The Elbasan Gospel Manuscript *(Anonimi i Elbasanit)*, 1761, and the Struggle for an Original Albanian Alphabet

by ROBERT ELSIE (Olzheim/Eifel)

Early Albanian literature and the alphabet problem

Albania's national culture came into being at the crossroads of three great civilizations: that of Latin Catholicism from the West, that of Byzantine Greek Orthodoxy from the south, and that of Islam imported by the Ottoman Turks, who had invaded the country in the late 14th century and who ruled it until the declaration of independence in 1912. Early writing in this tiny Balkan country, very much a product of these three extremely diverse cultures, was as a result a hybrid creation.

The most spectacular achievements of early Albanian literature were produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the aegis of the Catholic Church. Primary among them are the so-called Missal (1555) of Gjon Buzuku, the first Albanian-language book, published no doubt in Venice; an Albanian translation of Jacob Ledesma's Christian Doctrine (1592) by the Sicilian Arbëresh cleric Lekë Matrënga or Luca Matranga (1567–1619); the religious prose and verse of *Pjetër Budi* (1566–1622), including an Albanian translation of St. Robert Bellarmine's Christian Doctrine (1618), the Rituale Romanum (1621) and the Speculum Confessionis (1621), adapted from the Specchio di Confessione of *Emerio de Bonis*; the Latin-Albanian dictionary (1635) of Frang Bardhi or Franciscus Blanchus (1606-1643); and, last but certainly not least, the Cuneus prophetarum (1685), an astounding work of original Albanian prose by Pjetër Bogdani or Pietro Bogdano (ca. 1630-1689). With the death of Bogdani, however, this current of Albanian literature withered and expired quite suddenly. Catholic resistance to Islam had all but collapsed.

With the conversion of much of the Albanian population to Islam after the incorporation of the country into the Ottoman Empire, a new Albanian literature came into being in Arabic script¹). The verse of the so-called Albanian *Bejtexhinj* is of thoroughly Oriental inspiration and is so pervaded with

¹) cf. Elsie 1992.

Arabic and Turkish vocabulary that it makes extremely difficult reading for most people today, even when transcribed into the Latin alphabet. The earliest datable Albanian poem in Arabic script is a hymn to coffee (1725) by one *Muçi Zade*. Among the foremost literary representatives of this 'Aljamiado' culture are *Nezim Frakulla* (ca. 1680–1760) and *Sulejman Naibi* (d. 1771).

With the exception of these *Bejtexhinj* and of some Italo-Albanian writers of talent, among whom the Sicilian *Nicola Chetta* (1740?-1803), author of the first Albanian sonnet (1777), and *Giulio Variboba* (1724–1788) from San Giorgio Albanese in Cosenza, author of the 4717-line 'Life of the Virgin Mary' (1762), the eighteenth century proved to be a period of virtual stagnation in Albanian writing. It was only with the rise of the nationalist movement in the second half of the nineteenth century that literature in Albanian began to flourish once again.

Though the Albanians had, and still have a remarkable folk culture and a wealth of oral literature, their being at the crossroads of these three cultures and the respective political forces which introduced them, long proved to be an impediment to the development and advancement of written literature. These cultures introduced a whole gamut of literary influences into Albania, but they also split the Albanian people into three different worlds.

Among the many literary problems which had to be tackled by Albanian intellectuals and which was not satisfactorily solved until the twentieth century, was reaching a consensus on a common alphabet for the Albanian language²). Albanian Catholics, centred primarily in the mountainous north of the country, used the Latin alphabet which proved most suitable for printing. Orthodox Albanians in the south used the Greek alphabet in which a modest number of works was written³). Moslems of course regarded the Arabic alphabet, that of the Holy Koran, as the only viable alternative for a vernacular literature. Usage of any of these three alphabets implied a clear identification with the foreign culture and religion from which it derived, an identification which was unacceptable to Albanians of the other faiths.

With no cultural consensus on an alphabet, no national literature could arise. The stagnation of Albanian literature in the eighteenth century derives, in part at least, from this problem. The alphabet dilemma continued to plague Albanian intellectuals well into the twentieth century.

From the very first attempts to put the Albanian language to writing, clerics and intellectuals were very much aware that all the writing systems at their disposal were foreign. They also knew that the neighbouring peoples were in possession of distinct writing systems which had helped their respective cultures and literatures to advance more quickly. The Greeks

²) On the history of Albanian alphabets, cf. Rrota 1936, Skendi 1960, Janura 1969, Hoxha 1986, and Osmani 1987.

³) cf. Elsie 1991.

had always had a distinct alphabet for their language and the Balkan Slavs had developed their own writing systems: Glagolitic and then Cyrillic, which first flourished at Ohrid, less than one hundred kilometers from Elbasan. The Turkish occupants had also introduced a distinct, new alphabet which they had themselves borrowed from their Arabic and Persian neighbours.

It was most certainly the wish of many Albanian intellectuals for their people to have a distinct writing system of their own, and it can come as no coincidence that the need to invent an original Albanian alphabet was felt most urgently in central Albania. The vascillating frontier between the Roman West and the Byzantine East, i.e. the cultural and linguistic border between Latin and Greek, was to be found over the centuries quite often somewhere in central Albania. A Catholic cleric from the northern highlands would perhaps not have questioned the necessity of writing Albanian in Latin script and an Orthodox priest from the extreme south would have written in Greek script as a matter of course. The central Albanians were logically more disoriented in view of the constant fluctuation of the cultural and political border. The imposition of Islam only made things more confusing. It brought a solution to the alphabet question only to those who accepted the tenets of the Moslem faith.

It is therefore from the central Albanian Christians that one would expect the first attempts at the creation of an original Albanian alphabet, and it was indeed by them that the first original alphabets were created in the period 1750 to 1850. The earliest of these original alphabets, and at the same time the best adapted of them all, was that created for the so-called Elbasan Gospel Manuscript.

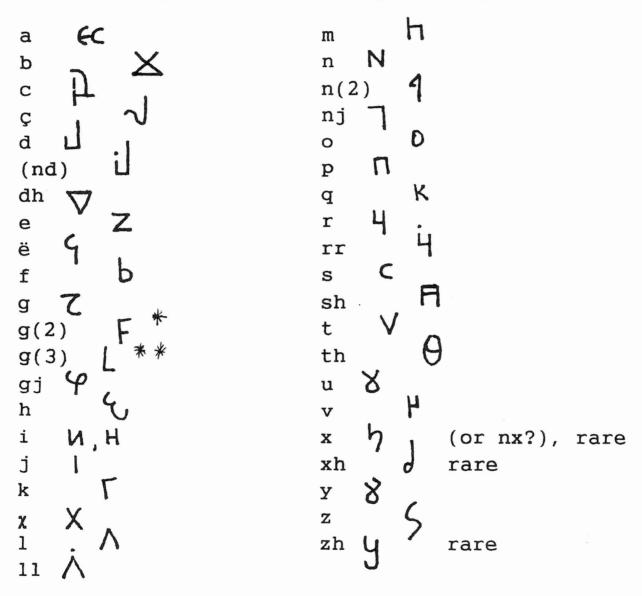
The oldest original Albanian alphabet and the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript (1761).

The **Elbasan Gospel Manuscript**, known in Albanian for want of a better term as the *Anonimi i Elbasanit* (The Anonymous of Elbasan), is a tiny and quite unique manuscript now preserved at the State Archives in Tiranë which evinces a revolutionary attempt to solve the alphabet dilemma. This 10 x 7 cm. manuscript of historic significance, consisting of 30 unnumbered brown folios, records the earliest-known Albanian-language text in an original alphabet. With the exception of the short fifteenth-century Easter Gospel or Pericope⁴), it is the oldest work of Albanian Orthodox literature and the oldest Orthodox Bible translation of all.

⁴) The Easter Gospel or Pericope is a late-fifteenth century Albanian text consisting of fifteen lines in Greek script translated from the Gospel of St. Matthew (27: 62-66). It was discovered by the Greek historian Spyridōn

The 59 pages of biblical texts contained in the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript, a total of 6,113 word, were written in an alphabet of forty letters. Thirty-five letters recur normally in the text and five letters can be considered rare or secondary. Though there is a distinctly Greek flavour to some of the characters: X [ch], Λ [l], N [n], O [o], Π [p], Θ [th], ζ [z], and a possibly Slavic flavour to others: \mathcal{H} [i], C [s], most of the letters in this alphabet would seem to be new creations, uninfluenced by neighbouring languages and scripts⁵).

Alphabet of the Elbasan Gospel Manuskript



* rare. Appears only in the loanword *igemoni*

** rare. Appears only in the personal name Magdhalena

Lampros (1851–1919) in 1906 in a Greek manuscript at the Ambrosian Library in Milan (Codex 133, f. 63). cf. Lampros 1906 and Borgia 1930.

⁵) Shuteriqi 1949, p. 38 and Domi 1965, p. 272, insist, however, on seeing

The alphabet of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript is quite well suited to the Albanian language. Indeed, on the whole, one might regard it as better suited than the present-day Albanian alphabet, based on a Latin model. The Elbasan alphabet utilizes one character per phoneme, with the exception of \mathbf{n} for which there are two characters and \mathbf{g} for which there are three characters (two of which being restricted to specific Greek loanwords). The distinction between Albanian \mathbf{r} and \mathbf{rr} and between \mathbf{l} an \mathbf{ll} is created by a dot over the character. A dot over a \mathbf{d} creates an \mathbf{nd} . A *spiritus lenis* plus acute above the line, as in Greek, seems to be utilized on a sporadic basis to indicate word or phrase stress. On the whole, the writing system utilized in the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript is clear, relatively precise, and appears to be well thought out by its inventor.

Other original Albanian alphabets (1761-1844)

The alphabet of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript [1] is not the only original Albanian alphabet to have come into being in central and southern Albania from the second half of the eighteenth century on. Indeed we have information about a total of seven original Albanian alphabets in this period.

On the front page of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript itself is a drawing and about a dozen words, perhaps personal names, written in a script [2] which differs completely from that of the rest of the manuscript. This writing system has as yet to be deciphered, although Elbasan scholar Dhimitër Shuteriqi (b. 1915) has made an attempt to read it, to which reference is made below.

Better known than these two writing systems is the so-called Todhri alphabet [3], attributed to *Theodor* or *Todhri Haxhifilipi* (1730–1805) of Elbasan, which has been the subject of numerous scholarly studies over the years. The Todhri alphabet was discovered by Johann Georg von Hahn (1811–1869), Austrian consul in Janina and the father of Albanian Studies. Hahn published what he regarded as 'the original' Albanian alphabet in his monumental Albanesische Studien (Jena 1854) and saw in it a derivative of ancient Phoenician script⁶). The study of this alphabet was subsequently taken up by Leopold Geitler (1847–1885) who regarded Todhri script as derived primarily from Roman cursive⁷), and by the Slovenian scholar Raj-

a strong Slavic influence in the creation of this alphabet, a fact which they attribute to the dependence until 1767 of the Orthodox Church in Albania upon the Bulgarian Patriarch of Ohrid. In 1767, Ohrid was taken over directly by the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople.

⁶) cf. Hahn 1854, vol. 1, p. 280-300.

⁷) cf. Geitler 1883.

ko Nahtigal⁸) (1877–1958). The Todhri alphabet⁹) is a complex writing system of fifty-two characters which was used sporadically for written communication in and around Elbasan from the late eighteenth century on. It does not conform adequately to the Albanian language, certainly not as well as the alphabet of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript, to which it shows no relation.

Another original Albanian alphabet is that contained in the so-called Codex of Berat [4]. This 154-page manuscript, now preserved in the National Library of Tiranë, is in actual fact a simple paper manuscript and must not be envisaged as an illuminated parchment 'codex' in the Western tradition. It seems to have been the work of at least two hands and to have been written between the years 1764 and 1798. The manuscript is commonly attributed to one Constantine of Berat (ca. 1745 - ca. 1825), known in Albanian as Kostandin Berati or Kostë Berati, who is thought to have been an Orthodox monk and writer from Berat. Constantine of Berat is reported to have possessed the manuscript from 1764 to 1822, although there is no indication that he was its author. The Codex of Berat contains various and sundry texts in Greek and Albanian¹⁰): biblical and Orthodox liturgical texts in Albanian written in the Greek alphabet, all of them no doubt translated from Greek or strongly influenced by Greek models; a fortyfour-line Albanian poem with the corresponding Greek text known as Zonja Shën Mëri përpara kryqësë (The Virgin Mary before the cross); two Greek-Albanian glossaries comprising a total of 1,710 entries; various religious notes; and a chronicle of events between 1764 and 1789 written in Greek. On page 104 of the codex, we find two lines of Albanian written in an original alphabet of 37 letters, influenced, as it would seem, by Glagolitic script. On page 106, the author also gives an overview of the writing system he created. It, too, is not well devised and does not seem to occur anywhere else.

From Gjirokastër in the south, we have some information on another Albanian writing system which may derive either from the late eighteenth or from the first half of the nineteenth century. Like the Todhri alphabet, this Gjirokastër alphabet [5], a writing system of twenty-two letters, was discovered and published by Johann Georg von Hahn¹¹). Hahn tells us: "Finally, another alphabet from southern Albania must be recorded here, one which the present author owes the discovery of to Veso bey, who is one of the most prominent chiefs of Gjirokastër, from the family of the Alisot

⁸) cf. Nahtigal 1923.

⁹) cf. also Nosi 1918, Qafëzezi 1937, Ressuli 1938, Shuteriqi 1949, 1954, 1959, 1973, and Hetzer 1987.

¹⁰) cf. Ressuli 1938, Shuteriqi 1976, p. 121–122, and Hetzer 1981b, 1981–82, 1982a, 1982b, 1986, 1989.

¹¹) cf. Hahn 1854, vol. 1, p. 297. cf. also Shuteriqi 1977 and 1979.

Pashalides. Veso Bey learned it in his youth from an Albanian hodja as a secret script which his family inherited, and used it himself for correspondence with his relatives."

Yet another original Albanian alphabet was invented and used in southern Albania, that of Jan Vellara¹²) (1771–1823), known in Greek as Ioannis Vilaras (Iōannēs Bēlaras). The son of a doctor, Vellara studied medicine in Padua in 1789 and later lived in Venice. In 1801, he became a physician to Veli, son of the infamous Ali Pasha Tepelena (1741-1822). Vellara is remembered primarily as a modern Greek poet and does not seem to have been a native Albanian speaker at all. He is the author of eighty-six pages of bilingual grammatical notes, dated 1801, which were designed no doubt to teach other Greek-speakers Albanian. The Albanian in question is a Tosk dialect written in an original alphabet of thirty letters [6] based on Latin and to a lesser extent on Greek. The manuscript of the work was donated to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (supplément grec 251, f. 138-187) in 1819 by François Pouqueville (1770–1839), French consul in Janina during the reign of Ali Pasha Tepelena. Pouqueville was aware of the value of the work, noting: "Je possède un manuscrit, une grammaire grecque vulgaire et schype qui pourrait être utile aux philologues", but chose not to publish it in his travel narratives. Appendixed to the grammatical notes is also a letter dated 30 October 1801, written in Albanian in Vellara's handwriting from the village of Vokopolë, south of Berat, where the physician had been obliged to follow Veli during the latter's military campaign against Ibrahim of Berat.

The last independent writing system created for Albanian during this period was that invented by Naum Veqilharxhi (1797-1846), also known by his fuller name of Naum Panajot Haxhi Llazar Bredhi, a scholar from the Korcë region. Vegilharxhi invented a thirty-three letter alphabet [7] which he had printed in an eight-page Albanian spelling book in 1844. This little spelling book was distributed throughout southern Albania, from Korçë to Berat, and was received, as it seems, with a good deal of enthusiasm. In the following year, 1845, the booklet was augmented to forty-eight pages¹³) in a now equally rare second edition entitled Faré i ri abétor shqip per djélm nismetore (A very new Albanian spelling book for elementary schoolboys). However, the resonance of this original alphabet, which reminds one at first glance of a type of cursive Armenian, was in fact limited, due in part to the author's premature death one year later and in part no doubt to financial and technical considerations. In the mid-nineteenth century, when publishing was making great strides even in the Balkans, a script requiring a new font for printing would have resulted in prohibitive costs for any prospective

¹²) cf. Jochalas 1985.

¹³) cf. Qosja 1983.

publisher. As such, although reasonably phonetic and confessionally neutral, the *Veqilharxhi* alphabet never took hold.

With the rise of the Rilindja, i.e. nationalist movement, efforts to create an original Albanian alphabet gave way to the more realistic struggle to write and publish Albanian in the Latin, Greek and Arabic alphabets. No complete consensus on the alphabet question was attained before well into the twentieth century.

The hundred years between 1750 and 1850 constituted a period of astounding orthographic diversity in Albania. As we have seen, the Albanian language was then being written in no less **ten** different alphabets, i.e. the seven original writing systems mentioned above and the well-known adaptations of Latin, Greek and Arabic scripts. It is a wonder indeed that Albanian culture managed to survive such an age of literary schizophrenia.

