Imagining the Homeland: Poetry, Songs, and the Discourses of Albanian Nationalism
Author(s): Jane C. Sugarman
Source: *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 419-458
Published by: University of Illinois Press on behalf of Society for Ethnomusicology
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/852556
Accessed: 18-08-2014 20:58 UTC

Imagining the Homeland: Poetry, Songs, and the Discourses of Albanian Nationalism

JANE C. SUGARMAN / State University of New York at Stony Brook

> They have one master passion, the Bishop and the Pasha, and when they have finished praying for each other's destruction in their daily secret devotions, I suspect that a fervent little clause in Greek and in Turkish is addressed in much the same phraseology to Allah and the Trinity. And that is for the destruction of a spelling book. They look upon that spelling book much as Zeus regarded the torches of Prometheus. The end of the Turkish Empire is somehow predestined in the cabalistic symbols of its alphabet, and its little reading lessons in words of one syllable are like to be more fateful to the Greek Church than all the tractates of the heretics. I saw it once, and turned its pages with timid care, as one might handle a torpedo. (Brailsford 1971 [1906]: 249–50)

During the past two decades, as cultural forms have come to be viewed as crucial participants in the constitution, maintenance, and transformation of social formations, scholars have looked anew at the phenomenon of nationalism. In studies that have revised fundamental notions of how the system of nation-states came to be, Gellner (1983), Anderson (1991), Balibar (1991), Hobsbawm (1992), Chatterjee (1986, 1993), and others have examined the connection in many world areas between the "imagining" of a nation and the literary, educational, publishing, and folkloristic activities of a newly consolidated middle class. Although many scholars have concentrated their attention on the development of nationalist discourses and their simultaneous dissemination among, and production of, a literate bourgeoisie, few have gone on to trace the effect of these activities on local rural populations, whose recruitment was often necessary to the establishment of the nation-state. Discussing the Albanian nationalist movement, for example, Hobsbawm at one point concedes that the production of literary texts by no means guaranteed their reception by the population at large: ". . . we should beware of too much reliance on the literate. In what sense, or even how far, ordinary Albanians in the late nineteenth and early twen-

tieth centuries saw themselves as such, or recognized an affinity with one another, is far from clear" (Hobsbawm 1992:53).

The present study is, in a sense, a response to Hobsbawm's observation.[1] In it I propose that, among Albanian speakers, the support of villagers for the nationalist cause was secured in part when nationalist poems—the medium of the literate middle class—were transformed into men's narrative songs, the medium of a rural population on the verge of literacy. Toward that end, and in light of recent theoretical works on nationalism, I examine in some detail the works of three poets writing and publishing at the turn of the century, with a view toward charting their roles in the formulation of a set of discourses through which the case for a united Albania was argued. I then survey the extent to which elements of their poetry have been absorbed into the song repertoire of a present-day southern Albanian rural community, and suggest some of the routes through which printed verse might gradually have entered the realm of oral practice.[2] Finally, I consider the impact of such verse on the production among Albanian speakers of a new, national form of subjectivity, and reflect on the means and consequences of its reproduction in each generation since the turn of the century.[3] Taken together, these developments bear witness to the creation of a deeply felt sense of local identity via processes of global integration.

The "Rebirth"

Following the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire began to undergo a military and economic decline. Historians increasingly cast this decline in terms of the Empire's gradual accommodation to, and ultimate incorporation into, the expanding market system that was emanating from Western Europe.[4] The peripheralization of the Empire was signaled dramatically in 1839 by the adoption of a set of reforms known as the Tanzimat, which brought Ottoman governmental and educational systems, as well as the Empire's armed forces, into closer conformity with those of its Western European counterparts (see particularly Shaw and Shaw 1977:55–171). As economic links to Europe increased, a new class of merchants arose in Ottoman territories. Eastern Orthodox Christians entered this profession in large numbers and eventually became the preeminent traders of the Empire, many of them taking up permanent residence outside southeastern Europe (Stoianovich 1960).

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, largely through the instigation of expatriate communities of merchants and intellectuals, various self-declared national groups—including Serbs, Greeks, Romanians, Bulgarians, Albanians, and Turks—became involved in nationalist movements that were

to result in the breakup of the Empire. For groups whose desired homeland still lay within Ottoman borders, the declaration of each new nation-state presented a further threat to their territorial aspirations, but at the same time it also provided a potential staging ground for their literary, political, and military activities. The flowering of vernacular literature that occurred among most such groups is most often referred to as a "rebirth" or "renaissance" (Alb. *rilindja;* Bulg. *vŭzrazhdane;* cf. Czech *obrození;* Croat. *preporod*) or as an "awakening" (Alb. *zgjimi*), implying the belief, common among its participants, that they were discovering a long-forgotten sense of their innate identity, prompting them to revive a pre-existing national culture that had merely been dormant for several centuries. In surveying the history of each such "rebirth," it is clear that in most cases the intelligentsia's linguistic and folkloric pursuits led directly to the development of nationalist aspirations, and that their literary activities became inseparable from the formulation of political strategies.[5]

It was among such an intelligentsia, composed not only of Christian merchants but also of Muslim officials, that the Albanian "rebirth" or Rilindja was fashioned.[6] The lives of three southern Albanian men who functioned as both political and literary figures illustrate the diverse ways that individuals of different class backgrounds became active in the nationalist movement, and how its characteristic discourses arose through their encounters with a range of literary traditions. In the accounts that follow, I do not mean to place an undue emphasis on the individual agency of these men. Following Balibar (1991:90), I see them as simultaneously producing the discourses of the Rilindja and being produced as national subjects by them.

Thimi Mitko and *Bëleta Shqypëtare*

Thimi Mitko, born in 1820 in the town of Korçë (now in southeastern Albania), is one of a number of Rilindja figures whose families were Orthodox Christian merchants.[7] After attending the Greek school in Korçë, Mitko worked in the clothing business and eventually set up his own trading firm. In this capacity he traveled widely between cities in the Ottoman Empire, newly independent Greece and Romania, and Central Europe. During frequent trips to Vienna, he became acquainted with political and intellectual currents emanating from Western Europe, and with writings by Central European scholars on Balkan languages and folklore. By 1857 he had joined an Albanian cultural society in Istanbul, and in 1859 began to write about Albanian affairs. In that same year he began to travel to Egypt on business, and by 1865, he had settled there permanently.

The Albanian community in Egypt had begun to develop shortly after 1805, when Muhammad 'Ali, who was partially of Albanian descent, became

Governor-General of Egypt. Because it included northerners (Gegs) and southerners (Tosks), Christians and Muslims, and individuals of urban and rural background, it probably came closest of all expatriate communities to a microcosm of the Albanian-speaking population, and the proximity in which the various groups lived seems to have encouraged them to regard each other as countrymen.[8] A description of the community published in 1908, a half-century after Mitko's arrival, illustrates how a sense of identity based on religion, as reinforced by the Ottoman administrative or *millet* system, was then only just giving way to the notion of an "Albanian" nationality based on a common language:

> Here in this blessed place that they call Egypt or Misir, there live numerous Albanians: Gegs and Tosks, Christians and Muslims, Orthodox and Catholic, Bektashi and Sunni, rich and poor, a few who are educated and knowledgeable and many who are not. The number of Albanians in Egypt cannot be confirmed with precise statistics, for there are none . . . Muslims are recorded as Turks (*turq*), Christians as *rum* or Greeks, and as for Catholics, they are not recorded on any sound basis, but upon the whim of the clerk (*pas beribajit, si të ketë marrur maj'e kalemit*) . . . (Tirtja 1987:114–15).[9]

Spiro Dine, a fellow southerner, provided a description of musical life in Egypt in that same year:

> . . . at that time there were many Albanians in Egypt: wherever you went you ran into them. The garrisons of Cairo were full of Gegs and Tosks. The songs and dances never stopped; the *bozuk,* the *tambura,* and the *bakllama* [all types of Near Eastern long-necked lutes] rang out on all sides: it was as if we were in Albania. . . (Sako et al. 1962:10).

Shortly after his arrival in Egypt, Mitko began to correspond with intellectuals from the Albanian-speaking communities of Greece and Italy.[10] Several collections of Italo-Albanian folk songs were published in the 1860s, and Mitko followed suit in 1878. The collection of songs and other folkloric materials that he gathered in Egypt was the first such publication to contain both northern and southern songs. Mitko titled it the "Albanian Bee" (orig. Greek *Alvanikē melissa,* Alb. *Bëleta shqypëtare*), by which he meant to evoke an image of himself as folklorist, alighting upon each of his countrymen in turn to cull from them a bit of the nectar of their shared heritage.[11]

Although the folkloric texts were rendered in the Albanian language, the volume was published using a modified Greek alphabet, and its original title page appeared in Greek language. Knowing that the Greek Orthodox clergy were opposed to the development of Albanian literacy, Mitko addressed the preface to a Greek readership, arguing that the masses of Albanians could come to appreciate the ideas associated with Greek "civilization"only after having learned to read their "mother tongue."[12] He expressed a somewhat different set of concerns in an appeal that he sent

to expatriate Albanian merchants in 1874, seeking funding for the book's publication. The volume, he promised, would be an excellent vehicle *për zgjuarjen dhe bashkimin e shqip[ë]tarëve:* "for the awakening and uniting of the Albanian people" (Haxhihasani 1962:21). Mitko included in the collection an extensive glossary of dialect words, as well as many local sayings and greetings, to serve as a corpus of Albanian-language texts. In the case of songs presenting historical narratives, he undertook considerable research to identify the individuals mentioned and the years in which the events depicted took place, appending this information to the end of each song. Here his intent seems to have been to use the songs both to construct a national history of the Albanian people and to provide images of military heroism that might inspire Albanian men to participate in a future independence struggle.

Despite some drawbacks, *Bëleta shqypëtare* provides the best available evidence for what men's songs in Albanian language were like before the period of the war of independence (1878–1912), as well as clues to how men of the time conceived of aspects of collective identity. One hundred men's narrative songs are included, of which eighty-one are in southern dialects. The southern songs depict events taking place between approximately 1720 and 1870, although they should not necessarily be assumed to be as old as the events they describe. Very few come from the Korçë region, even though that was Mitko's home. The great majority describe events to the south of Korçë—either in the far south of what is now Albania, or in areas now in Greece, particularly in and around the town of Janina (Gr. Ioannina). Most are what I will refer to as "chronicle" songs: songs which recount historical events primarily in the third person or in the form of a conversation. At times the heroism of one or more men is extolled, but often the account is dispassionate, although the allegiance of the narrator is always clear:

Kur qe tetëqint seneja,	In the year 1800
i dërgoi Memush kahpeja:	Memush the traitor sent a message to him:
—Ali pashë, ngreu, eja,	"Ali Pasha, arise and come,
se ngriti krye raeja.	for the *reaya* [subject peoples] have risen up."
—Falu, o Shënvasil i shkretë.	"Surrender, O wretched Shënvasil [a Christian Albanian village in the Sarandë district]!"
—S'falemi sa jemi vetë. . . .	"We won't surrender as long as we are alive . . .
Ne jemi kapedanata.	We are all brave fighters:
Magjor Lima kordhëshpata,	Magjor Lima the swordsman,
Spiro Buti qafëgjati.	Spiro Buti with the long neck."
Thotë kapedan Sokrati:	Captain Sokrat said:
—Të mbahi, burra, të mbahi,	"Stand firm, men, stand firm,
se u tremb Ali pashai.	for Ali Pasha has been intimidated."
Dërgoi te Veli agai.	He sent a message to Veli *agha* [one of Ali Pasha's courtiers]:

—Veli be Tripoliçanë,	"Veli Bey of Tripolis [most likely Ali Pasha's son Veli, governor of the Morea]
të dërgon Karaiskaqnë.	sends to you Karaiskaçi [an Orthodox military commander under his jurisdiction]."
Gati ia bori ordhinë	He readied the troops,
asqer dymbëdhjetë mijë,	twelve thousand soldiers,
të rrethosnjën Shënvasilë,	to surround Shënvasil,
Nivicën edhe Bubarinë. . . .	Nivicë and Bubar [nearby Christian Albanian villages] . . . .
	(Haxhihasani 1981:257–58; annotations from Sako and Haxhihasani 1956:125 and 1961:331–36)

In his preface, Mitko argued that the songs in the collection illustrated his contention that loyalty to a common nationality often united Albanian Christians and Muslims (cf. Sako and Haxhihasani 1961:9). Although a few songs do indeed suggest this, many more give the impression that, in earlier eras, Albanian speakers were motivated by conflicting sets of interests and thus saw themselves as divided by differences of locale, class, and, most crucially, religion. This was the case not because religion per se provided individuals with differing world views, but because individuals born into different religious communities—and hence often different social classes—were offered contrasting life trajectories within the Ottoman system. Some of the oldest songs in Mitko's collection describe ongoing rivalries between Albanian feudal lords during the eighteenth century and the skirmishes that regularly broke out between them. As in the example given above, there are songs about the suppression by Muslim office holders such as Ali Pasha of Janina of Christian villagers' uprisings against Ottoman rule; likewise there are Muslim laments for Ali when, as a renegade local ruler, he himself was executed by Ottoman forces in 1822. Also from the 1820s are accounts of the Greek war of independence, when Christian Albanians joined Greek peasants and merchants fighting against Ottoman regiments in which Albanian Muslims served prominently. From the period after the Tanzimat date accounts of demonstrations by Christians against the new conscription army, as well as laments for village men called up to fight and die in faraway battles. Later in the nineteenth century, as the Empire's hold on its territories was crumbling, songs appeared about local outlaws (*kaçakë*), who were alternately regarded by villagers as hoodlums or Robin Hood figures.

