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**GJERGJ KASTRIOTI – SCANDERBEG IN THE MODERN
GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE***

Fan Noli, this Albanian eminent personality in the field of politics, literature and religion tells us in his *Autobiography* that when was still a student at the Adrianopolis Greek high school, during the summer holidays in his village Ibrik – Tepe, read two of the most precious books recommended by "uncle Tassi": The New Testament translated by Kristoforidhi and a history of Scanderbeg, written and published in Greek. The biography of the Albanian hero in Greek impressed him so much, that the personality of Gjergj Kastrioti would continuously lead him throughout his life.¹

Also, Jani Vreto, another Albanian intellectual and ardent representative of the *Albanian Renaissance*, read the biography of Scanderbeg in Greek, when was a student at the Zosimaia school in Ioannina, which made him so much enthusiastic, that just finishing it, wrote the poem *Historia e Skënderbeut (The history of Scanderbeg)*.²

Also, Theodoros Kolokotronis, an eminent personality of the Greek Revolution of 1821 and a humble man and with little education, writes in his *Memories*, dictated by Tertsetis, that during his life had read only three books: *The history of Greece*, *The History of Aristomeni* and *The history Scanderbeg*. This is what expressively Kolokotroni says: "I read Scanderbeg's life. I was thinking of his deeds. He never locked himself up in Kruja,"³ therefore, he was putting in evidence the military

*This presentation is part of the discourse segments.

¹ Fan S. Noli, *Fiftieth Anniversary Book of the Albanian Orthodox Church in America 1908-1958*, Boston, Massachusetts 1960, p. 54.

² N. Clayer, *Οι απαρχές του αλβανικού εθνικισμού*, [translated from French by A. Sideris], Ιωάννινα 2009, p. 182, 657, note 81.

³ Θ. Κολοκοτρώνης, *Απομνημονεύματα*, [edited by G. Tercetis], Αθήνα 1958, p. 97, 225.

tactics of Scanderbeg to never lock up himself within the castle, but to attack from outside the enemy inflicting great damages on them.

What is this Greek biography that influenced so much the Albanians and Greeks, the savants, poets, dramatists, writers and even painters, as we will later on see? We are speaking about the first biography in Greek about Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg, published without author's name in Moscow in 1812⁴. It was not an original work, but a summary of P. Duponcet's work, *Histoire de Scanderbeg, Roy d' Albanie*, published in Paris in 1709,⁵ for the elaboration of which the French author was based in the first biography on Scanderbeg, written and published in Rome by the priest from Shkodra Marin Barleti.⁶

This biography in Greek about Scanderbeg's life and courage, except the great spread that had in Greece, was also spread to the Russians, after being translated into Russian and published in Moscow in 1852,⁷ and also to the Romanians, after being translated into Romanian and published in Bucharest twice, in 1847 and 1857.⁸ It was also translated into Italian by Andreas Papadhopulos-Vretòs from Lefkada, and was printed in Naples in 1820⁹ with a supplementary about the establishment of the Albanian population in the Kingdom of two Sicilies after the death of Scanderbeg.¹⁰ Just this Vreto's translation was republished twice in Palermo under the care of Nicolò Spata and represents a pleasant reading which had an impact on many Arbëresh

⁴ *Επιτομή της Ιστορίας Γεωργίου του Καστριώτου του επονομασθέντος Σκεντέρμπεη, βασιλέως της Αλβανίας μεταφρασθείσα εκ του Γαλλικού, εν Μόσχα 1812.*

⁵ Τ. Γιοχάλας, *Ο Γεώργιος Καστριώτης-Σκεντέρμπεης εις την Νεοελληνικήν Ιστοριογραφίαν και Λογοτεχνίαν*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1975, republished from the printing house Δωδώνη, Αθήνα 1994, p. 30.

⁶ *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis.*

⁷ [Andrej Lizlov] *Iskander-bei epizod iz istorii Albanii*, perevod s grečeskogo A-ra L-va, Moskva 1852, (see N. Rozov-N. Cistjakova, *Povest' o Skanderbege*, Moskva-Leningrad 1957, p. 128, note 2).

⁸ I. Bilciurescu, *Preskurtare din istoria lui Georgie Castriotul, numit Scenderbei, printul Albaniei*, vol. 1-2, Bukurești 1847, 1857, (see F. Pall, "Marino Barlezio uno storico umanista", *Mélanges d' Hist. Générale* 2(1938), p. 160).

⁹ A. Papadopulo-Vretò, *Compendio dell' istoria di Giorgio Castriotto soprannominato Scanderbeg principe dell' Albania tradotto dall' idioma Greco-moderno e corredato di note dal Dottor Andrea Papadopulo Vretò Leucadio*, Napoli 1820, vol. 1-2.

¹⁰ *Appendice alla storia di Scanderbeg contenente gli avvenimenti più rimarcabili dopo la sua morte, e le trasmigrazioni degli Albanesi nel regno delle due Sicilie compilate dal traduttore, (ibid, vol. 2, p. 209-252).*

savants.¹¹ Vreto's Italian translation together with two supplements was "brought" also in Greek and published without name in Athens in 1848,¹² and it was republished in 1858 and 1884. This work had a wide spread among the Greek readers and influenced many Greek writers, which wrote books on Scanderbeg. Also, Vreto added an insulting letter that the prince Picinino sent to Scanderbeg and the proud reply of Scanderbeg, where he praises his "Epirotes" origin calling himself successor of Pyrrhus¹³.

Another biography about Scanderbeg was printed in Greek in 1861 by N. Dragùmis¹⁴ and its a translation from the French of the work by C. Paganel, *Histoire de Scanderbeg*, Paris 1855, with many supplementary comments by the interpreter. This biography was published by Dragúmis, and it was so warmly welcomed by the readers, that it was republished in Smyrna in 1880.¹⁵

Paganeli in his work has called the Albanian hero "the last representative of the ancient Greece heroes and the most important harbinger of the New Greece."¹⁶ Paganeli's point-of-views which were embraced by the Greek interpreter Dragúmis, made the Greek public have the idea that Scanderbeg was Greek. Thus, when in 1873 C. Hopf published in *Chroniques greco-romanes* also a text of Spandugino where it was said that Scanderbeg was "huomo valente e per origine serviano,"¹⁷ undermining the Slav origin of his mother, an opinion that the historian Konstantinos Paparigópulos accepted without any objection, as he wrote, reconsidering his opinion for the alleged Greek

¹¹ *Storia di Giorgio Castriotto soprannominato Scanderbeg principe dell'Albania*, Palermo 1845, 1847.

¹² *Ιστορία Γεωργίου Καστριώτου του μετωνομασθέντος [sic] Σκεντέρμπεη ηγεμόνος της Αλβανίας μεταφρασθείσα εκ του ιταλικού με πολλές σημειώσεις. Προσετέθη δε και έκθεσις των συμβάντων μετά τον θάνατον του Σκεντέρμπεη και των εν τω Βασιλείω των δύο Σικελιών Αλβανικών αποικιών*, Αθήναι 1848, 1858, 1884.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 154.

¹⁴ *Ιστορία Γεωργίου Καστριώτου του επιλεγομένου Σκεντέρμπεη, επεξεργασθείσα κατά Παγανέλ, υπό Ν. Δραγούμη, εν Αθήναις 1861.*

¹⁵ *Ιστορία Γεωργίου Καστριώτου του επιλεγομένου Σκεντέρμπεη, επεξεργασθείσα κατά Παγανέλ υπό Ν. Δραγούμη*, Εκδίδεται [sic] υπό Ι. Μάνου, εν Σμύρνη 1880.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62 "...le dernier représentat des héros de la Grèce antique, c'est le plus eminent précurseur de la Grèce moderne".

¹⁷ C. Hopf, *Chronique gréco-romanes, inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes tables généalogiques*, Berlin 1873, p. 334.

origin of the hero,¹⁸ a fierce polemic exploded through Athens newspapers among the Greek historian, the Greek savants, and Albanian scholars, a part of which recognized - the Greek-Epirotes origin of the hero (Petridhis),¹⁹ others recognized his Greek origin, but his later Albanianism (Miliarakis),²⁰ while others such as M. Dhímicas²¹ and the Albanian from Korça Eftim Prandi²² who was living in Egypt recognized the Albanian origin of Scanderbeg. Prandi also called the Greeks the blood brothers of Albanians, and proposed the construction in Athens of the monument of the hero. So that he could be admitted in "the congregation of greatest heroes and of the Greek wise men society!"²³ Therefore, the reaction of the Greek and Albanian savants against Paparigópulos has been allegedly against Scanderbeg's Slavic origin. Although in the latest edition of the Paparigópulos's history it was admitted the Albanian origin of Gjergj Kastrioti,²⁴ there have been many Greeks who continued to consider Scanderbeg Greek until the second half of the XX century.²⁵

A fourth biography (unfortunately unfinished) in Greek about Scanderbeg was published without authorship in 1880 with the title, *Ιστορία του Σκενδέρβη* (=History of Scanderbeg) in the newspaper published by Anastas Kullurioti *Η Φωνή της Αλβανίας*²⁶ (=Voice of Albania).

The fifth Greek biography was the titled, *Γεώργιος Καστριώτης* (=Gjergj Kastrioti) and was published in *Νέα Ημέρα*²⁷ (=New Day), a Greek newspaper in Trieste. It summarizes the book, *Scanderbeg, Historische Studie (Wien 1894)* authored by Julius Pisko, who was the Austro-Hungarian consul in Ioannina. For the elaboration of his work Pisko was based on Barleti.

¹⁸ Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλος, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, εν Αθήναις 1874, vol. 5, p. 379.

¹⁹ Α. Πετρίδης, letters in the *Ωρα* newspaper (Athens, February 9, 1876), and the *Λαός* newspaper (Athens, 28 February and 29 March 1876).

²⁰ Α. Μηλιαράκης, *Ολίγαι λέξεις περί της καταγωγής του Σκεντέρμπεη*, εν Αθήναις 1876.

