

**THE TRANSFORMATION OF ALBANIAN NATIONALISM
FROM NATION TO STATE**

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Abstract

Manifestations of nationalist movements in the Balkans are interrelated. Different peoples of the Balkans firstly have started and then adopting the nationalist sentiments after the researches and studies of cultural, historical and linguistic issues. Beginning of this process was simultaneous with modernizing and centralizing efforts of the Ottoman Empire. The study of Albanian nationalism through theories of nationalism detect the character of new invented traditions, the creation of common myths and guarantees of luminous future. Such a result puts Albanian nationalism in same line with other nationalist movements in the world. Also the element of "other" in Albanian nationalism has a special significance. Through this elements have been made strong efforts to eliminate local and religious diversity. Period from Prizren League 1878 to Independence 1912 was called as Albanian Renaissance because of struggles for formation of national identity.

The Declare of Independence in 1912 and development of Balkan Wars 1912-1913 were important indicators for the transformation of Albanian nationalism. From nationalism which creates nation has passed into nationalism that tries to establish the state to pass then into legitimacy for governance. The period from 1912 to 1924 is the fundamental part of transformation of the Albanian nationalism. The anarchy which have been created after the departure of Ottoman rule, the Balkan Wars, instability of local government and local efforts for political power and authority are a series of issues which affected the transformation of Albanian nationalism.

Keywords: *Nationalism, national identity, nation formation, national mentality, Albanians, Ottoman rule, Balkans, myths, political environment, transformation, constitutionalism, anarchy, government.*

Inspirations of albanianism; Performance and Formation

Albania's declaration of independence on 28 November 1912 cannot be considered as a finalization of Albanian national renaissance mentality. Furthermore, it is a solution imposed by the reality of the invasion by the armies of neighbor countries. Ideal of national revival or national conception period is dedication and effort

devoted to the creation of the “Albanian Man” through which aims to make Albania. Consequences and the situation after the declaration of independence created Albania and don't leave space to create or complete “Albanian Man” in ideal form. In this policy line Albanian independence period in addition to the ideal of creating Albanians were forced to engage in the creation of the Albanian state. This situation created the first depth differences and alternatives of Albanian political thought.

Initially it is necessary to make analysis and research about the ideal of the creation of the Albanian national personality which relates to the period of national revival, Albanian nationalism activists and recently political leaders of Albanian society. The Declaration of Independence of Albania was an experience of transformation for Albanian nationalism. Sensitivity of transformation more appeared in the area of mobilizing throughout Albanians. High level of mobilization fell so deep after the formation of the Albanian state. Nationalist activists attempt to establish Albanian political unit together with the efforts of the Albanian identity creation which was limited only to certain limits of independent state. In the period before Albanian independence the Albanian social mobility was higher and wider. Also level of the representation of Albanian nationalism was multilateral. Political and intellectual fields were activity arena of many Albanian figures. Their activity although not always coordinated, but causes of the same goals, arrived to qualify as effort with successful outcome. The activity of Albanian nationalist activists in the field of Albanian identity formation arrived to create Albanian national consciousness. The stream of Albanian nationalism configuration effort and national awareness may be part of a classification or a selective overview. By analyzing the period before the declaration of independence of Albania, in first of all we need to agree that exist a wide mobilization networks which works inside and outside of the Albanian geographical space which makes advantages for favor Albanian identity formation. The entire field of activity of the Albanian nationalist activists of this period is summarized in the context of identity construction.