History, authorship and language of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript

The Elbasan Gospel Manuscript derives from the famous Orthodox monastery of St. John Vladimir (*Shën Jon Vlladimirit*) in the village of Shijoni, a few kilometers northwest of Elbasan in central Albania.

Of the early history of the monastery itself, thought to have originally belonged to the Benedictine Order, we know the following. The Serbian prince, St. Vladimir, held his court in Krajina (now the southern Montenegrin coast) near a church dedicated to St. Mary, where he was buried after having been murdered in about 1016 on an island in Lake Prespa by John *Vladislav*, the last tsar of Ohrid. The bones of the prince are thought to have been removed from this church by the troops of *Michael I*, the Despot of Epirus, when they took the town of Shkodër from the Serbs for a time (ca. 1215), and were transported to Durrës. From the fourteenth century on, the corpse of the saint was preserved at the monastery of St. John Vladimir near Elbasan¹⁴). His feast day, 22 May, was celebrated well into the twentieth century¹⁵). After the destruction of the original monastery in an earthquake in 1380, Albanian prince Charles Thopia (1359-1388) had a church rebuilt in Byzantine style in 1381. An inscription to this effect, written in three languages (Greek, Serbian and Latin), is preserved in the National Museum in Tiranë. Five and a half centuries later, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) is said to have spent a night or two at St. John Vladimir during his unsuccessful military campaign against Greece in the Second World War. It was also during that war, on 14 March 1944, that the monastery burnt down, due not to combat apparently, but to the carelessness of the monks.

¹⁴) Novaković 1893, p. 182–217, quoted by Jireček 1916, p. 95–96. Cf. also Hahn 1854, vol. 1, p. 82–84, and Radojičić 1965. p. 530–531.

¹⁵) cf. photograph no. 45 in Bernatzik 1930.

The roofless building now stands in the middle of an Albanian military camp, but can, since the fall of the Communist dictatorship, be visited freely by interested travellers.

The Elbasan Gospel Manuscript was acquired at some point before or during the Second World War by Lef Nosi, an Elbasan scholar and collector of note. Lef Nosi had been one of the organizers of the Congress of Elbasan in August 1909 during which the Shkolla Normale (Normal School) was founded. He later became the director of this school and was responsible for the publication of its organ Tomorri from 25 March 1910 on. Under the provisional government set up after independence by Ismail Qemali bey Vlora (1844–1919), he occupied the position of Minister of Posts and Telegraph, and was subsequently made a member of the provisional government constituted by Turhan Pasha in Durrës on 25 December 1918. In 1919, he was selected to be a member of the Albanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, headed by Msgr. Luigj Bumci (1872–1945). Between the two world wars, *Nosi* published documents of interest on Albanian history¹⁶). He later joined and headed the anti-Communist Balli Kombëtar movement during the Second World War. In 1943, he was made president of the National Assembly during the German occupation and was elected to the Supreme State Council on 22 October 1943. After the Communist takeover, he was sentenced as a collaborator and executed ca. 1945^{17}).

Lef Nosi was reputed to have possessed the second largest library in Albania, after that of *Mid'hat bey Frashëri* (1880–1949), another figure of the anti-Communist resistance. Both private libraries found their way into the hands of the state after the 'liberation'. Announcement of the discovery of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript was first made by scholar *Dhimitër Shuteriqi* in the Communist Party newspaper Zëri i Popullit on 9 January 1949. The manuscript was initially transcribed and published by historian *Injac Zamputi* (b. 1910)¹⁸) and was subsequently the object of early scholarly articles by *Shuteriqi*¹⁹) himself and by linguist *Mahir Domi* (b. 1915)²⁰). Since that time, it has fallen into oblivion despite its continuing significance not only for the history of Albanian orthography but also for eighteenth-century Albanian literature and for the history of the Albanian language.

The Elbasan Gospel Manuscript contains 59 pages of biblical text including both Bible translations (primarily from St. Matthew and St. John) and original narrative prose on the passion of Christ, including a simple but moving dialogue between Jesus on the Cross and the Virgin Mary (pp. 6– 14). The translations are in no particular order, though this may be due in

¹⁶) cf. Petrotta 1932, p. 368-369.

¹⁷) Schmidt-Neke 1987, p. 347.

¹⁸) cf. Zamputi 1949 and 1951.

¹⁹) cf. Shuteriqi 1949.

²⁰) cf. Domi 1965.

part to the page sequence of the manuscript in our possession. Pages 60 and 61 would for instance normally follow page 27. One has the impression that the manuscript is more of an early experiment at translating Bible texts than a serious translation of the New Testament.

The translations in the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript (St. Matthew 10, 16, 19, 26, 27, 28; St. Mark 15; St. Luke 2, 22, 23; and St. John 1, 5, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20, 21) which constitute the greater part of the text (p. 2, p. 5 and pp. 14–61) are, with the exception of the above-mentioned short fifteenth-century Easter Gospel or Pericope, the first Albanian translations made directly from the Greek, and the oldest Bible translations made in the Orthodox milieu. They are otherwise preceded in time only by the works of the Italian-influenced authors of the Catholic north, beginning with *Gjon Buzuku* (1555) whose so-called Missal comprises translations made from Latin, Italian and Serbo-Croatian.

There has been much speculation as to the author of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript. Most information we now have would seem to indicate that this eighteenth-century text is the work of *Gregory of Durrës* ($\Gamma \varrho \eta \gamma \delta \varrho \iota \varsigma \tau \sigma \tilde{\nu} \Delta \upsilon \varrho \varrho \alpha \chi (\sigma \upsilon)$, also known as *Gregory of Voskopojë* or Moschopolis²¹). *Gregory* was an Orthodox cleric who was appointed Archbishop (Metropolitan) of Durrës in 1768 and who died some time before May 1772. He is known to have made translations from the Old and New Testaments in an alphabet he invented himself, and most historical and linguistic evidence seems to point to him as the author.

We may assume that *Gregory* was born towards the end of the seventeenth century. Traces of him go back to the 1720s when he is said to have met the Serbian illuminist *Parthen Pavlović* in Berat. He is also said to have been a student of *Ioannes Chalkeus*²²).

Orthodox culture in eighteenth-century Albania is intimately linked to the rise of the city of Voskopojë²³), now a village of five hundred inhabitants in the mountains twenty-five kilometers west of Korçë. In the sixteenth century, Voskopojë, known in Greek as Moschopolis and in Aromunian as Moscopole, increased tremendously in size to become one of the largest cities in the Balkans and a flourishing centre of trade and urban culture. At its zenith, before the city was pillaged for the first time in 1769, it is said to have had a population of over 20,000, greater than Athens, Sofia or Belgrade at

²¹) cf. Domi 1965 and Shuteriqi 1987.

²²) *Ioannes Chalkeus of Voskopojë* was director of the Flaggineios Scholē in Venice during the years 1694–1703 and 1712–1716. cf. Peyfuß 1989, p. 81 (fn.).

²³) Much has been written on the history of Voskopojë, primarily in Greek and German. cf. Skenderēs 1928, Michalopoulos 1941, Martinianos 1957, Adhami 1972, 1989, Geörgiadēs 1975, Peyfuss 1976, 1986 and 1989, Gkatsopulos 1979, and Hetzer 1981a, p. 20-25.

the time, with an estimated 10,000 to 12,000 buildings, including 24 churches, a hospital, an orphanage, a library, the only Greek printing press²⁴) in the Balkans, which published at least nineteen religious works, and the so-called 'New Academy'. The New Academy or Hellēnikon Frontisterion was a centre of learning founded in 1744, similar to academies known to have existed in Bucharest, Iasi, Constantinople, Metsovo, Janina (Iōannina), Mt. Athos and Patmos. Many Greek scholars of note came to teach at Voskopojë among the Aromunians, who made up the majority of the population, the Albanians and the Greeks. The New Academy was not an exclusively theological institution. It enjoyed a good reputation for its teaching in ancient Greek, philosophy, mathematics and physics, and produced many a writer and scholar of repute. Between 1769 and 1789, Voskopojë was pillaged several times and came to lose its vitality and significance as a commercial centre on the trading route between Constantinople and Venice. It was finally destroyed in 1916 in fighting during the First World War and, with the exception of four or five beautiful Orthodox churches, the historical buildings which did survive were tragically razed in partisan warfare during the Second World War.

It is thought that *Gregory of Durrës*, as a budding Orthodox scholar, arrived in Voskopojë by 1730 at the latest. Mahir Domi believes he was in Voskopojë from the time of the founding of the printing press (1730) until 1744 when the New Academy was established²⁵). He published his first work 'Life of St. Nikodemos' in 1741²⁶). Matters are substantially obscured by continuing confusion between our author and another *Gregory of Voskopojë*, also known as *Gregory Constantinidhi* or *Gregory the Printer* (Γǫηγόǫιος Τυπογǫάφος), who ran the printing press in Voskopojë at the time.

In 1744, our *Gregory* was chosen as an assistant to the rector of the New Academy and edited two books there. He is said subsequently to have taken up residence at the above-mentioned Monastery of St. John Vladimir near Elbasan (ca. 1746–1772), although there is no documentary trace of him there. What is for certain is that *Gregory* was appointed Archbishop (Metropolitan) of Durrës in 1768 and died before May 1772 when he was succeeded by Metropolitan *Krisanthi*. The Orthodox archdiocese of Durrës was a recent creation when *Gregory* took it over. It had its headquarters not in Durrës itself, but at St. John Vladimir, where *Gregory* can logically be thought to have died. *Gregory of Durrës* was reputed to have been one of the most learned persons in southern Albania during the lifetime. Despite this fact, we know tragically little about him.

²⁴) On the printing press of Voskopojë, cf. Peyfuss 1989.

²⁵) cf. Domi 1965, p. 274–276.

²⁶) cf. Shuteriqi 1987.

The best documentary source of information on *Gregory of Durrës* is to be found in a work by his contemporary *Georgios Zabiras* (1744–1804), a Greek merchant who lived in Budapest. *Zabiras* compiled material on Greek authors from the fall of Constantinople to his times, which was published posthumously in a work entitled Néa Ἑλλάς ἤ ἑλληνικὸν ϑέατϱον (Athens 1872). With reference to the year 1761, *Zabiras* notes:

"Gregory of Durrës, pupil of Ioannes Ch., wrote an *akolluthia* (biographical notes) on the 'seven saints', i.e. Kyrillos, Klēmens, Methodios and Naum... which was published in Voskopojë; [a liturgical work] on the days, months and years; a prayer canon for St. Naum; various writings; and translated the Old and New Testaments, [translations] which he wrote in an Albanian alphabet he invented himself²⁷)."

For the year 1767, Zabiras adds:

"Gregory, Metropolitan of Durrës, who in the year 1767 signed at the synod on marriage in Constantinople, wrote several notes on his times which were published at the end of the epistolary of Korydaleos in the year 1768 in Halle in Saxony²⁸)."

Another concording piece of information on *Gregory of Durrës* is contained in a letter sent by Greek scholar *Iōakeim Martinianos* to his Albanian colleague *Ilo Mitkë Qafëzezi* (1889–1964) in which the former writes:

"Both Kavallioti and other scholars from Voskopojë who took up the study of the Albanian language had the holy Gregory as their teacher. [Gregory] lectured for thirty years in Voskopojë and was elected Metropolitan of Durrës in 1748 [sic]. He left much Albanian writing unpublished at the monastery of St. John Vladimir in Elbasan²⁹)..."

Although the above information would suffice to suspect *Gregory of Durrës* as the instigator of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript, Dhimitër Shuteriqi has proposed a different authorship. In his attempt to decipher the words on the first page of the manuscript, written in a different script, Shuteriqi came up with the reading *Theodoros Bogomilos* as well as with a *Papa Totasi*. As the leading literary historian of socialist Albania, Shuteriqi's writings have been of great influence, and as such, these two names have entered the annals of Albanian literature and Albanian schoolbooks in connection with the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript. Shuteriqi thus regards the author of the text to be one *Theodoros Bogomilos*, an Orthodox priest from the Shpati region, where remnants of a Bogomil sect were said to have survived up to the mid-seventeenth century. While there is no specific evidence to contradict this theory, there is no real evidence in support of it either. In addition, Shuteriqi's reading of the undeciphered script on the first page of the manuscript must be regarded as tentative to say the least.

²⁷) cf. Zabiras 1872, p. 236.

²⁸) cf. Zabiras 1872, p. 244.

²⁹) cf. Domi 1965, p. 277.

If we accept the authorship of *Gregory of Durrës* and the accuracy of *Zabiras*' information, we can date the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript to the year 1761. *Gregory* would have been living at the Monastery of St. John Vladimir for about fifteen years at that time. Seven years after his Bible translations, he would, as we have seen, be appointed Archbishop of Durrës (1768). It is conceivable, however, that the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript in our possession is nothing but an experiment in translation for a subsequent, more ambitious, and as yet undiscovered translation from the Old and New Testaments which *Gregory* is said to have made. Our manuscript could then be dated somewhat earlier.

Independent attempts at dating the manuscript on the basis of purely linguistic considerations have been difficult since there are not enough non-Moslem texts from the period to serve as comparisons. There is no linguistic evidence in the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript that would make the mid-eighteenth century inappropriate as the period of creation. Dhimitër Shuteriqi regards the language of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript as somewhat more archaic than that of the *Todhri* texts and sees a certain affinity to the Catholic authors of the north, i.e. he prefers to date it to the seventeenth century. *Todhri Haxhifilipi*, as we have seen, could have been active anywhere from 1750 to 1800. Any seemingly more archaic elements in the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript can, however, easily be attributed to the difference of dialect between our manuscript and the *Todhri* texts.

The sub-dialect in which the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript was written has been another a point of contention. It is obvious that the translations were made in a southern Geg dialect, such as that of Elbasan, but there are also certain undeniable Tosk elements in the text which are foreign to the Elbasan dialect as we know it today.

The general Geg character of the manuscript can be seen in the lack of rhotacism: urdhën 'order', sëmunë 'sick', të lutuna 'prayers', shkruam 'written', pam 'seen', mbuluam 'covered', mbushun 'filled', ikun 'gone' for Tosk urdhër, sëmurë etc.; in the infinitive: me thanë 'to say' for Tosk për të thënë; and in the formation of the future tense: kini me gjetun 'you will find' for Tosk do të gjeni, etc. Typical of Elbasan dialect are lexemes such as: njëme 'now'. On the other hand, we encounter the Tosk *është* 'is' throughout the text instead of Geg asht. Also present are clear Tosk verbal forms such as të jeç 'may you be', and të diç 'may you know'. The negative nuku 'not' is definitely reminiscent of the Korçë (and Voskopojë) region. Shuteriqi regarded the mixture of Geg and Tosk elements as proof of an author from the dialectically transitory Shpati region south of Elbasan. Unfortunately, we know too little of central Albanian dialects before the nineteenth century to come to any definite conclusions. Nonetheless, it would seem very difficult to pinpoint the existence of any one specific Albanian dialect reflecting the language of the Elbasan Gospel texts. It is much more likely that the texts were written, consciously or unconsciously, in a mixture of dialects.

From the linguistic point of view, *Gregory of Durrës* would again seem to be an ideal candidate as author. Raised in central southern Albania (Berat and Voskopojë), he spent fifteen years in Elbasan before undertaking his Bible translations. It would not be surprising therefore if his Elbasan Albanian were still permeated with the more southern elements of his childhood and younger years. Indeed, it is quite conceivable that he was making a conscious effort to write in a supra-regional language which could be understood and appreciated by Albanians from various areas.

What is also noticeable about the language is the exceptional purity of the Albanian used. Albanian has always been an eclectic language. Throughout its history, from the very start, it has accepted and absorbed many foreign influences and loanwords. Turkish and Arabic loans were ubiquitous in the language during the Ottoman occupation. This linguistic openness has nonetheless been counteracted from time to time by appeals and campaigns for linguistic purity, notably in periods during which Albanian nationalism was on the rise. One such period, for instance, was the *Rilindja* age of national rebirth at the end of the nineteenth century when many writers made a conscious effort to replace existing Turkish loanwords with terms of purely Albanian origin.