²¹ Μ. Δήμιτσας, *Κριτικά έρευναί περί της καταγωγής και εθνικότητας Γεωργίου Καστριώτου του Σκεντέρμπεη*, Αθήνησι 1877.

²² Ε. Πράντης, *Αλβανικά παράπονα*, εν Αθήναις 1880.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 101.

²⁴ Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλος, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (6th edition), Αθήναι 1932, p. 294.

²⁵ See Τ. Γιοχάλας, *Ο Γεώργιος Καστριώτης -Σκεντέρμπεης*, op. cit. p. 40-49.

²⁶ From nr. 27 (24 May 1880) until nr. 39 (16 August 1880).

²⁷ From nr. 1053 (15 February 1895) until nr. 1062 (19 April 1895).

The last publication in Greek about Scanderbeg and his deeds is a short biography published by Ilias Ikonómopoulos on 1904, based on the work of Dragúmis about Scanderbeg.²⁸

These Greek biographies about Scanderbeg impacted more or less the Greek writers who wrote on Gjergj Kastrioti tragedies, poems, stories, and painters.

The following works are written in Greek:

1. The tragedy, *Γεώργιος Καστριώτης* (=Gjergj Kastrioti) (1818) authored by J. Zabelios (1787-1856)²⁹ from Lefkadha.

2. The tragedy *Σκενέρβης ο βασιλεύς των Ηπειρωτών* (=Scanderbeg king of Epirotes) (1889) authored by A. Antoniadis, born to parents from Crete (1836-1905).³⁰

3. The poem, *Σκεντέρβης* (=Scanderbeg) (1839) of the romantic poet from Ermúpolis and Síros J. Karasútsas (1824-1873).³¹

4. The poem, *Μια φωνή του Καστριώτη* (=A voice of Kastrioti) (1854) authored by A. Dandolos from Corfu (1788-1863), with a pure rebellious content.³²

5. The epic poem, *Σκεντέρβης* (1861) which is made up of 3850 verses and authored by Gregoris Stavrides, (1830-1893) from Ohrid's, and known more with his Slavic name Prličev. Stavridhis presented this work in Athens, in poetic competition in 1861, but without taking any prize, as was it was awarded his poetic work *Ο Αρματωλός* (=Armatoli) a year before, in 1860. *The epic poem* by Stavridhes, a poem about Scanderbeg was firstly published in Sofia in 1967 by the Bulgarian H. Kodov.³³

6. These are the stories in Greek about Scanderbeg:

²⁸ Η. Οικονομόπουλος, *Γεώργιος Καστριώτης ο Σκεντέρμπεης*, Αθήναι 1904.

²⁹ *Γεώργιος Καστριώτης* in the work of Zambelios *Τραγωδία Ιωάννου Ζαμπελίου Λευκαδίου*, εν Ζακύνθω 1860, vol. 1, p. 147-214.

³⁰ *Σκεντέρμπεης ο βασιλεύς των Ηπειρωτών, δράμα εις μέρη πέντε*, εν Αθήναις 1889.

³¹ *Ο Σκεντέρβης*, in the work of Karasutsas *Η Λύρα, ήτοι συλλογή λυρικών του τινών ποιημάτων*, εν Ερμουπόλει 1839, p. 12-14.

³² *Μια φωνή του Καστριώτη*, Κερκύρα τη 16 Μαρτίου 1854, [leaflet].

³³ Η. Kodov, *Gr. St. Pürličev, Skenderbej*, Sofja 1967, 1969. See also S. Çomora, *G. Perličev, Skënderbeu*, Tirana 1967. G. Stalev, *G. Prličev, Scenderbeg, Poema prepeal Georgi Stalev*, Skopje 1961. M. Petručevski, *Grigor S. Prličev, Skenderbej-Σκεντέρμπεης*, Skopje 1974. O. Jašar-Nasteva, "Die Verserzählung "Skanderbeg" von Grigor Prličev", *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 1967, Heft 1, p. 34-50. Τ. Γιοχάλας, "Το επικόν ποίημα του Γρηγορίου Σταυρίδου (Prličev) 'Σκεντέρμπεης'", *Μακεδονικά* 11(1971), p. 194-212.

a) *The Rise of Iskander* (London 1870) authored by Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) and translated into Greek and published in Patra in 1880 by P. Lakiotis,³⁴ and

b) the last literary work written in Greek and published with the title *Η εικόνα* (=the Icon) by the storyteller and poet Kostas Krystalis, from the village of Syrrako, Epirus, then *Ottoman Empire*.

The story of Kostas Krystalis *Η εικόνα* (=The Icon)

Η εικόνα (=The Icon) is the latest literary work in Greek about Scanderbeg, and at the same time most successful from an artistic point-of-view. It was written by the known poet and storyteller Kostas Krystallis and it was first published in Athens newspaper *Ακρόπολις* (*Acropolis*) in May 23, 1893, (page 2-3).

The poet Kostas Krystallis was born in Syrrako, Epirus, in 1868. When he was a student at Zosimaia School in Ioannina, he wrote the long poem *Αι σκιαί του Άδου* (=Hades Shadows), totally patriotic, and because of that he was persecuted by the Turkish authorities. Once this young poet escaped the arrestment, he took refuge in Athens where, tired state by the efforts of daily living, exhausted by illness, sufferings and misery, passed away in April 22, 1894, at a very young age. In his work, mainly poetic, he sings with grace and shows his longing for the livestock and agriculture of Epirus.

The content of the story, *Η εικόνα* (=The Icon)

In Ioannina, in the area still today called "Karavatjà", there is a coffee bar owned by Zoi Azoiri, who after becoming suddenly rich and finally economically ruined, was living by the few revenues of his coffee bar. This bar was frequented by some old men from Ioannina and all kinds of "Albanians", who take coffee and talk on the old times, and a young boy, apparently the storyteller, attracted by the wisdom of these old men. However, one afternoon he finds his fellows gathered around a strange icon. Krystallis wrote:

"It presented a brave handsome knight with giant stature. It had a beautiful white and red face, full of kindness and nobility, a pure royal face. He had an aquiline nose and prominent brow, pure face and long

³⁴ *Η Ανάβασις του Σκενδέρ ή Γεωργίου Καστριώτου, διήγημα συγγραφέν υπό Βενιαμίν Δισραέλη, νυν κόμητος Βήκονσφηλδ, μεταφρασθέν υπό Π. Λακκιάτου, εν Πάτραις 1880.*

beard that juts out, and haircut. It was as if the nature had bestowed upon him unmatched dexterity and special powers. He carried a cap decorated with beautiful feathers, and a green and long mantle of silk, adorned with golden stripes, that marvelously brightened...."³⁵

"The mantle wavered because of the horse's jump, and the golden chain of the royal emblem was glittering in his chest and a diamond cross welded, which seemed to be kept safe with deep clemency in his chest as if it was a talisman. His big yellow shoes could be noted because of his wavering mantle. A Damascus sword with golden ribbons hung on the belt on his left, and the scepter made of wild cornel was hidden after the knee. And above all, his glittery eyes and the torso of a real man showed that he had a dragon his heart and the power of lion. Nobility and beauty and grace in all his were all met in this man. He was holding the horse's bridle with his left hand and with his right hand was holding a long shield with the red flag and the two-headed eagle in the middle."

"His horse was black and only the forefront was a little bit white. The horse was also wearing a golden and silver saddle and all the kinds of ornaments. He had raised proudly his head and the ample and bright crest poured as a wavering wave on the knight's chest... It curved the body as a viper and on the back raised the hairy tail. The legs were just like wings in the wind, without touching the ground, and all the four silver horseshoes brightened. Down below there was an inscription, carved and decorated in French, showing the name of the brave knight and the place where it was painted, Florence."³⁶

The old men couldn't read the Italian inscription, and tried to distinguish from the form and the weapons the hero of the painting. To some, he looked like Shën Gjergji (St. George), to somebody else he looked like Shën Dhimitri (St. Demetrious), to another was similar to an ancient Greek or medieval western stratiot.³⁷ However, when the school boy, after reading the inscription told them "*he is our king*," and then they questioned him:

"George?", asked the old men.

³⁵ See the publishing of Λ. Βρανούσης, τέκ Βασική Βιβλιοθήκη (*Biblioteka Themelore*) 19, (p. 124), which are referred other quotations on Kristalis's text.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 124.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 125.

“The Sultan?”, asked the Albanians.

“What George and what Sultan are you talking about! This is the King of the Epirotes.”³⁸

Then, only the "Thin Old Man" dared to guess:

“*Pyrrhus, my son?*”³⁹

By hearing Scanderbeg's name "the Albanians" exploded in an indescribable joy, because they were watching the undisputed king, but expressing at the same time a great sorrow, because of the miserable situation into which they were found today, totally the opposite of the free and happy life in which the king of Epirus, Scanderbeg fought so hard and so bravely for.

“Here beholds torso, behold bravery! Come on o Scanderbeg, come on, the sensational king of Albanian. Why don't you raise again to invite us with your big proud call: 'As far as Scanderbeg lives, the Albanians will never be the slaves of the others'. And it's true my son, wouldn't you die, and us also, wouldn't we have drawled o poor Lulo as thieves and bad dredgers throughout world's mountains without bread and without shelter, with half cap on the head and dog-poor shoes.”⁴⁰

Exactly at that moment, one of the friends, the Thin Old Man, tells a beautiful story about the astonishing deeds of Scanderbeg's childhood, the strange dream of his mother before he was born, and the different legends about hero's life and deed. The story becomes more vivid and more natural with the "Albanian" words, which Kristalis introduces in some suitable moments of the narration, as allegedly articulated speeches from the "Albanians" (*Hajde, more plak, ku i di ti të gjitha këto, i bëfsha t'ëmën palofrëngut murdar!*), and exited as they are, finally embrace and kiss the Thin Old Man and with tears in the eye say in Albanian:

"We're brothers, old man, not a big deal we have two faiths, and let the poisonous mouths of the enemies say whatever they want.”⁴¹

By these words of "Albanians" ends the story by Krystallis's.