Conceptual space of the Albanian nationalist movement is highly correlated with the maintain of Albanian being in its geographical area. Therefore, the emergence of the nationalist idea is the result of the danger of Albanian existence from neighbors nationalisms. Based on this Albanian nationalism can be termed as defensive nationalism.² The beginnings of social change and the decline of social security provided until the last period of the Ottoman state, arose the need to create a new support in order to create for Albanians the social security. This support was organized around Albanian nationalism as a result of single alternative of

2 Albanian nationalism has similar features to the Greek and Serbian nationalism. These features are collected in the field of nationalism construct. Originally build on culturally fields through the importance of language, culture and history of the people and then passes to political aspect which intends power. For the understanding and comparison of Balkan peoples nationalism. V. Yeni Balkanlar, Eski Sorunlar, (New Balkans, Old Problems), Ed. by Kemal Saybaşılı, Gencer Özcan, Bağlam Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997. Friedrich Meinecke makes such a difference when making the separation of nations cultural and political. Andrew Heywood, Siyaset, (Politics), Adres Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p.156.

international political organizing and system.³ As such, despite the current situation where society was cosmopolitan character, Albanian nationalism was dedicated only within the boundaries of being Albanian. The Albanian nationalism also appears as a nationalism with defined character without saying extremely isolated. Albanian nationalism built its operational area in the Albanian foundations of ethnic, linguistic, cultural and historical fields.⁴ As limited in the ethnic and secular rule the communication with other nationalisms was excepted within possibility of being comprehensive. Restrictive framework of Albanian nationalism can say that was cause of generic non development of Albanian political thought. This limits the possibility of preserving the Albanian being manifested only in the articulation of the idea of wide Albanian integrator political organization. In such an extension built the concept of exception of any environment and non-Albanian political organization. This will then appear as a good foundation Albanian policy both inside and outside independent Albania. Exclusionary attitude to non Albanian political organizations will appear in Kosovo and Çameria. In the independent Albania would be granted the special right of political representation of Albanians who were not part of Londoner Albania.⁵ This in a way represent only political integration mentality within the Albanian political organization. If on the one hand aside political character of Albanian nationalism and see his substantive level can see what earlier we called as sorting or selective summary based on the activity and Albanian nationalist capital.

Intense period of trial and Albanian nationalist activity starts earlier than the League of Prizren. The first begins with the efforts of Albanian researchers activists about the culture, tradition and history.⁶ However, the establishment and activities of the League of Prizren in 1878 began publicly Albanian wide mobilization around the world. This is articulated through activity and mobilization effort for the formation of national identity. Albanian nationalism clearly promotes national unification through the Albanian language. The unification through Albanian language raised as an alternative because varied Albanians from other residents of the Balkan Peninsula and rise Albanian local differences within geographical space. Namely unification through Albanian language also make balances between different religious affiliations. It is worth mentioning that since the seventeenth century in Europe see a tremendous interest in the languages of this continent. Lexicographer,

3 Ernest Gellner, *Milliyetçiliğe Bakmak*, (Encounters with Nationalism), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008, p.45.

4 Hysamedin Feraj, *Skicë e Mendimit Politik Shqiptar*, (An Outline of Albanian Political Thought), Shtëpia Botuese PEGI, Tiranë, 2006, p.81.

5 After the declaration of independence more than half of Albanian-inhabited territories occupied by their neighbors. In 1913 an international conference between the great powers gathered in London set the boundaries of today's Albania. This determination is left abroad for more than half of the population. For this reason it is often used as Londoner Albania, the cause of setting boundaries in London.

6 Nathalie Clayer, *Në Fillimet e Nacionalizmit Shqiptar*, (Beginnings of Albanian Nationalism), Botime Përpkjka, Tiranë, 2009.

grammarians, philologists and writers exhibit affinities about the languages of many European nations and this interest brings new results that cause various processes also afterwards.⁷ Based on this research by many European philologists about the Albanian language made to raise also interest of Albanians to their language. Foreign interest began to become increasingly large. This interest appeared to Albanian language, roots and history.⁸

Now we will see the names of Albanians inspired by the achievements and discoveries about the foreign culture will become part of the research and new works about Albanian language and culture in general. At the same time these will be coordinated with the political character that beat the Albanian language and tradition will be built as missionary work of Albanian intellectuals and activists. The mission of their work will be associated with patriotism as the value that will contribute to shaping Albanian national identity. Names like Vangel Meksi, Naum Veqilharxhi and Konstantin Kristoforidhi will be heads of research and work achieved by the Albanians themselves.⁹ Later work and efforts over Albanian language will be active almost every part of Albanian nationalism activist. Known for unique works about Ottoman and Turkish language Shemeddin Sami Bey Frashëri perfected a unique example of the Albanian alphabet. Thus his work brought a great contribution to the establishment of the Albanian national identity and unification.¹⁰ Through work around language Albanian nationalist activists always in the spirit of unifying identity politics ruled local differences being raised dialectical differences of Albanian language.

