1929-1930	Bukurie	Feride	Nurie	Razie	Zyra
1930-1931	Bukurie	Ikbale	Nurie	Xhevahire	Zyra
1931-1932	Bukurie	Hajrie	Qamile	Zenepe	Zyra
1932-1933	Bukurie	Nurie	Ollga	Qamile	Sabrie
1933-1934	Bedrie	Hajrie	Nurie	Ollga	Sabrie
1934-1935	Hajrie	Rabie	Rustem	Sabrie	Sanie
1935-1936	Bedrie	Hajrie	Nurie	Sabrie	Sanie
1936-1937	Bukurie	Farie	Hajrie	Lumturi	Sanie
1937-1938	Bukurie	Gjyle	Hajrie	Nuri	Sanie
1938-1939	Myzejen	Nurie	Qani	Sabrie	Sanie

However, just as in the political and religious life, during that period the references to Albanian given names with positive nuances and as the incarnation of the best physical feelings or qualities kept increasing. Thus, both on national-wide scale³² and in Tirana, the Albanian name *Bukurie* entered for the first time the list of the most popular names in the years 1928–1929 and it remained a favourite name for the whole decade 1928-1938. Another Albanian name that became popular in Tirana during the monarchy period is *Lumturi*.

1939–1944

Tirana, as the whole country went through the calvary of the World War II; besides, since it was Albania's capital, it went through much more dramatic events. On 7 April 1939 Italy launched its military aggression against Albania. The Italian troops entered in Tirana on 8 April 1939 and took control of all governmental buildings. The Italian advisers were posted in all levels of Albanian administration. After Italy's surrender in September 1943, the German troops entered in Albania and stayed there until November 1944.

From the outset of the World War II Tirana became the center of the anti-fascist resistance and the battle for its liberation was among the

³² Mëniku L., Marku M. *Trends in Personal Names in Albania (1907–2017)*. *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 2021, 57(2), p. 263.

most deadly ones in Albania. Tirana became free in the morning of 17 November 1944 after 19 days and nights of fightings.³³

Statistical data show that in 1939 Tirana had 35000 inhabitants. On district level it had 54100 inhabitants with 84% muslims, 10% orthodox and 8% catholics.³⁴

The high percentage of the Islam faith population is also proved by the list of the most popular names of this period, with overwhelming Arabic and Turkish names: *Feride*, *Hamide*, *Myzejen*, *Nurie*, *Sanie*, *Sabrie*, *Hajrie*, *Lutfie*, *Riza* and others.

Table 4: The five most popular given names in Tirana (1939-1944)

1939-1940	Feride	Hamide	Myzejen	Nurie	Sanie
1940-1941	Hajrie	Hamide	Nurie	Sabrie	Sanie
1941-1942	Hajrie	Myzejen	Nurie	Riza	Sabrie
1942-1943	Drita	Fatmira	Lutfie	Myzejen	Sabrie
1943-1944	Bukurie	Drita	Lumturi	Sabrie	Vjollca

In the dark years of World War II (1942-1944) the desire of the people to see the light of a way out in Tirana and across the country³⁵ is also noticed in the reference to the name *Drita* (*Light*) for the girls born during those years. Apparently, Tirana's citizens did not lose optimism and the aspiring wish in a better future for their children, choosing apart from *Drita* also the name *Fatmira*. In the difficult year 1943-1944, which marked fascist Italy's capitulation and the country's occupation by nazi troops, one notes for the first time that it is not any more religious names prevailing in Tirana; in the list of the five most popular there are meaningful Albanian names that prevail: *Bukurie* (*beauty*), *Drita* (*Light*), *Lumturi* (*Happiness*) and *Vjollca* (*Lily flower*); it was a different trend from the one on country's level, where during the time period 1943-1944 religious names remained among the five most popular.³⁶

³³ <https://tirana.al/faqe/historia>.

³⁴ Mëhilli S. Tirana 1920-1944. Mediaprint, Tiranë, 2012, p.146.

³⁵ Mëniku L., Marku M. *Trends in Personal Names in Albania (1907–2017)*. *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 2021, 57(2), p.264

³⁶ Ibid.

1944–1960

The executive power established during the Anti-Fascist National – Liberation Struggle began to exercise the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat once the war was over.³⁷

While admitting and not bypassing the religious reality in Albania, the communist leadership took concrete legal steps to attack the clergy and religious institutions.³⁸ The state assaults against religious communities started in the second half of 1945. On 29 August 1945, the Anti-Fascist National – Liberation Council enacted the Law on Agrarian Reform. Pursuant to this Law, the great landowner families, the religious communities, the private ranches and other assets were expropriated.³⁹ Many clergy and muslims were condemned and executed. The communist regime took measures to reshuffle the religious communities and cut off their connections including the spiritual bonds with the respective religious centers abroad.

The policy that the communist regime pursued from the very first year after World War II on the religious communities had also its impact on the names for children born after the year 1945. Both in Tirana and also across the country it was noted a decline of popularity of religious names.⁴⁰

The work and propaganda of the new political power for the rapid “abolishment of the war wounds and the backwardness inherited from the past, the vibrating development of the folk economy and culture [...]”⁴¹ and the desire of Albanians for a better life may have had its bearing also on the trend for Albanian names, which express the desire of parents for their children to have a better and lucky destiny: *Fatmir/Fatmira* (*good luck*), *lumturi* (*Happiness*), *Gëzim* (*joy*), *Përparim* (*prosperity*), *Liri* (*freedom*) and others.

³⁷ 1-5.pdf (marxists.org).

³⁸ Zani i Naltë – Historia e shekullarizimit në Shqipëri (1944 e në vazhdim) (zaninalte.al).

³⁹ *Studim mbi të drejtat e pronësisë të komuniteteve fetare në Shqipëri*. Botuar nga Instituti Shqiptar për Studime Ligjore dhe Territoriale-A.L.T.R.I. Botimi-Te-drejtat-e-pronesise-te-komuniteteve-fetare-ne-Shqiperi.pdf (altri.al)

⁴⁰ Mëniku L., Marku M. *Trends in Personal Names in Albania (1907–2017)*. *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 2021, 57(2), p. 266.

⁴¹ 1-5.pdf (marxists.org).

Other Albanian popular given names during this period are: *Afërdita, Bukurie, Lindita, Drita, Vera, Pranvera, Vjollca, Merita, Luan, Ylli*.

Table 5: The five most popular given names in Tirana (1944-1960)

1944-1945	Hajrie	Hamide	Lumturi	Sanie	Xhemile
1945-1946	Afërdita	Bukurie	Hatixhe	Sanie	Xhemal
1946-1947	Gëzim	Kujtim	Luan	Vera	Xhemal
1947-1948	Bukurie	Fatime	Nadire	Vjollca	Ylli
1948-1949	Bukurie	Fatime	Liljana	Liri	Ylli
1949-1950	Afërdita	Bukurie	Hajrie	Liri	Sanie
1950-1951	Afërdita	Ali	Lirie	Nexhmie	Sanie
1951-1952	Afërdita	Fatime	Lirie	Përparim	Pranvera
1952-1953	Afërdita	Bukurie	Fatime	Luljeta	Skënder
1953-1954	Afërdita	Bukurie	Donika	Lumturi	Violeta
1954-1955	Afërdita	Bukurie	Fatmira	Liljana	Vjollca
1955-1956	Afërdita	Bukurie	Pranvera	Suzana	Vjollca
1956-1957	Bukurie	Donika	Drita	Lindita	Qemal
1957-1958	Agron	Bukurie	Drita	Fiqirete	Gëzim
1958-1959	Bukurie	Fatmir	Lumturi	Merita	Ylli
1959-1960	Bukurie	Fatmir	Liljana	Lumturi	Merita

In the ‘50 of the previous century, the Government urged the expansion of activity “in the field of the history of material culture, especially in the area of Illyrian and earliest Albanian culture.”⁴² The influence of this policy is likely to be the reintroduction of Illyrian names. Thus, in the list of the most popular names in Tirana during the period 1957-1958 was the one of the Illyrian king *Agron* which as documents certify was used as early as in mid – ‘1800 of the last century.⁴³

Just as during the King Zog’s time, Skënderbeu continued to be highly praised also during the communist regime. Skënderbeu’s

⁴² Vrapis S. Enver Hoxha — Frymëzues dhe përkrahës i arkeologjisë shqiptare. Iliria, Nr. 1. 1985, p. 6.

⁴³ <http://www.cec.org.al>, <http://95.107.129.71/ListatDPGJC/listat/Informacione.html>.

monument was erected in Tirana's center in January 1968 and he remained a central figure in the Albanian historiography of the communist period. The popularity of Skënderbeu's figure has had an impact also on Albanians' choices for the names of their children. One of the most favourite names in mid '50 besides *Skënder* was also *Donika*, the name of Skënderbeu's wife; this is also certified in the voters' register, as early as in the second half of the 19th century.

The political impact on names' choices is also proved with material evidence. In the years 1951-1952, one of the most favourite female names in Tirana was that of Enver Hoxha's spouse, *Nexhmie*.

In the list of the most common in Tirana during the period 1945-1960 one may also find foreign proper names like: *Liljana* or *Suzana*, which are documented very early in the civil office register in Albania.

1960-1968

The year 1960 marked the beginning of the break-up with Soviet Union and approachment with the PR of China. In the years 1966-1969 China was going through the Cultural Revolution and its most direct effects were the attacks against religion. In early 1967 a decree was issued on the religious communities, which although in formal terms acknowledged the freedom of faith, it made its juridical defence impossible.⁴⁴ On 6 February 1967, through his speech on "The further revolutionization of the Party and Power" Enver Hoxha launched the campaign against "the religious ideology" and "backward customs" which led to Albania's legal declaration as the first atheist country in the world.

Based on the data for the five most popular given names in Tirana and across the country, it may be said that there was a tremendous decline in the popularity of religious names even much earlier than Albania would be declared atheist country. Thus, the last given name of this category in the list of the most popular names for Tirana is *Fiqirete* (1957-1958). The meaningful Albanian names which expressed parents' desires for good physical or spiritual qualities for their future with luck and happy days remained the most favourite in the capital of the Republic

⁴⁴ Boriçi Gj. *Marrëdhënia e ngushtë Shqipëri-Kinë gjatë luftës së ftohtë dhe "teoria e tri botëve"*. Studime historike, No. 3-4, 2017, p.260.

of Albania: *Bukurie, Lumturi, Merita, Drita, Fatmir, Gëzim, Agim, Fatbardha, Luljeta, Shkëlqim and others*. Likewise, there were more Illyrian names: *Agron, Ilir, Anila*.

The given name *Vladimir* in the list of the most popular names for Tirana in 1961, which was inspired by Vladimir Iliç Lenin bears testimony to the relations with Soviet Union at that time.

Table 6: The five most popular given names in Tirana (1960-1968)

1960-1961	Bukurie	Liljana	Lumturi	Merita	Vladimir
1961-1962	Drita	Liljana	Majlinda	Merita	Skënder
1962-1963	Fatmir	Gëzim	Liljana	Majlinda	Merita
1963-1964	Drita	Fatbardha	Gëzim	Liljana	Luljeta
1964-1965	Agron	Alma	Liljana	Shkëlqim	Vjollca
1965-1966	Agim	Ilir	Majlinda	Mimoza	Shkëlqim
1966-1967	Fatbardha	Majlinda	Merita	Mimoza	Shkëlqim
1967-1968	Anila	Luljeta	Mimoza	Shkëlqim	Vjollca

1968-1985

In 1968, following Czechoslovakia's occupation, Albania withdrew from the Warsaw military Treaty. The early '70 marked the start of assaults against anti-party groups in art, literature, army, economy and in other areas. This provoked an unsafe situation, especially for the people in Tirana, as the country's political, economic and cultural center. In 1976, the new Constitution was enacted which proclaimed Albania People's Socialist Republic.

Mao Ce Dun's death in 1976 marked the deterioration of relations with China, which ended up with the interruption of all its economic and military aids in 1978. Albania continued to be isolated even further. In 1985, after Enver Hoxha's death, the political power passed officially into the hands of Ramiz Alia.

During this political period of Self-Isolation (1968-1985) Albanian given names seem to be the most favourite ones for children born in Tirana. A part of them were common names from earlier years - *Drita, Fatmir, Luljeta, Shpresa, Lindita, Majlinda, Luljeta, Merita and others*. After the year 1973, other Albanian names began to become popular -

Dritan, Valbona, Blerina, Besmir, Jonida and others, which were new in the list of the most popular names. From this list, it is evident that the following Illyrian names remain the most favourite among Tirana inhabitants - *Ilir, Artan, Altin, Anila, Bledar, Elona and others*.

Certainly, the general orientation from the regime of that time had its bearing on the overall trend in the use of native names. In 1982 was published “Fjalor me emra njerëzish” (Vocabulary with given names”); it specifies that “In both groups - domestic and foreign, there is a significant number of inappropriate names for our time and ideology which are becoming obsolete. These are largely traditional names that bear the previous seal of religious faiths and customs; foreign historic given names with negative connotation in most of the cases; names that derive from some words in Albanian with a negative connotation or that sound badly and therefore are not appropriate for use as given names; names which were wrongly presumed to be Illyrians or Albanians [...]. For the purpose of replacing these names which are inappropriate for our time, it is necessary to introduce in a broader way a catalogue of names with sound national ideological and political features and with a correct linguistic construction”⁴⁵

Although Albania in the ‘70s embarked on a self-isolation track and the communist regime fought sternly against outlandish influences, based on the list with the most popular first names at this period for Tirana, it may be said that during those years the influence of arts, literary characters or foreign sportsmen was noted also in Tirana, as for instance *Alma, Edmond, Elton, Ervin, Brunilda, Esmeralda*.

Some of these names gained popularity first in Tirana and then all over the country. Thus, *Elton* joined the list of the five most popular names in Tirana in 1976-1977 and on national – wide scale in 1980-1981, *Ervin* joined the said list in Tirana during 1980-1981 and a year later the list of the most favourite names on national level. Meanwhile, other names like *Brunilda and Esmeralda* were more popular in Tirana but not on national level.

⁴⁵ Kostallari, A.; Domi, M.; Daka, P.; Mansaku S. *Fjalor me emra njerëzish*. Tiranë, 1982. Shtëpia Botuese “8 Nëntori”, p.4.

Table 7: The five most popular given names in Tirana (1968-1985)

1968-1969	Drita	Fatmir	Luljeta	Mimoza	Shpresa
1969-1970	Fatmir	Lindita	Majlinda	Merita	Shpresa
1970-1971	Artan	Lindita	Luljeta	Majlinda	Merita
1971-1972	Arben	Artan	Majlinda	Merita	Vjollca
1972-1973	Altin	Anila	Arben	Mirela	Vjollca
1973-1974	Altin	Anila	Dritan	Lindita	Valbona
1974-1975	Anila	Lindita	Mimoza	Mirela	Valbona
1975-1976	Anila	Edmond	Mimoza	Mirela	Valbona
1976-1977	Albana	Elton	Mimoza	Mirela	Valbona
1977-1978	Alma	Brunilda	Dritan	Elton	Valbona
1978-1979	Alma	Anila	Dritan	Elton	Valbona
1979-1980	Alma	Bledar	Blerina	Elton	Illir
1980-1981	Alma	Bledar	Elton	Ervin	Klodian
1981-1982	Alma	Bledar	Elona	Elton	Ervin
1982-1983	Alma	Blerina	Dorina	Ervin	Esmeralda
1983-1984	Blerina	Dorina	Elona	Ervin	Jonida
1984-1985	Besmir	Blerina	Dorina	Elona	Jonida

1985-1990

By the end of '80 began the collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe. In May 1990, the UN Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar came on an official visit in Albania. The storm into Western embassies in Tirana on 2nd July 1990, the permission to open the religious institutions in Albania on that September and the Students' Movement in December 1990 marked the beginning of political changes in Albania, the fall of the communist regime and the period of transition.

Although the situation in Albania had already started to change during the period 1985-1990, the five most popular names for the babies born during that period continued to be those deriving from Illyrian (*Elona, Andi*) and names with their source in the Albanian language: *Besmir, Blerina, Jonida, Fatjon* and others. As we have underscored in a previous research paper⁴⁶, during this period, most names were chosen

⁴⁶ Mëniku L., Marku M. *Trends in Personal Names in Albania (1907–2017)*. Zeitschrift für Balkanologie, 2021, 57(2), p. 272.

under the influence of Albanian singers and actors's given names: *Nertila* (singer Nertila Koka), Matilda (actress Matilda Makoçi), Anisa (actress Anisa Markarian).

Table 8: The five most popular given names in Tirana (1985-1990)

1985-1986	Besmir	Blerina	Dorina	Elona	Nertila
1986-1987	Besmir	Blerina	Elona	Ervis	Nertila
1987-1988	Andi	Elona	Jonida	Matilda	Nertila
1988-1989	Andi	Elona	Fatjon	Ina	Jonida
1989-1990	Andi	Anisa	Ardit	Elona	Jonida

1990-2017

Under the new circumstances of political and democratic changes and the market economy, many legal and sub-legal acts were passed after the year 1990, which paved the way both to emigration abroad and internally, pursuant to the universal principles that each and every citizen is free to choose himself the place to live.⁴⁷

The political changes in Albania in the '90 were coupled with a strong wave of emigration.

Referring to the statistics of the European Bank of Development for the year 2019, compared to the domestic population⁴⁸ Albania ranked third for the high number of emigrants.⁴⁹

Although there are no accurate data on the number of emigrants after the year 1990, according to relevant researches it is estimated that the number of emigrants abroad is nearly 1,4 million or approximatively 35% of the Albanian population. The majority of them are settled in Greece and in Italy, Germany, France, the UK and elsewhere, in the USA and in other states.⁵⁰ After the year 1990 there was also internal migration, with a good part of the population displaced in urban areas. Tirana and Durrësi districts have an increased population. The data show

⁴⁷ Revista "Demografia", No.1, 2019, p.9.

⁴⁸ Vendet në tranzicion, ku renditet Shqipëria për numrin e emigrantëve (newsbomb.net).

⁴⁹ Vendet në tranzicion, ku renditet Shqipëria për numrin e emigrantëve (newsbomb.net).

⁵⁰ Revista "Demografia", No.1, 2019, p.10.

clearly that the population in Tirana and in Durrës districts has gone up from 21 per cent of the total population in 1990 to 37 per cent in 2014.⁵¹

The political changes in the country's life and the opening to the world provoked changes in the entire social and cultural life. In previous studies, we have pointed out that deep changes took place also in the field of onomastics. The popularity of Albanian names fell considerably in early 1990 to be replaced with foreign names. The last Albanian name inserted in the list of the five most popular given names in Tirana is *Fatjon* (1992-1993). After the year 1993, as it may be seen in Table 9, the five most common in Tirana are largely foreign names. They were phonologically adapted to Albanian language: *Enxhi* (Angie), *Anxhela* (Angela), *Klajdi* (Clyde), *Kejsi* (Caysi), *Sindi* (Cindy), *Megi* (Meggy) and so on. They are written mainly as they are pronounced in Albanian, matching it with Albanian phonology.

Table 9: The five most popular given names in Tirana (1990-2017)

1990-1991	Andi	Anisa	Ina	Jonida	Ornela
1991-1992	Andi	Anisa	Ina	Klajdi	Ornela
1992-1993	Ardit	Esmeralda	Fatjon	Ornela	Sidorela
1993-1994	Andi	Anxhela	Denis	Enxhi	Jurgen
1994-1995	Denis	Enxhi	Jurgen	Klajdi	Sara
1995-1996	Anxhela	Enxhi	Jurgen	Klajdi	Sara
1996-1997	Anxhela	Jurgen	Klajdi	Megi	Sara
1997-1998	Anxhela	Denis	Klajdi	Megi	Sara
1998-1999	Anxhela	Klajdi	Klea	Megi	Sara
1999-2000	Anxhela	Klajdi	Klea	Megi	Sara
2000-2001	Anxhela	Denis	Klajdi	Klea	Sara
2001-2002	Anxhela	Klajdi	Klea	Sara	Sindi
2002-2003	Anxhela	Klajdi	Klea	Megi	Sara
2003-2004	Anxhela	Klea	Klevis	Megi	Sara
2004-2005	Ester	Klea	Mateo	Megi	Orgito
2005-2006	Ergi	Klea	Klevis	Melisa	Sara
2006-2007	Ergi	Klea	Klevis	Mateo	Sara
2007-2008	Ergi	Ester	Kejsi	Klea	Mateo

⁵¹ Ibid, p.15.

2008-2009	Ergi	Ester	Kejsi	Klea	Sara
2009-2010	Alesia	Ester	Kejsi	Klea	Noel
2010-2011	Amelia	Ergi	Klea	Mateo	Noel
2011-2012	Ajla	Amelia	Ergi	Klea	Noel
2012-2013	Ajla	Amelia	Dion	Klea	Noel
2013-2014	Ajla	Amelia	Aron	Joel	Noel
2014-2015	Ajla	Amelia	Aron	Joel	Noel
2015-2016	Ajla	Amelia	Joel	Noel	Roan
2016-2017	Ajla	Amar	Amelia	Aria	Noel

We should emphasize that although foreign names prevailed during the period 2003-2007 one of the most favourite is the name deriving from Illyrian: *Klevis*.

As we have extensively mentioned it before⁵², the public personalities of the world of art, sport and even politics have had their own impact on the popularity of names at given periods together with the names of movie stars and others. During the most recent years, the trend of the top popular names in Tirana and in Albania is similar to this trend in various countries worldwide.

Variations in the culture of given names go in harmony with the society dynamics and the global situation. The use of foreign names, a trend that loses the identity relationship with the Albanian nation is very telling for a more global approach of Albanians, which may be relevant to the wave of emigration and the desire to live in other countries.

In conclusion, we may say that given names in Tirana are cultural symbols designed to complete the individual identity in the social-cultural context of people and the reality they define. The given names in Tirana are categorized after the motives that involve religious affiliation, contacts with different languages and cultures, national belonging and others. All the categories communicate the social identities connected with the social-cultural perspective of Tirana's inhabitants.

During the 20th century and until the World War II there was a slow pace of changes in the given names, where the preferred choice was for religious names. The communist regime (1945-1990) had its impact also

⁵² Mëniku L., Marku M. *Trends in Personal Names in Albania (1907–2017)*. *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 2021, 57(2), p. 266.

on the given names, orienting the people to Illyrian and Albanian names. After the fall of the communist regime and the shift to a new political system, the five most popular given names in Tirana are mainly foreign.

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Matteo MANDALÀ

SHËTITJE KADAREANE NË MUZGUN E MOSKËS

1. – Avvicendamenti autobiografici da Gjirokastra a Mosca.

In una recente intervista, alla domanda «Nga librat që keni shkruar, cilin parapëlqeni më shumë ose është më kuptimplotë për ju?» [Dei vostri libri, quale preferite o ritenete il più significativo?], Kadare ha risposto senza esitazioni: «*Muzgu i perëndive të stepës*» [Il Crepuscolo degli dei della steppa], pur non offrendo, almeno in questa circostanza, alcuna spiegazione («nuk e di pse» [“non so il perché”])¹. In verità lo scrittore albanese in diverse altre occasioni aveva già giustificato, se non proprio quella che appare come una sua preferenza, almeno la centralità che il romanzo in parola – che talora definiremo “moscovita” – occupa nel contesto dell’evoluzione dell’*Ismailand* a partire dal momento cruciale che abbraccia il decennio compreso tra la metà degli anni ’60 e ’70 del Novecento.

La presa di posizione kadareana, più volte reiterata e oggi rafforzata da testimonianze non secondarie, si avvale di numerose e variegiate motivazioni che si dilatano dai ricordi autobiografici più intimi alle valutazioni storico-politiche del delicato episodio storico personalmente vissuto dal giovane studente durante la sua permanenza a Mosca, alle considerazioni artistico-letterarie tese a sovvertire gli intoccabili principi estetici del realismo socialista. Il tutto, però, costituisce un insieme eterogeneo di giudizi che, se ripreso oggi, non solo contribuisce a dipanare la complessa trama di *Muzgu*, ma certo offre importanti indizi per inquadrarlo nel nascente mondo narrativo di Kadare e, soprattutto, almeno ai fini della nostra indagine, di esaminarlo quale decisiva fase di prosecuzione tanto del racconto autobiografico della formazione

¹ Ismail Kadare, *Kohë për rrëfim*, dialog me Alda Bardhylin, Onufri, Tiranë, 2021, pp. 218-219.

dell'artista, quanto della decisa apertura alle tecniche narrative più proprie del modernismo.

Per dare un saggio della continuità con il romanzo gjirokastrira, è sufficiente far riferimento ad alcune forme allegoriche strutturalmente e funzionalmente molto simili a quelle già riscontrate in *Kronikë në gur*. Di tali forme il testo di *Muzgu* offre numerosi esempi, ma i due riportati di seguito valgono per confermare, non soltanto la continuità tematica tra questi due romanzi autobiografici, ma anche il modo paradigmatico di procedere della scrittura kadareana.

Il primo di questi esempi ha come protagonista lo sfortunato Jeronim Stullpans, al quale Kadare attribuisce una delle più sarcastiche e penetranti critiche alle deformazioni teoriche dell'estetica dogmatica sovietica:

«I fundit fare, në mbasditen e ditës së nesërme, krejt i hirtë në fytyrë, mbërriti Kjuzengeshi. U mbyll, sipas zakonit, në dhomën e tij, prej nga nuk doli për dyzet e tetë orë rresht. Jeronim Stullpansi, që e kishte dhomën ngjitur me të, thoshte se, sa herë që kthehej nga tundra, mbyllej kështu, sepse nuk mësohej dot me copëzimin e kohës në ditë dhe në net prej njëzet e katër orësh. Kjo ishte një gjë serioze për shkrimtarët e atjeshëm, vazhdonte Stullpansi. Pa mendo, të jetosh gjithë jetën me ditë dhe net, që vazhdojnë nga gjashtë muaj dhe pastaj në veprën tënde letrare ta copëzosh kohën artificialisht. Kjuzengeshi, për shembull, nuk shkruan dot “të nesërmen ai iku”, sepse *të nesërmen* atje do të thotë pas *gjysmë viti*. Ose, kur një shkrimtar i tundrës shkruan “ra mbrëmja”, kjo është një gjë kaq e rrallë në jetë, sa që tingëllon pothuajse njëlloj sikur të thuash: filloi plani i tretë pesëvjeçar, ose filloi lufta. Kanë probleme shokët tanë të tundrës, vazhdonte Stullpansi. Një natë Kjuzengeshi më tha diçka, por fliste me një zë kaq të ulët, sa që unë nuk merrja vesh asgjë. Por, me siguri, më qante hallin për këto gjëra. Në fund të fundit, duhen studime të veçanta për çështjen e përdorimit të kohës në veprat e shokëve të tundrës, vazhdonte Stullpansi. Këtu ka vend për novatorizëm të vërtetë, ndonëse ekziston edhe rreziku i rënies në modernizëm, siç kemi dëgjuar për atë francezin, atë Prustin, që e ka bërë kohën lëmsh. Duhet studime të veçanta për realizmin socialist në tundër, apo jo. Ti, Stullpans, flet fare kot, i thoshte Nutfulla Shakenovi. Ti më përmend mua atë dekadentin, atë Prokustin apo si dreqin i thonë, po a e di ti se në tundër dhe në tajgë bashkë, në tre milionë e ca kilometra katrorë është vetëm një shkrimtar,

Kjuzengeshi. Mos duhet krijuar një teori letrare vetëm për të? Kjo na dukej të gjithëve e pikëllueshme dhe madhështore, njëkohësisht. Të sundoje i vetëm mbi një hapësirë gjashtë herë më të madhe se Europa! Të ishte ndërjegjija gri e tundrës»².

Un modo davvero estroso di mettere alla berlina il punto di vista che la teoria del realismo socialista assumeva dinnanzi al rapporto arte-vita: l'arte non avrebbe mai potuto perseguire la conoscenza della realtà se non nella misura in cui quest'ultima si dischiudeva alla percezione dell'artista; giammai si dava il caso opposto, di una realtà artificialmente e conformisticamente idealizzata in nome di un ideale di là da raggiungere. Il caso sollevato da Stullpans, sebbene con piglio grottesco, non solo metteva in crisi l'estetica del realismo socialista, ma apriva un inaspettato credito artistico proprio alle teorie più avversate nell'Istituto Gorki, al modernismo letterario e a uno dei più celebri esponenti del cosiddetto decadentismo, a quel Proust che del tempo e sul tempo aveva costruito una trasfigurazione narrativa intricata, dando vita a una *recherche du temp perdu* estenuante e al limite dell'inverosimile, appunto a "një lëmsh".

² [Ultimo ma non meno importante, nel pomeriggio del giorno successivo, arrivò Kjuzengeshi, tutto grigio in volto. Si chiuse, come al solito, nella sua stanza, da dove non uscì per quarantotto ore consecutive. Jeronim Stullpans, che aveva la stanza accanto, raccontava che ogni volta che tornava dalla tundra la chiudeva così, perché non riusciva ad abituarsi alla divisione del tempo in giorni e notti di ventiquattr'ore. Questa è stata una cosa seria per gli scrittori lì, ha continuato Stullpans. Senza pensare, vivere tutta la tua vita con giorni e notti, che durano da sei mesi, e poi nella tua opera letteraria frammentare artificialmente il tempo. Kjuzengeshi, ad esempio, non può scrivere "il giorno dopo è partito", perché il giorno dopo significa dopo sei mesi. Oppure, quando uno scrittore della tundra scrive "è calata la sera", questa è una cosa così rara nella vita che suona quasi come dire: è iniziato il terzo piano quinquennale o è iniziata la guerra. I nostri amici della tundra hanno problemi, continuò Stullpans. Una notte Kyuzengeshi mi disse qualcosa, ma parlò a voce così bassa che non riuscii a sentire nulla. Ma, sicuramente, ero preoccupato per queste cose. Dopotutto, sono necessari studi speciali sulla questione dell'uso del tempo nelle opere dei compagni della tundra, ha continuato Stullpans. Qui c'è spazio per una vera innovazione, anche se c'è anche il rischio di cadere nel modernismo, come abbiamo sentito di quel francese, quel Proust, che ha fatto un pasticcio al tempo. Sono necessari studi speciali per il realismo socialista nella tundra, giusto? Tu, Stullpans, dici sciocchezze, disse Nutful a Shakenov. Mi parli di quel decadente, quel Procustus o come diavolo lo chiamano, ma lo sai che nella tundra e nella taiga insieme, in tre milioni di chilometri quadrati c'è solo uno scrittore, Kjuzengeshi. Non dovrebbe essere creata una teoria letteraria apposta per questo? Questo è sembrato a tutti noi triste e magnifico allo stesso tempo. Per governare da solo su uno spazio sei volte più grande dell'Europa! Essere la coscienza grigia della tundra"] Ismail Kadare, "Muzgu i perëndive të stepës", cit., f. 410-411. Le citazioni dal *Muzgu* sono tratte dalla prima edizione del romanzo, salvo i casi che verranno adeguatamente segnalati.

L'altro esempio riguarda la categoria narrativa contigua al tempo, lo spazio, che Kadare in un primo tempo lascia alla derisione, questa volta involontaria, di un altro suo giovane collega d'Istituto, uno studente del primo anno, «një djalë i ri, i ardhur nga larg, nga malet e Altait, me sy të ngushtë, shkëndijues, i hollë dhe simpatik. Ai gjendej herë këtu, herë aty, hynte midis grupeve, mjihej vetë me njerëzit, thoshte ç'i vimte në kokë dhe ikte më tutje»³. Si tratta di un'altra evidente antropomorfizzazione che, collocandosi a completamento della precedente, persegue l'obbiettivo di scardinare l'essenzialità e la fissità dello spazio, qui inteso metaforicamente nel suo doppio aspetto "fisico" e "morale":

«Ai më tha pastaj me një frymë se donte që gjithçka ta kishte të përsosur, se ai do të bënte vepra të përsosura, se brenda muajit duhej të njihej me vajzën më të bukur të Moskës, patjetër me më të bukurën, dhe të dashurohej me të. Unë jam i virgjër, vazhdoi ai, dhe ashtu si Altai, që i ka majat e tij në lartësitë më të epërme, ashtu edhe unë dua të zhvirgjërohem me vajzën më të paarritshme të Moskës. Ja, kështu, vazhdonte të fliste me afsh, por afshi, për çudi, në vend t'ia skuqte, ia zbehte edhe më fort faqet... Unë e dua çdo gjë të përsosur, sepse unë vij nga Altai dhe atje gjithçka është e pastër, e lartë dhe eterne»⁴.

La sovrapposizione di entrambe le sfere semantiche in cui si articola la nozione di "spazio", ovvero quelle che colgono d'un colpo l'aspetto "fisico" e "morale" - l'altitudine quale sinonimo di «e pastër, e lartë dhe eterne» implica, anche se come mera presupposizione, il suo antonimo, ovvero l'avvallamento quale cifra simbolica di "turpe, abietto ed effimero". Questa straniante percezione dell'alterità dello spazio obbedisce in modo esemplare alla maniera kadareana di rappresentare l'indicibile mediante il trasferimento in una dimensione interiore di ciò che, in quanto esteriore, appartiene al mondo esterno a quello della coscienza individuale. Il risultato è notevole dal punto di vista stilistico giacché stimola il rafforzamento del diasistema del linguaggio poetico kadareano, la cosiddetta "dygjuhësia", che a detta dei critici di formazione sorealista, caratterizza molte opere narrative e non solo quelle cosiddette "autobiografiche". Esempi espliciti si ritrovano disseminati nelle opere della prima metà degli anni '70, ma è a partire da

³ *Po aty*, f. 412.

⁴ *Po aty*, f. 412-413.

quelle successive che questa propensione viene accentuata. In alcuni casi, e *Muzgu* rientra tra quelli più rilevanti, la ricerca di elementi che fondano questa specularità è spesso sollecitata dalle stesse autovalutazioni di Kadare, i cui orientamenti critici hanno avuto il merito di segnalare tali punti nodali del suo stile narrativo. Si consideri, ad esempio, il significato che in *Muzgu* assumono le descrizioni “spaziali” dei sei piani dell’edificio di via Butirski Hutor, la sede del convitto che ospitava gli studenti dell’Istituto Gorkij di Mosca, che il giovane scrittore albanese associa esplicitamente a sei gironi dell’*Inferno* dantesco per poter illustrare (e decostruire) agli occhi della giovane fidanzata Lida quel mastodontico e spersonalizzante complesso edilizio tipico dell’architettura del realismo socialista sovietico:

«Unë u përpoqa t’i shpjegoja diçka për ndërtesën dhe banorët e saj. Kati i parë: këtu ishin vendosur studentët e viteve të ulëta, ata që kishin ende pak mëkate letrare. Kati i dytë: kritikët letrarë, dramaturgët puthadorës, zbukuruesit e jetës. Kati... rrethi i tretë: skematikët, lajkatarët, sllavofilët. Rrethi i katërt: gratë, liberalët, të zhgënjyerit nga socializmi. Rrethi i pestë: shpifësit, denonciatorët. Rrethi i gjashtë: të shkombëtarizuarit, ata që kishin braktisur gjuhët e tyre dhe shkruanin në rusisht...»⁵.

Analogamente sarà descritta in *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe* la casa dove risiedeva la vecchia Nurihan e, ancora, la medesima rappresentazione riceverà, pochi anni dopo, l’oscuro Tabir Saraj progettato per ospitare il famigerato *Palazzo dei sogni*. In considerazione della ridondanza di queste modalità descrittive è ovvio riconoscere nella dialettica spaziale del *sotto* vs. *sopra* e, se si preferisce, del *basso* vs. *alto*, che è uno dei luoghi testuali privilegiati in cui si annidano alcuni dei paradigmi speculativi più arditamente della poetica kadareana, in particolare quelli che hanno la forza di convertire lo spazio in una dimensione dinamica della narrazione, compartecipe alle vicende diegetiche, in grado di produrre la metamorfosi dei personaggi catturati dal vortice narrativo. Questo modello spaziale, che come vedremo di seguito eredita uno dei capisaldi teorici del romanzo ottocentesco poi confluito nel dibattito modernista, nell’opera Kadare si connota come funzione narrativa, disincagliata dalla mera questione descrittiva e destinata a costruire un dinamismo diegetico nel quale il movimento nel

⁵ *Po aty*, f. 435.

tempo (della storia narrata) è mutuato dal movimento nello spazio dei personaggi.

I due esempi citati non sono che alcuni tra i numerosi altri contenuti in *Muzgu* che segnalano questo romanzo come un formidabile testimone testuale per la ricostruzione della fase che, nel percorso della formazione dell'artista avviato con *Kronikë në gur*, non solo ne assorbe le finalità estetiche della riflessione autobiografica, ma ne accentua i caratteri spingendo oltre gli effetti positivi scaturiti dall'adozione dell'impostazione speculativa modernista. Senza dilungarci sugli aspetti del polistilismo – che in verità sono marcatamente presenti, e non certo accidentalmente, in *Dimri i vetmisë madhe* –, la prosecuzione logica e cronologica del completamento estetico del cammino personale compiuto nel solco del *Künstlerroman* apparirebbe ripetitivo e persino sterile se ben altri riflessi della visione modernista di Kadare non ne sostenessero le finalità, innanzitutto quello di disincantare la forma del romanzo dalle secche del realismo socialista. A tal riguardo è sufficiente fare menzione dell'uso piuttosto abile, disincantato e pervasivo dell'intertestualità che distingue *Muzgu* dagli altri romanzi e che gli conferisce la proprietà di romanzo prettamente modernista.

2.– Reti intertestuali plurime e strategie moderniste

Il romanzo “moscovita” presenta una rete intertestuale esterna che lo configura come l'opera in cui più accentuate e, soprattutto, più esplicite sono le relazioni dialogiche con opere di vari altri autori, vuoi quando citate direttamente, vuoi quando semplicemente richiamate allusivamente. Dante e François Villon, Goethe e Proust, Gogol e Dostoevskij, Bürger e Žukovskij, persino Federico Fellini, sono soltanto alcuni degli scrittori e intellettuali che vengono citati espressamente in *Muzgu*. Indagare le ragioni di questa ridondante e, perciò, significativa peculiarità, non è ozioso e potrebbe suggerire ipotesi ermeneutiche che spingerebbero un'analisi testuale attenta ben oltre il mero dato empirico di considerare quelle citazioni esclusivamente come prove dei rapporti che Kadare ha intrattenuto con opere e intellettuali della tradizione.

La strategia dialogica adottata dallo scrittore albanese è infatti più spregiudicata e si dilata sino a includere la sistematica menzione dei numerosi e poco noti scrittori conformisti del realismo socialista, quasi

tutti studenti provenienti dalle più desolate lande dell'allora Unione Sovietica, la cui statura "intellettuale", salvo qualche rara eccezione, è costantemente derisa non tanto per i limiti che si rilevano in molti di essi (buona parte dei quali erano funzionari di partito decaduti), quanto per la qualità stessa del loro "impegno" intellettuale. Si trattava di un metodo che si richiamava all'uso modernista dell'intertestualità, che non solo mirava alla destituzione dell'*auctoritas* mediante la derisione⁶ e alla eccessiva ridondanza, ma si sforzava di creare una dimensione diversa della strutturazione del linguaggio per la grande letteratura: un linguaggio che avrebbe dovuto essere, per dirla con la celebre e lapidaria affermazione di Ezra Pound, «semplicemente investito, in somma misura, di significato»⁷. In altri termini, l'intertestualità non era semplicemente il metodo che permetteva la connessione di presente e passato nell'estremo tentativo di ristabilire una sorta di continuità con la tradizione, con l'*auctoritas*, quanto l'artificio che creava «la massima possibile saturazione semantica del testo introducendovi complicati giochi di specchi e di prospettive multiple il cui risultato è l'accentuarne il carattere *deliberatamente* labirintico: il testo stesso, infatti, non solo consente, ma in certo senso impone letture molteplici e contraddittorie, facendosi mimesi non della realtà, ma delle aporie del pensiero»⁸. Una tecnica che Kadare adotta quasi intuitivamente lasciando alle pagine del suo romanzo il compito di esibire le «strategie enunciative più caratteristiche dei modernisti, ossia la collocazione dei riferimenti intertestuali in una sintagmatica spezzata, frammentaria, che, compromettendo la consequenzialità logica del discorso, scarica sul lettore la responsabilità di "costruirlo", priva il testo dell'*autorità* conferitagli dalla presenza di un *autore* preposto al compito di indicare i percorsi del senso e garante di ciò che il testo afferma o nega. [...] In tal

⁶ Su quest'aspetto "irridente" della intertestualità modernista cfr. Vita Fortunati, "Intertestualità e citazione fra Modernismo e Postmodernismo. Il *pastiche* di Antonia Byatt fra letteratura e pittura" in *Leitmotiv* - 2/2002 (<http://www.ledonline.it/leitmotiv/>), p. 87: «L'autore cita per confermare l'*autoritas*, per trovare nell'autorevole voce altrui una conferma a quanto egli vuole affermare; al contempo, però, egli cita per irridere, scoronare l'*autoritas* del linguaggio ufficiale».

⁷ Ezra Pound, *L'ABC del leggere*, Prefazione di Mario Breda, trad. it. di Rodolfo Quadrelli, Garzanti, Milano, 2019, p. 30.

⁸ Francesco Gozzi, "La rottura dei codici: il linguaggio protagonista" in Giovanni Cianci (a cura di), *Modernismo/Modernisti. Dall'avanguardia storica agli anni Trenta e oltre*, Principato editore, Milano, 1991, p. 292.

modo, sia confondendosi sulla “scena” del testo fra altri autori, sia sparendo da essa, lo scrittore modernista fa sì che l’opera abdichi al suo statuto totalitario, rinunci ad imporre al lettore la propria ideologia, la propria verità»⁹.

La rete intertestuale di *Muzgu* non a caso è fitta, ma presenta nodi assai interessanti dal punto di vista della rappresentazione “mentale” della realtà che l’autore – sublimatosi in tutto nel narratore – offre a vantaggio della auspicata ricostruzione del contesto, compito che peraltro è interamente affidato al lettore. Oltre ai nomi di intellettuali celebri, in gran parte occidentali, Kadare menziona gli scrittori russi formati prima della rivoluzione, come Konstantin Georgievič Paustovskij (1892-1968), il cui profilo di scrittore “sorvegliato” è tratteggiato attraverso le descrizioni del suo autista-guardiano che in modo surreale lo contrappongono al rivale¹⁰, il drammaturgo Aleksej Nikolaevič Arbutov (1908-1986); per non tacere di Anatolij Vasil’evič Kuznetsov (1929-1979), che nel 1969, durante un viaggio a Londra, chiese asilo politico autodenunciando la sua appartenenza ai servizi segreti russi: in *Muzgu* il suo nome è ricordato con toni caustici accanto al suo romanzo autobiografico *La leggenda continua* (1957)¹¹; o, addirittura, del romanziere morto suicida Aleksandr Aleksandrovič Fadeev (1901-1956), che ovviamente Kadare non conobbe se non attraverso le sue opere, ma il cui nome ricorre in modo ridondante nel corso del primo capitolo di *Muzgu*¹². Sempre all’interno di questo quadro si inscrivono le menzioni di pochi altri scrittori, tra i quali il più celebre

⁹ *Ivi*, pp. 292-293.