We think that Krystallis was based on the Vreto's information about a painting of the hero found in Florence. With the description of the

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 125.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 125.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 125.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 127.

face, body, clothing, and armament characteristics on his mind, from that source, allegedly invented the myth of finding in Ioannina of a Scanderbeg's "picture (kádthroje)" painted in Florence, and that presents him in the same way described also by Vreto. However, Krystallis speaks about the Scanderbeg on the horse. The painting in the Galleria degli Uffizi of Florence illustrates the torso and the profile of Scanderbeg.

Immediately after, we observe that in the majority of the known paintings referred to Scanderbeg, the hero is already presented in advanced age. However, in an old painting of Scanderbeg on horse, I at least, have not seen. In most of the cases, as bases for the paintings' presentation has served a figure of Gjergj Kastrioti, printed from a xylography of Barleti's biography.⁴² This figure has been systematically copied or some formal and essential elements of it have been preserved: the torso from the right temple, lively eyes, sharp nose, abundant beard and the cap on his head.

However, it is posed this question: Whether it has happened or not everything that Krystallis describes, is it possible for him to have in mind just a painting work?

I have found an icon, which probably Krystallis has been seen by before writing his novel.

This undated icon, and has as inscription these words: *Ο ΑΗΤΤΗΤΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΚΑΣΤΡΙΩΤΗΣ 1443-1467, ΕΚΔΟΤΗΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗΣ, ΟΔΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ 4-ΑΘΗΝΑΙ* (*The undisputed hero king of Epirus Gjergj Kastrioti 1443-1467 publisher Gjeorgjios Christidhis, road Poliklitou 4 –Athens*). This icon is not work of Gjeorgjios Christidhis, but of Sotirios Christidhis, a noted painter from Athens, who at the end of the XIX century, and especially in the beginning of the XX century often hummed heroes' figures of the Greek Revolution or known thieves' figures of the time. It seems that he had also included Gjergj Kastrioti in his list of heroes. Christidhis wrote his name on the right, below the icon of Scanderbeg, in the abbreviated

⁴² O. Paskali, "La figure de Skanderbeg dans les beaux-arts européens", *Studia Albanica*, 1 (1968), p. 35.

form Salv. Christ. (Salvatore Christidhis = Sotirios Kristidhis).⁴³ The illustration of Scanderbeg on a white horse is close to the presentations of Shën Minai (Saint Menas) or more of Shën Gjergj (Saint George). The names of these saint figures are uttered by the men from Ioannina, when they saw the "kadhron" implied in the Krystallis' story:

"One called him Saint George, another one called him Saint Demetrius, another one called him ancient Greek and another called him French and Flanders soldier."⁴⁴

The other icon of Scanderbeg on the horseback is anonymous and with an undated lithography in the national Historic Museum of Greece (Athens).⁴⁵ This lithography openly manifests the imitated features of a known painting by the renown French painter Theodor **Gericault** (1791-1824).⁴⁶ Probably this lithography was copied by the painter A. Ballamaçi from Korça, an Αρβανιτοβλάχος ("Albanian-Vlach" as he has signed in Greek in his work) in 1889. This work belongs to the National Gallery of Arts of Tirana. Except that, Scanderbeg on the horse was painted in **1913** by the painter Spiridhon Xega from Korça, and represents regardless the small changes in Scanderbeg's cap and in the painting's, background copies of the above-mentioned lithography or directly of Ballamaçi's work.⁴⁷

Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg in the modern Greek Historiography and Literature

Currently, only the above-mentioned works about Scanderbeg have been written and published in the Greek language, always (but the short biography of I. Ikonómopulos) during the XIX century.⁴⁸ This cannot be a coincidence; therefore, we think that there is a need for interpretation.

The Greek people after the bitter experience of four hundred years of slavery, characterized by a social-economic development, within the

⁴³ Hristidhis-had other works with his transcribed name. Here we can mention: *Georgios I, Konstandini successor of the Greek throne etc.* signed as S. CHRISTIDIS.

⁴⁴ See the figure

⁴⁵ See the figure.

⁴⁶ See the figure

⁴⁷ Dhorka Dhamo, "Skënderbeu në artet tona figurative", *Studime Historike* 1967, fashik. 4, p. 142.

⁴⁸ At least that has achieved to prove our research.

possibilities of that time, yet felt the urgent need to raise against the tyrant. However, except the military organization and preparation, Greek also needed a source of inspiration that would give them courage and strength. Therefore, in parallel with the specimen of the ancient Greeks, whose bravery against the enemies was unfamiliar to the wide masses of people and difficult to adapt to the current situation,⁴⁹ it became natural the search for specimen from the Greek later history. Except that, the only majestic figure from the near Greek past, was Constantine Palaiologos. He was more a personification of sacrifice and honorable death rather than a leader of tribe rebellion, and this could have probably evoked in the memory of the people unpleasant events causing demobilization. On the contrary, Gjergj Kastrioti, as being closest to the Greece main skid, this Christian man, whose name naturally sounded in Greek (Γεώργιος Καστριώτης), with his glorious wars near Epirus, the frequent defeats of sultan Murat II and sultan Mehmet II attacks, the powerful strikes against the Turks, violently bowing the pride look of the sultan Mehmet II, conqueror of Constantinople, frontline warrior for the protection of freedom and Christianity, unbeatable, overstated and mystified from Barleti and his systematic imitators, became a source of inspiration for the Greeks. This legendary figure showed up at a moment when many signs attested that a rebellion against the Turks was closer and necessary and welcomed in Greece more than ever.

The translation into Greek of the first biography of Scanderbeg which was printed in Moscow in 1812 came to the Greeks' aid. It could be noted that the translator finished the summary of Duponcet's work basing on the victorious wars of Scanderbeg against the Turks excluding the details and facts that were not directly related to the victories of the hero and the defeats and destructions Turks. Also, the language of the text, although it can't be called popular (demotic), regardless the frequent "demotic" forms that we meet in the text, keeps on being simple. The simplicity probably manifests the translator's

⁴⁹ From the ancient Greeks, the figure of Alexander the Great is often met in the New Greek Literature. However, the Turks, for many post Byzantine historians are successors of the Persians defeated by Alexander the Great. See. G. Veloudis, *Der neugriechische Alexander*, München 1968, p. 211.

goal, addressing its message to the wide masses of the Greek people and not only to the savants.

We think that this is the way the first presence of the Scanderbeg's biography in the Greek literature should be interpreted. And the first Greek who took the trouble to translate the old biography of the hero published by Duponcet into Greek, anyhow aimed to foster the national question and not the promotion of himself. This is why didn't want his name to be mention (including here the security reasons).

However, encouraging the Greeks was not enough for to an armed war to be started. First, it was needed organization and preparation. Only a central authority and power, powerful enough for the necessary preparations and coordination of the different actions could succeed. This necessity spoke mostly to the hearts of three Greeks: A. Tsakalov, N. Skoufas and E. Xanthos, who founded in Odessa the Society of Friends, (Φιλική Έταιρεία), only two years after the publishing in Moscow of the first biography on Scanderbeg in the Greek language. The Society of Friends started to spread very fast through its friends even in Greece. Here we can mention Ioanis Zabelios, who was informed about this association by doctor J. Zapralís, from Syrrako. Enthusiastic, extremely fearless and patriotic, the poet from Lefkada immediately put at the service of the war everything he could, his wealth and pen. He was spending his fortune to buy weapons. He went to Acarnania many times, and put his life in danger. He inspires and encourages to jump into the war through his presence and tragedies. By the time he had already written the tragedy "Constatine Palaiologos." It was not difficult to arrive to the last victorious protector of Epirus freedom, viz on Gjergj Kastrioti from the character of this majestic ultimate of Byzantium freedom. He had read the hero's biography published in Moscow and had meantime written some parts of the tragedy *Γεώργιος Καστριώτης* (=Gjergj Kastrioti). J. Zapralís, a member of the Society of Friends told him: "Who knows my friend whether with you will be renewed new heroes, new Kastriots, and their glory will open up a new phase for your Melpomena!" Right at this moment of exhalation and emotion, Zabelios was introduced by Zapralís to the Society of Friends, while some time after the poet finished writing the tragedy, "*Γεώργιος Καστριώτης*" (=Gjergj Kastrioti), in which the hero is sworn once again to "fall as a thunder"

against the Turks, killing them and cutting them out from the homeland.

A little bit later, internal turmoil and the war among the clans shocked the political life of the small Greece. Kapodistrias was made an attempt, the life of king Otto was in danger, the bad policy - of the Regency first, and of the Bavarians latter, who were appointed to high position in different offices by king Otto. The king, even when he became an adult, caused a great indignation among the Greek population, which continuously expressed its disaffections towards the king through violent demonstrations. Many poets were committed to fostering the campaign against the King Otto. These poets became later known because of their affiliation to the Romantic School of Athens. This school, who dominated the Athens's cultural environment in the years 1840-1880, is characterized as it's known by a severe purified language (*καθαρεύουσα*), that the representatives of this School used in their poems. These poems could be distinguished by their pessimism, eroticism, patriotism and evocation of the past and history.⁵⁰ I. Karasutsas is one of those poets who accepted the influences of this school by joining it.

This poet, still at a very young age, tried to teach the Greeks "the virtue" as he wrote, at a time when everyone in Athens protested against the absolutism of the King Otto, while the "purified" poets of Athens had meantime started to strike him (whereas the kid Karasútsas follows them and is influenced by them). At the same time, the enslaved Greeks were waiting for the liberation and chasing out the Turks, for the destruction of which the romantic poets of Athens often wrote about. Karasútsas, inspired by some verses of P. Sútsos and probably the biography of the hero published in Moscow, wrote the poem "*Σκενδέρβης*" ("Scanderbeg"), *seeing in the face of that warrior the model of the man winning over the tyrants and also against "the illegal kings."* The latter could be considered as the camouflaged critique against the absolutism and despotism of king Otto. This poem clearly shows that this young poet was influenced by the Romantic School of Athens, but also by political environment of his time.

As are talking about the political environment of Athens in the middle of the XIX century, of course we could not ignore the vision of

⁵⁰ Κ. Δημαράς, *Ποιηταί του XIX αιώνας* [Βασική Βιβλιοθήκη 12], Αθήναι 1959.