The Elbasan Gospel Manuscript is a text which itself shows a surprising lack of loanwords. This may be taken as an indication of the author's nationalist awareness, not only his rejection of Islam on the one hand, but also of his will to write pure Albanian in the original Albanian alphabet of his invention. In the whole manuscript there are only three Latin and seven Turkish loanwords:

Latin loanwords

- 02.10 *letërorëtë* = scribes < Lat. *litterator*
- 06.06 *mort* = death < Lat. *mors*, *mortis*
- 19.10 $let \ddot{e}r = scripture < Lat. littera$

Turkish loanwords

02.10	sarajet = palace < Tk. saray
04.08	$kabil = possible < Tk. \ kabil$
14.07	dushmanëvet = of the enemies < Tk. düşman
28.09	sheher = town < Tk. şehir
39.03	sahat = hour < Tk. saat
44.14	paha = price < Tk. paha
53.02	$qorrit = blind < Tk. \ k \ddot{o}r$

Even more surprising is that only twenty-one Greek loanwords occur in a text which was translated directly from New Testament Greek:

Greek loanwords

- 02.04 $apostojt\ddot{e}$ = the apostles < Gk. ἀπόστολος
- 02.09 *upeshkëpintë* = the chief priest < Gk. ἐπίσκοπος
- 02.17 mb[o]dhisnjënë = hinder < Gk. ἐμποδίζω
- 03.07 ergjand- = silver coins. Neologism from Gk. ἀργυρία
- 03.18 profit evet = of the prophets < Gk. προφήτης
- 04.01 nomi = the law < Gk. vóμoς
- 05.06 dhidhaskale = teacher < Gk. διδάσκαλος
- 07.15 parigori = comfort < Gk. παθηγορία
- 13.11 dhaskali = teacher < Gk. δάσκαλος
- 16.18 kustodhit = the guards < Gk. κουστωδία
- 26.01 stadhion = stadium, furlong < Gk. στάδιον
- 29.02 $i\bar{g}emoni$ = the governor < Gk. ήγεμών
- 33.01 adhit = of hell < Gk. ἄδης
- 35.01 $laust = the people < Gk. \lambda \alpha \delta \varsigma$
- 41.07 kranio = skull < Gk. κρανίον
- 42.02 kalamt = reed, stick < Gk. κάλαμος
- 43.09 angjelli = the angel < Gk. ἀγγελος
- 44.13 korvanat = treasury < Gk. κοφβανᾶς < Hebrew
- 46.19 χ lamidhë = robe < Gk. χλαμύς, χλαμύδος
- 48.01 kliron = lot < Gk. κλῆρος
- 51.14 marturi = witness < Gk. μαρτύρια

It must have required a constant effort on the part of a writer of Greek Orthodox faith to find and use native Albanian words for many of the New Testament Greek terms so intimately linked to the traditions of the Orthodox Church. The author's conscious effort to avoid loanwords, in particular Turkish loans, is particularly evident on page 28, line 09, where he translated the word 'town' with the above-mentioned Turkish term *sheher*. He then crossed this word out and replaced it with the native Albanian term qutet = qytet.

Transliterated text of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript and its translation

Page 02

(Matthew 26:01-05 = 02.04-17)

të shenjtënuashimenë të prem ten e madhe. o të bekuam të kër shtenë. thiri Krishti zoti ynë apostojtë e ju dëftoi atë ditë

- 05 qi donte të të kryqzohej, e ju tha: o bijt e mi të dashun, ta dini se pas dy diç bahetë pasxa e atëhere dua të epem të më kryqzonjënë. atëhere u mbëlodhnë upeshkë
- 10 pinjtë e letërorëtë ndë sarajet të Kaijafësë upeshkëpit e kuvën duanë shoq me shoq qi ta zanë çefun Jisunë ta vrasënë. e thoshin: mos e zamëte njëme më ditë të krem
- 15 tesë se ishte e shëtynë se mos ba hetë t[ë] [p]ë[r]ziem ndë gjin qe duan e na mb[o]dhisnjënë se aqë prej cë [-----] perëndisë deshmë

Page 03

ta zanë Xrishnë ditën e pashkëvet qi donjinë të hanjinë qegjnë qi të ju dëvtet[nj]ë se zoti Xrisht ë sht qegji i vërtetë qi donjënë

- 05 të thernjënë çifutëtë më kryqt. atëhereza Judha një 12 apostoj shë qi ishte kusar ergjandashu[-] nëgjoi se bujarëtë ishinë ndë sarajet të Pilotit Kaijafë
- 10 së mbëledhun, vu ndër men të ve një të ju apë Xrishtnë, e vote ndë ta ju fal e ju tha: o qoftë i lav duruam perëndia o bujarë qi me driti sot e e gjofta se
- 15 jam rrenë më dhidhaskalit të Krishtit, e [p]rand[---]i i psu a i mirë qi jam i Moisiut e i profitëvet e i n[-----]

Holy Good Friday. Oh, blessed Christians. Christ, our Lord, called the apostles and revealed to them that day

- 05 that he wanted to be crucified, and said to them: Oh, my beloved sons, as you know, the Passover is two days away and then I want to give myself up so they can crucify me. Then the chief priests and the scribes
- 10 assembled in the palace of the high priest Caiaphas and conferred with one another to arrest Jesus secretly and kill him. They said: Let us not arrest him now on the days
- 15 of the feast, for it was Saturday, so that he not be surrounded by crowds who want to hinder us for so much of of God wanted

to seize Christ on the day of the Passover who wanted to eat the lamb to show them that Christ, the Lord, is the true lamb that the Jews

- 05 wanted to slaughter on the cross. Then Judas, one of the 12 apostles, who was a robber of money, heard that the elders were gathered in the palace of Pilate
- 10 Caiaphas, [and] decided to go and betray Christ to them, and he went to them, greeted them and said to them: Glory be to God, oh elders, who has enlightened me today and I have realized
- 15 that I have been deceived by the teachings of Christ, and therefore, good disciple that I am of Moses and of the prophets and

Page 04

(freely adapted from Luke 22:04-06)

i nomit perëndisë erdha sot përpara juve qi të shtëpoj gji thë gjinnë prej rrenësiet të kë tij njeriu. e e di se ju të perë

- 05 disë inë e me nder ruani nomnë, e doni ta vritni e s'kini si[t]. er dha ke ju të jua përjap. po unë jam njeri i vorfën. është kabil për këtë gazulim e të mirë
- 10 qi baj me ju e më gjint të më pa guani? e prandaj qish doni të më ni[p]ni qi të ju ap ndë dorë tuaj? nëgjonjënë këto fjalë upesh këpinjtë e bujarëtë. u gazulua
- 15 në më gazulim të math e entanu L rgjande e atëhereza [-]th kërkonjë në koho [q]i të jua ja[p]ë. e ju tha se nesër dua të vinj mbë ju kur të jetë [------]nj ju qi ta zinite

Page 05

(Luke 22:09-13 = 05.06-17)

atë ditë darkoi zoti Krisht ndë Vithanit me apostojt më shtëpi të Marisë e Marthës me t'amë[n]ë. e desh

të venjë tjetërënë ditë ndë Iero

- 05 solimt të kryqzohetë. i thoshinë apostojtë: dhidhaskale, ku do të bajmë gati për pashkë? e Krishti ju tha: ecëni ndë Ierosolimt e kini me gjetun një njeri ke bar
- 10 një shtambë me ujë. atini ju gjit ni e i tho: ti ZOt shtëpisë, ku është vend qi kam për të bam pashkë të me të psuamitë mi? e ai ju ka për të ju dëftyam vend të math

15 e atje bani gati. e tye votë
këta të dy apostoj e [ba]në si
i porositi Xrishti. prapësëri
u kthyenë ndë Vithanit [-----]

In the name of God I have come today before you to save the whole world from the lies of this man. And I know that you are of

- 05 God and adhere with honour to the laws, and you want to kill him and don't know how. I have come to you to hand him over to you. But I am a poor man. Is it possible for this joy and good deed
- 10 that I do for you and for the world that you pay me? And therefore what do you want to give me if I hand him over to you? The chief priests and elders listened to these words. They rejoiced
- 15 greatly and gave him 30 silver coins and then they suggested a time for him to be handed over. And he said to them that he would come the next day to them when for you to seize him

That day, Christ, the Lord, dined in Bethany with the apostles at the house of Mary and Martha with the mother. And he wanted to go the next day to Jerusalem

- 05 to be crucified. The apostles said to him: Teacher, where shall we prepare for the Passover? And Christ said to them: Go to Jerusalem and you will meet a man carrying
- 05 to be crucified. The apostles said to him: Teacher, where shall we prepare for the Passover? And Christ said to them: Go to Jerusalem and you will meet a man carrying
- 15 and you make preparations there. These two apostles set off and did as Christ had told them. Thereafter they returned to Bethany

Page 06

e shkoi atë natë me të mëdha të lutuna. e e gjofti ZTi Xrisht se erth koha të dahetë prej kë co gjinvet të venjë ke i ati.

- 05 e donte të vinte ndë Ierosolim të marë me të dashunitë tij mort. thirri t'amën e tij e i thotë: o e am[ë] blë mama ime, të lutem të jeç me durim të math, e ta diç bukur
- 10 se është e duhetë të mbarohenë gjithë të thanët e fjalëparëvet qi kanë shkruam për mu. e duhetë të vdes për shëndet të farësë njeriut. e njëme erth koha e mortsë sime, e ti
- 15 ke o mama ime të helmohesh tepër mbi gji[thë] gra të jetësë qi të mba rohetë fjala e shenjti plakut S[im]eon [qi] ka për të shkuam shpatë

Page 07

ndë mjedis të zemërësë sate. o mama ime, të dhimtunit qi ke për të marë për mort eme është ajo shpatë qi do të shkonjë ndë ze

- 05 mër të shpirtit yt. me gjithë këtë të dhimtunit është i math, ashtu duhetë të kesh nde durim të math, se duhetë të mbarohetë të da shunit të prindit tim. o mama
- 10 ime, sot dua të darkem me a postojt e mi të cë prapëme dar kë. e ta dish se duanë të parë t e çifutëvet të më kryqzonjë në, e u shiçë për L rgjande. ma
- 15 kij këtë parigori, se kam për t'u gritun të tretënë ditë, e a tëhereza duhetë të më shofç të lavdshim mbret t[ë] pavde kun, ku rinë gjoi [------]

Page 08

PRDsha denj më gjunjë e ra për mys e zu fill e i thotë Xrishtit: And he went that night with great prayers. And Christ the Lord recognized that the time had come for him to bid farewell to this world and to go to his father.

- 05 And he wanted to go to Jerusalem to find [his] death among his followers. He called his mother and said to her: Oh my sweet mother, I beg you to be of great patience, and to know
- 10 that it is a fine thing and that all the sayings of the prophets must be fulfilled which they have written about me. And I must die for the sake of mankind. And now the time for my death has come, and you,
- 15 oh mother of mine, will have to suffer more than all women of this world so that the word of the holy father Simeon be fulfilled, that a sword will

be thrust into the midst of your heart. Oh mother of mine, the pain that you will suffer because of my death is that sword which will be thrust

- 05 into the heart of your soul. Although this suffering is great, still you must have great patience, for the will of my Father must be fulfilled. Oh mother
- 10 of mine, today I want to have the last supper with my apostles. And you must know that the elders of the Jews want to crucify me, and I have been sold for 30 silver coins.
- 15 But take comfort in this, that I will rise on the third day, and then you will see me as a glorious and immortal king, where they sit

The Goddess fell to her knees, and was overwhelmed and began by

o biri im i ambli, zani yt e vjalët e tua ma tun[n] zemë

- 05 rënë, e më vjene se shpirti im iku preji meje. o i pafajçim i biri perëndisë, qish bane qi do të marr[ç] të vdeç këtë mort të shëmtuam pafaj mbë kryqt?
- 10 përgjegjetë Xrishti e i tha: o e dashuna mama ime, këjo ë shtë të dashunit e prindit im, të vdes u, e ti të jeç e ta dish ende ti të χekunit tem. e të më
- 15 lenohetë ende mu zemëra. nëgjo qi ç'kam për të χekun. shef njëme kryetë tem qi nu[k]u gjit hekur të vihetë. nesër ke për ta pam [-----]ë kunorë prej drize

Page 09

hym mbrenda ndë eshtëna të kre it tim. e kur të më shofç ashtu, kij durim, si kam për të pasun u. shef njëme syt e mi çelë. nësër

- 05 ke për ti pam mbuluam e të më luanjënë të pabesët. kur të shof ç këto, kij durim. shef njëme faqenjë teme të ndrçime. nesër ke për ta pam mbushun
- 10 me këlbazë. kur të shofç këto, kij durim. shef njëme gonjënë teme plot amblë. nesër ke për ta pam të më konjënë të pabesëtë me një sugjer mbu
- 15 shun uthul e pshtumë. [s]i të shofç këto, kij durim. shef njëme pë lambënë teme pa plagë. nesër ke për ta pam m [------]

Page 10

shofç këto, kij durim. shef një me gjithë shtatnë tem shëndoshë. nesër ke për ta pam përgjakun e rrafun gjithë. si të shofç këto,

05 kij durim. shëko njëme si më për qarkenë të psuamit e mi. ne sër kanë për të ikun të gjithë e një acish ka për të më dhanë. si të shofç këto, kij durim, o mama saying to Christ: Oh my sweet son, your voice and your words have shaken me to the heart.

- 05 I feel as if my soul has abandoned me. Oh, innocent Son of God, what have you done that you should die such a horrid death, innocent upon the cross?
- 10 Christ answers and said: Oh, my dear mother, this is the will of my Father, that I die, and that you live and that you, too, know of my suffering. And
- 15 so that my heart also be soothed, listen to what I have to suffer. Look now at my head which has borne no iron. Tomorrow you will see it crown of thorns

enter the bones of my head. And when you see me like this, have patience, as I must have. Look now at my open eyes. Tomorrow

- 05 you will see them closed and [see] how the faithless will mock me. When you see this, have patience. Look now at my shining face. Tomorrow you will see it covered
- 10 in spit. When you see this, have patience. Look now at my mouth so sweet. Tomorrow you will see how the faithless stuff me with a sponge filled with
- 15 vinegar and spit. When you see this, have patience. Look now at my unblemished palm. Tomorrow you will see it

see this, have patience. Look now at all of my healthy body. Tomorrow you will see it completely bloody and beaten. When you see this,

05 have patience. Look now at how my disciples surround me. Tomorrow they will all be gone and one of them will betray me. When you see this, have patience, oh mother of mine.

- 10 ime. njëme më kuvëndon, ma ne sër ma s'munç të më gjoftsh. njëme më shef shëndoshë, ma nesër ke për të më pam vdekun. si të shofç këto gjithë, ende tepër kij du
- 15 rim. errini koha, o mama ime, të të laa. këjo është të dashuni të tem e të prindit, qi të vde[s] [-----]p më ende ti ur

Page 11

dhën e uratënë tande të vdes. tye thanë këto fjalë ZT XSHt s'amësë ju err e vote ndajtë, e tye qam thoshte: o biri im i pa

- 05 fajçimi, qish fjalë është këjo qi më flet të të ap urdhë të ve tesh të kryqzohesh? cia amë i ka dhanë urdhën të birt të vri tet? qi të t'ap ende u tyj?
- 10 si ta nëgjonjënë këto fjalë amatë tjera mu më truajnë. po i ambli biri im, këjo ësh të të dashunit e të qielsë prindit tyt, e yti, t'ap nde
- 15 nu urdhëninë tem, biri im, të kryqzohesh. t'ap uratënë te me e të prindit tyt. qoftë gjithë me tyj. at[-----]

Page 12

shtiu duartë ndë qafë e e pu thi ndë qafë e i tha: o krye i shenjtënuashim mbushun me urtësit të perëndisë qielsë,

- 05 si do të durojsh kunorë prej dr[i] ze? o e bekuameja faqe qi sho fënë engjit e gazulohenë, si do të març cipër kaqë shë plakë e të pëgame këlbazë?
- 10 o sy të bekuam qi shifni perëdi, si doni të shifni kaqë qen të tërbuam përpara e kaqë shta së t'egra përqark? o duar fuqimëdha qi mbani gjithë

- 10 Now you can speak with me, but tomorrow you will no longer be able to recognize me. Now you see me healthy, but tomorrow you will see me dead. When you see all this, have even more patience.
- 15 The time has come, oh mother of mine, for me to leave you. This is the will of my Father, that I die. [give] me your

permission and blessing, too, for me to die. While Christ the Lord was saying these words to his mother, she became distressed and went and sat down, and said, weeping: Oh, my innocent son,

- 05 what talk is this, that you say to me that I should give you permission to go and be crucified? What mother has [ever] given her son permission to be killed? And I should give it to you?
- 10 When they hear these words, the other mothers will curse me. Yes, my sweet son, this is the will of your heavenly Father, and of you, that I now
- 15 give you my permission, my son, to be crucified. That I give you my blessing and that of your Father. May all be with you.

stretched her arms around his neek and kissed him on the neck and said to him: Oh, holy head filled with the wisdom of God in heaven,

- 05 how will you endure a crown of thorns? Oh, blessed face which the rejoicing angels look upon, how will you put up with so many blows and filthy spit?
- 10 Oh, blessed eyes which look upon God, why do you wish to see all those rabid dogs in front of you and all those wild animals around you? Oh, mighty hands which hold the whole