¹⁰ «*starostën* e kursit tonë, njëfarë Lladonshikovi, i cili pushonte gjithashtu atje dhe që s’bënte gjë tjetër, veçse përgjonte dritën në dhomën e Paustovskit, psherëtimte, i binte gjoksit dhe, sikur të lajmëronte gjënë më ogurzezë, i thoshte cilitdo që ndeshte se ai, domethënë Paustovski, në kujtimet e veta po ringjallte tërë çifutët»: Ismail Kadare, “Muzgu i perëndive të stepës”, në *Ura me tri harqe. Triptik*, Shtëpia botuese “Naim Frashëri”, Tiranë, 1978, f. 359.

¹¹ «Kjo ishte dhoma e Anatoli Kuznjecovit dhe ishte, me siguri, ajo dritë që unë e kisha parë që larg, nga taksia. Kuznjecovi qenqësh kthyer nga pushimet përpara meje. Po të më thoshin më parë se ishte një njeri i njohur në atë Saharë shtatëkatëshe, do të vrapoja si i çmendur... Një fjalë, vëlla, një fjalë, në këtë shurdhëri. Por m’u përhinë sytë e autorit të “Vazhdimit të legjendës”, dy gërvishitje të vogla në qelqet e trasha të syzeve të tij dhe ula dorën, me të cilën isha bërë gati të trokitja. Nuk e doja atë njeri, ashtu siç nuk e doja Juri Gonçarovin, për të cilin njëri prej dy Shotave thoshte se ishte shkrimtari më i shquar i gjithë viseve që lagte Vollga, kurse tjetri ngulte këmbë se ishte thjesht një spiun»: *Po aty*, f. 393. Shih Anatolij Vasil’evič Kuznetsov, *La leggenda continua*, trad. it. di Pietro Zveteremich, “Scrittori Sovietici”, Editori Riuniti, Roma, 1961.

¹² Ismail Kadare, “Muzgu i perëndive të stepës”, cit., f. 365.

è Ivo Andrić (1892-1975), il cui nome è ricordato insieme al suo *Ponte sulla Drina* nella prima edizione di *Muzgu*¹³.

Di ben più pregnante significato, invece, la citazione dei due esponenti della letteratura sovietica degli anni '60, Bella Achatovna Ahmadulina (1937-2010) e Evgenij Aleksandrovič Evtushenko (1933-2017), moglie e marito, entrambi studenti dell'Istituto Gorkij nello stesso periodo che vi trascorse il giovane studente albanese. I ritratti kadareani di Bella¹⁴ e di Evtushenko¹⁵ sono icastici, soprattutto quello del poeta che, nel breve dialogo riprodotto realisticamente in *Muzgu*, viene evocato in relazione al "caso" del premio Nobel conferito a Boris Leonidovič Pasternak (1890-1960). Entrambi i poeti si erano distinti negli anni del disgelo krushoviano per le loro posizioni antistaliniste e, quando esplose lo scandalo internazionale intorno al *Dottor Živago*, non avevano esitato a prendere le difese del suo autore. Bella nel 1959 pagò caro questa scelta con la sua espulsione dall'Istituto Gorkij, dove tuttavia poté laurearsi dopo la sua riammissione nel 1960. Dal canto suo,

¹³ «Prapë më shkoi nëpër mend se ndoshta ishte rasti për t'i treguar legjendën tjetër, atë të murimit në urë, e cila gjithashtu kishte variantet e saj në të gjithë popujt e Ballkanit. Me njërin prej këtyre varianteve, dhe pikërisht me atë të Bosnjës, që e kishte vënë në bazën e romanit të tij «Ura mbi Drinë», Ivo Andriqi kishte marrë çmimin Nobel. Mua më dukej se ai, si ballkanas që ishte, e kishte shkruar atë shkëlqyeshëm, megjithatë kisha bindjen se, ashtu si edhe në rastin e baladës së fjalës së dhënë varianti shqiptar, si më i vjetri, ishte pa dyshim më i bukuri»: Ismail Kadare, "Muzgu i perëndive të stepës", cit., f. 376. Il brano, assente nelle edizioni parziali del primo capitolo, fu introdotto da Kadare nella prima edizione del 1978, per essere definitivamente cassato nelle successive.

¹⁴ «Përpara një dere m'u duk se pashë "virgjëreshat e Bjellorusisë" dhe pak më tej, me një përbufze të mbufatur në fytyrë, me cigare "Kazbek" në gojë, rrinte e kundërta e tyre, Bella Ahmadulina, gruaja e Jevtushenkos. Ajo ishte në kursin e katërt dhe, sa herë që e shikoja nëpër shkallët e institutit, ashtu të shëndetshme e me një bardhësi qumështi, me gjithë origjinën e saj tartare, mendoja padashur se kushedi ç'stërmundim duhej të bënte për të ndjekur hap pas hapi modën, si një *stiljaga* e vërtetë, kjo grua, që dukej sikur e kishte mundësinë e amësisë në gjithë qenien e saj, përveç vjershave, ku ajo s'e përmendte atë kurrë.

- *Bon aksham*, Bella! - i thashë nëpër dhëmbë.

- *Aksham!* - u përgjigj ajo, pa e hequr cigaren.

Nuk dihej nga kush ishte shpikur muajt e fundit kjo "mirëmbërë" gjysmë frëngjisht, gjysmë turqisht, por ajo përdorej tani pothuaj nga të gjithë. Aksham, përsërita me vete, duke mos i hequr sytë nga fytyra bardhoshe e Bellës, në të cilën pikëllimi përhapej në trajtë rrethore. Ai pikëllim përsëritej pastaj në elipset e rimelet rrotull syve, gjersa shtrihej e merrte përmasat e Saharës në pudrën me farfuritje hënore te qafa e saj»: Ismail Kadare, "Muzgu i perëndive të stepës", cit., f. 442-443.

¹⁵ «Te porta e shtëpisë së banimit të institutit, i gjatë, me flokët e çngjyrosur si prej çunaku, duke mbajtur në gojë cigaren, ashtu siç e mbajnë ata që nuk pinë duhan, rrinte Zhenja Jevtushenko»: Ismail Kadare, "Muzgu i perëndive të stepës", cit., f. 457.

Evtushenko non subì ritorzioni e forse per questa ragione Kadare, definendolo «një xhind i zhgënjyer»¹⁶, ne esaltò la figura riportando nelle pagine di *Muzgu* una battuta assai significativa sulla vicenda privata di Pasternak, battuta sulla quale torneremo anche perché di grande interesse ermeneutico per la nostra indagine.

Il complesso e intricato sistema intertestuale del romanzo, che si è cercato di ricondurre a una esemplificazione accettabile da un punto di vista critico, riponeva il senso del messaggio letterario sull'obbiettivo che Kadare condivideva con i modernisti circa il rapporto conflittuale – Gozzi lo definisce “dialettico”¹⁷ – che questi ultimi intrattenevano con la tradizione: da un lato per affrancarsi da essa, contrastandola nel nome di una autonomia creativa soggettiva, stilistica in primo luogo, e dall'altro lato, per sfruttarne l'enorme potenziale accumulato per istituire confronti e relazioni vuoi per misurare così la distanza guadagnata grazie a questa sorta di “parricidio” letterario vuoi anche per recuperare gli antecedenti funzionali alla loro ricerca di innovazione. Propria a questa “ansia dell'influenza”, come ebbe a definirla Harold Bloom, è connessa l'ossessione che nel giovane Kadare si era manifestata sin dal suo esordio nel periodo post moscovita, precisamente quando, dopo aver mietuto uno straordinario successo con il *Gjenerali*, decise di comporre il romanzo “rivoluzionario” *Përbindëshi*, che non per nulla venne immediatamente censurato. La smania che colse lo scrittore albanese negli anni '60 del Novecento e le crisi di coscienza che lo stordirono successivamente costituirono le premesse di quella grande svolta che si concretizzò nei primi anni '70 con la stesura di *Kështjella* e di *Kronikë në gur*, i due romanzi che precedettero, e non solo cronologicamente, il capolavoro kadareano per eccellenza: il *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe*. Non è difficile attestare questa forte similitudine tra le sperimentazioni moderniste dei primi decenni del Novecento con quelle tentate da Kadare subito dopo il suo rientro in Albania dall'URSS. Al riguardo è opportuno tuttavia precisare che, per un verso, l'atteggiamento di contestazione, di dissacrazione e di negazione della tradizione in uno scrittore che lavorava oltre cortina equivaleva non solo a rifiutare il dogma del realismo socialista e a non sussumerlo nel proprio orizzonte creativo, ma anche a orientarsi, invece, verso quella tradizione con la quale Kadare

¹⁶ Ismail Kadare, “Muzgu i perëndive të stepës”, cit., f. 457.

¹⁷ Francesco Gozzi, “La rottura dei codici”, cit., p. 291.

ebbe modo per la prima volta di confrontarsi durante il soggiorno presso l'Istituto Gorki. Proprio questa "opportunità", per un altro verso, di confrontare queste due "tradizioni" – quella ideologicamente orientata dal comunismo albaniano-sovietico e quella di segno opposto decadente e modernista – segnò la prima lacerante crisi di coscienza in Kadare. Al pari degli altri studenti, anch'egli era obbligato ad assistere alla *messa nera* («orët e meshës së zezë»), ovvero «leksionet kundër treshes Xhojs-Kafka-Prust», durante le quali, di giorno, si insegnava agli studenti «se si nuk duhej të shkruanim si ata, kurse netëve, të torturuar nga mëdyshjet, mezi e përballonim tundimin e mëkatit, për të shkruar pikërisht si ata»¹⁸. Nel caso di Kadare, però, questo conflitto interiore in alcuni casi si risolse in sperimentazioni futuristiche che non solo segnarono il distacco dalla tradizione, persino da quella modernista, per approcciare innovative forme della espressività artistica, ma giunsero persino a legittimare l'uso di «një teknikë të porsazbuluar: jo shkrimin, por regjistrimin në magnetofon», una tecnica che «së paku, atë s'ë njihnin as Xhojsi e as Prusti, e aq më pak Kafka»¹⁹. Anche grazie a questa tendenza anticonformistica si concretizzò, direi in modo istintivo, la duplice coraggiosa scelta che nella coscienza artistica del giovane Kadare riuscirono a convivere armonicamente le due componenti della tradizione, ovvero l'eccezionale formazione classica e la nuova visione modernista acquisita in modo tanto paradossale a Mosca, entrambe piegate a vantaggio dello scopo di escogitare un modello estetico e narrativo capace di trasgredire e, nel contempo, di rispettare la tradizione. In una maniera ossimorica o, per dirla con Kadare "paradossale", del tutto identica a quella perseguita dallo scrittore modernista della prima ora, anche il giovane scrittore albanese, pur essendo «convinto della necessità di fare *tabula rasa* delle forme e delle norme consegnate dalla tradizione, ormai inadeguate a "codificare" la sua esperienza del reale, [si rese presto] ben conto che ciò [era] impossibile»²⁰ e che era imprescindibile interloquire con i valori che, custoditi dalla tradizione, gli assicuravano un solido ancoraggio ideologico.

¹⁸ Ismail Kadare, *Mëngjeset në Kafë Rostand. Motive të Parisit*, Shtëpia botuese Onufri, Tiranë, 2014, p. 251.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ Francesco Gozzi, "La rottura dei codici", cit., p. 291.

Colta da questo punto di vista, l'intelaiatura intertestuale che si ramifica nel testo di Muzgu disegna un quadro assai realistico dello stato di atrofismo creativo ed estetico in cui lo studente albanese era costretto a convivere, in specie quando si trovava a contatto con la "tradizione" del realismo socialista. Da un altro punto di vista, però, il dialogismo aperto contemporaneamente con la tradizione modernista e decadente, sebbene non affiori nelle trame testuali con altrettanto realismo, rappresenta una sorta di superamento della paralisi mediante la scoperta di linguaggi e di stili innovativi, mediante la rappresentazione di processi di disgregazione delle identità e di metamorfosi dei personaggi, a cominciare da quella che investe il protagonista-narratore di *Muzgu* nelle diverse fasi in cui si ricostruiscono le vicende autobiografiche occorse all'autore nel biennio settembre 1958- febbraio 1960. In altri termini, semmai rimaneva aperta una possibilità di scegliere, di adottare selettivamente i modelli estetici, magari di accordare la propria preferenza ad autori e a opere che, pur etichettati con i più variopinti giudizi dispregiativi in uso nei regimi dittatoriali dell'epoca (*borgjez, dekadent, i dykuptimt, antisocialist*, ecc.), ebbero questa possibilità fu interamente sfruttata da Kadare, come dimostra la vicenda editoriale del romanzo che rese celebre Pasternak e con il quale lo scrittore albanese ebbe un contatto assai significativo.

3.– *Simmetrie ideologiche: tra due nemici, un'identica matrice*

Il *Dottor Živago*, com'è risaputo, fu pubblicato in Italia da Giangiacomo Feltrinelli il 15 novembre 1957²¹, in seguito a una vicenda tanto fortunosa quanto rocambolesca, che sarebbe proseguita con colpi di scena e oscure trame degne della migliore tradizione delle *spy stories* della Guerra Fredda²². Kadare, che aveva raggiunto Mosca nel settembre del 1958, dunque qualche settimana prima che nell'ottobre di quell'anno

²¹ Shih Boris Leonidovič Pasternak, *Il Dottor Živago*, traduzione di Pietro Zveteremich, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1957.

²² Sulla vicenda della prima edizione italiana del romanzo di Pasternak shih, oltre allo studio di Marco Clementi, *Storia del dissenso sovietico (1953-1991)*, Odradek Edizioni, Roma, 2007, f. 21-22, il già documentato lavoro di Paolo Mancosu, *Živago nella tempesta: Le avventure editoriali del capolavoro di Pasternak*, traduzione italiana di Francesco Peri, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Milano, 2015, ripreso e ampliato nel recente e ponderoso volume di Paolo Mancosu, *Pasternak e Ivinskaja. Il viaggio segreto di Živago*, traduzione italiana di Francesco Peri, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Milano, 2015.

venisse conferito il premio Nobel a Pasternak, in *Muzgu* racconta l'episodio autobiografico di straordinaria suggestione narrativa, in cui confessa di aver letto poche frasi di una versione dattiloscritta incompleta del *Dottor Živago* casualmente ritrovata nell'appartamento del convitto riservato ai docenti dell'Istituto Gorkij. Lo studente albanese vi si recava nei momenti di solitudine, sapendo che quell'ambiente desolato era un luogo abituale frequentato da coloro che erano intenti a leggere di nascosto i materiali proibiti di cui entravano in possesso. Non a caso il dattiloscritto del romanzo, ritrovato nello squallore di quell'ambiente, tra i resti di bottiglie di vodka e rifiuti d'altra natura, compresi escrementi umani, era stato lasciato in quel luogo proprio perché qualcun altro potesse leggerlo.

L'episodio così com'è delineato in *Muzgu* appare piuttosto veritiero, realistico e per nulla artificioso, come pure si è lasciato intendere. E anche senza escludere che nel corso del ventennio 1958-1978 Kadare possa aver letto una copia dell'edizione a stampa del romanzo, la versione "romanzata" dell'insolito "incontro" con l'opera di Pasternak attraverso uno *samizdat* fatto circolare clandestinamente a causa del suo esplicito messaggio dissidente, agli occhi del lettore mantiene integra la sua forza evocativa e anzi si dispone come uno straniante elemento ermeneutico. Lo studente albanese era sicuramente a conoscenza della rete segreta che permetteva alle varianti manoscritte di opere "illegali" di passare di mano in mano. A confermarlo sarà lo stesso Kadare, che in *Muzgu*, immediatamente dopo la ricostruzione dell'episodio del ritrovamento dei frammenti del *Dottor Živago*, introdusse un altro rapido episodio, sul quale è opportuno aprire una parentesi, che fa trapelare un secondo caso di *samizdat*: si trattava del poema di un grande letterato russo, Aleksandr Tvardovskij (1910-1971)²³, chiamato a dirigere la prestigiosa rivista *Novyj mir*, pur essendo membro del partito e ricoprendo incarichi di responsabilità nell'*establishment* letterario. Tvardovskij «promosse, ancor prima della morte di Stalin, una coraggiosa politica che, sia pur cautamente, metteva in discussione, in nome della verità della letteratura, la stucchevole falsità dell'arte di

²³ Per un profilo di Tvardovskij si veda, in italiano, Efim Etkind, "Aleksandr Tvardovskij (1910-1971)", in Efim Etkind, George Nivat, Il'ja Serman e Vittorio Strada (a cura di), *Storia della letteratura russa*, III. *Il Novecento*, 3. *Dal realismo socialista ai nostri giorni*, Torino, Einaudi, 1991.

Stato»²⁴. Il suo primo poema narrava le gesta del protagonista eponimo Vasilji Terkin, il soldato semplice che, in chiave autobiografica, interpretava con voce corale il popolo russo intento a narrare la quotidianità della guerra; nel *sequel* della nuova rielaborazione dal titolo *Terkin all'altro mondo*, Tvardovskij, «nei primi mesi del 1954, fece infatti rivivere il suo eroe per spedirlo all'altro mondo, in un inferno che assomigliava come una goccia d'acqua al sistema sovietico, con tanto di schiere di burocrati anonimi che esigevano certificati e ogni genere di scartoffie per assegnarti una branda, con gli “Organi” della polizia politica dallo sconfinato potere e i campi del Gulag, con una censura maniacalmente ossessiva, una ferrea disciplina da caserma e le immancabili riunioni del partito. A capo del sistema, descritto con toni sarcastici e graffianti, c'è l'innominabile, “colui nel cui nome tu, soldato, sei caduto sul campo di battaglia”, cioè Stalin»²⁵. Scritto nel 1954, il poema fu pubblicato soltanto nel 1963, costando caro al suo autore, che dovette rinunciare alla carica di direttore della rivista. È del tutto evidente che l'episodio narrato in *Muzgu*²⁶ abbia una funzione strumentale, dovendo servire come ammissione del coinvolgimento, più o meno consapevole, degli studenti del Gorkij e, dunque, anche di Kadare, nella rete che faceva circolare clandestinamente le opere dissidenti, non solo e non tanto nei riguardi del krusciovismo al potere, ma soprattutto dello stalinismo che veniva apertamente combattuto, anche con il sostegno più o meno esplicito dello stesso Krusciov. E sebbene il commento finale dell'episodio del ritrovamento delle pagine dattiloscritte del *Dottor Živago*

«E lashë grumbullin e fletëve aty ku e gjeta, pranë shishes së vodkës, kutisë së konservës dhe letrës mbështjellëse dhe, pasi e

²⁴ Maria Ferretti, *La memoria spezzata La Russia e la guerra*, Studi e ricerche, *Italia contemporanea*, Istituto nazionale Ferruccio Parri, n. 245, dicembre 2006, f. 535.

²⁵ *Po aty*.

²⁶ «Ç'të jetë ky dorëshkrim? thashë me vete. Një herë mendova se ndoshta mund të ishte ndonjë vepër e harruar nga dikush në pije e sipër, por m'u kujtua fraza për Dostojevskin dhe *Manifestin Komunist* dhe më shkoi ndër mend se mos ishte ndonjë dorëshkrim i ndaluar, nga ata që qarkullonin dorë më dorë. Kohët e fundit, kjo ishte bërë një gjë e zakonshme. Para tre muajsh, vonë pas mesnate, ndoshta para se të gdhinte, Mackjavicus, i dehur tapë, kishte trokitur ose, më mirë, kishte rrëxosur te dera ime dhe, kur unë e hapa atë, ai më zgjaste ca fletë, duke belbëzuar: merri të lexosh çfarë ka shkruar ai, ai, ai pra, Dante Tvardovski, apo, si i thonë, Margarita, jo, Aleksandër Aligieri. Vetëm pas njëfarë kohe munda të merrija vesh se në ato fletë ishte shtypur me makinë shkrimi një poemë e ndaluar e Aleksandër Tvardovskit, me titull: “Vasil Tjorkini në botën tjetër...”»: Ismail Kadare, “Muzgu i perëndive të stepës”, cit., f. 407.

vështrova dhe një herë nga pragu i derës atë *natur morte* të trishtë, mbylla njëra pas tjetrës dritat dhe dola»²⁷,

lasci interdetti, non v'è dubbio che le eccentriche riflessioni di Kadare sullo stato dell'arte sovietica e segnatamente di quella letteraria, fossero pervase da una forte carica di causticità al limite della derisione. Tali appaiono, ad esempio, gli altri due modi, meno icastici ma molto più efficaci dei precedenti, in cui lo scrittore albanese si prende beffe dei principi classici del realismo socialista e del suo metodo "irrealistico" di rappresentare la realtà – un metodo che Andrej Sinjavskij (1925-1997) avrebbe qualificato più volentieri "conformistico" quale sinonimo di "falsificazionistico"²⁸. In verità, proprio le modalità descrittive tipiche degli scrittori sovietici, future macchine della propaganda del regime, e dei più affermati esponenti della letteratura russa – sia di quella comunista che seguiva il dogma del realismo socialista sia dell'altra che era una filiazione della cultura letteraria pre-rivoluzionaria –, lasciano pensare alla costituzione di un sistema testuale in cui le persone citate, i richiami alle loro opere, le ricostruzioni di situazioni più o meno reali, nella trasposizione kadareana assolvono alla funzione predittiva che Barthes ha assegnato allo storico: «sovrapporre allo svolgimento cronico degli eventi i riferimenti al tempo proprio del suo discorso»²⁹. Da qui sorge la legittima e istintiva ipotesi secondo cui in *Muzgun Kadare*

²⁷ *Po aty.*

²⁸ «Così ogni produzione del realismo socialista, prima ancora di prendere forma, è votata ad avere una conclusione felice. Questa fine può essere triste per l'eroe che corre tutti i pericoli possibili lottando per il comunismo. Ma è sempre felice dal punto di vista dello Scopo che trascende l'individuo; e l'autore, a suo nome o per bocca dell'eroe che muore, non dimentica di fare un atto di fede nella nostra vittoriosa finale. Le illusioni perdute, le speranze frustrate, i sogni non realizzati, così caratteristici della letteratura di altre epoche e di altri sistemi, sono contrari al realismo socialista. Anche se si tratta di una tragedia, è una "tragedia ottimista", seguendo il titolo che V. Visnevskij ha dato alla sua commedia. (Alla fine l'eroina muore e il comunismo trionfa): Andrej Sinjavskij, *Che cos'è il realismo socialista ?*, con una premessa di Cesare Zappulli, Unione italiana per il progresso della cultura, Roma – Milano, 1966, f. 22.

²⁹ «Ricordare queste unità ha lo scopo di suggerire che l'ingresso dell'enunciazione nell'enunciato storico, per il tramite degli *shifters* organizzatori, non ha tanto lo scopo di dare allo storico la possibilità di esprimere la sua "soggettività", come si dice di solito, quanto di "complicare" il tempo storico della storia [...] gli *shifters* di organizzazione stanno infatti ad attestare – anche solo per certi giri apparentemente razionali – la funzione predittiva dello storico: è proprio in quanto *sa* quel che non è ancora stato raccontato che lo storico, come l'attore del mito, ha bisogno di sovrapporre allo svolgimento cronico degli eventi i riferimenti al tempo proprio del suo discorso»: Roland Barthes, "Il discorso della storia" né *Il brusio della parola*, Einaudi, Torino, 1984, f. 104.

istituisca un temerario parallelismo tra i due sistemi comunisti, sovietico e albanese: nulla esclude che lo scrittore albanese si sia servito di questa singolare simmetria per instillare nel lettore la ricerca di analogie con lo stato di degrado in cui versava il mondo culturale e letterario albanese, anch'esso pervaso da tendenze ideologiche conformistiche analoghe o, meglio, mutate da quello sovietico.

Ora, non v'è dubbio che, al di là delle eventuali considerazioni politicizzate che nell'Albania della seconda metà degli anni '70 si potrebbero formulare legittimamente prendendo spunto da un romanzo "anomalo" come *Muzgu*, il senso dell'interpretazione kadareana dell'atmosfera irreal e grottesca che si viveva nella capitale dell'impero sovietico, tanto quando la si descriveva dall'interno del convitto studentesco quanto, più pragmaticamente, la si rappresentava come emblema dell'era krushoviana, mirava al duplice scopo di evidenziare gli stessi gravi difetti liberticidi che connotavano i regimi delle dittature dell'Est europeo e di sfruttare, nel contempo, la possibilità irripetibile di dare sfogo alle più intime e a lungo represses manifestazioni di intolleranza nei riguardi dell'ideologia che ispirava e accomunava i due sistemi dittatoriali, il sovietico e l'albanese. Da questo punto di vista, la rilettura kadareana della vicenda di Pasternak non solo non fu affatto un "episodio" narrativo congiunturale di *Muzgu*, ma rivestiva il compito di apportare connotazioni ontologiche di cui lo stesso scrittore albanese non tarderà a rivendicare la loro vera portata autobiografica nel suo interessante dialogo con Bosquet:

«Sa për personazhin e Pastërnakut, ky është një nga paradokset e këtij libri. Thelbin e paradoksit e përbën vetë fakti që në vendin më stalinist të Lindjes, shkrimtari i famshëm liberal, i mallkuar në vendin e vet, merret në mbrojtje. Në romanin tim Pastërnaku është krejt i vetëm përballë përbindëshit të llahtarshëm, shtetit sovjetik. Dhe natyrisht si çdo i vetmuar përballë një bishe ai është simpatik. Ju mund të habiteni përsëri për këtë paradoks. Por ai dëshmon se sa sinqerisht besoja unë në atë kohë në mundësinë e zbutjes së diktaturës në Shqipëri. Kisha hyrë ndërkaq në një rregull të ri loje: Shqipëria dhe BRSS ishin shtete armiq. Pra, mua si shkrimtar, mendoja se më lejohej të sulmoja shtetin armik. Ndërkaq ky shtet armik ishte kështjella e komunizmit dhe, duke e sulmuar atë egërsisht, s'bëja gjë tjetër veçse sulmoja kështjellën

amë! Mendoja se pavarësisht nga motivet personale e mesquine, që e shtynë diktatorin shqiptar të rebelohej kundër kampit socialist, kjo grindje me kampin do të ishte shpëtimtare dhe shëruese për Shqipërinë. Personazhi simpatik i Pastërnakut ishte një dallëndyshe, që duhej të paralajmëronte, në mos pranverën, një shenjës të saj. Kjo histori bëhej edhe më kureshtare ngaqë në kohën që po shkruaja vazhdimin e romanit. Për herë të parë shtypi perëndimor më shpalli mua si një kandidat të mundshëm për Nobël. Duke përshkruar një fushatë të egër kundër një fitues të çmimit Nobël në një vend komunist unë përshkruaja në të vërtetë atë që do të ndodhte me mua në rast të nobelizimit. Pra kjo ishte njëkohësisht historia ime e mundshme e projektuar në pasqyrë»³⁰.

Il paralellismo è più che fondato, basato com'è sull'ausilio di fatti storici incontrovertibili. La campagna violenta, aggressiva e ossessiva condotta contro Pasternak descritta in *Muzgu*, ricorda più o meno esplicitamente quella orchestrata contro Kadare all'indomani della pubblicazione del *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe*. E i rapporti di invidia reciproca tra gli scrittori, gli odi nei confronti dei critici e dei conformisti, i chiacchiericci che scandivano le giornate noiose, le lezioni monotone, l'ipocrisia di Stato che incombeva sugli intellettuali sovietici, riesumano gli stessi effetti dell'alterità individuale riscontrabili a Tirana nelle due decenni successive alla rottura con Mosca. Ciò conferma che se in questa vicenda tutto ha una dimensione autobiografica, non è secondario che vi emerga chiaramente anche il tratto di una vera e propria speculazione profetica, la quale se, per un verso, permette a Kadare di presagire nella dolorosa storia personale di Pasternak la propria come «e projektuar në pasqyrë», dunque di porsi come una sorta di *alter ego* dello scrittore russo in terra d'Albania, per un altro verso, l'episodio narrato in *Muzgu* offre al lettore un valido argomento per ancorare il romanzo moscovita in un preciso momento dell'evoluzione della narrativa kadareana. Per quanto si tratti di similitudini anacroniche forti di una suggestiva importanza storica e perciò legittime sul piano storico-critico, esse tuttavia esulano dall'oggetto di questa indagine la quale, al contrario, è più propensa a esaminare le più oggettive interferenze "estetiche" intercorse nel periodo che va dal concepimento dei due romanzi "sovietici", il *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe* e il *Muzgu*, sino alla loro

³⁰ Ismail Kadare, *Dialog me Alain Bosquet*, Onufri, Tiranë, 1996, f. 50-51.

pubblicazione, rispettivamente nel 1973 e nel 1978. In questo senso, sono ben altri gli interrogativi che sospingono ad esplorare i misteri narrativi di *Muzgu*: Quali sono stati i rapporti tra i due romanzi? In che relazione si dispongono i rispettivi testi? E la visione che vi traspare, è riconducibile a una ideologia letteraria ontologicamente aderente alla medesima prospettiva narrativa?

Le risposte a questi quesiti permettono l'individuazione dell'ineludibile chiave che apre le porte a una interpretazione più organica della poetica kadareana della seconda metà degli anni '70. Del resto per quanto sia plausibile che, quando nei primi anni '60 iniziò a scrivere *Muzgu*, Kadare non «e kishte mendjen te të gjitha këto»³¹, non v'è dubbio che in un determinato momento della sua scrittura e, in particolare, quando decise di comporre il *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe*, i destini dei due romanzi inevitabilmente si incrociarono, interferirono l'uno con l'altro, sino a legittimare uno scambio prospettico delle rispettive visioni, quasi che l'uno fosse il "doppio" dell'altro.

4.– Percorsi storico-filologici, discontinuità e rifrazioni testuali

Nel seguente passaggio consegnato a *Ftesë në studio*,

«Kur fillova *Muzgun*, nuk desha kurrësi që shqetësimet, që shkaktuan për njëfarë kohe në ndërgjegjen time personazhet e vërtetë të *Kronikës në gur*, të përsëriteshin. Aq më tepër që, ndërsa shumica e personazheve të *Kronikës*, në kohën që ajo shkruhej, kishin vdekur, personazhet e *Muzgut* ishin të gjithë të gjallë. Kështu kisha vendosur, megjithatë, atë mëngjes dhjetori, kur u ula të nis librin, diçka më shtyu që të kërkoj në raftet e bibliotekës një fotografi të dikurshme të gjithë kursit, nga ato që bëheshin zakonisht në mbarim të vitit universitar. E gjeta fotografinë dhe, ndonëse me vete përsërisja se do t'i hidhja vetëm një sy (vetëm një sy sa për të hyrë në atmosferë), e ndieja se do të bëja të kundërtën. Dhe kështu ndodhi vërtet. Si i shtyrë nga ajo forcë e mbrapshtë, që sa më shumë rreksha ta shmangia, aq më zotëruese bëhej, jo vetëm që i përshkrova saktësisht portretet e tyre, por, si për të çuar gjer në fund prapësinë, i emërtova me emrat e tyre të vërtetë. Kjo është një marrëzi, thosha me vete, kjo është e palejueshme, dhe i

³¹ *Po aty*, f. 49.

shuaja aty për aty emrat për t'i zëvendësuar me emra të trilluar. Por ndërkaq, mendoja se, prej kohësh, të gjitha marrëdhëniet, madje edhe ato diplomatike, ishin prerë midis Shqipërisë dhe Bashkimit Sovjetik, dhe se të gjithë ata ishin tani larg, tepër larg, si në zonat e vdekjes. Kaq më duhej që të fshija emrat e trilluar dhe sipër tyre të shkruaja përsëri emrat e tyre të vërtetë. Edhe sikur të më kërkojnë s'më gjejnë dot më kurrë, mendoja zymtësisht»³²,

Kadare ribadisce il profondo legame che unisce *Muzgu* e *Kronikë në gur*, i suoi due romanzi autobiografici per eccellenza. Per un verso, lo scrittore albanese conferma l'incidenza esercitata dalle distanze temporali sul racconto degli accadimenti e, per un altro, rivela che nell'atto della scrittura l'eccesso di realismo costituì un serio problema di referenzialità di natura etica. Il dubbio se mantenere anche in *Muzgu*, così come aveva fatto in *Kronikë*, i nomi veri dei "personaggi" o di modificarli con nomi fittizi fu radicale e soltanto dopo aver maturato la persuasione, piuttosto schietta nella sua spontaneità, che nessuno dei protagonisti delle vicende narrate fosse in grado di leggere il romanzo, l'autore optò per una scelta di principio nel segno del rispetto di una "realità" che, apparentemente, rinunciava alla finzione. Ciò suona come una conferma della teoria secondo cui i nomi, in quanto designatori rigidi dell'agente, prevalgono addirittura sul fatto narrato purché compatibili con il proprio mondo possibile di narrazione: sarebbe bastato affibbiare etichette più o meno rispettose delle identità "reali" dei personaggi per superare la inevitabile relazione di referenzialità che il racconto autobiografico pone dinnanzi al suo autore. In altri termini, questa "confessione" autoriale postdata, indirettamente rafforza nel lettore l'idea che, al pari di *Kronikë*, *Muzgu* sia davvero un'autobiografia e che nient'altro si dovrebbe ricercare nel suo testo se non una perfetta aderenza del narratore – che naturalmente coincide con l'io narrante dell'autore – all'oggetto della narrazione nel segno di un'identità conclamata del "vero storico" ripreso dal punto di vista del personaggio-autore. E in effetti, se vogliamo indugiare nella ricerca di prove a sostegno di questo assunto, che rimane un mero principio autoriale di matrice autobiografica, torna utile condurre una breve storia redazionale del testo del romanzo.

³² Ismail Kadare, *Ftesë në studio*, cit., f. 147.

Un punto assai importante ai fini della nostra analisi, riguarda la ricostruzione delle diverse fasi di scrittura a cui fu sottoposto il testo del romanzo, non già per prepararne un approccio di tipo ecdotico, ma soltanto per completare il quadro diacronico nel quale si iscrive *Muzgu*. In fin dei conti, è stato lo stesso Kadare a suggerire l'opportunità di istituire una tale ipotesi di lavoro nel momento in cui ha annotato in *Ftesë në studio* che

«ka një lidhje të veçantë midis këtyre dy romaneve, secili i lindur në largësi, por me kahje të kundërt. *Kronika* u mendua atje, për ngjarje e personazhe të *këtushëm*, kurse *Muzgu* lindi *këtu*, për botën e *atjeshme*. Ndoshta s'është e rastit që të vetmet gjëra autobiografike që kam shkruar kanë patur si element drejtpeshues këtë përmasë largësie»³³.

Non si avrebbe motivo di dubitare delle parole di Kadare e, anzi, appare piuttosto probabile che la “distanza spaziale” a cui ha alluso lo scrittore albanese *ex post* abbia avuto davvero un ruolo equilibratore per il flusso della reminiscenza autobiografica. Va tuttavia precisato che anche la “distanza temporale” della scrittura andrebbe soppesata adeguatamente qualora si voglia seguire il suggerimento kadareano di evidenziare, per un verso, lo “speciale legame” tra i due romanzi al fine di costituire una ottima base di partenza per istituire una buona ermeneutica testuale e, per un altro verso, le ben più pervasive connessioni intertestuali che non solo inseriscono *Muzgu* nel nutrito gruppo opere che, come si dimostrerà, condivide il singolare compito di documentare i riflessi letterari delle esperienze consumate dall'autore empirico nell'arco di tempo che abbraccia gli anni decisivi 1962-1978. E, ponendoci in quest'ottica, a maggior ragione sarà necessario predisporre su una prospettiva diacronica, se non altro per compiere il tentativo di collocare *Muzgu* in una traiettoria temporale che, con oggettività e persuasività, incroci e giustifichi sul piano testuale le relazioni con *Kronikë në gur*, *Nëntorin e një kryeqyteti* e, soprattutto, con il *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe*, il romanzo che segnò profondamente l'intera poetica kadareana successiva al 1973.

La prima edizione di *Muzgu* apparve nel 1978, inclusa nel trittico “eterodosso” al quale, come s'è detto, Kadare volle dare lo stesso titolo

³³ Ismail Kadare, *Ftesë në studio*, cit., f. 144.

del romanzo *Ura me tri harqe*³⁴, quasi a voler assegnare al racconto autobiografico “moscovita” la posizione che occupa la seconda arcata del suo inquietante ponte cronotopico. Stando alle date di pubblicazione, il lettore empirico sarebbe indotto a pensare che la stesura di *Muzgu* appartenga a un periodo successivo al *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe*, con il quale condivide a livello contenutistico ben più di mere affinità congiunturali. In verità, le dichiarazioni rese da Kadare in un’intervista del 2008 al giornalista culturale russo Vasilij Tjuhin ribaltano radicalmente i rapporti cronologici della ricostruzione e collocano l’elaborazione della prima stesura di *Muzgu* intorno ai primi anni ’60, precisamente nel 1962, dunque immediatamente dopo il rientro a Tirana da Mosca e ben prima della pubblicazione del *Gjenerali*³⁵.

I documenti e le testimonianze di Helena Kadare confermano e ampliano questa ricostruzione. In una lettera di protesta dello scrittore inviata nel gennaio del 1966 alla casa editrice “Naim Frashëri”, si legge:

«Më 1962 unë paraqita në ndërmarrjen tuaj librin tim me tregime, i cili u aprovua për t’u botuar, pasi t’i bëja ndryshime disa prej tregimeve dhe pasi të hiqja ndonjërin prej tyre. Më 1963 e paraqita përsëri librin për rishqyrtim. Pas rishqyrtimit m’u bënë përsëri vërejtje të tjera dhe unë punova përsëri mbi librin. Më 1964 e paraqita librin për të tretën herë. Pas rishqyrtimit të tretë libri im u gjet i pabotueshëm dhe më 1965 ndërmarrja më dha përgjigje për të. Siç shihet, procesi i shqyrtimit të këtij libri është mjaft paradoksal»³⁶.

³⁴ Ismail Kadare, “Muzgu i perëndive të stepës” në *Ura me tri harqe*. Triptik, Shtëpia botuese “Naim Frashëri”, Tiranë, 1978, f. 355-511.

³⁵ «Sapo u ktheva në Shqipëri, në vitin 1960, nostalgjia për vitet studentore moskovite më nxiti të shkruaj për ta. Romanin [*Muzgu*] e fillova ta shkruaj në vitin 1962, por me vështirësi munda ta publikoj në vitin 1978, në përmbledhjen *Ura me tri harqe*»: Ismail Kadare, “Vitet e mia në Moskë dhe dashuria e humbur me vajzën Larisa: shkrimtari flet për herë të parë për median ruse”, intervist me Vasilij Tjuhin, në *Tirana observer: perditshme, e pavarur*, përkth. Nikolla Sudar, Nr. 112, 13 maj, Tiranë, 2008, f. 2-5.

³⁶ Helena Kadare, *Kohë e pamjaftueshme*. Kujtime, Shtëpia botuese “Onufri”, Tiranë, 2011, f. 150. Helena, dal canto suo, ci rassicura che il libro in parola era proprio *Muzgu*: «Nervozizmi i kohës ndikonte në mënyrën e të punuarit të Is. Në atë periudhë, ai shkroi fillimin e romanit *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës*, të cilin u përpoq më kot ta botonte si tregim me titullin “Duke kërkuar një vilë”. Shtëpia botuese *Naim Frashëri* ia ktheu dy herë. I mërzhitur nga kjo shkroi tregimin *Qyteti i Jugut*, që do të ishte bërthama e romanit të ardhshëm *Kronikë në gur*»: *Po aty*, f. 142.

In seguito alla pubblicazione di *Dasma*, prima nella rivista *Nëndori* del 1967³⁷ e immediatamente dopo in volume³⁸, lo scrittore divenne oggetto di eccessivo apprezzamento e di lodi entusiasmanti per il romanzo che Egli stesso di lì a poco avrebbe giudicato il più conformista in assoluto tra le sue opere. Agli occhi di Kadare e dei suoi intimi, lo sfrenato clamore dei critici albanesi assunse carattere grottesco giacché, proprio in quel torno di tempo, lo scrittore aveva appena finito di scrivere

«ndërkaq një pjesë të librit *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës*, ku tallej dhe dënonte pikërisht këtë lloj letërsie himnizuese. Lavdërimet e kritikës zyrtare ishin si një shuplakë në fytyrë për të. Ato e vinin atë në një radhë me personazhet e *Muzgut* që po shkruante, pra me ata shkrimtarë sovjetikë, të cilët i kishte përshkruar si karikatura»³⁹.

Mentre Kadare attendeva una risposta alla sua richiesta di consultare il dossier sull'Unione Sovietica per poter avviare la stesura del *Dimri i vetmisë së madhe*, la lunga e faticosa elaborazione del testo di *Muzgu* fu ripresa nel 1969 contemporaneamente alla redazione definitiva di *Kronikë në gur*⁴⁰ e proseguì ancora nei mesi precedenti il viaggio compiuto negli Stati Uniti nella prima metà del 1970⁴¹. Verso la fine di quell'anno, dunque, erano due i romanzi in fase di stesura, «njërin gati të mbaruar, *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës* dhe tjetrin të porsafilluar, *Pashallëqet e mëdha (Kamarja e turpit)*», benché Kadare «e ndiente se mbarimi dhe botimi i tyre përpara “romanit të madh” (*Dimri i vetmisë së madhe*) ishte i pamundur»⁴².

³⁷ Ismail Kadare, “Dasma” në *Nëntori*. *E përmuajshme letrare, artistike, shoqerore, politike*, Organ i Lidhjes së shkrimtareve e artisteve të Shqipërisë, nr. 4, viti XXIX, gusht 1967, Tiranë, 1967, f. 3-104.

³⁸ La prima edizione in volume apparve a Prishtina (Ismail Kadare, *Dasma*. Roman, Rilindja, Prishtinë, 1967), la seconda a Tirana (Ismail Kadare, *Dasma*. Roman, Shtëpia botuese “Naim Frashëri”, Tiranë, 1968)

³⁹ *Po aty*, f. 194-195.

⁴⁰ «Disa javë punoi me tregimin e gjatë *Qyteti i jugut*, duke e mbushur me shënime anash. Me mikun e tij të kahershëm, piktorin Maks Velo, i gjetën edhe titullin e ri *Kronikë në gur*. Po kështu vazhdoi një kapitull të *Muzgut*»: *Po aty*, f. 203.

⁴¹ «Is ka thënë diku se “nuk ishte liria që e kishte çuar drejt letërsisë, por letërsia drejt lirisë”. Këtë “zbulim të Nju-Jorkut” ai e kishte bërë më parë në romanin *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës*, të cilin pothuajse e kishte mbaruar në atë kohë»: *Po aty*, f. 239.

⁴² *Po aty*, f. 246-247.

Un frammento parziale del futuro primo capitolo di *Muzgu*, intitolato *Një verë në Dubulti*, fu ospitato nella rivista *Nëntori* del 1972⁴³, mentre una versione più completa, riproposta con il medesimo titolo, apparve nella prima edizione della raccolta di racconti e novelle *Emblema e dikurshme*⁴⁴ del 1977, dunque l'anno precedentë la prima edizione del romanzo moscovita. La stesura del testo di quest'ultimo fu avviato a definizione nel corso del 1975⁴⁵, ma soltanto sul finire del 1977, dopo aver finalmente superato lo scoglio della seconda edizione del *Dimri i madh*, la stesura fu completata nella versione apparsa l'anno successivo. Non è superfluo notare che proprio negli anni precedenti il 1978 le opere che maggiormente concorsero a delineare buona parte del sistema relazionale dell'*Ismailand* erano state tutte portate a compimento con rapidità e decisione:

«Pas *Hankonatëve*, ai përfundoi *Kamaren e turpit* dhe *Muzgun e perëndive të stepës*. Pastaj *Prillin e thyer* dhe *Kush e solli Doruntinën*. Fill pas tyre, njëri pas tjetrit, u shkruan *Komisioni i festës*, *Ura me tri harqe*, *Pallati i Ëndrrave*, *Koncert në fund të dimrit* dhe *Qorrfermani*»⁴⁶.