"the Great Idea" ("Μεγάλη Ιδέα"). This dream of resurrection the Byzantine Empire, a dream that the "pure" poets of Athens had, didn't remain a simple poetic inspiration. This policy of Great Idea was finally embraced by king Otto, either to coddle the popular feeling, or to keep his sangfroid about the issues of complete renewal of the nation. The premier Kolettis, who endorsed a program agreeable with the king's Great Idea, turned his attention to Epirus and Albania. First, he assisted Zejnel Gjoleka who rebelled (1847) in Kurvelesh against the Turks. The great expectations Albanians and Greeks had were soon extinguished by the enemies. However, before that rebellion was extinguished, all the beys and agha of Toskëria came together in Kurvelesh to call on king Otto and Greece's Parliament and ask for the unification of the country with the Kingdom of Greece.⁵¹ This was not the first time that Albanians wanted the unification with Greece. At this moment some politicians and militaries of Greece, were actively working on the establishment in Athens of a society involved in the unification of Greece with Albania. "A part supported the racial affinity between Albanians and Greeks, while the others supported the idea of the Greek origins of the Albanian language. It is interesting that they didn't have a clue about the question, but did whatever they could to support the national interest, as it was the union between Greece and Albania."⁵²

From this spirit was passed on the second Scanderbeg's biography in Greek authored by A. Papadópuλος-Vretós. Scanderbeg is presented by Vretós as the hero of the "Epirotes", who victoriously fought throughout his life against the Turks. Therefore, it is an example to be followed by the Greeks and Epirotes in general. Of course, when Vretós published biography of Scanderbeg in Athens (1848), the free Greece was still a small country. However, the war had not finished yet, and perhaps Greece needed a figure to be inspired by more than ever. And this figure couldn't come from the Revolution of 1821, because some of the heroes were fallen martyrs, while some others were hated from the opposition groupings, which unfortunately were divided because of the personal passions and ambitions. Except that,

⁵¹ Τ. Γιοχάλας, «Ανέκδοτα κείμενα περί Αλβανίας, αλβανικού αλφαβήτου και ελληνο-αλβανικών σχέσεων», *Μνημοσύνη* 2(1969), p. 430-431.

⁵² Τ. Γιοχάλας, *ibid*, p. 432.

what is more important, the heroes of Twenty-One ('21) had not entered in the legendary sphere yet, because of their short activity. The "myth" of the Twenty-One Revolution ('21t) had not appeared yet, while myth of Scanderbeg was already cultivated due to the first biographer. Especially the Epirotes didn't have a figure more suitable than Scanderbeg to be put in evidence. Exactly for this reason, A. Dándolos didn't find voice a more suitable than that of Gjergj Kastrioti, to encourage the Epirotes in rebellion against the Turks. This Dándolos's poem entitled *Μια φωνή του Καστριώτη* (=A voice of Kastrioti) was printed and circulated in Epirus, after the explosion of the rebellion of 1854. Therefore, this poetry was not addressed only to those who rebelled, but to all Epirotes. The poet individualized in Scanderbeg's face the symbol that could lead in rebellion against the Turks in all the Epirus space.

Definitively, the enemies drowned the rebellion in Epirus in blood, causing dissatisfaction towards king Otto. The politics in Greece was at a delicate juncture. The poets of Athens continued to encourage the king to apply the warmongering plans. Piraeus was occupied during the Crimean War (1854-1857) by the Anglo-French fleet. The contradiction between the king and the people became clearer during the union of the Ionian islands, because the hostility between England and Otto was allegedly presented as an obstruct of the solution to the question. Again, Scanderbeg is symbol of the national unity and patriotism. The biography of Scanderbeg authored by Vretó was republished, and biography of Scanderbeg authored by N. Dragúmis was edited three years later. The latter would typically emphasize in the introduction:

"In the current situation, no study has been more didactic than the life and the deeds of those two Greeks (viz Alexander the Great and of Gjergj Kastrioti). Therefore, I repeat that the destiny is in our hands, but we need to have spirit of national unity, that under Alexander the Great, who victoriously lead the Greek Arms to remote areas of Asia, and the invincible patriotism or the denial of the personal interest in the name of the common interest, typical of Gjergj Kastrioti, something

that made him the savior and beneficent of the homeland...."⁵³ And Dragumis makes his choice:

"Aiming to empower this national and pan Hellenic thought, I'm publishing Gj. Kastrioti's history. I hope that the reading would give wings to this withered thought, and fill the chest of our sons with that noble voice of their fathers, who in 1821 proclaimed Greek anyone who believed in Christ and spoke Greek."⁵⁴

The biography by Paganeli which was translated into Greek by Dragumis, took Scanderbeg for a Greek and also "the posture of a real man who was the last of the demigods, and of the most prominent predecessors of the Modern Greece... ." This point-of-view found echo in many Greeks, especially in the circle of the savants, who embraced it with no reserves. This opinion was inculcated among the Greeks, because otherwise it cannot explain the strong reaction against Paparigópulos, which based on a then just published chronicle of Hopf, supported as we have seen the Slavic origins of Gj. Kastrioti. Paganeli's biography would have been widely spread within Greece even because its content, totally military, responded to the public wishes of that time. Then, Romantic School of Athens, didn't stop to openly use the warmongering speech, and daily turn to the question of "war". Except that, the poetic competitions held from the middle of the XIX century, dedicated a special attention to the works on national question, by leading in a certain way the inspiration of the poets towards "the war".

Therefore Stavrídhis, exactly expressed the Athenian spirit of his time through its epic poem *Σκενδέρμπεης* (=Scanderbeg). Taking the material from Vretós's biography, with a very "pure" language (καθαρεύουσα), the multifarious Homeric influences and in general considering the "type" of his poetry, his work seems to be bounded not only with the Athens Poetic School of the middle XIX century, but also with the political situation of the time, while the elaboration of his work almost coincides with Dragúmis's biography publication.

Meantime, there were new political developments inside and outside Greece. On 24 April 1877 Russia declared war on the Ottomans. Problems started to appear from the side of Albanians. The Greek-

⁵³ Ν. Δραγούμης, *Ιστορία Γεωργίου του Καστριώτου του επιλεγμένου Σκεντέρμπεη, επεξεργασθείσα κατά Παγανέλ, εν Αθήναις 1861*, p. VI.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. VI.

Albanian, union which has been supported since 1829, started to take a different direction. As the national conscience of the Albanians grew, they began in 1877 to speak about the establishment of a dual state, with a relative autonomy of both countries, like Austro-Hungary and not about a complete union of Greece with Albania. H. Trikoupis developed then (1877) a vivid camouflaged diplomatic activity in Ioannina, Corfu and Constantinople.⁵⁵ Although Trikoupis failed in his mission, the Albanians demanded in a memorandum addressed to lord Wisconfield the federative union of Albania with Greece.⁵⁶ The manuscript about Scanderbeg's authored by Dragúmis was published two years later, and the biography of Scanderbeg authored by Vretós was republished.

Turkey reacted to the Greek policy by supporting the opinion by propagating that Epirus is mainly inhabited by Albanian Moslems, because of Epirus not to be eventually ceded to the Greeks. The case becomes more complicated with the implication of the foreign diplomacy, mainly the Italian one, diametrically opponent and hostile with the Greeks' national request. Epirus was a continuous problem for the Greek government. Daily magazines and newspapers, and special studies inform about for the liberation of the Epirotes brothers, opposing the foreign propaganda. The Greek printing-houses were once again involved in the Scanderbeg issue. At this moment, A. Antoniadis writes his tragedy, characteristically entitled *Σκεντέρμπεης, Ο βασιλεύς των Ηπειρωτών* (=Scanderbeg, king of Epirotes). *Scanderbeg has now become the unifying hub between Greeks and Albanian "brothers" against the common enemy, the Turks.* Then we have the story entitled *Ikona* written by Kostas Krystallis and with the same impact. The last words of the "arvanitas" addressed to the people from Ioannina: "We are brothers old man, although we have two religions, and let the poisonous mouths of the enemies say whatever they want." Without any doubt, the author alludes the Turkish policy of the time, which according to Kryistallis, couldn't divide the peoples of Greece and Albanian, the two "friendly" countries, who have to show their predecessors like "the Epirotes" Scanderbeg, who heroically fought against the Turks.

⁵⁵ Μ. Σπυρομίλιος, «Ελλάς και Αλβανία», *Ο Νέος Κουβαράς*, Αθήνα 1962, p. 140-177.

⁵⁶ Ν. Καζάκης, *Ελληνοαλβανική συνεννόησις*, εν Αθήναις 1907, p. 51.

I. Karasútsas republished his poem in 1895, two years after the publication of *Ikona* (the Icon) by Krystallis.

Turkey continued to follow its policy line, and so did Greece. On 1899 circulated in Athens "*Proklamata e Lidhjes Arvanite të Athinës drejtuar vëllezërve arvanitë të Shqipërisë* (*The Proclamation of Athens Arvanites League addressed to Albanian Arvanites brothers*)."⁵⁷ This proclamation demanded the help of the Albanian "brothers" for the establishment of the "Greek-Albanian Kingdom."⁵⁷ Synchronously were written plenty of short studies in Greek, even by Albanians. These studies supported the union between Albania and Greece, because it is about the peoples of the same race.⁵⁸ The last biography about Scanderbeg by I. Ikonómopulos came out as a result of the policy "inclination". Perhaps this publication aimed to share the deeds and activity of this Epirus "Greek" who continued to wail under Turkey's oppression with the wide masses. The idea of a common state was definitively abandoned, regardless the political contacts of the Theotokis's government established in Athens with the Albanian beys Ismail Qemali and Xhafer bey for the union between Albania and Greece.⁵⁹ Now, an Albanian independent state was of great interest for the prevention of Greece from the Slav danger.⁶⁰ The new situation that was created in Epirus after 1912-1913 distanced the two peoples from each other. No other publication in Greek on this hero has never been made since then.