The ethnic designations evoked in these song texts suggest that most Albanian speakers identified themselves and each other through terms with quite delimited meanings, rather than through any single national designation. Individuals are generally identified as being from a specific town or region, as Gegs and Tosks, or as Muslims (*turq* or *turkollarë,* lit. "Turks") and Christians (*kaburë,* lit. "infidels"; or *raeja,* lit. "subject peoples")—

terms that often convey the partisan sentiments of the men who created the song. Songs from the Greek war of independence are especially striking, for it is not always clear that the Christian fighters or the Ottoman officers are in fact Albanian speakers rather than "Greeks" or "Turks." Although Mitko viewed all the personages in these songs as "Albanians," not even he was immune to the inconsistency of ethnic terminology that is evident in his collection. He grouped all southern historical songs under the heading "Albanian heroic songs" (*Kënka shqype trimërishte*), while separating out the northern songs as "Geg heroic songs" (*Këngë trimërie gegërishte*).[13]

Fewer than one-sixth of the historical texts in the collection contain national designations such as "Albanians" (*shqypëtarë*) or "Albania" (*Shqipëri*).[14] In a few songs, the word *shqypëtar(ë)* is used in a seemingly unselfconscious way to refer to one's fellow soldiers. In a song about a fighter in Muhammad 'Ali's army who led a brief rebellion, for example, the man calls out: "*Ku jini, ju shqypëtarë?*" ("Where are you, you [my fellow] Albanians?" [Haxhihasani 1981:296]). The use of such designations should not be surprising. Individuals of the sort represented in the collection—mercenaries or merchants living abroad in multi-ethnic areas among a variety of Albanian speakers—would certainly have been among the first to develop a sense of ethnolinguistic affiliation, and hence to deploy such terms. Particularly in the earlier songs, however, recognition of a commonality based on language and/or region of origin does not seem to have coincided with any sense of a political loyalty; the idea that these two should be congruent, as they are in a nation-state, would have been foreign to the personages in all but the latest songs.

Invocations of "Shqipëri" are less common, and often appear in the form of slogans such as "Albania hates a traitor" (*Shqipëria s'do halldup*) or "hero of Albania" (*trim i Shqipërisë*), that could well have been added to the songs long after the time of their creation. Haxhihasani carries his interpretation of these usages even further (1962:88–89). Based on comparisons with later manuscripts by other collectors, he hypothesizes that Mitko himself added words such as Shqipëri, *shqypëtarë,* and *halldup* ("traitor") to certain songs in order to enhance their patriotic qualities.[15]

Mitko's nationalist activities were not limited to his folklore collecting. Beginning in 1867, he published a number of poems and essays that highlighted patriotic themes (see Haxhihasani 1981). Through his travels and extensive correspondence, he also regularly relayed information and strategies among Albanian speakers in Egypt, Italy, Istanbul, Bucharest, and Albanian territories in the Balkans. Through his far-reaching contacts, Mitko became one of the foremost "imaginers" of a unified Albania. From his vantage point in Egypt, he could visualize its diverse Albanian-speaking

community writ large as a nation—one that he could then make tangible through his song collection. From his earlier travels in Central Europe, he could cast his vision of nationhood in the discourses of the Enlightenment and of romantic nationalism.

In most of the territories where Albanian speakers lived, including Greece, Egypt, and the Ottoman provinces, French language and culture were regarded as the symbol of all that was modern, "civilized," democratic, and revolutionary: little wonder that Ottoman subjects came to speak of themselves as posed between *alaturka* (Ital. *alla turca,* "things Turkish") and *alafranga* (Ital. *alla franca,* "things French/European").[16] Mitko's letters and essays are filled with allusions to the concept of "enlightenment." Our people, he says in one passage, "will become illuminated with the light of knowledge" (*do të ndritësohet me dritën e diturisë;* Haxhihasani 1981:21). In 1880, he composed a poem called "Marsejesa": a sort of Albanian national anthem modeled closely on the "Marseillaise" (ibid.:583–84).[17]

For Mitko and his Italo-Albanian colleagues, however, the key figure prompting both their folklore collecting and their advocacy of Albanian language would seem to have been the German writer Johann Gottfried von Herder. Mitko would probably have known of Herder's writings only indirectly, either through his stays in Vienna or his contacts with Italo-Albanian intellectuals. Herder's writings on the need to assert and develop German language and "culture" in the face of hegemonic French "civilization" must have encouraged Orthodox Christians like Mitko, educated in Greek schools, to view their own language and culture as marginalized not by French but by Greek "civilization." In his Preface to *Bëleta shqypëtare,* Mitko included a quote attributed to Herder: "A nation cannot lift itself from barbarism in any other manner than by developing its language." Similarly, Herder's arguments that folk poetry serves as "the archives of a nationality" (IX, 532) and that from it "one can learn the mode of thought of a nationality and its language of feeling" (IX, 530; both quoted in Wilson 1989) are closely echoed in a description by Spiro Dine of his first meeting with Mitko:

> . . . when I arrived here in Egypt in 1866, as a youth of about 20 or 21 years, I heard that Thimi Mitko was a *shqipëtar.* I say *shqipëtar* because only he attempted to write in his own language. . . . When I first encountered Mitko in the Alil Han [caravansary] where he had his office, he greeted me as a fellow son of the motherland (*mëmëdhetar*), and his first words were to ask me if I knew some old song or tale. I was astounded by this and smiled at first, but in the end he filled my head with talk of Father Archimandrite Kamarda [Demetrio Camarda], the great Albanian philologist [in] Livorno, Italy; of Panajot Kupitori from Hydra in Greece; and many, many other great European philologists who say that the customs, language, and history of a people (*popull*) are preserved in their old songs and tales (Sako et al. 1962:9).

Naim Frashëri

Our second poet, Naim Frashëri, represents a very different type of Rilindja figure.[18] Born in 1846 in the highland settlement of Frashër, southwest of Korçë, Naim was one of several sons of a Muslim bey, a member of what Gellner (1983:14) has described as the pre-industrial "warrior-and-scribe ruling class." His family were members of the Bektashi Sufi order, a form of Islam with ties to Shi'ism that had become particularly prominent in parts of southern Albania.[19] It is thought that Naim attended the Turkish school in Frashër, where he would have studied Ottoman and Arabic and learned to recite the Qur'an. He seems also to have been introduced to Persian language during this period, as well as to the poetry of the *bejtexhinj:* Muslim Albanian poets who wrote verse modeled on Near Eastern forms.

When nineteen, Naim's family moved to Janina, where he studied for four years in the Zosimaia gymnasium, whose curriculum included classical Greek and Latin, French and Italian, history, philosophy, mathematics, physics, and Orthodox Christian theology (Shuteriqi 1982:56). While there, he developed a clandestine interest in the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau and probably continued his Persian studies. After a decade as a bureaucrat in various towns of southern Albania, he moved to Istanbul by 1882, there participating in a growing circle of Albanian patriots while working in the Ottoman Ministry of Education. During these years, Naim very likely encountered some of the Italo-Albanian publications of the 1860s and perhaps also Mitko's essays and even his song collection. It is certain that he continued his acquaintance with European writings while in Istanbul, including more recent schools of French literature as well as studies of Albanian language and folklore by J. G. von Hahn and others.

Although Naim and his brothers Abdyl and Sami are often referred to as the fathers of Albanian nationalism, they also represent a type of Ottoman intellectual found among many educated Muslim men during the late nineteenth century. Abdyl, the oldest of the three, fought in his youth as a mercenary in the Ottoman army, and was a government bureaucrat and member of the Ottoman parliament; he also became the foremost statesman of the Albanian independence movement. In 1878, when the Great Powers threatened to apportion Albanian lands between newly liberated neighboring states, he helped to found the famous Albanian League or League of Prizren. Shortly thereafter, he traveled throughout Europe to plead for the formation of an autonomous Albanian province within the Ottoman Empire (see Skendi 1967:72–74).[20]

Naim's younger brother Sami, known in Turkish as Şemseddin Sāmī, was in his day one of Istanbul's foremost literary figures: a multilingual "print-capitalist" (Anderson 1991) who played a crucial role in simultaneous-

ly creating a cosmopolitan Ottoman reading public and disseminating European discourses and literary forms among them.[21] Sami lived in an era in which presses and newspapers were proliferating throughout the Empire, allowing men such as himself to operate at least semi-independently as "intellectuals." As part of his journalistic activities, he founded a celebrated Turkish-language newspaper (*Sabah*) and wrote for many others, and he issued a series of inexpensive books that he called the "pocket library" (*Cep kütüphânesi*). In Turkish language he published numerous novels, plays, and translations of European literary classics such as *Les Misérables* and *Robinson Crusoe.*

As a complement to his publishing ventures, Sami was a prolific lexicographer and philologist of Turkic languages, and produced several important dictionaries and encyclopedias. Motivated not by a distaste for Arabic and Persian but by a conviction in the distinctiveness of different language families, he was among the first to advocate that words in those languages be removed from Ottoman speech and replaced by neologisms created from Turkic roots. He is thus considered to be one of the founders of modern Turkish. But with his brother Naim, Sami also played a major role in the development of literary Albanian. He designed one of the major Albanian alphabets of the period based on Latin letters, and then used this alphabet as a basis for several Albanian-language textbooks (see Skendi 1960), including the notorious *Abetare* or "spelling book" mentioned in the quotation that opens this paper. He is also believed to have penned an anonymous political pamphlet in 1899 entitled *Shqipëria ç'ka qenë, ç'është e çdo të bëhetë?* (translated most often as *Albania: Past, Present, and Future*), in which he laid out in detail a plan for an independent Albanian republic (see Skendi 1967:167–69).[22]

Naim's profile as a political figure is considerably more muted. In the course of his life he published volumes of prose and poetry in Persian, Turkish, and Greek; he also became the preeminent Albanian-language poet of his generation. If Mitko worked ardently to implement Herder's views on language and culture, Naim drew his literary inspiration from more diverse sources, including the literature of ancient Greece and Rome; the spiritual poetry of Islam; and the ideals of French humanist, Enlightenment, and romantic writers.[23] Naim believed that the Albanian language was descended from that of the Pelasgians, considered by scholars of the time to be the original inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula (see Kastrati 1971:107–12). For him, the language and culture of classical Greece and Rome were a part of his people's legacy, as were Near Eastern languages and Sufi poetry through his Muslim faith. For him and for his brothers, being "civilized" (*i/e qytetëruar*) and persons of "knowledge" (*dituria*) seems to have meant drawing on the wisdom of all such texts in order to "elevate" (*lartësohem*) oneself and one's countrymen.

Before Naim, the poetry of Muslim southern Albanians had been closely aligned with Near Eastern literary traditions. Although in Albanian language, it was based on Persian or Arabic forms and written in Arabic script, and its lexicon was rich with Ottoman vocabulary (see Kaleši [Kaleshi] 1966–67, Hetzer 1984, Norris 1993, Elsie 1995). Working in conjunction with Sami, Naim developed a clear, unadorned Albanian language, devoid of imported European or Near Eastern words. If, as Gellner (1983:11) argues, elite literatures prior to the nationalist period were often constructed so as to be inaccessible to the common people, Naim's verse combined folk elements with learned tropes in a language that he hoped all Albanian speakers could understand, regardless of class, religion, or locale, and that could be used to instruct a people only just learning to read its "mother tongue." To achieve his linguistic ends, Naim (with Sami) created many neologisms in order to render into Albanian the European discourses that he and his cohorts were eagerly embracing. So, for example, the word *i/e qytetëruar,* "civilized," was derived from *qytet,* "city"; *dituria,* "knowledge," from *i/e ditur,* "knowledgeable, learned"; and *lartësohem,* "I elevate myself," from *i/e lartë,* "high."[24] For present-day Albanian speakers, it is difficult to realize that his language, now so intrinsic to the standard literary language, must have seemed very novel, and even "foreign," to its first generation of readers. Like Sami, Naim published several textbooks to be used in newly opened Albanian-language schools in his homeland, and virtually all his Albanian-language writings seem to have been intended to lead his readers into the nationalist movement.

Naim's best-known poem, published in Bucharest in 1886, is "*Bagëti e Bujqësija*" ("Stockbreeding and Farming"), whose opening lines have been diligently memorized by generations of Albanian students (N. Frashëri 1995a:21):[25]

O malet' e Shqipërisë e ju o lisat' e gjatë!
Fushat e gjëra me lule, q'u kam ndër mënt dit' e natë!
Ju bregore bukuroshe e ju lumenjt' e kulluar!
Çuka, kodra, brinja, gërxhe dhe pylle të gjelbëruar!
Do të këndonj bagëtinë që mbani ju e ushqeni,
O vëndethit' e bekuar, ju mëndjen ma dëfreni!
Ti Shqipëri, më ep nderë, më ep emërin shqipëtar,
Zëmërën ti ma gatove plot me dëshirë dhe me zjarr.
Shqipëri, o mëma ime, ndonëse jam i mërguar,
Dashurinë tënde kurrë zemëra s'e ka harruar. . . .