Si direbbe, naturalmente *a posteriori*, che nel 1978-1980 l'*Ismailand* aveva raggiunto il suo massimo grado di sviluppo strutturale e che, a partire da quel momento, la poetica kadareana avrebbe potuto accogliere nel suo seno qualsiasi altra "espansione" narrativa dromocratica, persino andando ben oltre il limite temporale inizialmente previsto, come ad esempio accadrà con il romanzo *Piramida*. Basti considerare, ad esempio, le citazioni intratestuali con le quali in *Muzgu* sono esplicitamente richiamati *Ura me tri harqe*⁴⁷, *Pashallëqet* e

⁴³ Ismail Kadare, "Një verë në Dubulti" në *Nëntori*. *E përmuajshme letrare, artistike, shoqerore, politike*, Organ i Lidhjes së shkrimtareve e artisteve të Shqipërisë, nr. 12, viti XX, dhjetor 1972, Tiranë, 1972, f. 149-169.

⁴⁴ Ismail Kadare, "Një verë në Dubulti" në *Emblema e dikurshme. Tregime e novela*, Shtëpia botuese "Naim Frashëri", Tiranë, 1977, f. 54-62.

⁴⁵ «ai po u jepte dorën e fundit kujtimeve të Moskës në romanin *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës*. Pas shumë mëdyshjesh, kishte çuar në shtëpinë botuese *Kamaren e turpit* (koka e prerë e Ali Pashait, që po e çojnë në Stamboll) dhe po priste përgjigjen me njëfarë shqetësimi»: *Po aty*, f. 336.

⁴⁶ *Po aty*, f. 354.

⁴⁷ Per ben due volte in *Muzgu* è ripreso il mito di costruzione che ricorre in *Ura*: la prima volta a f. 370 «më shkoi ndër mend t'i tregoja edhe legjendën tjetër madhështore, atë të murimit në këmbët e urës» e la seconda a f. 376 «Prapë më shkoi nëpër mend se ndoshta ishte rasti për t'i rreguar legjendën tjetër atë të murimit në urë, e cila gjithashtu kishte variantet e saj ne gjithë

*mëdha*⁴⁸, *Komisioni i festës*⁴⁹, oppure, ancora, con strabiliante anacronia viene annunciato, prima del 1960, il *Gjenerali i ushtrisë së vdekur*⁵⁰, che notoriamente sarà pubblicato soltanto dopo il rientro a Tirana nel 1963. Naturalmente sullo sfondo permangono altri due romanzi nel frattempo pubblicati, il *Dimri i vetmisë madhe*, apparso nel 1973, che non a caso si riferisce alla rottura dei rapporti tra Albania-URSS, notoriamente consumata nel periodo in cui Kadare era a Mosca⁵¹, e *Kronikë në gur*,

popujt e Ballkanit. Me njërin prej këtyre varianteve, dhe pikërisht me atë të Bosnjës, që e kishte vënë në bazën e romanit të tij *Ura mbi Drinë*, Ivo Andriqi kishte marrë çmimin Nobel. Mua më dukej se ai, si ballkanas që ishte, e kishte shkruar atë shkëlqyeshëm, megjithatë kisha bindjen se, ashtu si edhe në rastin e baladës së fjalës së dhënë, varianti shqiptar, si më i vjetri, ishte pa dyshim më i bukuri», quest'ultima significativamente modificata nell'edizione del 2006: «Prapë më shkoi nëpër mend se ndoshta ishte rasti për t'i treguar legjendën tjetër, atë të murimit nën urë, por përsëri u mëdysha» (Ismail Kadare, *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës*, Shtëpia botuese Onufri, Tiranë, 2006, f. 29).

⁴⁸ Nell'intensa conversazione con Anteos a f. 424 si menzionano “kokat e prera”, oggetto dei *Pashallëqet e mëdha (Kamarja e turpit)*: «Nisëm të flisnim përsëri për gjëra që kishin ndodhur në djalinë e tij dhe në fëmijërinë time. Ai më tregoi për kokat e prera të partizanëve grekë, që kundërshtarët i ruanin në frigorifer për t'ia treguar popullit, dhe unë i tregova ç'kisha dëgjuar për kokat e prera të pashallarëve rebelë shqiptarë, që i vendosnin në një kamare guri në Stamboll, për të shkaktuar tmerr kundër separatizmit. – Kjo është në stilin e shteteve të mëdha agresive, – tha ai. – Mbill terror, për të kallur datën. Tmerro, ndëshko pa mëshirë. Ma thuaj dhe një herë si quhej ajo kamarja? – Ibret tashë, mëso nga mynxyra».

⁴⁹ Il massacro raccontato nella *Komisioni i festës* è ricordato a f. 425-426: «Ne vazhduam të flisnim për besën dhe unë i thashë, se gjatë historisë sonë kombëtare, ndeshja e besës me pabesinë ka shkaktuar përherë erupsione të pashembullta në psikikën e popullit tonë. Unë nisa t'i tregoja për masakrën e dikurshme të Manastirit, ku turqit vranë pabesisht të pesëqind krerët e Shqipërisë, të ftuar për një festë pajtimi, por ai më shikoi në një mënyrë të tillë, sikur të më thoshte: Ç'më flet për plojën e Manastirit, kur pabesinë e ke mu në hundë?», alla quale corrisponde la seguente variante dell'edizione del 2006: «Ne vazhduam të flisnim për besën dhe unë nisa t'i tregoja për kurthin e dikurshëm të Manastirit, ku turqit grinë pabesisht të pesëqind krerët e Shqipërisë, të ftuar për një festë pajtimi, por ai më shikoi në një mënyrë të tillë, sikur të më thoshte: ç'më flet për plojën e Manastirit, kur pabesinë e ke mu në hundë?» Ismail Kadare, *Muzgu i perëndive të stepës*, Shtëpia botuese Onufri, Tiranë, 2006, f. 93.

⁵⁰ Ecco la singolare conversazione tra un'anonima professoressa di storia della pittura e il giovane studente dell'Istituto Gorkij a f. 451-452 di *Muzgu*: «- Subjekti juaj ishte i mrekullueshëm, – tha. – Ç'subjekt? - thashë gati i frikësuar. - Nuk di ndonjë subjekt. Ajo vazhdonte të buzëqeshte. – Një ushtri e gjallë, që komandohet nga fantazma e një gjenerali dhe fantazma e një prifti të vdekur, – vazhdoi ajo. – Është një gjetje e hatashme, – S'është ashtu, – murmurita unë, ndonëse s'kisha asnjë dëshirë të bëja sqarime të mëtejshme, – më duket se është e kundërta. Është një ushtri e vdekur... – Ashtu? – ia bëri ajo dhe anoi kokën, ndërsa unë mendoja: kur drejtin ia paskam treguar këtë? S'më kujtohej asgjë. – Aq më mirë, - vazhdoi ajo...».

⁵¹ Ciò non impedì a Kadare rapidi cenni intertestuali, come a f. 424 quando si riferì alla questione della base militare al centro della contesa tra Mosca e Tirana dopo la rottura dei rapporti: «- Ju keni një bazë detare të përbashkët me sovjetikët, apo jo? – Po, – i thashë, - Pasha Limanin. – Prapë emër turk, - ia bëri ai». O, ancora, quando le f. 403-404 evocano “Pjesën e

che è evocato in modo ricorrente pur senza mai essere citato direttamente, come nelle pagine in cui il narratore-studente parlando con Anteos, partigiano ferito e ricoverato nell'ospedale cittadino posto nel quartiere Hazmurat della "città di pietra" dove Kadare, «nxënës në shkollën shtatëvjeçare», di notte gli si «ngjethej mishtë nga rënkimet e grekëve të plagosur», tra i quali forse c'era proprio il suo amico-collega greco di Mosca⁵². Infine non si può trascurare di ricordare il ridondante richiamo intertestuale alla ballata di Costantino e Doruntina, che costituisce il leit-motiv esplicito di almeno due altri romanzi, *Kush e solli Doruntinën* e di *Hija*, della cui trama proprio *Muzgu*, come vedremo nell'ultimo capitolo, costituisce l'archetipo imprescindibile⁵³.

Il fatto meritava di essere rilevato e sottolineato perché rispetto ai suoi più illustri predecessori testuali, il romanzo *Muzgu* si configura come l'esempio paradigmatico del modo di procedere della scrittura kadareana, una scrittura che, oltre a possedere un forte carattere dromocratico nel senso della labilità dei confini della struttura dei testi teorizzata da Pavel, vanta peculiarità "speculari". La prosa di Kadare in effetti obbedisce, contemporaneamente, all'andamento tipico del "palindromo" – nel senso che può essere ripercorsa in entrambe le direzioni, dal testo più antico al più recente, dalla fine all'inizio, e viceversa – e della "rifrazione" – nel senso che, grazie alle sue relazioni intertestuali, essa è forma attiva di emanazione e forma passiva di rispecchiamento ricettivo. Con questa doppia e simmetrica funzione speculare, che investe anche la maniera del raccontare e le categorie che le sono proprie – da quello dello spazio a quello del tempo, alla loro fusione nel movimento –, Kadare costruisce un universo narrativo che nulla distrugge di ciò che crea e che tutto assorbe in sé, dando vita a un fenomeno di resilienza estetica di straordinaria vitalità e creatività. E, per offrire un esempio di questa modalità scrittoria e, soprattutto, per fugare

dytë" il cui titolo *Mysafirë në kështjellë* della prima edizione sostituisce quella di *Mysafirë te Makbethi* della versione manoscritta: «muret e Kremlinit dukeshin edhe më paqësore. Një zë i mefshtë brenda meje më thoshte se makbetizmi ose budizmi i një kështjelle s'përcaktohet nga ngjyra gri apo e kuqërremtë e mureve, as nga trajta misterioze apo, përkundrazi, nga pamja prej tremeje të drurtë e pirgjeve».

⁵² Ismail Kadare, "Muzgu i perëndive të stepës", cit., f. 419.

⁵³ *Il mito del revenant, Costantino, viene vissuto per la prima volta in modo istintivo e ancora ingenuo in Muzgu, in attesa che esso diventi tema ricorrente nella sua poetica. Lida sarà la Doruntina di Kadare a Mosca, ma nella fiction parigina, sarà un'altra donna a rivestire i panni dell'eroina della ballata arbëreshe.*

il dubbio che si tratti di una casualità fortuita, nelle seguenti pagine ci soffermeremo su un aspetto fondamentale dell'architettura narrativa di *Muzgu*, che per un verso conferma pienamente la ricostruzione della sua genesi e, per un altro, fornisce interessanti spunti ermenetici.

Evalda PACI

**ISSUES RELATED TO ADAPTATION OF NORMS ON
PROPER SPEECH STYLES:
THE CASE OF CHURCH DISCOURSES**

There is a substantially increased attention in recent decades to the most specific speech forms, which does directly include language and usages in texts and collections from close fields of culture and book writing; moreover, certain changes do simultaneously affect the restoration of relevant practices that many years ago were more common in our country.

A rich tradition has appeared in early periods by authors who collected models related to contemporary developments, reforms in the field of reading, ecclesial and lithurgical culture followed centuries later by other developments, which were and remain utterly positive, both in their momentum and orientation.

To be able to speak on a lithurgical language does necessarily require to bear in mind a direct diachrony in the realization of works and minor works that in earlier development periods extended to the field of writing in Albanian and its specific history in terms of initiation and profilization. Likewise, the review of a straight itinerary in the studies and collections on the transposition of Biblic text in Albanian language requires the combination of shared optics of tests, contributions and reflections based on proximity traditions, with an extensive impact in written and adaptation processes in our language as well. In the first decades of the last century texts of various natures, oriented also to school and educational practices have succeeded to reflect a clear – cut trend in accentuating a direct Christian lithurgical lexicon followed by more comprehensive publications, which today are recapturing the attention of researchers of historic lexicography and other disciplines with the diachrony of Albanians as their target. These tests and

testimony on the delivery of specific linguistic registries in our language maybe also specifically considered as an intermediary for qualities that in the previous centuries were retaken by specific authors, associated with new constructions, which in a way or another were reflected in authors' collections that belong to a more specific period, both in the profile and geocultural context.

The preservation of natural bonds with early usages, which in fact make the essence of each presentation with the follow up of a special performance concerning the liturgy lexicon and texts forwarded to generations as its target, given the deeply rooted tradition in earlier period in the field of relevant usage is a "must" which does also find a space of reflection in our work.

Here there are many patterns and models of authors to refer to; there are also special well – recognized and esteemed collectors and text authors who have become part of a route and incarnation of literary genres in Albanian, as part of a diachrony of collections that have put the early Albanian literature in its appropriate frame of insertion in the history of our written literature.

Because of their target and performance not only in chronological terms, the works that have launched writing in Albanian in a more complex perspective from the content and the construction should be provided with a space of their own, which does also contain the analytical dimension in the thematics of the latter. Diversity of models followed by contributions which beyond chronological order reflect the launch of new book also in the field of liturgical practice constitutes another factor that pushes us forward in orienting attention to retain constructions that do not lose the connotation value, even though in terms of their materialization, the context of usage leads towards different texts.

In this regard, laudable tests considered also as inaugurative for Albanian writing and the specifics of its reflection, even with regard to a belated unification in chronological terms that deserve selection evidence and carrying it beyond reasonable divisions in the chronological aspect do also serve the contextualization of ecclesial literature in the history of Albanian written literature, that as in many other countries began with achievements and breakthroughs in an

attempt to introduce in Albanian the Holy Writing and other minor works that rely on the latter.

There are not few collectors who have shared a tradition which has continued in a different way and dynamics even in foreign lands where Albanian is spoken and taught. Due to time reasons, hereby we are addressing much more attentively a few contributions in the paper prepared for publication on today's topic; meanwhile, many special names were involved in the tests to reconstruct a complex sphere of terms, specifications and usages, despite the time when they materialized their activity in real terms, when the context would have been much richer.

One should point out, inter alia, that the 800 hundred may be considered a significant century in terms of restoring texts from this thematics, with parallel trends which especially in the recent decades witness a very active Mjeda, other clergymen and also Kristoforidhi in anthologies that now are part of an antiquary library which is also a valuable roadmap in reconstructing a special history record on the above-quoted issues.¹

Ndre Mjedja (1866-1937) represents an example of a collector, translator and adapter into Albanian who was very attentive to hagiographic themes, which is always intriguing for the researchers of Christian theology and specific authors of ecclesial literature of the 16th and 17th century. Justin Rrota O.F.M. (1889-1964) and V.Prennushi O.F.M. (the latter author of brilliant homelies, proving in this way its pastoral dimension) appears in sermon booklets that have the relevant consent of church hierarchy, at a time when the specific syntagma or usages containing the latter continue to be even now reference points in contexts of liturgical celebrations, with a wide-ranging participation of people and believers.

In his work "Bibla dhe përkthimet e saj në gjuhën shqip" (Bible and its translations in Albanian language) a publication of the year 1999, Engjell Sedaj has in particular devoted whole chapters of his work to the precious contributions by Kristoforidhi, preceded by direct tests even in

¹ As for the doctrine publications compiled during this century, please see in particular Paci E., *Variante të hershme doktrinare në një kontekst të historisë së letërsisë së shkruar shqipe*, in *Studime filologjike*, n.3-4, 2018.

the context in which the latter acted with these translations in Albanian. In this work one could find the motivation to trace back proximities and coincidences in the translation activity and beyond, as values of a complex work that deserves intense and profound studies.² Sedaj underlines that part of Kristoforidhi's library were works like "*Cuneus prophetarum*" by Pjetër Bogdani and one of the re-publications of the *Doctrine* by Pjetër Budi, exactly the one dating back to the year 1664, facts which make our scholar strengthen the conviction on his reconnaissance of the above-mentioned literary tradition.³

The approach to collections of this thematic, although they tend to be cathesistic tests, with certain specifics related to the very predefinition and launch of the initiative of each of them requires a profound revision of author's ventures, being aware that the very analytical overview of contributions like these serve above all to enrich the knowledge frame and achievements in the area of translations in Albanian and preparations for publications; above all, it highlights proximities, coincidences, trends and singularities in the use of Albanian in its existing variants at the time of the activity of the above-mentioned initiators. Yet, our concern here is not only the issue of dialectal differentiation or different periods from the point of view of the publication of definite works, based on the translation of significant parts from the Bible or whole versions of the Old and New Testament into Albanian. Among traces leading to linguistic and literary singularities to substantial proximity and to features that are primarily target of study interests by researchers of historic disciplines in Albanian language, the Bible's integral variants remain the most interesting in many aspects, including the curiosity of biblic scholars, who find among others influences from referral texts, more precise in specific cases, still in a process of treatment for distinct samples. In our country, such a curiosity was also materialized under new conditions in the recent decades with anastatic ameliorated publications that witnessed again the

² *Psalmet gegërisht dhe toskërisht, përgatiti për botim Xh.Lloshi, Shoqëria Biblike Ndërkonfesionale e Shqipërisë, Tiranë, 2015.*

³ Sedaj E., *Bibla e përkthimet e saj në gjuhën shqipe*, Botime Shtufi, 1999, p.191: Here it should be also mentioned that among Kristoforidhi's books which his daughter Kleopatra has preserved (1939), it was also *Cuneus prophetarum* by P.Bogdani (third edition) and *Doktrina* (1664) by P.Budi, which might have served as irreplaceable models in his work of translating divine books.

involvement of researchers of old Albanian schools and the written tradition in our language.

From an analytical perspective on a series of aspects of constructing the substance and usages that are clear reflections of the affiliation to special lexical registries, such collections that are in part texts drafted under exegetical prose and in part as reintroduction of biblic texts traditionally restored in the lithurgical practice in our language are a clear example of the fact that the canonicity and contents towards norms cannot be conceived as something profoundly absolute. On the other hand, in the optics of a series of collections back in the previous decades, which are referential in some aspects to those who have read texts of celebrative-lithurgical nature, as they are presented also in the initiatives of Daniel Gjeçajt O.F.M., not a few previous tests help complete a frame that confirms ecclesial literature written in Albanian, as one of the most precious treasures in enriching our language and its most specific registries.

In Daniel Gjeçaj O.F.M. collections (1913-2002) it is also possible to trace back a continuation related to some of the above-mentioned achievements, which in more in - depth perspectives would be also able to reflect singularities in usages from the collectors themselves, who in most of the cases have had a connection with study interests and also with the works by ancient Albanian literature. Constructions identified from models's viewpoint in word formation tend to trace back the same type also in the works of the Albanian ecclesial literature of the 16th and 17th centuries; thereby are found formation means that in the composition of the word with a younger history in terms of formation are a clear reference to the fact that word collectors preserve the condition with earlier usages in a natural way, which from the documentary viewpoint are testified in the above-mentioned works. It is striking to see a considerable number of analytical means that the author uses naturally, in particular in the compound syntagmas that contain significant collections and themes for lithurgical lexicon. As to specific nominal items that appear as formation by verbal tenses (in most of the cases), they could quite well remain parts of a sustainable lexical arsenal (*flaut, dhantija, kushtesa*) which solidifies the whole sphere of usages of the same pre-definition in the Christian lithurgical texts.

In Father Daniel Gjeçajt O.F.M. collections in particular, which saw the light of publication a few decades ago, the issues of revealing lexical forms belonging to specific semantic fields intertwine with those of forms which are typical in discourses and that in historic terms was initiated and then outlined in Albania's northern regions.

In the texts of *Meshari i të kremteve*, which was finalized in the '60 of the last century, a compendium accompanied with a series of institutional approvals and permissions, a considerable number of words may be traced back, proving in this way that the author's inclination do naturally preserve the lexical arsenal related to the very thematics of the above—mentioned work, for which it is qualified as preparatory. The author and the collector, as a good reconnoisseur of special fields of Christian liturgy and Christian theology shows in a laudable coherence from the viewpoint of constructions that it has reflected in its special parts of this work, which in structural terms is viewed as a combination of texts and comments that anticipate or accompany moments of a definite liturgical calendar. From this perspective, one could distinguish fragmentary presentations perceived as descriptions of Christian festivities, in which it is also possible to trace back typical constructions for every contents of the work itself and further on, as it may be also implied by author's formation.

It is exactly from the perspective of the necessity of retaking or analyzing a series of usages where even in this collection by Father Daniel Gjeçaj O.F.M. (1913-2002) we find reflected the possibility of their inclusion, which appeared in the beginning of the '90 of the last century in celebration processes that became again a much expected every day practice; this is also a boost for the restoration of the language of Christian liturgy and its reflection in more specific registers of Albanian language to researchers' attention. As it may be known, just as Father Donat Kurti O.F.M. (1902-1983) Gjeçaj has been and remains a very scrupulous translator of the New Testament, with a variant that saw the light of publication under the insignia of Franciscan Publications, Shkodër⁴ in the framework of the typology of used names, it could be also said that a series of usages that serve as rubric pre-determiners that do also mediate the canonic nature of certain parts, they stand amidst periods that certain developments have interrupted or hindered them to

⁴ Gjeçaj O.F.M., *Testamendi i Rë*, Botime Françeskane, Shkodër, 2022.

take to the road naturally in some contexts. Not a few translations in Albanian of the biblical text were materialized in the '50-'60 of the last century and even beyond Albanian soil.⁵ We need to better understand the motivation of the said collectors, who were part of processes that are also reflected in the manner of looking after their implementation. Beyond considering translation into Albanian as part of a single tradition, and preparations for publications as a discussion in itself, the inflows into the latter are a very precious value in terms of materializing linguistic and literary means that the said authors have revealed when they adhere to constructions which in referential languages have a direct and not simply a stylistic role.

In our time, in university and scientific circles where the linguistic richness is deeply appreciated thanks to the languages in which the biblical text have found the first reflections, the direct meaning of definite syntagmas underlying the most telling incipits in the gospels or the fundamental sermons inspired from the latter help to make it a serious argument of discussion; moreover, thanks to the transposition in several languages, these facts become more wide - reaching in terms of reflection. The return of our attention to these facts orientates us to other data, which only the relevant variants in our language transform them into valuable evidence, which the approaches and references to the concrete texts assume.

Albanian language has been offering for centuries authentic means in the cases of translating certain syntagmas, represented simultaneously with benefits as expressions of a straightforward poetic spirit.

The biblical texts that represent the essential work of ancient Albanian language, the incipits that are part of a specific terminology with the biblical subject matter as reference and the liturgical practice, constructions that naturally express a spiritual component of the culture of faith, all these make a whole group of elements to be duly contextualized vis à vis Albanian writing, while the history of Albanian written literature should become target of comprehensive studies, in which the reflection of the normatization of usages represents a very important aspect.

⁵ See *Dhiata e Ré: Ungjilli i Jezu Krishtit simbas Shën Matheut, translated into Albanian from the greek critical original text by D.Zef Oroshi, Romë, 1960.*

Apart from the fact that they have a clear affiliation towards special forms in our language, they have also ensured longevity in terms of understanding that even relevant typology forms are typical representative of the most specialized registers in Albanian, whose existence is testified with the earliest documents there. Preservation in some cases of approximative forms and morphological affiliation in the composition of proper syntagmas may frequently be a choice of translations and of those who draft texts of such nature; but on the other hand, the very distortion of their continued usage is a fact to be underscored and positively assessed.⁶

In a general panoramic view, which first and foremost attracts the research of a series of issues, among which one could mention the history of biblic texts translated and accepted in Albanian for a pre-determined practice, the collections in a Gega dialect shown as a norm in terms of coordinating forms and usages of the same nature are an example of the longevity of constructions that although proved from the very shaping model centuries ago, continue to be productive and in the testing process to prove the term with an appropriate context, the ecclesial speech itself that through sermons and introductory addresses should be completed and enriched with no little proper means and benefits. A wide – ranging space of usage is found not only in the above-mentioned analytical forms related to certain word groups but also in the verbal mood which in separate biblic texts were artifices that underline the singularity of Albanian language as compared to other languages, which for the very relevant history of the documentary testification and tests in bringing the biblic text represent typical traditions of transition of the latter. Paradigmes of names with a clear origine in the ancient Biblic variants reflected also in that of the latin Vulgate, with a rich history imposed by a series of processes and developments which are also historic is another indice that the author and collector nurtured a vivid interest toward the preservation of a tradition with which the latter attempted for years and decades, reflecting it in other Albanian

⁶ In the case of violations by Father Daniel Gjeçaj O.F.M., typical usages are to pointed out in the sense of a clear evocation of a series of forms, which are not accidental choices on his part.

translations, more complete from the contents and most likely closer in essence with *Meshari of '60*.⁷

Consulting complete biblic versions during these decades, among which those curated and masterfully prepared by Dom Simon Filipaj (1925-1999) is another directive that researchers and collectors, often also in orientive working groups have in their focus the issue of the most specific terms in given text contexts, certainly with the same attention that the whole initiative should serve Albanian and its further enrichment. The most complete biblic variants in Albanian that date back early in terms of their first documentation are a direct evidence of the confrontation of Albanian with proper textual and linguistic richness but also in terms of literary forms inaugurated with their insertion in the Old Testament long time ago. Thanks to tests designed to bring the richest possible version of the Bible itself in Albanian and discussions concerning the relevant connotation of certain words and the relevant history in a long-time traditional context in many viewpoints have made it possible to reopen new prospects in terms of perspective and treatment in relation to our language and its means. Meanwhile, such a test has faced theologians, text researchers, linguists, authors, writers and anthropologists of civilizations with serious challenges; all know the grandeur of an undertaking of such a nature. In the case of Albanian language, there is a significant chain of issues that do not leave its earliest usages out of attention, particularly those with a definite connotation and connected with the complex symbolics of key names, or the ongoing enrichment of Albanian, also reflected in the latest complete biblic publications.

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⁷ Daniel Gjeçaj (1913-2002) was a cultivator of special literary gender forms and this fact has been proved by fragments that thanks to the prudence and attention reflected in some consecutive issues in *Hylli i Dritës* have come as rewritten for readers in versions based on his own manuscripts.

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Irakli KOÇOLLARI

**MILITARY POWER FORCES
AND ARMAMENT OF ALI PASHA**

Efforts for a powerful State

After he had taken the throne of the Pasha of Ioannina (1884), documentary sources, diplomatic and military reports and information of the time, notices of foreign travelers, etc., indicate that Ali Pasha aimed without interruption to expand and establish a powerful pashalik and then "an independent Albanian state", as Fleming says. In the service of this goal, already in the first years of his career, the pasha worked with insistence and prudence in identifying and selecting potential European allies, through which he intended to draw them into alliances and thus create the necessary conditions for rebellion against the Sublime Porte, secession from it, and the declaration of an independent state.

In his analyses, the Pasha of Ioannina knew very well that a very small pashalik could not face one of the greatest military powers of the time. In these circumstances, he had judged and intended to expand the borders and spaces of possessions, beyond the borders of the Pashalik of Ioannina. For the realization of this objective, Ali Pasha worked intensively from the beginning of his career.

Documentary sources indicate that the object of his quiet and measured intentions were not only the neighboring territories. His trusted advisor and mentor, Haxhi Shehreti, informs us that, after Tepelena had taken Berat and subdued the conspiratorial and military activity of the "Connection" of the southern provinces of Arberia, which was supported by the French military bases in Corfu, he threw his gaze much further, to take and subjugate other Balkan territories and neighbors. Speaking precisely about these secret projects of the Pasha, Shehreti in his epic poem "Alipashaida" writes:

*"There are other deep dreams, by God's will
DIBREN and GEGERINE will take, and to have under his belt
He has other plans and will do them as soon as possible
SHKODREN also thinks that KARADAKUN should have them himself
That's what I say when I write, I really feel by my heart
Everywhere in BOSNIA will be under his orders"¹. (1)*

This important announcement by Shehret is also confirmed by the information that the British Consul in Ioannina, William Martin Leak, sent to London in 1809, when he informed that - Ali Pasha had talked with two other Albanian pashalars, Bushatliu of Shkodra and Sali Pasha of Seresi, for the possibility of a common rebellion for secession from the Ottoman Empire².... (2)

Going even further, in his efforts for secession and simplicity, the most important are two secret agreements that Ali Pasha signed with representatives of Russia in 1798 and the one between Ali Pasha and Great Britain in 1808. In both Agreements and their legal articles, openly written for secession and the declaration of a simplified state under the support and protection of the above powers. (3)

Of course, Ali Pasha knew very well that efforts to break away from the centuries-old authority of a great power, such as the Ottoman Empire, would be difficult without establishing structures of a powerful economic and military organization. Aiming at the latter, Ali Pasha used all the possible conjunctures within the empire and political developments in Europe, to create alliances and to attract from them as much as possible military assistance and various specialists in the field of war.

**SET TO PROTECT THE SOVEREIGNTY OF HIS COUNTRY IF
TURKEY WAS REWARDED.**

Naturally, the first question to be asked would be why Ali Pasha insisted that in the first hours of taking power in Ioannina, he took care to increase his military power, construct new forts and restore existing ones, buy technology new war, to train the structures of his army in the use of this technology! After all, he and his paschalik were part of the

¹ (Satha, KN: Istorikai Dhiatrivai" - "Alipasias", En Athinai, Koromila, 1870.

²Hardfordshire, Correspondence, W. M. Leak, Report of Lik's meeting with Ali Pasha, December, 1809)

Ottoman Empire and the weight of the military threats that could come from all sides, the burden of confrontation with this terrible military machinery would be borne by Istanbul.

Many confirmed data, of the diplomatic sources of the time, of the allies and opponents of the Pasha of Ioannina, of the witnesses of the time, of his friends and confidants unequivocally confirm his tendencies for secession, secession and the defense of his independence. In this context, he would have to create a powerful military structure which would be able to face the new technologies of the opposing powers of Europe or even the High Gate itself.

This determined tendency of Ali Pasha, to protect the territories of his country at all costs, even in the event that the Ottoman Empire was headed for decline or destruction by some foreign power, Ali Pasha had shown since the first years of the conquest. In the middle of 1791, when the Russian army was advancing towards Istanbul, Ali Pasha made great efforts to support and reinforce the Russian Admiral Potemkin, and he did this "to preserve the independence of his country, regardless of the catastrophe that could happen" suffered the Sultan." (4).

Years later, when the French power and the successes of Bonopart's army were growing and becoming more present in these parts of the Balkans, Ali Pasha had presented the same idea and his steadfast decision to the French military.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A MILITARY FORCE TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY AND HIS SOVEREIGNTY

From a document of the British Archive, we learn that in January 1804, Ali Pasha asked British Admiral Nelson to send two artillery officers for the needs of training his artillery troops with new technology weapons. This same year, 1804, in the month of May, the Pashai had again asked the British Admiral for weapons for rifles, cartridges, artillery shells of different diameters, in total 8,000 pieces.

He had told the British colonel, John Morier, that he would oppose any attempt by Russia to occupy Preveza, Parga, Vonica and Butrint. "But if the High Gate (Sultan) will allow the Russians to settle in these four coastal bases of my Pashalik, this would mean that the Sultan will seek to reduce my power, - concluded Ali Pasha (5)

"In this context, Ali Pasha repeated his request to me for weapons," reports British Captain William Martin Leak. His request included the need for artillery, seven artillery experts, and two or three British cruisers to patrol his coast." (6)

While the colonel himself, Jahn Morier was impressed by these ideas and Ali's demands and on this occasion he wrote with admiration for Ali's assertion, underlining that *"with the smallest support, his (Ali's) power will rise above the ruins of that of the Sultan, over the rest of European Turkey, and that he will raise his paschal as a lasting fortress..."* His purpose, added Morier, is to seek the protection of a great nation, from whose influence he may obtain from other countries a degree of recognition of independence, hoping to save himself from the expected fall of the Turks. (7)

Likewise, Ali Pasha was consistent in opposing any possible foreign invasion, not only in the face of a Russian threat, as Morier points out, but he maintained the same permanent position to preserve all his territories even further than that's it. *"Ali Pasha assured me,"* WM Leak informs in a secret report, *"that he had made an alliance (secret agreement) with the other two viziers of Albania, in cases of a foreign military threat (meaning French or Russian). In such a case they would all unite to oppose the invaders."* (8)

While in March of 1806, from Tripolca, in an information that WM Leak sent to London, after a long and intimate conversation with Ali Pasha, the British diplomat wrote: *"The fact that Ali Pasha has been and is sincere even in the request to our (British) government should not be questioned at all. I know his character quite well, so I can say with conviction that he would face and heroically defeat all attempts to invade the Albanian coast and would even sacrifice his life to protect his territories..."* (9)

In the first months of 1810, Ali Pasha's forces attacked and captured Berat. Initially, the Sultan objected and declared that invasion illegal, but on July 25, 1810, a messenger arrived from Istanbul to Ioannina with a ferman (sultan decree) through which he announced that Myftari, the son of Ali Pasha, was appointed Pasha of Berat and Vlora. When Ibrahim Pasha, already dethroned, in mid-September 1810, retreated to the port city of Vlora, with the idea and the possibility of escaping from there,

Ali created a naval blockade, using his fleet of small ships, one of which it was armed with 22 cannons. (10)

Kathrine Fleming in her studies, talking about the power that Ali Pasha had achieved after taking over the pashalak of Berat and further, around the year 1811, you will say: *"Now France and England would feel threatened by Ali Pasha and it was clear that he had the upper hand in diplomatic relations for almost a quarter of a century, ... even since 1811 he had established a position of geographical, psychological and strategic superiority over those in the coastal area of the Ionian Islands.... even the concern of the British about their weak position was not related to the Ottoman Empire, but to the great strength, position and considerable military power of Ali Pasha."* (11)

Since 1811, Ali Pasha no longer responded to the Sultan's requests to send forces to the battle fronts of the empire, and by the middle of 1814, "his power in the region (the Balkans) during the years of conflict between France and England had increased in favor of England, not only that, - wrote the English ambassador in Istanbul, Liston, to his superior in London, Castlereagh, - *he (Ali Pasha) has it in his power to do us serious damage or essential services...*"

WAR SPECIALISTS, ENGINEERS, ARTILLERY

In the central focus of his interests, among others, was the establishment of a powerful and modern military infrastructure with a defensive character. The pasha's intention was to obtain the necessary guarantees that such an infrastructure would be able to withstand any kind of foreign aggression against the territories of his pashall, which would essentially be against him. All this urban infrastructure, these objects with a military character, (but also those with a social, economic, cultural, religious character) remain to this day objects of the rich cultural heritage fund of Albania and Greece. These objects were erected by well-known engineering masters, by architects, engineers, hydrotechnics, led by an Albanian master engineer and architect! He was Ptro Themeli) or as he was known by his contemporaries, Petro Korçari, due to his origin from the villages of Opar, in the district of Korça, an area traditionally known for craftsmanship and construction masters.

The British colonel, WM Lik in his work "Journey to Northern Greece and Albania." informs us that "the chief architect of Ali Pasha is "Mr. Petro" from Korça". Liku also explains that the Chief Architect was an engineer and architect ("chief architect and engineer"). (13)

A good part of the works, carried out by these foreign engineers and architects, was carried out under regular legal contracts, between the two subjects-parties in these contracts, the foreigners and the administrators of the provinces of Pashallek. It is understood that all works were centralized and their rewards were made by special order of the Tepelenas themselves.

In the fortress of Nafpaktos under the command of Myftar Pasha, it was reconstructed and other defensive works were done, the ditches around it were cleaned on January 24, 1807. In this fort there were ten gunners and godfathers, as reported by Myftar, but he judges that they are incompetent...In this report that he writes to the seven, he also informs that he was able to get some godfathers from a foreign ship, but he does not give their exact number. (12)

In the course of these efforts, for the military empowerment of the pashalik, Ali Pasha also attracted a number of foreign soldiers to Ioannina on the basis of agreeable contracts to raise an army, which is estimated to have adapted to the "European army system".

One of the specialist engineers in this field, **Ibrahim Manzur Efendiu**, who served as a senior leader for the armament of Ali Pasha's army, there from 1807, affirms this very fact, that "Ali Pasha's military force was gradually separated from the form of the traditional military organization of the Ottoman Empire.... Ali Pasha kept a force of 7 (seven) or 8 (eight) thousand men, always ready under arms, but in an emergency situation of war they could be immediately doubled...." (14)

The British, Charles Robert Cockerell was another soldier among foreign engineers and architects who contributed to constructions with an urban or military character, such as towers, fortifications, forts, etc. He offered, at the request of Ali Pasha, several projects and sketches for various objects realized in the Pashalik of Ioannina, with a military character. It was this soldier, Cockerell, who asked Ali Pasha to pose for an oil painting. On that occasion, the British painted the Vizier in the premises of his reception hall, in a painting that is quite well-known today and is kept in a private art gallery in London.

All the sketches of this architect's works in 1818 were exhibited in the Architectural Exhibition Hall at "Somerset-House", in London. Around the year 1812, Kokerel together with his assistants designed the road that connected the city of Arta with Salahor and Gjiri e Ambakia, these territories of the pashalik of Ioannina.

Another French soldier profiled in the field of constructions and fortifications with a military character was the colonel, **Frederic Francois Guillaume de Voudancourt**, general and builder, who served in the Paschalik of Ioannina during the years 1807-1810, and participated in the construction or expansion of several facilities with a military character, such as the pashalik's castles, towers, the performance of supporting fortification works, such as defensive ditches, thickets, etc. (15)

But a work that bears the signature of **Guillaume de Vaudoncourt** is the fortress of Pandocrat, which in the end had all the parameters of modern fortifications, to withstand any kind of impact, even those of artillery with the largest caliber of the time. At the end of the works, Ali Pasha, in order to preserve the secret of the objects of a military nature, built by this foreign engineer, had taken from him all the projects on paper of the objects that he had realized in his pashalik. The pentagonal fortress of Pandokrator, which is located in the west of the city of Preveza, is preserved even today in a very good condition, as an object of architectural value and very attractive. (16)

The German architect, B. B. Picheman, at the end of the first decade of the XIX century, appears in the territories of the Paschal of Ioannina, while in the years 1809-1812 he had served as a soldier in the French and Russian forces. This architect was also called for various engineering services and constructions in Pashallek by Ali Pasha to contribute mainly to the strengthening of the defensive fortifications network of Pashalik, especially in the construction of defensive facilities in passageways and other terrains outside the urban centers. (17)

In 1814, another architect arrived in Ioannina. It is about the construction engineer, the Italian **Don Santo di Montleone**, from Palermo, Sicily. Precisely, this year the Italian engineer was given the construction object of a small fort near the village of Aja, near Parga, in Çameri. In the implementation of the project of this coastal fortification,

mistakes seemed to have been made, as we learn from a document from 1816 that the object was in danger of being destroyed. (18)

Charles James Napier was a soldier, a British civil engineer, who served as an engineer near the British army troops in Corfu. After having carefully verified his figure, Ali Pasha invited him to Ioannina to carry out some construction work of a rather confidential nature. After carefully listening to Ali Pasha's visions and ideas for the types of work he wanted to carry out, Napier submitted to Pasha, at the end of 1819, a set of projects related to works of a secret nature, which would serve Ali Pasha as means and measures to escape in case of extreme danger. Among these objects were new fortifications in the castle of Ioannina, in the territory of Yç Kalsa, some secret exits, etc. Ali saw the projects worked on by Napier, but judged them too costly and withdrew from their realization. In July 1820, Napier left Pashallek. A few months later, while Ali Pasha was surrounded by the Ottoman armies in the Castle of Ioannina and assessed the threats and dangers on the battlefield, he sent Napir to come to him to carry out the much needed work, also sending him a quantity of 600 gold liras. (19)

French engineer **Ibrahim Manzur Efendiun**. His real name was **Samson Cerfbeer de Medelsheim**, a Jew converted to Muslim, who served as a commander in the hussar units in the French army. He stayed for almost eight years in the pashalak of Ioannina. Among his engineering works, we know the construction of the coastal forts of Rio-Antirios, in the Strait of Patra-Greece, which still stand today as monuments of military heritage. After the completion of the works on both fortresses, he submitted to Ali Pasha the projects of the completed works, together with topographical maps of the territories where the fortifications were placed. In 1819, Ibrahim Manzuri finally left the pashall, but there is still no research study about him that would tell us what other objects were realized under the direction of this engineer. (20)

"Lagumxhiu" from Tepelena was Ali Pasha's most skilled and trusted master of fortifications. Unfortunately, we still do not know his exact name, but we can say that even today one of the streets of Athens bears his name "Lagumxhiu", because of the great contribution he made in support of the forces mutinous, in the declaration of independence of Greece. After the assassination of Ali Pasha, like many other fighters, he continued his uncompromising resistance against the Ottoman invaders.

"Lakumxhiu" was the originator and the one who carried out, through the opening of a secret underground tunnel, under the Acropolis, the blowing up of the Ottoman military headquarters, which stood and commanded the Ottoman forces of Athens. After this event, the insurgent forces learned and managed to take Athens. He carried out many operations to penetrate the fortresses and strongholds of the Ottoman forces through thickets or secret tunnels.

NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMY OF ALI PASHA

The French military G. Vaudoncourt, who stayed for several years in the pashalik of Ioannina and got to know closely the structures, armament, fortification and overall military power that Ali Pasha had built up over the years, writes: "Ali Pasha's military forces consist of several departments that perform different functions in these structures, which does not enable them to have a unique uniform everywhere and to have a central organization and discipline. The first (of these guilds) on which he relies are selected from the various recruitments that he makes in the particular territories or provinces of his possessions. These selected forces constitute a strength of 6 000 troops.

Likewise, his vassals and the governors of the provinces that depend on them are obliged to supply their master (Ali Pasha), at his first call or request, with troops of warriors, whose number has been determined in advance, according to Pasha's definitions.

The salary of these warriors is sent to the Pasha by his vassals, all of them have sent the mobilized troops. These forces are often paid at the outset by the province they come from. The mobilization of troops in time of war, according to the rule established by Ali Pasha, personally obliges the administrators of the provinces or of Sanxhaqeva, to mobilize and supply the necessary troops according to a defined number.

In order to complete his army, Ali Pasha puts into use the "Recruitment Plan" and takes under his pay, a number of troops selected by him, who come from among the mountaineers of his beylers, who continue the tradition of brigandism capos and they are employed as much by one as by another. These troops belong to this class, the Arnauts, which you find scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire. (21). Usually in time of peace he maintains a mobilized military force,

consisting of 12 000 to 15 000 men, to garrison his forts and spread over the provinces to ensure order and tranquility within them. Certainly, he is capable of keeping an army at least three times his size on the peninsula even for a long time without the help of the Sublime Porte, Vadencourt explains. (22). Thus, in 1807, he had an army which consisted of 40,000 troops under arms, distributed as follows:

- In the territories of More, the pashalak who was under Vli Pasha (Ali's son), he had concentrated 10 000 troops, which were ready to act against anyone who did not agree with the promotion of this new pashalak...

- In Lepant, which was administered by his other son Myftar Pasha, there were 8 000 troops, 5 000 of which were ready to join the forces of Gand Vizier (Chief Minister) near the island of Santa Maura.

- Another force, consisting of 10 000 troops was under the command of Yusuf Bey.

- In Preveza, aim bans 4 000 troops under the command of his swordsman, Zylyftar Poda.