Although there were significant differences between *Gheg* and the *Tosk* dialect is the attempt to overcome this difference turned out to be the most successful and in principle, this resulted in the unification language written in a very short period of Albanian nationalist activity.¹¹ Albanian language became the main axis of the Albanian nationalist opinion. Shemseddin Sami Bey Frashëri wrote "How can be preserved national aspect of a people? First through the language, the main

7 Benedict Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler, (Imagined Communities)*, Metis Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2007, p.87.

8 Nathalie Clayer, *Ibid*, p.144.

9 Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar II, (History of The Albanian People II)*, Botimet Toena, Tiranë, 2007, p.125.

10 Frances Trix, "The Stamboul Alphabet of Shemseddin Sami Bey: Precursor to Turkish Script Reform", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.257.

11 An example of the rise of the phenomenon of language by Albanian nationalism also brings Eric J.Hobsbawm. It is interesting to see the language used by the Albanian press in the period of nationalism. The language used is carefully written so as to be understood by a larger Albanian wide readership. Eric J.Hobsbawm, *1780'den Günümüze Milletler ve Milliyetçilik, (Nations and Nationalism Since 1780)*, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 3.Basım, İstanbul, 2006, p.72.

foundation of the first and most important a nation is its language."¹² It is worth noting that the language remained not only unique communication and standardizing tool wide Albanians. Albanian nationalism was able to use the language value as historical fact of the Albanian roots. Albanian language with its unique originality and unparalleled with other languages which are spoken in the Balkans became a fact of continuing ancestors Albanians, Illyrians and Pellasghs. Albanian known activist Pashko Vasa through his works brought a thesis that even the names of Greek gods are from Pellasghs language. Consequently, these names were also found meaning in spoken Albanian language.¹³ Thus an argument brought Albanians into the position of older people in the geography in which they lived and the political mentality of the time it was legitimate for national unification and state efforts. On the other hand, shows that language is a powerful weapon of any nationalist movement. Considering the fact that is the language spoken by a people through unification and standardization reaches its become the language of communication between government and society. Standardization and unification language is very necessary step due to the need of understanding and communication throughout society. Nationalism calls for social purposes. Calling in the historical past to build national future.¹⁴ This necessarily calls should be in a language understood by all. In this way, experiencing its instrumentalization by the language of nationalism and benefits of a political nature. Context contains language problems inevitably direct political issues related to power, status and political ideologies.¹⁵ Inevitably political character of efforts around the Albanian language is unquestionable. Being no written language and not display usage trends in the political arena in the past along with recent efforts to homogenize and standardize are basic evidence for this. Although the language more than anything else is society's cultural resource with the beginnings of its manipulation by nationalist activists shows the nature and using its political character.

As the treatment and attitude towards Albanian language Albanian nationalism has maintained the same attitude towards many other Albanian social assets. It's a similar phenomenon with other Balkan nationalisms continued emphasis over ethnic culture. Nationalism promoting growth of national consciousness within support of national awareness through people's culture and linguistic features.¹⁶ Each resource

12 Sami Frashëri, *Shqipëria Ç'ka Qenë Ç'është E Ç'do Të Bëhetë*, (Albania - What it was, What it is and What it will be) Vepra II, Rilindja, Prishtinë, 1978, p.54.

13 Pashko Vasa is emblematic figure of the Albanian nationalist thought and history. Is from the region of Shkodra and worked as an assistant of Ahmet Cevdet Pasha in Albania and Bosnia. "E Vërteta Për Shqipërinë dhe Shqiptarët" (The Truth on Albania and Albanians), Ed.by. Aristotel Mici, Pashko Vasa-Vepra Letrare, Shtëpia Botuese Naim Frashëri, Tiranë.

