

Reinterpreting History in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: The Peasant Uprising of 1914-15 and Hoxhaist historiography

Abstract: *This paper examines the ideological reshaping of the Peasant Uprising of 1914-15 in Albania, specifically focusing on its reinterpretation under the Hoxhaist regime. While pre-and post-socialist narratives of ten depicts the Uprising as a religiously motivated, pro-Ottoman movement, the socialist historiography reframed it as a revolutionary struggle against feudalism. This reinterpretation was a deliberate attempt to positioning the Uprising as part of a class struggle. Through the lens of Hoxha's works and state-sponsored historical texts, the research highlights the instrumentalisation of history as an ideological tool. The paper concludes that the different interpretations about the Uprising's motivations serves as a microcosm of broader historiographic conflicts in post-Ottoman Balkan studies, opening new avenues for historical inquiry.*

Key Words: *Albania, Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Qamili, historiography, peasant movements.*

Introduction

In the days just before the First World War, an uprising began in Central Albania in May 1914 and quickly spread to other parts of the country, with peasants forming armed bands and attacking government officials and the International Gendarmerie.¹ Muslim clerics such as Haxhi Qamili and Musa Qazimi were the leading figures of the Uprising.² Although the government of the young Principality tried to suppress the movement, the insurgents killed Lodewijk Thomson, one of the most distinguished commanders of

1 The International Gendarmerie was intended to be a temporary law enforcement agency in Albania since the new-born principality did not yet have a national army or police force. It consisted mainly of Dutch officers, see A. PUTO, *Pavarësia shqiptare dhe diplomacia e fuqive të mëdha, 1912-1914*, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1978, 264.

2 After his religious education, he worked as an Ottoman clerk for many years, mainly in Durrës. His personnel record is preserved in the Ottoman archives: Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter, BOA), Dahiliye Nezareti Sicill-i Ahvâl Komisyonu Defterleri (DH.SAİD.d), 71/41, Varak (hereafter, V.) 41.

the Gendarmerie.³ Then, they captured two important Albanian cities, Berat in July, and Vlorë in August. Wilhelm von Wied, the Prince of Albania, was eventually forced to leave the country on September 3, 1914. Soon after, the insurgents had taken over the capital and established peasant assemblies as well as a Senate.⁴ They were in charge in various parts of the country until the uprising ultimately faded into history when Kosovar troops led by Isa Boletini executed its remaining leaders.⁵

The historical narrative that has prevailed in much of the Albanian-language historical scholarship of the recent three decades, emphasises that this historical phenomenon, which has not managed to attract much attention outside of Albania, was a “pro-Turkish” movement with a strong character of religious fanaticism and was hostile to national interests and modernisation efforts in the country. According to this narrative, the leaders of the Uprising, especially Haxhi Qamili, taking advantage of the ignorance and religious feelings of the peasantry, persuaded them to rise against the government of the Protestant prince in Durrës.⁶ Again, if we follow that narrative, we see that the main demands of the rebels were the accession of a Muslim prince to the Albanian throne or, ideally, the reincorporation of Albania under Ottoman rule. It is also repeatedly stated that the peasants carried a Turkish flag with them as a symbol of their unwavering loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan.⁷

3 It is also claimed that Lodewijk was killed by an “unidentified Italian sniper”, see D. HEATON-ARMSTRONG, *The Six Month Kingdom: Albania 1914*, I. B. Tauris, London 2005, 177.

4 It might be worth noting that the Greek Metropolitan Iakovos was the vice chairman of this senate, see A. BITO, *The Albanian Orthodox Church: A Political History, 1878-1945*, Routledge, London 2021, 42.

5 For a brief historical summary of the events that took place during the Peasant Uprising of 1914-15, see H. KALESKI, *Haxhi Qamili*, in *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, vol. II, M. BERNATH and K. NEHRING (eds.), R. Oldenburg, München 1976, 131-3. Also see F. F. ANSCOMBE, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2014, 177-8; M. VICKERS, *The Albanians: A Modern History*, I. B. Tauris, London 1995, 85-6.

6 For an overview of the work in which Haxhi Qamili has been understood as an “anti-hero” (*kundërhero*) since the end of the communist regime, see E. SULSTAROVA, *Haxhi Qamili: Rebel, Hero, Kundërhero*, “Polis” 3 (2007), 61-5. Bello draws attention that the Uprising “is characterised by the growth of the Turkish influence in Albania”, see H. BELLO, *Roli i Xhonturqve në Fazën e dytë të Kryengritjes në Shqipërinë e Mesme dhe Ndikimi i Tyre Politik në Shqipëri Gjatë Luftës së Parë Botërore (shtator 1914 – qershor 1918)*, “Gjurmime Albanologjike” 45 (2015), 93-116. Another study states that after a certain point the Uprising became an “evidently antinational movement”, see N. MEHMETI, *Situata politike në Shqipëri në pranverën e vitit 1914*, “Studime Historike” 1-2 (2008), 21-41. Also see L. CULAJ, *Shqiptarët në gjysmën e parë të shekullit XX*, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtina 2005, 382.

7 This news also attracted attention in Istanbul. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for

The history of the above-mentioned narrative, however, is not limited to the last three decades. Many Albanian statesmen and intellectuals in the 1910s evaluated the Peasant Uprising from a perspective similar to that of Albanian historians in the post-socialist period.⁸

But a rather peculiar and often neglected fact is that the Peasant Uprising of 1914-15 was understood and narrated in quite a separate way during the decades from the 1960s to the collapse of socialism in Albania.⁹ Constructed from the regime's perspective, the Hoxhaist portrait of Haxhi Qamili differs sharply from what can be found in history textbooks taught in Albania today.¹⁰ Drawing attention to the social structure of the Peasant Uprising and the class contradictions it revealed, a considerable number of historical studies written during the rule of Enver Hoxha praised Haxhi Qamili and his companions as revolutionaries, albeit non-Marxist ones, who opposed the feudal class in Albania to establish an alternative land order.¹¹

Bearing in mind Anscombe's claim that the historiographic tradition of assuming the Islamic political movements as pro-Ottoman and unrelated to national struggle "reached its most enduring form" in the socialist countries of the Balkans, the exceptionality of the Hoxhaist interpretation becomes more apparent in this case.¹² Therefore, it might be worth investigating the

instance, conveyed the news that the Albanian insurgents had reoccupied various places and raised the Ottoman flag ("Arnavud 'âsilerinin muhtelif mahalleri yeniden işgâl ederek Osmanlı sancağını rûkn etdikleri Hâriciye Nezâretince istihbâr..."), see BOA, Hâriciye Siyasî (HR.SYS), 2072/26, V. 2, 25.08.1914.