15 gjindnë, si doni të duroni e të ngozhdoχi mbë kryqt? o pëlamba e gazuluashime qi ke gjithë gja [-----]ë dorë, si do të shkonjë [-----] o biri im i be

Page 13

kuami. njëme më dahetë shpirti e zemëra prej meje. o helm i math. o lot të panumura qi ishinë atëhere m'atë shtëpi, më

- nj'anë perëdesh me Marinë e Mar thënë, më tjetër anë apostoit.
 po Iudha zemërhekuri nuku iu dhimti χiç të helmuamesë a mën e Jisusit. qante Maγdhali
- 10 nia tepër mbë të gjitha e thosh te: o dhaskali im i urti, ku ikën, ku ve? ku ti nëgjojmë fjalët e tua të qiellsë, të psuamitë tand, të parigorismitë tan
- 15 d? atëhere u nis XS të ecinjë të venjë ndë Ierosolimt e perë desha e lakrishnë e kuvëndon te me apostojtë e ju thoshte: bijt e mi e të p[------]

Page 14

(Luke 22:15 = 14.14 - 16; John 13:04 = 14.16 - 17)

tim. lutni dhidhaskalë tuaj. o e dhimpsun am e Isusit, ndë të kuja duar ep birnë tand? Iudha e shiti e ti i thua atij ta

- 05 ruanjë. dashnë ep ndë dorë uku[t] ta ruanjë. ku është bam këjo kështu qi miku t'apë ndë dorë të dushma nëvet mikn e tij? Erruodi e le O hanë zë më këtë punë të frikshime.
- 10 pasandaj hun[i] ZTi XSHt ndë kishë të faletë. e mbramanet ndenj më tryesë me apostojt e hagërrë darkë, e ju tha: o bijt e mi, mjen njëme ha bukë me ju të
- 15 cë prapëmenë darkë sade s'jam [m]unduam. pasandaj ncuar [-----] lidh[-]një futë për mje

15 world [in them], how will you endure being nailed to the cross? Oh, joyous dove who have all things hand, how will you go Oh, my blessed son,

my soul and heart are now leaving me. Oh, great poison. Oh, countless tears which were then [wept] in that house, on

- 05 one side the Goddess with Mary and Martha, on the other side the apostles. But iron-hearted Juda had no pity at all on the poisoned mother of Jesus. Magdalene wept
- 10 more that anyone else and said: Oh, my wise teacher, where are you going, where are you off to? Where shall we hear your divine words, your teachings, your words of comfort?
- 15 Christ then set off walking and went to Jerusalem and the tearful Goddess spoke to the apostles and said to them: My sons and

of mine, beg your teacher. Oh, suffering mother of Jesus, into whose hands will you deliver your son? Judas betrayed him and you tell him to take care

- 05 of him. You are delivering the sheep into the hands of the wolf to be taken care of. Where has it ever been done that a friend delivers his friend into the hands of enemies? Herod made John famous with that horrible deed.
- 10 Then, Christ the Lord entered into a temple to pray. And in the evening he sat at the table with the apostles and had dinner, and said to them: Oh my sons, now at last I eat with you
- 15 the last supper [before] I suffer. Thereafter he took off he wrapped a towel around

Page 15

(John 13:05-06)

dis e vu ujë ndë lent e zu fil të ju lanjë kambët e apostojvet e i pshinte me futët qi kishte gjeshun. e këtë e [b]ani qi ta dëf

- 05 tenjë vet'henë më t'ugjun. e zu fil mbë Iudhënë. si i lau kambë t e Iudhësë vote ke Petri t'i lanjë kambët e tij. ai shëkon këtë mrekuli të frikshime të
- 10 madhe qi të vinjë mbreti qi el[s]ë t'i lanjë kambët i bal tësë të gatuamit tij. thiri e tha: ZT, o mjeri u, qish e keqe më gjet; ti të më lajsh kambë
- 15 t e mia. mos dalë zjar prej duarshi cë t[u] të më djegë. ti [je] qi më ke krijuam [-----] ti je dhaskal [-----]

Page 16

nesëret qi ishte pas cë

- 05 premtejet u mbëlodhë upesh këpinjtë e Farisei ke Pilla ti e i thotë: ZT, përendi, ky rr[e] [m]ës kur [--r] qe gjal pas të t[re] tët dit më gjini. e urdhëno t[ë]
- 10 mbullnjëmë vorrë mjen më t[re] tët dit. më gjeni. e urdhëno t'i gjofnjëmë vorë mjen më të tretët dit, mos vinjën psuamt te tij natën e vjedhë
- 15 atë e thonë gjinja se u gre pr[e] j vorrit, e jet cë prapëm turp tepër pëpara. ju tha ature Pilati: merri kustodhit ec

[his waist] and he poured water into a basin and began to wash the feet of the apostles, and dried them with the towel that he had wrapped around himself. This he did

- 05 to show himself as humble. And he began with Judas. When he [had] washed the feet of Judas, he went to Peter to wash his feet. He looks upon this great and terrible miracle,
- 10 that the king of heaven should come and wash his feet of the mud of his own creation. He cried out and said: Lord, oh poor me, in what a lamentable state you find me, that you should wash my
- 15 feet! May no fire come out of your hands and burn me. You are the one who created me You are the teacher

Matthew.

The next day, which was after

- 05 Friday, the chief priests and Pharisees gathered together at Pilate's and says to him: Sir, Lord, that deceiver [said] while he was alive: after the third days you will find me. Give the order
- 10 for the tomb to be sealed until the third day. You will find me. And give the order for the tomb to be watched until the third day, so that his disciples do not come at night and steal
- 15 it and tell the people that he has risen from the tomb, and this last deception will be [worse] than the first. Pilate said to them: Take the guards, go,

Page 17

(Matthew 27:66 = 17.01 - 02; John 20:19 - 23 = 17.03-)

e mbulli e shëkoni e gjifni vo rre me kustodhit. Joan

u grys nata nd'ato dit të një

- 05 shëtunë e dera mbuln ke ishin
 [t]ë psuamit mbulun për frikët
 të Iudheivet, erth Jisusi e ndenj
 dë mjedis e ju tha atune:
 pushun mbë ju. e këtë tha, ju dëvte
- 10 i atune duartë e brinjën e tij. u ngazuluanë të psuamit se panë ZTnë. ju tha atune Ji susi pësëri: pushim mbë ju. si më çoi mu prindi, nde u ju çoj ju.
- 15 e këtë tha, e i la e ju tha atune: merri frumënë shenjt. kuja të jua lini fajet, ja kam val uu. kuja të [j]ua mbani, ja kam mbaj

Page 18

(John 20:24-27)

tun u. Thomai pre një tumbëdhje tësh qi i thonë binjak nuku qe me të kur erth Jisusi. thoshinë tjerët të psuamë: pamë ZTnë.

- 05 e tha aji: mjen ke të mos shof duart e tij brimën e gozhdëz e të ve gishtnë tem mbë brimët të gozhdëz e të ve dorënë teme më brimët të tij s'mbesonj. e
- pas tetë diç ishi[në] psu[amët]
 bashkë nde Thomai me ta. vjen[e]
 Jisusi e dera ishte mbullun
 e ndej ndë mjedist e tha: pu
 shun mbë ju. pra i thotë Thomait:
- 15 bjerë gishnë tand këtu e shë ko duart e mia, e ve dorënë tande ebre e vene më brinjët

Page 19

(John 20:27–31) teme, e mos u ban i pabesë seal [it], and look out and keep watch over the tomb with the guards.

John.

Night fell on that day, the first [day of

- 05 the] week, and the door was locked where the disciples were, locked for fear of the Jews. Jesus came and stood among them and said to them: Peace be with you. And saying this, he
- 10 showed them his hands and his side. The disciples were overjoyed that they saw the Lord. Jesus said to them again: Peace be with you. As the father has sent me, I am sending you.
- 15 And saying this, he [breathed upon] them and said to them: Receive the Holy Spirit. Of whomsoever you forgive the sins, I have forgiven them. Of whomsoever you retain them, I have retained

them. Thomas of the Twelve, whom they call Twin, was not with them when Jesus came. The other disciples said: We saw the Lord.

- 05 And he said: Unless I see [in] his hands the nail mark and put my finger on the nail marks and put my hand in the marks, I will not believe. And
- 10 eight days later the disciples were together and Thomas [was] with them. Jesus arrived and the door was locked, and he stood among them and said: Peace be with you. Then he says to Thomas:
- 15 Put your finger here and look at my hands, and reach out your hand and put it into my side,

and be not unbelieving but believing.

po me besë. u përgjeq Tho mai e tha: o ZT im e perëndi a im. tha atij Jisusi: si më

- 05 pe, mbëbesite, lum kush s'më shef e mbëbeson. shumë këto ende tjera të gjoftu na bani Jisusi përpara psuamitvet tij qi s'janë
- 10 shkruam ndë këtë letër. po këto shkruajmë të mbesoni se Jisusi është Xrishti i bi ri perëndisë, e ata qi mbe sonjnë jetën e gjatë kanë mbë
- 15 emënit të tij. ************* *****

Page 20

(John 05:24-28)

Joan tha ZT atune qi vinjinë pas ci Judhinvet: amin amin si them u se ai qi nëgjon fjalë

- 05 në teme e mbesit ti çuamit tim ka jetë[n] e pasosun e më gjuq nuku vjene, po vete pas cë vdekun mbë jetën. a min amin si them u se vjene
- 10 koha qi është njëme se të vde kunit kur të nëgjojnë zanë të bir të perëndisë, po qi ta nëgjojnë, gjallen. se si ka pr[i] ndi jetë mbë ta ashtu i dha
- 15 ashtu i dha ende tbirt e ka mbë vete. e urdhën i dha nde at[ij] e gjuq ban se i biri njeriu[t] ë. mos mërexi më këtë se vjen[e] koha se të vdekunit po q[-]
- 20 gjithë ndë vorret

Page 21

 $(John \ 05:28-30 = 21.01-10; John \ 13:03-05 = 21.11-)$ të nëgjonjnë will hear o grihenë të mirëtë të bam më të gritunit të jetësë, e fajbamit më të gritmit evil will rise 05 të gjuqit. s'mun u të baj në punën e tij asnjë. si nëgjoj,

Thomas answered and said: Oh, my Lord and my God. Jesus said to him: Because you have

- 05 seen me, you have believed. Blessed is he who does not see me and believes. Jesus did many such and other miracles in the presence of his disciples which are not written
- 10 in this scripture. But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is Christ, the Son of God, and those who believe [may] have a long life in
- *****

John.

The Lord said to those Jews who came afterwards: Verily, verily, I say that whoever hears my

- 05 word and believes him who sent me has eternal life and does not come into judgment, but has crossed after death into life. Verily, verily, I say that the time is coming
- 10 and has now come when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and if they hear it, they will live. For as the Father has life in himself, so has he granted
- 15 so has he also granted the Son to have [life] in himself. And he has given him authority and he judges because he is the Son of Man. Do not be amazed at this, for a time is coming when the dead

all those in their graves

will rise, those who have done good will rise to live, those who have done

05 to be condemned. I can do nothing in his work. I judge only as I hear, and gjukoj. e gjuqja ime e dre jtë është, se u nuku kërkoj të tashmitë tem po të dashmit e

- 10 çuamit prindit im. Ioani nd'atë koho pa Jisusi se të gjithë dhanë janë prej prindit ndë dorë se prej
- 15 perëndiet dual e ke pe rëndia vete. u gre prej darket e ngjeshi rrobe në e vu ujë ndë len b[-]

Page 22

(John 13:05-10)

e u nis të lanjë kambët e të psuamëvet e pshtual rrobenë qi kishte ngjeshun. e vjene ke Simon Petri

- 05 e i thote ai atij: ZOT ti mu të më lajsh kambëtë. përgjegjetë Jisusi e i thotë: unë baj ti nuku shef njëme nuku ngje[f] më këto. i tho
- 10 të Petri: mos mi lavsh kambëtë ti mu kurrë. për gjegjet Jisusi: në mos i lafsh mos maç pjesë me mu. i thotë Simon Petri: ZOT jo po
- 15 kambët, po nde duart e nde kryet. i thotë Jisusi: të la[f] nuk u duhetë po kambëtë,

ri prej Vithaniet prej njij Mariet e Marthet të motra

t e tij. qi Maria fërkoi ka

Page 23

(John 13:10 = 23.01-04; John 11:01-04 = 23.05-) se ini pastrë gjithë ju pas trë ini, jo gjithë. shëkoni të tanënë, e këtë tha: jo gji thë pastrë ini.
05 Ioan 05 nd'atë koho qe sëmunë Llaza

my judgment is just, for I seek not my will but the will

10 of the Father who sent me.

John. At that time Jesus saw that all things were given by the Father into his hands, that

15 he came from God and was returning to God. He got up from the meal and put on his robe and poured water into a basin

> and began to wash his disciples' feet and dried [them with the] robe he had put on. And he comes to Simon Peter,

- 05 and the latter says to him: Lord, are you going to wash my feet? Jesus answers and says to him: Lord, are you going to wash my feet? Jesus answers and says to him: [what] I am doing, you do not see now, you do not know.
- 10 Peter says to him: Never wash my feet. Jesus answers: Unless I wash them, you have no part with me. Simon Peter says to him: Lord, not just
- 15 my feet, but my hands and my head as well. Jesus says to him: A person who has had a bath needs only to wash his feet,

for you are completely clean, you are clean, [but] not all of you. He looked at the one who was going to give him up and said: not all of you are clean. John.

At that time there was a sick man, Lazarus, from Bethany, from the [village] of Mary and his sister Martha. It was Mary who rubbed the feet

- 10 mbët e ZTit me krezmë e i fër koi kambët e tij me urdhën të tij. i vëllai, Lazari, u së mu. vonëte të motrat e tij ke ai e i thonë: ZT, miku yt
- 15 u sëmu. e nëgjoi Isusi e tha: ai të sëmunë s'ë për mort, po për lav të perëndisë qi

Page 24

(John 11:04-10)

- të lavdurohetë i biri pe rëndisë [i] mbë të. i donte Jisu si Marthën e motrën e tij e Llazarininë. po qi nëgjo
- 05 i se sëmunë, atëhereza
 mbet mb'atë ven du dit. pra
 pasadaj i thotë të psuamëvet:
 vemi ndë dhet të Jiudheivet.
 i thonë atij të psuamitë:
- 10 ravi, [nj]ëme deshnë Iudhei tyj me gurë të të vrasën e pësëri ve atje? përgjegje të Jisusi: jo dumbëdhjetë sa hat të ditësë? kush shëndrit di
- 15 tën nuku humb se dritën e gjinvet ku shef. kush shëdrit natën hum se mbë dritën nu[ku]

Page 25

(John 11:11-17)

- është. këtë tha e pasandaj i thonë atij atij: Lazari, miku yt, fjet, po të vemi ta qojmë. i thonë të psuamit
- 05 atij: ZT, nd[ë] fjet, i shtëpuam quhet. tha Jisusi për të fje tunit të tij, ata mëlavdnë se prej cë fjetunit të gjumit tha. atëhereza ju tha atune:
- 10 pritni. Lazari vdiq, e nga zullohem për ju qi të mbeso ni se s'qesh atjje. po ve mbë të. i thotë Thomai i psuami: ve mi nde na të vdesëmë me të.

- 10 of the Lord with ointment and who wiped his feet at his command. Her brother, Lazarus, became sick. His sisters went to him and say to him: Lord, your friend
- 15 is sick. Jesus heard this and said: The sickness will not end in death, but for God's glory so that

the Son of God may be glorified through it. Jesus loved Martha and his sister and Lazarus. When he

- 05 heard that [the latter] was sick, he stayed in that place for two days. Thereafter, he says to the disciples: Let us go to the land of the Jews. The disciples say to him:
- 10 Rabbi, the Jews recently tried to kill you with stones and yet you are going there? Jesus answers: Are there not twelve hours of daylight? Whoever walks
- 15 by day will not stumble, for he sees [by] this world's light. Whoever walks by night stumbles, for there is no light

in him. He said this and then they say to him, to him: Lazarus, your friend, has fallen asleep, but let us go and wake him up. The disciples say

- 05 to him: Lord, if he sleeps, he can be considered saved. Jesus spoke of him falling asleep [for good], they thought that he had spoken of him [simply] sleeping. Then he said to them:
- 10 Wait. Lazarus is dead, and I am glad for your sake that you believe that I was not there. But let us go to him. Thomas the disciple says to him: Let us also go that we may die with him.