- In some places which he considers dominant for use against rebellions, he maintains a force of 6 000 troops

- And recently he has raised a ward of 2 000 Glegs and Dibrans, which for some time he kept in the Castle of Ioannina. (23)

This number of military forces, or men under arms, that Ali Pasha had, as mentioned above, was calculated as such in 1807. But, from this year to 1812, Ali Pasha expanded the borders of his pashalak and he also took the pashallakh of Berat, that of Vlora, the Pashallakh of Gjirokastra, Kardhiqi, etc., thus returning the largest pashalik to the borders of the Ottoman empire. This paschalik, doubled in geographical area and population, was calculated to have in these years, a military force consisting of 80 000 troops.

EXPENSES FOR THE ARMED FORCES

Giving further details about the remuneration of the soldiers, the French soldier adds: "All the payments of his military troops are recorded (in separate registers) and they are made for each one on the basis of the personal uniform (hierarchy in the military ranks). This means that his reward is based on his internal values, the experience he has as a soldier,

the courage he has shown, the values he has shown in various military campaigns, these indicators form the quota he should receive.

Thus, an Albanian soldier of Ali Pasha's units receives 15 pjastras per month, when his other comrades do not receive more than 7 - 8 pjastras per month. Apart from the salary and excluded from it, Ali Pasha's soldiers are also supplied with clothing and weapons. These supplies are obligations of Ali Pasha." (24)

The expenses in cases of mobilizations to go to war fronts were very large. Thus, in the campaign of 1807, for ten months of mobilization, he spent 4 000 000 piastras and added to this amount the provisions of 6 000 000 piastras, the total amount went to 10 000 000 piastras. (25)

When Ali Pasha expanded the territories of his pashaluk and managed to have under his control also the pashaluk of Berat, Vlora and Gjirokastra, etc., this mobilized force doubled, just as the military force that was mobilized for cases of war also doubled, which reached in 80,000 troops, which means that the expenses to administer these troops were almost doubled.

Speaking about the provincial origin of his military forces, the British doctor, Henry Holland, who visited the pashalik of Ioannina there around 1808, briefly states, "*The Pasha of Ioannina had a ready military force, consisting of more than 30,000 men. They came mainly from the ranks of the Gegs, Tosks, Lebies, but also other Christian Albanians...*" (26)

Referring to the types of services that the military forces performed, the following types of structures were included in the ranks of Ali Pasha's army:

Chohadars. They were selected soldiers who had the task of supervising and guarding the palaces, villas and other objects of the Pasha of Ioannina. Chohadars were soldiers with experience in maintaining order, they carried out the mission of couriers and sending important messages and as professional soldiers they they also performed the duties of guarding prisons, convicts, warehouses and other military facilities.

Charkaxhi - were the personal bodies of Ali Pasha. Distinguished for their bodily, physical strength, for their manliness, courage, valor and fighting spirit. Among them there were also those who had once been thieves, distinguished brigands and then agreed to retire and serve under

Ali Pasha. It was precisely these who executed those condemned to death together with the gypsy. They were considered the most brutal part of the armed forces and the ones that dictated the date to the citizens.

Gegs - belonged to the most selected part of Ali Pasha's armed forces, they were part of the irregular formations of the army. They are a volunteer force of the most warlike population of upper Albania, who were not dependent or subordinate to the power of Ali. They were a mixture of both Muslim and Catholic religions, like the Mirditors who wore dark robes, while the Muslims of the same race were dominated by red in their clothing. They were almost all knights, with a proven manliness and had almost born and quite developed the instinct of military honor, command and obedience to the superior to extreme devotion. Whether they were Muslims or Catholics, they were not influenced by the fact of what religion their commander belonged to. (27)

Soldiers (askeri) - were ordinary troops, who formed the main force of Ali Pasha's army, and their ranks consisted mainly of Albanians from the southern provinces, the Tosks, the Labies and the Chams. They lined up in the infantry gun. To bring this troop into a regular and disciplined force, Ali Pasha had worked harder.

In the city of Ioannina he kept a ready force made up of these guilds:

1. From the ranks of **the soldiers**, Ali Pasha maintained a permanent ready force consisting of 744 people divided into regiments and with them a number of officers were also listed. This force was kept to be used for tactical actions or operations, quick and short.

2. **Cavalry unit** consisting of 26 people and some non-commissioned officers was chosen.

3. **The Godfathers** (or bombers) were a force of 108 men who used this type of weapon.

4. **Mechanics (and engineers)** charged and specialized in the maintenance, repair, maintenance and training of troops with weapons of war. In their turn were the Italian **Karreco** (Karretto) and the French Ibrahim Manzur, who were always ready next to the troops of Ali Pasha's army.

5. According to other sources, it is known that Ali Pasha kept a general force of three battalions of infantry ready in Ioannina.

6. A force of 200 (two hundred) artillerymen who were mostly Christians, in Bunila.

7. A guild of ceremonial evzones (guards). (28)

Ali Arapi was the leader of this ready force. He remained at the head of this force until 1805. "Arap" was not his surname, but a nickname with which Ali, a black Ethiopian, was identified in the service of the Pasha of Ioannina. Ali Arapi had previously served in Bonopart's army in Egypt.

After him, the place of the military leader of this force was taken by **Joti Pallaska**, the son of the well-known Suljot gunner Luan Pallaska, who had served in the Legion of the Seven Ionian Islands, where at that time the hero of the Greek revolution Kollokotroni and Petmezi (Pekmezi) was stationed.

After Joti Pallaska, the Pasha appointed **Qazim Demçen** to head this force (a character whose place of origin we have not been able to identify, probably from the Kolonje area).

After him, the commander of this force was **Veiz Vasjari**, a well-known military commander, veteran and experienced in many military confrontations, loyal to Ali Pasha until death.

After Vasjar, who stayed for many years in this function, his place was taken by **Pano Lekli**, the grandson of Thanas Vaja. While Lekli was at the head of this group, the majority of the ranks of this formation was dominated by Christian Albanians, a tradition which was followed in the following years.

After Lekli, **Stefo Dulla (Dula)** from Nivica and after him **Strati Gjika** from Dhërmiu came at the head of this force. After him came the two brothers **Dhimo and Kristo Andruco**, who had previously served in the so-called "Macedonian Battalion" near Bonoparti's army. And the last one who stood at the head of this formation is **Mitro Roka**, brother-in-law of the well-known Suljot and ally of Ali Pasha, Pallaska.

BATTLE FLEET AND THE SAILORS

The war fleet was another weapon that Ali raised from scratch. It had nine warships in its composition, of which two were Corvettes with 8 guns on board, two bracas, two galleys and three Velukas.

In a February 1805 message that Ali Pasha's representative near the Sublime Porte (Kapoçuhedari), Hasan Bey sends to Ali Pasha, he advises him on the prudence he should show in the conflict with the Russian

military at the Butrint naval base and next we learn who is the commander of Ali Pasha's naval flotilla, based in Preveza. In it he writes: *"As for your request for cannonballs and godfathers, I talked with the custodian, the storekeeper of the navy and then also with the Commander of the Navy, Ahmet beu. Both of them told me that your request for so many flowers and godmothers, the 5 000 (five thousand) pieces you are asking for is impossible and very difficult to find...."* (29)

From another document of the "Archive of Ali Pasha", with no. 759, dated April 21, 1815, drawn up in Preveza, we also learn the names of the Sailors ("marinero" is written in the documents of Ali Pasha, the sailors of his fleet, IK), who served on warships (brigs or corvettes) of Pasha. From the previous information of this "Archive" and their names written in this document, we manage to learn and specify who was the origin of the sailors of Ali's fleet. Most of them were Albanians, even from Ulcinj, who have historically been known for their outstanding naval skills. Among them we find:

- *Hamza Ulqinaku, Hysen Ulqinaku, Veli Ulqinaku, Dafil Ulqinaku, Idriz Ulqinaku, Osman Artta, the boy from Lekli (Tepelena), Xhelil of Idriz Ulqinaku, Xelil Nezo Ulqinaku, Mehmet Lulo Ulqinaku, Behlul Ulqinaku, Ibrahim Ulqinaku, Mehmet Kubuzi, Hasan Duro, Sulo Lohta, etc.* (30)

From the surnames of the persons listed in the records of the sailors' wages, we can understand that in addition to the sailors from Ulcinj, in the composition of this force Ali Pasha also had others from Bënça e Tepelena, from Skrapari (Melçka, Çepani), from Lekli i Tepelenës, Labova, Delvina, Gjirokastra, Sopiku, Frashëri, etc. (31)

From another document of Ali Pasha's Archive, we also learn the name of the captains of two of Pasha's ships, with 12 fire nozzles each, they are; "sailor captain Zeqirija.... and captain Cukali...." (32) One of the corvettes of the military fleet was named "Asllani" ("Lion"), while one of the artillerymen (gunners) who directed the artillery, the fire nozzles of this ship, is called Jani. (33)

In one of the reports, through which Ali Pasha was informed about the condition of the ships of his fleet, we learn that a **Veluka** (a type of small sailing ship), in the spring of 1815, was left in Vivar because its keel was broken, therefore through to the new ship, they wanted to send a tow truck for its towing. (34)

While from another piece of information from the same time, we learn about the presence of a Galote of the fleet, in Mesolongji. (35)

Ali Pasha was periodically informed about the state of his fleet and their periodic location. In a report that talks about this subject, at the end of 1806, Ali Pasha was informed that "the two Bracelas of his fleet, one of Mesolongji and another of Galaksidhioti, were in Ithaca..." (36)

In the fund of documents of the Archive of Ali Pasha we find documents and details that also talk about the food supplies and the type of food, of the ships of the war fleet while they were circulating for days on the open sea. So in one of these documents, the one with number 317, from the year 1807, there is talk about the supply and amount of food for the navy, rations, salaries, etc. This document reconfirms once again the fact that the sailors who served on these ships were mainly from Ulcinj and a small part from southern Albania. (37)

Among this fund of documents there is also a letter which talks about a British gunner, **Tomas Rixh**, who served under Ali Pasha for some time. Through the letter, he claims that the Pasha owes him an amount of money not provided for the services rendered. But Ali Pasha argues the opposite. The above letter was sent to the Pasha by the Imperial Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, the frenchman, Besjer, even with the claim that "*he will take the case to the court of Livorno, against the Pasha...*" (38)

ARTILLERY, ITS TYPES AND MILITARY AID

"His artillery consisted of 200 cannon which were placed in strong and important points of Albania and Epirus, not counting here a not small number of cannon placed in his fortresses, which had been inherited from previous governments, and were kept in the condition they were. - informs us the French colonel Vadeouncourt, who had carefully inspected and checked this weapon of the army of the Pasha of Ioannina. (39)

In the years of the Bonopartist wars, at the end of the 18th - beginning of the 19th century, the technology of heavy firearms began to advance with rapid growth, overtaking the old traditional tools and technology.

The presence of this weapon during the time Ali Pasha was in power increased excessively. From a rough estimate, it is judged that until the end of the Pasha's life, his army must have had about 250-300 fire nozzles (cannons and cannons) installed in castles, warships, in Bunila and elsewhere.

Ali Pasha's artillery consisted of cannons (cannons), bombs and cannonballs of various calibres, mainly Turkish, Venetian, French and British products. Ali Pasha had inherited and found a small, almost negligible part of this artillery, that of Venetian production, since he took power in Ioannina. But the contemporary artillery, of French and British production, he secured from the latter either through various purchases under contracts, or as a gift, as long as he had good alliance relations with them. While a small part of the inherited artillery was of Turkish production

Ali Pasha asked Istanbul for another part of this weapon, both to increase the number of artillery and to renew the old one. In a request addressed to Istanbul, found in the "Ali Pasha Archive" document fund and dated August 9, 1805, Ali Pasha's representative in Istanbul suggests to the Tepelena people that: *"... for the balls and kumbaras, who write to send you... send a letter to the Government talking about the cannons and kumbaras that are in Ioannina and Arta and tell them that you need them to be found there, on the other hand I will try as much as I can to convince you to send the requested quantity..."* (40)

From the British Archives, through an information from the British Consul in Ioannina, Likut, from March 1809, we learn about the arrival of military aid that England sent to Ali Pasha. The supply of this required weaponry was embarked at the Bitani military base in Malta and the shipload arrived at the port of Preveza this month. To receive this important help, Ali Pasha himself had come to the Port of Preveza to receive it. (41)

It was a special attention and passion of Ali Pasha of Tepelena, constructions as a whole building from the foundations, reconstruction or expansion of defensive fortifications, investments in urban constructions, roads and bridges, constructions or reconstructions of religious buildings, churches and mosques, etc. All contemporaries, local or even foreign, point out the special interest and focus of the people of Tepelena for objects of this nature. There are many new castles, towers,

military garrisons or outposts in crossings of military and police interest, which he erected. But the Pasha of Ioannina also paid special attention to their equipment with artillery of the type and caliber that fit militarily the object he had driven.

Among the castles that the Pasha equipped with artillery were the Castle of Ioannina, Berat, Porto Palermo, Nafpaktos, Preveza, Parga, Gjirokastra, Arta, Tepelena, Butrint, Kastelo e Patra, Mesolongji, etc. (42)

In addition to the artillery stationed in these facilities, Ali Pasha kept in readiness, in his military base in Bunila, a few kilometers north of Ioannina, another amount of artillery, which he used in military operations inside or outside the borders of his pashalak. This is how he used his artillery, cannons and bombs in the operations against Suli, in the battles to take over Berat, in the battles to take over Delvina or in the operations against Kardhiq and more widely than that. (43)

Speaking about the state of the artillery in the forts that are included within the possessions of the Paschal of Ioannina, in an information of February 1807, that Myftar Pasha, the eldest son of Ali Pasha, reported to the latter, that: "*... along with your letter and the parcels you gave me through her, I took all the measures for the balls and the godfathers that were here.... We will determine how many will be kept and remain here and how many we will send to Mesolongji... As for the number and condition of the balls here inform in writing through the registry to send, but I must say in advance that they are few. We have them ready and let me know that only one of them was broken in Kastelo...*" (44)

While referring to the military troops that were kept in the fortress of Nafpakto and Kastelo, the Venetian fortress in the Strait of Antirio, Myftar Pasha informs his father: "*Monsieur, you should know that there are sixty forces here and I do not know how many to keep in Nafpakto and how many to send to Kastelo... (fortresses closing the strait Rio-Antirrio, I. K)*" (45)

In another document of the "Ali Pasha Archive", bearing no. 268, dated August 9, 1805, we learn about the fort in Vivar, which at that time was taken over by the forces of Ali Pasha. According to the document, there were 4 (four) cannons in it, as artillery power for the defense of the fort. (46)

This document also shows Ali Pasha's special interest in supplies of war material, in extremely large quantities, which also attracts the attention of his subordinate, charged with a mission in Istanbul. In response to this very large request, which raises doubts, his missionary from Istanbul writes to him: "*First, such a request, with such a large number (5,000 guns and artillery shells) is impossible to find... in any case, you should write to me about each caliber of artillery guns, the firing distances they need, so that I can also write to the government. If you give them to us well, otherwise don't deal with them...*" (47)

During the following years, it becomes clear that Ali Pasha further increased his interest in strengthening his artillery and the number of artillerymen, even in 1814, when he had expanded the pashalik to its maximum limits and his military power had greatly increased, he saw artillery as an important tool in the field of war and in the service of his goals to break away from the Ottoman Empire.

Thus, from an information dated July 20, 1813, sent from Preveza, to Ali Pasha, we learn that only in the Preveza Castle the number of artillerymen, permanent gunners had increased to 28 people, including 7 Arabaxins (chariots used for carrying or pulling balls). From this document we also learn that some of the artillerymen took their families and settled in the city of Preveza...." (48)

The work to intensively increase the number of artillerymen in Pashallek, it seems clear that it has continued even further intensively, an increase that has not gone unnoticed and without concern at the High Gate.

In an information **dated** June 6, 1814, the adviser and representative of Ali Pasha in Istanbul, Hysen Bey, informed his superior about the concern that had aroused in the ranks of the military in Istanbul and in the Grand Vizier (Turkish Prime Minister) himself. Ali's request to send artillerymen from Istanbul, or even the very fact that the Pasha of Ioannina was preparing a large number of new artillerymen in Ioannina. (49)

The response of the soldiers of Istanbul is negative to Ali Pasha's request to bring artillerymen from Istanbul, and not only that, but they have requested that Ali remove his artillerymen that he gathers in Ioannina and place them in Preveza or somewhere else in another fortress, as the impression is given that a powerful and suspicious

military force is gathering in Ioannina, which is training!!! This great permanent combat power that raises many questions for the Sublime Porte. Through this information, Hysen Bey also informs Ali Pasha what the high authorities of Istanbul have told him about the increase in the number of cannons in the Paschalik.

"... In the conversations they told me - I took the order and wrote to the gunners that in order to escape punishment they should get wet from where they are. Let them deal with their work, guard the castles, so write to the Pasha (Ali Pasha) on my behalf not to deal with the training of artillerymen in Ioannina, but let him deal with the training of other artillerymen in Preveza and in the other castles. Only then there will be no words and no reactions to it. If he will continue their training in Ioannina, the news will come from the conversations of Miletus..." (50)

In many other documents that are kept in the "Ali Pasha Archive", we find not only the identity of sailors and gunners but also their monthly salaries, who of them settled in Preveza with family, who of them moved, what is their origin, etc.

THE GUNNERS...

In his efforts to reform and have a contemporary and effective artillery weapon, Ali Pasha tried to attract foreign military, real specialists of this weapon, to the Pashalik and put in charge of these works.

Among the first to be put in charge of these works for the training of artillerymen with modern artillery was the French soldier **Ibrahim Manzur Efendi** and with him the Italian engineer, **Agostino Fappano**, from Brescia, who after converting to the Muslim religion, took the name Veli aga. (51)

Instructors and artillery gun specialists formed a separate squad. Next to the group of artillerymen, the Italian military engineer, **Vicenzo Micarelli**, stayed for several years as an instructor. He was a chemical engineer, a master in the manufacture of gunpowder, and a technician in calculating the firepower of artillery weapons. Years later, the other Italian **Don Santo Monteleoni** also contributed to this weapon. He stayed in the pashalik until there from 1816 as a general and architect in

the fortification works of the pashalik, mainly in the arrangement of the artillery, the position of the fire nozzles, on the turrets of the castles, etc.

Another Italian who handled the Pasha's artillery was an adventurous military man who had served in cavalry troops in various countries of Europe. His name was **Pesarini** and he stayed with the Albanian artillerymen for about three years, offering his experiences for this weapon.

As the Greek historian S. Aravntino points out, "in general, Albanians are masters of using weapons and at a distance of 200 meters they are masters of aiming and hitting the target accurately..." (52). But, from many sources of the time, an Albanian named **Qazim Agai** is mentioned as a master in the use of Ali Pasha's artillery, with incredible accuracy. It only took a few seconds for him to position the ball correctly, look at the object in the distance, and then shoot precisely at the target. He neither knew how to write nor read, but his rare ability had caught the eye of Ali Pasha himself, who appreciated and valued him greatly.

Immediately after the departure of the last Italian instructor, **Jago (Jaho!) Leklioti was placed in charge of this weapon**, who quickly became famous for his rare skills in the effective use of artillery. He was evaluated at that time as a "golden shooter". After the murder of Ali Pasha, Hrushid Pasha insisted on using him in his artillery attack against the besieged of Mesolongji. But, Leklioti refused to use his weapon against the surrounding rebels, led by Marko Boçari, and in these circumstances he escaped from the battlefield.

Lekliot served as an instructor for the young artillerymen and leader of this weapon. He remained until the last moment of Ali Pasha's resistance at its head, in whose ranks he took a number of Christian Albanians from the Rrëza province of Gjirokastra, known for their bravery. (53)

We find the artillerymen of Ali Pasha's units in the documents of his Archive called "topçinj". A very small number was inherited from the past, while the vast majority of them were prepared for the use of this firearm mainly by foreign, French, British military, but also by local artillerymen.

The commander of the military units of Preveza, including the coastal artillery units, was Beqir Xhokadori. While, one of the artillerymen, probably the commander of the artillery of the coastal

fortress of Preveza was **Hasan Sako** (from Gjirokastra.), while the artillerymen of this coastal fortress were Ali Janjoti, Hadër Çepani, Ali Artino, Ymer Aga Politi, Beqir Zagaduro, as well as Hasan Shkodrani, Hysen Shaka Politi, etc. In the warship, which bore the name "Asllani", we find in the records of the time, listed as gunners Taçi Sopiçoti, Qiro Delvinjoti, Jani Bënça, etc. (54)

Being an artillery produced at different times, with different technologies and by the war industry of different European countries, of course the calibers of this weapon used by Ali Pasha's army were of different calibers. In a document of the British Archive, "Hartfordshire" there is an information sent by the British Consul, William Martin Leak, through which the Colonel presents to London Ali Pasha's requests for ammunition (cannons, shells) for his artillery. In this request submitted on **January 27, 1804**, the types of projectiles (balls) are listed according to the calibers that this artillery had and each caliber of the guns is expressed according to military symbols with the Greek letter "fi". At least from this list of requirements, where the dimensions or calibers of the shells are listed, it seems that Ali Pasha's army had about eight or nine types of cannons, of Venetian, British, French, Ottoman, etc... production. (55)

(Photo of the document....)

FOUNDRY, MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER AND ARMS

On the outskirts of Ioannina, in Bunila, Ali Pasha set up a foundry to cast cannons of different calibers. As the French military, Vaudoncourt writes, *"In Bunla, Ali Pasha had a foundry, which was directed in its processes by an Italian, who had worked in such a profession before in Tuscany - Italy, before coming to Ioannina.*

In this foundry he managed to produce mortars with striking power and throwing distance like those that were rated as the best in Europe." (56). In this place, in Bunila, Ali Pasha also had a shooting range, to test the balls pouring from his foundry and to train new artillerymen.

As for the production of gunpowder, Ali Pasha had set up several artisan factories, in some areas of his pashalik possessions. One such, perhaps the largest, was erected in Jarovina (Zarovina!) in the Sanjak of

Ioannina. "Of course, the technology of this manufacturer is not very modern and for this reason the quality of the gunpowder that was produced was not high quality," writes Vaudoncourt. (57)

Ali Pasha did not have any workshops or manufactories for the production of small arms, rifles, or muskets, as they were called at that time, in the territories of his pashalak. "All these, the muskets and bayonets, most of them, Ali obtained from the manufactures of Prizren in Northern Albania and some from Brescia-Italy or he bought them at the arms fair in Venice." (58)

PURPOSES FOR SEPARATION AND THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE

We would not exaggerate to state that since the first years of taking power in Ioannina, Ali Pasha dreamed, intended and took careful steps to break away from the Ottoman Empire and create an independent state. Knowing quite well the power of the eastern empire, its structures, alliances and allies, the ability to keep under control and react to the separatism of the provinces, Ali Pasha worked prudently to increase his military power, structures and commanding authorities, putting mostly Albanians in charge of them, people with authority, influence and proven military skills. From year to year, he expanded the borders of his pashalik, turning the pashalik of Ioannina into the largest territorial, human and economic administrative unit, in relation to all other structures of the Ottoman Empire. With admirable attention he followed the political and military developments in Europe, the old, traditional and newly created alliances, carefully selecting and exploiting among them potential allies who would help and support him on the road to secession and independence.

Already in his first meeting, with the official representative of Great Britain, the captain of the Royal Artillery, William Martin Leake, in 1807, the Pasha of Tepelena had very prudently expressed to him the idea of secession and the determination to "protect the independence of the country his". In the secret letter that Liku sent on this occasion to his superiors at the Foreign Office, he wrote that Ali Pasha wanted to establish very close and friendly relations with the British and that he saw France as a threatening power to the country his. The three other

Albanian pashalars had the same attitude, that of Shkodra, Berat and Seres, even in the case of an eventual military threat from Bonoparti, he writes " **I think they can easily gather and bring thirty thousand men to the front** ". (The figure thirty thousand is written in capital letters, which probably the author wanted to clearly emphasize to the Foreign Minister what was the concrete figure of the possible mobilization of the Pasha's army)

And concluding, Liku underlined: "**Just like Ali Pasha, I have not the slightest doubt that Ismail Bey also wants the independence of his country just like the above.** This rich and strong country that controls the communication from Serbia and Bulgaria to Macedonia, which is all in the hands of Ali Pasha, would give him, within this context, great advantages.

But, it should also be known that the troops of his best fighters are here from Albania, relying on the fighting values of this nation, he connects the main hopes and the final basis of success and victory precisely to them, in the cases of a proposal for match and armed confrontation with the French." (59)

Ali Pasha worked intensively to realize the secession and the creation of an independent state, even there from the end of 1818 he made this fact accomplished without submitting to any hierarchy or imperial economic, political and military orders, etc. But, in 1820, Turkey, seeing the danger of separatism and dangerous territorial secession of the Albanians, began mobilizing for a bloody military campaign against the "rebellion".

FINAL MOBILIZATION AGAINST THE OTTOMAN OFFENSIVE

In response and to counter the military operations that the Sultan was preparing to undertake against him, in the middle of 1820, Ali Pasha began the organizations and immediate mobilization to face the expected bloody battles. The first and immediate step was the creation of a military headquarters that he named the " Extended Military Council", which would discuss and determine the points, fronts and terrains where his forces and military units would be deployed, to stop the offensive operations of the Ottoman armies, in the defense of the territories of the

Pashalik, his. The "Extended Military Council", headed by Ali Pasha himself, nominally selected the commanders of the military formations and their concrete locations. Of course, they were his tried men both in the front of the wars and in the devotion shown to him himself.

From the documentary evidence and the information of the witnesses of the time, among them, from those written by Kosma Thesproti and the historian Spiro Aravantino, the military power of Ali Pasha was divided and sent to control the possible entrances of the Ottoman armies on these fronts: **(60)** The defense of the fortress of Ioannina was undertaken by Ali Pasha himself. His two sons, Myftari and Saliu, were assigned to the defense of the castle and the city of Berat itself. The younger son, Veli Pasha, was assigned to the defense of the castle and the city of Preveza. Myftar Mahmuti bey was assigned to the defense of the Tepelena castle.

In the defense of the Castle and the city of Parga, Veli Myftar Pasha. Myrto Çali with the forces of Geg was assigned to protect the area and the gorges of Suli. Dali Përmeti was assigned to the defense of the fortress and the city of Arta. Tahir Abazi was assigned to the defense of the fortress and the town of Paramithi. In defense of fotase and the city of Gjirokastra, Meço Bono. In the defense of Përmet, Elmaz Mahmuti. Zylyftar Poda (Iliaz Aga) was assigned to protect the towers and the area of Melesin. Xelaldin Bey was appointed to defend Ohrid.

Armed Albanian companies were also assigned to the defense of Gryka e Këlcyra, Peşa Puseve, Butrint, Saranda, etc. Odisa Andruco (hero of the Greek revolution) was assigned to defend Livadhjana. Sturnara, was assigned to protect Aspropotamon Andrea Isko to defend Agrafa G. Zoga was tasked with protecting the mouths of Olympus. Bllahavat was assigned to protect Hasjana. John Varnaqioti was ordered to take Xiromer to his defense. He appointed Islam bey Konica to protect the castles of Thessaly Baba appointed Pasha to Nafpakto! **(61)**

Ali Pasha's personal adviser and confidante of him, Haxhi Shehreti also speaks in detail in his poem "Alipashaida", about the organization of the last resistance and the way of dividing his forces to face the Ottoman offensive in 1820, which confirms what we find in Arvantnoi. Among others, he writes:

"Veli Pasha went downhill to enter Preveza

Mahmut Bey, his son, will go down to Parga Castle

*Myftar Pasha, Sali Pasha will stay strong in Berat
All the soldiers through the towers shoulder to shoulder will line them up
... ..*

*In Dangli, Zylyftari made the castle ready for defense
The gorges and paths are occupied by those who do not enter either day or night*

*Myftar Pasha the capidan, Mahmut Beun has his children
With his army, quickly went to keep positions in Tepelena
In the castle of Gjirokastër, Meço Bono took the place
He met Shanica in cold and storm times
In Përmet, Elmaz Mahmuti, above the castle, arranged
With a bunch' of the brave torn unbroken will stand
Dalan Përmeti will keep the fortress firmly in Artë
He never loved Ali Pasha, after many years he remained regretful
In Kakosuli put the old man up to Qafa and others
Former leader Myrto Çali had four hundred geg's behind
..... (62)*

During the organization of this general resistance, Ali Pasha appealed to him and asked that "Filiqi Eteria" and the British join him in an alliance, which did not happen. Even further he sent to Corfu to talk with Kolovna, while within the week the Turkish fleet had arrived near the shores of the Pashalik and with its movements had blockaded the Ionian coast to prevent in this way the help that could come to Ali Pasha from the Ionian Islands through the sea. (63)

In those decisive hours, Ali Pasha drafted a series of circulars addressed to Albanians and Greeks, for this decisive battle. About the appeals and circulars drawn up by the Pasha in these critical moments, the adviser of Tepelena, the poet Haxhi Shehreti, speaks clearly in his verses, which conveys the whole spirit and bloody tensions of the time, until the moment of the murder of the Pasha of Tepelena. (64)

Of course, Ali Pasha took a number of extreme measures for the fortification and defense of Ioannina, judging that the fighting, if it came to this point, would last a long time. For this reason, he strengthened with his masters the surrounding walls of the fort, its six towers, the artillery turrets and with them the five entrances of the castle. Within the surrounding walls of the castle, he carefully reinforced all the walls of Uç Kale, as the key bastion and the last defender of the fortress of Ioannina. As it was known, the gunpowder warehouse with a large amount of explosives was also concentrated in this dominant point.

Shehreti thus describes these epic moments of Ali Pasha's final stand with these rare verses:

"... ..

*It surrounded the whole of Ioannina deep and deep with a ditch, chanel
But the terrible day it was written, the black snake will haunt him
With bastions he strengthened it with trenches deep in the ground
Get the artillery ready, balls and bombs, to explode through their heads
Shells full and kumbara, line of barrels powder keg
They supplied the people with cartridges, they cannot rest
The bombs approached a group, the balls were brought with difficulty
The kumbaras made them ready, carved kondaks without stopping
Six castles well armed to be on the defensive
For Janina to stay strong, well supplied for long resistance
Litharica and the Castle, Kulat over there and the little hani
Yç Kaleja and Castle, Thanasaqi firmly holds them... .. (65)*

From the ranks of the specialized military specialists of fortifications, Ali Pasha also summoned the well-known French architect and engineer Vadencourt, with whom, with a topographical map in front of him, he discussed at length how to organize the defense. During the long endurance, for more than a year and a half, and the resistance inside the Ioannina Castle, Ali Pasha started several circular letters to the Albanian provinces inside and outside the borders of his pashalak. Of those documents that were able to escape and are still kept in the "Ali Pasha Archive", two of them are of great interest, which Ali Pasha sent to the Albanian provinces and their commanders from inside the siege, in the Ioannina Castle. Through them, the national sentiments become evident, much to the interest of the Joannina Pasha. In these decisive hours, for his fate but also for the Albanian lands, he addresses the Albanian population and the provinces inhabited by this population, warning them of the fatal consequences and the terrible fate that awaited them and the Albanian lands, if they did not stay and sacrificed until the last drop of their blood.

It was a prophecy that unfortunately seems to have been confirmed by the times, prolonging the Ottoman captivity for almost another century.

* * *

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Besnik ALIAJ, Sotir DHAMO

**URBAN PLANNING, HOUSING AND ARCHITECTURE IN
ALBANIA DURING 1945-1990.**

Abstract

Until 80s, Albania was among the least known nations of Europe, essentially isolated from foreigners. The majority of studies on Eastern Europe lacked accurate and comprehensive information about it. Typically, it was completely disregarded or, simply referred to as Europe's smallest and least developed/urbanized country. Since it was a totalitarian regime, Albania's "communism" was unaffected by criticism for almost 45 years, and access to information about internal matters was strictly regulated. The paper provides a summary of knowledge regarding Albanian architectural and urban planning models based on personal experiences, official materials and occasional publications on the subject. Despite official sources of time (to be carefully treated), other core reference materials from international researchers are:

- *Derek Hall*: Housing Policy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: Albania.¹
- *Berth Danermark*: Post-war urban and regional development in Albania, 1945-1990.²
- *Lena Magnusson*: Housing policies in the socialist Third World – Albania.³

Due to the following factors, urban development in Albania is unique, including: (i) continuous long-time application of the planned economy; (ii) strong ideological commitment and homogeneity; (iii) inherited backwardness – the country was in many aspects a medieval society until '50; (iv)

¹ Hall, Derek: Chapter "Housing Policy in Albania" in Housing Policies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, 1st Edition, London, 1990.

² Danermark, Berth: "Urban and Regional Development in Post-War Albania" in Habitat International, Volume 17, No. 2, 1993.

³ Magnusson, Lena: Chapter "Housing and Housing Policies in Albania" in Housing Reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, First Edition, London, 1990.

industrialization and urbanization as modest features of the post-war period; (v) the fact that authorities refused to integrate the country into global economic system; (vi) as well as strict application of self-reliance policies.

The article analyzes urbanization process, architecture and urban structure in itself, within a broad framework of: (i) the economic system; (ii) social system and class structure; (iii) historical development; (iv) geopolitical environments; (v) and the specifics of situation in Albania.

The approaches of the paper can be classified as: (i) *historical and empirical* - due to the collection and analysis of data; (ii) *comparative* - because architecture, housing and urbanization are perceived within the context of push-pull forces; (iii) *descriptive* - because it analyzes and judges the phenomena. The method used in this paper is traditional: data summarization and cluster analyses.

Reference material is of five types: (i) *public information* – few scientific ones on the subject, daily journals, statistics, specialized literature, reports of time, etc. (ii) *contacts with professionals* – architects, urban planners, economists, demographers, university trainers, etc. (iii) *contacts with officials of the time* - from central and local government; (iv) *foreign publications*; (v) *formal and informal exchanges*, etc.

I. Albanian economy up to early 90s

By early 1945, Albania was liberated from Nazi occupation, and power was taken over by a communist regime. At that time, it was known as the poorest and most underdeveloped country of Europe. The main policy of the communist government was to promote a new industry according to the "Stalinist" logic, giving priority to: i) the development of heavy industry; ii) the development of parallel light industries and consumer goods; ii) and harmonious development of both industry and agriculture.⁴

I/1. General development of the economy

Economic development in Albania was characterized by: (i) higher levels of initial economic growth compared to population growth; (ii) rapid but irregular growth until the end of the '60; (iii) continuous decline by the beginning of the '70.⁵ The worst situation ever recorded was

⁴ Hoxha, Enver: "70 Works of Enver Hoxha," Volume 3, "Program of the First Government of the People's Republic of Albania," March 24, 1946. (Link: http://www.enver-hoxha.net/content/content_shqip/librat/veprat/veprat-03.htm)

⁵ UNDP: Human Development Report, 1990, Albania. p.111.(Link: <https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-1990>)

during the years 1984-85, with further decline in economic activities during 1987-1988, and a total economic collapse on the eve, and at the beginning of the 90s.⁶

Given such an atmosphere, the industry was unable to accommodate a rapid urbanization process. In fact, there were two serious indicators of the deep economic crisis the country faced at the end of the regime: (i) the real per capita income, GDP per capita, decreased from 10% in 1990 to 21% in 1991; (ii) even though there were significant "official" reductions in infant mortality rates, statistics started to rise again - from 121 cases per 1,000 births during 1950; to 30 cases per 1,000 births in 1985; and 48 per 1,000 in 1989.⁷

1/2. The investments

A characteristic of Albanian economic policy has been "self-reliance." As a result, economic and technological development in the country remained very slow, and by the mid-1970s, investments had to be financed solely from domestic production.⁸ According to the new constitution of 1974, it was not allowed to take any international loans. This meant that exports and imports had to be balanced each year. However, it should be noted that significant contributions came from foreign sources, such as: (i) from USSR during the 50s and 60s; (ii) and from China between 1961-1978.

Over time, investments gradually failed through a negative trend, thus impacting negatively future production capabilities. On the other hand, the development of architecture, housing, and the entire urban system was very costly, especially regarding housing production and urban infrastructure. Even the foreign aid was primarily used for industrial purposes, but not in favor of the associated urbanization process. The housing stock in reality expanded and improved somewhat during the post-war period, but the share of investment on housing and social-cultural facilities, as a percentage of total investments, decreased from 7% in 1960, to 4% in 1979. Moreover, to minimize urban costs,

⁶ UNDP: Human Development Report, 1990, Albania. p.111.(Link: <https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-1990>)

⁷ Vejsiu, Ylli; Misja, Vladimir: "Aspects of Demographic Development in Albania, "Conference Paper with the same title, August 1996.

⁸ Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: Approved by the People's Assembly on December 28, 1976. <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/1880822>

authorities continually implemented preferential policies for: i) the industrialization of countryside; ii) the establishment of new small-medium sized industrial towns; (iii) and the introduction of self-production methodologies within the housing sector.⁹

1/3. Industrial distribution

The main principles for decisions related to industrial distribution included: (i) the development of industry near primary material and thermal energy sources, as well as near consumption centers; (ii) the reduction of transportation and social expenses; (iii) the uniform distribution of specialized and complex industries in different regions of the country; (iv) the harmonious development of industry and agriculture in favor of overall rural advancement and support for agricultural production intensification.¹⁰ The primary consequence of such policy was the dispersion of investments and industrial production in various regions of the country. This resulted in the industrialization of rural areas and also provided better indicators for social services (especially healthcare) offered to rural regions.

1/4. The agricultural sector

The main characteristics of Albanian agriculture were: (i) the country had the most collectivized society in Europe; (ii) "private" property was almost banned as an ideological principle; (iii) urban private properties of so-called "capitalists" were confiscated during the years 1945-46; (iv) rural private properties were redistributed to 70,000 farmers through the agrarian reform of 1945-46; (v) all private land was completely nationalized until 1976; (vi) small private trade in the agricultural sector, including rural private houses and infrastructure, was somewhat tolerated; (vii) agriculture was the primary producer of the country, employing over 60% of the country's workforce; (viii) 80% of agricultural production was controlled by 420 collective farming cooperatives and state farms; (ix) direct taxes and fees were "removed" in 1969, but wages remained very low. This minimized the differences

⁹ Hall, Derek: Chapter "Housing Policy in Albania" in *Housing Policies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, 1st Edition, London, 1990.

¹⁰ Hall, Derek: Chapter "Housing Policy in Albania" in *Housing Policies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, 1st Edition, London, 1990.

between various professional groups in "city" and "village," with a 1 to 2 ratio.¹¹ In fact, the efficiency of the agricultural sector was considered an important condition for high urban growth due to the sector's limited capacity to feed a large part of the urban population.

The main problems of the agricultural sector can be summarized in these issues: (i) a low level of initial support; (ii) a low level of agricultural production and productivity, which involved rapid growth for some products like grains but problems in other sectors like livestock, fruit production, etc.; (iii) agricultural production relying more on labor intensity than mechanization; (iv) a long-term lack of fundamental improvements within the sector; (v) urbanization becoming increasingly difficult while living standards decreased. Lastly, the primary objective of agricultural policies until the end of the 1970s was to improve living conditions in less-favored rural areas. After the 1970s, the focus shifted towards concentrating resources in more suitable and productive regions. In practical terms, authorities used agricultural development as a means to achieve "egalitarian" goals, and in fact, pro-rural policies were employed as a barrier to prevent urbanization.

1/5. Other important factors

Additional factors that have influenced urban and regional development in the country should also be mentioned, including: (i) historical awareness - the fact that Albania was part of the Ottoman Empire for five centuries; (ii) population dispersion into regions for defensive purposes, especially in the northern and southern parts of the country, where authorities did not allow significant migration from these areas; (iii) geography should also be considered, as the country is small, with a rugged and mountainous terrain covering over 80% of its territory.

¹¹ Magnusson, Lena: Chapter "Housing and Housing Policies in Albania" in *Housing Reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union*, First Edition, London, 1990.

II. Urbanization in Albania during 1945-1990

The whole process and structure of urbanization in Albania between 1945-1990 were characterized by the combination of two factors: (i) *concentration*¹²; (ii) and *centrality*¹³!

II/1. (Anti-)urbanization policies

As mentioned earlier, the main principles of Albanian urban development policies were the development of rural areas and the containment of urbanization. The main characteristics of this policy were: (i) *population distribution* - 1/3 in urban areas and 2/3 in rural areas; (ii) *the growth of the urban population* during the years 1945-1960. At that time, less than 7% of the country's population lived in the capital, Tirana. To control urban growth, "city limits" or the so-called "yellow line" were established around each city. City limits represented the real division between "rural" and "urban" territory, and it was impossible to allow urban expansion beyond it. If the population increased to the extent that urban development reached the yellow line, new residents were directed to other existing cities or new towns. Special

¹² The concept of "*concentration-t*" primarily encompasses the concentration of the population and largely depends on demographic and economic processes. Concentration involves centralizing forces with economic, technological, and geopolitical characteristics, which at specific times and locations generate certain resource levels for the respective society.

Concentration mobilizes: (i) the political and ideological structure that dominates society; (ii) how the political elite exercises control over the production and distribution of resources; (iii) as well as specific ecological environments where distribution occurs.

The various ways of controlling the production and distribution of resources depend on: (i) how different elites control the flow of resources between different markets; (ii) and how efficient they are in converting resources between political and economic markets.

Concentration manifests in various ways, including: (i) non-economic factors such as demography (population density and growth), the size of the area and topography; (ii) economic factors such as the area's priority (agricultural or industrial), the connection between production spheres, and the type and level of technology; (iii) allocation of investments.

¹³ "*Centralization*" is a concept that is associated with: (i) the way control is exercised over resources, for example, through material factors (distribution and production) or through symbolic factors (ideology); (ii) the way resources are distributed, which is crucial for the process of urbanization; (iii) identifying the elite in power; (iv) identifying the institutional framework, such as complete state control over distribution (socialist) or market-oriented distribution without significant state intervention (capitalist). (Source: Danermark, Berth. "Urban and Regional Development in Post-War Albania," Habitat International, Volume 17, No. 2, 1993.)

permits were used for those who wanted to relocate to specific urban centers. In this case, people had to provide evidence of employment.¹⁴

The concept of an "urban area" in Albania was defined in terms of "urban administrative zones." There were three main criteria for residential centers to obtain city status: (i) **productive activity** - for example, the dominance of the industrial or agricultural sector in employment, as well as the location of local authorities/administration in the residential center; (ii) **the number of residents** - for instance, a specific area's population needed to reach a certain size, even though an official lower limit was never set; *de facto*, it was 2,000-5,000 residents; (iii) and **influence** - in society (job market) and the social dimension (urban lifestyle). Therefore, the objective of Albanian urban policy during communism aimed more at harmonizing the development of a network of human settlements. In practice, rural settlements were characterized by an almost one-dimensional class structure due to the dominance of agricultural production and the absence of administrative concentration. Urbanization itself was characterized by very slow rates of change.¹⁵

II/2. Urbanization rates

Until 1990, there are distinct 5-6 major periods of urbanization in Albania:

1. *Pre-WWII Period, 1920-1938* - During this period, the country was described by the communist references of the time as ...*extremely poor and rural*. Cities had only administrative and trade functions, and only 15.4% of the population lived in urban areas.

2. *World War II Period, 1939-1945* - A significant portion of the population was displaced to cities for security reasons. The urban population temporarily increased to 21.4%, but after the war, people returned to the countryside.

3. *Post-War Period, 1946-1959* - During this period, communist authorities sought to consolidate their power by promoting the creation of the "working class." For this reason, there was a significant and

¹⁴ Aliaj, Besnik: "A Qualitative Analysis of Local Governance in Albania", Scientific paper at Erasmus University and IHS Rotterdam, UMC Center Rotterdam, 1996.