- 8 For instance, Sali Nivica, one of the most famous patriots of that time, equates the motivation of the rebels with a "disgraceful and fruitless dream", see L. ZELKA, *Për ruajtjen e Pavarësisë, për një Shqipëri demokratike: shtigjeve të shtypit shqiptar gjatë Pavarësisë, 1913-1939*, Toena, Tirana 2001, 117. In his Ottoman-Turkish memoirs, Avlonyalı Süreyya Bey (Syreja Bej Vlora) speaks of the rebels' "barbaric disgraces" (*fezâiyih-i vahşiyâne*), see Avlonyalı Süreyya Bey, *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk (1912-1920)*, A. KIRMIZI (ed.), Klasik Yayınları 2009, 238.
- 9 A thorough study has recently been written on this subject, see A. R. HOXHA, *Ideologjia, Politika dhe Historia: Rasti i Kryengritjes së Shqipërisë së Mesme (1914-1915)*, "Studime Historike" LIX/1 (2022), 99-123. While an undeniably insightful article, I believe that its intense focus on Enver Hoxha's cult of personality leads it to underemphasise some important theoretical rationales behind the socialist re-interpretation of the Uprising.
- 10 One of the 11th-grade history textbooks asks students to discuss the "regressive character of the Uprising of Central Albania" (*karakterin regresiv të Kryengritjes së Shqipërisë së Mesme*), see A.BESHAJ and O.NDREÇKA, *Libër për Mësuesin Historia 11*, Pegi, Tirana 2017, 177.
- 11 The process of formation of the regime's interpretation of history of the Peasant Uprising is discussed in an article based on archival materials, see S. BOÇI, *Kujtesa kolektive si pjesë e procesit ideologjizimit të shqiptarëve*, "Studime Historike" 3-4 (2013), 187-92.
- 12 F. F. ANSCOMBE, *The Balkan Revolutionary Age*, "Journal of Modern History" 84/3 (2012), 578.

historical, social, ideological, and, if any, personal reasons that created this difference.

Such research, however, requires avoiding some common simplifications. The general tendency to perceive the bureaucratic socialist systems of the Cold War period in a caricatured way often undermines the coherence of research on them.¹³ Also, it should be refrained from copying the “acutely politicized” and uncritical approaches created by the ebbs and flows of the post-1989 era. “At a time when the legacy of communist regimes in Eastern Europe has become a matter of political dispute,” Iordachi and Apor point out, “unreflective and simplified models of totalitarianism have invaded public discourses as well, being used as a tool for legitimizing new political elites, who capitalized on their anti-communist (yet not always democratic) agenda.”¹⁴

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the practice of dealing with scientific issues in close connection with Marxist-Leninist ideology has always been strongly emphasized by the regime. It is even possible to see the Academy of Sciences of Albania (*Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë*) used the phrase “ideo-scientific” (*ideo-shkencore*).¹⁵ Given the fact that conducting scientific research without ideological concerns was not even encouraged, it becomes clear that the party-state decisively channelling historiography into the effort to validate Marxist-Leninist theories and their Hoxhaist interpretations.¹⁶

On the road to reinterpretation: personal and political factors

Ramiz Alia, the first and the last heir to Hoxha’s office, confidently proclaimed in 1988 that his predecessor’s article on the Uprising led by Haxhi Qamili was one of the most important works in Albanian historical

13 It is worth remembering that Rittersporn mentions that most of the classic texts on Soviet history are “based on the axiomatic belief that contradictory phenomena ..., however improbable and illogical they might be anywhere else in the world, are entirely normal and indeed inherent in the Soviet system”, see G.T.RITTERSPORN, *Stalinist Simplifications and Soviet Complications: Social Tensions and Political Conflicts in the USSR, 1933-1953*, Harwood Academic Publishers, Chur 1991, 5.

14 C. IORDACHI and P. ABOR, *Studying Communist Dictatorships: From Comparative to Transnational History*, “East Central Europe” 40 (2013), 13-4.

15 For an example of this phrase being used in 1978, see Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror (Central State Archives, Tirana, hereafter AQSH), Fondi (F.) 508, Viti (V.) 1978, Dosja (Do.) 19, Fleta (Fl.) 1-15.

16 Similarly, Kammari, a Stalinist philosopher and senior research fellow at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, states that “the liberation of science from ideology” is a “revisionist myth” that leads to “scholasticism”, see M. D. KAMMARI, *The Revisionist Theory of the ‘Liberation’ of Science from Ideology*, November 8th Publishing House, Ottawa 2022, 39

studies.¹⁷ However, only a few years later, not only Hoxha's views on history but the very system he had established would collapse. From the first years of the 21st century onwards, moreover, Hoxha's interpretation of this specific historical event has even been the subject of mockery.¹⁸ But mapping the contexts of historical phenomena, including those that have been ridiculed, is the historian's craft.

When the communists came to power in Albania, they inherited a narrative of history and a dozen of national myths constructed over the long XIX. century by a small number of Albanian intellectuals with the principal aim of creating a homogenous Albanian nation.¹⁹ In many situations, they did not feel the urge to challenge and change them. The claim that the Illyrians were the most distant ancestors of the Albanian nation, for instance, was given the same great, pivotal importance during the communist rule.²⁰ According to the party's perspective, because, in a region where territorial claims reinforced by historical supports were rampant, it was critical to assert that Albanians had existed in the region since ancient times and were even the only indigenous people descended from the earliest known settlers of the Balkans.²¹

The communists took over the Skanderbeg myth and developed it into a much more advanced form. Especially "during the 1950s the exaltation of the

17 R. ALIA, *Enveri ynë*, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1988, 210.

18 One of the former political prisoners of the party-state, Uran Kalakulla, ironically teases Hoxha by defining him as a "distinguished historian" (*historiani i shquar Enver Hoxha*), see U. KALAKULLA, *21 vjet burg komunist (1961-1982): Kujtime, mbresa, portrete dhe refleksione*, U. Kalakulla, Tirana 2001, 332.

19 P. MISHA, *Invention of a Nationalism: Myth and Amnesia*, in *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, S. SCHWANDNER-SIEVERS and B. J. FISCHER (eds.), Hurst & Company, London 2002, 42.

20 "...the Albanian discourse on Illyrians significantly affected scholarly interpretations in Albanian archaeology, especially during the communist rule." Danijel Dzino, *Constructing Illyrians: Prehistoric Inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula in Early Modern and Modern Perceptions*, "Balkanistica" 27 (2014), 15.

21 Emphasising the "autochthonous ethnogenesis" of the Albanians, it was further claimed that the Albanians and their language were biologically and linguistically distinct from all other Indo-European peoples and languages, see. M. L. GALATY and C. WATKINSON, *The Practice of Archeology Under Dictatorship*, in *Archeology under Dictatorship*, M. L. GALATY and C. WATKINSON (eds.), Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York 2004, 9. If we remember that such claims originated in the early stages of Albanian cultural nationalism, the connection can be comprehended more easily. Pashko Vasa, the remarkable Albanian patriot, and the Ottoman governor of Lebanon (1882-1892) was of the opinion that Albanian had its origins in the ancient language of the Pelasgians. According to him, all the names of Gods in Greek mythology were of Albanian origin and, for example, the ancient name of Macedonia, *Emathia*, was derived from the Albanian "*e madhja*", see Pashko Vasa, *Vepra Letrare*, vol. 1, Shtëpia Botuese Naim Frashëri, Tirana 1987, 73.

partisan war victory was accompanied by the promotion of “Skanderbeg” as a part of the efforts to elaborate “national myths through a technique of syncretic combination with communist myths.”²² Similarly, neither Hoxha nor other party leaders took a stand against the principal political leaders of the “National Renaissance” (*Rilindja Kombëtare*), although a non-negligible portion of them belonged to the upper strata of society.²³ Rather, they saw themselves as the more progressive successors of the bourgeois-democratic patriots who had struggled for the independence of Albania.²⁴

Starting from the early years of his rule, however, Hoxha was firmly convinced that the history of the Uprising needed a radical revision. Considering the religious character of the Uprising and the decades-old accusations against it of being anti-Albanian and pro-Turkish, one can easily argue that it would not be particularly wise to undertake such a historiographic experiment. Therefore, there must have been some strong motivations behind Hoxha’s passionate opposition to the established narrative on the history of the Peasant Uprising. When most of the inherited narratives are accepted while one in particular is challenged, the following questions naturally arise: What were the reasons that convinced Hoxha and the other party leaders that the history of the Uprising needed to be rewritten and what benefits did they think they could achieve if they managed to prove that class struggle was at the root of a peasant uprising that happened in central Albania decades ago?