15 erth Jisusi e gjet katër dit qi ishte ndë vorrt. ishte Vitha nia afër prej Jieruaslimit

Page 26

(John 11:17-24)

stadhion pesëmbëdhjet, e shumë prej Jiudheit qenë votë ke Martha e Maria qi ti dëftenjënë për të vë

- 05 lla të tij. Martha si e në gjoi se se Jisusi vjene i dual përpara. Maria rrinte më shtëpi. i thotë Martha Jisusit: ZT, të qen
- 10 kshe këtu, vëllai im s'ki shte vdekun. po njëme pashë se sa të lupsh ti më perëdit t'ep tuj perëndia. i thotë asa j Jisusi: ngrihetë vëllai yt.
- 15 i thotë atij Martha: shof se ngr[i] hetë më të gritmitë më të cë pra pëmet ditë. i thotë Jisusi: u jam

Page 27

(John 11:25-31)

të gritmit e jetësë. kush mbesit mbë mu kurrë z'vdes po rron, e kush rron e mbesit mbë mu, të vdekun s'ka ku

- 05 rë. mbesoni këtë? thotë ai: ashtu ZT u mbesova se ti je XC i biri perëndisë, qi ndë gjin erdhe. e këta tha e u nis e thiri Marinë motrë
- 10 n e tij. këtë i tha: psoisi ço i e na thëret. si e nëgjoi, u gre shpejt e vote ke ai. ke vote Jisusi atje mbë ve nd, nde Iudhi i ishinë bash
- 15 kë mbë të vend. shofënë Ma rinë se rendë u nis e vje ne. vote atynë e ju thotë:

Page 28

(Matthew 28:09-14)

e Jisusi u poq me ta e ju tha: gazulloxi. ato vonë e 15 Jesus arrived and found that he had been in his tomb for four days. Bethany was close to Jerusalem

by fifteen furlongs, and many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary to comfort them about

- 05 his brother. When Martha heard that Jesus was coming, she went out to meet him. Mary stayed at home. Martha says to Jesus: Lord, had you been
- 10 here, my brother would not have died. But [even] now, I have seen that whatever you ask of God, God gives it to you. Jesus says to her: Your brother will rise.
- 15 Martha says to him: I see that he will rise in the resurrection of the last day. Jesus says to her: I am

the resurrection of life. Whoever believes in me will never die, but live, and whoever lives and believes in me, will never die.

- 05 Do you believe this? He says: Yes, Lord, I have come to believe that you are Christ, the Son of God, who has come into the world. This she said and went back and called Mary, his
- 10 sister. This she said to her: the teacher is here and calls us. When she heard this, she got up quickly and went to him. Jesus went there to the place, and the Jews were together
- 15 in that place. They saw how Mary quickly set off and comes. [She] went to them and says to them:

and Jesus met them and said to them: Greetings. They came and fell to his i ranë ndë kambë e ju falnë atij. ju thotë atyne Jisusi:

- 05 mos frikoi, ecëni i porosit ni vëllazënet mi të vinjënë ndë Galilet të piqenë me mu. tye v[o]të ato, ca kustodh[i] tye votë ndë sheher qutet iu dëf
- 10 tei upeshkëpinjve gjithë ato qi u banë. e u mbëloth me priftënet e kuvëndu anë. rgjande shumë iu dh[anë] trimavet të thonë se të psua
- 15 m[it e tij] natënë erdhnë e vodh në tue fjetun na. në qoftë

Page 29

(Matthew 28:14-20)

- qi të nëgjohet këjo prej i ĝemonit, na kemi turp po ta bajmë kështu. e muarrë rgj andet e banë si e psuamë.
- 05 e u shpall këjo fjalë përpa ra Jiudhejivet mjen këtë ditë. të nëmbëdhjetë psu amët vonë ndë Galilet, ndë malt qi i çoi Jisusi.
- 10 e e panë ata e ju falë. ju ap ju gjithë urdhën më qiellt e mbë dhet të vini të psoni gjithë gjuhut, të pakëzoni pr'emënit t'atët
- 15 e të biri e shpirtit shenjti, të psoni ndë ta gjithë sa ju urdhënova ju. se u me ju jam më të gjitha dit mjen të fun të jetës. amin.

Page 30

(Matthew 10:32-33, 10:37-38, 19:27-28) Mattheu

tha ZT gjithë ata qi më shpallnjën përpara gjinvet, e shpall nde u përpara prindi tim

05 qi ë më qiel. e ata qi më sha njënë mu përpara gjinvet e shanj nde u përpara prindit tem qi ë më qiel. kush do at feet and worshipped him. Jesus says to them:

- 05 Do not be afraid. Go and tell my brothers to come to Galilee to meet me. While [the women] were on their way, some of the guards, going into the city, reported
- 10 to the chief priests everything that had happened. And they met with the elders and discussed. They gave much money to the soldiers to say that his
- 15 disciples came during the night and stole him away while we were sleeping. If

this is heard by the governor, we will be ashamed of acting thus. They took the money and did as they were instructed.

- 05 And this report has been spread among the Jews to this very day. The eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus sent them.
- 10 And they saw him and worshipped him. I give you all authority in heaven and on earth to go and teach all the nations, to baptize in the name of the Father
- 15 and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, to teach them everything I have commanded you. For I am with you all the days until the end of life. Amen.

Matthew.

The Lord said: Whoever acknowledges me before men, I will also acknowledge before my Father

05 who is in heaven. And whoever insults me before men I will also insult before my Father who is in heaven. Anyone who loves his father and e amë për mu nuku është i dretë.

- 10 kush do bir e bij për mu nuku është i drejtë. kush nuku mer kryqnë të vinjë pas meje s'ë për mu i dretë. atëhereza u përgjeq Petri i tha: [-]nje u
- 15 qi i lashë gjithë e u gji[ç]ë me tyj. qish na gjet ne? JS ju tha atune: amin si them [u]

Page 31

(Matthew 19:28-30)

se ju erthtë e shkuatë e pësëri baxi. kur të rrinjë i biri nje riut më shkam të lavdë tij, rrini nde ju më dymbëdhjetë

- 05 shqembe, gjukonj më të dymë dhjetë gjuhuvet të Jisra ilit. e gjithë kush ka la në shtëpinë vëllan e motrë at e amë ndo grua fëmijë
- 10 farë e fis pr'emënit tem një qin pjesë tepër mer e jetën e shëkuame gëzon. shumë bahen e të parëtë cë prapëm e të cë prapë
- 15 mitë të parë.

Page 32

(Matthew 16:13-18)

i Shë Petritit. Mattheu. nd'atë koho erth Jisusi mbë anë të Qesarisë të Filipit pyet të psuamit te tij thotë: kë më tho

- 05 në mu njerëzit? thonë për Jioan Pakëzimnë. tjerë të thonë Ili në, tjerë të thonë Jeremiu ndo një fjalëparëshit. ju thotë aty ne: ju kë më thonë? përgjegjetë
- 10 Simon Petri thotë: ti je XS i biri perëndisë gjalit. për gjegjetë Jisusi i thotë: lumthi ti Simon Variona se shtat e gjak s'ë mbë tyj, po prindi im
- 15 i qiellsë. po unë të them se ti je Petre e mbi këtë gur të më ndërtojsh mu kishënë e duer

mother more than me is not worthy [of me].

- 10 Anyone who loves his son and daughter more than me is not worthy [of me]. Anyone who does not take up the cross and follow me is not worthy of me. Then answering, Peter said to him: Behold, I
- 15 who have left everything and have followed you. What will there be for us? Jesus said to them: Verily, I say

that you came and departed and again were revived. When the Son of Man sits on his glorious throne, you will also sit on twelve

- 05 thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And everyone who has left his house, brother and sister, father and mother, or wife, children,
- 10 relatives for my sake will receive a hundred times as much and will enjoy [eternal] life. Many who are first will be last and who are last
- 15 [will be] first.

of Saint Peter. Matthew. At that time [when] Jesus came to the region of Caesarea Philippi, he asks his disciples, saying: Who do the people

- 05 say I am? Some say John the Baptist. Others call you Elijah. Others call you Jeremiah or one of the prophets. He says to them: Who do you say I am? Simon Peter
- 10 answers, saying: You are Christ, the Son of the living God. Jesus replies, saying: Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jona, for flesh and blood is not [have not revealed it] to you, but my
- 15 Father in heaven. And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock you will build my church and the gates

Page 33

(Matthew 16:18-19 = 33.01-05; Luke 02:01-04 = 33.06-)

t e adhit të moss i lëshojsh ti. e t'ap çelësitë të mbretënisë qiellsë. qish të lith mbë dhet ësh të lidhun më qiell. qish të zgith

- 05 ç mbë dhet ë zgidhun më qiell Luka nd'ato dit dual urdhën prej Qesarit Avgustit të shkru hetë gjëthë dheu. ai të shkruam
- 10 përpara u ba mbë urdhën të Si risë Qiriniu. e vonë gjithë e shkruanë mjen m'atë dhe. hupi ende Iosifi prej Ga lilejet ndë qutet Naza
- 15 ret ndë Iudhet ndë qutet të Dhavidhit qi e quajnëVithleem se ajo është shtëpi e

Page 34

(Luke 02:04-10)

prindit Dhavidhit. u shkrua me Mnë qi kishte për të marrë gruan e tij se e kishte palë shuam. u ba mjen ke vo atje

- 05 u mbushnë ditë të pjellë atë. e puall të birn e saj të pa rënë të pjellë, e e shpërga nisi atë e e mbuloi atë ndë kashtë se nuku ishte
- 10 vendë prej pylit. se kulo tësitë ëshinë nd'atë katu ndë kërkonjënë e ruanjënë për frikë të natësë të kulosnjë në. engjëlli i ZTit ndriti më
- 15 ta e u frikshuamë me frikë të madhe. e na u gazuluamë me gazulim të math qi është mbë

Page 35

(Luke 02:10-15)

gjithë laust, se leu mbë ne sot shtëpoχisi qi është Xrishti ZTi mbë qutet të Dhavidhit. e këjo mbë ne të qoftun është, of Hades you must not allow to overcome it. And I give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatever you bind on earth is bound in heaven; whatever you loose

05 on earth is loosed in heaven. Luke.

In those days a decree was issued by Caesar Augustus that all the country should be registered. This registration

- 10 first took place under the rule of the Syrian, Cyrenius. And everyone went and was registered in his [own] land. Joseph also went up from Galilee to the town of Nazareth,
- 15 to Judea, to the town of David which they call Bethlehem, because he belongs to the house

and line of David. He registered with Mary whom he was to marry for she was expecting a child. It came to pass, while they were going there,

- 05 that the days for her to give birth were fulfilled. And she gave birth to her firstborn son, and she wrapped him in cloths and covered him in straw, for there was no
- 10 room because of the multitudes. For there were shepherds in that town, abiding and keeping watch over their flocks for fear of night. The angel of the Lord shone around
- 15 them and they were terrified. And we rejoiced with great joy that is for

all the people, for unto us was born today the saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the town of David. And this will be a sign to us,

- 05 gjindetë foshnjë ndë shpërganë flinte ndë kashtë. të përzi el u ba me egjit e shumë udhë tarë më qiel lushnjënë pe rëndinë e thoshinë: lavdi
- 10 i naltit perëndi. e më dhet pushim njerëzevet ju dëftoi. e u ba si votnë ata më qiell engjitë e njerëzit e kullotësit thoshinë shoq me
- 15 shoq: vemi mjen ndë Vithleem e shofëmë këto fjalë të bame qi zoti na dëftei ne. e vo

Page 36

(Luke 02:16-20)

në e ju falë e gjetnë Ma riamnë me Jiosifnë e fosh nja flinte ndë kashtë. e panë e dëftuenë për këto fjalë

- 05 të fola për djalë. e gjithë sa e nëgjuanë u mëryenë pr'a to fjalë kulotësit mbë të. e Mariami gjithë i pa këto punë e i vu ndë zemërë të
- 10 saj. e u kthuenë kullotësit tye lavdyryem e tue lu tun perëndinë e gjithë sa e nëgjuenë e panë si ju tha atyne.

Page 37

(Matthew 10:01, 10:05–08)

Mattheu Ungjill Shën Argjiret nd'atë koχo çoi Jisusi të dy

- mbëdhjetët të psuamt e tij. ju 05 dha atyne urdhën mbë frumët të paqëruame qi ti ncerënë këta e ti ngjallnjënë prej gji thë të patëdashunat e prej gji thë të sëmunë. këta i çoi Jisusi
- 10 i porositi atyne ju tha: mbë u dhë të huaj mos vini e ndë qu tet Samarin mos huni, e të vi

- 05 you will find the baby in cloths, sleeping in straw. Together with the angel there appeared a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God and saying: Glory
- 10 to God in the highest, and on earth peace to the men he revealed [himself to]. And it happened that when the angels departed from them into heaven, the people and the shepherds said to one
- 15 another: Let's go to Bethlehem and see this thing which has happened, which the Lord has told us about. And

they went and presented their greetings and found Mary with Joseph and the baby sleeping in straw. They saw him and spread the word concerning what had been

- 05 told them about the boy. And all who heard it were amazed at what the shepherds said to them. And Mary saw all these things and pondered them in her heart.
- 10 And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God and all the things they had heard and seen, which were just as they had been told.

Matthew Gospel. The Destitute Saints.

At that time, Jesus called his twelve disciples. He gave

- 05 them authority over evil spirits to cast them out, and to heal them of every disease and of every illness. These [disciples] Jesus sent out
- 10 and commanded them, saying: Do not go on a foreign road and do not enter a Samaritan town. Go to the

ni ju ndë dhen të humbun mbë shtëpi të Jisrailit. tue votë

15 ju, tëvteni e thoni se u a frua mbretëni e qiellsë. të sëmunë gjallnite, të fëlli

Page 38

(Matthew 10:08 = 38.01-03; John 01:35-40 = 38.05-)

qun i qëronite djemënitë e ncirnite. dhunëti muartë [dh]unëti epnite.

Shënëdreut Ioan

- 05 nd'atë koχo mbet Ioani ede të psuamt e tij du, e shofënë Jisunë ke ecënte thotë: shëko ni, qenji e perëndisë. e nëgju anë të dy të psuamit ke thoshte,
- 10 u ngjitnë me Jisunë. u kthu e Jisusi e shëkon ata qi u ngjit me ta i thotë atyne: kë kërkoni. i thonë ata: ravi, qi do të thotë dëfte
- 15 is, ku jet? thotë atune: e ni shifni. e vonë e panë

Page 39

(John 01:40-44)

- ke i[sh]te, e pasandaj mbe tnë ata ditë. si më dhjetë sahat. qe Andhreu i vë llai Simon Petrit një cë
- 05 dy qi nëgjuanë prej Jioa nit e u ngjitnë me të. gjet a[t]ë të parënë vëllan e tij Simonë e i thotë atij: gjet më Mesinë qi e quanë XC.
- 10 e vote ke Jisusi. e pa atë Jisusi e tha: ti je Simoni i biri Jionait. tyj të qu ajshinë Qifa, qi do të the të Petre. nesëret vote Ji

het

lost sheep in the house of Israel. As you go,

15 preach and say that the kingdom of heaven is near. Heal the sick, cleanse

the unclean, drive out the demons. Freely you have received, freely give.

Saint Andrew. John

- 05 At that time, John was there with two of his disciples. And seeing Jesus pass by, he says: Look, the lamb of God. The two disciples heard what he said,
- 10 they followed Jesus. Jesus turned around and saw them following him and says to them: What do you want? They say to him: Rabbi, which means Teacher,
- 15 where are you staying? He says to them: Come [and] see. And they went and saw

where he was staying, and then spent that day [with him]. It was about the tenth hour. Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, was one of

- 05 the two who heard [this] from John and who followed him. He first finds his brother, Simon, and says to him: We have found the Messiah whom they call Christ.
- 10 And he went to Jesus. And Jesus looked at him and said: You are Simon, the son of John. You will be called Cephas, which means Peter. The next day, Jesus set off

Page 40

(John 21:09-14)

am ende peshk shtruam ende bukë. ju thotë atyne Jisusi: bini aci peshku qi është një me. u nis Simon Petri e ncy

- 05 ar rrjetënë mbë dhet plot pishq të mëdhenj, një qin e pesëdhjet e tri. e tjerë të shumë qi nuku i ncinte rjeta. ju thotë a tyne Jisusi: ecëni i mbëlidh
- 10 në. një të psuashimishit vote e pa kush ë, e e pa se ZT është. vote Jisusi e muar bukë e ju dha atyne ende peshk ashtu. këjo ëshë e treta qi u dëf
- 15 tue Jisusi të psuamevet tij si u gre cë vdekuni[t].