¹⁵ Aliaj, Besnik: "A Qualitative Analysis of Local Governance in Albania", Scientific paper at Erasmus University and IHS Rotterdam, UMC Center Rotterdam, 1996.

permanent increase in the urban population. During the first half of the 1950s (practically the peak of urbanization), the annual national urban population growth was 1.4%.

4. *The 1960s, 1960-1969* - The urbanization process slowed down, and the annual population growth rate decreased to 0.23%.

5. The 1970s, 1970-1979 - The annual population growth rate dropped to 0.2%, while the 1980s, 1980-1990 - The annual population growth rate was only 0.1%.¹⁶

II/3. Reducing geographical inequalities in development

One of the objectives of Albanian "Marxism" was to reduce the existing disparities among different social classes, urban and rural areas, and various regions. In this aspect, primary attention was given to geographical inequalities, and well-being was distributed through "egalitarian" policy instruments in terms of class, gender, and regional aspects. The key actions taken to reduce geographical disparities at the time included: (i) the allocation of industrial investments; (ii) electrification of all villages; (iii) the establishment of road networks connecting all villages and residential centers; (iv) providing new settlements with water supply services; (v) expanding healthcare institutions and improving existing services; (vi) creating agricultural cooperatives and state farms; (vii) raising rural incomes higher than urban areas; (viii) mandatory appointment and transfer of university graduates to peripheral and rural regions for at least 3-5 years; (ix) mobilizing "volunteers" from the education and healthcare sectors to work for 1-2 years in the most underdeveloped regions.¹⁷

Some variables that were associated with the urban population percentage were further reflected in the dynamic growth of the rural population, which increased for several decades faster than the urban population. In this case, two types of relationships were distinguished: (i) *negative relationships* - such as high birth rates, rapid population growth, and limited access to comprehensive services (schools and healthcare centers), etc.; (ii) *and positive relationships* - such as a

¹⁶ Vejsiu, Ylli; Misja, Vladimir: "Aspects of Demographic Development in Albania," Conference Paper with the same title, August 1996.

¹⁷ Qemo, G.; Luci, E.: "Improvement of Territorial Distribution Planning of Production, Resources, and the Emerging Problems in this Field," Paper presented at the conference with the same theme, Tirana 1983.

relatively small total population, manageable population density levels, and urbanization rates. The latter correlation depended on indicators of collective consumption. For example, the average indicator of social services for the country was between 0.5-0.8. However, for education, the indicator was higher, while for healthcare, it was lower. Nevertheless, excluding Tirana, the healthcare indicator represents half of the national average and one-sixth of Tirana's standard. This clearly highlights the role and weight of the capital city, as well as the relative equality among other regions. .¹⁸

A more careful analysis of well-being indicators (education and healthcare) reveals that Tirana had the highest percentages for each indicator at that time. Furthermore, the two southern counties, *Gjirokastra and Kolonja*, achieved high results in some services and average results in others. The rest of the districts (a total of 26) can be classified into two groups: - *the average group* - consisting of 17 districts, with lower indicators, accounting for 65%; - *the low-level group* - with 6 districts, 5 of which are in the northeast of the country, with indicators accounting for 23%. In conclusion, the reasons behind territorial inequalities in communist Albania can be explained as follows: (i) weak access infrastructure in mountainous areas and inadequate support for underdeveloped regions; (ii) these regions, according to the authorities, inherited a certain historical underdevelopment before 1945 (which indicates discrimination against them); (iii) historical isolation and lack of communication with neighboring bordering states, especially Yugoslavia to the north; (iv) such regions were seen as less willing to accept the "socialist" system."¹⁹

II/4. Architecture

Architecture in Albania during this period was based on the "principles of socialist realism." The main theme of "Socialist Realism" was the construction of socialism and a classless society. In portraying this struggle, architects were expected to acknowledge imperfections but maintain a positive and optimistic view of socialist society, considering

¹⁸ Qemo, G.; Luci, E.: "Improvement of Territorial Distribution Planning of Production, Resources, and the Emerging Problems in this Field," Paper presented at the conference with the same theme, Tirana 1983.

¹⁹ Financial Times: "Albanian Survey", October 2, 1995.

its "historical importance,"²⁰ as deviating from this perspective could lead to problems with the authorities. This meant that even though architects had a relationship with the arts and public aesthetics, they were not supposed to detach themselves from the masses and the people. Architecture was seen as something that belonged to everyone: engineers, builders, economists, sociologists, users, authorities, etc. Above all, it was a matter of economy of scale and demographic growth, with strong political filters.

This supported the idea that buildings and density should increase but not exceed 5-6 stories due to technological limitations and the cultural context in which the "new man" was connected to the environment and society. Facades had to have a simple and clean language. Floor plans needed to be standardized for functional purposes, and the residential area (m²/person) aimed to reduce costs. Since land was scarce and aimed to be turned into "bread land" (productive), the "green belt" principle was preached, limiting urban growth. This meant directing the population towards villages and peripheral towns. Traditional/private areas were demolished and replaced with denser housing blocks, with linear or L and U-shaped forms and common public spaces. It was recommended to break the monotony of the city's silhouette with a tall building of 7-8 or more stories, usually for hotel or PPT office typologies, serving as a reference image in the city. However, horizontal expansion and densification dominated over verticalization concerning architecture! Architecture was not supposed to be a field isolated only for specialists but should be a matter for the masses!²¹

The architecture of new objects, especially social-cultural and service facilities, had to foresee a city's growth projection of 20-25 years. In any case, architecture was dominated by conservative principles, and ideas that were daring and innovative were at risk of ideological misinterpretation and punishment. Development through uncompensated expropriation was an instrument to strike the city and the "old" architecture, especially regarding private property, and impose a

²⁰ Encyclopedia Britannica: "Socialist Realism." (Link: <https://www.britannica.com/art/Socialist-Realism>)

²¹ Hoxha, Enver: "70 Works of Enver Hoxha," Volume 48, "Problems of Architecture and Urban Planning Can Be Solved Scientifically," Discussion at the Secretariat of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania, March 23, 1972. (Link: http://www.enver-hoxha.net/librat_pdf/shqip/70-veprat/vepra-48/6.16-20.pdf)

new model of life, residential typologies, and public aesthetics that strictly adhered to the principles of socialist realism. The tendency for architectural identity in new objects was fought against and discouraged through pseudo-technical public consultations and "scientific" advice led by individuals with guarantees and clear political objectives. This imposed uniformity and monotony. In other words, Albanian architecture of the time represented a kind of pseudo-modernism, where the final product was shaped by strong filters of fear, self-censorship, political control, and ideology. A lifestyle model was promoted where work and industry were placed on the periphery and beyond the "green belt," while housing and leisure were in the city. The connection between them was through public transportation. The "urban" and "rural" functions were separated like a knife. There were no private cars (except for the authorities at the time). Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that cities were small in terms of area and population, with wide green streets creating a kind of façade for the real state of housing units and public spaces within the city.

The dominant typologies were:

1. ***Residential buildings and housing blocks***, - which constituted the main typology and the primary means of doing architecture. This architectural product was standardized by the design institutes in Tirana, where little or no space was left for local architects to adapt buildings to local conditions and architecture. This architecture remained very poor, with very few exceptions in the center of Tirana and major cities.

2. ***Objects with administrative, political, and ideological functions***, - such as the Party Committee buildings, Executive Committee buildings, central squares, and the main boulevard of the city, the objects around them, museums, and the graves of the martyrs, central gardens, etc. This typology was of great importance in architecture due to political representation.

3. ***Objects with educational, cultural, and sports functions***, - such as schools, cultural centers, cinemas, stadiums, and other sports facilities at various levels of the city. This typology had a medium level of architecture, but there were good efforts in some cases.

4. ***Communal, food, health, and economic services***, - including MAPO (Central Market), hotels, tourist facilities, shops, bars and restaurants, hospitals, clinics, maternity homes, etc. Especially, the

architecture of hotels in the city centers and tourist facilities on the coast had a somewhat more liberal architecture due to the influence of socialist camp countries.

5. *Objects with industrial, agricultural, and military functions*, - including factories, economic enterprises, train stations, farms, stables, depots, military barracks, bunkers, etc. The architecture of this typology was standardized by technological schemes.

6. *Public and green spaces* - at the neighborhood, district, and city levels. The farther from the city center, the poorer and more neglected the design for this typology was.²²

III. Building and Housing policy in Albania between 1945-1990

At the end of World War II, architecture, housing, and urban development in Albania inherited a kind of historical neglect, as authorities of the time expressed it. One-fourth of the housing stock (around 62,000 houses) was damaged or destroyed during the war. The country was faced with a near-national housing and urban development crisis in the post-war period. This was a particular issue for urban areas due to: (i) the rapid pace of urbanization after the war; (ii) a high birth rate; (iii) and further deteriorations due to several earthquakes during this period (Albania is a seismically active country).²³

Authorities made serious efforts to improve the urban situation and housing, including:

(i) the construction of 185,000 new housing units between 1945-1970, with an average of 7,400 units per year, while the annual population growth was 40,000-50,000 residents;

(ii) the introduction of pre-fabricated building systems in the 1970s, establishing a dedicated plant on the outskirts of Tirana to meet the demand for new urban housing;

(iii) further emphasis on rural development policies to alleviate pressure on urban areas, such as the "ruralization" of young people and urban cadres, and more;

²² Aliaj, Besnik.: "Housing Models in Albania between 1945-1999. International conference of ENHR on Housing. Toronto Canada", Co-Plan 2004. UNECE <https://unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/hlm/prgm/cph/experts/albania/materials/housing45-99.pdf>

²³ Hoxha, Enver: "70 Works of Enver Hoxha," Volume 48, "In Earthquake-Affected Areas, Buildings Should Be Stronger and More Beautiful," April 18, 1979. (Link: http://www.enver-hoxha.net/librat_pdf/shqip/70-veprat/vepra-70/7.27-30.pdf)

(iv) the expansion of rural housing programs to meet the real needs of urban-rural population flows.

As a result of these measures, over 80% of the total population was settled in new houses built after 1944. Starting from the 1970s, housing in Albania typically meant: (i) residential blocks in urban areas with 4-6 floors; (ii) 1-2 story houses in villages, mainly in cooperatives; (iii) and small, low-rise residential blocks with 4-5 floors for state farms.²⁴

III/1. State Construction and Housing Policy

During the years 1945-1990, investments in housing in Albania increased from 4% to 7% of the total investments. The share of houses built by the government (state-owned), including those belonging to state farms, increased from 10% at the end of the 1940s to 50% at the beginning of the 1970s. Primarily, during that time in Albania, there were three main forms of housing rights: (i) ***renting*** urban housing from the state; (ii) ***housing owned by cooperatives*** in rural areas; (iii) and the remaining portion of ***houses in private ownership***. The characteristics of urban housing included *renting* state-owned houses and the construction of multi-family *housing blocks*. These houses were built either through state enterprises or through "voluntary" labor campaigns (which were essentially unpaid labor). In the rural areas of the country, mainly within "cooperatives" or "state farms," nearly 300,000 families lived. The houses produced during the years 1945-1980 were primarily constructed by three sectors: (i) the *state sector*; (ii) the *cooperative sector*; (iii) and the *private sector*.²⁵

III/2. Housing Characteristics

The main characteristics of the demand for housing and urban infrastructure in Albania until 1990 reflected the corresponding demographic developments. In 1989, Albania officially had a population of 3.2 million. In reality, the average annual growth rate during the 1980s

²⁴ Danermark, Berth: "Urban and Regional Development in Post-War Albania" in Habitat International, Volume 17, No. 2, 1993.

²⁵ Hoxha, Enver: "70 Works of Enver Hoxha," Volume 70, "If the Ideological Significance of Common Property Is Understood, Work Will Be Organized in a More Profitable Way," Discussion at the Plenum of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania, April 25, 1979. (Link: http://www.enver-hoxha.net/librat_pdf/shqip/70-veprat/vepra-70/8.31-35.pdf)

was 2%, making it one of the fastest-growing populations in Europe. Consequently, the Albanian population was relatively young, with an average age of 26. These demographic characteristics also imposed an increased demand for housing. On the other hand, family size was relatively large due to overpopulation (more than one couple shared the same dwelling), and cultural traditions (according to the tradition, the eldest son had to take care of and share a residence with his parents). Meanwhile, the total number of families increased faster than the population growth itself due to the trend of forming smaller families with 4-5 members. More specifically, the number of families increased by 35%, while the population only increased by 25%. Another issue was the decrease in the number of families with 1-2 persons. While the European figures for this group in 1990 showed 30-35%, in Albania at the time, it dropped to 10%. One of the main factors for this was strong ideological pressure, manipulating the so-called traditional values of marriage and family.²⁶

III/3. General housing trends

The overall trends in state investments for housing, urban infrastructure, and housing completion during that period include several aspects. Until 1970, there was a continuous increase in the number of new housing units. However, after 1970, it appears that the objectives of the annual housing plan were not met. This is also reflected in the decline of the national birthrate. In reality, the Albanian authorities' attention after 1970 focused on (i) mitigating quantitative housing and urban infrastructure issues, (ii) the ideological need to replace the existing private housing stock, 20% of which was built before 1945, (iii) a relatively increased focus on the quality of buildings, (iv) the increased use of rapid construction methods, such as prefabrication, (v) special attention given to the capital, Tirana, where housing was becoming overcrowded day by day.²⁷

Another factor that contributed to the decrease in the volume of new housing units after 1970 was the diminishing significance of "volunteer

²⁶ Vejsiu, Ylli; Misja, Vladimir: "Aspects of Demographic Development in Albania," Conference Paper with the same title, August 1996.

²⁷ Aliaj, Besnik; Lulo, Kejda; Myftiu, Genci: "Tirana: The Challenge of Urban Development", Co-Plan Seda, 2003.

work" programs. This was due to a lack of individual time available for such constructions, resistance from people because of unfair distribution of completed houses, and the reduced availability of construction materials. Nevertheless, the typology of "*self-constructed housing*" remained dominant, especially in rural areas. During the 1980s, there was a noticeable decline in state investments in the overall housing sector. While the authorities attempted to increase state investment in new housing and urban infrastructure by 50%, there was practically a significant fluctuation in the average number of completed new housing units, material shortages, poor quality of execution in the name of cost-saving measures, and so on.²⁸

III/4. Interior aspects of the Houses

In general, the apartments built in urban areas had 1-2 rooms, and in few cases, a maximum of 3 rooms, with a kitchen and necessary annexes (though not always present) and one bathroom. The flooring was laid with pre-prepared granite tiles. The walls were plastered and painted white. The interior furnishings were also subject to standardization (sofas, cabinets, electrical appliances, heating, TV, refrigerator, etc., and their allocation was subject to authorization). Apartment blocks were constructed up to a height of 6 stories but did not have elevators as part of the plan. This technicality defined the *de facto* maximum building height in the country. As for the allocation of families in apartments, several characteristics were taken into account, such as the age of family members, physical conditions, the ability to climb stairs, and the socio-political "hierarchy" of the family, etc. Heating systems for residential purposes, regardless of individual improvised solutions by people, were sometimes organized into four collective schemes: (i) *central oil heating systems* for new housing in mountainous areas with cold winters; (ii) *solid fuel*, including coal, for urban areas with such resources; (iii) *gas*, especially used in areas near the country's main oil fields; (iv) and *wood* for the rest of the country.²⁹

²⁸ Dhamo, Sotir; Thomai, Gjergji; Aliaj, Besnik: "Tirana: The Neglected City", Polis University Press, 2016.

²⁹ ISP1 : "Norms and Technical Standards for Architectural and Urban Design and Construction in Albania," 1975.

III/5. Infrastructure and Municipal Services

Until the early '60s, efforts were made to maintain and improve the supply of water and electricity in Albanian settlements. According to the authorities during the years 1966-70, new ***water supply*** systems were installed in several cities and over 400 villages. New water supply systems and the expansion of existing ones continued in 17 other urban centers during the years 1971-1975. However, by the mid-'80s, only half of the country's villages had adequate access to water supply. The rest had either seasonal access or no access to drinking water services at all. More than half of the villages with water supply used old pipeline networks built before 1944. For this reason, the primary objective during the years 1985-90 was providing drinking water services to residential centers without water access.

Since 1970, access to basic ***electricity*** was not a problem for almost all residential centers in the country. However, it should be noted that the level of technology and electrical appliances used by Albanian families was very modest, so the demand for electricity was truly basic. Meanwhile, the ***national telephone network*** was also completed during 1971-75, but very few families had direct access to the service. Postal service somewhat fulfilled this function. Attempts to connect all residential centers in the country within a ***network of highways*** were never realized until the late '80s. During this period, there were no private cars in Albania. The country counted no more than 5,000 cars for economic and administrative purposes. The network of asphalt roads was limited. Regarding ***commercial outlets*** for retail trade, they were usually built on the ground floor of new multi-story urban complexes or as rare cases, commercial centers (MAPO). Municipal services in villages were usually provided by small state-owned stores in separate single-story buildings.³⁰

³⁰ Qemo, G.; Luci, E.: "Improvement of Territorial Distribution Planning of Production, Resources, and the Emerging Problems in this Field," Paper presented at the conference with the same theme, Tirana 1983.

IV. Architecture, Standards, Ownership, and Distribution of Buildings.

Socialist Realism in architecture is a derivative of realistic art that aimed to propagate the doctrine of communism, influencing civic consciousness and people's views on life. Socialist Realist architecture was an official and sanctioned "style" in Albania at the time. Meanwhile, modernist styles and modernism in general were criticized and rejected, including cubism and impressionism. Any association of professionals with the so-called "*degenerate, decadent, and pessimistic bourgeois art and architecture*" came at a personal cost to the creators of such works. At that time, it was preached that abstract forms of architecture could not be understood by the masses and the proletariat. Therefore, they were not considered part of the propaganda of the time. In essence, this atmosphere was a totalitarian way for the state to control architects and creators as a whole, who were organized around the Writers' and Artists' Union.

The basic principles of architecture in Albania at the time were: (i) Proletarian art and architecture are related to the working class and should be understood by it; (ii) Socialist Realist architecture should create typical scenes and conditions from the daily life of ordinary people; (iii) Architecture should be as simple as possible in its presentation; (iv) Architecture should support the principles of the state. The main goal of this style was to elevate the working class to a higher status and create working and living conditions that lead them towards socialist progress as something admirable; (v) The use of this style was mandatory for all forms of art and levels of architecture and urban planning.³¹

Architects and urban planners were assumed to play a crucial role in society as they were considered the "engineers of the human spirit." Whether the style was liked by the public or not didn't matter because artists were seen as state workers. The general idea was that through architecture and urban planning, grand ideas could be conveyed, and feelings of political power's stability could be stirred within the population. The realist style was often technically accomplished and straightforward. Compared to the diversity in Western art and

³¹ Gorky, Maxim: Pamphlet "On Socialist Realism," Congress of Artists of the Soviet Union, 1934.

architecture of the 20th century, socialist realism in architecture in Albania produced limited works in terms of aesthetics and content. Artists who deviated from this style were systematically punished, including being transferred to production or to "gulags" or imprisonment. Additionally, architects were prohibited from reading and seeing Western art until the 1990s when they were freed from (self-)censorship, not without difficulty.

Since the dominant typology of architecture was *housing* in communist Albania, the article focuses on this typology. In communist Albania, two housing sectors were distinct: (i) the state sector of rental housing and (ii) the private sector, the only form of private ownership by the late 1980s.

IV/1. The state rented sector

While the state rental sector dominated the urban housing market as a whole throughout the period from 1945 to 1990, it dominated the rural housing market only during the 1970s-1990s. The construction of housing blocks, both in urban and rural areas: (i) emphasized raising standards for a better life and hygiene; (ii) reducing the growing differences between urban and rural areas; (iii) and "egalitarian" aspirations to create equal housing conditions for citizens. However, this contributed to the loss of the identity of traditional local architecture and the way of life in rural areas in relation to nature, the landscape, the green yard, and family economy. Rural families became impoverished.

As a result, by the late 1980s, almost 60% of the country's population and 80% of Tirana's population lived in collective housing. Newlywed couples registered with the "*People's Council Committee*," applying for housing. After that, they gained automatic access to an apartment (but in practice, there was a significant gap between the application time and the availability of the apartment). Regarding apartment allocation procedures, there were clear mismatches between: (i) the family size and the apartment size; (ii) changes in family size and continuous internal migration; (iii) limited variations in the size and type of apartments in relation to high birth rates.³²

³² Housing Department, Ministry of Public Works and Tourism: "Information on the construction of housing by the state and private sectors in Albania before and during the transition years 1990-95", Tirana, 1995.

The construction of *collective housing* in Albania began in 1968 through the utilization of a significant resource called "unpaid voluntary labor." The "voluntary labor" programs were based on: (i) the ideological exploitation of pre-war Albanian traditions to assist neighbors and relatives in building and providing housing; (ii) the application of "Stalinist" methods of massive mobilization; (iii) emergency mobilization in the case of earthquakes; (iv) the "national donation" of a one-day wage to cover the reconstruction costs; (v) the doctrine of "relying on our capabilities"; (vi) ideological pressure to organize "voluntary" work groups within the residential area or workplace; (vii) construction activity during the so-called "free time" and outside of regular working hours; (viii) the provision of additional building materials and technical assistance from state construction organizations; (ix) the contribution of future residents through their unpaid labor force; (x) and the mechanism of the right to own housing through the evaluation of the voluntary work contributions of families.³³

The allocation of housing was carried out through: (i) the state "*Executive Committee*" (local expansion of the central administration) and the "People's Council" of the neighborhood; (ii) the director of the state enterprise or the representative of the 'syndicate'; (iii) the "collective meeting" at each individual's workplace; (iv) the use of the criteria of the existing living conditions and the contribution given for the building by the worker; (v) the "political criteria" identified by the "People's Council of the Neighborhood." While massive mobilization was ideologically important and sustainable, the results were very poor for *architecture and urban design* in terms of project quality, construction materials, or productivity during and after construction. Architecture suffered from standardization and uniformity. Foreign references were prohibited and penalized. Public spaces between buildings were rarely utilized, creating a poor model for spatial and environmental education. The quality of architecture and *urban planning* deteriorated even more from the center towards the periphery.³⁴

³³ USAID 1993: "An Initial Assessment of the Housing Sector in Albania," Working Paper, United States Agency for International Development, Tirana, 1993.

³⁴ Interview with architect Ihsan Prushi in 2019, an expert in housing and housing standards during that period at ISPI.

In rural areas, 60% of the population lived in new state-owned houses, 1-2 stories high, which had several main functions: (i) to provide minimum standards of housing that did not exist before; (ii) to create new labor force centers for state farms, as well as the nuclei of new settlements for state purposes; (iii) to respond to specific emergent needs such as earthquakes or infrastructure redistributions (in the case of the construction of hydroelectric plants and their reservoirs) through generally rent-free houses.

The primary demand for rural settlement planning was to occupy as little agricultural land as possible. Simultaneously, it was encouraged for the foundations of buildings to be on strong ground, as Albania was located within a seismically unstable and landslide-prone area. Hygienically, buildings were to receive ample sunlight and be protected from prevailing winds in mountainous and hilly areas. It was said that houses should harmonize and compact with each other as a community. Each house should have suitable road access to all village facilities. Local urban planning offices typically provided two types of rural houses: (i) *Elbasan style* - single-story houses with 2-3 rooms and a veranda, with interior spaces and services; (ii) *Shkodra style* - two-story houses for two families with 2-3 rooms, separate stair access, interior spaces, and basic services.³⁵

IV/2. The Private Housing Sector

The private housing sector in Albania can be divided into two subgroups:

(i) *Pre-socialist housing*, including houses that have survived mandatory acquisitions and demolitions due to new developments; traditional housing areas declared "museum cities" and listed under state protection (such as the historic neighborhoods of Berat, Gjirokastrë, Shkodër, Korçë, etc.); and around 40% of rural houses that remained as private property throughout the socialist period.

(ii) *Self-built houses*, which were limited due to strict planning and conservative urban regulations, the priority of the state construction sector, the availability of suitable materials, and the focus on state housing with volunteer construction.

³⁵ Interview with architect Arben Shtylla in 2019, an expert in the design of industrial and service facilities during that period at ISP4.

In general, standards improved in many cases, and housing environments were upgraded, although in many rural areas or in peripheral urban areas, people still cooked over open fires in nature and heated their homes with traditional stoves, or used outdoor/detached toilets. In 1967, when the collectivization of the agriculture sector was completed, the situation showed that every cooperative had its own physical development plans for the territory, and the majority of houses were single-family homes in private ownership built with family funds. Meanwhile, in the "state construction blocks," maintenance issues were a major concern that worsened during the transition period.³⁶

IV/3. The standards of residential architecture and construction

Until 1990, the size of a plot for a house in Albania depended on: planning and zoning regulations; local allocation and circumstances; and sometimes the preferences of the local "People's Council," as well as the specific financial capability of the family to cover the construction material costs. The typical land size was: (i) 150 m² in urban areas; (ii) 200 m² in rural areas; (iii) 300 m² in mountainous areas; (iv) and, in specific cases, a maximum of 500 m². House floor plans were usually standardized using blueprint projects from central institutes and local design bureaus. The planning permission procedures typically took from 2-3 to 6 months. The same can be said for construction materials, which were often provided by the informal sector. The cost of construction was minimally reduced by locally available stone throughout the country, except in the coastal plains.³⁷

For a single-family house, the surface area was 60-80 or a maximum of 100 m², and there was additional space (usually averaging 500-1,000 m²) for a personal garden, which was usually tolerated in mountainous-hilly areas. The roof was usually pitched and covered with tiles. This personal garden was conditioned for limited use of agricultural and livestock products for basic family consumption or for family expansion in the future. These personal gardens began to decrease in size between the 1960s, reducing to about 50-70% of the original size. This was accompanied by a further reduction in personal livestock, which was

³⁶ Interview with architect Arben Shtylla in 2019, an expert in the design of industrial and service facilities during that period at ISP4.

³⁷ Series of Design Standards, prepared by ISP1, 1982.

practically reduced in number by 50%. Residents in privately owned houses by their landlords retained the right to inherit basic assets, furniture, objects, and their values.³⁸ Private houses could be sold but without price speculation or rented out in the private sector (existing but very limited in number). Rental agreements for housing were allowed only for legitimate reasons and when the landlord did not partially or fully occupy the housing. Housing could be rented to no more than one landlord and without exceeding the rates of state-owned houses.

IV/4. Building and architectural typologies

The Albanian housing during the communist period can be physically categorized into three main types:

A. Detached Houses – Mainly distinguished as: *rural or urban detached houses; pre-war or post-war detached houses; rural one or two-story houses*, depending on local and regional traditions. These include several typologies: **The Tower** – a semi-nomadic dwelling in the northern highland tradition, built with stone and small windows; **Zadruga** – large houses on the Kosovo border; **1-story rural houses** – constructed in a simple peasant style with mud and thatch; **2-story Southern village houses** – with limestone, built on hill slopes with valley views; **The early post-war houses** – constructed with brickwork and local architectural features in new rural areas like Korca region; The emergency and disaster relief housing constructed with volunteer efforts, such as the post-earthquake situations in Dibra and Shkodra, etc.³⁹

When it comes to old urban *one or two-story houses* and old bazaars, they have mostly been demolished due to new developments in urban centers, effectively erasing this historical heritage. However, some have survived due to unique conditions, such as: *houses preserved due to their special traditional and architectural values, houses enclosed within the protective walls of historic cities*, like houses integrated into traditional markets and mixed-use urban complexes, well-constructed pre-war buildings in favorable locations and for recreational purposes, such as Himara, Durresi, Pogradeci, etc., houses protected by cultural

³⁸ Interview with architect Ihsan Prushi in 2019, an expert in housing and housing standards during that period at ISPI.

³⁹ Riza, Emin: "Popular Albanian Housing," Academy of Sciences, 2010, ISBN-13: 978-99956-10-40-1

and environmental monument legislation, produced in the early post-war period, like Gjirokastra, Berat, Durres, Kruja, etc., buildings supported by indirect state investments for housing and tourism purposes, work object housing by the *Institute of Cultural Monument Restoration*, houses that were maintained and improved for ideological or national historical purposes.⁴⁰

B Low-Rise Buildings – Constructed with bricks and mechanized methods. These buildings typically have 3-4 stories and are mostly found in cities such as Durres, Elbasan, Peqin, Levan, Lukova, etc.

C. Apartment Blocks – Built with a certain degree of mechanization and relative prefabrication, up to 5-6 stories, in major and newly developed cities like Tirana, Durres, Fier, Ballsh, Kamza, etc. Usually, these were made of bricks and local stone foundation, with or without concrete, and had standardized facade designs. Very few were prefabrication products. Elevators, as an international technical standard, were only applied in a few public buildings, hotels, museums, or cultural centers. Many of them lacked greenery and urban furniture, recreational or sports facilities, apart from the city center.

V. The Financing of the Construction Sector in Albania Until 1990

V/1. Incomes

The classification of income in Albania during the period 1945-90 can be as follows:

(i) **Until the early 1960s** - wage levels in Albania were more or less the same as in the rest of Eastern Europe. After the break with the Soviet bloc **in 1961**, the lack of qualified experts stimulated a differentiated income policy to encourage obtaining better qualifications, including classifying physically hard work. **From the mid-1960s**, the highest and lowest paying sectors, namely transportation and food, had average differences of about 70%. Efforts to reduce higher wages began **in 1967**, after wages above 1,200 Lek were cut. The ratio between the highest and lowest wages ranged from 1 to 2.5-3. All forms of income tax were abolished, but additional indirect payments were still present, along with low wages.

⁴⁰ Coauthors' team: "History of Albanian Architecture, Institute of Cultural Monuments", Tirana, 1979.

(ii) *In 1976*, income disparities between rural and urban areas, as well as inequalities in high and lowlands, were reduced throughout the country. A 4-25% reduction in all incomes above 900 Lek was made, as well as a 14-22% reduction in income for teachers and scientists. Rewards for academic titles, degrees, publications, and other payments were reduced by 50%. Meanwhile, wage increases for state farm workers were made based on plan fulfillment. The wages of specialists were also classified not by the institution/area of work but based on their education. There was also a correction in wage disparities between the fishing and transportation sectors.⁴¹

(iii) *The consequences of this income policy* were: The reduction of the average wage ratio for state employees and ministers from 1 to 2-2.5. Policies promoting urban development discrimination were encouraged, which affected measures in favor of rural areas, as well as mountainous (but not flat) areas. In this regard, during 1971-75, national income increased by 14.5%, while rural worker incomes increased by 20.5%, compared to 8.7% of urban workers. This was accompanied by a faster increase in rural incomes compared to urban incomes. For example, the growth rate of the difference between rural and urban incomes was 140% higher during the 1960-70 years, while the rate increased three times more during the 1971-80 years. Per capita income for the countryside increased by 28% compared to the average 4% for the entire population during the 1980-82 years. Additionally, the rural population grew to 1.75 million residents in 1980, which is greater than the total population of the country in 1960 (1.61 million).⁴² This was considered by the authorities as a "successful" policy to prevent: (i) unplanned migration from the village to the city; (ii) depopulation from mountainous areas towards the lowlands; (iii) demographic balance in the northeastern mountainous region of the country, due to migration, especially of young women through marriage, as well as the lack of proper coordination in territorial distribution between material elements of productive forces and labor resources.⁴³

⁴¹ NCH 1996: National Report for the UN Conference on Human Settlements - Habitat II, National Committee for Habitat, Tirana, 1996.

⁴² LMTF (Land Management Task Force) Albania: "Preliminary Plan of the Structure of Greater Tirana, Land Management Task," 1995.

⁴³ LMTF (Land Management Task Force) Albania: "Preliminary Plan of the Structure of Greater Tirana, Land Management Task," 1995.

V/2. State rental sector finances

Unlike other former socialist countries, Albania did not sell state-owned apartments to tenants during the communist period. The People's Council of each district and the state itself were concerned with renting out apartments and maintaining them, both in urban areas and state farms. Specifically, the average level of rent for a 1-3 room apartment with necessary annexes and a kitchen was around 20-42 Lek per month, which was equivalent to 1-3 days' income. Meanwhile, the average wage was 600-650 Lek per month, and rent "officially" represented 3.5-7% of monthly income.⁴⁴ Given that the "right to work" was strongly proclaimed, these obligations were at least half of the above figures if both parents were working. Even though income taxes were officially abolished, people had to pay *de facto* for the cost of housing, water, and electricity.

V/3. Private Housing Sector Finances

The concept of a "free market" was not recognized in communist Albania. Private houses in urban areas were estimated to have a value of around 20-30 thousand Lek (using disputable valuation methods). Urban and rural residents on properties owned by private individuals were able to preserve inheritance rights at least for their descendants. Existing properties and property rights were retained by individuals. State loans were available for new housing, self-built, and private houses since 1950. This was not the case for purchasing existing homes. Loan repayments were made over 20-25 years, with approximately 50-60 Lek per month, usually with no interest (or no more than a 0.5% interest rate).⁴⁵

VI. Design Institutions in Albania 1945-1990

VI/1. Design Institutions and Socialist Architecture Principles

Based on Albania's modest experience and with Soviet assistance, the *First State Institute for Design and Urban Planning* was established in Tirana in 1947. It was later recognized as the *Institute of Architecture and Urban Planning* (or *Institute No. 1*). Its branches (*Urban Planning*

⁴⁴ Vejsiu, Ylli; Misja, Vladimir: "Aspects of Demographic Development in Albania," Conference Paper with the same title, August 1996.

⁴⁵ Vejsiu, Ylli; Misja, Vladimir: "Aspects of Demographic Development in Albania," Conference Paper with the same title, August 1996.

and Design Bureaus, or ZUP) were organized in each district and administrative unit, near the respective *Local Executive Committees*, to assist the population and local administration. Gradually, the **Urban Planning Unit**, which separated from *Institute No. 1*, took shape and formed the "**National Institute of Urban Planning**" in the early '90s, now reorganized as AKPT - the *National Territorial Planning Agency*. During the 1980s, regional offices of ZUP were reorganized, splitting ZUP into two branches: (i) the *Bureau of Architectural and Urban Planning Studies*, a semi-independent design office; (ii) and the *Directorate of Urban Planning* within local government bodies, reorganized in 1993.

During communism, the central institute and local branches provided standard urban and architectural plans and projects, which were planned, modified, and harmonized with limited elements according to local conditions by local offices. Each city had its "five-year target plan." It was understood that the "regulatory (structural) plan" detailed the building and service specifications. These plans covered a period of up to 15-25 years, taking into account: (i) the significant expansion of the urban area; (ii) and the comprehensive development of the city center and existing zones. The "*regulatory plan*" was the result of ongoing consultations among: (i) the district administration (settlements); (ii) the local office and the National Institute of Architecture and Urban Planning; (iv) as well as the relevant central ministries.⁴⁶

Another crucial issue was *the principles of Albanian socialist architecture*. The dominant first principle was the so-called "simplicity" and "beauty" aimed at minimizing costs. Architecture was further guided by the principles of "anti-extravagance" and "anti-formalism" for both ideological and economic reasons. Thirdly, architects and engineers had to implement the principle of "economic saving policy." Art and architecture, in general, were ideologically controlled and aesthetically constricted. Those who did not adhere to the principle of the "voice of the masses" risked transfer, internment, and, in some cases, imprisonment or worse. The cities suffered from the monotony of linguistic and architectural style. The landscape and urban silhouette were uniform and unchanging. Settlements were dominated by a dark color typical of the Eastern Europe of the time. In general, ruralization

⁴⁶ Faja, Enver: "Urban Planning, Vol. 1, Textbook", Enver Hoxha University, Tirana, 1985.

dominated urbanization, and at its peak, the capital Tirana had no more than 300-350 thousand residents. Western literature was lacking.⁴⁷

VI/2. Construction and Physical Development of the Territory

During the years 1971-75, Albania paid special attention to land use management. This included emphasizing the presence of limited arable land, extremely rugged and mountainous terrain, and growing objectives for opening new agricultural land. There was also the issue of the misuse of existing land resources and the loss of 5,000 hectares of arable land due to construction. Inefficient control of land use planning, both theoretically and practically, was observed. The need for multi-story buildings and the reconstruction of almost all urban 1-2-story buildings was rising. Additionally, the state had supervisory responsibility for urban housing and administrative construction. Non-collectivized rural housing in villages was the responsibility of the villagers. All buildings constructed in cooperation with state farms were managed by the state. The buildings built after this were only apartments and did not have courtyards. Thus, an equal number of apartments were built in two ways: (i) by state enterprises, which were arms of central ministries; (ii) and through voluntary labor, starting in 1968.⁴⁸

VI/3. Mechanism of Housing Distribution

The distribution of state-built apartments was carried out by the *Executive Committee of the People's Council of the District*. In major urban centers, at the neighborhood/settlement level, distribution was managed by the *"People's Council of the Neighborhood."* Housing allocation legislation included three guidelines: (i) urban planning and architectural guidelines; (ii) for new constructions; and (iii) for apartment distribution. Decisions about the allocation of apartments built by "volunteer labor" were made in collaboration with the place of employment of the recipients.

⁴⁷ Faja, Enver: "Albanian Urban Planning at a Crossroads," Series of articles: "Beginnings of Socialist Realization in Albania 1945-80," *Koha Jonë* Newspaper, 1998.

⁴⁸ Lushaj, Sherif: Interview - "Growth of Farms," *Monitor Magazine*, 2009.

VII. Issues in Urban Planning, Housing, and Architecture until 1990

The main problems in ensuring housing stock in Albania from 1945 to 1990 were: (i) high birth and marriage rates; (ii) the mismatch between housing demand and supply; (iii) weak control over the quality of construction and lack of maintenance.

VII/1. The Quantity of Constructed Housing

The annual population growth for Albania in the 1980s was 32,000 inhabitants in rural areas and 22,000 in urban areas. However, the annual growth rate of construction during the same period was 6,000 housing units in rural areas and 9,000 housing units in urban areas. The percentage of the population with homes increased from 7% in 1970 to 8% in 1980 and 9% in 1982, but housing shortages persisted. Even though around 300,000 urban and rural housing units were built during the years 1945-1979, there was still a housing shortage due to increasing demographic demand and the need to replace the existing, inadequate housing stock. This was particularly reflected in cases of occupying new apartments before the completion of services and external facades and the lack of apartments for newlyweds.⁴⁹

VII/2. Demographic Trends of the Time

The unique and distinct nature of the Albanian demographic model within space and the framework of planning was expressed in various ways:

1). Relatively high levels of natural population growth due to (i) the Catholic- Roman and Islamic heritage, (ii) the complete absence of birth control measures, and (iii) the willingness to maintain high labor force levels for military, economic, and ideological purposes.

2). Birth and death rates were of paramount importance for demography because (i) internal and external migration was almost non-existent, (ii) internal migration was completely controlled by the state for labor and construction purposes.

3). Regional variations in the period reflected a clear diversity related to (i) the contrast in birth rates between the north (high) and the

⁴⁹ Interview with architect Ihsan Prushi in 2019, an expert in housing and housing standards during that period at ISPI.

south (low), (ii) the influence of religious origins, specifically Catholic and Orthodox, which was somewhat softened by the official ban on religion in 1967.

4). The relatively young population was reflected in (i) the average age of the population in 1983, which was only 26 years old, (ii) at the end of the socialist period, three-quarters of the population were born and educated within the framework of socialism, (iii) 37% of the population was under 15 years of age.⁵⁰

Although the urban population was relatively young, the number of retirees was increasing at a faster rate than the population as a whole. During the 1980s, it was observed that the current birth rate was about 27 cases per 1,000 inhabitants, while the current death rate was about 6 cases per 1,000 inhabitants. The annual population growth rate in Albania for this period was four times the European average. However, in the long term, the birth rate experienced a slight decline, as it was 35 cases per 1,000 inhabitants in the 1960s. Besides policies that favored population growth in general, other factors affecting this demographic projection were related to the fact that the paid maternity leave (without working) period increased from 1.5 to 6 months, and the period after childbirth was extended. This was accompanied by the improvement of healthcare and welfare facilities both in rural areas and cities. Consequently, the number of births from 1981 to 1985, compared to 1977-1980, increased by 22,000. Moreover, infant mortality during the years 1979-1985 was halved. To 'reform' even attitudes within the country's leadership, the emphasis was placed on protecting women's health, improving housing facilities, enhancing preschool education, reducing prices for children's items, and supporting low-income families, which were an undeclared group.⁵¹

VIII. Conclusions and Discussions of the Period 1945-1990.

There are two criteria that define a country as socialist:

A. Concentration - representing a high degree of centralized political control over the exposure of the local economy to relationships with the world market. Albania met this criterion because of: (i) the

⁵⁰ UNDP: Human Development Report: Albania, Tirana, 1995.

⁵¹ Danermark, Berth: "Urban and Regional Development in Post-War Albania" in Habitat International, Volume 17, No. 2, 1993.

principle of self-reliance, (ii) its small size, (iii) the relatively undeveloped state of its industry, (iv) and the restriction of exposure to the global political economy.

B. Centralization - representing a centralized system of resource distribution. Albania also met this criterion through: (i) resource distribution oriented towards political goals rather than market forces, (ii) spatial distribution of social wellbeing and forced accumulation of heavy industry, (iii) state-managed agricultural production instead of private ownership, (iv) deep state control of territory, (v) social wellbeing distribution based on class, gender, and region, (vi) resource orientation away from the process of industrialization that was not aligned with private mass consumption but rather through the growth of collective public consumption, such as public health, education, transportation, etc.

VIII/1. Findings on the Economy

The development of the Albanian economy slowed down in the 1970s and 1980s after the initial rapid growth in the 1950s and 1960s. The principle of "*self-reliance*" had hindered industrial development. Therefore, the accumulation in agriculture was too slow to promote rapid industrialization and urban development. The political elites exercised strong control over the flow of resources, which played a significant role in shaping the *urban structure*. The institutional structure was characterized by *planned economy* and *control over information*. The sources of production and their distribution, the distribution of heavy and light industries, were in the hands of the ruling elite. Other conditioned factors also influenced this process. Moreover, elements of welfare such as (i) higher education were directed towards more urban areas, while (ii) healthcare institutions and service networks were reasonably distributed throughout the country.

VIII/2. Findings on Urbanization

Slow and controlled urbanization has been a characteristic of Albanian society since the 1950s. There was a hierarchal concentration of the gravity of settlements within the territory, and urbanization as a process was almost halted. Regional differences and distinctions between urban and rural areas were reduced according to the "Maoist"

practice of ruralization. Industrial distribution was determined by political objectives. The government's policies reflected efforts to improve living conditions in rural areas and underdeveloped regions. Industrialization and the growth of the working class continued until the 1980s, while urbanization had come to a standstill about twenty years earlier. Long-term development was a result of natural population growth and regulated migration through guarantees of employment and housing.

VIII/3. Findings on Architecture

The architecture in Albania from 1945 to 1990 inherited a state of underdevelopment and isolation from the rest of the world. Albanian architecture represented a kind of local, poor-quality pseudo-modernism in ideas, implementation, form, and content. The relevant educational institutions in this field were also isolated. Political censorship and pressure from economic and demographic factors led to very modest claims in architecture, with a few exceptions for ideological interests. Five to six main architectural typologies were developed that were mainly tied to their function. The applied architectural language depended on whether it was somewhat liberal or conservative. The dominant form of architectural objects was housing. In rural areas, housing was standardized, individual, with 1-2 stories, and very little personal yard space. In cities, the dominant form was housing blocks, a maximum of 5-6 stories, often prefabricated. Few were the cases when local architects dared to project beyond the rigid principles of socialist realization. The architecture in Albania resembled more a pragmatic engineering trend with little sensitivity to aesthetics.