O mountains of Albania and you O tall oak trees!
Broad fields of flowers that are in my thoughts day and night!
You beautiful hillocks and you limpid streams!
Peaks, crags, and hillsides, cliffs and forests of intense green!
I will sing of the herds that you sustain and nourish,
O dear, blessed places, you enchant my thoughts!
You, Albania, you give me my honor, you give me the name Albanian,

> You have rendered my heart full of desire and burning.
> Albania, O my mother[land], even though I am in exile,
> My heart has never forgotten your love. . . .

At the time that Naim published his poem, Romania had an expatriate Albanian community of some 40,000 persons (Faensen 1980:46), and it has been suggested that the poem was written to gain their financial support for the independence movement (Shuteriqi 1982:94). In a central portion of the poem (lines 207–227), Naim in fact specifies the territory east of the Adriatic Sea that he envisions as comprising the "Motherland" (*Mëmëdhe*), including districts lying beyond the present-day borders of Albania: from Ulcinj (now in Montenegro) in the north to Çamëria (in Greece) in the south, and from Prishtinë (in Kosova, Yugoslavia) to Skopje and Prilep (in Macedonia) and Kastoria (in Greece) in the east.

Contrary to many stereotypes of Balkan nationalist poetry, "Bagëti e Bujqësija" was intended as vernacular high literature rather than as an imitation of folk verse, although its style does allude in places to rural texts. With its ecstatic ethos, its nostalgic view of nature, and its plumbing of the poet's emotional depths, it falls clearly within the romantic literary tradition. Its inspiration, however, came from more varied sources. Qosja (1986:54–58) and Elsie (1995:231–32) suggest an indebtedness to Hesiod's *Works and Days* as well as to Virgil; Elsie in fact translates the title as "Bucolics and Georgics," alluding to Virgil's two lengthy pastoral works. Shuteriqi (1982:151), however, points to a more immediate inspiration for Naim's poem: the *Regrets* of sixteenth-century French humanist Joachim Du Bellay. Having left Paris to live and write in Rome, Du Bellay composed *Les Regrets,* a collection of sonnets modeled on Latin verse, as a meditation on his very mixed memories of his homeland France. Shuteriqi notes a close parallel between several of the tropes found in an early section of Naim's poem and those found in the first lines of one of Du Bellay's sonnets. And the effusive praise, replete with exclamation points, that Naim lavishes on his "motherland" echoes a humorous sonnet that Du Bellay addresses to a beloved, in which he satirizes Petrarchian verse (sonnet 91; Du Bellay 1966:164):

> *O beaux cheveux d'argent mignonnement retors !*
> *O front crespe, & serein ! & vous face doree !*
> *O beaux yeux de crystal ! ô grand' bouche honoree,*
> *Qui d'un large reply retrousses tes deux bordz ! . . .*
>
> O beautiful silver hair so daintily twisted !
> O crisp, serene forehead ! & you, golden face !
> O beautiful eyes of crystal ! o large honored mouth,
> that tucks your two [cheeks] up into a large fold ! . . .

If not Du Bellay's poem specifically, Naim must have encountered similar French verse in his studies at Zosimaia. Seen from this vantage point, he emerges as an enraptured student of "European" culture, smitten both by classical verse and by French belles-lettres. By merging Renaissance sentiment and style with classical subject matter, Naim created in his poem his own form of romanticism, evoking not the cosmopolitan city of Paris but the rural highlands of the Balkan peninsula. Although his personal memories were primarily of the mountains around Frashër, he gave to them the name "Albania."

In his final works, Naim concentrated on the genre of the epic, inspired by the works of Homer and Virgil as well as by Persian and Albanian Sufi poetry (see Çollaku 1971; Qosja 1986). Through his book-length epics, he reached back through history to locate personages who could serve Albanians as ancestor figures and model heroes in their quest for an independent land. His first epic, *Historia e Skënderbeut* ("The history of Skënderbeg," 1898; cf. Shuteriqi 1982:192–210, Qosja 1986:241–66), details the life and death of Skënderbeg, a fifteenth-century feudal lord who unified members of the Albanian-speaking nobility under his leadership and succeeded in ousting Ottoman forces from northern territories for several decades (see Skendi 1967:3–4). For Naim and others in the Rilindja, Skënderbeg served as an ideal symbol of a united Albanian people resisting Turkish rule. Moreover, the military pact that he oversaw enabled them to posit the existence of a pre-Ottoman, medieval "Albania" that could then be "reborn" as a modern Albanian state.

Naim's second epic, *Qerbelaja* ("Karbala," 1898), is a religious poem recounting the seventh-century battle of Karbala, the defining moment in the split between Sunni and Shi'i Islam. At Karbala (now in Iraq), on the tenth day of the month of Muharram in the year 60 A.H./680 A.D., Muhammad's grandson Husayn and a group of his supporters were defeated in battle by members of the rival Umayyad family, thus assuring that the Islamic Caliphate would thereafter bypass Muhammad's own descendants. Bektashi Sufis in Albania and elsewhere, who consider themselves to be followers of both Muhammad and his son-in-law (and paternal cousin) 'Ali, commemorate Husayn's suffering and martyrdom each year through a fast known as Matem (Arab. *Ma'tam*), which is observed on the first ten days of Muharram. If "Bagëti e Bujqësija" was written to interest Orthodox Christian merchants in the nationalist cause, then *Qerbelaja* was evidently intended to recruit Albanian Bektashi, for whom nationalist sentiments might seem to be both contrary to Islamic principles and—in the case of the elite—a challenge to their privileged economic position within the Empire.

In the final chapter of *Qerbelaja,* as he draws lessons from the battle

of Karbala, Naim formulates a spiritual philosophy that presents Albanian patriotism as a facet of religious commitment (see also Norris 1993:182–88). One passage in particular succinctly fuses Sufi beliefs in God's pervasive presence in the world (lines 61–78) with the Enlightenment ideal of elevating oneself through the light of knowledge (lines 87–98; words said to have been created by Naim are highlighted):

lines 61–78:

Besojmë Zotn' e vërtetë,	We believe in the true God,
Q'është gjithësija *vetë;*	who is the *cosmos* itself,
Pa atë s'ka vënt gjëkundi,	without Him no place exists,
Ay 'shtë kreji dhe fundi,	He is the beginning and the end.
Më çdo anë që shikojmë,	Everything which we gaze upon
Fytyrën e tij vështrojmë,	bears His resemblance.
E tërë ç'është kjo jetë,	Everything in this life
Është' ay Zot' i vërtetë!	is He, the true God!
Luletë, që lulëzojnë,	The flowers that bloom
Bukurin' *e tij tregojnë,*	show forth His *beauty,*
Ay është trëndafili,	He is the rose,
Ay vetë dhe bilbili;	He Himself the nightingale.
Po kur desh Zot' i vërtetë	When the true God wished
Të dil faqeza në jetë,	to reveal Himself in the world,
Ahere bëri njerinë;	He created humankind—
Atje ta gjesh Perëndinë!	there you will find God!
Kush njohu vehten' e tija,	Whoever knows himself
E di ç'është Perëndija! . . .	knows what is God! . . .

lines 87–98:

O njeri! të qofsha falë!	O human! May you be honored!
E kupëton këtë fjalë?	Do you understand this word?
Pa mblith mëndjen' e mendohu	Gather your thoughts and think,
Dhe ngrehu e lartësohu	arise and *elevate yourself,*
Duke marrë dituritë,	taking *knowledge* upon yourself
Që ta bësh natënë ditë,	so that you may make of the night day,
Sa të muntç ndritohu *mirë,*	*enlighten yourself* to the best of your ability:
Mos qëndro në errësirë,	do not remain in *darkness.*
Nga njeriu i vërtetë	There is nothing more noble in life
s'ka më të lartë në jetë;	than the true person;
Se mëndje e njerëzisë	for the mind of *humankind*
Është pesh' e Perëndisë. . . .	bears the weight/power of God. . . .

(N. Frashëri 1995c:306–307)

In the poem's closing lines, in language reminiscent of his Skënderbeg epic, Naim interprets the battle of Karbala as a metaphor for the Albanian struggle, calling upon Albanians to sacrifice their lives for the "Motherland" as the faithful did for Husayn:

Shqipëtari trim me fletë,	May the Albanian be an invincible hero
Si ka qënë le të jetë;	as he has always been,
Të ketë gjith' urtësinë	may he have great *wisdom*
E ta dojë Shqipërinë,	and may he love Albania,
Të vdesë për Mëmëdhenë,	may he die for the *Motherland*
Si Myhtari për Hysenë,	as al-Mukhtar did for Husayn,
Të ngjanjë më Ibrahimnë	may he emulate Ibrahim
Edhe më Eba-Myslimnë;	and Ibn Muslim,
Të jetë trim e i mirë,	may he be both brave and kind,
Po të mos jet' egërsirë;	but may he not be *brutish,*
Të jet' i qytetëruar,	may he be *civilized,*
I ditur' e i mësuar;	knowledgeable and educated,
Ti apë nder Shqipërisë.	and may he bring honor to Albania
U bëftë e Perëndisë.	so that it will be blessed by God.
	(ibid.:289)

Whereas in "Bagëti e Bujqësija" Naim had fashioned a discourse of pastoral nostalgia to advance his nationalist goals, in his epics he took up and recast two additional discourses that would come to suffuse all subsequent periods of Albanian nationalism: one of enlightenment and ecumenicism, the other of military heroism.

Sali Butka

Five years after Naim's death in 1900, a secret committee was founded in the town of Manastir (now Bitola, Macedonia) with the goal of liberating Albanian lands not only from Turkey but also from predatory neighboring states. Shortly thereafter, armed guerrilla units (*çetës*) were formed in southern districts. Due to frequent encroachments by Greek troops into southern border areas, the *çetës* remained active through the period that included the declaration of an independent Albania in 1912 and its recognition by the Great Powers in 1918. Prominent among *çetë* commanders were educators, whose students entered the *çetës* in large numbers, as did many villagers.[26] Among the commanders was Sali Butka, who was born in the Kolonjë district south of Korçë. A contemporary of Naim's, Sali was also Bektashi.

Although not of the literary caliber of Naim, Sali was also a poet. What is striking about his most well-known poems is that they were composed one by one, in the field, as he moved with his *çetë* from one military engagement to the next. In language and subject matter, they are closer to the style of rural songs than are Naim's poems, while still partaking of the romantic and patriotic discourses of the era. Most commemorate specific battles waged by the *çetë,* in the form of a "chronicle" detailing the event or of a lament eulogizing a fallen soldier. One such lament is a poem about his son Gani, who was killed in battle in 1914 (Butka 1972:55–56):

Malet e Gramozit qajnë	The mountains of Gramos are weeping,
e një zi të madhe mbajnë	they are observing a deep mourning,
qajnë Gani kapedanë	they are crying for Gani the captain
edhe ditën që u ndanë.	and for the day that they separated from him.
Ato male kush i shkelte?	Those mountains, who was able to scale them?
Veç Ganiu me shokë delte,	Only Gani went out with his comrades,
kundër armikut qëndronte,	he stood against the enemy,
ndë shi, ndë dëborë luftonte.	and fought in the snow and rain.
Po qan dhe Qaf' e Kazanit,	The Kazan Pass is also crying,
pyjet dhe sheshet e stanit,	as are the forests, fields, and dairies,
gurë e drurë po vajtojnë,	the rocks and the trees are lamenting,
Gani Butkën s'e harrojnë,	they won't forget Gani Butka,
trim'n e bukur, kordhëtarë,	the handsome hero, the swordsman,
që i vinte lufta mbarë.	who battled so successfully.
Katër vjet, o Gano, o dritë,	For four years, O Gani, O my light,
s'na lanë armiqësitë. . . .	the enemy never left us alone. . . .

Another poem addresses the Frashëri brothers directly, alluding to the stirring events that took place in Albanian lands in the years following their deaths (Godo 1964:337–38):

Ngreu, o Abdyl bej nga varri	Arise, O Abdyl Bey, from your grave
Se t'u mbarua qëllimi,	for your goal has been attained.
Koha u kthye së mbari	Times have taken a turn for the better.
Hidhi sytë nga perëndimi.	Cast your eyes to the west[27]
Që të shikosh Shqipërinë,	so that you can see how Albania
Nga gjumi i rëndë u zgjua,	has awakened from a heavy sleep.
Përmënd Samin' e Naimnë,	Awaken Sami and Naim
Ta shohën q'u lulëzua.	so that they can see how it has blossomed,
Të shikojn' Adriatiknë,	so that they can see the Adriatic
Që u bë i Shqipërisë,	that has now become Albania's.
Me val' e godit armiknë,	With its waves it strikes down the enemy
Me fuqi të Perëndisë . . .	with the power of God . . .

Once the fighting had ceased, Sali published his poems from the *çetë* years in a collection called *Ndjenja për Atdhenë* ("Feelings for the Fatherland"; see Butka 1972). Although poems by all three men—Thimi Mitko, Naim Frashëri, and Sali Butka—are sung today in southern villages, it is Sali's poems that are most widely known.