As a conclusion, we notice that the military physiognomy of the hero Gjergj Kastrioti attracted the attention, and moved and inspired the Greeks only during the XIX century, viz at the eve of the Greek Revolution and during the coronation of the Greeks' war against the Turks. He was considered Greek, or source of inspiration for Greeks and Albanians, especially those of Epirus to jointly fighting against the common enemy. All the biographies in Greek, except the biography by Paparigópulos, indirectly take us to the first biography on the hero, published in Rome by the priest from Shkodra M. Barleti. All the

⁵⁷ See the magazine *Ελληνισμός* 1889, p. 195-202.

⁵⁸ T. Γιοχάλας, *ibid*, p. 436.

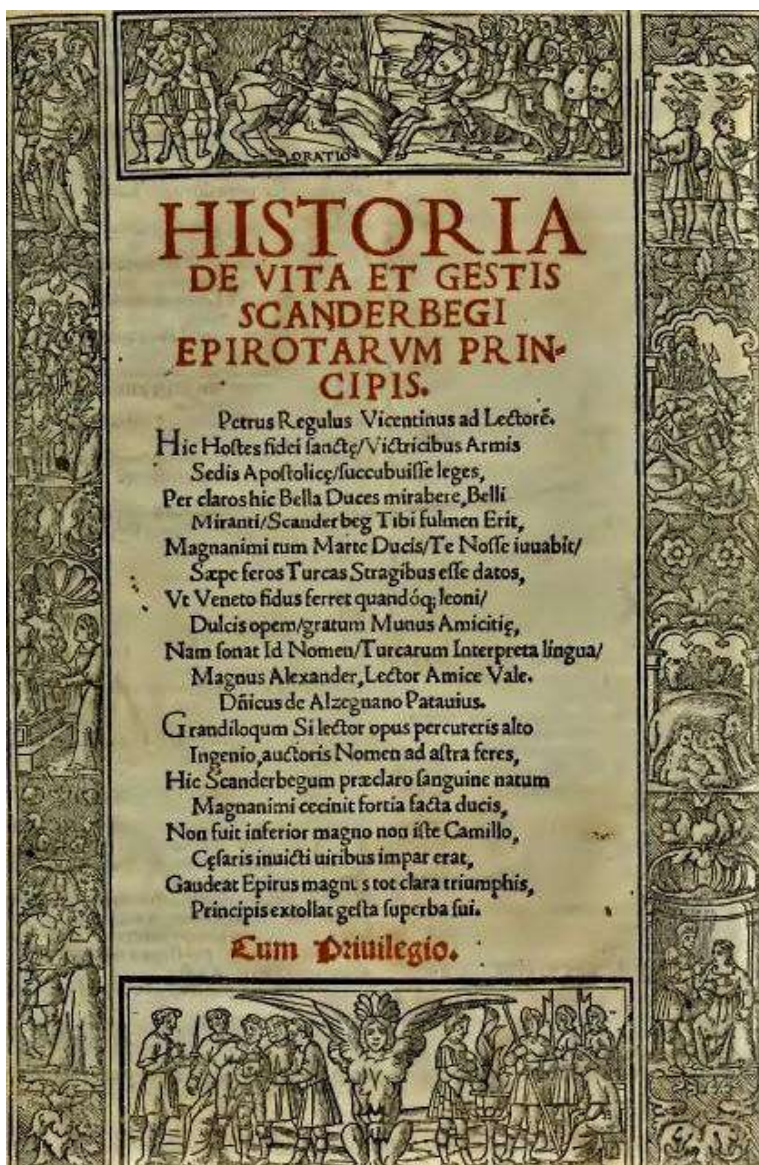
⁵⁹ T. Γιοχάλας, *ibid*, p. 451.

⁶⁰ M. Σπυρομήλιος, *ibid*, p. 138.

Greek literary works on Scanderbeg are directly connected with his biographies in Greek and take a lot of facts from them.

These examined Greek works, prove the way the personality of Gjergj Kastrioti affected the Greeks, who by no doubt has been a glitter warrior of freedom. This is why many scientific enterprises were organized and run in his honor Tirana, Prishtina and Palermo and also this year in Albania. Many very interesting archival sources published from 1875 onwards informing about his life and deeds prove that how much he is appreciated. And the many victorious wars against the Turks have made him be called in his time *Milles et atleta Christi invictus* (=Invincible soldier and Athleta Christi).⁶¹

⁶¹ M. Schiambra - G. Valentini - I. Parrino, *Il "Liber brevium" di Callisto III*, Palermo 1968, p. 167, nr. 298 and p. 180, nr. 325.



Marin Barleti, *Historia de Vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis*, Rome 1508 (?)

HISTOIRE
DE
SCANDERBEG
ROY D'ALBANIE.

*Par le R. P. DUPONCET, de la
Compagnie de JESUS.*



J. M. Mariette

A PARIS,
Chez JEAN MARIETTE, rue S. Jacques,
aux Colonnes d'Hercules.

M. DCCIX,
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ
 ΤΗΣ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΣΤΡΙΩΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΟΝΟΜΑΣΘΕΝΤΟΣ
ΣΚΕΝΤΕΡΜΠΗ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑΣ

Μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τῆ Γαλλικῆ.

ΜΕΤΑ

Προσθήκης τοῦ γεννεαλογικῆ καταλόγου τῶν
'Οθωμανῶν Σουλτάνων Συνεραμισθέντος;

Π Α Ρ Α

ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ
 ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΕΩΣ.

ΕΝ ΜΟΣΧΑ,

ΕΝ ΤΩ, ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΩ Ν. Σ. ΒΣΕΒΟΛΟΖΣΚΗ.

1812.



Summary of Gjergj Kastrioti's history, nicknamed Scanderbeg
 Moscow 1812

ИПЕΚΚΩΡΤΑΡΕ ΔΙΝ ΙΚΤΟΠΕΙΑ

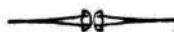
ЛУГ

GEORGE KASTRIOTULU,

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SKENDER-BEI

PRINȚULU ALBANIEI.



Tradusa

DE

I. BILCIURESKU.

A doa ediție.



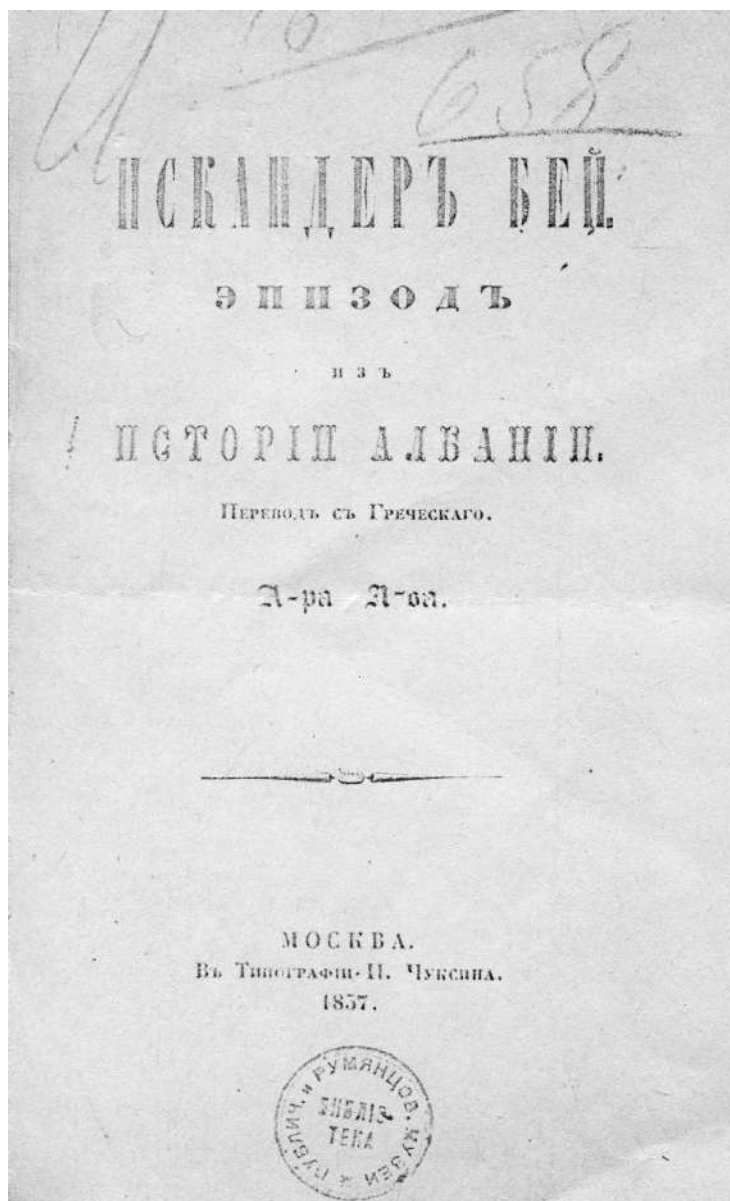
BUKUREȘTI.