VIII/3. Housing and Housing Issues

The orientation of the housing sector until 1985 focused on rural areas. This mainly aimed at improving conditions for rural workers and ensuring the permanent transfer of young urban people to rural areas. Considering the continuous population growth rate of 2.2% per year by the late 1980s, about 75% of the population was under 40 years old at that time. The period between 1986-1990 is considered a period of rapid and forced change in existing housing policies. This was accompanied by the need to reorient housing priorities, focus on infrastructure and

services improvement, especially water supply, improving the quality of new housing, and a tendency to balance equality with economic efficiency in decision-making.

Although the country's leadership continued to criticize Soviet "perestroika," these were part of a general trend towards possible and rapid policy changes, including legislative measures: against old ways of thinking and "the weak discipline" among young people; opening up to public debates that criticized conservative attitudes; replacing party bureaucrats after five years in office; making efforts to improve relations with the outside world; promoting foreign language teaching and literature. By the late 1980s, these measures resulted in: the import of new foreign building technology; increasing building heights above 6 stories for apartment blocks; increased use of prefabrication, installation of elevators, and improved services; breaking constitutional restrictions on foreign loans and credits; promoting the concept of joint entrepreneurship, sometimes even using foreign capital.

VIII/4. Conclusions on Architecture and Urban Planning

1). – Apart from the 1950s (the period of establishing the "working class" base in a predominantly rural society), the level of ***urbanization*** in Albania has been very low. In 1990, about 65% of the population lived in rural areas. Hierarchical concentration was lower compared to other Eastern European countries. Low migration and high natural growth, especially in rural areas, were the primary contributing factors to this pattern. Inequalities in ***welfare*** due to geographic location decreased during the post-war period, even though differences existed between predominantly urban and rural regions. ***Tirana*** as the capital city held crucial importance, while the northeastern part of the country was less developed in terms of welfare indicators. The rapid economic growth before 1965 was followed by an even more significant decline. The principles of ***industrial*** allocation were characterized by uniformity and harmonization. The development of agriculture and industry limited any considerable urban growth. It seems that the government neither wanted nor could handle a rapid urbanization process.

2). – ***Architecture*** and ***urban planning*** in Albania from 1945-1990 suffered from the country's ideologization, underdevelopment, and self-isolation. Apart from certain objects and typologies in the main cities

(Party Committee and Executive, hotels, post offices, clinics, cinemas, MAPO, etc.), which had a propagandistic character for the regime, the rest of the settlements, public spaces, and the architecture of circular objects left much to be desired in both design and implementation. Everything was standardized and centralized by central design institutes and local bureaus. Architects were not free in their designs, and authorities exerted pressure through the principles of "socialist realism." Exposure, literature, foreign technology, and building materials were discouraged. Constructions were low-rise and made from poor materials. The urban landscape was uniform and grey. The architect was more of a technical executor of ideas and requirements generated by bureaucracy and politics. Nevertheless, efforts for quality architecture were not lacking, but this was often at a high cost. In these conditions of extreme thriftiness, "housing" became the dominant typology of the architecture of the time. However, architectural principles were blurred by economic and ideological ones. The product was of poor quality. It's important to note that the main problem of housing in Albania (and consequently architecture) was the increasing but still insufficient quantity of new housing, against the backdrop of growing demographic trends, accompanied by an increasing role of the state, excluding the inclusion of the private sector.

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Illustration 1. Detail of the Regulatory Plan of Tirana, 1990. Source: General Urban Planning Department, Municipality of Tirana.



Illustration 2. The vacuum at Tirana boulevard by late 80s. Source: authors.



Illustration 3. Tirana Skanderbeg Square 1988. Source: *Internet*



Illustration 3. Tirana boulevard by air. Source: Informative booklet of the time by 80-s



Illustration 4. Albania, Korca. View from the monument of the martyrs, in the cemeteries of Second War Resistance. Source: Communist Albania 1981 – photo by Michel Setboun. "Timeless Albania" Series



Illustration 5. Lana river, in Tirana. Source: authors 1990.



Illustration 6. Shkodra, 1981. Source: Michel Setboun, "Timeless Albania" Series



Illustration 3. The town of Peshkopia during the 1960s-1970s. Source: Michel Setboun, "Timeless Albania" Series



Illustration 3. "Pre-fabricated building" Tirana Source: Michel Setboun, "Timeless Albania" Series



Illustration 3. Jordan Misja' Artistic High School. Source: Source: Michel Setboun, "Timeless Albania" Series



Illustration 3. The first urban development plan for Tirana after the war (1948-1952) was drafted by Gani Strazimiri. Source: Tiran the challenge of urban development, CO-PLAN 2003: Aliaj, Lulo, Myftiu.



Illustration 3. Albanian rural images. Source: Demos, John. (2008). Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.



Illustration 3. Source: Demos, John. (2008). Tirana Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.



Illustration 3. Escaping Albania, 1991. Source: Demos, John. (2008). Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.



Illustration 3. Source: Tirana Demos, John. (2008). Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.



Illustration 3. Shkoder. Source: Demos, John. (2008). Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.



Illustration 3. Tirana Kombinat neighborhood, Source: Demos, John. (2008). Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.



Illustration 3. Shkoder: Demos, John. (2008). Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.



Illustration 3. Tirana, Source: Demos, John. (2008). Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.



Illustration 3. Tirana. Source: Demos, John. (2008). Albania: Icons in the background 1990-1991. Apeiron.

Godiva RËMBECI, Armela REKA, Leonora HAXHIU

MIGRATION MOVEMENT AS A DRIVING FORCE TO THE GROWTH OF CITY'S URBANIZATION IN ALBANIA

Abstract

Migration means the movement of people from one place to another, but mostly migration is considered the demographic process that links rural to urban areas, contributing to the growth of cities' urbanization. From a demographic point of view, internal migration shows the rate of change in the territorial distribution of the population during a certain period and is an important factor in determining the size of the regional population's stock at the end of the period. Furthermore, migration, as part of the demographic evolution of the prefectures, is a decisive indicator of social changes, including urbanization. Migration and urbanization have a strong effect on the economy, such as changes in labor market opportunities, education, health, environment management, governance, etc. So to better manage the migration phenomenon, data on migration and urbanization are needed, but these data are not always available, especially in a systematic way. Since the '90s, ALBANIA has experienced huge external migration as well as massive internal migration flows. Compared to 1990, the current size of the resident population stock at the national level has decreased by about 12% due to emigration, accompanied by a decrease in the birth rate of about 65% and an increase in the death rate of 20%. Internal migration is identified as a major factor in the demographic changes of the ALBANIAN population at the regional level, bringing in extensive urbanization in a few areas and a drastic reduction of population in the majority of the others. Based on the official statistics, it is estimated that about 26% of the resident population has changed its place of birth during the last three decades in ALBANIA. The most dominant migration trend in ALBANIA after the 1990s has been rural to urban, or more accurately, the suburban areas closed to Tirana city. The rapid growth of urban migration makes it necessary to carry out studies that will help government authorities understand the impacts of migration on the population and cities. This paper contributes to the studies that explore the demographic changes of the Albanian population during the last decades, focusing on internal migration movements

and their impact on the urbanization of the cities. Data from the population's censuses of 2001 and 2011 and vital statistics published by INSTAT will be used as a source of information to measure and analyze the size and direction of inflow and outflow of internal migration among prefectures, as well as its impact on the growth rate of a city's urbanization. Analyses show that the trend of demographic indicators at the regional level follows a similar path as the indicators at the national level, raising the awareness of policymakers on the necessity of using demographic and migration data in policymaking to guarantee sustainable development both at the national and regional levels.

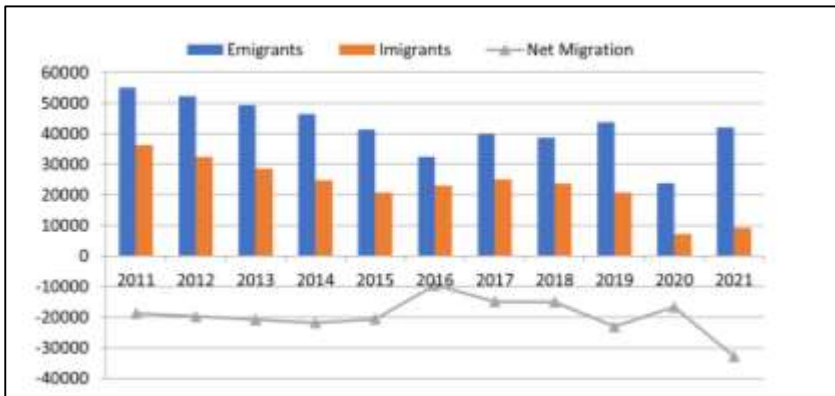
Key words: migration, demographic indicators, population census, vital statistics, urbanization

1. Introduction

According to the latest publication of the IOM (WMR 2022), the current global estimation of international migrants in the world is around 281 million in 2020, or about 3.6 percent of the global population, whereas the most recent estimation regarding internal migrants globally (UNDP 2009) was about 740 million, or 9.5% of the global population. Based on these figures, it is evident that the majority of people migrate within the countries, and so if the smallest areas are taken into account, the larger will be the number of migrants. The movement of population is linked with a lot of challenges faced both from migrants as well as for the government's authorities. Because internal migration appears to be an important factor in national and regional development, there is an urgent need to analyze various aspects of internal migration, such as the directions of migration flows, the migrants' reasons for moving, the migrants' characteristics, the social problems accompanying internal migration, etc. Since the 1990s, ALBANIA has experienced huge external migration as well as massive internal migration flows. International migration (emigration) is the most difficult component to measure in ALBANIA due to the lack of a population register; nevertheless, during the last decade, based on the "migrant module" introduced to the labor force survey conducted by INSTAT, limited data have been collected to make possible some estimations about external migration. Internal migration, as well as external migration, has brought a lot of changes in size and structure, especially for the prefecture's population. As the data shows, internal migration is an ongoing process

that has been increased over the years, so if in the first decades the rate of migrants was estimated at about 79 inhabitants per 1000 residents, currently this indicator is estimated at 111 per 1000 residents. Demographic changes in size and structure of population generate many problems associated with a high cost in many aspects, such as the economy (mostly to the labor market and production by limiting the economic capacity), environment, social, cultural, and infrastructure of the country.

Figure 1. International migration during 2011-2021



Source: Data from INSTAT, Calculation by authors

Table 1: Migration estimation by census data

Migration data by decades	Population	Movement internal Migration	Weights of migration	
			in%	c=b/a
1989	3,182,417	na		
2001	3,069,275	252,734	32%	8.2%
2011	2,905,195	228,952	29%	7.9%
2021	2,811,666	314,292	39%	11.2%
Total migration		795,978	100%	

Source: Data from INSTAT, Calculation by authors

2. Methodology

The research objective of this paper is to explore the demographic changes of the Albanian population during the last decades, with a focus on internal migration movements and its impact on the urbanization of the cities. As a methodology in this study, will be used, secondary data analyses. The main data sources are the official statistics published by INSTAT, in reference to the population's censuses of 2001,2011, vital statistics for the period 2014–2021 and results from Labor Force Surveys (LFS). The statistical indicators produced by the authors based on these data will be used to measure and analyze the demographic changes of the Albanian population, as well as the size and directions of internal migration's flow among prefectures and its impact on the growth rate of a city's urbanization. In addition, GIS methodology will be used for the production of high-quality visual representation maps focused on the results related to the internal migratory balance of the population at the prefecture's level. Descriptive analyses show that the trend of demographic indicators at the regional level follows a similar path as the indicators at the national level, raising the awareness of policymakers on the necessity of using demographic and migration data in policymaking to guarantee sustainable development both at the national and regional levels.

3. The Results

3.1 Current Situation of ALBANIA Population at National and Regional Level

The current resident population at the national level has decreased by about 12% due to emigration, accompanied by a decrease in birth rate of about 65% and an increase in death rate of 20% compared to 1990. Drastic structural demographic changes are very evident by group ages, so the young population currently represents about 16.5% of the total population compared with 33% in 1990, and the elder group has increased almost three times during the same period, from 5% to 15.5%. Following the changes in the structure of population by group-ages, dependency indicators clearly show that the total dependency indicator has reached its lowest level and continues to be so, and currently is

estimated at about 47, which means that for “every 100 economically active people, there are 47 inactive economic people,” and this situation is called the “demographic dividend” for the national and regional economies.

Table 2. Basic demographic indicators of ALBANIAN population, 1979-2021

Population	1979	1989	2001	2011	2021
	Total				
Total in 000	2.590,5	3.180,4	3.069,3	2.905,2	2.811,6
Group-ages in %					
(0-14)	37,0	33,1	29,3	20,7	16.4%
(15-64)	57,8	61,6	63,2	68,0	68.1%
(65+)	5,3	5,3	7,5	11,3	15.5%
Total	100	100	100	100	100%
Dependency indicators					
Total dependency	73,1	62,2	58,3	47,1	47
Youth dependency	64,0	53,6	46,4	30,4	24
Elder dependency	9,1	8,6	11,9	16,7	23
Age					
mediane	20	23	27,1	33,5	38.2
average	25,2	26,7	30,2	35,2	39

Source: Data from INSTAT, calculations by author

However, it remains for the central and local government authorities to “take advantage” of this situation through efficient policies to support business development, job creation, and human capacity engagement in the labor market. In the meantime, the rest of the dependency indicators (youth and elder dependency) speak about the worsening of the situation in both cases for youth and elder groups. ALBANIA is facing a decline in the size of its young population due to emigration and a decrease in births, which will also bring in the near future a decrease in human capacities in the country. On the contrary, the elder dependency indicator currently shows an enormous increase after the 1990s, and if we also refer to the projection of the ALBANIAN population, this indicator will follow the same trend, so more attention and efforts are demanded by the

government authorities to take care of and guarantee better living conditions for this group of population. Other indicators supporting the fact that the ALBANIAN population has entered to the path of “aging” are the median and average age of the population, so from a very young population before the 1990s, (respectively 23 and 27 years old), currently these indicators are estimated at about 38 and 39 years old, or an increase of 91% and 55%.

Table 3. Prefecture’s population in decades in thousands

Prefecture	1989	2001	2011	2021	Index of changes
Berat	222.9	193.0	148.2	117.3	-47%
Dibër	226.3	189.9	142.6	111.6	-51%
Durrës	218.5	245.2	270.9	291.7	33%
Elbasan	357.5	362.7	304.9	262.7	-27%
Fier	379.3	382.5	322.8	282.2	-26%
Gjirokastrë	156.0	112.8	77.2	56.7	-64%
Korçë	311.4	265.2	229.2	199.7	-36%
Kukës	146.1	111.4	88.6	73.6	-50%
Lezhë	165.3	159.2	138.8	119.0	-28%
Shkodër	285.3	256.5	224.1	195.1	-32%
Tiranë	449.2	597.9	772.2	915.9	104%
Vlorë	264.6	193.0	185.7	186.3	-30%
Albania	3,182.4	3,069.3	2,905.2	2,811.7	-12%

Source: Data from INSTAT, calculation by authors

When it comes to the analyses of demographic changes at the regional level, in addition to the factors mentioned above (emigration, low birth rate, and high death rate), internal migration is still the major factor contributing to the shrinkage of the population and the drastic changes in the demographic structure of the population’s prefecture

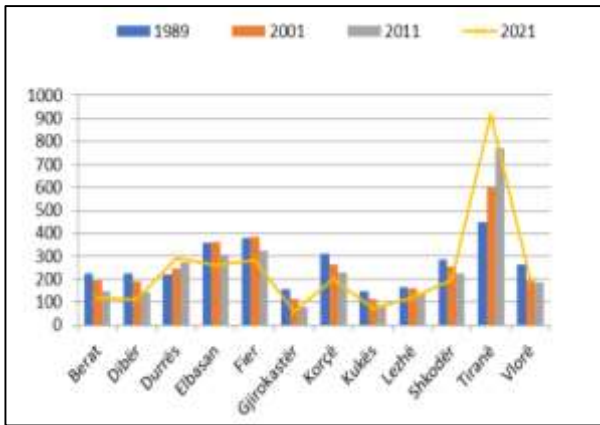


Figure 2. Prefecture’s population changes in decades (%)

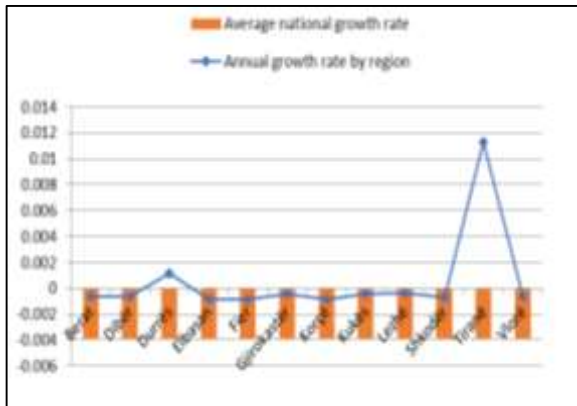


Figure 3. Prefecture’s contribution to total population (%)

Source: Data from INSTAT, calculation by authors

According to the official statistics, the size of the prefecture population has changed a lot, and almost all of them have faced a reduction in population after 90’s. The prefecture with the largest population decline (loss of population) is GJIROKASTRA, estimated at about -64%, followed by DIBER, KUKES, and BERAT, respectively at about (-50%) and (-47%). For the rest of the prefectures, the decline varies between 28% and 45%. These figures demonstrate indirectly that the prefectures with negative growth are “suffering” from all the factors described above, like emigration, internal migration, a low birth rate, and a high rate of death. The only prefectures with positive population

growth are TIRANA and DURRES, respectively estimated at 104% and 33%, compared to the 1990s. Also, the yearly growth rate of the prefecture population is following the same trend as the national population, so the lowest negative annual growth rate is estimated in ELBASAN prefecture at about -0.9% and the largest negative annual growth rate again in GJIROKASTER prefecture. TIRANA and DURRES prefectures are facing a positive annual growth rate of 3.5% and 1.1%, respectively. Although the population growth in TIRANA and DURRES prefectures (which together cover about 43% of the Albanian population), is positive one, the overall growth rate of ALBANIA's population is still negative due to the negative contribution of the population's growth in the rest of the prefectures.

3.2 Data Analysis of Internal Migration and its Impact to Population Changes.

As mentioned above, international and internal migration is identified as a major factor in demographic changes of the population both at the national and regional level and has also brought extensive urbanization in a few areas and a drastic reduction of population in the majority of others. Meanwhile, internal migration from the theoretical point of view appears in several forms, such as rural to urban migration, urban to urban migration, rural to rural migration, and urban to rural migration (IOM, Glossary, 2011). In addition, internal migration shows firstly the rate of change of the population's territorial distribution during a certain period, and secondly, in absolute terms, migration impacts the volume size of the population stock in both directions, increase or decrease of the population. Although the internal migration flow movements can be described in two dimensions (spatial and temporal), this paper will focus only on the spatial dimension, which refers to the movement of population among prefectures. Keeping in mind all the above-mentioned dimensions, we can conclude that migration is an important part of the demographic evolution of the prefectures as well as an indicator of social changes, including urbanization. But the diversity of migration flows is not easy to measure and describe. In the case of ALBANIA, internal migration appears more like the first two forms: rural to urban and urban to urban. However, the more detailed the administrative areas taken into account for detailed analyses, the greater

the number of migrants. The internal migratory flows are not only between the prefectures but also between the villages and the city of the same prefecture. The most dominant migration trend in ALBANIA after the 1990s has been rural to urban, or more accurately, the suburban areas closed to Tirana city. According to the official statistics, it is estimated that about 800,000 people, or almost 30% of the resident population, have changed their place of birth during the last three decades in ALBANIA. As estimated by the data, internal migration is an ongoing process, and its weight in the population stock has been increased considerably in the last decade. The rapid growth of urban migration makes it necessary to carry out studies that will help government authorities understand the impacts of migration on the population and cities.

Table 4. Internal migration according to the type of flows

Prefecture	Migrants inflow			Prefecture	Migrants outflow		
	1989-2001	2001-2011	2014-2021		1989-2001	2001-2011	2014-2021
Berat	4,260	8,104	10,402	Berat	25,675	21,255	24,199
Dibër	1,682	4,646	8,568	Dibër	49,084	37,034	28,514
Durrës	44,859	34,059	45,248	Durrës	7,288	10,481	25,372
Elbasan	6,766	9,357	18,675	Elbasan	26,645	24,381	31,553
Fier	21,343	16,037	28,333	Fier	16,536	25,660	38,563
Gjirokastrë	2,686	2,839	7,963	Gjirokastrë	17,098	15,422	16,913
Korçë	5,874	6,989	14,012	Korçë	23,469	18,794	25,648
Kukës	1,039	1,971	5,504	Kukës	43,178	23,117	15,124
Lezhë	10,697	13,810	17,245	Lezhë	11,945	10,256	21,215
Shkodër	3,815	9,170	12,775	Shkodër	19,408	17,614	19,318
Tiranë	136,576	112,180	125,549	Tiranë	6,351	11,939	46,552
Vlorë	13,147	9,790	20,018	Vlorë	6,057	12,999	21,321
Albania	252,744	228,952	314,292	Albania	252,734	228,952	314,292

Source: Data from INSTAT census 2001, 2011, labor force survey data 2021, calculations by authors

The detailed analyses of the migratory movement's data for the first decade, 1989–2001, show that: (1) about 253 thousand people, or 8% of the population, have changed their place of birth during the period of

1989 to 2001, (2) DIBRA and KUKES are prefectures with the largest outflow of migrants, respectively, 19% and 17%, while VLORE, TIRANA, and DURRES prefectures have the lowest outflow, respectively, for about 2% and 3% of the total outflow. (3) TIRANA, as the capital of the country, is the prefecture that has hosted 54% of the total outflow, followed by DURRES prefecture with about 18%.

Table 5. Internal Migration movements among prefectures, 1989-2001

Prefecture departure	Prefecture Destination 1989-2001													2001
	Berat	Dibër	Durrës	Elbasan	Fier	Gjirokastrë	Korçë	Kukës	Lezhë	Shkodër	Tiranë	Vlorë	Total Outflow	
Berat	-	97	4,241	951	5,824	1,034	1,148	348	164	529	8,773	2,567	25,675	10%
Dibër	72	-	10,997	964	1,144	47	116	153	2,134	281	32,898	278	49,084	19%
Durrës	51	62	-	149	221	38	232	18	902	108	5,397	110	7,288	3%
Elbasan	826	64	5,191	-	5,618	197	2,313	38	197	105	11,076	1,020	26,645	11%
Fier	1,881	117	2,042	1,201	-	443	444	39	126	65	7,560	2,618	16,536	7%
Gjirokastrë	600	5	1,817	182	2,074	-	705	15	30	85	7,634	3,960	17,098	7%
Korçë	324	31	3,718	2,170	1,545	272	-	8	99	44	13,848	1,410	23,469	9%
Kukës	42	287	6,728	79	1,489	47	117	-	1,106	1,285	31,769	229	43,178	17%
Lezhë	62	361	3,390	184	693	38	163	79	-	1,137	5,522	316	11,945	5%
Shkodër	47	543	2,670	79	726	30	180	223	5,758	-	8,892	260	19,408	8%
Tiranë	142	81	3,647	667	632	139	309	95	138	122	-	379	6,351	3%
Vlorë	213	34	418	140	1,377	401	147	23	43	54	3,207	-	6,057	2%
Total Inflow	4,260	1,682	44,859	6,766	21,343	2,686	5,874	1,039	10,697	3,815	136,576	13,147	252,734	100%
	1.7%	0.7%	17.7%	2.7%	8.4%	1.1%	2.3%	0.4%	4.2%	1.5%	54.0%	5.2%	100%	

Source: Data from INSTAT, Census 2001

(4) From these data, we identify that the outflow of migrants is addressed in two major directions, composing in fact two types of migration flows: (a) to TIRANA, as the capital city of the country, or so-called long-distance migration flow, coming both from northern and southern prefectures, and (b) to coastal cities, or so-called short-distance, such as DURRES, FIER, and VLORE, proving again that movement migration within the country is following the same path as global migration.

(5) Analyses in terms of migratory balance at the prefecture level during 1989–2001 show that the more detailed the administrative division is taken into account, the greater the scale of migration. The internal migratory flows are not only between the prefectures but also between the districts of the same prefecture, between communes, and between the villages and the city. (Migration movement in ALBANIA, INSTAT, 2001).

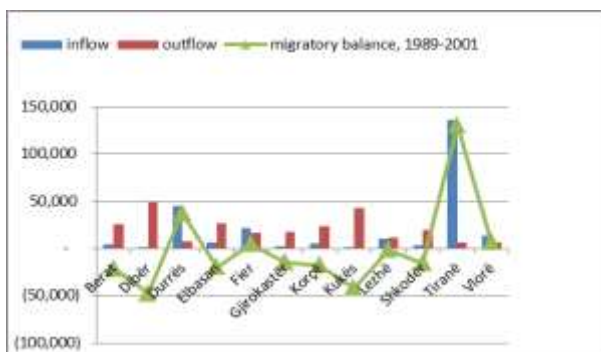


Figure 4. Migratory balance, 1989-2001(in 000)

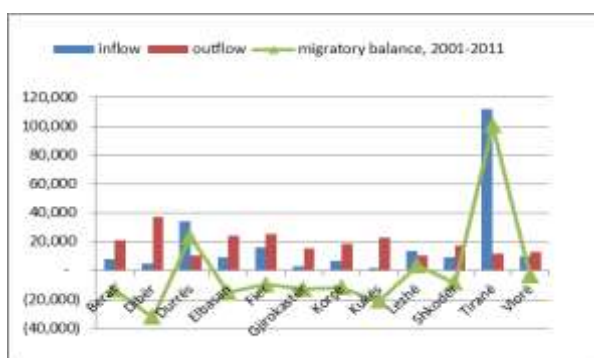


Figure 5. Migratory balance, 2001-2011(in 000)

Source: Data from INSTAT, census 2001,2011

In addition, from census data, it is evident that four prefectures have a positive migratory balance, and TIRANA is the prefecture with the largest positive balance, covering more than 50% of total inflow. DURRES is in second place in terms of benefiting from the migrants' inflow from other areas of the country, estimated at about 15%, followed by FIER at 4% and VLORA at 2%. (6) The rest of the prefectures have a negative migratory balance, and the largest negative migratory balance is identified at DIBRA prefecture with 19% of the total outflow, followed by KUKES prefecture with 17% of the total outflow. (7) The respective prefectures with the largest negative migratory balance are also the prefectures that have lost the most of their prefecture's population; more concretely, this indicator for KUKES and DIBER is estimated at about

30% and 22%, followed by BERAT with 12% and GJIROKASTER by 11%.

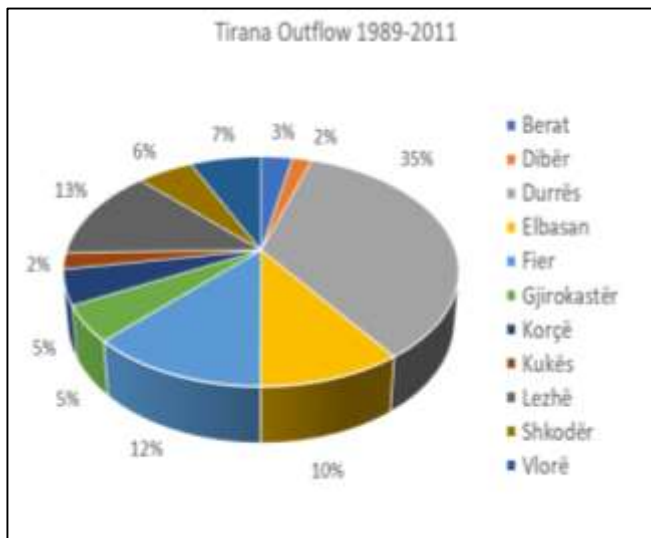


Figure 6. TIRANA inflow, 1989-2001

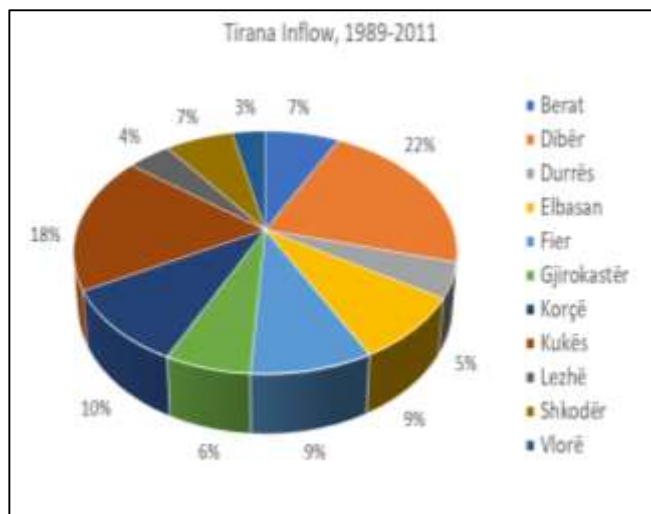


Figure 7. TIRANA outflow, 2001-2011

Source: Data from INSTAT

(8) TIRANA, as the largest prefecture of the country where the capital is located, has benefited the most from the internal migration movement. It is interesting to show that in terms of inflow, the majority of it is coming from the northern prefectures, estimated at about 58% of the total inflow, while from the southern prefectures it is estimated at about 24%, and from the central prefectures it is about 18%. Meanwhile, the structure of outflow from TIRANA is completely different compared to the structure of inflow. So, 57% of the outflow is moved to DURRES prefecture, followed by prefectures ELBASAN and FIER, respectively, at 11% and 10%. The observed phenomenon of outward migration from TIRANA might perhaps be attributed to two key factors: the closeness of DURRËS to TIRANA and its advantageous seaside position. DURRËS has significant prominence as a port city and serves as a highly sought-after tourist destination, drawing the attention of both people and enterprises seeking prospects outside the capital city. Internal migration during the second decade (2001–2011) in volume terms is estimated at about 230 thousand people, or a decrease of 9.4% compared with the first decade after 1990. The majority of the people who have been displaced from their settlements of residence during 1990–2001 have moved towards urban areas, where again, TIRANA, as the capital of the country, and its surrounding areas are hosting more than 49% of migrants' inflow, contributing almost everywhere as a factor of urbanization. It's interesting to observe that during the second decade of 2001–2011, after 90', the most attractive areas for internal migrants were the areas around the urban centers, such as the case of TIRANA and its administrative units like FARKA, DAJT, and KASHAR, which, according to the data published by INSTAT, recorded significant population growth that almost tripled. (Migration movement in ALBANIA, INSTAT, 2011). The trend and directions of migration look almost the same as described above, but the figures represent slight changes. Detailed analyses must be developed in order to better understand the population's behavior, although the economic reasons for better living conditions remain the main driving force behind migration. So again, the majority of outflow is coming from the northern prefectures like DIBRA and KUKES, but the size of outflow has decreased, respectively, by -25% and -46%.

Table 6. Internal Migration movements among prefectures, 2001-2011

Prefecture	INTERNAL MIGRATION MOVEMENT AMONG PREFECTURES, 2001-2011												Total Inflow	
	Berat	Dibër	Durrës	Elbasan	Fier	Gjrokastër	Korçë	Kukës	Lezhë	Shkodër	Tiranë	Vlorë		
Berat	-	283	154	673	2,123	398	636	450	59	58	418	2,852	8,104	4%
Dibër	569	-	154	774	1,168	816	280	205	173	102	265	140	4,646	2%
Durrës	3,098	10,064	-	4,772	2,045	1,066	2,055	3,649	2,160	1,978	2,791	381	34,059	15%
Elbasan	664	534	362	-	1,418	194	2,320	717	345	1,384	1,141	278	9,357	4%
Fier	3,023	588	339	2,084	-	2,384	808	1,685	225	443	1,626	2,832	16,037	7%
Gjrokastër	401	177	69	134	529	-	220	92	65	85	780	287	2,839	1%
Korçë	609	624	241	2,258	964	194	-	430	190	428	588	463	6,989	3%
Kukës	102	255	117	95	212	99	102	-	181	409	326	73	1,971	1%
Lezhë	1,152	1,936	868	2,230	315	161	392	356	-	4,016	2,241	143	13,810	6%
Shkodër	421	1,046	1,881	416	718	581	475	945	1,356	-	869	462	9,170	4%
Tiranë	9,811	21,279	6,048	10,120	13,968	7,527	10,985	13,965	5,230	8,159	-	5,088	112,180	49%
Vlorë	1,405	248	248	825	2,200	2,002	521	623	272	552	894	-	9,790	4%
Total Outflow	21,255	37,034	10,481	24,381	25,660	15,422	18,794	23,117	10,256	17,614	11,939	12,999	228,952	100%
	9%	16%	5%	11%	11%	7%	8%	10%	4%	8%	5%	6%	100%	

Source: Data from INSTAT, census 2011

There has been a considerable increase in migrants outflowing from FIER prefecture by more than 55% compared to the previous decade, while the rest of the prefectures have had slight changes. It's interesting to mention that the outflow from TIRANA and VLORA prefectures has increased by 88% and 115% in the last decade, compared with the previous one. The majority of outflow, about 49%, is directed to TIRANA prefecture, and other prefectures that have "benefited" the most from the outflow are DURRES, FIER, and LEZHE prefectures, with 15%, 7%, and 6% of the total outflow. Regarding the migratory balance by prefecture again, TIRANA and D DURRES continue to have a positive migratory balance, but in addition, this decade also, LEZHA prefecture has registered a positive migratory balance compared to the negative one of the previous decades. Meanwhile, the positive migratory balance of TIRANA and DURRES prefectures decreased, respectively, by -23% and -37%. The largest negative migratory balance is identified in DIBRA prefecture, but nevertheless, in volume terms, it has decreased by 32% compared to the previous decade. Other prefectures with a large negative migratory balance are KUKES and ELBASAN, but again, these balances have been reduced compared with the previous period by -50% and -24%. Migration's data for the last decade, 2014–2021, are "produced" as estimations based mainly on data collected from the migration module of the labor force survey combined with population projection rates for 2011–3031. According to the data, in volume terms,

(in reference to table nr 4, migration flow 2014-2021) the total migration is estimated at about 314 thousand people, or an increase of 37% compared to the last census in 2011. The reasons behind this situation need to be further investigated, especially analyses linked with migration outflow's directions. What's visible by the figures is the fact that "contribution" is due to the order's change of prefectures in migrant's outflow coming not from northern and southern prefectures as happened during the two first decades, but from TIRANA prefecture with about 46 thousand migrants, or an increase of three times compared to 2011. Also, prefectures in the central part of ALBANIA, such as ELBASAN and FIER, have a considerable increase in these outflows of about 30% and 50%, respectively, in comparison with the last census. Coastal prefectures like DURRES and VLORA also surprisingly have an outflow increase of 1.4 times and 64%. From the point of view of the incoming flow, TIRANA still remains the prefecture that "absorbs" most of the migrants, estimated at about 40% of the total inflow, followed by DURRES and FIER, respectively at 14% and 9% of the total inflow. It's also interesting to mention that during this decade an increase in the number of inflows has been noticed in the northern prefectures, such as DIBER, KUKES, almost doubled, and SHKODER, by about 40%. Also, an increase in the numbers of incoming migrants is noticed in the southern prefectures of the country, such as GJIROKASTRA, by two times more compared to the last census in 2011.

As described above, the size and direction of internal migration flows vary among prefectures from census to census, although they maintain the same development trends. Keeping in mind that population stock at prefecture level is impacted both by natural increases and internal and external migratory movements, it's important to underline those descriptive analyses so far have been focused on internal migratory flows and their impact on the population's changes. Based on the data for each decade, the migratory movement and the migratory balance are calculated for the entire period 1989–2021 (ref. table 7). In addition, estimations of the population's changes and evaluations of the migratory balance's impact on the population's changes at the prefecture level are performed. With the hypothesis that "the trend of natural increase is almost the same in all prefectures", what makes the difference among prefectures in terms of impact on the population's changes is the size of

the outflow and its direction from the point of view of an internal outflow or an external one. Based only on the size of the impact’s indicator of the population’s changes, the prefectures can be grouped as follows: (a) prefectures with this indicator up to 50% (b) prefectures with an indicator greater than 50% up to 100%, and (c) prefectures with this indicator greater than 100%.

The preliminary estimations and results on the “contribution” of migratory movement to the population’s changes are presented in the following table, showing that:

- On average, 49% of the population's changes at the prefecture level are due to internal migratory balance, but the figures vary a lot among prefectures.
- Only DURRES and TIRANA prefectures have a positive internal migratory balance; the rest of the prefectures have a negative one.

Figure 8. Migratory balance, ALBANIA 1989-2001, 2001-2011, 2014-2021

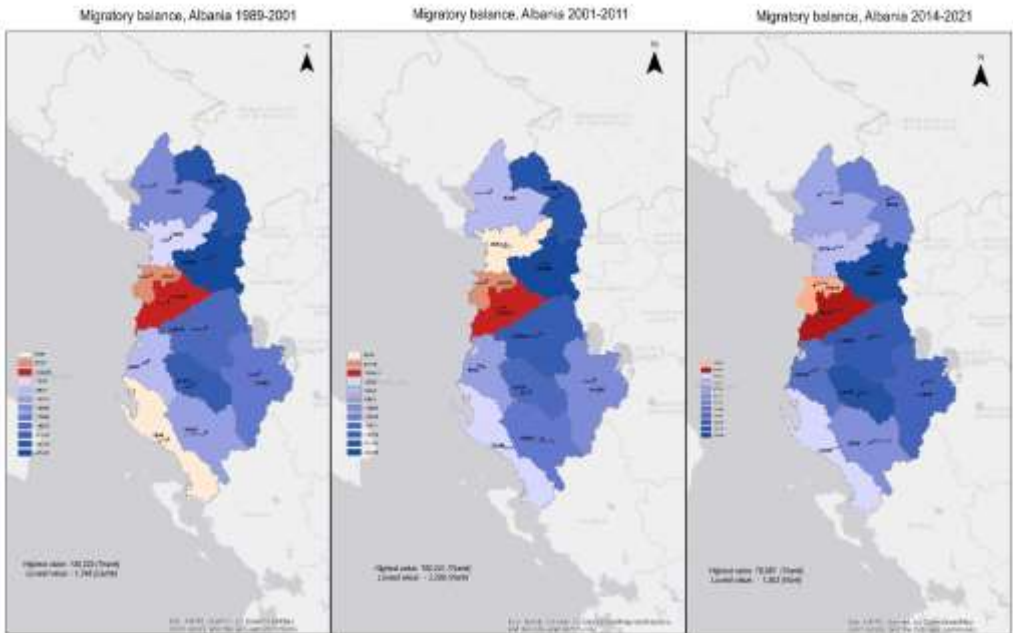


Table 7. Impact of internal migration to the prefecture’s population
Source: Authors

Prefecture	Migratory balance				Population changes 1989-2021	internal migration to change of
	1989-2001	2001-2011	2014-2021	1989-2021		
Berat	(21,415)	(13,151)	(13,797)	(48,363)	(105,651)	46%
Dibër	(47,402)	(32,388)	(19,946)	(99,736)	(114,690)	87%
Durrës	37,571	23,578	19,876	81,025	73,147	111%
Elbasan	(19,879)	(15,024)	(12,878)	(47,781)	(94,818)	50%
Fier	4,807	(9,623)	(10,230)	(15,046)	(97,134)	15%
Gjirokastrë	(14,412)	(12,583)	(8,950)	(35,945)	(99,343)	36%
Korçë	(17,595)	(11,805)	(11,636)	(41,036)	(111,700)	37%
Kukës	(42,139)	(21,146)	(9,620)	(72,905)	(72,503)	101%
Lezhë	(1,248)	3,554	(3,970)	(1,664)	(46,274)	4%
Shkodër	(15,593)	(8,444)	(6,543)	(30,580)	(90,166)	34%
Tiranë	130,225	100,241	78,997	309,463	466,622	66%
Vlorë	7,090	(3,209)	(1,303)	2,578	(78,241)	-3%

Source: Data from INSTAT, calculation by authors

1. Each of the above-mentioned groups has its own characteristics. The majority of prefectures in the first group, with an impact's indicator of internal movement up to 50%, are located in the southern and eastern parts of ALBANIA. Within this group, the level of this indicator varies a lot, so the lowest value is identified in VLORA prefecture for about 3% (although the migratory balance is a positive one), followed by LEZHA prefecture (with a negative migratory balance) for about 4%. The common characteristic for this group of prefectures is the dominance of external movement flow compared to the internal one; therefore, the size of outflow migrants directed abroad is larger than the size of internal migrants' outflow. As a result, the majority of the population's changes are due to emigration abroad.

2. As part of the second group are four other prefectures, of which 50% are represented by the northern prefectures (DIBER and KUKES), with impact's indicators of internal movement being 87% and 101%, respectively. The common characteristic for this group of prefectures is the dominance of the outflow of internal migrants compared to the external movement flow; therefore, the majority of the population's changes are due to internal migration movements. Meanwhile, in DURRES prefecture, although there is a positive balance of internal

migration movement, population growth has been negatively affected by the flow of emigration abroad.

Finally, it's important to underline that although the above-mentioned findings demonstrate some interesting changes in terms of the direction of migrants' movements and their impact on the population's changes, these are preliminary results and should be verified and updated with the next population census's data in September 2023.

3.3 Impact of Migration to the Urbanization Growth, Tirana City Example

The phenomenon of migrant movements also exerts influence on the process of urbanization within a nation, leading to the growth and advancement of cities and towns. Urbanization is a prevailing worldwide phenomenon that has been in motion for an extended period and has seen heightened momentum in recent decades, as shown by migration statistics.

All migrants are faced with the same problem: their integration into the local labor market. In contrast to the arguments of neoclassical theory, internal migration in ALBANIA has contributed to the concentration of the young labor force of the country, giving rise to major demographic and economic pressure in very limited parts of the country, as well as creating a large brain drain and aging of the population in the prefectures of origin. (Migration movement in ALBANIA, INSTAT, 2011). The concentration of businesses and employment opportunities in metropolitan areas can cause rural populations to migrate to larger cities in search of employment, healthcare, and other amenities. Urbanization has both positive and negative effects. Urbanization has been associated with some favorable outcomes, such as enhanced job prospects, disparities in access to services, and the nexus of innovation and creativity. In addition to the beneficial impacts, there are also negative consequences that should be considered. These negative effects include pressure on existing infrastructure, leading to several challenges, including but not limited to insufficient housing, transportation congestion, inadequate sewage systems, environmental problems, and social challenges.

Various metrics are used to assess the degree of urbanization, including the measurement of urban expansion rates and the proportion

of a population residing in urban areas. The indicators of urbanization include population proportion, growth rate, density, city size distribution, infrastructure development, land use transformation, economic activity, housing conditions, and the labor force. These measures help assess the pace of urbanization, the distribution of city sizes, land use transformation, economic activity, housing conditions, and the proportion of non-agricultural activities in metropolitan prefectures. The growth rate of the urban population is a crucial indicator for assessing the pace of urbanization within specific prefectures. Based on data from INSTAT using the Nuts 3 classification, it is apparent that the city of Tirana stands out as a striking example of urbanization, with an overwhelmingly urban population of only 11.5%. In contrast, most other prefectures in ALBANIA, like Berat, DIBËR, ELBASAN, and KUKËS, are predominantly rural, with rural populations exceeding 50% and in some cases, even reaching over 70%.