An examination of the lives of men such as these reveals certain ironic aspects of the history of southeast European nationalist movements. First, if it is the case (as Anderson, Gellner, and others have argued) that the development of print capitalism and of a national language and literature were prerequisites to the formation of the nation-state system, then the existence of an educated, diasporic middle class was surely a prerequisite to both. In

almost every case, these nationalist movements developed through actions initiated outside the territory that was claimed as the "homeland," and each relied on a widely dispersed network of officials, merchants, educators, and perhaps religious leaders, all of whom had a particular need to develop means of long-distance communication. Second—especially for Christians, who were for the first time entering the ranks of the educated in large numbers—an "awakening" to one's national language and its literary possibilities became possible only through a prior awakening to a far broader range of predominantly European literary and scholarly writings, together with an acceptance of their hegemonic discourses. In short, although the consolidation of a cosmopolitan middle class did indeed bring about the present system of nation-states in southeastern Europe, it did so as one important phase in ongoing processes of globalization and transnationalism that have continued to the present. These processes should not be viewed, as they often are, as ushering in a historical period succeeding that of the "national," but rather as the very catalyst that, in an earlier era, made nationalist movements possible (cf. Foster 1991).

From Poems to Songs

I turn now to the song repertoire of one present-day Albanian community to illustrate the transformation brought about in southern rural areas by the writings of Rilindja figures. Members of this community refer to themselves as *presparë,* "people from Prespa," alluding to the large lake that today forms the border between Albania, Greece, and their villages in the Republic of Macedonia.[28] Among the Albanians in Prespa are descendants both of the Bektashi landholders of the Ottoman period and of their Sunni Muslim subjects. The former, in fact, refer to themselves as *kolonjarë* ("people from Kolonjë") because they believe that their ancestors emigrated to Prespa from the Kolonjë district in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Although they live in Macedonia, Presparë were in frequent contact with families in the Korçë region of Albania until 1945. Their folklore can be seen as representing an eastern continuation of the cultural forms of that region, and their dialect is extremely close to the language of poets such as Mitko, Naim, and Sali (see Osmani 1996). Most of the Prespa singers with whom I have worked had four to eight years of schooling, often in Macedonian language, although a few men attended high school and then teachers' college in Albanian language. Living outside Albania, they were excluded both from the Albanian state's educational system and from its socialist-era policies that encouraged the creation of new patriotic songs. They may thus maintain an older repertoire of narrative songs than that of their neighbors in Albania.

All the songs in the local Prespa repertoire have a polyphonic texture,

with two solo voices interweaving over a choral drone. The majority of songs were learned, as singers often say, *pe pleqve* ("from the elders")—from individuals who were of the grandparent generation when today's adults were children. Some, however, including a few of the narrative songs in the men's repertoire, have been learned in recent decades from broadcasts of Albanian radio or from Albanian videos. The melodies and/or texts of these "borrowed" songs are quickly adjusted by singers to fit within the local style of performance and then join the larger repertoire that circulates largely through oral transmission.

When Prespa men allude to the songs that they believe to be the oldest in their repertoire, they mention those that they refer to as *shtruar* (lit. "drawn out" or "sung calmly"): songs sung without much ornamentation and in a definite meter that may nevertheless be relaxed in performance. Often the domain of older singers, *shtruar* songs are typically performed in a dignified, reserved manner at medium volume, and most are sung to melodies used also for the women's repertoire. In addition to songs for ritual occasions, love songs, and songs of *gurbet* (economic emigration), there are narrative songs that recount the deaths of village men: not in dramatic battles (as in the "chronicle" songs in *Bëleta shqypëtare*), but in the course of a life led as a farmer or herdsman. Phrased as direct addresses to the deceased, and including a mournful refrain, the texts of these short narratives resemble those of funeral laments performed by Albanian women:

Vinje që naj Korça bir-o *vinje më shtëpi* . . .
REF.: *Tinë i nënës Xhemali.*
Kishe ipur bir-o *more një kalë dori* . . .
Aty dënë plasë bir-o *zënë një pusi* . . .
Të goditi Xhemi bir-o *tynë gji më gji* . . .
Seç t'i derdhi zorrët bir-o *zorrët dhe mëlçi* . . .
Ty të qanin motrat bir-o *me çember të zi* . . .

You were coming home from Korçë (o son) . . .
REF.: O you mother's [son] Xhemali.
You had mounted on a roan horse . . .
There in a crevice they laid an ambush . . .
He struck you, Xhemi, in the chest . . .
and pierced your bowels and liver . . .
Your sisters were lamenting you,
wearing black veils . . .
(recorded in Toronto, Canada, 1985)

A second large category of men's songs are those that are sung *lartër:* in full voice, at a high pitch level, in a non-metric manner, and with dense ornamentation. With small differences in the way that individual men perform them, most are sung to the same melody. I will refer to this as the "chronicle" melody because it is the one to which texts are sung that re-

semble the songs noted in Mitko's collection. *Lartër* songs are generally the province of men in their prime and are often sung in a particularly dramatic and emotional fashion in which the two soloists gesticulate with their hands and look each other in the eye or throw their heads back with eyes closed. In response, those droning and listening frequently call out patriotic slogans or pound their fists on the table around which they sit. One typical song is about a battle fought by Sali Butka's *çetë* in 1916:

Vjeshtë e tretë më të dalë	The third month of autumn was just ending
ç'u fillua Komiteti.	when the *çetë movement began.*
Komiteti mori malë	*The çetë* took to the mountain,
Panarit më luftë ranë	Panarit [a town in Kolonjë] fell in battle,
ç'u vranë dy kapedanë	and two captains were killed:
Nebi Kuçi me Rizanë.	Nebi Kuçi and Riza [Panariti].
Sali beut aber ja dhanë	The news was brought to Sali Bey [Butka]
për Nebinë e për Rizanë.	about Nebi and Riza.
Sali beu tha nja dy fjalë:	Sali Bey said a few words:
Mos, burra, qani si gratë!	Men, don't cry like women!
Mengoni nesër me natë	By tomorrow night you must be gone
që të vemë në Voskopojë,	so that we can go on to Voskopojë [a settlement of Orthodox Christians suspected of being Greek sympathizers],
Voskopojës t'i vëmë zjarrë,	to set Voskopojë on fire,
t'i zëmë Grekërit së gjallë,	and capture the Greeks alive,
se jemi trimë shqipëtarë!	because we are Albanian heroes!
	(Toronto, 1985; another performance may be heard on Leibman 1974, B6, or as reproduced on Sugarman 1997b, selection 12)

A few songs in the men's repertoire are "lament-like" in text structure and melody, but are performed in the more dramatic *lartër* style, such as this song about Gani Butka:

Ku ta bëjmë djalo *ne dimrin sinvjet*? . . .
REF.: *O Gani medet!*
ku t'më bëj mua djalo *Zoti kësmet?* . . .
Dë një dimër djalo, *dë një kiamet* . . .
ti më bënje luftë bir-o *me një palë grekë* . . .
junani me topa bir-o, *tinë me dyfek* . . .
Të kërkon yt atë bir-o, *tynë më s'të ketë* . . .
Ti kishe ryrë bir-o *dy pashë në dhet* . . .
balluket e zeza bir-o *mbetur përmi dhet* . . .
Për Shqipërinë e shkretë bir-o *dheri më s'të tret!* . . .
Ishe i vogël bir-o, *njëzet e dy vjet* . . .

Where are we going to pass the winter (O young man)? . . .
REF.: Help poor Gani!
will God ever bring me good fortune? . . .
In a winter, in a storm . . .

you were fighting (O son) against a group of Greeks . . .
the Greeks with cannons, you with a rifle . . .
Your father searches for you, but you are nowhere to be found . . .
You were half-buried in the ground . . .
locks of your black hair remained above the ground . . .
For poor Albania's sake, may the soil never have taken you [if only you could have lived to fight another day]! . . .
You were young, only twenty-two years old . . .
(village of Bollacërkë e Poshtme, 1981)

Aside from a few songs of Ottoman military recruits (*këngë nizamí*), most *lartër* songs from Prespa are historical narratives (see Table 1). It is noteworthy that the events depicted in them date back only to 1878, the year that marks the beginning of the Albanian war of independence. The greatest number recount activities of the *çetë*s, particularly that of Sali Butka. Even though Presparë sing *këngë nizami* that Albanian scholars have ascribed to the period before 1878, no song chronicles specific historical events of that earlier period. It is possible that a newer repertoire of songs of the *çetë* period has displaced an older one of songs such as those found in Mitko's collection, but it is also possible that Prespa men did not sing such *lartër* songs in earlier periods. A dearth of earlier "chronicle" songs from the Korçë region in both *Bëleta shqypëtare* and a recent collection of Korçë songs (Panajoti 1982) only substantiates the latter view. Since men in both Prespa and the Korçë area were primarily farmers, artisans, or merchants, it seems likely that they may not have encountered a sort of soldier's repertoire until the beginning of the nationalist movement or—at the earliest—at the time that they began to serve in the Ottoman army after the Tanzimat.

Of the historical songs listed in the chart, most have texts that are similar in structure and language to songs collected in the nineteenth century. Beginning with those describing events around 1900, however, the words for "Albania" and "Albanians" appear frequently. In a few songs, such as the two cited immediately above, singers themselves may choose whether or not to include patriotic slogans regarding Albania that are similar to those that may have been added to the songs in *Bëleta shqypëtare*.

At least seven of the songs are renderings of poems by the three authors discussed here, each sung to the "chronicle" melody. Of these, the oldest ("Korçë moj e zeza Korçë") is based on a poem by Thimi Mitko ("Korç' moj Korç' e mjera Korçë") about an earthquake that took place in Korçë in 1879 (see Haxhihasani 1981:582–83). Four songs are versions of poems by Sali Butka, all of which have undergone various alterations. As sung, for example, Sali's lament to Gani is considerably shorter, and the order of lines has been changed:

Table 1. Prespa Albanian Men's Narrative Songs

Year	Event/s	"Chronicle" Type	"Lament-Like" Type
1878	Congress of Berlin		Ipe trenë, shkove Gjermani
1879	earthquake in Korçë	*Korçë moj e zeza Korçë* [ThM]	
1884	local outlaws (*kaçakë*)	Qan Rehova, qan Nivica Shtat' a tetë kolonjarë Ç'ke or bir që sheretim?	Në plepa t'Bilishtit
??	fighting in Prespa	Ç'u mblodh kazaja	
(1886)	(ode to Alb countryside)	Ku më zjen capi me zile [NF]	
1897	killing of Turkish officer	Të xhumanë më saba	
(1898)	(battle of Karbala)	Zejnel Abedin i shtritur [NF]	
1902	killing of Russian consul	Manastir Shirok Sokak	
	Çetë activities		
1908	death of Riza Velçishti		O Riza medet
1911	diplomatic efforts	O shokë na mori malli	
1913	death of Lace Backa	Dolli Lacja na stani (*Oficerët e Greqisë* [SB])	
1914	death of Gani Butka (invoc of Frashëri bros)	*Malet e Gramosit qajnë* [SB] *Ngreu Avdyl bej nga varri* [SB]	O Gani medet
	burning of villages by Greek *çetës*	Moj e bukura Kolonjë	Pashë një ëndërr
1916	death of Riza Panariti death of Hajdar Kolonja	Vjeshtë e tretë më të dalë Kollozhek njëzet e shtatë	
1917	death of Qazim Panariti	*Komiteti i Shqipërisë* [SB]	
1920	killing of Esat Toptani by Avni Rustemi	Kjo Libovë shum' e mirë	Mos kujto se të harrova
1939	fall of Alb to Italy	Tridhjetë e nëntë mos ardhç kurrë	
??	fighting in N Alb	Tiranë kryeqyteti	

ThM = Thimi Mitko NF = Naim Frashëri SB = Sali Butka

Malet e Gramosit qajnë,
një zi të madhe mbajnë.
Gurë e drurë po vajtojnë,
Gani Butkën e kërkojnë.
Ato male kush i shkelte?
Veç Ganiu me shokë shumë!
Trim i mirë, luftëtar,
i vinte lufta mbarë
me gjermanë e me junanë.