Page 41

(Mark 15:22?, 15:33–36) të shëtune të mishit

> Marku nd'atë koho trimatë muarrë Jisunë e e shpunë ta kryq

- 05 zonjënë e e shpunë atë mbë ven të Golgothasë qi do të thetë vendi kranio. qe gja shtë sahat e e kryqzuanë atë. tye u bam sahati i gjash
- 10 të, errët u ba mbë gjithë dhet mjen më sahat të nëndë. e mbë sahat të nandë thirri Jisusi me za të math e tha: eloi eloi lima savaxthani? qi është me
- 15 thanë: perëndia im perëndia im përse më harrove? e ca qi rri njënë gjat nëgjaanë e thanë se Ilinë thërret. vote një

Page 42

(Mark 15:36-41)

e mbushi sungjerrë me uthul e e vu më kalamt e ja dha të pi një atë e thoshte: lin[i]e të sho fë[m]ë vjene Ilia ta zbre and fish lying on it, and bread. Jesus says to them: Bring some of the fish you have just caught. Simon Peter set off and

- 05 dragged the net ashore full of large fish, one hundred and fifty and three, and many others, though the net was not torn. Jesus said to them: Come and gather together.
- 10 One of the disciples went and saw who it was, and saw that it was the Lord. Jesus went and took some bread and gave it to them, and did the same with the fish. This is the third time that Jesus
- 15 appeared to his disciples after he was raised from the dead.

The Saturday of meat.

Mark.

At that time, the soldiers seized Jesus and took him to crucify

- 05 him and led him to a place called Golgotha which means the Place of the Skull. It was the sixth hour and they crucified him. At the sixth hour
- 10 darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour, Jesus cried out in a loud voice and said: Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? which
- 15 means: My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? And some of those standing near heard this and said that he was calling Elijah. One man went

and filled a sponge with vinegar and put it on a stick and gave it to him to drink, and he said: Leave him alone and let us see if Elijah comes to take

- 05 së atë. e Jisusi lëshoi za të math e u përfrum. e poshtë të shkelunat e të kishës u da më du pre nalti mjen poshtë. e pa qinpari qi rrinte
- 10 dajtë se ky thiri e u përfrym, tha: vërtet ky [nj]jerë i biri i perëndisë është. ishinë nde gra cë largu shëkonjënë e i shte Maria Makdhalina e
- 15 Maria, e Jakovit vogël e Iosia e am e Salomit qi nde kur qe ndë Galilet e u ngjitnë me të e i shërbyenë atij. ende tje va [------]upnë me ta ndë Ieru[s]ali

Page 43

(John 05:01-05)

Jioan. hupi Jisusi nd'atë koho ndë Ierosolimtë. qi ë ndë Ierualimt mbë hurdhë të deshvet, qi e quajnë e

- 05 vreisht Vithesdha, pesë të çeluna kishte. mb'atë der gjeshinë shumë të sëmunë: të verbë, të çalë, të thatë, qi mernjënë aci uji. angje
- 10 lli i perëndisë për vjetë zbrite mbë hurdhët e përzien te ujëtë, e e para qi bahej pa cë përziemit të ujit të shëdoshë baxishinë prej
- 15 gjithë të pafuqishit, si kurth s'kishinë qenë. qe një njeri

Page 44

(Matthew 27:01-08)

nd'atë koho të mbëledhunë banë gjithë upekëpinjtë e pleqtë të gjin së qi ta vrasënë, e e lithnë atë e e shpunë e ja dhanë Pondiut Pi

05 latit, iğemonit. atëhere pa Jiudha qi e dha atë se e gjuku anë atë i kthei tridhjetë rgjan detë të upeshkëpinjvet e të pleq vet. u fijyeshë. e i thanë: qish të

- 05 him down. And Jesus let out a loud cry and breathed his last. And below, the curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. A centurion, who was standing by,
- 10 saw him cry out and breathe his last, [and] said: Surely this man is the Son of God. There were also some women watching from a distance. And [among them] was Mary Magdalene and
- 15 Mary, the mother of James the younger and Joses and Salome who, when he was in Galilee, followed him and served him. And others came up with him to Jerusalem

John. Jesus went up at that time to Jerusalem. Which was in Jerusalem at a sheep pool, which in Hebrew

- 05 is called Bethesda. It had five porches. In these languished many sick people: the blind, the lame, the paralysed, who partook of the water. The angel
- 10 of the Lord from time to time would come down to the pool and stir up the waters, and the first one who bathed after the stirring up of the water would be cured of
- 15 all his diseases, as if they had never existed. There was a man

At that time, all the chief priests and the elders of the people gathered to put him to death, and they bound him and led him away and handed him over to

05 Pontius Pilate, the governor. Then Judas, who had betrayed him, saw that they condemned him, and returned the thirty silver coins to the chief priests and elders. I have sinned. And they said: How does it happen

- 10 gjet qi u frike, e shtive rgjandetë ndë kishë iku e vote e u vuar. e upesh këpinjtë muarrë rgjandetë e thanë: s'ë e drejtë t'i vemë [n]dë korvanat se është pahaj e gjakut. e u mbëlodh[e]
- 15 në e vonë e blenë e vonë e blenë arë në e tjegulavet për të vorruam të huajtë e e quajnë atë arë njëme

Page 45

(Matthew 27:08-17)

ar e gjakut mjen sot. atëhere u mbush fjala e Jeremiut profitit qi tha: e muarrë L rgjandet, pahanë t'asaj paha për pahat të birtë Jisrai

- 05 lit e i dhanë ata më arëtë të tej gulaxhivet si porositi Zoti.
 e Jisusi ndenj përpara iğemonit
 e e pueti atë iğemoni i thoshte:
 ti je mbreti Iudheivet? e Isusi tha:
- 10 si thua. e nëgjyamë prej upeshkë pinjvet e pleqvet, nuku u për gjeq. atëhere i thotë ai Pilati: nuku nëgjon sa mbë tyj shpallnjë në? e nuku u përgjeq mb'ata asnjë
- 15 vjalë. u mërye iğemoni fort. mbë gjithë ç'të kremt ju linte iğe moni ju shtëponte nga një rop kë do njënë. kishinë atëhereza një të lidhunë qi e quanjënë Varavan
- 20 e ishinë mbëledhun [-----]

Page 46

(Matthew 27:17, 27:22-29)

ju thotë atyne Pilati: cinë do ni të ju lëshoj ju, Varavanë a Jisu në qi e gjuajnë qi e quajnë XC? i thoshinë gjithë atij: kruqzoje. i

05 gemoni ju tha: qish të keq ka bam? e të tepërmitë thërrisnjin e thoshin: kryqzoje. pa Pilati se s'ka faj, po prej tjerëshit u ba. muar ujë

- 10 that you are afraid? And he threw the coins into the temple. He left and he went away and hanged himself. The chief priests took the coins and said: It is against the law to put this into the treasury since it is blood money. And they took counsel
- 15 and went and bought the field of the pots to bury the foreigners, and they now call that field

the Field of Blood to this very day. Then the word of Jeremiah the prophet was fulfilled who said: They took 30 silver coins, the price set on him by the sons of Israel

- 05 and they used them [to buy] the potters' field, as the Lord commanded. And Jesus stood before the governor and the governor asked him, saying: Are you the king of the Jews? And Jesus said:
- 10 As you say. And accused by the chief priests and elders, he gave no answer. Then Pilate said to him: Don't you hear the testimony they are bringing against you? And he gave no word of reply.
- 15 The governor was greatly amazed. At all the feasts, it was the governor's custom to release the prisoner they wished. There was then a prisoner whom they called Barabbas.
- 20 and [when] they had gathered,

Pilate said to them: Which one do you want me to release to you, Barabbas or Jesus, whom they call Christ? They all said to him: Crucify him.

05 The governor said to them: What evil has he done? And all the more they cried out, saying: Crucify him. Pilate saw that he bore no guilt, that it was e lau duartë përpara gjinvet

- 10 e tha: dam të jem prej gjakut të këci. të drejmi ju merie. e u për gjeq gjithë gjinja thanë: gjaku i atij mbë ne e më fëmi tona. atë hereza e shtëpuanë Varavanë
- 15 e Isunë ta mundojnë e e muarr[ë] ta kruqzonë. atëhereza tri mat e igemonit e muarë Jisunë më gjyq e u mbëlodhë më të gjithë tri matë e i veshnë atij rrobe χlami
- 20 dhë të kuqe e i vunë kunorë prej

Page 47

(Matthew 27:29-35)

- drize e ja vunë më krye të tij e kalamnë ndë dorë të tij të djathët e binjënë mbë gjunjë përpara tij e e qeshnjinë e i thoshinë: gazulo
- 05 u o mbret i Iudheivet. e e pshtu njënë e e muarrë kalamnë e i ra në kresë atij. e kur e luajtinë ja xveshnë χlamidhënë e i veshnë robet e tij. e e shpunë qi ta kru
- 10 qzonjënë. e tye votë gjetnë nje ri Qirineon emënitë Simon. atë zunë qi të shpjerë kryqnë. e erdhë mbë ven qi i thonë Golgotha, qi e quajnë vendi kraniu. i dha
- 15 në atij të pinjë uthul me tyme. nuku desh ta pinjë. tye kryqzu am i danë rrobet e tij, vunë kli ron qi të mbushetë fjal e profitit i danë rrobet e tij [------]

given to him by others. He took water and washed his hands in front of the crowd

- 10 and said: May I be innocent of this man's blood. You bear the responsibility. All the people answered saying: Let his blood be on us and on our children. Then they released Barabbas,
- 15 and they flogged Jesus and took him to be crucified. Then the governor's soldiers took Jesus to trial, and all the soldiers gathered and put a scarlet robe on him
- $20 \hspace{0.1in} \text{and took a crown of} \\$

thorns and set it on his head, and [put] a staff in his right hand and knelt in front of him and mocked him and said: Hail,

- 05 king of the Jews. And they spat on him and took the staff and struck him on the head. And when they finished playing, they took off the robe and put his own clothes on him. And they led him away
- 10 to crucify him. As they were going, they met a man from Cyrene, named Simon. They forced him to carry the cross. They came to a place called Golgotha, which means the Place of the Skull. They gave
- 15 him vinegar with gall to drink. He refused to drink it. While crucifying him, they divided up his clothes, they cast lots that the word of the prophet be fulfilled: They divided his garments

Page 48

(Matthew 27:35-39 = -48.08; Luke 23:39-43 = 48.08-)

mbë rrobe të mia vunë kliron. tye ndenjun e ruajtyn atë atje. e i vunë mbi krye të tij këtë të shkruame: ky është mbreti Iu my garments, they cast lots. Sitting down, they kept watch over him there. And they placed above his head this sign: This is the king of the

- 05 dheivet. atëhereza kryq
 zuanë me atë dy kysarë, një
 më të djathëtë e një më të magjëtë.
 e i vjerri përmys nimti atë. tha:
 ndë je ti XC, shtëpo vet'henë e ne.
- 10 u përgjeq tjetëri e vdoi atë
 i tha: s'ke frikë perëndinë
 se u mkate? e na jemi të drejtë,
 të drejtinë e fijuemë e muarmë.
 ky asnjë faj s'ka bam. e i tha
- 15 Jisusit: ndiejmë, ZT, kur të veç më mbretënit tande. e i tha a tij: amin si të them, sot me mu të jesh ndë parrist. e ata qi sh

Page 49 (Matthew 27:

(Matthew 27:39-46)

konjënë e shanjënë i kërrusnjënjë krye të e i thoshinë: ti qi prish kishënë e për

tri dit e ndërton shtëpo vet'henë. ndë je i biri perëndisë, zbrit prej

- 05 kryqjet. ashtu nde upeshkëpinj të e luanjinë me letërorët e pleq t e Farisetë thoshinë: tjerë i shtë pove e vet'henë s'munç ta shtëpoj sh. ti o mbreti Israilit qi je, zbri
- 10 t prej kryqjet e të mbesonjëmë. shpre më perëndinë të të shtëponjë njëme ai ndë do, ai qi thua se i bi ri perëndisë jam. jo po ata nde po nde kusarëtë qi ishinë kryqzy
- 15 am me të e nimnjinë atë. prej gja shtë sahaç errëtë u ba më gjithë më gjithë dhet mjen më sahat t[ë] na ndë. më sahat të nandë thiri Jisu si me za të math e tha: i[li il]a

Page 50

(Matthew 27:46-54)

ma savaχthani, qi ë perëndi PRdi pëse më le. ca aty qi rri

- 05 Jews. Then they crucified two robbers with him, one on his right and one on his left. And the criminal who hung there hurled insults at him. He said: If you are Christ, save yourself and us.
- 10 The other one replied and rebuked him, saying: Don't you fear God since you have sinned? And we are [punished] justly, we are getting what our deeds deserve. This man has done nothing wrong. And he said
- 15 to Jesus: Forgive me, Lord, when you come into your kingdom. And he said to him: Verily, I say to you, today you will be with me in paradise. And those who

passed by hurled insults at him and shook their heads and said: You who destroy the temple and build it in three days, save yourself. If you are the Son of God, come down from

- 05 the cross. In the same way, the chief priests mocked him with the scribes and elders and Pharisees, and said: You saved others and cannot save yourself. Oh, you who are the king of Israel, come down
- 10 from the cross and we will believe you. He trusts in God, let [God] rescue him now if he wants him, he who said I am the Son of God. In the same way, the robbers who were crucified
- 15 with him also heaped insults on him. From the sixth hour darkness came over all, over all the land until the ninth hour. At the ninth hour, Jesus cried out in a loud voice and said: Eloi, Eloi,

lama sabachthani?, which means: God, God, why have you forsaken

141

njën nëgjonjënë e thoshinë se Ilinë thërret ky. e vote një acish e muar

- 05 sygjer e mbushnë nd uthil e e vu në mbë kalam e i dhanë të pinjë. e tjerëtë thoshinë: lini të shofë më vjene Ilia ta shtëponjë. Isu si thiri pësëri me za të math e la
- 10 frymënë. e të shkelunat e kishës u çanë mbë du prej nalt mjen po shtë. e dheu u tund, gurëtë plas në, vorrezetë u çelnë, e shumë shtatëna të fjetuna shenjtash
- 15 u gritnë e dual prej vorrit pas cë gritmit të tij e hynë ndë shenj t qytet e u dëftyenë shymë. e qinpari e tjerëtë shëkonjën JSu në k[----] tërmetnë qi u ba

me? Some of those standing there heard [this] and said that he was calling Elijah. And one of them went and took

- 05 a sponge and filled it with vinegar and put it on a stick and gave it to him to drink. And the rest said: Leave him alone, let us see if Elijah comes to save him. Jesus cried out again in a loud voice and gave up
- 10 his spirit. And the curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. And the earth shook, the rocks split, the tombs broke open, and the bodies of many holy people who had died
- 15 were raised to life, and came out of the tombs after his resurrection, and went into the holy city and appeared to many people. And the centurion and the others watching Jesus, [when they saw] the earthquake which took place,

Page 51

(Matthew 27:54 = 51.01–02; John 19:31–36 = 51.03-)

e u frinë fort thanë: vërtet pe rëndisë bir ë ky. e Judheit mos jesë më kryqt shtati të shëtynë, se qe e premte, se ishte dite

- 05 e madhe ajo e shëtunë, pyetnë Pilatnë ti thyejnë gjynjëtë e u nisnë. erdhë trimatë e të [p]a rit i thyenë gjunjët ende tjetë rit të kryqzuam me të. e mbë Ji
- 10 sunë erdhë. si e panë se ishte vdekun, nuku ja thy[e]në atij gjunjët, po një trimashit me shtijë i ra ndë brinjë, e du al [gja]k e ujë. e u pa marturi
- 15 e vërtetë e tij. ca acish panë se vërtet thotë qi nde ju besë të kini. e u banë këto qi e

were terrified and said: Surely he is the Son of God. As it was Friday, the Jews, so that the body not remain on the cross on Saturday since

- 05 Saturday was a holy day, asked Pilate to have the knees broken and [the bodies] taken away. The soldiers came and broke the knees of the first man and of the other crucified with him. And they came
- 10 to Jesus. When they saw he was dead, they did not break his knees, though one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and blood and water came out. And a witness
- 15 saw it was true. Some of them saw that he said it was true so that you may also believe. These things happened so that

Page 52

(John 19:36-37 = 52.01-03; Matthew 27:55-61 = 52.04-)

shkruameja të mbushet: eshtën të mos përzihetë me të. e tjetëra[v] e shkruameja thotë: pa një qi ruante. ishinë atje gra shumë cë larg

- 05 ruanjënë qi u gjitnë Jisusit prej Galilejet qi i shëbenjën a tij. acosh ishte Maria Maγdha lina e Maria e Jakovit e O sia ama e e am e të birt Zeve
- 10 dheut. u grys nata. erth një njeri i pëgatë prej Arimathiet emënit Jiosif qi nde ai u psua prej Jisusit. ky vote ke Pilati, lypte shtatn e Jisusit. atëhe
- 15 re Pilati urdhënoi ta amënë shtatnë. e muar shtatnë Jiosifi e e pshtual ndë pëlhurë të pastrë e e shtiu ndë vorr të rri qi goditi prej guri e vunë gur të math më derë
- 20 të vorrit votnë. e qenë atje Mari a Ma[-----] e tjetëra [-]

Page 53

 $(John \ 09:01-08 = 53.03-)$

Mari rrinte mbi vorrt. e diela e qorrit pas pashkëvet. Joan. nd'atë koho tye shëdritun JSi pa

- 05 njeri të verbët të lem. e pyet njënë të psuamit e tit e i thonë: ra vvi, qish faj ka bam gjënia e kë tij qi verbët ë lem. përgjegjetë Jsusi: as ky faj s'ka as gjëni e tij. po
- 10 të dëftohetë pun e perëndisë më të se mu të më quhetë punë puna e atij qi më ka çyam sa është dita. vjene nata kur s'mun kush të punonjë. kur jam ndë gjin, drita jam i gjinsë.

the scripture would be fulfilled: Not one of his bones will be broken. And another scripture says: he looked on the one who was watching. Many women were there watching

- 05 from a distance who had followed Jesus from Galilee, who were serving him. Among them were Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's
- 10 sons. Night fell. There came a rich man from Arimathea named Joseph who had himself become a disciple of Jesus. This man went to Pilate [and] asked for the body of Jesus. Then
- 15 Pilate ordered that the body be brought [to him]. And Joseph took the body and wrapped it in a clean cloth and put it in a new tomb he had cut out of a rock and placed a big stone at the entrance
- 20 of the tomb [and] went away. And Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were

there sitting opposite the tomb. Blind Sunday after Easter.