Hoxha first expressed his views on this subject in a Central Committee report in February 1943. There, Haxhi Qamili was described as “the leader against the feudal system that was oppressing the peasants.”²⁵ In his speech given at the first congress of the Albanian Communist Party (*PKSh*) in 1948,

22 F. LUBONJA, *Between the Glory of a Virtual World and the Misery of a Real World*, in *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, S. SCHWANDNER-SIEVERS and B. J. FISCHER (eds.), Hurst & Company, London 2002, 96.

23 “From at least the beginning of the Communist era”, on the contrary, “Albanian historians have lionized the careers of Ismail Kemal Bey (Qemali), Fan S. Noli, the Frashëri brothers, Dervish Hima and others as the quintessential nationalist hero.” See I. BLUMI, *An Ottoman Story Until the End: Reading Fan Noli’s Post-Mediterranean Struggle in America, 1906-1922*, “Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies” 3/5 (2020), 124.

24 In most revolutionary literature, the ideas of “historical continuity” and “a moment of revolutionary rupture” often live in symbiosis. Using the jargon of a historian of science, Krige says that the moment of revolutionary rupture “is not the moment of a gestalt switch”, and ‘the Marxist theory of revolutionary change is a theory which sees the new as struggling to differentiate itself from the old,’ he further elaborates, “from which it breaks and in which it is initially embedded.” See J. KRIGE, *Revolution and Discontinuity*, “Radical Philosophy” 22 (1979), 13.

25 E. HOXHA, *Direktivat e Internacionales Komuniste dhe Lufta Nacionalçlirimtare*, in *Vepra*, vol. 1, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1983, 282.

Hoxha quite succinctly expressed his thoughts on the Uprising again. He brought up the matter to the agenda as clear proof of “the desperation and hatred of poor layers of the people” against the feudal lords.²⁶

The Uprising, at that time, was still vivid in the collective memory of many in Albania, primarily but not exclusively, of the people of central Albania. After all, it had only been 35 years since it was suppressed. Many Albanians of the younger generation still had the opportunity to listen to the memories of former insurgents of the Haxhi Qamili movement. A young communist from Gjirokaštër, too, who was none other than Hoxha himself, met several people involved in the Uprising during the 40s.

In 1942, Hoxha met Xhafë Zelka, one of the prominent figures of the Peasant Uprising. “Xhafë the Rebel” was Haxhi Qamili’s comrade-in-arms. His acquaintance with Zelka allowed Hoxha to hear the eyewitness stories about the revolt and Haxhi Qamili for the first time. Hoxha wrote in his memoirs that he was quickly fascinated by this one-time rebel, and especially by one particular story about Haxhi Qamili. The story begins with Haxhi Qamili seeing a foreign merchant ship sailing along the Adriatic. Thereupon, he sends Xhafë aboard to warn the captain to stay away from the Albanian shores or else he would “start shooting at him with artillery and make such a hash of him that even the fish will not eat him”.²⁷

Abaz Kupi, another person Hoxha met in those years, had also been in touch with the Haxhi Qamili movement. Unlike Zelka, however, Kupi had a very tumultuous connection with the peasant leader. Originally a supporter of Essad Pasha Toptani during the stormy years of the early 1910s, Kupi decided to involve in the Uprising only after Pasha was exiled by the Government of Durrës.²⁸ For two years, Hoxha and Kupi fought together against the Germans and Italians, until the latter openly demanded the restoration of the monarchy under the House of Zogu. However, during the short interval they worked together, Hoxha had a great admiration for *Bazi i Canës*.²⁹

It is plausible, I believe, to regard these first encounters with the people who, in one way or another, were involved in the historical phenomenon of the Peasant Uprising of 1914-15 as one of the earliest personal factors shaping Hoxha’s thoughts on the subject. Starting from the earliest stages

26 E. HOXHA, *Raport në kongresin I të PKSh: Mbi punën e Komitetit Qendror dhe detyrat e reja të partisë*, in *Veptra*, vol. 5, Naim Frashëri, Tirana 1970, 201.

27 For Hoxha’s recollections of Xhafë Zelka, see E. HOXHA, *Kur u hodhën themelet e Shqipërisë së re: kujtime dhe shënime historike*, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1984, 119-27.

28 See R. ELSIE, *The Biographical Dictionary of Albanian History*, I. B. Tauris, London 2013, 265.

29 Hoxha’s tributes to Abaz Kupi, which was later removed from his *Veptra*, can be found here: AQSH, F. 10/AP, V. 1943, Do. 21, Fl. 1-2.

of his involvement in the communist movement, also, Hoxha was intensely concerned with the question of the peasantry. One of his first written pieces was a propaganda text addressed directly the peasants.³⁰ The time Hoxha spent on the peasantry issue must have inevitably led him to take a greater interest in the Uprising.

While personal factors can help us to contextualise Hoxha's interest in the Uprising more precisely, however, they constitute only part of the rationale behind the Hoxhaist interpretation of the Uprising. Therefore, the sole reliance on such personal factors would not be adequate to comprehend this intricately detailed and layered story.

Despite his personal sympathy for the Uprising, it was only in 1962 that Hoxha decided to interfere with historians.³¹ Idrizi marks this year as the beginning of a period of increasing pressure on historians. Because, he claims, Albania's break with the Soviet Union in 1961 "gave way to the tightening of state control over all areas and the complete silencing of polemical voices."³²

Indeed, it's possible to notice that Hoxha's interest in theory increased noticeably after the Soviet-Albanian split. A corollary to the isolation in the international political arena was the protectionist idea claiming that all scientific and theoretical issues, including historiography, should be compatible not only with general theses of Marxism, but also with the "correct", i.e., anti-revisionist form of it.³³ Historiography, I believe, has become especially vital at that period because just as Albanian lands was materially threatened by the American, Soviet and Yugoslav forces, Albania's history was in danger of being invaded by the distorted ideas of revisionism. Henceforth, the Party started to devote a significant part of its efforts to refute such ideas.³⁴ Hoxha described this period as follows:

30 HOXHA, *Thirrje drejtuar fshatarëve shqiptarë*, in *Vepra*, vol. 1, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1983, 94.

31 HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje mbi Kryengritjen e Fshatarësisë së Shqipërisë së Mesme (1914-1915), të udhëhequr nga Haxhi Qamili* in *Vepra*, vol. 23, 128-169.

32 I.IDRIZI, *Between Subordination and Symbiosis: Historians' Relationship with Political Power in Communist Albania*, "European History Quarterly" 50/1 (2020), 71.

33 I have avoided using terms such as "isolation" and openness" throughout the paper as much as possible, bearing in mind that "these terms do little to capture the paradoxes of a globalised socialism operating on many fronts and at multiple scales", see E. MËHILLI, *Documents as Weapons: The Uses of a Dictatorship's Archives*, "Contemporary European History" 28/1 (2019), 95.

34 It should not be a coincidence that Albania's efforts to build "an extended network of relations" with the legal and illegal communist parties in Eastern and Western Europe coincided after 1963. Marku states that with this move, Tirana intends to "secure their adherence to rigid ideological principles" and "attack Soviet revisionism", see Y. MARKU, "Stories from the international communist movement: the Chinese front in Europe and the limits of anti-revisionist struggle", *Cold War History* 21/2 (2020), 2.