A. Daniilopolu, libraru-EDITORU

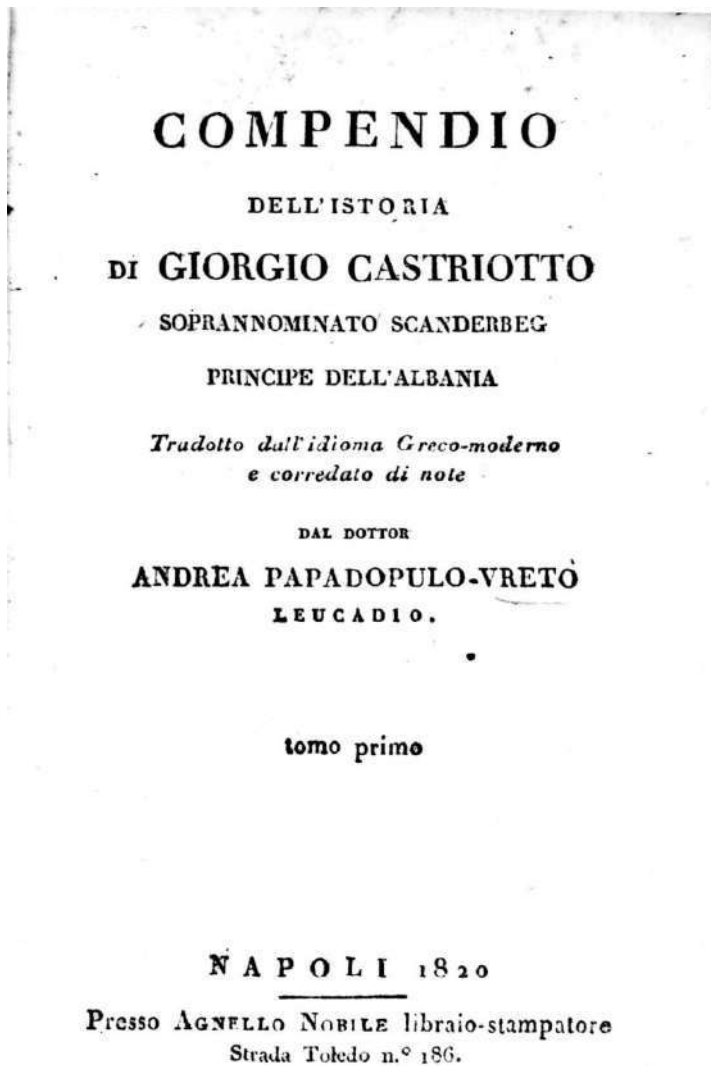
Strada Mogosoaiei.

1857.





Reprint of the History of Scanderbeg, summary translated into Russian
Moscow 1857



Publication of the History of Scanderbeg, summary translated into Italian
Naples 1820

CORREZIONI

ED

AGGIUNTE

ALLA **PREFAZIONE**

DEL

COMPENDIO DELL'ISTORIA

DI

GIORGIO CASTRIOTTO

SOPRANNOMINATO SCANDERBEG

*Tradotto dal Greco-moderno e corredato
di note dal D.^r A. PAPADOPULO - VRETÒ
Leucadio.*

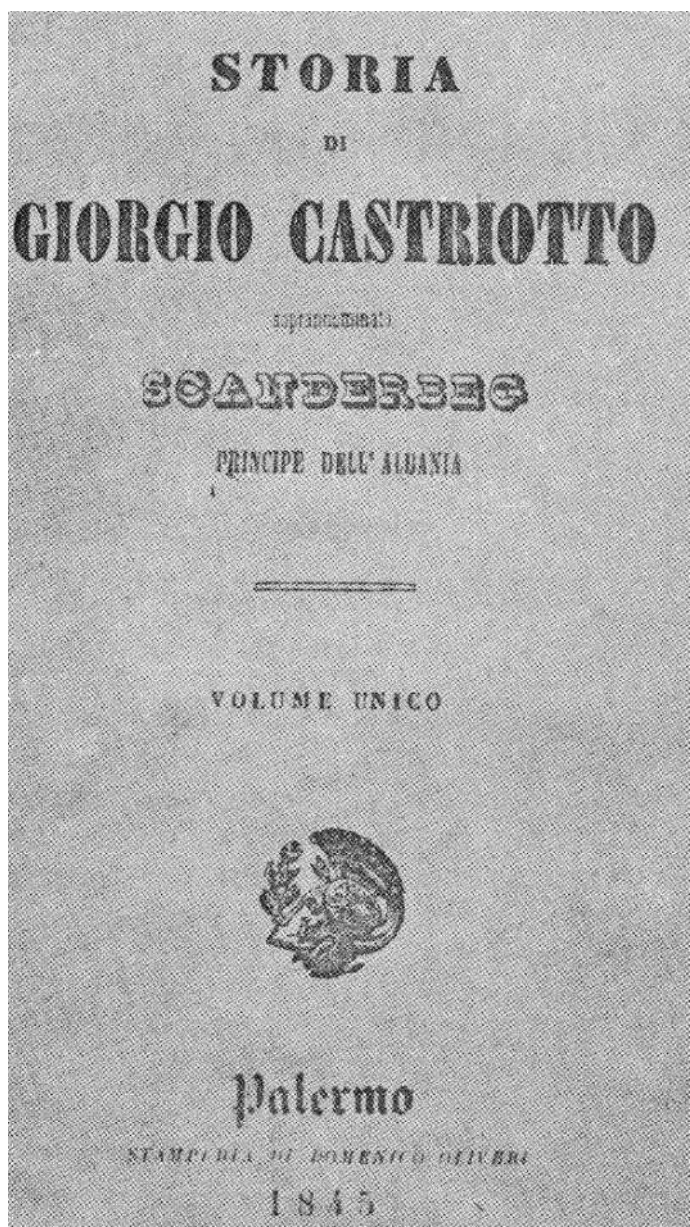
*Con note critico - bibliografiche su varj
celebri Autori dello stesso Traduttore.*

*S'honorer des critiques, mepriser
les Satyres, corriger ses fautes, et
faire mieux.*

GREPPET.

CORFU'

1829.



Reprint of A. Papadopoulos– Vretos translation into Italian
Palermo 1845

STORIA
di
GIORGIO CASTRIOTTO
SOPRANNOMINATO
SCANDERBEG
PRINCIPE DELL'ALBANIA

VOLUME UNICO.



PALERMO

Tipografia di Domenico Oliveri
1847

Second edition of A. Papadopoulos– Vretos translation into Italian
Palermo 1847

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΣΤΡΙΩΤΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ
 ΜΕΤΩΝΟΜΑΣΘΕΝΤΟΣ
ΣΚΕΝΤΕΡΜΠΕΗ
 ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑΣ.

Μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ· μὲ πολλὰς σημειώσεις. Προπετέθη δὲ καὶ ἐκθεσις τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Σκεντέρμπεη καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ τῶν δύο Σικελιῶν Ἀλβανικῶν ἀποικιστῶν.

ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙΣΑ ΔΑΠΑΝῆ Α. ΓΚΑΡΠΟΛΑ.

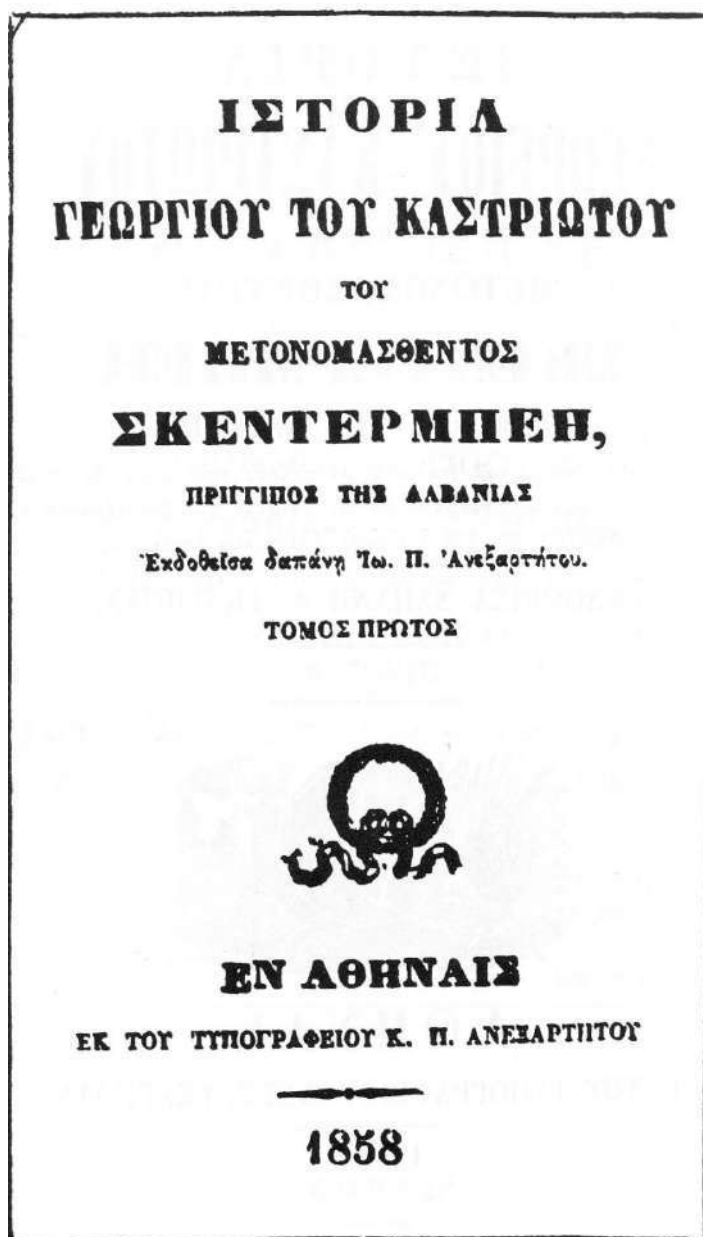
.....
 ΤΟΜΟΣ Α΄.



ΑΘΗΝΑΙ,
 ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΑΛΕΞ. ΓΚΑΡΠΟΛΑ.

1848.

History of the Gjergj Kastrioti nicknamed Scanderbeg prince of Albania
 Anonymous (in true adapted by A. Papadopoulos - Vretos)
 Athens 1848



First edition of the History of Gjergj Kastrioti (translated by A. Papadopoulos – Vretos)
 Athens 1858

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΣΤΡΙΩΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥ
ΜΕΤΩΝΟΜΑΣΘΕΝΤΟΣ
ΣΚΕΝΤΕΡΜΠΗ
ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑΣ

ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ ΝΕΑ



ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ

ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΕΚΔΟΤΗ
Ν. ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΩ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ
ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ ΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΜΕΛΑ

1884

Second edition of the History of Gjergj Kastrioti (translated by A. Papadopoulos – Vretos)
Athens 1884

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ
 ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΣΤΡΙΩΤΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ
 ΣΚΕΝΤΕΡΜΠΗ.

Ἐπεξεργασθεῖσα

ΚΑΤΑ

ΠΑΓΑΝΕΛ

ΥΠΟ

Ν. ΔΡΑΓΟΥΜΗ.