The mountains of Gramos are weeping,
they are observing a deep mourning.
The rocks and the trees weep,
they are searching for Gani Butka.
Those mountains, who set foot in them?
Only Gani with his many comrades!
A good hero, a fighter,
he battled successfully
against the Germans and the Greeks.
(village of Kranjë, 1984)

The final two songs are based upon verses of Naim Frashëri. "Zejnel Abedin i shtritur," which recounts the heroism of Husayn's son Zayn al-'Abidin, derives clearly from Book XV of *Qerbelaja,* although the text has been altered in several respects. The mention of a rifle, for example, updates the original story and makes the text consistent with historical songs of the *çetë* period. The concluding lines of the song do not appear in the poem but have evidently been added by local singers:

From Book XV, lines 179–188:	
Zejnel Abedin i shtritur	Zayn al-'Abidin lay prostrate
ishte verdhur, isht' venitur.	he was pale and wasted.
Kur dëgjoi për të vëllanë	When he heard about his brother
rrëmbeu pushkën edhe dolli.	he grabbed his rifle and went out.
Atje vai e gjeti t'anë	He went there and found his father
edh' u poq me të vëllanë.	and met up with his brother.
U odh si trim, si burrë	He jumped up like a hero, like a man
sikur s'ishte i sëmurë.	as if he were not ill.
from lines 227–228:	
'Ësht, or djalë, 'ësht, or burrë,	Be still, my son,
dera jonë më s'mbyllet kurrë	our lineage will never be extinguished
added lines:	
se e kemi mbesuar Zonë,	because we have believed in God,
[*Zonë edhe Perëndinë,*	[in God and in the Deity,
Muametnë dhe Alinë.]	in Muhammad and 'Ali.]
	(village of Kranjë, 1972; issued on Leibman 1974, B4)

"Kur më zjen capi me zile" is a loose assortment of lines that are based upon or seem inspired by "Bagëti e Bujqësija." Those lines that echo the phrasing of the poem are drawn not from its famous opening but from subsequent descriptions of mountain life (words or phrases found in the poem have been highlighted and the number of the original line indicated):[29]

20	Kur më zjen capi me zile	When the goat bleats with its bell,
17	*atje* fryn veri me erë	that is where a breeze blows.
	për atje qan zemra ime	For there my heart weeps,
120	që të rri një copë 'erë	that I might rest for a moment's time,
17	*të më* fryë veri me erë.	that a breeze might blow on me.
1	Malet e Shqipërisë	The mountains of Albania,
	kur mbushen me tufë lule	when they are covered with bouquets of flowers,
277	*i ka dhënë* i madhi Zot	the great Lord has given them
281	për qejfin të njerëzisë.	for the pleasure of mankind.
28	Edhe qyqja kur këndonte,	And the cuckoo when she sang,
	dru më dru vinte, qëndronte,	going and alighting on each tree:
	lum e lum ajo bota	how lucky was this world
	zënë e saj kur e dëgjonte.	when it heard her voice!

33	[Edhe vajzat bukuroshe	[And the beautiful young girls
	kur mblidhen, venë për ujë	when they gather to go for water
	ziren dorë për dorë,	take each other by the hand,
34	*puthën* buzë *për buzë.*]	kiss each other lips to lips.]
		(village of Kranjë, 1980)

All of these songs are known to be sung in districts of southeastern Albania as well as Prespa.[30]

How did such literary creations—some composed far from Albanian territories—find their way to southern villages? The poem by Mitko that is sung in Prespa is close in style to village song texts, although its rhyme scheme (ABAB, CDCD, . . .) is a literary one. It is said to have been sung by Mitko himself to a melody that he created (Haxhihasani 1981:583), and so it is possible that it reached southern Albanian areas first in that form rather than as a printed text. The network of Bektashi *teqe*s or lodges, which became actively involved in political affairs during this period, was also an important link. Two of the poems that evidently served as models for *Qerbelaja,* Dalip Frashëri's *Hadikaja* ("The Garden") and Shahin Frashëri's *Muhtarnameja* ("Chronicle of al-Mukhtar"), are Bektashi epics that were written in Frashër a generation or two before Naim's, by men who were possibly his relatives. It is known that poetry was recited aloud in the *teqe*s in Frashër and elsewhere (Çollaku 1971:60), and Norris (1993:169–88) has suggested that the two religious epics were composed in such a way that one section could be recited on each of the ten nights of Matem in commemoration of Husayn's death. Although I have seen no mention of this, it seems likely that portions of *Qerbelaja* were also recited in this way. The song "Zejnel Abedin i shtritur" is in fact still recognized as a devotional song within the Bektashi community in Albania.[31] From Bektashi circles, some such songs must then have found their way to Sunni households such as those of most Prespa singers.

Two accounts of events of the early twentieth century may illuminate another aspect of the transformation from printed text to oral practice. H. N. Brailsford, who spent several months in the Bitola district in 1903–04 under the auspices of the British Relief Fund, published a book on Macedonia in 1906 that provides a vivid description of the Albanian literacy movement of the turn of the century:

> . . . despite the want of organization, a bloodless and innocent propaganda goes forward below the surface. . . . Beyond the reach of the Turkish authorities, in Corfu, in Cairo, in Bucharest, and even in Sofia, wherever Albanians migrate in search of labor and wealth, they find some countryman possessed of education and enlightenment, who urges upon them the cult of their own language, awakens their pride in their own nationality, and teaches them to look for a future of progress and independence. Returning to their own mountains, they bring with them the mysterious lore of the new alphabet (Brailsford 1971:259–60).

Among the locales that Brailsford cites as "centers of enlightenment" were the cells of Ottoman prisons, where interned schoolteachers were able to pass from hand to hand Sami Frashëri's spelling book (*Abetare*) as well as a range of publications by him, Naim, and others.

One of the individuals who became caught up in the "lore of the new alphabet" was Sali Butka, as described in a biography prepared for a nonscholarly readership (see Godo 1964). Sali represents a generation of village men who became literate and joined the nationalist movement through the efforts of the intelligentsia. Born six years after Naim, he had no formal education and learned to read Albanian initially on his own—first as written in Greek letters, and only later in Sami's Latin alphabet. Eventually he was coached in both language and poetry by Petro Nini Luarasi, an educator and activist teaching in the villages of Kolonjë. Shortly thereafter, Sali began to travel to towns such as Korçë and Bitola to purchase Albanian-language books and newspapers, which he then distributed throughout Kolonjë.

Although most of Sali's biography was written by Godo, the opening pages contain a long passage on his early life that Sali himself dictated. Here Sali describes the day he was given a copy of Naim's *Qerbelaja:*

> . . . another time, when I went to Korçë, Orhan Pojani took me by the hand, saying to me: "Come, I will give you a book. If the Muslims are to become good Albanians, this alone will do it." He took me to Thimi Marko's and handed me Naim's *Qerbelaja.* And, in truth, the impression that this book made on the people was so great that even the old men and women learned to read Albanian language for its sake. One of my sisters was about seventy years old when she learned to read Albanian just so that she could read *Qerbelaja.* . . . When friends came to visit me and especially some *baba* or *dervish* [head or member of a Sufi order], I summoned my brothers, cousins, and in-laws and together we sang out the verses as songs (*thërrisnim këngës*) to melodies that we made up ourselves. In this way we created various songs (*merrnim këngë të ndryshme*) from *Qerbelaja.* . . (ibid.:15–16)[32]

Modeling his poetry on that of Naim, but retaining some features of village song texts, Sali began to compose poems about revolutionary activities in southern districts that were published regularly in the Albanian newspaper *Liri i Shqipërisë* ("Freedom for Albania"), which was published in Sofia, Bulgaria (ibid.:27). Once he became actively involved as a *çetë* commander, he continued to compose poems, writing them down in a notebook that he carried on the trail. According to Godo, Sali made literacy an integral aspect of activities in the *çetë,* whose members were expected to practice their alphabet and reading between battles (ibid.:146–47).[33]

It is probable that Sali's poems, as well as perhaps those of Naim and others, were introduced to villagers initially through the *çetë* movement. Although Godo does not describe the practice in his biography, it seems

likely that Sali's poems—although originating in written form—were sung soon after as songs by members of his and other *çetës*. They are, in essence, forms of folk poetry whose language, drawing initially on the song repertoire of southern regions, was then infused with the themes and tropes of the Rilindja through Sali's exposure to written verse. Following this scenario, *çetë* members would have continued to sing the poems of Sali and others once they returned home, just as they sang the many songs that were created orally by *çetë* members. Both types of songs must then have been taken up by many villagers who had never belonged to the *çetës* or, indeed, ever participated in a military maneuver. Following World War I, poems of the Rilindja period were printed in collections and textbooks, as were eventually songs of the independence war. Newly literate villagers were then free to transmute both types of printed verse into oral form. Since then, performances of songs have been transmitted through the media—first by 78-rpm recordings and Albanian radio, and more recently via television, cassettes, and even feature films.[34]

Of the many poems produced by Rilindja figures, only a fraction have been sung in recent decades as songs. Those that have tell us something about processes of reception when texts are transmitted from one social class to another. Of Naim's large output, it is a fragment of "Bagëti e Bujqësija," with its descriptions of a life not unlike that of its rural singers, that has proven most enduring for villagers. From *Qerbelaja,* the verses known in Prespa portray Zayn al-'Abidin as a loyal, heroic fighting man, with none of the overtly spiritual or patriotic allusions that characterize Naim's writing. Similarly, despite their literary features, Sali's accounts of the deeds and deaths of *çetë* figures slip fairly easily into the larger repertoire of narrative songs. In one sense, the vast literary corpus of the Rilindja has been distilled down by village men to a handful of verses that resonate most strongly with their experiences and practices.

Nevertheless, the transformation of literary texts into songs also infused southern singing with elements of the complex of discourses that characterized the Rilindja. Although the song "Kur më zien capi me zile" describes the experiences of rural life, it places them at a nostalgic distance that is characteristic of the pastoral as a literary genre. Soldiers in the many chronicle songs step into the historic role of the warrior-hero, but the notion that it is the nation for which they fight and die is a new one. There have also been instances where southern villagers, including Presparë, have created new songs clearly modeled on older printed poems. After World War II, a song was collected in the Korçë region entitled "Ngreu O Sali nga varri" ("Arise O Sali from the Grave"; see Panajoti 1982:180), whose beginning paraphrases Sali's earlier invocation of the Frashëri brothers, thus adding Sali to the Rilindja pantheon. Kolonjarë in Prespa sing a song called "Frashër,

burimi i bekuar" ("Frashër, Blessed Source")—probably learned from the Albanian media—that praises the Frashëri brothers as enlighteners who "turned our night into day." And in the 1960s a man in Prespa created an ode to the Prespa district whose pastoral style emulates that of Naim:

Prespë moj e bukur Prespë	Prespa, O beautiful Prespa,
ti je rreth i lulëzuar.	You are a region in bloom.
Do punojmë natë e ditë	We will work night and day
për të zbukuruar tynë.	in order to beautify you.
Shpeshëria fluturojnë,	The birds fly about
më çdo pemë venë, qëndrojnë.	and come and alight on each fruit tree.
Prespë, ta paça fanë	O Prespa, if only I had your good fortune:
gjithbota zilinë ta kanë.	the whole world is envious of you.
Rreth për qark e ke liqen	Within your region you have the lake
edhe malin Pelister.	and the mountain Pelister.
	(village of Nakolec, 1980)

The poetry of the liberation period thus instigated a process of transformation in the subject matter and language of southern songs that has continued up to the present.

Ultimately this ongoing exchange between literati and villagers affected far more than poetic style: it helped to restructure the views of rural men, and eventually of their families, toward themselves and their communities. They gained a deep-seated sense of themselves as being Albanian: as belonging to a national group that transcends religious, regional, and class divisions. They came to experience that sense of identity as rooted in their language, their songs, and in the land itself: Sali's "fatherland" or Naim's "motherland," as the songs so often call it. They came to see themselves as heirs to a centuries-old legacy of Albanian heroes, and to embrace as their ideal of masculinity the warrior-hero who fights and dies for his country. It is this heroic ethos that is embodied and evoked in the highly dramatic, hyper-masculine manner in which Prespa men perform *lartër* songs, which they relish as no others in their repertoire. By singing these songs, they put themselves in touch with that heroism, in a sense claiming it as an attribute of themselves.[35] The affect-laden discourses of the Rilindja—with their emphasis on the seductive beauty of the countryside, the kinship-like ties that bind Albanian speakers to their language and land, and the pathos of the fallen hero lamented by his stricken people, or even by nature itself—have created deep emotional bonds between village men and nationalist ideals.

A number of Prespa men, however, do not know who the heroes are about whom they sing. While some have a sense of who the Frashëri brothers were—and perhaps Sali Butka—they do not necessarily know that the Gani in their songs is Sali Butka's son, nor are they aware that Zejnel Abe-

din was the son of Husayn and not a brave Albanian soldier.[36] Ironically, the loyalty to homeland that heroic songs have fostered may in fact have motivated Prespa men to become World War II partisans for Yugoslavia rather than Albania.[37] It is not so much the particulars of the songs that have had an enduring importance to Prespa men, but rather the abstract images of heroism, national loyalty, and manliness that the songs have crystallized, as well as the sense of community that is evoked whenever men gather together to sing.

Reproducing the Nation

As Appadurai has reminded us, sentiments that link notions of nation to notions of self are not "primordial": they have arisen "not from the individual psyche or from the hoary mists of tradition but from the specific, historically situated play of public and group opinions about the past" (1996:146). Among the nations of southeastern Europe, such sentiments must be seen as in large part the creation of the writer-politicians who brought those nations into being a century or more ago. Their continuing salience in the 1990s, however, has been possible only because of a concerted effort within each national group to promote cultural forms imbued with nationalist imagery during each historical period since the "awakenings."

In the face of a resurgence of nationalist rhetoric in many parts of southeastern Europe (less so among Albanians than among certain of their neighbors), the more deleterious aspects of local ideologies and their manipulation by political elites have begun to be scrutinized by members of the intelligentsia as well as by outside commentators. Among the most powerful of these, as well as the most troubling, is the figure of the warrior-hero who fights and kills in the name of the nation. As war engulfed Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, for example, one of the most vexing questions for observers was how individuals could be motivated to turn on their long-time neighbors "with whom coffee had been drunk until yesterday" (Senjković 1996:41), to the extent of torturing or killing them. How was it that nationalist programs, formulated around the interests of politicians living for the most part in urban centers, could so mobilize young men from rural areas to fight in what was cast as an inter-ethnic struggle? Over the past few years a plethora of scholarly analyses of the Yugoslav war has appeared, all of which make it clear that the answer is exceptionally complex. But one factor that has received relatively little attention is the gendered dimension of nationalist discourses: the way that nationalist rhetoric plays to a man's deep-seated sense of masculinity, so that picking up arms in putative defense of nation is experienced as a personal merging with a cultural ideal.