The main characteristic of this period in the field of foreign policy was the deepening and uncompromising continuation of the open and principled war against imperialism, Khrushchev revisionism, and their tools. This war carried out by the PPSH aimed, among other things, to completely remove the mask of modern Soviet revisionists. With convincing arguments, the party intended to reveal the betrayal of the Soviet leaders towards Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, both in the country and in international public opinion.³⁵

After the Soviet-Albanian split, theory became so essential for Hoxha that he began to over emphasise “the war on the ideological front” (*lufta në frontin ideologjik*). Soon after, research into Albania’s history, too, became one of the battle zones of this front. The strong emphasis on materialist understanding as the only true scientific method was, in a sense, a precursor to the dominance that Hoxha and the Party would establish over historiography.³⁶

This political conjuncture explains why Hoxha, despite revealing his main theses regarding the Uprising back in 1959, waited for three years to firmly impose them on historians.³⁷ Because the conventional narrative of the Uprising was seen as a historiographic, and therefore tolerable mistake in 1959; whereas in 1962 it was an act of treason committed in the battle on the ideological front.³⁸

The theoretical background: From Engels to the Frashëri brothers

For Hoxhaist cadres, the importance of the ideological theory concerning the peasantry remained of crucial importance from the very beginning. It is possible to come across theoretical discussions on the peasant question in the early years of their rule. The old debate of the Marxist literature, the role of the peasantry in the proletarian revolution, was one of the topics eventually caused the tensions between Albania and Yugoslavia reached the breaking point, as the latter was formally accused by the Soviet Union of being pro-kulak.³⁹ What changed with the 1960s, however, was that the

35 HOXHA, *Vepra*, vol. 23, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1977, v.

36 E. HOXHA, *Raport në kongresin IV të PPSH, V: lufta në frontin ideologjik dhe detyrat e partisë*, in *Vepra*, vol. 20, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1976, 261-92.

37 E. HOXHA, *Mbi disa probleme të historisë së Shqipërisë*, in *Vepra*, vol. 17, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1974, 182-4.

38 Liri Belishova, for example, was allowed to state her opinion in 1959 that the Haxhi Qamili movement was anti-national, murderous, and pro-Ottoman, see AQSH, F. 14/AP, V. 1959, D. 14, Fl. 107.

39 M. K. BOKOVOY, *Peasant and Communists: Politics and Ideology in the Yugoslav Countryside, 1941-1953*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1998, 76-8. For

theoretical work carried out by the Party also included writing the recent history of Albanian peasantry, going beyond the confines of economics-oriented Marxist debates.

In his famous work on the German Peasants' War, Engels criticises historians in a scathing but humorous style. "Should the people of that time, say our home-bred historians and political sages," he comments, "have only come to an understanding concerning divine matters, there would have been no reason whatever for quarrelling over the earthly affairs."⁴⁰ He argues that equating all kinds of pre-modern social conflicts with religious animosity is a reductionist approach aiming to obscure the reality of class struggle. This idea that problems regarding land order underlies the peasant revolts, even though they cling to religious discourse, constitutes one of the starting points of the Hoxhaist interpretation on the Uprising.⁴¹

Just as the XVI century German peasants tried to revolutionise the land order under the discourse of "divine matters", so Haxhi Qamili and his fellow insurgents sought to overthrow the centuries-old feudal system under an Islamic discourse. Hoxhaist apologetics, therefore, advocates that an uprising, especially a peasant one, can hardly avoid such mistakes. So, the insurgents' use of religious rhetoric was not something that would undermine the revolutionary character of their movement.⁴²

In a similar way that Engels identifies the revolutionary tradition of the German nation in a certain historical process, Hoxha attributed an "undeniable revolutionary tradition" to the Albanian peasants.⁴³ In a way, he tried to establish a paradigm that allows historians to interpret the history of the Albanian peasantry as the sum of the moments in which the constant and intensifying class struggle ultimately led to a revolution.

Hoxha's argumentation against the Yugoslav authorities' views of nationalisation of the land see HOXHA, *Çështja e fraksionit në kokë të parties* in *Vepra*, vol. 5, 119-27. Theoretical and practical problems come to the fore by carrying out a proletarian revolution in a country where the majority consisted of peasants, are studied here: O. LELAJ, *The Proletarianisation of the Peasantry: A Narrative of Socialist Modernity in Albania*, "Ethnologia Balkanica" 16 (2012), 21-39.

40 F. ENGELS, *The Peasant War in Germany* in K. MARX and F. ENGELS, *Collected Works*, vol. 10, C. DUTT and others (transl.), Lawrence & Wishart, London 1978, 411.

41 Apparently, Hoxha remained true to this theoretical line until the end of his life. In 1981, he writes: "We, Marxist-Leninists, continue to assert that religion is the opium of the people. In no case will we abandon our point of view on this issue. And the Muslim religion, too, in content, does not differ from others ... It is not the religious inspirations that cause rebellion and revolutionary awakening of the peoples, but it is the political and social conditions, imperialist oppression and plunder, poverty and suffering that weigh on them." E. HOXHA, *Raport mbi veprimtarinë e Komitetit Qendror të Partisë së Punës të Shqipërisë, mbajtur në Kongresin e 8-të të PPSH*, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1981, 255.

42 HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje*, 141.

43 See ENGELS, *The Peasant War*, 399; and HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje*, 140.

Indeed, for Hoxha, the Uprising was not only a meaningful in its own right, but also an event whose social and political repercussions were seen in subsequent national struggles, including the Anti-Fascist War.⁴⁴

Hoxha, in the absence of large proletarian masses, had to accomplish the project of the socialist transformation relying heavily on peasants.⁴⁵ Like Lenin, he too, undertook “the thankless task of enriching a revolutionary tradition which had consistently placed the peasant majority of the world’s population at the periphery of its social and political concerns.”⁴⁶ Perhaps, for this reason, he never neglected the “triune” task that the Soviet marshal had proposed as the Leninist approach: “a) *rely* on the poor peasant, b) establish *agreement* with the middle peasant, c) never for a moment cease *fighting* against the kulaks.”⁴⁷

It has been emphasised that the imposition of the Hoxhaist historiography on scientific circles took place in parallel with the Soviet-Albanian split. It should also be stressed that the Hoxhaist interpretation of the Uprising took shape during the most productive years of Sino-Albanian alliance. As Prifti pointed out, at that time, both China and Albania had “a keen memory of the exploitation and humiliation they have suffered at the hands of foreigners”, and both felt “encircled and threatened by enemies”.⁴⁸ The economic and political rapprochement between Albania and China has also had important effects in the theoretical field and resulted in efforts to popularize some of the Maoist views in Albania. Mao’s strategies, after all, were “characteristic of a Marxist revolutionary who finds himself reliant, more so than he would have wished, on the peasants as the main force of the revolution, and who recognises the quite serious problems that this reliance entailed”.⁴⁹ Specifically, Mao’s claim that “the liberation of the peasants represents the completion of the major part of the national revolution” must have resonated with many Albanian communists.⁵⁰

44 *Ibid.*, 136.

45 It is presumed that the peasants were 80% of the population in 1945-50. Also, the rural population lacked any form of scientific agriculture whatsoever, see R.KING and J. VULLNETARI, *From shortage economy to second economy: An historical ethnography of rural life in communist Albania*, “Journal of Rural Studies” 44 (2016), 199.