Καὶς δὲ πάλιν καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ μαγευτικὰ
 παρὰ τὸν ἱστορικὸν ἔκτασις ἑστῆσαν

ΒΥΡΟΥΣΣΑΝ.



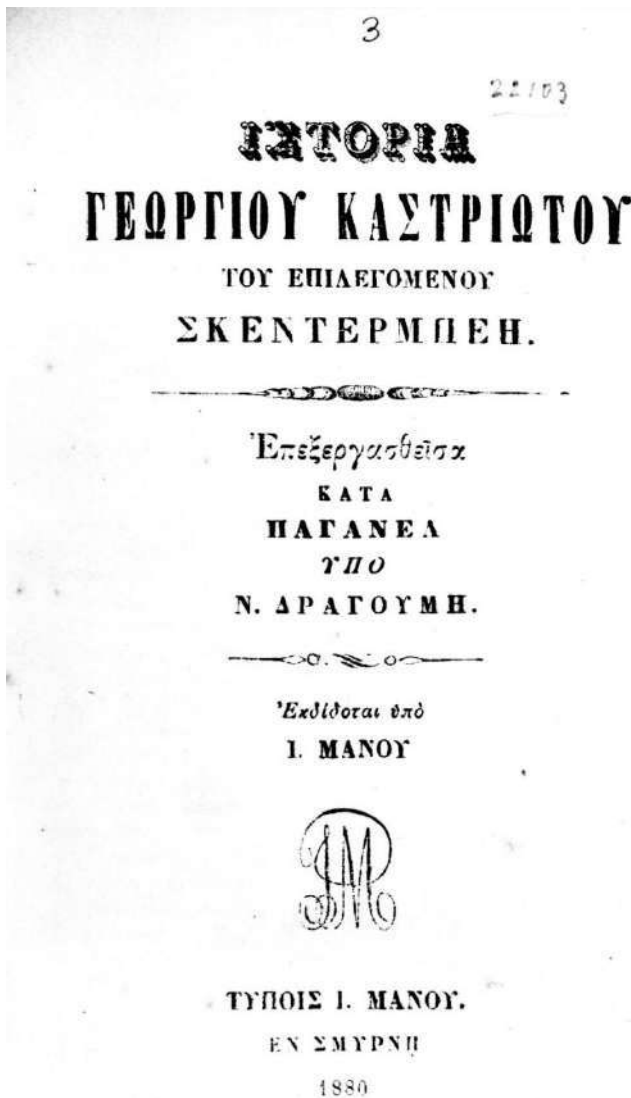
ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ,

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ Κ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΔΟΥ,

ΟΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ, ΑΡΙΘ. 226.

1861.

The history of Gjergj Kastrioti nicknamed Scanderbeg (elaborated after Paganelli by N. Dragoumis), Athens 1861



Reprint of the History of Gjergj Kastrioti nicknamed Scanderbeg
(elaborated after Paganelli by N. Dragoumis)
Smirna 1880

Οι Άλβανοί ηγήθησαν κατά της αδικίας και κατά της Ερώπως της δικτατορίας βουλομένης να πωλήση αυτούς εις τους εχθρούς ξένων κρατών ζώντας Μαυροβούνους. Ηγήθησαν κατά της Ερώπως της θελησάντος να καταστραφή και εκμηδανισθή — όπως έκαμε τους Πολωνούς — εν των εγγενεστέρων και γενναιοτέρων υιώνων της Ερώπως άρθμευτος, κατά την μαρτυρίαν άμερολήπτου περιηγητού 4,000,000, ψυχών, δια να εβιάσων και μεγαλώσων εν πενήτων και πτωχών Μαυροβούνων περιέχοντος μόλις 200,000 ψυχών! Όποια παράλογος αντίρασις και διπλωματική άναίθεια! Νά υπαχθώσιν οι πολλοί εις τους ελίγους, οι ισχυροί εις τους αδύνατους, εις άλλους εχον υποτέλεις και φόρον τελούντας. Δίκαιος ον άνέστη ή ήρωας τις Άλβανός εν τω μυστική συνεδριάσει του Άλβανικού Συνδίσμου έκραυνοβόλη κατά της τοιαύτης αδικου και έξευτελιστικής άπορώσεως της Ερώπως. «Μενόμ πρα» έλεγεν αυτοίς, «πρησιτε δωαναι με να βνην Κοστηρινη νη κητ διε τ' Αρβήνιση;» Ακούσατε, παρακαλώ διατι επήγροσσι δια της βίας και μεθ' επιμονής να επόβαλσων ως διασώτας και κυριαρχας τους Μαυροβούνους εν τη χώρα ταύτη της Αρβήνισης; Μήπως υπολαμβάνουσιν ήμας ήγνια αδύνατα άτινα δεν θυνανται να βαδίσωσιν άνυποστηρίγματος; Τι δε πράττει ο Σουλτάνος ύπέρ ήμών; Μήπως προστατεύει την ζώνη την ύπελήθην και την ιδιοκτησίαν ήμών; Ουδαμώς. Μήπως στεγάσει τους άστέγους ήμών ή προσροσεί τους πεινώντας ήμών; Ουδαμώς. Τι γίνονται, λοιπόν, οι φόροι τους οποίους πληρώνωμεν, — ήμεεις, οι έχοντες τόσον ελίγα χρήματα όπως άποτίσωμεν; Καταπαταλούνται δικην λαφύρου. Πού είναι, λοιπόν, η περιάλγητος αύτη θλωμακική έξουσία και προστασία; Όχι μόνονδεν ύπαρχει αλλά ζητούν και να πωλήσων ήμας δικην δουραλώτων ειλότων. Κά-

τω, λοιπόν ή τοιαύτη έξουσία. Έρρητό ή τοιαύτη προστασία». Έν τω άμα δε κατακοπίει ο Ιατός επί του οποίου εκματίεν ή ήμιελήσων, άντ' αυτού βρώθη έτερος επί του οποίου άνηγηθή ή άλβανική σημαία και τουουτοτρόπως έληξεν ή δυναστεία του Όθμάν επί της πατρίδος του Σκενδέρβεη.

Έξακολουθούντες την σύνταξιν της «Φωνής της Άλβανίας» κατ' επιμονον παράκλησιν των ήμετέρων συνδρομητών παραλαβόντες δε και νέον βροβήν έλπίζομεν ετι θα εύχαριστήσωμεν τάς προσκόμιας των ήμετέρων φίλων υς περι πολλού ποσούμαθ.

Συνάμα δε προς ιδιαίτεραν τέρψιν αυτών θα εκδώσωμεν εις μικράν έπιφυλλίδα και την υπό του Camille Paganel Ιστορίαν του Σκενδέρβεη μεταφρασθεΐσαν υπό Ν. Δραγομίη και επεξεργασθεΐσα ύφ' ήμών ως χρησιμωτάτη; και αναγκαιοτάτης εν τοίς παρούσι καιροίς.

Η ανακηρύξις της ανεξαρτησίας των Άλβανών.

Η Tagblatt έλαβε παρά του Παύλου Σαντότα καθολικού άνήκοντος κατά την έφημερίδα ταύτην εν τοίς τάξι-εσι των προκρίτων του Σκουτάρες και κατέχοντος δικαιοκρημένη θέσιν εν τη εκκλησιαστική ιεραρχία λεπτομερή έκθεσιν των εν Άλβανία. Η κυριαρχία του Σουλτάνου έκαυσεν ύπιστάμεν, και εν τη μεγάλη Συνέλευσει της 19 Απριλίου τη συγκροτηθείσεν εν Σκούταρι άνεκαλύθη επισήμως ή «Αλευθέρα Άλβανία». Ίθού εν των χαρακτηριστικώτερον της συνεδρίσεως ταύτης έπιστοδίον. «Ό Όδα βίαις εις των αρχηγών άπήγγειλεν Άλβανισί τόν κάτωθι λόγον. «Έντωμα άδελφοί των Σκουτάρεων! Οι εν Βερολίνω συνελθόντες πληρεξούσιοι άνήργασαν εν άληθινή προοπτικώ-μην άγνοία επί των της χώρας ήμων και των κατοίκων

ΕΠΙΦΥΛΛΙΣ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΕΝΔΕΡΒΗ

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ.

Μεταξύ της 15. έκτακτουαθητικής της εΙοείτι επιπολαζούσα; με 79η βάρβαρη άλλ'έγούσις τήν πιστιν αδάμαστον, και της 15Γ' ήτι; έμελλε να καθιέρωσθ ον τή εισαγωγή της ελευθέρας έρένης και τήν εποχην της φιλοσοφικής και θρησκευτικής τουμηνίας, ή 15' έκτακτουαθητικής ανακύνειτι, ως τις των μάλλον αξιοσημιουμένων περιόδων της Ιστορίας. Καί πνευματικοί νικαι, και άνδρες, και γεγονότα, πάντα υπήρξαν ισχυρά, γόνιμα, θρηματικά. Κατά τόν αιώνα τούτον της σπουδαίας μεταβάσεως εν τώ μέσω λαμπρού φωτός, και σκοτίας βαθυγύθρου, και έργων άνδρας ταραστύων, και πολυδακρύων σφραγίδων, ο κοινωνικός βίος πόσπει και εξεπλάσσει και έρανινο έτοιμός ούτως εΙπείν να εκγειλήσθ. Μέγα γεγονός παρασκευάζετο και ήγγισεν να γεννηθ.

άνθρωπίνους τους συνταραχθείς εκ βάρβαν κραδαίνει του μεσαιώνας τά δεσμά, και συντρέψων αυτά βρημ άκατάχρητος προς νέας τύχας.

Μετά την πτώσιν του ρωμαϊκού κράτους πολλοί πόλεμοι δέν ήγένοντο, μεταξύ των πολυπληθών αυτού ναυαγίων, έως ού έκαστος λαός άνεύρη την οικείαν θέσιν; μόλις ήνωρησσαν άσφαλ ή τινα βρημ διαχωρίζοντα αυτούς, και αφρονς εξετέθησαν τα του κόσμου.