Table 8. Nuts-3-in-ALBANIA-by-urban-rural-typology.

Category	% of Rural Population		
	1-19%	20-45%	46-75%
Predominantly rural			Berat, Diber, Elbasan, Fier, Gjirokaster Korce, Kukes, Lezhe, Shkoder
Intermediate		Durres, Vlore	
Predominantly urban	Tirana		

Source: Data from INSTAT

This data highlights the significant rural-to-urban migration and urban concentration occurring in Tirana, setting it apart from other prefectures in ALBANIA where rural life still predominates. In the context of urbanization in TIRANA, the city is partitioned into several administrative entities, with discernible disparities in population density. Out of the units under consideration, roughly six may be classified as highly inhabited places, and five units can be categorized as intermediate density areas. Densely inhabited prefectures, such as DAJT, KAMEZ, KASHAR, PASKUQAN, FARKE, and TIRANE, exemplify significant urbanization and concentrated population concentrations inside the city. In contrast, the intermediate-density prefectures, such as BERXULLE, PEZË, VAQARR, VORE, ZALL HERR and other similar units, have a

somewhat lower population density while nevertheless indicating the presence of urban growth. The distribution observed in this study serves to highlight the varied urbanization trends and population concentrations that exist among the several administrative entities within the city of TIRANA.

Table 9. Local administrative units by degree of urbanization

Region	District	Densely populated areas	Intermediate density areas	Thinly populated areas
Number of units		6	5	8
TIRANË	TIRANË	DAJT, KAMËZ, KASHAR, PASKUQAN, FARKË, TIRANË	BËRXULLË, PEZË, VAQARR, VORË, ZALL HERR	BALDUSHK, BËRZHITË, NDROQ, PETRELË, PREZË, SHËNGJERGJ, ZALL BASTAR, KËRRABË

Source: Data from INSTAT

Keeping in mind migration data analysis and the current state of TIRANA, it is evident that the city has seen several transformations throughout its history. The aforementioned values, together with internal migration and a steady but consistent improvement in the quality of life, have contributed to population expansion. Consequently, there is an increasing need for new structures, particularly in the residential sector. An examination and comparison of the historical development of TIRANA reveals a notable inclination towards horizontal expansion.

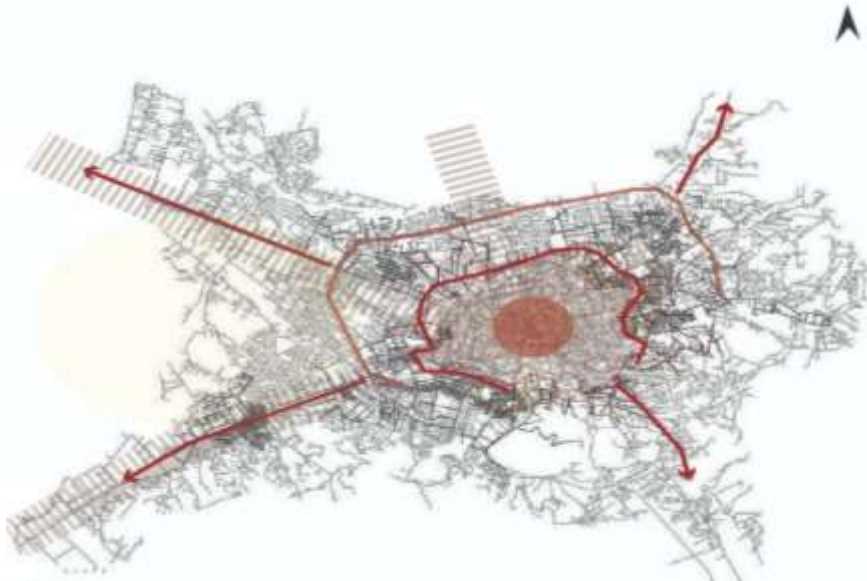


Figure 9. Growth of TIRANA

Source: Authors

In the architectural typologies observed in the city prior to the past two decades, low-rise structures consisting of 1-2 floors predominated. However, as the population increased, the verticality of buildings began to rise, coinciding with the expansion of TIRANA into previously undeveloped areas. The construction of structures in these specific prefectures did not adhere to a predetermined plan but rather relied on the existing road infrastructure and the demand for housing, resulting in the formation of informal settlements. The authors have provided a map illustrating the progressive growth of TIRANA over the years.

As for the degree of urbanization in TIRANA, about 6 administrative units are identified as areas with high density, and 6 units are areas with medium density. (Table 9). The process of rapid urbanization in TIRANA has resulted in both favorable and unfavorable consequences. The following are a few ways of assessing the impact of fast urbanization in TIRANA.

Firstly, some positive impacts that may be seen. The phenomenon of fast urbanization in TIRANA has played a significant role in fostering

economic development in the country of ALBANIA. The urban area functions as the primary hub for economic and financial activities inside the nation, drawing in enterprises, capital investments, and job prospects. This phenomenon has resulted in an elevation of the quality of life for several inhabitants.

Infrastructure Development: The process of urbanization has resulted in notable advancements in infrastructure, including the establishment of standardized roadways, bridges, and transportation systems. The completion of this infrastructure project has resulted in improved connectivity both within the city and between other prefectures of ALBANIA.

Cultural and educational opportunities: The process of urbanization within the city has led to the creation and development of cultural institutions, educational establishments, and entertainment venues. The local populace benefits from a diverse array of cultural and educational resources.

Enhanced provision of services: The process of urbanization has facilitated the growth and development of public services, including healthcare, education, and public transportation. The aforementioned enhancements have had a beneficial impact on the overall well-being of several inhabitants.

Negative Impacts: The phenomenon of *traffic congestion* has emerged as a consequence of the rapid urbanization process, which has resulted in a notable surge in vehicular volume on roadways. The urban area has had difficulties effectively managing its transportation infrastructure in order to accommodate the rapid increase in population.

Housing challenges: The urbanization phenomenon in TIRANA has resulted in a surge in housing demand, thus causing a rise in property prices and a scarcity of available housing units. The environmental impact of urban growth has resulted in the alteration of green spaces and agricultural land, raising worries over the depletion of natural landscapes and biodiversity. The prioritization of managing urban expansion and conserving natural spaces has emerged as a significant concern. The increasing water and energy needs of an urbanized population may place significant pressure on existing resources and infrastructure. Rapid urbanization in TIRANA has resulted in the proliferation of informal settlements, also known as colonies or

shantytowns, which are primarily located on the city's periphery. This phenomenon is not unique to TIRANA but rather widespread in swiftly urbanizing prefectures worldwide. The proliferation of informal settlements may be attributed to the dearth of affordable formal housing options for individuals with low incomes. As a result, occupants are compelled to build improvised structures, resulting in a lack of essential infrastructure such as pure water and sanitation facilities. The presence of these communities frequently occurs in a legally ambiguous setting, giving rise to the possibility of legal conflicts and fostering a sense of unease among the inhabitants. Individuals residing in these enclaves frequently experience socioeconomic disadvantages, which manifest as barriers to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities. Various initiatives have been initiated to enhance the living circumstances in informal settlements by means of infrastructure enhancements and housing programs. However, effective resolution of these complex issues requires the application of tailored solutions.

4. Conclusions and discussions

- Internal and external migratory movements in ALBANIA are still determining factors in the size of the resident population's stock and its demographic and structural changes. The internal migratory flows are not only between the prefectures but also between the districts of the same prefecture, between communes, and between villages and the city, so the national pattern of migration movements follows the same path as the global ones.

- While about 800,000 Albanian citizens have moved from one prefecture to another during the last three decades, the migration flows between districts and municipalities within the prefectures account for a larger number.

- The main driving force behind migrant's flow is the necessity to improve livelihoods in all aspects, which brings in particular a large-scale urbanization of some areas and a drastic depopulation of others.

- The main direction of internal migrants' flow, coming both from northern and southern prefectures, was and continues to be, towards the country center. This population displacement has brought two drastic demographic changes: (a) the loss of population in northern and southern

prefectures, estimated on average at about 34% compared with the country's population of 90's, and (b) the huge integration problems of new migrants in Tirana.

- In addition, the yearly growth rate of migration flows increased during the last decades, and the country is actually facing the same positive trend of migration movement, estimated at about 1.1%, or an increase of 45% compared with the second decade.

- Migration and the "aging" of the population represent the main features of the resident population in most of the prefectures of ALBANIA, and as estimated also by population projections, these features will determine the demographic profile of the population in future decades.

- Urbanization is a complex phenomenon directly related to population movement. A phenomenon that is followed by positive and negative effects. The consequences of urbanization are felt in social, economic, and environmental aspects. Urbanization in the city of Tirana has had positive impacts on the large concentration of businesses, increasing the country's economy and making it the attractive pole of the population, infrastructure development, and cultural diversity, but at the same time, it has also brought challenges in housing, the creation of informal settlements, social inequality, the need for services, and traffic on city streets.

5. Recommendations

- Increasing the knowledge of migration patterns in ALBANIA is an important element for policymakers to ensure the sustainability of the social and economic development of the country.

- The main instrument to guarantee this is the need to set up administrative and statistical databases at the municipality level, together with the building of human capacities and the necessary infrastructure for data source management.

- The connection of data with the territory has become a necessity for decision-making at the local and central levels.

- Current and future expected demographic changes, such as population decline, structural changes in the population, an increase in

life expectancy, and population aging, should be taken into account in the design of territorial development policies, along with other challenges such as rising rates of urbanization, increasing demand for housing, "emptying" of rural areas, etc.

- Finally, it's important to underline that the migratory movement results are preliminary and should be updated with the next population census's data of September 2023 and with household survey's data focused on migration phenomena in order to better identify and analyze the behavior of Albanian households in relation to migration phenomena.

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REVIEWS

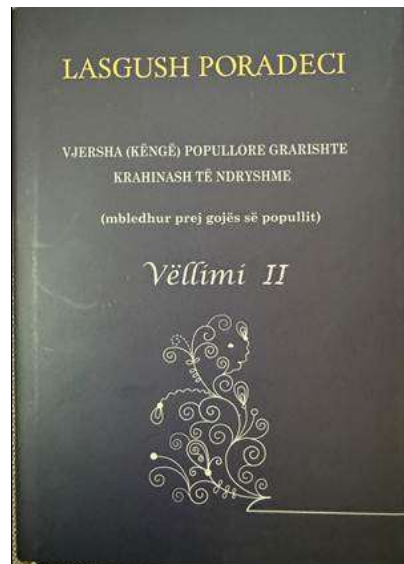
Lasgush Poradeci: Folk songs collected from people' mouth in Pogradec, Dardhë, Labëri, Myzeqe and other regions in the '30 and afterwards.

Tirana 2023. In 4 volumes, 920 pages

This volume was prepared for publication by Lasgush Poradeci's two "crown" daughters, Maria and Konstantina. The book is subdivided in four volumes with nearly 920 pages and it contains over 700 songs. Each volume starts with a collector's note and Mrs. Maria Poradeci's introduction. The first volume contains women songs collected in Pogradec and in Korça, the second songs from the region of Labëria and Myzeqeja and songs from other regions (including the North).

The publication of folk songs collected by Lasgush Poradeci is a revelation of great significance not only for folklore researchers but for linguists and anthropologists as well. Lasgush Poradeci's collection has typological songs, different from those of Franciscan collectors of the '30 who casted their attention mainly to epic, heroic and legendary songs; the same applies to collectors of the second half of the 20th century, who pursued critical-selective methods, both in the thematological aspect and in the level of folklore types and sub-types.

Lasgush Poradeci addresses primarily lyrical songs of all types: love songs, songs of marriage abduction, wedding songs, then religious lyrics from songs of religious christian celebrations up to sacramental songs. The "Poet of the Lake" has collected also children play-songs which are



similar to memory exercises. Unlike puritan collectors of both periods, Lasgush Poradeci has not left aside songs with loose texts; he has not censored words from Albanian habitat; neither has he excluded historic songs, which at times have been considered non-patriotic, as the songs that pay tribute to the loyalty of King officers in performing their duty to suppress the rebellion led by Et'hem Toto, which was labelled as 'putchist'.

Folk songs, especially those from Pogradeci and Dardha regions were collected largely from women; this is why they are called women songs. Unlike other song collectors, in principle Poradeci has preferred to place songs in an order based on the individual repertoire of song interpreters (Nafije Topçiu, the niece of poet Loge Egumeni and others) giving more credits to them rather than the author. That is why ranking here does not observe any precise thematic – gender rule; the songs follow one another after their poet's registration sequence in the '30.

The letter exchange with Mitrush Kuteli while collecting the folklore of Dardha region shows that apparently Lasgush Poradeci bore in mind not only their publication, but also conducting ethno-folkloric studies on them, their authors and the source regions in order to publish them afterwards in the Newspaper "Shqipëria e re" (New Albania) in Konstanca (Romania).

The folk songs from Dardha region were collected within a few days in 1931 according to the dates that the collector mentions at their end.

This volume does also contain a cycle of songs from Labëria and Myzeqeja, which lacks neither the detailed data on the author nor the collection time. The principle followed by the poet in transcribing the texts is loyalty to their author in spelling, including the cases of wrong spelling with an ambiguous meaning. The historic and legendary songs collected by the poet are important in making comparisons in later publications, since censorship would have occurred due to ideological and religious reasons.

For a long time, i.e. for almost half a century, Lasgush Poradeci was harshly criticized for "staying away from the people, for locking up in the "Ivory Tower" and off the struggle". In the last three decades, critical remarks turned into praises: "he wrote esoteric poetry and uncovered the human spirit". Yet, for them he remained in silence the same Poradeci, with his symbolism and modernity, irrelevant to folk tradition and line

groups, because he did not recognize and did not have any respect for them.

The two volumes with women songs from Korça region, from Southern Coastline, Labëria, Myzeqeja and other regions published by the Academy of Sciences are the most steadfast defiance and evidence for the opposite. Poradeci named them women songs not only because they were sung by women or since they were their exclusive own repertoire, but because he picked them up from largely well-known women and with kinship relations in Dardhë, Korçë and Pogradec, in the Southern Coastline, Vlorë and Gjirokastër, in Myzeqe and elsewhere. Our poet of lyrical spirit, landscapes and Naimian code did not make expeditions as ethnologists do, but he used his trips and vacations to collect songs from the people's mouth.

Unlike the school of francescans who dealt with heroic, legendary and historic songs (to a certain extent also with the ritual-calendar Christmas carols on the day of Pentecost) not because there was no lyrics in the northern areas (sufficient to recall the cycle of songs of bride marriage and the Good Night of Qadr), but since that lyrics went beyond their interest, Lasgush Poradeci collected above all lyrics: erotic, love, abduction, betrayal, flirt and wedding.

In this sense, Poradeci is a school on his own. Thanks to this collection, he restored the balance in folk poetry, proving in this way that it was lacking only what it could not be collected – erotic poetry which continued to remain almost a taboo even in the second half of the 20th century, as it was deemed as unvirtuous, lacking dignity and incompatible with the moral order. But for Poradec, the most important was loyalty to the folk word. If the folk has not failed to sing to each and every part of body, then the collector should also have them in this anthology. Lasgushi casted away the linguistic shyness excluding no word from his collection. He goes even further by collecting even the song of a raped german girl in a village in Korça, certainly not to legitimate it, but just because the song by itself sounds beautiful.

With his collection, Lasgush Poradeci pulls down boundaries and restrictions everywhere: he collects songs for the holy - Lazarus and Saint Spyridon; instead of the anonymous son -in -law (this x or that N.N in the songs collected later on) he puts his own name; the boys and girls in love lyrics bear given and at times even family names; Princess

Sophia much controversial due to Princ Wied is praised for beauty and virtue; the rebel upriser E'them Toto and the Majesty are sung in an equally the same way; the European look of the Korça girl (with a hat and perfume, with fashion skirts and high – heel shoes) is viewed as a pattern of beauty. Bilingual songs are not missing either, in Albanian and in Greek, however not separately but sung line after line in Albanian and in Greek.

From the comparison with the collection published decades ago by Professor Jorgo Panajoti and folklorist Riza Hysi in Korçë and in Kolonjë it turns out that Lasgushi has saved that part of lyrics which later on was either not found anymore, or it could not be collected: church songs, religious folklore, the whole religious folklore, separately those related to five Saturdays of the Byzantine calendar, from Christmas to Easter and Pentecost.

Aware of Herder's theory and concepts on folklore, Lasgush Poradeci discarded its gender hierarchy. For him, the concept that the epopee counts first and that other genres were secondary in significance was unacceptable. Thus, franciscans with their epos and Poradeci with lyrics completed one another, rescuing in this way folk songs from injuries.

In transcription, Poradeci pursued the principle of syllables according to song version and not by reading it as a poetry. Therefore, frequently, there are exclamations in his songs collections, double fold syllables, and even songs that simply complete the size of the line and turn it into an isometry. Perhaps if epos songs were collected similarly, there would not have been so many discussions on the so-called heterometry of the line of heroic songs and on the integrity of the 10 syllable lines in epos.

While not coining criteria on the social significance of historic persons, Poradeci permitted himself to demolish even the borders of historic songs; their cycle would produce a lot of trouble to historians, since parts of those songs mention occasional persons, great thieves and avengers according to the canon order.

This publication completes not only the variety but first of all the typology of Albanian folk lyrics.

Shaban SINANI

A LITERARY REVIEW:

The Bases of the Theory of Literature: a brief genetic history on Jakov Xoxa's contribution to issues of the theory of literature

The least known in Jakov Xoxa's intellectual and creative activity is its research part. Written during 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 (eight volumes, 1971) nor in Tirana (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 *undoubtedly*. In 1979, in the writings *in honorem*, Xoxa was portrayed as a well - qualified 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).

Nevertheless, 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 - ranging literary knowledge and theoretical experience, which went beyond the frames of official contemporary theories*; he was the first intellectual who proposed to make *literary criticism a separate discipline 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 them in *scientific circulation*. This could explain why in some cases, 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 it 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, style and pragmatics, literary genres, devices and figures.

A genetic record of the road for the collection of Jakov Xoxa's two most important works for the theory and science of literature do also require consultancy and comparison among textbooks for general secondary and professional schools; he drafted such a text alone while the next with other co-authors, although this remains to be confirmed in the future, when it will be possible to find these texts, which actually is becoming 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.

Within five years he compiled the Course of the Theory of Literature and made it available to the students. 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 from 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 consecutively under the same title in Pristina from 1970 until the year 1976, which marks its final publication. The first one was launched simultaneously 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 and the second with 147 printed pages) belong to Jakov Xoxa's historical&literary legacy.

Its last publication, *Introduction to the science of literature (Hyrja në shkencën e letërsisë)* in Tirana in 1969, in Pristina and in Tetovë in 1970) was followed with 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 up 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* occurred 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 had the chance to express some "ancient" views in the article *Mendime mbi tipiken në romanet e J. Xoxës (Views on the typical in Jakov Xoxa's novels)* in the Newspaper "*Studenti*" (22 may, p. 5-7); this included also

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 cooperation with 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 highlighted (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

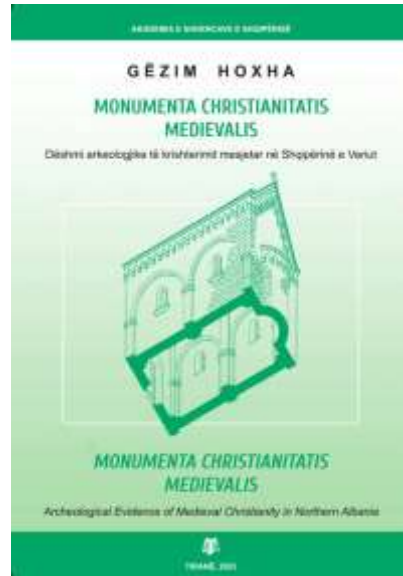
**Gëzim HOXHA: *Monumenta Christianitatis Medievalis* -
Archaeological Evidence of
Medieval Christianity in Northern Albania, Tirana 2023, 328 pages.
ISBN: 978-9928-331-36-6**

After the publication of the books "Historical monuments of the Christian cult in the Diocese of Lezha" (Lezha 2006) and "Early Christianity in the provinces of Praevalis and Dardania" (Tirana 2021), there is still a considerable amount of material collected on ground , working with source documentation as well as the historical literature on ecclesiastical monuments of the successive period of Middle Ages.

Therefore, the author found it appropriate to present a third book with a summary of works on these monuments during the field research and academic reviews. This book aims to mark only one further step in the enrichment of existing studies on such monuments and to open perspectives for new researches. The terrain of Northern Albania provides a great potential with these historical monuments which have been evidenced so far but still aren't fully studied.

In this book, have included the findings revealed during the excavations carried out in the sites and the study of some of the important churches of Northern Albania. Here could be mentioned especially those churches in the territory of the diocese of Lezha, the areas of Zadrima and Sardanja, part of the Sapa diocese as well as the areas of Bregu i Bunës and Ana e Malit which belongs to the diocese of Shkodra.

The initial basis for these researches and studies on the ecclesiastical monuments of this region is the work of the Austro-Hungarian general



consul in Shkodër Theodor Anton Ippen (1861-1935). In most of Ippen's contributions there is information about these monuments, but his work "*Alte Kirchen und Kircheruinen in Albanien*" (1900, 1902) constitutes his core research. The previous overview of Ippen is given in that book by making a comparison with the state of current archeological-historical research on these monuments.

From the descriptions of Ippen, at the beginning of XX century, there is a valuable information about these monuments, which currently no longer exist. In the list where have ranked the churches mentioned by Ippen in Northern Albania, has over 80 church monuments of the Middle Ages, of which only a part of them have been studied, mainly from the lowland areas. The churches in mountainous areas still constitute a further potential for research and study.

After the general overview of Ippen are presented the results of field researches, documenting and studying over 30 ruins of medieval churches, which are still in place at the diocese of Lezha, and 33 other churches in the territory of Zadrima and Sardanja, which are part of Sapa diocese . Many photos were taken for these churches as well as were designed 20 and 22 floor plans respectively. On this basis, has been established a planimetric typology of these churches and their chronology is also given. For the Diocese of Lezha, has been formulated a summary presentation for its mural painting, which has become recently the object of study, mainly by Italian researchers of the history of medieval art.

Two churches of the Romanesque-Gothic style, one almost disappeared in the village of Shirq and the other completely disappeared in Vaun e Dejës, have been well known in the ancient literature. A return to the issue of the presumed Paleo-Christian origin of Shirq church and a refresh of the historical, architectural, artistic and photographic documentation of the church of Saint Mary in Vau i Dejës, constitute two other works with some research and new documents.

New archaeological and linguistic support evidences and a new geomorphological assumption have helped to better understand the genesis of Shirqi church and the worship history of its saints such as *Sergius* and *Bacchus*. The violent demolition church of Saint Mary in Vau i Dejës. in 1967, is summarized , bringing together all the relevant

literature about it and the illustrative documentation, prepared at different times until today.

Likewise, two other slightly later churches, the one of Kaçë-Naraç and the Franciscan Convent of Troshan with its church, are subject of two other works. Their history and architecture isn't only religious but is also described the cultural and educational role that have played, especially during the period of Albania's renaissance and independence.

From the archaeological excavations, financed by the Catholic Church, in three other church buildings, have the following three works: The excavations at the Rubik's Church proved for the first time, that it was built on an ancient settlement which provide life evidences from the Illyrian and Roman periods. Meanwhile three ecclesiastical dignitaries have their tombs near its altar, which was rebuilt two or three times later. In Derven (district of Kruja), the medieval village church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, was discovered, with its typical medieval architecture and mural painting. Its mural painting has a very original composition, that is treated in another special work included in that publication, prepared by the Italian colleague Andrea Di Giuseppe. While the excavations in the medieval church of Draç in the region of Ishëm brought to light the small crypt dedicated to Saint *Blasius*. It was associated with another authentic evidence, a medieval medallion with the representation on its two sides of Saint Mary of Loreto and Saint Francis of Paola.

Based upon the data of an informative expedition, have written an work on the medieval churches of areas Bregu i Bunës and Ana e Malit, in the diocese of Shkodra. Here, have referred the churches, which for the first time are documented and studied in the archaeological literature, such as the churches in the villages Suka e Dajçit, Mali i Gjymtit, Muriq, Bobot, Gorica, etc.

The last two works are related to XV century. Some silver coins discovered from the excavations in the Shkodra Castle, prove the presence of Christianity in a very evident way, with the appearance on their two sides, of prominent Christian saints and symbols.

From the old and new archaeological excavations, in the church of Saint *Nicolaus* in Lezha, are given completely new archaeological data. These provide evidences which aim to impact directly or indirectly on

the archaeological context of the burial place of the national hero Gjergj Kastrioti - Skënderbeu.

As mentioned above, this publication is a group of studies on the ecclesiastical monuments of the Middle Ages spread over the territory of Northern Albania. It still remains an unexplored territory with great potential for new research in the future.

Adem BUNGURI

REVIEW PAPER

Speculum Confessions / Pasqyra e t' Rrëfyemit (1621) Mirror of Confessions

A critical anastatic reproduction of the publication by Gunnar Svane (1986).

Prepared and accompanied with facsimiles from the source text by Bardhyl Demiraj.

The recently released publication, which comes as a valuable, prudent and objective contribution by colleague Bardhyl Demiraj adds another precious volume to Albanological researches, which indispensable for the completion of the series of works compiled centuries ago by Pjetër Budi (1566-1622), one of the most important authors of ancient Albanian literature.

In the present time, when introducing this literature in methodological terms is widely supported by critical and philological publications that from the viewpoint of their achievement and text approximation represent high standing schools of thought, every publication of this kind is not only welcomed, but it revives the curiosity for deepening the knowledge on the copies appearing during the 17th century, which did substantially mark and specify the tradition of written Albanian represented by authors from the Northern area.

The works of church literature in Albanian collected in 1618-1621 thanks to efforts by Pjetër Budi are also a reflection of proper book models related to special parts of liturgical practice and doctrinal education, highlighted also during the process of Church Reformation that followed the Council of Trenti (1545-1563).¹

In the most recent years, attention to this author and his creative works was materialized with researches that reflect tracing on the ground into the unclear circumstances of his death, but also on the basis of written documentation related to the life journey in his final years and

¹ Bardhyl Demiraj, *Pjetër Budi: homazh fathupësit pa faj, në Areali kulturor i Veriut në shekujt XVI-XIX*, Botime Onufri, Tiranë, 2017, f.200-224.

the finding of binders showing his efforts to finish this collection within the boundaries of his possibilities in our language.

The confrontation between this author and the hierarchy of the time has been continuous target of researchers' focus in every historic context in the 16th and 17th centuries just as the efforts to make his works compatible with the editorial and church canons in force. Pjetër Budi's collections were from their outset part of a history of publications which first of all enrich the nature of copies printed during the 16th century, highlighted by significant developments seen from different angles. His reference to well-known names in the history of ongoing Church Reformation is properly emphasized with evidence designed to make Christian Doctrine speak Albanian and afterwards, the *Speculum Confessions*, both works guided in their substance and in contextual elements by prelates of Roma Church belonging to Jesuit Order.²

*Speculum Confessions released in 1621 followed the publication of the Christian Doctrine by Pjetër Budi in 1618, a publication by a renowned typography in Rome (Tipografia Zanetti) involved in a significant editorial activity and widely recognized among contemporary cultural circles. The name of this typography and its typographers who continued with relevant activities is closely linked with the publication of church books among which one may specifically find Pjetër Budi's collections. Researches on contemporary publishers and editorial processes in which they were involved and the registers reflecting the necessary steps to finish the books could provide data on Budi's presence in this cultural context and details of financial nature, as each and every author and collector did at that time.*³

As it was also mentioned earlier, *Speculum Confessions* remains a book pattern that in the following decades founded its concrete expression in the Council of Trenti and which due to its nature edges closer to earliest patterns, although their titles may be closer to the relevant copies. Budi's proximity with such a model may be traced back

² We recall hereby the good reception in some languages of handbooks by two prelates of that time, namely Roberto Bellarminos (1542-1621), a prominent reformer during crucial decades for the Church reform and Emerio de Bonis (1531-1595). The work of the latter was also widely circulated and republished in the Italian language.

³ See in particular Antonio Bertolotti, *Le tipografie orientali e gli orientalisti a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII: notizie e documenti raccolti per cura*, në *Rivista Europea-Rivista internazionale*, Tipografia della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1878, p.217-268.

step by step, both while pursuing a contextual performance, which is also found in this publication and in the differentiations that the researchers of this work may single out in the collisions between the texts of the two authors. Gunnar Svane was oriented many years ago to this direction; thus, thanks to thematic publications, he has left imprints in scientific journals in Albanological domain, among which we may specifically mention the journals “*Studime filologjike*” and “*Studia albanica*”.⁴

This fact, apart from necessary explanations found out at the beginning of its introduction to his work is also dealt with through the whole context of the latter. This is the proper place to underscore that in cases of consulting this variant, thanks to the publication that comes through a careful preparation by researcher Bardhyl Demiraj, such comparisons bring back to attention the issue of recognizing the models that the authors of ancient Albanian literature knew and used, who through their own works and collections reflect aspects of individual writing, shaped however with the features of a complex formation for that time, whose part were also texts, both adapted or updated, that they tried to introduce in Albanian. As to aspects of individuality in writing, it is also possible that while referring to Budi, it could be traced back in the case of his work “Pasëqyra e të rrëfyemit” (Speculum Confessions) and such an approach towards the art of writing of this author would be also reflected in this publication that would see again the light of printing under the emblem of the Academy of Sciences of Albania.

Speculum Confessions that comes through this publication is reintroduced with the necessary notes, which provide explanations on the work format as well as the appropriate comparison between Budi’s collection and the text by Emerio de Bonis. Such remarks help a necessary approximation producing the version compiled by Pjetër Budi, who during the period 1618-1621 made some translations in Albanian or adaptations in the domain of Christian liturgy, materializing them in the form of handbooks, widely spread during that time. Such attempts that have continued even after the collection, making them sound Albanian and adaptation rank indeed among the most difficult

⁴ Gunnar Svane, *How to read Budi’s Speculum confessionis*, në *Studia Albanica*, n.1, 1980; Gunnar Svane, *The formation of the literary language as reflected in Budi’s « Mirror of Confession » 1621*, in *Studia Albanica*, n.2, 1985.

undertakings for an author, who in this way was deepening a track opened up with hardships by the previous prelates, among whom the most famous remains the author of Meshari book dating back to the year 1555.

However, even this publication has provided Budi as an author with the opportunity to search for into essential details: compliances, his own expression and attempts to provide Albanian language with usages of a specific type from terminological domain. This trend in his writing and collections and with the same thematic affiliation was identified by G. Svane with evidence in other traces as well, exactly those of Christian Doctrine compiled with an adapted variant in Albanian by Budi himself.⁵

Other interesting details maybe revealed through other presentations that do also accentuate a supplementary overview on the personality of Pjetër Budi as an author, who in the context of a pastoral activity certified through the documentation of the time when he lived, he was also engaged in another direction, that of collecting more typical handbooks for the liturgical practice of that period.

The usefulness of such a publication, which introduces in parallel way two textual variants is reinforced by what is mentioned by the end of the above-quoted Introduction: the fact that in terms of its contents and number of copies this is a rare work, since there are only four of them preserved in the Vatican Library, one of which from the Library “Mazarine” in Paris, frequently referred to for its precious copies which have also marked its long history.⁶

As part of a project whose materialization was the publication of the first work by Pjetër Budi (Pjetër Budi/Veptra I: Dottrina Christiana/ Doktrina e krishterë (1618)), released in 2022 sponsored by the Academy of Sciences of Albania, this publication, too, which brings back to attention the fundamental issues of the study of the language, literalism and originality in writing by this author of ancient Albanian language deserves the best congratulations by his scientific reviewers.

⁵ P. Budi , *Dottrina Christiana (1618), with a transcription into modern orthography and a concordance prepared by Gunnar Svane*, Institut for Lingvistik, Aarhus, 1985.

⁶ See the relevant references to these original copies of Budi’s work by Mario Roques, *Recherches sur les anciens textes albanais*, Paris, 1932, p.27.

Let such publications gain momentum in enhancing the knowledge on the above-mentioned aspects but also on the necessity to further intertwine the interdisciplinary trends in the study of the proper written and literary traditions in our language.

Evalda Paci

CHRONICLE

“Partnering for Excellence – Partnering for Europe”
Berlin Process Joint Science Conference
7th annual Conference of Stakeholders of the Science, Education,
Research and Innovation Pillar of the Berlin Process for the Western
Balkans
Tirana, 18-20 september 2023

Launched in 2014, the Berlin Process is an intergovernmental initiative supporting the integration of Western Balkan countries into the European Union and fostering regional cooperation in Southeast Europe. It represents a collaborative effort involving 16 European nations and the European Commission. Since 2015, the Berlin Process has entailed a dedicated chapter addressing science, education, research, innovation, technology transfer, which is coordinated by the German National Academy of Sciences Leopoldina. The annual meeting of stakeholders involved in this segment is conducted in the form of the Berlin Process Joint Science Conference.



In the year 2023, Albania holds the rotating Presidency of the Berlin Process, thereby bringing the Process to Southeast Europe and

underlining regional ownership. The seventh Berlin Process Joint Science Conference was held in at the Albanian Academy of Sciences. The conference, titled “Partnering for Excellence – Partnering for Europe”, and focused on three key themes:

1. Assessing progress of Balkan and Southeast European higher education, research and innovation communities towards integration in European Union frameworks,
2. Creating excellence in the Balkans through wise instruments and alliances, and
3. Developing customised mobility schemes for students,



researchers and professionals, including (re-)connecting the academic diasporas to their countries of origin.

We are giving in this chronicle the conclusions of the Chairmanship of the Conference:

Nine years after the launching of Berlin Process in August 2014, the Heads of Government of Albania, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, as well as the Heads of State or Government or representatives of Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Slovenia and the United Kingdom, Spain, Hungary, Romania and the Netherlands, the representatives of the European Union (EU), and of regional and international organizations and financial institutions met in person in Tirana on 16 October 2023 for the Summit Meeting of the Berlin Process.

The participants emphasized the importance of regional cooperation in the Western Balkans in the current context of geopolitical uncertainty and war on European soil. They highlighted the importance of strengthening connectivity, transport, trade, energy and digital ties in the Western Balkans as well as between the region and the EU.

Building on the Ministerial Meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Economy, and Roma Integration Forum, as well as the Leaders' Dialogue on Climate Partnership, the Business Forum, Youth Forum, Civil Society Forum, the Digital Summit and the Joint Science Conference in the past few weeks, the participants took stock of the progress, ongoing challenges and prospects for regional cooperation in the Western Balkans as a stepping stone towards the gradual integration of the region in the EU policies, mechanisms and instruments.

The Western Balkans Six (WB6) welcomed the announcement of a Growth Plan for the Western Balkans, as outlined by the President of the European Commission in May 2023, and expressed their commitment to the advancement of the regional economic integration through the Common Regional Market through acceleration of domestic reforms, particularly in the area of the rule of law and fight against organized crime.

The WB6 participants expressed the need to bridge the socio-economic gap and enhance convergence between the Western Balkans and the European Union. To that end, they voiced their interest in stepping up cooperation among themselves and, where possible, with the EU on a number of policy areas, such as the Single Euro Payments Area (SEPA), facilitating trade and transport, telecommunications and digitalization, climate, energy, agriculture, security, youth, education and science, and Roma integration.

The WB6 participants supported a structured periodic monitoring of the economic convergence of the Western Balkans towards the EU.

The WB6 participants expressed interest in exploring avenues of participation in meetings and fora with the EU, where issues of common interest are discussed.

Common Regional Market (CRM) and Improving Convergence between EU and Western Balkans

The participants welcomed the signing of the Agreement on Mutual Recognition of Professional Qualifications for Nurses, Veterinary

Surgeons, Pharmacists and Midwives that will advance the mobility of professionals in the Western Balkans.

Further, the participants welcomed the entry into force of the three mobility agreements signed in Berlin in November 2022 for Albania, Kosovo, North Macedonia and Serbia and called for ratification/approval of these agreements by all of Western Balkans partners.

Building on the conclusions of the Ministerial Meeting of Ministers of Economy, participants recognized the importance of the European Union's Single Euro Payment Area (SEPA), which is tasked to effectively bring domestic and cross-border payments within the SEPA to the same level of cost, time efficiency and safety. They underlined the importance of reducing the costs of cross-border payments, also through setting up instant payment systems, facilitating supply of services of non-bank payment providers, further development of the FinTech industry in the region, enabling the use of QR code-initiated payments and of adopting a framework to limit the cost of intra-CEFTA payments at the benefit of consumers and businesses.

The participants warmly welcomed the entry into force of the reduced data roaming charges between the EU and the Western Balkans as of 1 October, based on the Roaming Declaration, facilitated by the Regional Cooperation Council with the strong support of European Commission, that was signed between the 38 Western Balkans and EU operators at the EU-Western Balkans Summit in Tirana, in December 2022.

The participants commended the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) and the Central European Free Trade Agreement Secretariat (CEFTA) for their support in the implementation of policy agendas under the Common Regional Market and their coordinating role in the negotiation of the CRM mobility agreements, thus contributing to higher economic convergence between the EU and the Western Balkans.

The participants noted that further significant progress should be made with regard to the implementation of the Common Regional Market Action Plan by the time of the next Berlin Process Summit Meeting and called upon RCC, CEFTA and other regional organization to start devising the next phase.

Youth, Education and Research

The Western Balkans Six participants expressed their wish on the advancement of gradual integration of the Western Balkans education, science and youth institutions and policies into related EU areas and mechanisms.

The participants commended the signing of the Agreement between the College of Europe, the Ministry of Education and Sports of the Republic of Albania and the Municipality of Tirana on 6 October 2023, which paves the way to the opening of the College of Europe campus in Tirana. The participants stressed the importance of this institution to prepare professionals and experts

on EU affairs across the entire region, as well as to foster a sense of mutual understanding and belonging. They also praised the European Commission's swift support of the project.

The participants welcomed the recommendations of the Joint Science Conference held in Tirana, between 18 and 20 September 2023, regarding the need to boost investments in research and innovation, as well as to establish Research and Technology Excellence Hubs and Universities of Excellence in the Western Balkans, as well as regional research funds. These actions should contribute to a stronger integration of the Western Balkans into the European Research Area and the European Education Area. They welcomed the recommendation to renew



and expand the Widening call for the Western Balkans in Horizon Europe. They also commended the regional transnational cooperation and mobility in higher education, research, and innovation.

The participants welcomed the Conclusions of the Western Balkans Youth Forum held in Albania on 6 October 2023. Building on these Conclusions, the participants underlined the importance of strengthening and expanding current regional mechanisms and EU schemes to further benefit youth mobility and cultural exchanges in the Western Balkans, as a way to promote inclusive peacebuilding and reconciliation in the region. They also commended the Forum's emphasis on including compulsory green education in formal curricula, as well as on the participation of young people in civic activities and the public sphere.

Including Western Balkans in the EU Value Chain Partnership

The participants acknowledged that with the current geopolitical situation, a Value Chain Partnership between the EU and the Western Balkans should be explored. They acknowledged the strategic importance of the Western Balkans region in the context of Critical Raw Materials and batteries, and its role in the EU Value Chain and industries. With the increasing global demand for these materials, the Western Balkans hold a significant potential that must be harnessed effectively to contribute to the EU's security of supply.

Participants underlined that investments in research, innovation, and sustainable mining practices should be prioritized, with an aim to increase the region's contribution to the EU's Critical Raw Materials and industry value chain. Such an increase would not only enhance the EU's security of supply but also promote economic growth and job creation in the Western Balkans.

The participants highlighted the importance of adopting a sustainable and inclusive approach in harnessing the potential of the Western Balkans in the common raw materials and EU Value Chain that takes into account environmental and social considerations.

The WB6 participants stated their interest to become part of the EU Value Chain Partners Club for Critical Raw Materials and get support for the development of relevant industries, aligned with the needs and standards of the EU Single Market.

Trade, Transport and Digital Connectivity

The Western Balkans Six participants stressed the importance of boosting investment in transport and railway connectivity in the Western Balkans and between the Western Balkans and the EU.

The participants confirmed that regional economic cooperation and enhanced economic relations with the EU go hand in hand with better connectivity between the region and the EU

Participants expressed full support for the Joint Transport Community-CEFTA Declaration on ‘Taking forward the Green Lanes’ issued at the Connectivity Summit in Budva on 15 and 16 May, and the follow-up work on the Roadmap for Green Lanes and coordinated controls at the EU-WB6 border crossing points. They underlined the importance of furthering customs cooperation between the region and European Union. In that regard, they stated their support for the extension of the second phase of the Trade and Transport Facilitation Project with interventions that are aimed at improving connectivity in the Western Balkans and between the region and the EU. The Western Balkans participants stressed the need to accelerate the implementation of the Economic and Investment Plan and extend CEFTA-TCT Green Lanes to all main border crossing points with the EU Member States, as well as to improve the infrastructure conditions and operations on those border crossing points. In the same spirit, they called for full implementation of the Green Lanes with the EU and the electronic exchange of pre-arrival data in both directions, followed by the establishment of an adequate legal base.

The WB6 participants stated that in addition to stepping up investments in the transport infrastructure, it is important to ensure a) careful prioritization of investments, informed by current and future traffic flows, b) closer coordination among the Western Balkans and EU Member States bordering on the region; and c) strategic mobilization of funding resources including lending, grant financing and private investment.

The participants commended the inclusion of the Corridor VIII railway section from Skopje to Durres in the extended TEN-T Core Network. They called upon the EU and international financial institutions (IFIs) to invest in this project of strategic importance, both from an economic and a security perspective.

The WB6 participants asked for enhanced trade facilitation efforts on the part of the European Commission and CEFTA. This includes efforts to reduce long waiting times at key border/common crossing points with the EU Member States, time and cost spent on import and export processes, uncertainty about transit times undermining competitiveness of exports, and difficulties for Western Balkans companies to demonstrate the quality of their products and compliance with EU standards.

The participants welcomed the signing of association agreements between the European Commission and the EU candidate countries on the Digital Europe Program in June 2023. They highlighted the importance of improving digital and broadband connectivity infrastructure, as well as legal and regulatory framework between the EU and the Western Balkans in the digital area, including cybersecurity.

The Western Balkans Six participants emphasized the need for increased investments in interconnectivity and infrastructure, and capacity building in relation to the acquis implementation concerning the environment, transport and energy sectors. The participants appreciated the work done by RCC in facilitating and coordinating regional activities related to the spread of new technologies and recognized progress made so far in these areas.

Implementing the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans

Participants welcomed the outcomes of the Leaders' Dialogue in June 2023 and the establishment of the Regional Climate Partnership between the WB6 and Germany, with the objective to jointly accelerate the implementation of the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans. Accordingly, the

Leaders of the Western Balkans Six and of the Federal Republic of Germany endorsed the Joint Declaration of Intent on the Regional Climate Partnership. They stated therein the intention to advance their climate-related strategic dialogue and expand cooperation for a socially just and green transition in areas such as energy, with a focus on energy efficiency and renewables, sustainable urban development, tourism, transport, agriculture. They stressed the relevance of boosting private sector investments in these areas. They welcomed the commitment of the Federal Republic of Germany to support this transition with an initial

package of Euro 1 billion, including grants and development loans until 2030 through the KfW Development Bank, as well as the additionally pledged budgetary support of Euro 500 million through promotional loans in the short term.