46 E. KINGSTON-MANN, *Proletarian theory and peasant practice: Lenin 1901-04*, “Soviet Studies” 26/4 (1974), 526.

47 J. STALIN, *Lenin and the Question of the Alliance with the Middle Peasant* in *Works*, vol. 11, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1954, 109.

48 P. R. PRIFTI, *Albania’s Cultural Revolution*, Center for International Studies, MIT, Cambridge 1968, 4. Rapport no. C/68-9.

49 N. KNIGHT, *Mao Zedong and the Peasants: Class and Power in the Formation of a Revolutionary Strategy*, “China Report” 40/1 (2004), 73.

50 M. ZEDONG, *Resolution Concerning the Peasant Movement: Resolution of the Second National Congress of the Chinese Guomindang* in *Mao’s Road to Power: Revolutionary*

Hoxha was probably aware of the historiographic interpretations attempts concerning the Peasants' War of 1773-75, led by Pugachev in the USSR. While for some Soviet nations it was a part of their struggle to liberate themselves from Russian domination, party historians applied a "stringent class analysis" to the movement, describing it as "a civil war of progressive historical significance in which the non-Russian nationalities were deemed to have participated on a class basis."⁵¹

Building the ideological frame of his interpretation, Hoxha attached a particular importance to the National Renaissance period, and especially to the works of the Frashëri brothers, Sami and Naim.⁵² By doing so, he seems to intend to balance the Marxist approach of internationalism with some Albanian discourses⁵³. To position the communist rule as the continuation of the patriotic movement of the XIX century, Hoxha did not refrain from praising Naim despite his strong adherence to Bektashism as a national belief and Sami despite his Ottoman-Albanian layered identity.⁵⁴

The conclusion drawn from all this theoretical background is quite concisely articulated in the following words of Hoxha:

History cannot and should not be written according to the desires of one or the other, but on the basis of events, facts, documents, as well as legends and folklore. These facts must be interpreted correctly. Interpretations vary from one to another, but that which is based on historical materialism is the only correct interpretation.⁵⁵

Writings 1912-1949, vol. 2, S. R. SCHRAM and N. J. HODES (eds.), M. E. Sharpe, New York 1994, 358.

51 A. BODGER, *Nationalities in History: Soviet Historiography and the Pugačëvščina*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas" 39/4 (1991), 567.

52 HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje*, 133.

53 By "Albanianist", I refer to famous lines of Vasa: 'Do not look at church or mosque / The faith of the Albanians is Albanianism' ('*E mos shikoni kisha e xhamia / Feja e shqyptarit âsht shqyptaria*'). For the rest of the poem, see P. R. PRIFTI, *Unfinished Portrait of a Country*, East European Monographs, Boulder 2005, 218-22.

54 On the correlation Naim established between Bektashi belief and Albanian nationalism, see G. DUIJZINGS, *Religion and the Politics of Albanianism: Naim Frashëri's Bektashi Writings in Albanian Identities*, 60-70. The mythification of Sami in Socialist Albanian historiography has been studied here: B. BILMEZ, *Sami Frashëri or Šemseddin Sami? Mythologization of an Ottoman Intellectual in the Modern Turkish and Socialist Albanian Historiographies based on «Selective Perception»*, "Balkanologie" 3/2 (2003), 34-46.

55 HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje*, 132.

Reinterpretation completed: the construction and continuity of the Hoxhaist narrative

The “only correct interpretation” of the Peasant Uprising finally occurred in 1962: “Some Perspectives on the Peasant Uprising of Central Albania (1914-15) Led by Haxhi Qamili”. After the long discussions regarding the character of the Uprising, the narrative that designed to dominate Albanian historiography was formed by none other than Hoxha himself. Although congratulating the historians who compiled the first volume of the *History of Albania (Historia e Shqipërisë)* in 1959, Hoxha was sceptical about their perspective. “Discussions are always very good, very necessary, and very rewarding,” he declared, “but comrades should be careful not to be influenced or intimidated by demagogue pseudo-historians” as they incessantly try to “preserve the old unfounded taboos.”⁵⁶

For Hoxha, not only was Albania a *terra incognita*, but also the history of this small country was unexplored and ignored, because, unlike its Slavic and Christian neighbours, Albania never had a protector from European powers. According to rumours, Bismarck even considered this country a completely underdeveloped place full of shepherds. Moreover, the written historical documents in Albanian were quite limited.⁵⁷ It was therefore of supreme importance to explore Albanian history.

When it comes to the Peasant Uprising, however, historians seem to have failed to satisfy Hoxha’s expectations. Because the narrative they came up with still far from opening a proud page in the history of the Albanian peasants. Yet, according to Hoxha, they, who fought against “the Ottoman yoke”, “feudal lords”, “invaders”, “German agents” and “Austrian spies” for decades deserved to have its history made more glorious. He, therefore, concluded that historians “should be helped to understand these issues correctly.”⁵⁸

But what exactly did the historians overlook? Hoxha argued that they were prone to misjudging the Uprising by following the previous, non-Marxist historical narrative.⁵⁹ Those, after all, were based on information provided by feudal lords and the reactionary bourgeoisie, who had held an absolute monopoly over the production and dissemination of knowledge.⁶⁰ Naturally, historians had been retelling for decades the story of the big

56 *Ibid.*, 129-30.

57 *Ibid.*, 130-3.

58 *Ibid.*, 136.

59 *Ibid.*, 138.

60 In Albania, where educational opportunities were severely limited, access to schooling was largely confined to the children of the prominent bey families and the nascent middle class, see. N. CLAYER, *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar: Lindja e kombi me shumicë myslimane në Evropë*, A. PUTO (transl.), Botime Përpjekja, Tirana 2012, 34-5; 37-8.

landowners whose properties were seized by Haxhi Qamili and the rebels. According to the ideological outlook of Albania's communist leadership, therefore, it seems that the revolution that had taken place in Albania now had to be repeated in the minds of historians to free them from what were deemed anti-scientific and anti-Marxist argumentations.

Having undertaken the mission of enlightening the historians, Hoxha outlined the reasons why socialist historiography should view the Peasant Uprising as a pro-national and revolutionary movement, rather than an anti-national and reactionary one. First, portraying the Albanian peasantry, even in a historical context, as anti-Albanian was considered extremely inappropriate. It seems that Hoxha sought not only to restore the honour of the peasants who took part in the Uprising, but also to merge the various motives behind Albanian peasant movements throughout history into a narrative of patriotism and anti-feudalism:

Never, as far as I know, in the centuries-old history of our people, has it been proven that large groups of peasants or peasant movements have had an anti-national, anti-Albanian, pro-Turkish, etc. character. There were leaders who betrayed the cause of the homeland and deceived our peasantry, and there were mercenary leaders who lied to peasant groups for a while, but at no time in history, our patriotic and revolutionary peasants have ever allowed them to use the peasantry against the interests of the motherland. Now, thanks to the gentlemen historians and 'educated' bourgeois, we have been proven that a great peasant movement took up arms to fight against the interests of the nation and homeland! This is an appalling bluff, historically it is an anti-Albanian, anti-national definition.⁶¹

The second point on Hoxha's list concerned the enemies of the Uprising. Marx once sarcastically criticises the Parisian petty bourgeois who "fought fanatically in the June days for the salvation of property" and were rewarded with "overdue promissory notes, overdue house rents, overdue bonds!"⁶² To him, misled by their deeply conditioned worldview, the petty bourgeois were unable to grasp the true nature of the class struggle. To avoid repeating their mistake and bearing in mind the adage "the enemy of my enemy is my friend", Hoxha took a retrospective glance at the battlefield of history and identified two opposing camps: religious lower-class peasants and their landed enemies. Among the latter side, one would find few who had not already been condemned and discredited by the communists: the

61 *Ibid.*, 140.