John. At that time, as he went along, Jesus saw

- 05 a man blind from birth. His disciples ask him and they say: Rabbi, what sin did the parents of this man commit that he was born blind. Jesus answers: Neither this man nor his parents sinned.
- 10 [It is] so that the work of God be displayed in him, for I must do the works of the one who has sent me as long as it is day. Night is coming when no one can work. While I am in the world, I am the light of the world.

15 këtë tha e pshtyni mbë dhet e u ba bal

të prej p[sh]tymet e e leu baltën[ë] më su të të verbëti. e i tha atij: ecë u laj ndë hurdhë të Siloamsë qi e quajnë e çuame. vote e u la

20 e erth tye pam. gjënia e tij e

Page 54

(John 09:08-16)

ata qi e kishinë pam përpara se verbëtë qe thoshinë: nuku është ky qi rrinte e përderonte? tjerë të thoshinë: ky është. tjerëtë thoshi

- 05 në: i gjan atij. ai thoshte: se unë jam. i thonë atij si tu çelë sytë? përgjegjetë ai e thotë: NJRi qi e quajnë JS baltë bani e ma gji ti syvet, e më tha: ecë ndë hur
- 10 dhë të Siloamit e u laj. vojta e u lashë e shof. i thonëte ata: ku është ai? thotë ai: s'e pashë. u ndi e këjo ndë Fariset qi qe përpara verbëtë. ishte e shëtunë kur bani
- 15 baltënë JSi e i çeli syt e tij. pë sëri e puesnjënë Farisei si tu çe lë sytë. ai ju thotë atune: baltë më vu më syt e u lashë e shof. i thonë prej farisheishit ca: ky njeri s'ë

Page 55

(John 09:16-19, 09:21-22)

- shtë i perëndisë qi të shëtu nënë s'e shëkon. tjerëtë thoshi në: si mun njeri fajtuar kë të të gjoftuna të banjë? e mbë
- 05 ni ishinë mb'atë. i thonë të ver bëtit pësëri: ti qish thua për të qi të çeli sytë? thotë ai se fjalëparë qe. s'mbesitnë Iudhe it mbë atë se verbëtë qe e shef

15 This he said and spat on the ground and made some mud from the saliva and washed [with] the mud the eyes of the blindman. And he said to him: Go wash in the Pool of Siloam, which means Sent. He went and washed

20 and came back seeing. His family and

those who had seen before that he was blind said: Isn't this the man who used to sit and beg? Some said: It is he. Others said:

- 05 He looks like him. He said: I am he. They say to him: How were your eyes opened? He replies and says: The man they call Jesus made some mud and put it on my eyes. And he said to me: Go to the
- 10 Pool of Siloam and wash. I went and washed and could see. They say to him: Where is this man? He says: I don't know. They brought to the Pharisees the man who had previously been blind. It was a Saturday on which
- 15 Jesus had made the mud and opened his eyes. Again the Pharisees asked him how his eyes were opened. He says to them: He put mud on my eyes and I washed and could see. Some of the Pharisees say: This man is not

from God for he does not keep Saturday [the Sabbath]. Others said: How can a sinner do miracles? A division was among them.

05 They say to the blindman again: What have you to say of the one who opened your eyes? He says that he was a prophet. The Jews did not believe that he had been blind and could see

- 10 mjen ke thirë gjënin e tij ta shofë në. i pyesnjinë ata e ju thoshinë: ky është biri juaj qi thoni ju se verbëtë leu? si njëme shef? s'e pamëte. kush ja celi sytë? na s'e
- 15 pamëte. ai di. atë pyetni. ai mbë vet'he le të flasë. këto tha në gjëni e tij se kishinë frikë prej Iudheivet nde këtë medo njënë Iudheitë se ai q[---]të shpal

Page 56

(John 09:22-29)

krishnë, xcjerrë të jetë prej si nagoiet. e pradaj gjëni e tij thanë: ai di. atë pyetni. e py etnë të dytënë herë atë njeri

- 05 qi qe verbëtë. thotë ai: dha la[v] di perëndisë. na s'e pamëte se ky njeri fajtyar është. përgje gjenë ata e thanë: na fajtyar s'e dimëte se është, po këtë dimë
- 10 të na qi ky verbëtë qe e njëme shef. i thonë atij pësëri: qish ba ne? si t'u çelë sytë? përgjegje të ai: unë juve ju them e ju s'nëgjo ni. përse pësëri do të nëgjoni?
- 15 mos ju të psuamit e tij doni të baχi? u jdhënuanë ata e thanë ti je i psuam i tij. na të Moiseut jemi të psuam. na s'kemi nëgjuam

Page 57

(John 09:29-35)

se Mosinë thirri perëndia. kë të na s'e dimëte gëha është. për gjegjetë ai njeri e ju thotë aty ne: më këtë mërehem nde u se ju

- 05 s'e patë gëha ë e më çeli sytë. shof se fajtuar perëndia nu ku nëgjon, po kush është i der shimi i perëdisë e urdhënim n e tij ban, atë nëgjon. se
- 10 kurrë s'ë nëgjua qi të çelnjë sy të të verbëtë të jetë lem. po me mos qenë i perëdisë, s'mun

- 10 until they called his family to have a look. They asked them and said: Is this your son whom you say was born blind? How he can see now? We don't know. Who opened his eyes? We don't
- 15 know. He knows. Ask him. Let him speak for himself. His family said this because they were afraid of the Jews, for the Jews had decided that anyone who acknowledged

[him as] Christ would be put out of the synagogue. And this is why his family said: He knows. Ask him. And a second time they asked the man

- 05 who had been blind. He says: Give glory to God. We do not know if this man is a sinner. They answer and said: Whether he is a sinner or not we don't know, but this we know,
- 10 that this man was blind and now he can see. They say to him again: What did he do? How did he open your eyes? He answers: I have told you and you do not listen. Why do you want to hear it again?
- 15 Do you want to become his disciples, too? They were insulted and said:You are his disciple. We are the disciples of Moses. We have not heard

that God called Moses. [As for] this man, we do not know where he comes from. This man answers and says to them: I am surprised at this, that you do not

- 05 know where he comes from and he opened my eyes. I know that God does not listen
 - to sinners, but listens to the godly man who does his will. For it has
- 10 never been heard of that the eyes of a man born blind have been opened.If he were not from God, he could

të bante gja kurrë. përgjegje në e i thonë atij: me faje ti

15 leve gjithë, e ti ne të na psojsh? e nxuarrë këtë përjashta. e në gjoi Isusi se e xuarë këtë për jashta e gjet kë [------]

Page 58

(John 09:35-38)

ti mbesit mbë të bir të perë disë? përgjegjetë ai e tha: kush je ti ZT qi të mbesit mbë të? i thotë atij Jisusi: qi pe ti

05 e foli me tuj, ai ë ai tha: mbe sit ZT e i falem atij.

Page 59

PA PA T[-]

Page 60

(John 11:32-39)

se vetë më vor të qaj atje. e Maria si erth ke ishte Ji susi, e pa atë e i ra ndë kambë e ji thoshte: ZT të qen

05 kshe këtu s'kishte vdekun im vëlla. Jisusi si e pa se qan, pshanëtini. i pue ti e ju tha: ku e kini mbu luan. thonë ata: ZT eja

10 e shëko. lotoji Jisusi. tho shinë Jiudheit: shëkoni si e dashka atë. një acish tha: nuky mun ku të çelnjë sut e te vdekunit të banjë nde kë

15 të të mos vdesë? Jisusi pësëri vote më vort. jishte një spell gë e rrasë ishte mbi të. thotë Ji

Page 61

(John 11:39-43)

susi hiqni gurrë. i thotë e motra e të vdekunit Martha: ZT, mos se qelbe të katër diç është. thotë never have done anything. They answer and say to him: You were born

15 wholly in sin. How dare you lecture us! And they threw him out. And Jesus heard that they had thrown him out and found him

Do you believe in the Son of God? He answers and said: Who are you, Lord, that I may believe in you? Jesus says to him: He is [the one] whom you

05 have seen and who has spoken to you. He said: I believe, Lord, and I worship him.

.

that she was going to the tomb to mourn there. And when Mary arrived where Jesus was, she saw him and fell to his feet and said to him: Lord, if you

- 05 had been here, my brother would not have died. When Jesus saw her weeping, he groaned. He asked her, saying: Where have you buried him? They say: Lord, come
- 10 and see. Jesus wept. The Jews said:See how he loved him! One of them said: Could not he who opened the eyes of the dead man keep this man
- 15 from dying? Jesus once more went to the tomb. There was a cave and there was a stone on it. Jesus

says: Take away the stone. Martha, the sister of the dead man, says to him: Lord, do not, for he has been rotting for four days. Jesus

- 05 Jisusi nuku tha[t]ë qi të mbesoni më gjithë laf të perëndisë? e gritinë gu rrë ke flinte i vdekuni. Jisusi griti sutë nalt
- 10 e tha: prindë të lutem tuj tyj të më nëgjojsh se u shof se më gjithë më nëgjon nde për këtë qi dergjetë këtu qi të mbesojnë se ti më ke çu
- 15 am. e atë tha, me za të m[a]th thiri: Llazar del jashtë.
- 05 says: Did I not say that if you believed, [you would see] all the glory of God? They took away the stone where the dead man was lying. Jesus raised his eyes
- 10 and said: Father, I beg you to hear me, though I know that you always hear me, [but I said this] for the benefit of the people standing here, that they may believe that you sent
- 15 me. And saying this, he called in a loud voice: Lazarus, come out.

Summary

The eighteenth-century Elbasan Gospel Manuscript, fifty-nine pages of biblical texts in a southern Geg dialect of Albanian, written in an original alphabet, is of significance to the development of Albanian culture for a number of reasons. The work would seem to offer the oldest example of an original Albanian alphabet, i.e. the first attempt ever made to create a writing system specifically designed for the Albanian language. The manuscript also contains the first sizeable biblical translations from Greek into Albanian as well as the earliest original Albanian prose text from the Orthodox milieu. Given the paucity of Albanian-language writing in the eighteenth century, the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript is of significance both to the development of early Albanian literature and to our knowledge of the Albanian language in that period.

Evidence would seem to indicate that the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript was the work of *Gregory of Durrës* (d. 1772), remembered as one of the most learned men of his age. His Albanian-language Bible translations have long been considered lost. The author's invention of an original alphabet, his careful avoidance of foreign loanwords throughout the text, and possibly his conscious utilization of a supra-regional dialect are also of significance. They offer sufficient proof that a spirit of national awareness existed among the much-oppressed and vastly under-developed Albanians over a century before the Albanian national movement began to take form.

Bibliography

Adhami, Stilian: Të dhëna rreth fizionomisë urbanistike dhe arkitektonike të qytetit mesjetar të Voskopojës, *Monumentet* 3 (Tiranë 1972), p. 95–118.

Adhami, Stilian: Voskopoja në shekullin e lulëzimit të saj. Tiranë: 8 Nëntori 1989, 224 pp.

- Bernatzik, Hugo Adolf: Albanien. Das Land der Schkipetaren. Vienna: Anton Schroll ⁴1930, 96 pp., 93 fig., 1 map.
- Borgia, Nilo: Pericope evangelica in lingua albanese del secolo XIV da un manoscritto greco della Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Grottaferrata: Tip. Italo-Orientale S. Nilo 1930, 35 pp.
- Domi, Mahir: Rreth autorit dhe kohës së dorëshkrimit elbasanas me shqipërim copash të ungjillit, in: Konferenca e parë e Studimeve Albanologjike, Tiranë 1965, p. 270–277.
- Elsie, Robert: Dictionary of Albanian literature. New York & Westport: Greenwood 1986, 170 pp.
- Elsie, Robert: Albanian literature in Greek script. The eighteenth- and early nineteenth century Orthodox tradition in Albanian writing, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (Birmingham 1991), p. 20–34.
- Elsie, Robert: Albanian literature in the Moslem tradition. Eighteenth and early nineteenth century Albanian writing in Arabic script, *Oriens* 33 (Leiden 1992), p. 287–306.
- Geitler, Leopold: Die albanesischen und slawischen Schriften. Vienna: Hölder 1883, 188 pp.
- Γεωργιάδης, Θεόφραστος: Μοσχόπολις. Αθήναι: Ἐκδ. Συλλόγου προς διάδοσιν των ελληνικών γραμμάτων 1975, 176 pp.
- Γκατσόπουλος, Στάυφος Ματθ: Μοσχόπολις. Ιωάννινα: Εκδ. Ιδούματος Βορειοηπειρωτικών Ερευνών 1979, 108 pp.
- Γρηγόριος Μοσχοπολίτος: 'Ακολουθία τῶν ἁγίων ἑπταρίθμων ποιηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Γρηγορίου Μοσχοπολίτου. Μοσχόπολις 1761.
- Hahn, Johann Georg von: Albanesische Studien. Jena: Friedrich Mauke 1854, reprint Karavias, Athens 1981.
- Hetzer, Armin: Das dreisprachige Wörterverzeichnis von Theodoros Anastasiu Kavalliotis aus Moschopolis, gedruckt 1770 in Venedig. Neu bearbeitet, mit dem heutigen Zustande der albanischen Schriftsprache verglichen, sowie mit Einführung und Register. Hamburg: Helmut Buske 1981 (*Balkan-Archiv*, N. F. Beihefte, Bd. 1.), 277 pp. [= Hetzer 1981a]
- Hetzer, Armin: Der sogenannte Kodex von Berat. Teil 1, *Balkan-Archiv*, N. F. 6 (Hamburg 1981), p. 125–195. [= Hetzer, 1981b]
- Hetzer, Armin: Griechisches in Südalbanien im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Untersuchung zu der einem Priester namens Konstantin zugeschriebenen Berater Handschrift vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, *Münchner Zeitschrift für Balkankunde* 4 (Munich 1981–82), p. 169–218.
- Hetzer, Armin: Nachlese zu: Der sogenannte Kodex von Berat 1 (BA 6.125– 195), *Balkan-Archiv*, N. F., 7 (Hamburg 1982), p. 57–75. [= Hetzer 1982a]
- Hetzer, Armin: Der sogenannte Kodex von Berat. II. Untersuchungen zu einer anonymen griechisch-albanischen Handschrift vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, *Südost-Forschungen* 41 (Munich 1982), p. 131–179 [= Hetzer 1982b]
- Hetzer, Armin: Zur Textüberlieferung des albanischen Gedichts "Maria vor dem Kreuz" aus der einem gewissen Konstantin zugeschriebenen anonymen Berater Handschrift, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 22 (Berlin 1986), p. 11–36.
- Hetzer, Armin: Armenier und Albaner, *Balkan-Archiv*, N. F., 12 (Hamburg 1987), p. 29-148.