Today the discourse of the warrior for the nation lives on in many guis-

es in the countries of southeastern Europe, as it does elsewhere. It is enshrined in many of the men's historical and patriotic songs, as well as in their dance forms. It is embodied in the statues of famous warriors and the monuments to war heroes that stand guard across the landscape, as well as in folkloric presentations in which children depict the actions of battalions or recite nationalist poetry to the accompaniment of enthusiastic flag-waving. It was central to media forms of the socialist period such as films about World War II, as it was to cultural forms that characterized the Yugoslav war, including music videos in which young soldiers in camouflage outfits fired at high-rise apartment buildings to the blare of upbeat rock songs.[38] Regrettably, such images have only been reinforced by U.S. imports such as the "Rambo" films, which are now often cited by southeast European commentators as modeling for local youth a particularly brazen form of nationalist machismo.

Feminists in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere draw our attention to another side of the warrior discourse.[39] If the nation is conceived of, in Anderson's famous phrase, as "a deep, horizontal comradeship" or "fraternity" (1991:3), then men in national wars are united as brothers, fighting in defense of the besieged "Motherland" or as the "sons of the Fatherland."[40] In such a gendered schema, women occupy an ambivalent position, particularly in wartime: while members of the nation, they have customarily been excluded both from the male realm within which decisions about the "national interest" have been made, and from the battlefield where the nation has been defended.[41] Nationalist movements can in fact provide a pretext for men to reassert their primacy in public life, as well as increased control over the private, familial realm and, hence, the activities of women.

Within the logic of nationalist constructs, women often come to symbolize the (mother)land that is being fought for or the "honor" of its people (cf. Yuval-Davis 1993:627) and thus in war become the targets of rape and torture; rape also pollutes the purity of an enemy nation conceived of in racial terms as a biological lineage. Similarly, entire families may be murdered, including elders, women, and children, in an attempt to obliterate the future generations of an enemy community. In times of war, women are frequently called upon to assume the most traditional of patriarchal roles: the nurturers of the nation who "give birth to heroes," or the tragic figures who lament those heroes when they die. It is in these stoic roles—as unnamed mothers, sisters, and wives—that women most often figure in nationalist cultural forms in southeastern Europe, including the narrative songs of rural men. Perhaps inspired by these forms, it is precisely this role—the woman in mourning—that members of the Serbian feminist group Women in Black have dramatized in their antiwar protests (Mladjenović and Litricin 1993:116), which indict warfare in part for its reawakening of patriarchal gender roles. As men assume the role of the

weapon-wielding warrior in times of conflict, they may also turn their weapons on the women in their own families and communities—the "Inside Other," as Iveković (1993:116) has described them, living in society's midst. This too was evidenced during the Yugoslav war, as it was during civil unrest in Albania in 1997, when instances of violence toward women escalated (Mladjenović and Litricin 1993:116–17; "Albanian" email discussion list, 12 August 1997). In effect, then, the discourse of the warrior impedes the women of a national group from attaining what has been one of the foremost goals of most nationalist movements: a place within modernity.

Of the various nationalist discourses that circulate throughout southeastern Europe, that of military heroism has become deeply implicated in the reproduction of a division of labor in which the fate of the family lies in the hands of men who may choose to overlook their ties to their neighbors and involve their communities in actions that further consolidate their power over others and confirm their sense of masculinity, all in the name of nation. As the Yugoslav war and continuing tensions in the region have made particularly clear, the model for action set forth by such a discourse must now be strenuously reconsidered by all national groups in the region. As the poetry of the Rilindja makes clear, there are other models.

The Words of the Candle

An Inédit recording by the men's vocal group from Gjirokastër, Albania, released in France in 1995, features a polyphonic song called "The Words of the Candle" ("Fjalët e qiririt"):

Ndë mest tuaj kam qëndruar	I stand in your midst
E jam duke përvëluar,	and am consumed by fire,
Që t'u jap pakëzë dritë,	so as to give you a bit of light,
Natënë t'ua bëj ditë.	so as to make of the night day.
Për ju do të rri të tretem,	For you I will burn myself out
Asnjë çikë të mos mbetem,	until not one trace of me remains,
Po të digjem me dëshirë,	for I burn with desire
Sa të munt t'u ndrij më mirë.	so that I may shine for you more brightly.
Kur më shihni se jam tretur,	When you see that I am extinguished altogether
Mos kujtoni se kam vdekur;	do not think that I have died;
Jam i gjall' e jam në jetë,	I am alive and will live on,
Jam në dritët të vërtetë.	because I have reached the true light.

Is this an example of Bektashi imagery in which the human soul, burning with love for God, dissolves into the greater reality of His universal presence? Or is the candle the "illuminist" (*iluminist*): the poet giving his life to his poetry in order to spread a message of self-elevation to his fellow countrymen? The song is based on the opening lines of the first published

Albanian-language poem of Naim Frashëri, originally called simply, "The Candle" (1884).[42] At a time of economic crisis and political upheaval, both Albanians and their neighbors very much need such candles.

A second recent borrowing from Naim's works is far more potent in its political message. That message concerns Albanians in the province of Kosova (Serb. Kosovo), an Albanian-majority area within Serbia whose autonomy was forcefully rescinded by Serbian president Slobodan Milošević beginning in 1989. In the early 1990s a singer from Albania named Gëzim Nika, who hails from the northern town of Tropojë on the border with Kosova, released a cassette entitled *Toskë e Gegë Një Arbëria* ("Tosks and Gegs One Albania"), a phrase whose antiquated language immediately evokes the period of the Rilindja.[43] Two of the songs consist of lines from Naim's "Bagëti e Bujqësija," reordered slightly and accommodated somewhat to northern speech. Of these, the first, "Kënga e mërgimtarit" ("Song of the Exile"), consists of a rearrangement of lines found toward the beginning of the poem, using as its refrain the couplet:

> *Shqipëri! o nëna ime! ndonse jam-o i mërguar,*
> *Dashurinë tënde zemra kurrë s'ka me harru= hej!*
>
> Albania! O my mother[land]! Even though I am in exile
> My heart has never forgotten your love.

Although in highly oblique ways, most of the songs on Nika's cassette refer to the political situation in Kosova. They seem intended at the very least to transmit a sense of unity and solidarity from Albanians in Albania to those in Kosova, but perhaps also to incite Kosovarë to rise up against what virtually all Albanians regard as Serbian oppression. In this particular song, Kosovarë are cast as exiles from their Albanian homeland and urged to foreground their allegiance to it in any struggle that might ensue. Kosovarë, however, have not to date taken a public stance consistent with such an appeal. In 1991, in elections organized by their "parallel government," they voted overwhelmingly to declare themselves independent of both Albania and Yugoslavia.

After its release, Nika's song became extraordinarily popular in Kosova but was sung there with a refrain beginning "O Kosova my mother[land]." The song's new wording was perhaps deliberately ambiguous. On the one hand, through its allusion to a famous poem, it allowed both performer and audience to express an allegiance to national identity in a way that avoided direct mention of Albania itself. On the other hand, it could be heard as setting Kosova apart as a "homeland" in its own right, thus challenging the image of national unity that both Nika's version of the song and Naim's poem set forth. In this form the song became widely sung within Albanian communities from the former Yugoslavia living in the United States

and elsewhere. Once again Naim's evocative verses had become a touchstone for the expression of nationalist sentiments as well as a vehicle for contestation at a time when new political configurations were being imagined. And just as a century ago, singers giving voice to Albania's poets—and through them deploying what are now established nationalist discourses—were able to evoke deeply felt sentiments among listeners who might never encounter the poet's message in printed form.

In the wake of the collapse of socialist systems throughout Albanian areas and of the breakup of Yugoslavia, questions of national identity and of political affiliation have in recent years become the focus of intense consideration, and Albanians have taken up roles in political life that seem in many ways to parallel those common during the latter half of the nineteenth century. As of this writing, a number of academicians and literati have become prominent in electoral politics, including Pjetër Arbnori and Sabri Godo (Sali Butka's biographer) in Albania, and Ibrahim Rugova, Adem Demaçi, and Mark Krasniqi in Kosova. One striking example for the present study is writer and literary critic Rexhep Qosja, an authority on the Rilindja and on Naim Frashëri particularly (see Qosja 1986), who in the early 1990s became one of the most respected spokespersons regarding the status of Kosova. There is even a "Song for Rexhep Qosja" ("Këngë për Rexhep Qosjen"), extolling him as a "torchbearer" (*pishtar*), on Gëzim Nika's cassette. Albanian intellectuals in Kosova have presented themselves as "enlighteners" in the Rilindja tradition, strongly advocating a path of nonviolent resistance to Serbian rule. As of this writing, however, they are being countered by a new, *çetë*-like organization, the Kosova Liberation Army (UÇK), whose members—drawn largely from rural areas—have declared themselves willing to take up the role of warrior-hero to defend their home communities by force.[44]

A closer parallel to Rilindja figures are the members of the contemporary diasporic intelligentsia, consisting of students, scholars, and professionals from both Albania and the former Yugoslavia living in Western Europe, North America, and elsewhere. These are highly educated, multilingual individuals whose intellectual and experiential vistas are often more worldly than those of their counterparts living within homeland areas. Unlike the intelligentsia of the turn of the century, it is less through printed newspapers and magazines than through forms of electronic media that their current, often intense and virulent debates about politics and identity are most actively carried out.[45] Rather than poetry, their literary output is far more likely to be in the form of manuals for computer software or analyses of foreign media representations of Albania—hardly the stuff of songs. The discourses of the Rilindja live on prominently in the debates of this "electronic community." But having witnessed in recent years the destruction

fueled by the nationalist claims of their neighbors, and having become attuned to perspectives on the construction of national identity that are much like those that I am proposing here, some also show a deep skepticism toward notions of Albanianness that are, in the words of one member of an electronic discussion list, "romantically rooted in a mythical past."[46]

Perhaps the best that can be hoped is that a new generation of "illuminists" will come to political and social prominence not only within the Albanian homelands but throughout southeastern Europe: men—and women—who both respect the sense of purpose that may be drawn from national identities and recognize their contingency and limitations. To do so, they will need to honor the most enabling aspects of their cultural legacy and be ready to abandon those aspects that are most crippling, so as to be able to focus their attention on current realities and effective future strategies. In the process, those individuals involved in the cultural realm will no doubt wish to consider which received cultural forms, including folkloric ones, might play a constructive role in processes of social transformation, and which might serve merely to ensnare future generations in constructions of national and gendered identity that are no longer productive. Whether singers will take up new visions of collective identity generated among these "illuminists" or create new images themselves remains to be seen.[47] But such a re-visioning of identity may be the only possible means of balancing political and economic processes within Europe and beyond that threaten either to peripheralize southeast Europeans within a new set of asymmetrical regional alignments, or to destabilize their societies for years to come.

Notes

1. This article derives from a paper first delivered at the joint annual meetings of the American Folklore Society and the Society for Ethnomusicology, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 1994. A subsequent version was presented as the Charles Seeger Memorial Lecture in the Department of Music at Harvard University in September 1996. Research carried out in Albania in the summer of 1994 was supported by a Short-Term Travel Grant from the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) and by a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

I wish to express my gratitude to a generation of scholars in both Albania and Kosova, upon whose careful research my argument in this paper builds. I also wish to thank Sarah Fuller, Dane Kusić, Donna Buchanan, Tom Turino, Stephen Blum, Anne Rasmussen, and Martin Stokes, all of whom offered valuable suggestions on earlier versions of this paper. Special thanks are due to Triumf Qosej, a graduate student at SUNY Stony Brook, for his meticulous help with the English translations; as well as to linguist Ardian Vehbiu, formerly of the Institute of Linguistics and Literature in Tiranë, who caught many small errors in an earlier draft, suggested some additional sources, and helped me to fine-tune a number of points in my argument. Any errors remaining are entirely my own.

2. It is difficult to find the proper language to speak about linguistic groups in a period before they developed a concept of national identity. In this paper I have chosen to use the

phrase "Albanian speakers" to specify individuals who speak as their first language any form of what is now recognized as the Albanian language. I use the term "Albanians" for those Albanian speakers who have adopted for themselves a term of national identity, such as *shqiptar,* that would translate as "Albanian." I also distinguish between northern Albanians, from communities lying north of the Shkumbin river in present-day Albania or from contiguous areas in the former Yugoslavia; and southern Albanians, from areas lying south of the Shkumbin or from contiguous areas of Macedonia and Greece. Beginning in the eighteenth century, these groups were known respectively as Gegs and Tosks (see Zojzi 1962).

3. Balibar (1991) and Chatterjee (1986, 1993) are among the scholars who *have* identified distinct phases in the development of nationalist movements. Albanians, who came to see themselves as rightful "Europeans" or "Westerners" seeking liberation from the Ottoman "East," provide an interesting contrast with the Indian subjects of Chatterjee's writings, who saw themselves as Easterners needing both to appropriate and to resist Western discourses of nation and modernity.