62 K. MARX, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1968, 57.

land barons (*çiftligarë*), the government of Prince Wied, the International Gendarmerie, Essad Pasha, the Serbs...⁶³ Therefore, Hoxha “comradely” and “fraternally” urged historians to make the right choice – the truly socialist, class-conscious choice.

It is understood that some of the historians, inclined to believe that the long centuries of Ottoman rule resulted in Albania’s separation from the Western civilisation to which it “originally” belonged, held the view Albania could have regained its European identity if Prince Wied had been given the opportunity to establish a stable reign.⁶⁴ Hoxha did not fundamentally oppose this claim, but only its first part.⁶⁵ By reacting against the stereotype of the European monarch re-westernising the country, however, he constructed a counter stereotype: the monarch as a re-enslaver of Albanian people. Throughout history, Hoxha argued, European powers had never truly supported Albania, and when they did offer assistance by installing one of the members of their nobility as its monarch, it was merely a pretext to exploit the country’s resources and labour.⁶⁶ His rhetoric reinforced the narrative that Albania had always been surrounded by enemies seeking to undermine its sovereignty.⁶⁷

63 Declaring “The land belongs to the one who works” (*Toka i takon atij që e punon*), Hoxha staunchly defended the collectivisation of the lands belonged to the feudal lords (*agallarë/bejlerë/çiftligarë*) from the early years of his rule, see Ö. SJÖBERG, ‘Any Other Road Leads Only to the Restoration of Capitalism in the Countryside’: Land Collectivization in Albania in *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Communist Eastern Europe: Comparison and Entanglements*, C.IORDACHI and A.BAUERKÄMPER (eds.), CEU Press, Budapest 2014, 376. According to Hoxha, Prince Wied was a German agent, Lodewijk Thomson was a foreign mercenary, and lastly, Essad Pasha was a traitor and scoundrel, see, respectively, HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje*, 139, 150; *Vite të rinisë: kujtime*, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1988, 196.

64 Todorova states that: “Within the Balkan historiographical tradition, which insists on the existence of distinct and incompatible local/indigenous and foreign/Ottoman spheres, the danger lies not so much in overemphasizing ‘the impact of the West’ and overlooking continuities and indigenous institutions, but rather in separating artificially ‘indigenous’ from ‘Ottoman’ institutions and influences.” See M. TODOROVA, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, 163.

65 Hoxha speaks of the Ottoman rule in Albania as a ‘foreign rule’ and shares the view that the Empire caused the “darkest obscurantism in the field of culture” (*obskurantizmi më i errët në fushën e kulturës*) and the “deep backwardness” (*prapambetja e thellë*) of the country, see E. HOXHA, *Vendim i KQ të PPSH, i Presidiumit të Kuvendit Popullor dhe i Këshillit të Ministrave të RPSH mbi 50-vjetorin e shpalljes së pavarësisëin Dokumenta Kryesore të PPSH*, vol. 4, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1970, 285.

66 HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje*, 160-1. Hoxha calls Prince, “a German puppet”, see HOXHA, *Sukseset e Republikës Popullore të Shqipërisë*, in *Vepra*, vol. 7, Naim Frashëri, Tirana 1971, 401. He also describes Wilhelm von Wied’s regime as “imperialist”, see HOXHA, *Mbi disa probleme*, 183.

67 It is possible to observe Hoxha’s list of Albania’s enemies expands as time progressed, see. E. HOXHA, *Gjendja ndërkombëtare dhe politika e jashtme e RPSH in Dokumente*

Hoxha, as a considerably speculative self-declared historian, analysed history either by means of comparison or via negativa. Reminding that Ismail Qemali was also involved in a plot to bring an Ottoman prince to the head of the country, for example, he inquires whether he too should be considered pro-Turkish.⁶⁸ As evidence that the rebels were not related to the Young Turks, he underlined the fact that they rebelled against a German prince at a time when the Young Turks and the Germans were allied.⁶⁹

Non-Hoxhaist narratives, too, however, share that speculative feature – unavoidably, because of the lack of written documents; and voluntarily, due to the presence of certain political concerns. The key objective in the clash of reinterpretations was not necessarily to produce the most verifiable narrative, but rather to craft the most convincing one.

Having received clear instructions on what was expected of them in this historiographic battle of the ideological front, historians swiftly adopted the emerging official narrative and focused on the most effective ways to propagate and popularise it. The second volume of the *History of Albania* can be regarded as one of the earliest contributions to dissemination of the reinterpreted history of the Uprising. In line with the instructions provided, the authors framed the new narrative in the language of professional history-writing. For example, they explained the use of Islamic slogans by some rebels as a reflection of the peasants' backwardness, a direct consequence of the Ottoman rule. This time, they did not miss the chance to emphasise that the true driving force behind the movement was rooted in strong anti-feudal sentiments.⁷⁰

The masterpiece of the Hoxhaist historiography on the subject was eventually published in 1979. In his detailed monograph on the Haxhi Qamili movement, Shpuza presented an academically refined version of the narrative in Hoxha's 1962 article.⁷¹ Subsequently, in 1984, the third volume of the *History of Albania*, too, was released, prepared through an editing of the 1965 edition. In the preface, the editors noted that they examined the history of the Uprising based on Hoxha's study, which they regarded as

Kryesore të Partisë së Punës të Shqipërisë, vol. 7, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1982, 154-5.

68 "The bourgeoisie does not mention this idea of Ismail Qemali at all, the bourgeois historians could and would have liked to discredit him and label him as pro-Turkish, but they did not do so because the personality of Ismail Qemali and his unassailable patriotism does not allow it." See HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje*, 157.

69 *Ibid.*, 164.

70 A. BUDA and others (eds.), *Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. 2, Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, Tirana 1965, 28.

71 G. SHPUZA, *Kryengritja e fshatarësisë së Shqipërisë së Mesme e udhëhequr nga Haxhi Qamili (1914-1915)*, 8 Nëntori, Tirana 1979.

possessing significant methodological importance.⁷²

The sixth chapter of that book, titled *The Peasant Uprising of Central Albania*, was written by Shpuza. In this chapter, as an expert on the Hoxhaist interpretation of the subject, Shpuza highlights the anti-Essadist, anti-Vidist (*Wiedist*) and anti-feudalist aspects of the movement. He states that Haxhi Qamili imposed heavy taxes on the wealthy classes and took strict measures against moral decadence, alcoholism, gambling, and prostitution “by making a one-sided interpretation of some Qur’anic verses”. Thus, Shpuza claims that Islam and its provisions were instrumentalised by Haxhi Qamili and other rebel leaders. At this point, by not neglecting to refer to the lines written by Lenin regarding the relationship between peasants and religion, he demonstrates his determination to put Hoxha’s historiographic model into practice.⁷³

Efforts were also made to ensure that the reinterpretation of the Uprising in light of the Hoxhaist historiography was not limited to academic circles. The songs portraying Haxhi Qamili as a national hero fighting against the invasion of a foreign monarch are interesting cultural products that show that the popularization of this narrative was also important for the Party.⁷⁴ The interpretation was also imported outside of the country and used in Albanian-language historical studies published in Yugoslavia. For instance, in a book written by the Kosovar folklorist Shala after the death of Hoxha’s archenemy, Tito, it is emphasised that the Uprising was an anti-feudalist and revolutionary movement.⁷⁵

Conclusion

The question of how the history of the peasant uprisings should be analysed has always remained one of the significant questions of Marxist historiography. Hobsbawm famously described the peasant rebel as “pre-political people who have not yet found, or only begun to find, a specific language in which to express their aspirations about the world.”⁷⁶ After the rise of the subaltern studies, however, that approach has been explicitly criticised. Guha, for instance, “refused to call the peasants’ political

72 S. POLLO and others (eds.), *Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. 3, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Tirana 1984, 11.