- Hetzer, Armin: Maria vor dem Kreuz (Παρισταμένη τω σταυρω). Die Textüberlieferung eines Gedichts als Beispiel für das Einwirken des byzantinischen Erbes in Südalbanien (Toskëria) über Venedig und seine griechischen Territorien (Kreta und Heptanēsos) am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, in: Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et Studia IV. Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University Press 1989, p. 275–287.
- Hoxha, Ibrahim D.: Nëpër udhën e penës shqiptare. Nga historiku i ABC-së dhe i shkrimit shqip. Tiranë: Libri shkollor 1986, 329 pp.
- Hysa, Mahmud: Krestomaci e letërsisë së vjetër shqiptare. Prishtinë: Enti i teksteve 1987, 317 pp.
- Janura, Petro: Nga historia e alfabetit të gjuhës shqipe. Skopje: Nova Makedonija 1969, 128 pp.
- Jireček, Konstantin: Skutari und sein Gebiet im Mittelalter, in: Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen. Hrsg. von Ludwig Thallóczy. Munich 1916, p. 94–124.
- Γιοχάλας, Τίτος Π.: Στοιχεία ελληνο-αλβανικής γραμματικής και ελληνο-αλβανικοί διάλογοι. Ανέκδοτο έργο του Ιωάννη Βηλαρά. Φιλολογική έκδοσις από τον αυτόγραφο κώδικα της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης των Παρισίων. Θεσσαλονίκη: Institute for Balkan Studies 1985, 317 pp.
- Kodra, Ziaudin: Letërsia e vjetër shqipe dhe arbëreshe. Tekst për Kl. III-të të shkollave të mesme. (Tiranë: Botim i dytë 1954).
- Λάμπρος, Σπυρίδων Π.: Το Χριστός Ανέστη αλβανιστί, Νέος Ελληνομνήμων (Αθήναι 1906), p. 481-482.
- Μαφτινιάνος, Ίωακείμ: Η Μοσχόπολις 1330–1930. Επιμ. Στύλπωνος Π. Κυφιακίδου. Θεσσαλονίκη: Εταιφεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών 1957 (Μακεδονική Βιβλιοθήκη 21), 366 pp.
- Μιχαλοπουος, Φάνης: Μοσχόπολις. Αι Αθήναι της Τουρκοκρατίας 1500–1769. Αθήναι: Περιηγητικής Λέσχης 1941, 56 pp.
- Nahtigal, Rajko: O elbasanskem pismu in pismenstvu na njem, Arhiv za arbanasku starinu, jezik i etnologiju 1 (Belgrade 1923), p. 160–195.
- Nosi, Lef: Dhaskal Todhri, Kopështi letrar. E përkohëshme e përmuejshme (Elbasan 1918) Nr. 1, p. 13-14; Nr. 2, p. 13; Nr. 3, p. 8; Nr. 4, p. 11; Nr. 5, p. 2.
- Novaković, Stojan: Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti među balkanskim Slovenima. Belgrade 1893.
- Osmani, Tomor: Histori e alfabetit të gjuhës shqipe. Tirane: Libri shkollor 1987, 295 pp.
- Pekmezi, Georg: Vorläufiger Bericht über das Studium des albanesischen Dialekts von Elbasan, Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-hist. Cl. 38 (Vienna 1901) 9, p. 39–64
- Petrotta, Gaetano: Popolo, lingua e letteratura albanese. 2a tiratura con aggiunte e correzioni. Palermo: Pontificia 1932, 528 pp.
- Peyfuss, Max Demeter: Die Akademie von Moschopolis und ihre Nachwirkungen im Geistesleben Südosteuropas, in: Studien zur Geschichte der Kulturbeziehungen in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Vol. 3. Wissenschaftspolitik in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Berlin 1976, p. 114–128
- Peyfuss, Max Demeter: Voskopojë und Wien. Österreichisch-albanische Beziehungen um 1800, in: Albanien-Symposion 1984. Referate der Tagung "Albanien. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Volkskunde, Geschichte und Sozialgeschichte" am 22. und 23. November 1984 im Ethnographischen

Museum Schloß Kittsee (Burgenland). (Kittseer Schriften zur Volkskunde. Veröffentl. des Ethnographischen Museums Schloß Kittsee. H. 3) Kittsee 1986, p. 117–132.

- Peyfuss, Max Demeter: Die Druckerei von Moschopolis 1731–1769. Buchdruck und Heiligenverehrung im Erzbistum Achrida (Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas 13). Vienna & Cologne: Böhlau 1989, 256 pp.
- Pogono, Bardhyl: Albanian writing systems. Unpublished dissertation. (Indiana University 1967).
- Pogoni, Bardhyl: Some comments on the writing system of the oldest Albanian text: Meshari, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 8 (Berlin 1971/1972), p. 118-122.
- Qafëzezi, Ilo Mitkë: Theodhor Kavalioti dhe Dhaskal Todri-Haxhifilipi, *Përpjekja shqiptare* (Tiranë 1937) 11-12, p. 247-250.
- Qosja, Rexhep: Ëvetari (1845) i Naum Veqilharxhit. Dokument i rëndësishëm i Rilindjes kombëtare, *Gjurmime albanologjike. Seria e shkencave filologjike* 13 (Prishtinë 1983), p. 217–274.
- Radojičić, Djordje Sp.: Un poème épique yougoslave du XIe siècle. Les 'gestes' ou exploits de Vladimir, prince de Dioclée, *Byzantion* 35 (Brussels 1965), p. 528–535.
- Ressuli, Namik: Abecea e dorëshkrimit beratas dhe abecea e Thodhër Haxhi Filipit, *Leka* 10 (Shkodër 1938), p. 181–185.
- Rrota, Justin: Per historín e alfabetit shqyp. Pasqyra e shembuj per shkolla të mjesme. Shkodër: Shtypshkroja Françeskane 1936, reprint Prishtinë: Rilindja, 1968, 93 pp.
- Schmidt-Neke, Michael: Entstehung und Ausbau der Königsdiktatur in Albanien (1912–1939). Regierungsbildungen, Herrschaftsweise und Machteliten in einem jungen Balkanstaat. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 84). Munich: R. Oldenbourg 1987, 371 pp.
- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Anonimi i Elbasanit. Shkrimi shqip në Elbasan në shekujt XVIII-XIX dhe Dhaskal Todhri, *Buletin i Institutit të Shkencavet* 1 (Tiranë 1949), p. 33-54.
- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Dhaskal Todhri, Buletin i Institutit të Shkencavet për Shkencat Shoqërore 4 (Tiranë 1954), p. 35-55.
- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Shkrime të Dhaskal Todhri dhe të pasardhësve të tij elbasanas, shoqëruar me fjalorin e shkrimeve të Todhrit, *Buletin për shkencat shoqërore* 1 (Tiranë 1959), p. 165–198.
- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Dhaskal Todhri, in: Shuteriqi. Nëpër shekujt letrarë. Studime. Tiranë: Naim Frashëri 1973, p. 82–113.
- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Shkrimet shqipe në vitet 1332–1850. Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave 1976, 316 pp.
- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Alfabeti i vjetër origjinal i Gjirokastrës, in: Shuteriqi. Autorë dhe tekste. Tiranë: Naim Frashëri 1977, p. 153–159.
- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Një alfabet origjinal në Gjirokastër, *Studime filologjike* 3 (Tiranë 1979).
- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Alfabetet e veçanta të shqipes, *Mësuesi*, Tiranë, 26 XI 1980.

- Shuteriqi, Dhimitër: Grigor Voskopojari, i quajtur i Durrësit, in: Shuteriqi. Marin Beçikemi dhe shkrime të tjera. Tiranë: Naim Frashëri 1987, p. 103– 126.
- Σκενδέρης, Κωνσταντίνος Χ.: Ίστορία τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ συνχρόνου Μοσχοπόλεως. Ἀθῆναι: Ἰ. Βάρτσος 1928, 135 pp.
- Skendi, Stavro: History of the Albanian alphabet. A case of complex cultural and political development, *Südost-Forschungen* 29 (Munich 1960), p. 263– 284. (reprinted in: Balkan Cultural Studies, New York 1980)
- Snegarov, Ivan: Istorija na ohridskata arhiepiskopija-patriaršija ot padaneto i pod turcite do nejnoto uništoženie (1394–1767 g.). Sofia 1932.
- Ζαβίρας, Γεώργιος Ιωάννης: Νέα Ελλάς η ελληνικόν θέατρον. Ἐκδοθεν ύπο Γεωργίου Π. Κρέμου. Ανέκδοτα συγγράμματα. Αθήναι: Τυπ. Εφημερίδος των Συζητήσεων 1872, reprint Αθήναι 1972, 561 pp.
- Zamputi, Injac: Disa shënime rreth alfabetit të dorëshkrimit të Anonimit elbasanas, *Buletin i Institutit të Shkencavet* 1 (Tiranë 1949), p. 55-57.
- Zamputi, Injac: Dorëshkrimi i Anonimit t'Elbasanit. Transliterim, transkriptim dhe koment, *Buletin i Institutit të Shkencavet* 3–4 (Tiranë 1951), p. 64– 130.

144452 ZIECHS NG HGT48ZVGNAI ZTEENEEN NY NYGHONG VG VII VG HEEDEN 2×474 N4 N×4 48-14 744764464 11 ZZKZAJNNY ZYEOFINNY ZEGSXAO XONXHZNHNXVZNHZV.ZZNHVX TANG ZZHERHAFEARNNAZHHR NGFHZGGEVAIZF8HZA8EINANG IGHTZHHAXACOUVANG Z4HZAHA 40×2NZNAI ZZARISNYKANECTHS KSO1GNG · ZNZZHONG GZNHG1Z · Yu KNHNNZON ZHGNNVG (MHON KNGSXHGKNNGAMIZHGF48KNG ZZ484hx4PZHKNABONG JOA JOBE KHIKXEIN44ZNU454ECHNXNVE NGEEVAI VGTINGG SESA HZN SHZ HXIXHZAVERNITS VYZTHXKSX En ade NGHO XZVZVAI PXNGFAM YON KANYHXXHZVY LIECAZITYOLANN HUGCNG40×ZVZV4

Fig. 1: A typical page from the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript, 1761.

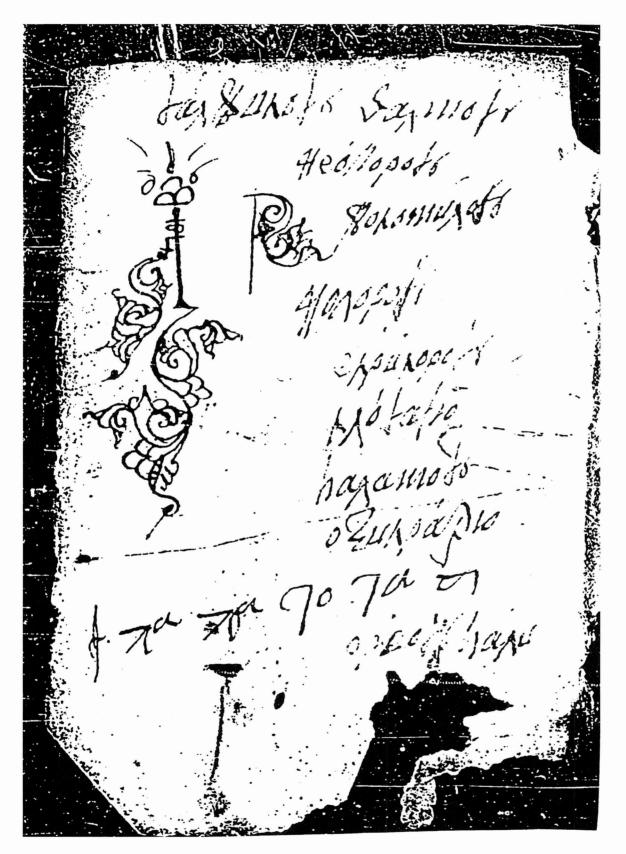


Fig. 2: The as yet undeciphered second script on the front page of the Elbasan Gospel Manuscript.

Jay \$116 fo Samofr

Hestopoto ASKEMLING

41010P QNP LIKOPO/Y axamoto Ò V

a 70 70 /a 07

opeoorhanu

Fig. 3: Attempted retracing of the second Elbasan script after detailed examination.

unicit he have the set of the second of the sulter 2000 2000 421 3- 10 200 245 1 300 245 1 2000, 20 1001, 6000, 51 6000 51 000 5501 30 61, 1091, 6612165 10 100 to reverse representation of the second of the streight of the streight of the second Ist 2 aler An Malas on 21 vidos here dela ond eise vor estri disos de videlal daliges eigners on groge VÀC CYCI GOLD MIS CITIS, 2024 PJX2 2600 AOGYCI, MI AOg Ci 20 PJ 439 461 30 60: (14) , 600 Ao 406 92 3; 1013 Dicvis all' AVY 415/2016 10 10 30 4045 V) 30 20 21 20 21 40 50 20 40 50 40 40 40 40 40 40 40 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 yi ablo si ringic ast vice Alisvi, Ngeli ringic ust hod hisvis all is all all ridi and all ridi and shi inder AG OC 1X Apartic rolling and cise surger vinigh with reaching with the right rolling with the right rolling with the reaching and the horder with sight of the second of the solution of the solution of the solution as the solution of the solution 211 VI Elis Lalys Aloring 123 Shreels vi 1235 Asis Prinds +1235 1348) . (1235 BANDAR) 41 voc Bizosus AP 20 Liv gr cho gier sive Jold, ver inter signa vy John cho as cooline citali 21 Aoli HEar, ison cita us usin Coleosy Pices love when ano all on all ver so reading alguer 21 ilsi diseast vall wards civi giddash · ofa · ist visce and is a service of a start and a start and a start a start a start a start a start a start and a star 42412 civi vo N32211 Ao'cid x 35 sing ind sing sid sid sid so and sid sid a sing the some sign wight מאלארים וזיא היאים לוגיול ניזא מיאין איזיער איז איל איל איל גיין איז איזיאן איז אין אין גיין גער איז איז איז אי

Fig. 4: The so-called Todhri alphabet, from Hahn 1854, p. 300.

1	Nr.	Zeichen.	Benen- nung.	Werth.	Nr.	Zeichen.	Benen- nung.	Werth.	Nr.	Zeichen.	Benen- nung.	Werth.
	1.	۷	A	a	19.	5	Ra	r	37.	2	θa	prioch 29
	2.	i	E	offen C	20.	P	Rra	rr	38.	Μ	Ba	Ь
	3.	I	I	i	21.	б	Fa	f	39.	ß	Mba	mb
	4.	0	0	o	22.	64	Δa	griech. S	40.	Ы	Pa	Р
	5.	0	U	u	23.	5	Ma	m	41.	v	Na	n
	6.	4	Ü	ü	24.)	Ja	deutsch. j	42.	g	Tscha	tsch
	7.))	E	siumm C	25.	h	Gha	gh	43.	g	Dscha	dsch
	8.	s	Sa	s	26.	ĸ	Ngha	ngh	44.	ÿ	Ndscha	ndsch
	9.	V	5a	griech. 5	27.	5	Gja	gj	45.	5	Sta	st
1	0.	é	Tsa	ts	28.	5	Ngja	ngj	46.	8	Scha	sch
1	1.	7	Dsa	ds	29.	V	Γα	griech. Y	47.	\$	Ja	tranz. j
1	2.	Z	Ndsa	nds	3 0.	Ч	Psa	ps	48.	R	Schta	scht
1	3.	l	Wa	w	31.	٤	Ha	h	49.	Ð	Te	te
1	4.	H	La	1	32.	X	Cha	dunkel ch	50.	⊌	Njan	nj
1	5.	4	Lja	lj	33.	3	Chja	⊾ ch	51.	*	As	23
1	6.	8	Kja	kj	34.	94	Ta	t	52.	Ŵ	Q	grioch. (J)
1	7.	Ċ	Ka	k	35.	۸	Da	đ				
1	8.	8	Xan	x	·36.	x	Nda	nd				

§. 1. Das Alphabet.

Fig. 5: The Todhri alphabet as interpreted by Hahn, 1854, p. 280.

1 ha Tany and TEAC voudere lispe pasoi joju apiozische pajor jonri nopanyn esternig agaloenen Di Ina Su yo or This vi ransu on rice way and JIONY 16 E JEN apruns 9 91841 apri oche a n met 8300 (w) x 7720 y 6 pris ap 102 116 à ouor offion us separari ennicies appioresch ivin Acura 50 Dreson ting Simassipi 63 Vala appan ico fild ala'm of Spirit at 1:18 ava1 xupy Jaguner ava angals zagos -98 elensinomed Hoses engry minationely the m-formo abar entresomo arrahe inforenang Mgs ottog of Jungos tor as in

Fig. 6: The Berat alphabet together with text in Greek script from the so-called Codex of Berat.

Fig. 7: The Gjirokastër alphabet as published by Hahn (1854, p. 297).

Fig. 8: A letter written in 1801 by *Jan Vellara* in a script of his own invention.

158

Beb Stitins n big Veiselahr! nbertuis In te Sal te li vi kebi Mabiye ski lin, i zari, Ste te Saling n de te yerniday E je raid in ere dryf fe beint, ere tio on leve: Sertiter, ar on ate te soution fe vole sule Sytnize no volez zeb valsibon, narb je Siber # 14. Se te Siber sie eie pole n eie ein= zelotii ar mobir, iv ir Szurabit, n 20 er zal artinon neint, tr aroira isuit n virbisrabe, nynes eie son eose trave each Erba fe tijrb n febitibiois (vouos) zo sien onbroia orie fe tavere 12a je neebusil n fron de safre savere. de Anbin, n le Saan, n le Boroini Snitin, vig= terbar terant on stew cinitebis te cirinos (1.) abifi. (D Zabarnaje jaze cirjaj i loviz Borijive dei lasi

Fig. 9: A page from the spelling book of Naum Veqilharxhi, 1844/1845.