Following the last year's Declaration on energy security and green transition in the Western Balkans, the Western Balkans participants, reinforced their strong commitment to the common green transition objectives underpinned by the Energy Community Decarbonisation Road Map, in the context of the Green Agenda for Western Balkans.

They also welcomed the increased support of the French Development Agency (AFD), which has engaged EUR 1 billion in the Western Balkans since 2019 in support of efforts in a wide range of key sectors for the European integration of the region, namely energy and ecological transition, urban development, transport and economic inclusion.

The Western Balkans participants highlighted the importance of aligning legislation with EU in the energy sector, with a view of enabling full market integration, decarbonization, acceleration of the uptake of renewables and reducing greenhouse gas emissions that is compliant with the EU energy sector *acquis* under the Energy Community Treaty.

The participants agreed on the need for enhanced cooperation in the areas of agriculture, food, rural development and forestry to effectively address sustainability and food security challenges. The participants acknowledged the substantial efforts of the Standing Working Group for Regional Rural Development (SWG).

In that regard, it was emphasized that the ongoing policy coordination in climate change adaptation, soil protection, organic farming, agricultural knowledge, and innovation systems (AKIS), wine regulation and forestry need to be reinforced. In addition, other aspects of the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans should be addressed, such as the alignment with EU standards on food safety, plant health and animal welfare, environment, enhanced sanitary controls and traceability, as well as fostering renewable energy production in rural areas. Participants acknowledged and appreciated the role of Germany and other EU Member States, including France, to help toward that aim and called on the EU and other international development organizations to support these efforts.

Further, participants commended the work and role of the Regional Cooperation Council in coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the Green Agenda for the Western Balkans and reiterated the necessity to coordinate support for all partners, including local governments, to achieve the commitments of Sofia Declaration and align with EU standards and practices. Participants have agreed to take action, increase regional cooperation, and enhance the regulatory framework to prevent plastic pollution, including marine pollution.

Security

The participants stressed the importance of deeper regional cooperation in policy areas related to security. They also reiterated the critical need for a higher level of information sharing between the Western Balkans and the EU Joint Task Forces, and for joint exercises to tackle specific aspects of organized crime, such as human trafficking, migrant smuggling, and drugs trafficking as the way forward.

The participants stressed that building stronger cooperation in the area of cybersecurity is critical, including coordinated operational and technical support, and setting a platform to enable early warnings of cyber threats and share practices and experience. On this note, the participants welcomed the signature of the tripartite intergovernmental agreement establishing the Western Balkans Cyber Capacity Centre and recognized its potential to promote regional cooperation in the domain of cyber resilience.

The Western Balkans Six participants expressed their desire to see stepped up efforts towards the integrated border management (IBM) and asked for support in relation to capacity building, digitalization and border security, as well as for better communication and coordination with EU law enforcement agencies, including the European Union Agency for Cybersecurity (ENISA), the EU Cybersecurity Emergency Incident Review Mechanisms, etc. They called for an ongoing high-level dialogue on cybersecurity and closer coordination at a regional level, as facilitated by the Regional Cooperation Council.

Bilateral Issues and Good Neighbourly Relations

Participants expressed concern over the recent rise of tensions between Serbia and Kosovo leading to and in the aftermath of the attack on Kosovo police and the killing of a Kosovo police sergeant and the

wounding of three others, on 24 September. They stressed that the recent developments threaten peace, security, and cooperation in the region, and they push back the reconciliation efforts of the EU, and other strategic partners, in the Western Balkans.

Participants encouraged European efforts to engage with the parties, with the aim to unblock the EU-facilitated normalization dialogue and, by doing so, unblock regional cooperation and respective EU paths of the WB6. In this spirit, participants underlined the need for joint European efforts and tailor-made mechanisms for economic development, youth, and education, as well as for people-to-people contacts and inter-group civil society cooperation.

The participants voiced concern that bilateral issues among Berlin Process participants may continue to obstruct respective EU paths in the region. The Western Balkans Six participants asked for the continuous support of EU and the EU participating States for the efforts of the Western Balkans countries in the area of strengthening rule of law, fight against organized crime and in their EU accession paths.

The participants reaffirmed the importance of regional cooperation and good neighbourly relations for the region's EU prospects. The Western Balkans participants proposed that a robust conditionality regarding implementation of regional commitments and good neighbourly relations in the Western Balkans be included in the Growth Plan implementing criteria

Roma Integration

The participants appreciated progress on the implementation of the Poznan Declaration of Western Balkans partners on Roma integration within the enlargement process. The leaders of the WB6 welcomed and formally adopted the conclusions of the Fourth Roma Ministerial held in Skopje, on 22 September. These conclusions clearly identify the intermediate steps needed to implement the commitments on Roma integration in the fields of education, employment, the regularization of informal settlements, in the digital field and on civil registration.

Future of Berlin Process

Participants welcomed Germany's willingness to host the next Leaders' Summit in 2024, on the 10th anniversary of the Berlin Process.

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

“From the Àrber State to Arberia in the centuries of European humanism”

Gëziq (Mirditë), Tirana 9-10 October 2023)

On the occasion of the 555th Anniversary of the death of Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu, on 9 October 2023, in the exterior premises of Saint Maria Church in Gëziq, Mirditë was held the opening session of the International Scientific Conference “From the Arber State to Arberia in the centuries of European humanism” organized by the Academy of Sciences of Albania, the Municipality of Mirdita and the Committee of Nationwide Reconciliation.

The Principal of the village Gëziq, Mr. Nikollë Gjeta welcomed the participants among whom: Academician Skënder Gjinushi, President of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, Father Bernard Caruana, General Vicar of the Metropolitan Archeodiocese Tiranë-Durrës, Dede Baba Edmond Brahimaj, Chairman of the World Headquarters of Bektashi Order, Mr. Albert Mëlyshi, Mayor of Mirdita Municipality, participants and researchers from Italy, Kosovo and from countries of the region.(Fig. 1)



Fig. 1. The opening of the event in Gëziq (Mirditë)

Academician Gjinushi expressed his happiness for the opening of the Second International Scientific Conference on the Principate of Arberi, which marked the beginning of the state organization in Albanian lands. He recalled that a decade ago, in 2014, the Academy of Sciences together with the Pan – Albanian Reconciliation Forum hosted another important conference on the occasion of the 800 Anniversary of the State of Arberia. This date is proved by the inscription on the historic stone in the Church of Gëziq, where the names of Arberi noble men who led the Principate of Arberi: Dhimitër, Gjergj and Gjin Progoni are mentioned.

On this occasion, President Gjinushi recalled the richness of researches on Arberi in Middle Ages, starting with our founding academicians - Aleks Buda and Dhimitër Shuteriqi, who have the credit of discovering the famous inscription of Gëziq, up to the generation of their dignified successors, as professors Pëllumb Xhufi and Aurel Plasari. He did



also paid tribute to all those who worked and still work with dedication and devotion in the field of thought and research: the well-known transcribers, Injac Zamputi and Koço Zheku and philologists Francesco Altimari and Matteo Mandalà. He praised honoured professor Lucia Nadi, the rediscoverer of the European Arberi and recently also rediscoverer of unknown Marin Barleti's manuscripts. Her works have brought to light facts that do finally return the authorship to humanist Barleti, which was unfairly put to question also as an indisputable authority and as the earliest and most important author of Arberia in the Middle Ages.

While concluding his opening remarks, Academician Gjinushi underscored that the Middle Ages “ are flourishing centuries for pre-state possessions of great patronymic arber families, during whose long period the self-consciousness of being an ethnicity was prepared, a fundamental factor for the Albanian anti -Ottoman resistance. It was exactly during those centuries that the first Albanian nobility was established, as self-distinctive from others, both in ethnic and religious

terms, establishing its own possessions and autonomy in the framework of empires of that time. This first arber nobility outlined the character of the brilliant Arbnori, thus becoming the cornerstone of Albanian leaders who joined their Besa (Promise) Convention which defined the character of the brilliant epoch of Scanderbeg.

In his greeting address, Father Bernard Caruana extended the gratitude and thankfulness for hosting this Conference to the Academy of Sciences of Albania, underlining that: “Events like this prompt us to be not only keepers of museums and custodians of anthropological culture but also daring archaeologists that with steadfastness and free from formatization highlighted the roots that give shape to our people and continent. This is a challenge that makes us realize that the venue of a cult is not only a given edifice but the body of each one of us.

Then, the Mayor of Mirdita, Mr Albert Mëlyshi extended his welcome and thanked the scholars and researchers engaged in providing their valuable contribution to our national culture and historiography, which the region of Mirdita belongs with dignity to.

A greeting address was also made by the Chairman of the Council for National Reconciliation, Mr. Gjin Marku; then Academician Pëllumb Xhufi took the floor on behalf of the participating researchers in this conference.

The event of the first day was closed with an instrumental concert by a quartet with musical pieces by giants of the world symphony. (Fig. 2)



Fig. 2. Event's poster

The second day of the International Scientific Conference “ From the State of Àrber to Arberia in the centuries of European humanism” continued with the presence of academicians, albanology researchers and students and with the presentation of 35 papers.

The main topics were: Tradition of political organization and the pre-state formations in Arberia; On the ethnonymies “arber” and “albanian”; Arberia in the context of European humanism; cases of humanism in Arberia; the State of Arberia and Dhimitër Pogoni; the civic church order in Arberia; on the Arber language, converging and diverging occurrences in the Balkans and Mediterranean context; historic, linguistic, archaeological, anthropologic and legend documentation on the Arberia period; Status and the statutes of the towns of Arberia; arberi patronymic families...; Arberia vis à vis byzantine and anzuins; Arberia, arbereshët, arvanitët, arbneshët and others.

Acad. Pëllumb Xhufi continued with the paper “An Àrber among many Àrbers”, through which he presented a full - fledged chronicle with evidence on the ancient history of naming the arbnore population and lands.

He stated that the name of arberia (Allvanoi) with its epicenter in Albanopolis was mentioned in the second century of our era by geographist Aleksandrin Ptolémée, somewhere in the areas behind Durrësi. The connection of the Illyrian arbnor with the arberi of Middle Ages in the 11th century in the same territory by Ataliati is very evident and it constitutes a significant supporting point for the scholars who defend the thesis of the Illyrian – Albanian continuity in the areas of Western Balkans. Yet, while adhering to the arbër ethnonym, mainly researchers of the germanic school raised the thesis of the first Fatherland for Albanians, which they identified exactly with the narrow arber, which the byzantin authors of the 11-13th century refer to.



Acad. Xhufi provided arguments on the ancient arberia origin also through researches in the work by Milan Shuflaj and followers of his thesis on the continued heritage of the Illyrian – Arberia in the Balkans.

Prof. Lucia Nadin (Venice) read the paper “L’Albania adriatica: dagli statuti cittadini ai processi di assimilazione a Venezia nella loro specificità “ It bears witness to the interconnection of the cultural motives and elements between our two coasts, especially between the towns of Shkodra and Venice,



through examples from wall paintings of Venecian churches and exactly from the image of the Lady of Shkodra.



Prof.dr. Aleksandër Meksi read the paper on aspects of church organization in the lands of the Arbanense Bishopric through centuries. From the church viewpoint, he defined the beginnings of the State of Arbëri in mid -12th century, supporting it with documents which legitimate the affirmation of the existence

of this state in the attempts to separate it from the byzantine rule.

Prof. Meksi said that when we talk on Medieval Arberia, we cannot divide it from the Bishopric with the same name, which was first mentioned in the act of ordination of Saint Trifoni Church in Kotor in 1166, where its Bishop was also present “episcopis Lazaro Albanensis” or “Lazarus episcopus Arbanensis”, whereby on his side, while he was ordaining in the altar on the left of the major one was also present “Andreas prior Albanensis” which apriori is the first religious community in a diocese and that ranks after the bishop.

Prof. Assoc Dr. Gjon Berisha read the paper “Raguza and arber cities in the coastline” from the perspective of a maritime complex traffic of the 15th century, through the routes that joined Pulia, the coastline in Markë, Sicily and on a wider scale that through the commercial activity affected the opening to the western world and the integration of Albanian coastline in the major maritime traffic in Adriatic.

Prof. Dr. Anila Omari in her paper addressed the presence of the cult of Alexander the Great in Mirdita region, based on stories by the francescan missionaries of the 12th century.

Researcher David Hosaflook (USA) presented a new approach on the “History of Scanderbeg” obtained from the first publication in english by Lavardin.

Likewise, during the second day of this Conference, apart from the above-mentioned plenary session, there were five other parallel sessions in the halls “Aleks Buda” and “Akademikët”

In the second parallel session were presented papers from the field of archaeology and history: Prof. Dr. Neritan Ceka dwelt on the issue: “The extension of Arberia in the Middle Ages”. Univ. Prof. Andrea di Giuseppe from the University Rome 3 in Rome spoke on “L’ affresco della “Communione degli apostoli” di Rubik e l’identita rituale in Albania nel XIII secolo”.

Acad. Asoc. Gëzim Hoxha introduced a new perspective on the “The Castle of Rozafa in Shkodra between the legend and history”. Academic Adem Bunguri presented “New data on the Church in Peshkëpia (Stefaniakës) and on “Via Jireçek”. Researcher Kosta Giakoumis read the presentation: “Byzantine appeal in the elite fashion style in the Albanian speaking regions in Western Balkans during the late Middle Ages.”

Archaeologist Dr. Elio Hobdari read the paper “New data on Saint John Vladimir Church built by Prince Karl Topia” whereas researcher from Mirdita, Nikollë Loka introduced “Some new data on “Regnum Albaniae”.

In the third parallel session were read papers on linguistics, religion and cultural heritage.

Academician Bardhyl Demiraj addressed “Issues of defining the date for the early Albanian manuscript: “Tropari i Pashkëve (Hymn for Easter Day)” in Biblioteka “Ambrosiana” in Milano”; Prof. Dr. Aristotel

Spiro presented “a drama” of the Albanian historic morphopragmatics; the destiny of diminutive suffix [-th].

Prof Dr. Irakli Koçollari read the paper on “Medieval Archaeonyms, ethnonymes and ethnic names of Albanians to “Alipashaida”; researcher Haki Përnezha spoke on “Kastriots in the toponomastics of Çidhna”; Prof Dr. Dhori K. Qirjazi was focused on “Historic and linguistic data on Arberia and on arbers: from “Kronika e Tokove (Chronicle of Tokos) ” to “Alipashaida” and archives of Ali Pasha”; while researcher Fotaq Andrea and Dritan Muka, presented the paper “The personality of Scanderbeg among his General Military Staff in an artistic work of the 16th century”.

The fourth parallel session was largely devoted to themes of historic nature. Prof Asoc Dr. Ermal Baze presented the paper “Social – political and institutional physiognomy of the towns of Arberia in the facade of Southeastern Adriatic during the 13 – 15th century”; Dr. Marin Haxhimihali spoke on “New chronicle and archaeological data on the State of Arberia”; researcher Kastriot Marku spoke “On the presence of the Benedict Order in the lands of Arberia during the medieval centuries”; Prof Asoc Dr. Marenglen Kasmi dwells on “Aspects of Albanian warfare art in the Albanian lands”.

Anyla Maxhe-Saraçi gave a perspective on “Selasfori in the medieval centuries”; Julian Vlashi dwells on the topic “ Abbey of Saint Maria in Ndërfanë: new testimony”; researcher Ilirjana Nano presented the paper “Justice and judicial functionaries in the “Statutes of Shkodra”: an executive summary on the judiciary procedures”; whereas Dr. Dorian Koçi read the paper “The State of Arberia between East and West”.

During the fifth parallel session were read papers and presentations on language, religion and heritage. The musical scholar Eno Koço spoke on “Traditional Arbno music and humanism”; Prof asoc. Dr. Evalda Paci read the paper “Arbers after “ The State of Arberia” according to the church sinode sources dating back to the 17 – 19th century”; academician Albert Doja read the paper “ From the Albanian speaking nationals to Arberi and Albanians: on the role of the ethnic name as a symbolic source for identity politics”.

Academician Vasil S. Tole read the paper “Moti i Madh” (Great Year) of Arberia in the Albanian music”; Dr. Etleva Lala spoke on the

“Religiosity of Albanians in the 15th century”; Dr. Arian Leka read the paper on the “Anzuines in Durrës in the 12th and 13th century”.

The event was closed with the paper by the academician Shaban Sinani “The end of the legend and the beginning of history: arberit in the cycle of Fushë-Kosova”.

Albanian Archaeology on its 75th Anniversary: Achievements, novelties and prospects”

(International Scientific Conference, Tirana, 8-9 November 2023)

On the occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the opening of the Archaeological&Ethnographic Museum in Tirana on 8 November 1948, which does also mark the beginning of the Albanian archaeology as an independent scientific activity, the Academy of Sciences of Albania hosted the Conference “Albanian Archaeology on its 75th Anniversary: achievements, novelties and prospects”. The Conference was held also in the context of the commemoration of the Centenary Anniversary of one of the four founders of Albanian archaeology, the late Prof. Selim Islami.

This Conference gained an all-national character thanks to the cooperation between the Academy of Sciences of Albania and the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo with archaeological institutes, relevant departments of universities in Tirana and in Pristina and Albanian colleagues from Northern Macedonia.

The Conference took place during 8 - 9 November in Tirana. It started with the welcome remarks by the President of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, Academician Skënder Gjinushi and from the



Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo by Academician Mehmet Kraja.

On the basis of the program, the Conference held its deliberations in five sessions with the following topics:

Session I: The 75th Anniversary of the founding of the first Archaeological Museum in Tirana had the nature of a jubilee event. There they assessed the achievements of Albanian archaeology to date and reviewed with realism the directions, methodologies and the new methods of archaeological researches. Based on projects applied through cooperation with foreign colleagues, there was also an exchange of experience with some foreign scholars engaged with the study of the Illyrian and Arberi world. From this optics, the Conference was considered as a new opportunity of development, strengthening and cooperation among research units, institutions and the researchers, both on national and international level.



In this session were read presentations focused on the three basic periods of archaeological studies and researches:

1. Academicians Muzafer Korkuti and Adem Bunguri read their presentation: “75 years of Albanian archaeology: achievements and prospects in the area of pre-history” whereby they addressed the achievements in the field of periodization, chronology, character and relationships of pre-historic cultures, issues related to defining cultural

groups, their chronology and the relationship with the fundamental Balkan cultures. Likewise, there were expressed ideas and opinions on the historic interpretation of pre-historic cultural development and the major transformations of neolithic period and during the Metal Ages. They did also outline the research prospects in the major historic directions and the preferential research centers. Likewise, they touched on new research and study methods in the field of pre-historic archaeology.

2. The presentation by Prof. Dr. Neritan Ceka and Academician Apollon Baçe: “The 75th Anniversary of Albanian archaeology: achievements and prospects in the area of the Illyrian antiquity – Southern Illyria and Epirus” highlighted achievements in the fields of establishing new monumental centers; the documentation of chronology of Illyrian, Epirus and the period of Hellenic coastline colonies; the material ingredients of this culture and the historic frame of its development; the relationship between cultural developments and political superstructures.

This presentation dwelled also specifically on the prospects of researches in the field of Illyrian and Epyrus antiquity; in the continuation of excavations in the traditional centers of antique Illyrian, Epirus, Hellenistic or Illyrian – Roman civilization; the harmonization of the scheduled excavations, salvage and those serving the establishment or extension of tourist centers; the promotion of contemporary methods and methodologies of archaeological researchers; the relationship between data on the archaeological researches and written antique sources in completing the historic frame.

3. The transformation processes in the period of late antiquity and novelties of Early Middle Ages were respectively addressed in the presentation by Associated Academician Gëzim Hoxha “Late antiquity in the optics of 75 year archaeological researches in Albania (tradition, novelties, prospects) and in the presentation by Prof. Dr. Skënder Muçaj “75 years of Albanian archaeology: achievements and prospects related to Early Middle Ages”. First, they took stock of researches, excavations and the study of major centers during the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages and in determining the fundamental features of the material and spiritual culture of these periods. They highlighted achievements and problematics in the historic reconstruction of the period of transition

from Illyrians to Arberi, the harmonization with the achievements of other Albanological sciences, especially that of linguistics, ethnology, physical, social anthropology and others. Likewise, they dealt with issues of prospects in the further development of archaeological researches in the sites of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, for further higher chronological accuracy, for a more detailed precision of regional cultural characteristics and for the historic product that emanates from their analysis.

The Directress of the Institute of Archaeology, Prof. Assoc. Dr. Belisa Muka with her presentation “75th Anniversary of Albanian archaeology and contemporary challenges in archaeological researches” based on archaeological researches of the most recent years was focused on new confrontations with legal and organizational reality and in finding out the most efficient ways for further successful archaeological researches in Albania.

The colleagues from Kosova, Dr. Arben Hajdari, Dr. Shafi Gashi and Mag. Milot Berisha read the presentation: “Achievements and prospects in Kosovo’s archaeology” introducing the results of traditional and largely new researches during the last 20 years. They pointed out the praiseworthy fact that a new generation of archaeologists has taken up archaeological researches in their hands and they have achieved very good results in new archaeological excavations and in the valorisation of many archaeological sites in Kosovo. At the same time, they stressed the need for further steps for more specialized training and profound scientific archaeological publications.

Sessions II and III were dedicated to the Centenary of Prof. Selim Islami birthday -ad-honorem”

Two papers dedicated to the memory of his work, as a founder of Albanian archaeology: “Selim Islami and his legacy in the field of ancient Albanian archaeology and history” by Prof. Dr. Neritan Ceka and the “Contribution by Prof. Selim Islami in the study of Illyrian culture in Kosovo” by colleagues Kemajl Luci and Prof. Dr. Luan Përzhita.



Then, 20 other papers in the Second and Third Session dealt with various topics on archaeological excavations, researches and studies in Albania and in Kosovo, which were also a homage and tribute to the life and work of Professor Selim Islami.

Session IV. “Challenges for the archaeology in Kosovo and in Northern Macedonia”

In the framework of the 75th Anniversary were also read 5 contributions by colleagues from Kosovo, which dealt with the problems of neolithic, bronze and iron period, the epigraphy from the Dardanian tribes or the Latin inscriptions of the Roman period in Dardania. Hereby, there were two laudable contributions by archaeologists Mixhaid Pollozhani and Jeldës Asani from Northern Macedonia in pursuit of uncovered Illyrian cities in this territory or on archaeological testimony of ancient Illyrian symbolics.

Session V. “Archaeology of the 21st century in Albanian lands” was organized in the form of a round table by exchanging ideas and discussions on the institutional development of archaeology in Albania, Kosovo and in Northern Macedonia. There, it was also spoken at length on the organization of archaeological researches and studies, the

qualification of young researchers, researchers and the application of new methods, international cooperation, on the need for the presence of specialists, the consolidation and restauration of archaeological expeditions, the further valorisation of archaeological sites so that they would serve not only scientific research but the promotion of historic tourism as well.



Participants at the end of the conference

**“National Literature in the University System”
Conference in the Academy of Sciences of Albania**
(Tirana, 14 November 2023)

21 important domestic and foreign institutions of language, history and literature were represented by different professors and researchers in the Conference “National Literature in the University System”. The Conference was organized by the Academy of Sciences in cooperation with University ‘Fan Noli’ of Korça on 14 November 2023 in ‘Aleks Buda’ Hall in the Academy of Sciences of Albania.



One of the priorities of Albanology is to foster the interest on development and research programs with national character. Given the local experience, Albanology and teaching of literature in universities should go deep through identity sciences: archaeology, linguistics, history and literature (as national spiritual product).

The Conference laid the emphasis on the basic and primary importance that the best European university practice attach to national literature, as missionary spiritual heritage for the preservation of national identity.

This Conference highlighted some ethnic, historic and literary ingredients of Albanian ethnicum unfolded through literature and its transposition to university curricula, both at home and abroad, including comparisons with the world beyond us.

An issue raised in most of the papers and presentations was how optional is to schedule Albanian literature in university teaching and to

what point would subjectivity extend to choices and proportions without affecting its mission.

The main topics addressed on the basis of the Conference platform were the objective privileged status of national domestic and foreign literatures in the university system: assessment of the degree of compatibility of university programs with this status viewed from the country's perspective; the future of national literatures in globalism and the institutional responsibility of national university networks: the current state of play of Albanian literature in the university curricula: limitations and disproportions; the history of written literature as a scientific and didactic issue: periods and authors without a stable country in the programs; problems with literary canon.



After the opening speech and greeting remarks, by academician Shaban Sinani, the Conference started with a multi proportional approach by Professor of Pristina University, Osman Gashi: “Literature and literature teaching: concepts, methods, strategy - a lecture on literature, with its ingredients and laws of development, the history of setting principles perceived in relation to education in general and pedagogy in particular”.

The valuable contributions by Arbëreshi researcher Matteo Mandalà will include now the Arbëreshi Literature also beyond university

programs; in his in-depth perspective, the professor from Palermo University dwelled at length on past and present problematics over teaching language and literature in the relevant university departments in Calabria and in Palermo. He praised the work of prominent personalities of Albanian letters and culture, shedding light on their activity in the context of relations between the two Adriatic coasts.

The distinct work “Albanian literature in university programs in Northern Macedonia” by researcher Salajdin Salihu from the University of Tetovo came as a contribution on the problematics and specifics of the program of Albanian literature in the other Albanian – speaking area, Northern Macedonia.

Another very specific perspective was provided by professor Tomorr Plangarica, who referred to the study on present/non-present theoretical concepts and approaches to speech sciences in university programs designed to study the literary discourse in Albanian language. He conceived the target of this Conference as a significant profile related to the nature of knowledge in university programs.

The paper by professor Aleksander Rusakov described the tradition of teaching Albanian language in the University of Saint Petersburg founded in 1957 by Agnia Desnitskaja. Right from the outset, the courses of Albanian literature have been an important part of the curricula of this affiliate. The course lasts four semesters and includes ancient literature (catholic, Albanian, Aljamiados, Arbëreshi literature) and modern literature. Albanian literature is understood as the literature of Albanian people and it is reviewed in the context of development of world literature on one hand and the Albanian history and culture on the other.

The acclaimed researcher Rusana Hristova-Bejleri from University of Sofja ‘St. Kliment Ohridski’ in: “Literature in Albanian texts for foreigners” introduced some well-known texts in Albanian for foreigners from the perspective of works including literary ones and their function - linguistic, identity, cultural, national, ideological, local, and others, posing questions related to the present and the future.

Professor from University of Naples, Mrs. Blerina Suta with her paper: “An approach to model - national literatures in some universities in Italy” underscored that teaching national literature takes a central part in educational policies in Italy and that the graduation class in “Lettere” (Literature) according to the “Ministry of Universities and Scientific

Research” which is still valid from its definition under the decree 2007 (2- Decree dated 16 March 2007, “Determinazione delle classi delle lauree universitarie” published in the official Journal) allocates almost half of the curricula to national literature as compared to other disciplines.

Professors Björn Hansen and Roman Fisun from the University of Regensburg gave a panoramic view on the study programs where the Russian literature plays an essential role in the State University in Moscow "Lomonosov". Particularly interesting in this paper was the fact that in the above-mentioned university there is also a faculty on cultural management, where Russian literature is on top of researches and where it is seen as part of the identity and Russian culture. To this end, special attention should be paid to all domains of its operation. All deliberations adhered to the major axes of the Conference.

In the sessions that dealt with issues of national identity in literature, Professor Mrs. Lili Sula from Tirana University spoke on: “Identity signs of Albanian literature and in the programs of Tirana University”. Whereas researcher Eris Rusi from the University ‘Fan S. Noli’ of Korça spoke on: “Literary globalism: inter-action between foreign and Albanian literature in the context of national and cultural identity”. Researcher Fikret Ramadani from the University of Prizreni ‘Ukshin Hoti’ presented the paper: “The status of Albanian literature in universities in Kosovo”.

Dr. Ardian Muhaj from the Institute of History, the Academy of Albanological Studies pointed out the pressure by globalism of knowledge in the identity sciences in the recent years and in namely over Albanology. Then he dwelt on the particularities of Albanian identity sciences, which have their own specific aspects that should be acknowledged, admitted and applied while drafting the policies on knowledge. In his opinion, the laws enacted in the recent years do not properly reflect this specifics of identity sciences.

Researcher Shaban Sinani (Academy of Sciences) presented his contribution on *the historiographic axes* and issues of literary canon: “To elect or select: return to an academic project for a useful and scientific history of literature”. Abdulla Rexhepi from the University of Pristina ‘Hasan Prishtina’ completed the perspectives on issues of historiography with a special paper: Oriental literature written by Albanians: translation and study.

Professor and researcher from University 'Ludwig Maximilian' in München, Bardhyl Demiraj with his paper: "From text philology to ancient literature: some experiences in "Ludwig Maximilian Universität" in München" dwelled on an important field of studies as ancient literature is. Whereas translator and researcher David Hosaflook from Albanian and Protestant Institute of Studies and its Head with researcher Teuta Toska from the University of Elbasan 'Aleksandër Xhuvani' contributed with their paper: "On the missing place of a literature in its beginning: "Qiriazët and the writings they have left us". Researcher Evalda Paci from the Institute of Language and History read the paper: "Reflections on works and authors on the history of Albanian written literature" (reception, test and challenge).

Researcher Arben Prendi from the University of Shkodra 'Luigj Gurakuqi' spoke on: "Some question marks on the literature of the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century in the context of the history of Albanian literature". Researcher Eldon Gjika from the University of Tirana with an elegant discourse considered the history of the history of Albanian literature as a provocation. Researcher Viola Isufaj from the University of Tirana contributed with a paper on the problematics in literary genres: "Relationship between genres in contemporary Albanian literature: superiority of novels".

Likewise, in this Conference found their own space views on the mimeographed textbooks (dispensa) as pre-texts on the history of Albanian literature and axes of excluded authors through the scrupulous work by researcher Bruna Prifti (Academy of Sciences). Researcher Virion Graçi from the Institute of Language and Literature touched on another phenomenon: dissidence with occurrences and problems inherited from dissidence in Albanian literature up to contemporary times. Researcher Meliza Krasniqi from the Albanological Institute of Pristina made a theoretical discourse on literary formations, periods and canon: the backbone of that discussion was literary or historic periods.

Professor Merita Gjokutaj from the University of Gjirokastra 'Eqrem Çabej' came to this central topic of the Conference with her paper: "An overview on texts of written history of Albanian literature and the reflection of their perspectives in the university programs".

In the axis on the study of national Literatures in university system, researcher Andrea di Giuseppe from the University Rome III said that the

teaching of Italian language and literature in an academic context in Italy provides the common basis for the systems of public universities in different stages of specialization in harmony with its institutional mission.

Researcher Lumnije Jusufi (Humboldt Universität, Berlin) spoke on: “Albanian literature as Albanian monological literature”; whereas translator and professor Edvin Cami from the University of Tirana spoke on: “Problematics of national literature in the educational system, a German experience”. Researcher Ledio Hala (University of Regensburg, Ludwig Maximilian Universität, München) presented the topic: “The place of German literature in the University programs of German language in Germany – the case of the University in München”.

Whereas researchers Belfjore Zifla-Qosja and Anila Mullahi from the University of Tirana presented the principles of research organization of world literature in the country’s educational system (historiography, national literature, trends and directions, canon). Florinda Boriçi and Sidita Hoxhiq from the University of Durrës ‘Aleksandër Moisiu’ and the University of Tirana introduced a double-fold experience: “The US literature in the curricula of the University of Tirana and Durrës”.

Various inflows and perspectives in this section came on literature and other university curricula. Professor Bajram Kosumi (University of Gjilani ‘Kadri Zeka’) addressed with special emphasis: “The status of literature from the prison to university programs – a comparative overview”.

Researcher Jonela Spaho of the University of Korça ‘Fan S. Noli’ and Dean of the Faculty there contributed with her paper: “Albanian modern literature (1912-1939) in the university program”. Researcher Ermir Xhindi (University of Vlora ‘Ismail Qemali’) read the paper: “Albanian literature from the perspective of cultural studies in university programs – indispensable interpretation of traditional “positivism”.

Professor at the University of Pristina “Hasan Prishtina” Nerimane Kamberi spoke on “Literature in danger” – national and foreign literature in a common front”. The two terms heading her paper indicate the state of literature and its teaching today in our countries and beyond where “Danger” and “Front” are highlighted. Since literature is in danger, yes, a front need to be built, just as in a war to face it.

The next university experience with its relevant problematics in the programs of Albanian literature was shared by Drita Isufaj from the

University of Durrës 'Aleksandër Moisiu'. Another experience from the same University came by researcher Olimbi Velaj on the place of Albanian folklore in university curricula and its studying methods. Researcher Ilir Shyta of the University of Korça 'Fan S. Noli' presented the paper: "Albanian contemporary prose and poetry in university curricula".

Researcher Valbona Gashi-Berisha from University of Pristina "Hasan Prishtina" introduced the paper: "Literature today and its significance in the university curricula".

Professor Bashkim Kuçuku from the University of Tirana addressed the topic "Literature in the contemporary school system as a pressing issue". He commended the Conference essential, traditional and contemporary approach. It is essential since both the personal and collective being and existence perspective have been and will remain live ingredients of the nation and its identity. Under the circumstances of a competitive co-existence, national identities of small-size populations have the opportunity to develop well; however, in the conditions of an elimination/exclusive supremacy they are under the threat of disappearance. Professor Kuçuku introduced two programs of the matura (BAC) of the general French lycee where all authors and works come from french literature. This is also the most important conclusion that comes both from the substance of the French contemporary school and from this Conference as well.

“Third Diaspora Summit – The Day of Arbëreshë”
(Palace of Congresses, Tirana 22 - 23 November 2023).

Under the patronage of the Prime Minister of Albania, Mr. Edi Rama, the Third Diaspora Summit was held in Tirana on 22 – 23 November 2023. The Academy of Sciences of Albania was one of the co-organizing institutions engaged specifically with the first day of the event entitled “ “Dita e Arbëreshëve” (The Day of Arbëreshë)



While considering our Diaspora as a national value and asset, the Congress of Arbëreshë and the Diaspora Summit became a meeting point of attaching the deserved attention to Albanians in the areas of education, health, business, arts and culture. As a cultural initiative designed to bring us all together, the Day of Arbëreshë and the Third Disapora Summit is very important for all Arbëresh folks and Albanians.

With four research panels, this Conference covered a wide-ranging thematics related to the folks of Arberia.

The first panel addressed the following issues: Teaching Arbërisht as a complex process and the institutional role. The situation with Arbërishte today: The key elements in preserving it within the Arbëreshi communities. The framework of teaching Arbërishte in Italy in the light of state laws and linguistic standards in Europe; Arbërisht facing its new status as a minority language. Teaching Arbërisht or teaching of the Arbërisht? Didactic methods employed for its teaching and new didactic experimentations in Arberia settings: How can Arbërisht be taught through ludolinguistics?



The second panel touched on the following issues: Religion and reasons, Arbërorë and Arbëreshë: Challenges for traditions, identities and faiths in the postmodern epoch; In pursuit of religious identity: The religious history of Arbëreshë as a paradigmatic example of contemporary ecumenism; Arbërorët and religion: a millennium - old history; Interreligious dialogue or dialogue of cultures? Anthropological rites and customs or religious origin as vivid identity forms characterizing Arbëresh community.

The topics in the third panel were: History, arts, culture, and traditions of historic diaspora; the spiritual bonds of historic Arbëresh diaspora with its country of origin; materialization of mutual cultural relationships; Arbëresh cultural diversity within the Italian context; building bridges of cooperation with the Arbëresh community as a way to preserve cultural heritage.



The fourth panel was focused on the following themes: cultural itineraries and the “Great Year”(Moti i Madh) the transnational project “Moti i Madh” to UNESCO’s attention for international recognition; cultural journeys: model “deradian” for the evaluation of historic countries and buildings; Project “Arbëria 2030”: an integrated feasible and affordable model for territorial development within a broad network.

Viola ISUFAJ

“Arbëreshi from Shkodra Leonardo de Martino”
A chronicle of the International Scientific Conference
(Shkodër on 15 December 2023)

In his work “Shqipëria Serafike” (Seraphic Albania) Father Marjan Prelaj writes the following on Father Leonardo de Martino: ‘Born in Greece, Italo-Albanian, he left Calabria and came to Albania as a missionary; he was gifted and talented both in poetry and in prose. He was the first from the latest generations to praise Albanian language and did also publish “L’Arpa” 1881, a precious work of Albanian literature. He passed away on 14 July 1923 at 93 years old.

To pay tribute to this important personality of culture and faith among Albanians for his contribution, which albeit the long bygone time strengthens our research motivation, the University “Luigj Gurakuqi” in Shkodër hosted on 15 December 2023 the International Scientific Conference “Arbëreshi shkodran Leonardo de Martino”. This Conference was organized by the Center of Albanological Studies of Shkodra University in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of Albania and the Franciscan Province, as an homage on the occasion of the Centenary of the death of the Franciscan missionary from the Arbëresh village Greci in the province of Avellino.



In their greeting remarks, the Directress of the Center for Albanological Studies of the University of Tirana, Prof. Shkreli, Vice Rector of the University of Shkodra, Prof. Hoti, the Head of Archaeological Department in the Academy of Sciences of Albania, Prof. Hoxha and the Franciscan Provincial, Father Gojçaj expressed their satisfaction for this Conference, which brought together several researchers from Italy and Albania.

This Arbëresh Franciscan has left a rich heritage, which thanks to the publication of the volume “Harpa e një arbëreshi” (Arpa di un italo-albanese) is available for readers and researchers.

Students of the Department of Language & Literature of the University of Tirana staged a brilliant interpretation of a play written by Father De Martino “Nata e Kërshëndellave” (Christmas Night).

This playwright was also analyzed with keen interest in Prof. Sula’s Paper.

The book of Genesis in the Bible describes that while sleeping Jacobs receives a dream in which he sees a ladder that was on the ground and reached up into heaven. He saw angels of God going up and down the ladder. And then Jacob saw the Lord standing by the ladder. God’s voice rings out as he speaks to Jacob telling him among others: “Know that I am with you; I will protect you wherever you go and bring you back to this land ” (Genesis 28:12).



Just as in this parable of the Holy Writing, the sea became the passing route for Arbëreshi folks in their efforts to escape by fleeing from the lands plundered by Ottoman occupiers; the latter were not only killing

and destroying, but they also intended to alienate every identity feature. While leaving, Arbëreshët took with them and inherited the cultural and religious identity following the echo of churches' tolls which the sea sent to their motherland, reminding our brothers and Albanians that they should serve their nation in the upcoming centuries in building the national identity, as a bridge reconfirming the European affiliation.

As Prof. Altimari has described them, Arbëreshët kept on being bridges of European Romanticism, Enlightenment, European Renaissance and a Politidal Project for a European Albania, starting with the re-awakening of national identity of Albanians and the establishment of the first teaching institutions - a missionary undertaking of Arbëresh clergy in an effort to preserve the faith, the church, the language and the sense of national belonging.

And actually, this is how researcher Filip Fishta shows his appreciation for Father De Martino's contribution: "De Martino was one of the loyal factors for the political and social recovery of the fatherland of our ancestors and a standard-bearer of friendly cooperation with Italy. This man of state was follower of Francesk Crispi's policies, who as Petrotta does also mention has honoured De Martini in a very special way.

The four sessions of the Conference highlighted all dimensions of De Martino's life and work, as a messenger of the tradition of Italian romanticism among Albanians. He became promoter and inspirer of Albanian literature and a point of reference for the young people in their thirst for knowledge and religion, even prior to their arrival in the Assembly of Troshan where he stayed for over 40 years there.

The first session provided a wide-scale presentation through archival testimony. Father De Martino's life and work were extensively addressed in the paper by Prof. Haxhi and Çapaliku. Prof. Altimari revealed new data on Father De Martino's life by disclosing unknown documents found in archives in Albania and in Italy which help a better understanding of his work; the latter was introduced thanks to the contribution by organizing institutions of the Conference and the University Foundation "Francesco Solano" which made this publication possible.

In his research paper, Prof. Mandalà encourages a critical analysis of the work in the time context, underscoring that: "To re-emphasize

today after 100 years that De Martino was a great promoter of the “new” Arbëresho-Albanian Great Renaissance and one of the major inspirers of Albanian contemporary literature may sound as taken for granted and even banal.

Actually, it requires a hard, daring and hermeneutic effort to incorporate these merits in the complex historical-political context of the time and to evaluate them in the frame of the idealist choices of a franciscan coming from the Arbëresh world from Southern Italy and finally place them in the perspective of a proper critical-literary analysis. That is why we owe this to the memory of Leonardo de Martino and to Albanian Franciscans, who in historic terms have always aligned themselves with the most progressive side of the process of cultural and national emancipation of Albanians”.

The examination of new inflows in the Albanian treasure, thanks to the creative work by Father De Martino was made in the paper by Prof. Priku, who laid the emphasis on some linguistic trends or patterns that Father Leonardo de Martino employed while writing and translating into Albanian, largely in Gega dialect.

There were also discussed issues of selecting the alphabetical order, typical Gega verbal constructions, as the gerund with+ particip, baj(do) as a causative verb + gerund, the use of lexemes or sintagmas as features of Gega dialect and others.

Among others, Father Vitor Demaj recalled the lofty praises by Father Donat Kurti for “Provinca Françeskane Shqyptare” (Albanian Franciscan Province) when he writes: “P. Leonardo de Martino, the most important poet of Arbëreshër, who was the first to write Albanian poetry with a different modern metric system, by practising the language solidly



and cautiously [...]. This friar, a knowledgeable and experienced missionary, who loved wholeheartedly the fatherland of his ancestors meant a lot to our country; he stayed in the Assembly of Troshan, but he also went frequently in Shkodra to join the people in their efforts to push forward the most important issues for the homeland and religion”

Then, the literature researcher unveiled highlights of his creative work in the genres he delievered, as the author of the first play and the designer of structural models of poetic lines, as well as for his role in establishing directly a literary school, as in the case of Father Gjergj Fishta, who was his disciple and through his work in different ways for many other successors. Gaetano Petrotta says the following: “Il P. Giorgio Fishta, che fu anche discepolo del De Martino e che da lui fu sorretto nei primi passi dell’arte di poetare. quando nel 1920 ritornava da Parigi dove era stato segretario della Delegazione Albanese alla Conferenza della Pace, volle visitare il suo maestro già Vecchio e prossimo alla morte del Convento di Sarno.”.

Prof. Paci has explored and presented the favourite motives in Father De Martino’s work. On the other hand, the paper by Prof. Isufaj and Prof. Hala pointed out that Albanian lines by Father De Martino follow a cultivated, authentic and confessional spirit and style with which extreme dramatic events of the life on the Savior’s Cross are reconstructed; however, they go beyond the original style of Metastasio; the spirit of the “poet by nature” of Father De Martino is felt in a language with plenty of sounds, syntax and lexical richness and with a figuration full of poetic grace. He uses “Lord, Creator, Tenzòt, (Scelbùesi)”- by almost exhausting the field of what is possible with all names, including even our anthropological aspects as Gjama- given in the giàm form.

All the 35 reserchers underlined the multidimensionality of Father Leonardo de Martino’s life and work in which everything proves that his entire journey was guided by a great idea for the Albanian nation and the country’s independence, which would be ensured not only through political action, but first and foremost through the cultural recovery of Albanians.

Let this Conference serve to foster a better comprehension and inclusiveness in the pre - and university curricula and in research projects, which would help complete the mosaic of Arbëreshi

intellectuals, who returned to Albanian nation of their ancestors and restored their previously lost being.

Aljula JUBANI