73 G. SHPUZA, *Kryengritja fshatare e Shqipërisë së Mesme in Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. 3, 138-54.

74 Some of these songs can be listened to online: Fitnete Rexha – *Krisi Pushka Gjemoj Deti*; Esad Maxhuni – *Këngë për Haxhi Qamilin*.

75 D. SHALA, *Mbi epikën tonë popullore historike*, Rilindja, Prishtina 1982, 66.

76 E. J. HOBSBAWM, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1971, 2.

behaviour or consciousness pre political".⁷⁷ Within this broader context, the Hoxhaist attempt to revise the history of the Peasant Uprising of 1914-5, may seem more understandable. Although quite an original example, the Hoxhaist historiographic experiment was, in a way, part of this wider theoretical framework.

The Hoxhaist interpretation of the Peasant Uprising endured as a part of official Albanian history from the 1960s to the early 1990s. During these three decades, historians produced studies under the supervision of Hoxha and other party leaders. During this process, several historical arguments were fiercely used to prove that the Uprising had a national rather than an anti-national, and a revolutionary rather than a reactionary character. Hoxha not only offered an alternative interpretation of the Uprising, but also made it one of the building blocks of the official ideology, declaring that the Albanian communists are 'the grandsons of Ismail Qemali and the villagers of Haxhi Qamili...'⁷⁸

Hoxha's ideological intransigence was on par with his historiographic inflexibility. After his death and the desperate attempts to preserve his legacy, however, even those who contributed to the formation of the Hoxhaist narrative abandoned it, and Haxhi Qamili was once again portrayed as a fanatical Muslim peasant leader. Kristo Frashëri, for instance, writes that Qamili was "completely uneducated and fanatical about Islamic ideas".⁷⁹ As a quirk of history, these sentences are from a book published by the Academy of Sciences, which was strictly de-Hoxhaed after the collapse of the socialist regime.

The study of Albania's half-century of socialist history remains a subject to be explored further. The diplomatic alliances Albania formed amid the tides of the Cold War received relatively more attention. However, it is essential to examine this period of the country's history not only in terms of its relations with the Soviet Union and China, but also in the context of its internal dynamics. It is claimed that Gibbon once described Albania as "a land within sight of Italy and less known the interior of America". The extent to which this situation has changed is, unfortunately, open to debate. Although first its borders and then its archives were opened to researchers, the country in which professional historiography has shown the least interest in the Balkans, probably, is Albania. Recent scholarship

77 For a comparative analysis of Guha's and Hobsbawm's historical evaluations of peasant revolts see D. CHAKRABARTY, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2000, 11-16.

78 "... nipërit e Ismail Qemalit dhe të fshatarëve të Haxhi Qamilit..." See HOXHA, *Disa pikëpamje*, 157.

79 K. FRASHËRI, *Historia e qytetërimit shqiptar: nga kohet e lashta deri fund të Luftës së Dytë Botërore*, Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Tirana 2008, 245.

has started to change it in a positive way, yet I believe that it will not be possible to fully understand the effects of the ideologically polarised world of the Cold War on the Balkans unless detailed research on Albania reaches a satisfactory level.

REFERENCES

Archival Materials

Arkivi Qendror Shtetëror (AQSH) [Central State Archives]

F. 10/AP. V. 1943. Do. 21.

F. 14/AP. V. 1959. Do. 14.

F. 508. V. 1978. Do. 19.

Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) [Ottoman Archives]

Dahiliye Nezareti Sicill-i Ahvâl Komisyonu Defterleri (DH.SAİD.d). 71/41.

Hâriciye Siyasî (HR.SYS). 2072/26.

Published Documents, Books, and Articles

Alia, Ramiz. *Enveri ynë*. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1988.

Anscombe, Frederick F. *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Anscombe, Frederick F. "The Balkan Revolutionary Age". *The Journal of Modern History* 84/3 (2012), 572-606.

Avlonyalı Süreyya Bey. *Osmanlı Sonrası Arnavutluk (1912-1920)*. İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları.

Bello, Hasan. "Roli i Xhonturqve në Fazën e dytë të Kryengritjes në Shqipërinë e Mesme dhe Ndikimi i Tyre Politik në Shqipëri Gjatë Luftës së Parë Botërore (shtator 1914 – qershor 1918)". *Gjurmime Albanologjike* 45 (2015), 93-116.

Beshaj, Anile and Ndreçka, Orikela. *Libër për mësuesin Historia 11*. Tirana: Pegj, 2017.

Bilmez, Bülent. "Sami Frashëri or Şemseddin Sami? Mythologization of an Ottoman Intellectual in the Modern Turkish and Socialist Albanian Historiographies based on «Selective Perception»". *Balkanologie* 3/2 (2003), 19-46.

Bido, Ardit. *The Albanian Orthodox Church: A Political History, 1878-1945*. London: Routledge, 2021.

Blumi, Isa. "An Ottoman Story Until the End: Reading Fan Noli's Post-Mediterranean Struggle in America, 1906-1922". *Journal of Balkan*

- and *Black Sea Studies* 3/5 (2020), 121-44.
- Boçi, Sonila. "Kujtesa kolektive si pjesë e procesit ideologjizimit të shqiptarëve". *Studime Historike* 3-4 (2013), 179-99.
- Bodger, Alan. "Nationalities in History: Soviet Historiography and the Pugačëvščina" *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 39/4 (1991), 561-581.
- Bokovoy, Melissa K. *Peasant and Communists: Politics and Ideology in the Yugoslav Countryside, 1941-1953*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998.
- Buda, Aleks, Pollo, Stefanaq and others. *Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. 2. Tirana: Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës, 1965.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Clayer, Nathalie. *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar: Lindja e kombi me shumicë myslimane në Evropë*. A. PUTO (transl.). Tirana: Botime Përpkjka, 2012.
- Culaj, Lush. *Shqiptarët në gjysmën e parë të shekullit XX*. Prishtina: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, 2005.
- Duijzings, Ger. "Religion and the Politics of 'Albanianism': Naim Frashëri's Bektashi Writings". In *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, eds. Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, 60-70. London: Hurst & Company, 2002.
- Dzino, Danijel. "Constructing Illyrians: Prehistoric Inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula in Early Modern and Modern Perceptions". *Balkanistica* 27 (2014), 1-39.
- Elsie, Robert. *The Biographical Dictionary of Albanian History*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2013.
- Engels, Friedrich. "The Peasant War in Germany". In Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 10, transl. Clemens Dutt and others, 397-482. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1978.
- Frashëri, Kristo. *Historia e qytetërimit shqiptar: nga kohet e lashta deri fund të Luftës së Dytë Botërore*. Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2008.
- Galaty, Michael L. and Watkinson, Charles. "The Practice of Archeology Under Dictatorship". In *Archeology under Dictatorship*, eds. Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson, 1-17. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2004.
- Heaton-Armstrong, Duncan. *The Six Month Kingdom: Albania 1914*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2005.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971.