4. For accounts of this period of Ottoman history that follow the world systems model, see particularly Wallerstein et al. 1987, Keyder 1987, Pamuk 1987, and Kasaba 1988.

5. One exception to this progression from literary activities to political resistance was the Serbian nationalist movement, in which the two phases developed virtually independent of each other at roughly the same time.

6. Histories in Western European languages of the Albanian Rilindja and the nationalist movement include Skendi 1967, Bartl 1968, and Faensen 1980. The most detailed general history of Albania is Pollo et al. 1965–67.

7. For biographical information on Mitko, see Haxhihasani 1962 and 1981:11–59; and Pollo et al. 1965–67 (vol. 2).

8. As one example, a list of prospective members for the founding of an Albanian organization in Alexandria, dated 1881, names a large number of individuals from the Korçë district in the south, as well as persons from several other central and southern districts; from the Shkodër district in the north; from Ulcinj, Prizren, and Bitola (now in Montenegro, Kosova, and Macedonia, respectively); and from several settlements now in northern Greece (Faensen 1980:47–48).

9. All translations in the paper have been prepared by the author, those from Albanian in consultation with Triumf Qosej and Ardian Vehbiu.

10. Albanian speakers in southern Greece, known in Greek as *arvanites,* are thought to have moved there from present-day Albanian lands beginning in the fourteenth century or earlier. Those in Italy, the *albanese,* descend from families that relocated there from the Albanian homelands or from Greece beginning in the fifteenth century. Both groups refer to themselves by terms such as *arbërorë* or *arbëreshë,* which derive from the medieval word for Albania, Arbëri (in northern speech Arbni). See Çabej 1975:62–70 and 1976:885–88 for the history of these terms; see Pipa 1978:40–81 for an English-language overview of the communities in Greece and Italy.

11. *Alvanikē melissa* (*Bëleta shqypëtare*), Alexandria 1878. The materials in Mitko's collection are reprinted both in Sako and Haxhihasani 1961:17–185; and in Haxhihasani 1981:65–505.

12. For information on literacy and education among southern Albanians during this period, and opposition to it by Greek religious leaders, see Skendi 1967:129–44.

13. Such an emphasis on regionalism impeded the development of a sense of Albanian nationhood long after the period of the war of independence. In 1928, King Zog noted that

> . . . the average Albanian knows nothing about nationality. He had always looked up to the head of his tribe, or his Bey, as the supreme authority. He has got to be taught gradually to transfer this local allegiance, admirable in itself, to the central government. He must learn in fact that while remaining the member of the tribe, he is also a citizen of the state (cited in Fischer 1995:23).

14. The terms *shqypëtar* (today *shqiptar*) and Shqipëri derive from *shqip,* the word that

Albanians now use to refer to their language. The etymology of these terms is still a matter of debate. One theory, deriving them from *shqipe* or *shqiponjë* ("eagle"), and thus linking them to the emblem on the Albanian flag, has been refuted by Albania's preeminent linguist, Eqrem Çabej (1975:69–70). A second theory, relating them to the verb *shqiptoj* ("to speak in a manner that is understood"; cf. German *deutsch*), is more credible but remains problematic (idem). According to Zojzi (1962), first written mention of the term *shqiptar* dates from 1706 in northern areas and from 1774 in the south (in the form *skiptar*), although he adds that the term was not in widespread use until the nineteenth century. Naçi (1976) attributes the earliest occurrence of the appellation *Shqipëri* (in the south; *Shqipni* in the north) to the late eighteenth century.

15. Haxhihasani (1962:89) proposes that, in fact, Mitko reworked certain songs quite substantially; it also seems possible that he created a few himself.

16. For a discussion of debates within late Ottoman society regarding *alaturka* and *alafranga* practices, see Mardin 1974.

17. The extent to which the concept of "enlightenment" struck a responsive chord among the Albanian intelligentsia is evident in various publications entitled either *Drita* ("Light") or *Dituria* ("Knowledge") that appeared beginning in the Rilindja period. Other frequently used titles include *Liria* ("Freedom"), *Zgjimi* ("Awakening"), and *Rilindja* ("Rebirth") (see Skendi 1967:145–164).

18. My information on Naim's life comes primarily from Shuteriqi 1982 and Qosja 1986. For additional biographical information on the three Frashëri brothers, see Skendi 1967, Pollo et al. 1965–67 (vol. 2):160–62, 216–25; Norris 1993:161–88; and Elsie 1995:226–48.

19. For information on Albanian Bektashism, see Birge 1937, Baba Rexhebi 1970, Norris 1993, and Trix 1993.

20. A southern Albanian song about Abdyl Frashëri that is particularly relevant to this study is included in Sugarman 1997a:163–64.

21. For information on Sami Frashëri, see K. Frashëri 1966, Kaleshi 1970, Akün 1979, Gawrych 1983, Balım 1995, and Elsie 1995:241–48.

22. Gellner points out that imperial or colonial subjects have often had a choice between declaring themselves for the nationalist cause of their "ethnic" group or assimilating to the dominant culture, adding, "indeed, many must have taken both paths, successively or simultaneously" (1983:66). Such seems to have been the case with Sami, who in the 1870s evidently advocated continuing participation by Albanians in a reconceived Ottoman state (Gawrych 1983)—a position that he later rejected. Gellner's amusing but condescending characterization of East European nationalism (1983:58–62) seems at times to have been written with Albanians and the Frashëri brothers in mind, but he greatly underestimates the erudition and self-possessed intelligence of figures such as Sami.

23. Qosja 1986:17–89 provides a detailed account of Naim's literary influences.

24. See Kastrati 1971, Kostallari 1990 and 1991, and Lafe 1991 for Naim's contributions, and Kaleshi 1970 for Sami's.

25. Two major editions have been published of Naim's collected works: one edited by Rexhep Qosja, Nazmi Rrahmani, and others and published in Prishtinë, Kosova (1978–1986); and a three-volume edition published in Tiranë, Albania in 1995, which is a reissue of volumes prepared by a variety of language scholars during the 1950s and 1960s. I have used the Tiranë edition for the examples in this paper.

26. Educators, together with the sons of merchant and artisan families, also dominated the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, which was active during the same period. See Perry 1988:180–83 for statistics on its membership.

27. At the time that the poem was composed, the remains of the three Frashëri brothers were located in Istanbul. In 1937, however, those of Abdyl and Naim were transferred to Tiranë.

28. Albanians in Prespa live primarily in the following villages: Sopockë (Mac. Sopotsko), Kozjak, Bollacërkë e Sipërme (Gorna Bela Crkva), Bollacërkë e Poshtme (Dolna Bela Crkva),

Gërçar (Grnčari), Asamat (Asamati), Kranjë (Krani), Arvat (Arvati), and Nakolec (see also Osmani 1996). I have written about the Prespa men's repertoire particularly in Sugarman 1988 and 1997a. Commercial recordings featuring Prespa singing include Leibman 1974, Vuylsteke 1981, and Sugarman 1997b.

29. The opening of the song, as sung in Prespa, is an alteration of line 20 of the poem "Ku mërzen cjapi me zile" ("where the goat with its bell takes its noontime rest").

30. With the exception of "Zejnel Abedin i shtritur," versions of all these songs, together with their literary origins, have been documented by Albanian folklorists (see, for example, Haxhihasani 1971 and Panajoti 1982). On the related question of literary borrowings from village songs, see Podgorica 1986.

31. This information comes from a Bektashi woman whom I met in Tiranë in 1994, who immediately recognized the song as associated with devotional gatherings. Ardian Vehbiu (personal communication) relates that much of the poetry created by southern Albanian Muslims before Naim's time was composed to be recited aloud, either in teahouses or in the *teqe*s, which functioned rather like community centers. Poems were written down by their creators simply as a mnemonic device, but might then be copied by hand and recited in other locales. By attending such recitations, individuals who were not literate were able to learn whole sections of poetry from memory. In an era when few people were literate, recitation was a far more important means of literary transmission than was any written document—as, it appears, were sung performances of poems.

32. Orhan Pojani and Thimi Marko were trustees of the Albanian school in Korçë (see Skendi 1967:136).

33. According to Fischer (1995:46), a similar strategy prevailed during World War II within Albanian partisan forces, whose members were given instruction in reading and writing as a first step in their political education.

34. One such example is the aptly titled film *Liri a Vdekje* (*Liberty or Death*), which recounts the activities of the *çetë* of Bajo and Çerçiz Topulli. The soundtrack includes several songs of the period that refer specifically to the *çetë*'s operations.

35. In the course of my interviews with Presparë during the period 1985–87, two men in fact singled out the song "Malet e Gramosit qajnë" as one of their favorites, precisely because they identified with the heroic image that it conveys. The older man, who was in his fifties when I interviewed him, remembers his elders referring to a printed book when learning the song, presumably in the years before World War II.

36. One man, who otherwise knows a great deal about the Prespa repertoire, suggested to me that Zejnel Abedin was a man who had been away on *gurbet,* that is, working abroad. In general, Kolonjarë are more knowledgeable about their songs, in part because they see themselves as akin historically to the Bektashi poets of southern Albania.

37. During the socialist period, many Presparë retained a high degree of loyalty to Yugoslavia, and a number fought as Yugoslav partisans in World War II.

38. Thanks to Mirjana Laušević, who provided me with copies of such videos. For some English-language accounts of the relationship between nationalism, war, and forms of music in the former Yugoslavia, see Laušević 1994, Prelić 1995, Feldman 1995, and Ceribašić 1995.

39. Iveković 1993 and Mladjenović and Litricin 1993 offer two perspectives on what the latter refer to as "the patriarchal and sexist essence of nationalism and war" (p. 116), with specific reference to the war in Yugoslavia. Iveković in particular speaks of the "figure of the Rambo-like warrior in a ruthless, sexually powerful, and racist brotherhood" (p. 119). For more general analyses of the gendered dimensions of nationalism, see Mosse 1985, Fox 1987, Parker et al. 1992, Enloe 1993, Yuval-Davis 1993, Verdery 1994, and McClintock 1995.

40. There is clearly much more that could be said about the contrast between Naim's "motherland" (*mëmëdhe*) and Sali Butka's "fatherland" (*atdhe*). Delaney 1995 discusses a similar pair of terms in Turkish nationalist writings, while Fox (1987:568–69) offers a pointed reading of the historical shift in rhetoric from "motherland" to "fatherland" that Herder helped to effect.

41. In Albanian lands, women were not necessarily excluded from combat in pre-nationalist times. A few songs in *Bëleta shqypëtare* recount the deeds of women warriors, including the famous Albanian heroine of the Greek war of independence, Bubullina. Participation of Albanian women in combat continued at least into the first decades of this century. In Tiranë in 1922, during a period of disorder following the first World War, Lane encountered one such woman fighter. Expected to stay home from the fray to care for an ailing mother, she was loath to accept the more "feminine" role that may have become women's lot only during the nationalist period:

> "Do you think I cannot fight?" she said. "Ask my brother. Ask the Serbs if I can fight. There is not a man in Albania who knows a rifle better than I. They did not keep me in a house when the Serbs came! I was out on the hills with the men when the Serbs came. And now—now when traitors, when men who sell their honor for money, are murdering Albania, I must sit in a house! I must sit on a cushion!" (Lane 1923:340–41).

42. Retitled "The Words of the Candle," the poem was later included in Naim's textbook, "Poems for Primary Schools" (*Vjersha për mësonjëtoret të para*), published in Bucharest in 1886 (see N. Frashëri 1995b:15–17).

43. One version of Nika's cassette was issued in Kosova on Kosovafonia KF-5007. Arbëri, the medieval name for Albania (see note 10), is today used at times to indicate what are otherwise referred to as *trojet shqiptarë,* the "Albanian lands" in the Balkan peninsula. Prelić 1995 provides an exemplary analysis of the politicization of the status of Kosova in post-socialist Serbia, but does not address the repercussions of such politicization for the Albanian majority living there.

44. For a more skeptical analysis of the participation of intellectuals in political life, see the posting "Intellectuals in Power" by Ardian Vehbiu on the Albanian discussion list, 9 November 1997, archived at <http://listserv.acsu.buffalo.edu/archives/albanian.html>. The present study was written before the Serbian military intervention in Kosova that began in February, 1998. It is meant to address such offensive actions carried out in the namwe of nation, rather than those taken in defense of family and home.

45. See particularly the "Albanian" homepage at <www.albanian.com>. As of January 1998, over 400 individuals in at least 30 different countries, the great majority of them Albanian, subscribed to an email discussion list associated with the site, which also contains links to electronic journals from both Albania and the United States.

46. Ardian Vehbiu, "Albanian" discussion list, 13 June 1997. In that same month, as list members in the diaspora carried out an erudite debate over historical linguistics while massive civil unrest was unfolding in Albania, one list member berated his colleagues in language drawn directly from Naim: "I fear for the future of the Albanian Reality List. I mean the multitude of people who live currently in Albania and their numerous problems. The computerized mass is supposed to enlighten them. Alas! Enlightening presupposes the ability to impart acquired enlightenment, illumination, light. The sages and visionaries of the list seem to grope under flickering candles."