Μετά μικρήν ή Ερώπως, ως κατακληθήσεται υπό του γρησο, έδραμς δι' άγνώτων άδικων προς γοήτιδας νέας χώρας; τά δε βλιέματα του Ισπανου μονάρχου περιεπλανήθησαν, ως εις άπέραντα καλόγη, κατά τά νέα αυτού κράτη. Χάρης τή θρησκείη, τή έμπορία και τή πολιτική νέαι όδοι ήνεύθησαν, και σφρηγών χωρής άναπτύξεως ανέλιξι πάσας τάς δυνάμεις του κοινωνικού σώματος. Χριστόφορος ο Κολόμβος διεβήθη τό παραπέτασμα, τό τέως κρόστον από του άνθρώπου μέρος της λαμπράς αυτού κατοικείας.

Περί των αυτών χρόνων άνεκαλύπτετο άλλος κόσμος άσυγκρίτως εύμυρότερος, ο της τυσογραφίας, όστι έμελλε να καταστήσθ, τήν άνθρώπινον νούν κυριον έαυτού. Η θαυμασία αύτη τέχνη ήνο γένεσι από του 926 έτους εν τή Σινική, όπου δέν μετρηρίζοντο χαρακτηρισ κινήτου, άλλά πανθας, έφ' ών έγραζασοντο άνάγλωρα και άνεστραμμά τά γράμματα; ή δε τύπωση ήγίνετο, ως και σήμερον, πισχύσεως της χειρός. Καί τωόντι, τωσαύτα ή πληθος των σπα-

Anonymous, History of Scanderbeg published in the "Η φωνή της Αλβανίας" (=Voice of Albania) newspaper Athens 1880

ΠΑΤΡΙΩΤΙΚΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ

ΗΛΙΑ Ι. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΚΑΣΤΡΙΩΤΗΣ
Ο
ΣΚΕΝΔΕΡΜΠΕΗΣ

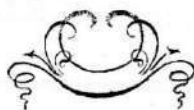


ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ Δ. ΦΕΞΗ
1904*

I. Oikonomopoulos, *Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg*
Athens 1904

ΟΛΙΓΑΙ ΛΕΞΕΙΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΗΣ
ΤΟΥ
ΣΚΕΝΔΕΡΜΠΕΗ

Υπό
Α. Μηλιαράκη



ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
ΤΥΠΟΣ "ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΝΕΞΑΡΤΗΣΙΑΣ,"

—
1876

ΚΡΙΤΙΚΑΙ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΙ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ
ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΤΗΤΟΣ
ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΣΤΡΙΑΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΣΚΕΝΔΕΡΜΠΗ

ΥΠΟ

ΜΑΡΓΑΡΙΤΟΥ Γ. ΔΗΜΙΤΣΑ.

Καθηγητοῦ καὶ Διευθυντοῦ τοῦ Ἑλλην. Ἐκπαιδευτηρίου.

ΛΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΗΡΤΗΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΛΕΓΧΟΣ ΤΟΥ
 ΥΠΟ ΚΥΒΕΡΤΟΥ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΕΘΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΥ
 ΠΙΝΑΚΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥΡΚΙΑΣ.

ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΒΙΛΛΑΡΑ

1877.

Margaritis Dimitzas, *Researches on Scanderbeg's origins and nationality*
 Athens 1877

ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΙΩ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΔΟΥ

πρώην γυμνασιάρχου

ΣΚΕΝΤΕΡΜΠΕΗΣ

Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΩΤΩΝ

ΔΡΑΜΑ

ΕΙΣ ΜΕΡΗ ΠΕΝΤΕ

ΒΡΑΒΕΥΘΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΝ ΔΙΑΓΩΝΙΣΜΟΝ

ΤΟΥ ΑΟΙΑΙΜΟΥ

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΔΑΣΣΑΝΗ

ΤΗ 25 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1889



ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ Κ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΔΟΥ

Ὁδὸς Περικλέους ἀρ. 40.—Ὁδὸς Ῥόμης ἀρ. 16

—
1889

Antonios I. Antoniadis, *Scanderbeg king of Epirotes, Drama in five acts*
Athens 1889

Η ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΝΔΕΡ

ἢ

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΣΤΡΙΩΤΟΥ.

ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑ

ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΝ ΥΠΟ

ΒΕΝΙΑΜΙΝ ΔΙΣΡΑΕΛΗ

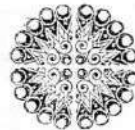
ἢ

ΚΟΜΠΤΟΣ ΒΗΚΟΝΣΦΗΛΑ

ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΘΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΓΛΙΚΟΥ

ὑπὸ

Π. ΛΑΚΚΙΩΤΟΥ.



ΕΝ ΠΑΤΡΑΙΣ

ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ «Ο ΚΑΔΜΟΣ»

Β. ΣΕΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

(Ἐπί τῆς διασταυρώσεως ὁδοῦ Μαιζώνος καὶ πλατείας Γεωργίου τοῦ Α΄.)

1880



ΜΙΑ ΦΩΝΗ

ΤΟΥ

ΚΑΣΤΡΙΩΤΗ.

Τὸ φεγγάρι ξεπέπτει, ἀσκωθῆτε,
Ἐπειρῶται, τὸν Ἥλιον νὰ ἰδῆτε
Ποῦ λαμπρὸς σᾶσε δείχνει τὸν δρόμο
Νὰ νικῆτε· φωνεῦτε τῷ ἐχθρῶς.

—=—

Τὸ φεγγάρι ξεπέπτει, ἀσκωθῆτε,
Διὰ Χριστὸν σὰ θεριὰ πολεμῆτε.
Ἐνωθῆτε σὰν κύμα με κύμα
Ποῦ νικᾷ καὶ σκεπάζει τὴν γῆ.

—=—

Τὸ φεγγάρι ξεπέπτει, ἀσκωθῆτε,
Ἐγχειρίσθε σπαθὶ με χαρά·
Καὶ τοὺς Τούρκους τυράννους χαλάσθε
Διὰ τιμὴν καὶ διὰ Ἐλευθερίαν.

Κερκύρα, τῇ 16 Μαρτίου 1854. Ἔ. Ἐ.

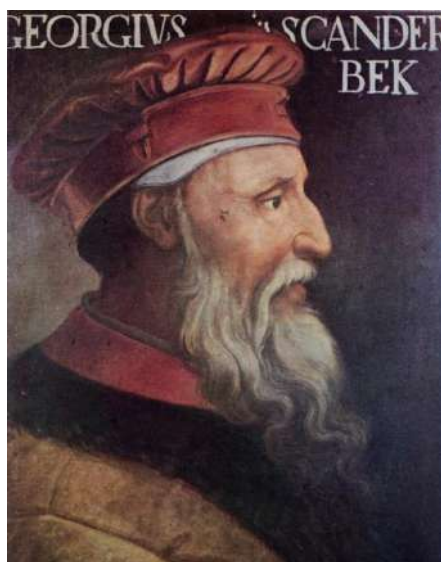
Ἄ. Δάνδολος

Τυπογραφεῖον ΣΧΕΡΙΑ.

A. Dándolos, *A voice of Kastrioti*
Corfu 1854



Xylography of Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg reproduced after the History of Scanderbeg by Barleti



Scanderbeg's painting, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence



Scanderbeg's painting, Pinacoteca Seminario Monreale, Palermo



Sotirios Christidis, *Scanderbeg, national Hero and King of Albanians*



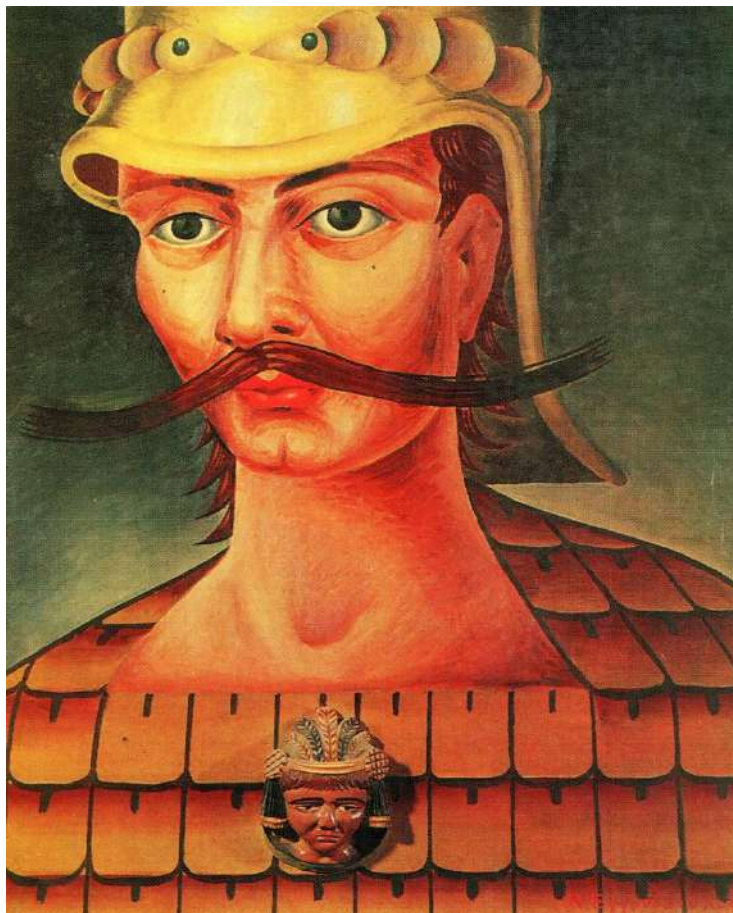
Scanderbeg on the horse, Historical and Ethnologic Museum of Greece
Athens



A. N. Ballamaçi, Scanderbeg on the horse 1889
National Gallery, Tirana



Th. Géricault (1791-1824) senior officer on the horse,
model for the anonymous painting of Athens,
of Ballamaçi and Spiridhon Xega



Nikos Engonopoulos (1907-1985)
Scanderbeg, oil color 1951