- Hoxha, Artan. "Ideologjia, Politika dhe Historia: Rasti i Kryengritjes së Shqipërisë së Mesme (1914-1915)". *Studime Historike* LIX/1 (2022), 99-123.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Direktivat e Internacionales Komuniste dhe Lufta Nacionalçlirimtare". In *Vepra*, vol. 1, *nëntor 1941 – tetor 1943*, 281-310. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1983.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Disa pikëpamje mbi Kryengritjen e Fshatarësisë së Shqipërisë së Mesme (1914-1915), të udhëhequr nga Haxhi Qamili". In *Vepra*, vol. 23, *janar 1962 – tetor 1962*, 128-69. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1977.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Gjendja ndërkombëtare dhe politika e jashtme e RPSH". In *Dokumente Kryesore të Partisë së Punës të Shqipërisë*, vol. 7, *1976-1980*, 128-63. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1982.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Mbi disa probleme të historisë së Shqipërisë". In *Vepra*, vol. 17, *shkurt 1959 – dhjetor 1959*, 177-84. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1974.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Raport në kongresin I të PKSh: Mbi punën e Komitetit Qendror dhe detyrat e reja të parties". In *Vepra*, vol. 5, *tetor 1948 – nëntor 1948*, 183-606. Tirana: Shtëpia Botuese Naim Frashëri, 1970.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Raport në kongresin IV të PPSH, V: lufta në frontin ideologjik dhe detyrat e partisë". In *Vepra*, vol. 20, *janar 1961 – prill 1961*, 261-292. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1976.
- Hoxha, Enver. *Sukseset e Republikës Popullore të Shqipërisë*. In *Vepra*, vol. 7, *janar-dhjetor 1950*, 399-423. Tirana: Naim Frashëri, 1971.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Thirrje drejtuar fshatarëve shqiptarë". In *Vepra*, vol. 1, *nëntor 1941 – tetor 1943*, 91-8. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1983.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Vendim i KQ të PPSH, i Presidiumit të Kuvendit Popullor dhe i Këshillit të Ministrave të RPSH mbi 50-vjetorin e shpalljes së pavarësisë". In *Dokumenta Kryesore të PPSH*, vol. 4, *1961-1965*, 284-94. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1970.
- Hoxha, Enver. "Çështja e fraksionit në kokë të partisë". In *Vepra*, vol. 5, *tetor 1948 – nëntor 1948*, 119-27. Tirana: Shtëpia Botuese Naim Frashëri, 1970.
- Hoxha, Enver. *Kur u hodhën themelet e Shqipërisë së re: kujtime dhe shënime historike*. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1984.
- Hoxha, Enver. *Raport mbi veprimtarinë e Komitetit Qendror të Partisë së Punës të Shqipërisë, mbajtur në Kongresin e 8-të të PPSH*. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1981.
- Hoxha, Enver. *Vite të rinisë: kujtime*. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1988.
- Idrizi, Idris. "Between Subordination and Symbiosis: Historians' Relationship with Political Power in Communist Albania". *European History Quarterly* 50/1 (2020), 66-87.
- Iordachi, Constantin and Abor, Péter. "Studying the Communist

- Dictatorships: From Comparative to Transnational History". *East Central Europe* 40 (2013), 1-35.
- Kaleshi, Hasan. "Haxhi Qamili". In *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, vol. II, edited by Mathias Bernath and Karl Nehring, 131-3. München: R. Oldenburg, 1976.
- Kammari, M. D. *The Revisionist Theory of the "Liberation" of Science from Ideology*. Ottawa: November 8th Publishing House, 2022.
- Kalakulla, Uran. *21 vjet burg komunist (1961-1982): Kujtime, mbresa, portrete dhe refleksione*. Tirana: U. Kalakulla, 2001.
- King, Russell and Vullnetari, Julie. "From shortage economy to second economy: An historical ethnography of rural life in communist Albania". *Journal of Rural Studies* 44 (2016), 198-207.
- Kingston-Mann, Esther. "Proletarian theory and peasant practice: Lenin 1901-04". *Soviet Studies* 26/4 (1974), 522-39.
- Knight, Nick. "Mao Zedong and the Peasants: Class and Power in the Formation of a Revolutionary Strategy". *China Report* 40/1 (2004), 49-76.
- Krige, John. "Revolution and Discontinuity". *Radical Philosophy* 22 (1979), 3-14.
- Lelaj, Olsi. "The Proletarianisation of the Peasantry: A Narrative of Socialist Modernity in Albania". *Ethnologia Balkanica* 16 (2012), 21-39.
- Lubonja, Fatos. "Between the Glory of a Virtual World and the Misery of a Real World". In *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, eds. Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, 91-103. London: Hurst & Company, 2002.
- Marku, Ylber. "Stories from the international communist movement: the Chinese front in Europe and the limits of the anti-revisionist struggle". *Cold War History* 21/2 (2020), 1-19.
- Marx, Karl. *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968.
- Mehmeti, Ndriçim. "Situata politike në Shqipëri në pranverën e vitit 1914". *Studime Historike* 1-2(2008), 21-41.
- Mëhilli, Elidor. "Documents as Weapons: The Uses of a Dictatorship's Archives". *Contemporary European History* 28/1 (2019), 82-95.
- Misha, Piro. "Invention of a Nationalism: Myth and Amnesia". In *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, eds. Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, 33-48. London: Hurst & Company, 2002.
- Pashko Vasa. *Vepra Letrare*, vol. 1. Tirana: Shtëpia Botuese Naim Frashëri, 1987.
- Pollo, Stefanaq, Bihiku, Koço and others. *Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. 3. Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, 1984.
- Prifti, Peter R. *Albania's "Cultural Revolution"*. Cambridge: Center for

- International Studies, MIT, 1968.
- Prifti, Peter R. *Unfinished Portrait of a Country*. Boulder: East European Monographs, 2005.
- Puto, Arben. *Pavarësia shqiptare dhe diplomacia e fuqive të mëdha, 1912-1914*. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1978.
- Rittersporn, Gábor Tamás. *Stalinist Simplifications and Soviet Complications: Social Tensions and Political Conflicts in the USSR, 1933-1953*. Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991.
- Shala, Demush. *Mbi epikën tonë popullore historike*. Prishtina: Rilindja, 1982.
- Shpuza, Gazmend. *Kryengritja e fshatarësisë së Shqipërisë së Mesme e udhëhequr nga Haxhi Qamili (1914-1915)*. Tirana: 8 Nëntori, 1979.
- Sjöberg, Örjan. "Any Other Road Leads Only to the Restoration of Capitalism in the Countryside': Land Collectivization in Albania". In *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Communist Eastern Europe: Comparison and Entanglements*, eds. Constantin Iordachi and Arnd Bauerkämper, 369-398. Budapest: CEU Press, 2014.
- Stalin, Joseph. "Lenin and the Question of the Alliance with the Middle Peasant". In *Works*, vol. 11, 1928 – March 1929, 105-20. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954.
- Sulstarova, Enis. "Haxhi Qamili: Rebel, Hero, Kundërhero". *Polis* 3 (2007), 53-67.
- Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Vickers, Miranda. *The Albanians: A Modern History*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1995.
- Zedong, Mao. "Resolution Concerning the Peasant Movement: Resolution of the Second National Congress of the Chinese Guomindang". In *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings 1912-1949*, vol. 2, eds. Stuart R. Schram and Nancy J. Hodes, 358-360. New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1994.
- Zelka, Luan. *Për ruajtjen e pavarësisë, për një Shqipëri demokratike: shtigjeve të shtypit gjatë pavarësisë, 1913-1939*. Tirana: Teona, 2001.