In direct contrast, a more recent posting from January 1998 attributed the inaction of diaspora Albanians in the face of a crisis at home to what the author called the "Naim Frashëri syndrome," by which he meant, in part, "the desire to think poetically and in the imaginative manner for. . . Albania, concerning the mountains, the fields, the sea, the earth and so on, but not in the same grade or in the same manner for the [A]lbanians . . . we all dream, talk, fight for Albania as a landscape but very little for Albanians."

47. Recordings of Albanian-language songs, in the form of music cassettes and videos, are an important force in uniting members of the far-flung Albanian diaspora and of articulating their concerns. In addition to singers such as Gëzim Nika, who specialize in patriotic themes, a number of singer-songwriters are currently addressing a range of social issues in their songs (see Sugarman, in press). Most song lyrics, however, remain firmly within standard nationalist discourses.

References

Akün, Ömer Faruk. 1979. "Şemseddin Sāmī." In *İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* fascicle 115, 411–22. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Revised edition. London: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Baba Rexhebi. 1970. *Misticizma Islame dhe Bektashizma* [Islamic Mysticism and Bektashism]. New York: Walden Press.

Balibar, Étienne. 1991. "The Nation Form: History and Ideology." In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities,* by É. Balibar and I. Wallerstein, 86–106. London: Verso.

Balım, Çigdem. 1995. "Sāmī, Shems ül-Dīn Frāsherī." *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* New Edition, vol. 8, 1043–44. Leiden: Brill.

Bartl, Peter. 1968. *Die albanischen Muslime zur Zeit der nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung (1878–1912).* Albanische Forschungen, vol. 8. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Birge, John Kingsley. 1937. *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes.* London: Luzac and Co.

Brailsford, H. N. 1971 [1906]. *Macedonia: Its Races and Its Future.* New York: Arno Press.

Butka, Sali. 1972. *Ndjenja për Atdhenë* [Feelings for the Fatherland]. Edited by Andrea Varfi. Tiranë: Naim Frashëri.

Çabej, Eqrem. 1975. *Studime gjuhësore* [Linguistic Studies]. Vol. 5. Prishtinë: Rilindja.

———. 1976. *Studime gjuhësore.* Vol. 3. Prishtinë: Rilindja.

Ceribašić, Naila. 1995. "Gender Roles during the War: Representations in Croatian and Serbian Popular Music 1991–1992." *Collegium Antropologicum* (Zagreb) 19:91–101.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* London: Zed Books.

———. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Çollaku, Shaban. 1971. "Tradita letrare vendase dhe fillimet poetike të Naim Frashërit" [The Local Literary Tradition and Naim Frashëri's Beginnings as a Poet]. *Studime Filologjike* (Tiranë) 25(2):59–67.

Delaney, Carol. 1995. "Father State, Motherland, and the Birth of Modern Turkey." In *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis,* edited by Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney, 177–99. New York: Routledge.

Du Bellay, Joachim. 1966 [1558]. *Les Regrets et autres oeuvres poëtiques,* edited by J. Jolliffe. Geneva: Librairie Droz.

Elsie, Robert. 1995. *History of Albanian Literature.* 2 vols. Boulder: Social Science Monographs.

Enloe, Cynthia. 1993. "Feminism, Nationalism, and Militarism after the Cold War." Chapter 8 of her *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War,* 228–51. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Faensen, Johannes. 1980. *Die albanische Nationalbewegung.* Balkanologische Veröffentlichungen, vol. 4. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Feldman, L. Čale. 1995. "The Image of the Leader: Being a President, Displaying a Cultural Performance." *Collegium Antropologicum* (Zagreb) 19:41–52.

Fischer, Bernd J. 1995. "Albanian Nationalism in the Twentieth Century." In *Eastern European Nationalism in the Twentieth Century,* edited by Peter F. Sugar, 21–54. Washington, D.C.: American University Press.

Foster, Robert J. 1991. "Making National Cultures in the Global Ecumene." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20:235–60.

Fox, Jennifer. 1987. "The Creator Gods: Romantic Nationalism and the En-genderment of Women in Folklore." *Journal of American Folklore* 100:563–72.

Frashëri, Kristo. 1966. "Şemseddin Sami Frashëri: Idéologue du mouvement national albanais." *Studia Albanica* (Tiranë) 3(1):95–110.

Frashëri, Naim. 1995a. *Vepra letrare* [Literary Works]. Volume 1: "Bagëti e Bujqësia," "Lulet e verës," "Pellasgët-shqiptarët," and "Shqipëria." Tiranë: Naim Frashëri.

———. 1995b. *Vepra letrare.* Volume 2: "Vjersha për mësonjëtoret të para," "Parajsa dhe fjala fluturake," and "Fletore të bektashinjet." Tiranë: Naim Frashëri.

———. 1995c. *Vepra letrare.* Volume 5: "Qerbelaja." Tiranë: Naim Frashëri.

Gawrych, George W. 1983. "Tolerant Dimensions of Cultural Pluralism in the Ottoman Empire: The Albanian Community, 1800–1912." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15:519–36.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Godo, Sabri. [1964]. *Plaku i Butkës* [The Old Man of Butkë]. Tiranë: Naim Frashëri.

Haxhihasani, Qemal. 1962. *Thimi Mitko, 1820–1890.* Tiranë: Naim Frashëri.

———. 1971. "Naimi dhe folklori" [Naim and Folklore]. *Studime Filologjike* 8(2):41–49.

———. ed. 1981. *Thimi Mitko: Vepra* [Thimi Mitko: Works]. Tiranë: Instituti i Kulturës Popullore.

Hetzer, Armin. 1984. "Die 'Erveheja' von Muhamet Kyçyku (Çami). Eine Untersuchung zur albanischen Literatur in arabischer Schrift und deren Bedeutung im Rahmen der Nationalbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts." *Südost-Forschungen* 43:181–239.

Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iveković, Rada. 1993. "Women, Nationalism and War: 'Make Love Not War.'" *Hypatia* 8:113–26.

Kaleši [Kaleshi], Hasan. 1966–67. "Albanska aljamiado književnost" [Albanian Literature in Arabic Script]. *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* (Sarajevo) 16–17:49–76.

Kaleshi, Hasan. 1970. "Le role de Chemseddin Sami Frachery dans la formation de deux langues littéraires: turc et albanais." *Balcanica* (Beograd) 1:197–216.

Kasaba, Reşat. 1988. *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kastrati, Jup. 1971. "Naimi për gjuhën shqipe" [Naim's Contributions to the Albanian Language]. *Studime Filologjike* 25(3):103–22.

Keyder, Çağlar. 1987. *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development.* London: Verso.

Kostallari, Androkli. 1990. "Vepra e Naim Frashërit për gjuhën letrare të kombit" [Contributions of Naim Frashëri to the National Literary Language]. *Studime Filologjike* 44(4):21–42.

———. 1991. "Naim Frashëri dhe gjuha letrare shqipe" [Naim Frashëri and the Albanian Literary Language]. *Gjuha Jonë* (Tiranë) 11(1):5–15.

Lafe, Emil. 1991. "Naim Frashëri dhe fjala shqipe" [Naim Frashëri and the Albanian Word]. *Gjuha Jonë* 11(1):16–21.

Lane, Rose Wilder. 1923. *Peaks of Shala.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

Laušević, Mirjana. 1994. "Music and Politics in Bosnia." Paper presented at the joint annual meetings of the American Folklore Society and the Society for Ethnomusicology, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Leibman, Robert Henry. 1974. *Traditional Tosk (So. Albanian) Songs and Dances from the Lake Prespa Area.* Selo LP-2.

Mardin, Şerif. 1974. "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century." In *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives,* edited by P. Benedict, E. Tümertekin, and F. Mansur, 403–46. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

McClintock, Anne. 1995. "No Longer in a Future Heaven: Nationalism, Gender and Race." Chapter 10 of her *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest.* New York: Routledge.

Mladjenović, Lepa, and Vera Litricin. 1993. "Belgrade Feminists 1992: Separation, Guilt and Identity Crisis." Translated by Tanya Renne. *Feminist Review* 45:113–19.

Mosse, George L. 1985. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Naçi, Stavri. 1976. "Rreth konceptit 'Shqipëri' në gjysmën e dytë të shek. XVIII—fillimi i shek. XIX" [On the Concept "Shqipëri" from the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century]. *Studime Historike* (Tiranë) 2:59–65.

Norris, H. T. 1993. *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Osmani, Zihni. 1996. *E folmja shqipe e Prespës* [The Albanian Speech of Prespa]. Skopje: Flaka e Vëllazërimit.

Pamuk, Şevket. 1987. *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820–1913.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Panajoti, Jorgo, comp. 1982. *Këngë popullore të rrethit të Korçës* [Folk Songs of the Korçë Region]. Tiranë: Instituti i Kulturës Popullore.

Parker, Andrew, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, eds. 1992. *Nationalisms and Sexualities.* New York: Routledge.

Perry, Duncan M. 1988. *The Politics of Terror: The Macedonian Liberation Movements 1893–1903.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Pipa, Arshi. 1978. *Albanian Literature: Social Perspectives.* Munich: Dr. Dr. Rudolf Trofenik.

Podgorica, Fadil. 1986. "Rreth ndikimit të folklorit në letërsinë e shkruar të paraçlirimit" [On the Influence of Folklore on Written Literature from before the Liberation]. *Kultura Popullore* (Tiranë) no. 2:153–161.

Pollo, Stefanaq, Aleks Buda, et al. 1965–67. *Historia e popullit shqiptar* [History of the Albanian People]. 2 vols. Tiranë: Universiteti Shtetëror, Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë.

Prelić, Mladena. 1995. "Revival of the Serbian National Myth (The Myth of the Battle of Kosovo) in the Contemporary Public Speech in Serbia." In *Ethnologia Balkanica,* edited by Milena Benovska-Subkova, 191–206. Sofia: Ethnographic Institute with Museum.

Qosja, Rexhep. 1986. *Porosia e madhe: Monografi mbi krijimtarinë e Naim Frashërit* [Teachings of Greatness: A Monograph on the Creations of Naim Frashëri]. Prishtinë: Rilindja.

Sako, Zihni, and Qemal Haxhihasani, eds. 1956. *Këngë popullore historike* [Historical Folk Songs]. Tiranë: Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë.

———. eds. 1961. *Mbledhës të hershëm të folklorit shqiptar (1635–1912)* [Early Collectors of Albanian Folklore (1635–1912)]. Vol. 2. Tiranë: Instituti i Folklorit.

Sako, Zihni, Qemal Haxhihasani, and Agron Fico, eds. 1962. *Mbledhës të hershëm të folklorit shqiptar (1635–1912).* Vol. 3. Tiranë: Instituti i Folklorit.

Senjković, Reana. 1996. "Image of the Warrior." *Narodna Umjetnost* (Zagreb) 33:41–57.

Shaw, Stanford J., and Ezel Kural Shaw. 1977. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shuteriqi, Dhimitër S. 1982. *Naim Frashëri (Jeta dhe vepra)* [Naim Frashëri (Life and Works)]. Tiranë: 8 Nëntori.

Skendi, Stavro. 1960. "The History of the Albanian Alphabet: A Case of Complex Cultural and Political Development." *Südost-Forschungen* 19:263–84.

———. 1967. *The Albanian National Awakening, 1878–1912.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Stoianovich, Trajan. 1960. "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant." *Journal of Economic History* 20:234–313.

Sugarman, Jane C. 1988. "Making *Muabet:* The Social Basis of Singing among Prespa Albanian Men." *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 7:1–42.

———. 1997a. *Engendering Song: Singing and Subjectivity at Prespa Albanian Weddings.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1997b. Compact disc accompanying Sugarman 1997a.

———. in press. "Mediated Albanian Musics and the Imagining of Modernity." Proceedings for the conference, "New Countries, Old Sounds? Cultural Identity and Social Changes in South Eastern Europe," edited by Bruno Reuer and Krista Zach.

Tirtja, Mark. 1987. "Migrimi i shqiptarëve jashtë Atdheut (Mesi i shek. XIX - vitët 30 të shek. XX)" [The Migration of Albanians Outside the Fatherland (Middle of the Nineteenth Century through the 1930s)]. *Kultura Popullore* no. 2:113–132.

Trix, Frances. 1993. *Spiritual Discourse: Learning with an Islamic Master.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Verdery, Katherine. 1994. "From Parent-State to Family Patriarchs: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Eastern Europe." *East European Politics and Societies* 8:225–55.

Vuylsteke, Herman C. 1981. *Yougoslavie 2 (Macédoine: Polyphonies tosques): Sous les peupliers de Bilisht.* Ocora 558–572.

Wallerstein, Immanuel, Hale Decdeli, and Reşat Kasaba. 1987. "The Incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the World Economy." In *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy,* edited by Huri Islamoglu-Inan, 88–97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, William A. 1989. "Herder, Folklore and Romantic Nationalism." In *Folk Groups and Folklore Genres: A Reader,* edited by Elliott Oring, 21–37. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1993. "Gender and Nation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16:621–32.

Zojzi, Rrok. 1962. "Ndamje krahinore e popullit shqiptar" [Regional Divisions of the Albanian People]. *Etnografia Shqiptare* 1:16–62. Reprinted in French as "L'ancienne division régionale ethnographique du peuple albanais." *Ethnographie Albanaise,* Édition spéciale (1976):7–19.