14 Benedict Anderson, *Ibid*, p.96.

15 Eric J.Hobsbawm, *Ibid*, p.135.

16 Kemal H. Karpat, *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk*, (Nationalism and The Ottoman Legacy in

the Balkans), İmge Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2004, p.78.

or identity relevant parts of society behind other resources identity preferred by nationalism. Besides language Albanian nationalism excessive exalted elements of ethnic identity by raising them on religious identities and affiliations. Religious identity can be an obstacle of national homogeneity. In this way, national identity became the foundation built on religious differences. Albanian national identity necessarily would have to win over the numerous religious identities which characterized Albanians.¹⁷ Originators of Albanian nationalism and often knew to idealize factual situation of the Albanian society in terms of religion. Shemseddin Sami Bey Frashëri says that never in the history of Albanian society are not listed clashes and conflicts that would have grounds or religious implications. It is emphasized that, above all, in the first Albanians held national identity and later identified belonging to religion.¹⁸ Although the religious affiliation of the Albanians has multiple instances of being serious obstacle of national unification. Religion played not very constructive role in shaping Albanian national identity, namely the growth of national consciousness. Namely the role of the Istanbul patriarchate was no small obstacle connections cause waving Albanian Orthodox solidarity. Furthermore Pan-Islamist policies and Ottomanism were ideologies that keep Muslim Albanians away from embracing the idea of nationalism.¹⁹ Albanian society situation regarding the attitude towards religion has become an idealization of the verses prove another nationalist ideologue Pashko Vasa. "Wake, Albanian, from your slumber, Let us, brothers, swear in common. And not look to church or mosque, The Albanian's faith is Albanianism!"²⁰ Other activists of Albanian nationalism, see the religious issue of Albanians as a continuation of foreign influence. Many of them even call the religious clergy in national awareness.²¹ Albanian nationalist attitude towards religion occasionally gets even deeper role opponent. Along with this we have an elevation of Albanian religious belief in the Pelasghian-Ilyrian. A great praise becomes to prehistoric religion belief. *"In the old time religions and faiths of today did not exist. Pelasgians to their God saw the sun and the moon, the sky and the earth, and those worshipping"*.²² The call of Albanian nationalism was an invitation to neglect religious beliefs in favor of ethnic Albanian unification. Ongoing effort to increase national awareness was leaving the country national identity over any other identity or affiliation even the religious.

Albanian nationalism also paid special importance to Albanian origin. Here through the glorification of the roots and genesis as well as other examples of nationalism possibility of separating people. "We" and "They" here take the instrumental

17 Hysamedin Feraj, Ibid, p.77.

18 Sami Frashëri, Ibid, p.54.

19 Eric J.Hobsbawm, Ibid, p.72.

20 Translated from the Albanian by Robert Elsie.

21 Hil Mosi, "Shpresa e Shqypnisë", (Albania's Hope), Mendimi Politik e Shoqëror i Rilindjes Kombëtare Shqiptare, (Political and Social Thought of the Albanian National Renaissance), Ed. by. Zihni Haskaj, Universiteti i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe Gjuhësisë, Tiranë, 1971, p.318.

22 Sami Frasheri, Ibid, p.24. Pashko Vasa, Ibid, p.45.

connotation with political aims of the division of human society in the nation. The myth of ethnic roots has important features of the division and national seclusion. The myth of genesis and roots of society is particularly ethnic nationalism. Through the concept of proximity and blood ties created advantage of separation and segregation from foreigners.²³ Genetic connection of Albanians with the Illyrians and Pellasghs through seniority of existentiality in the Balkans gained legitimacy for Albanians to configuration specific identity and to be independent as a state. At the same time making genetic exaltation by Albanian nationalist activists represents the nature of nationalist ideology, which content racist views, also inevitable feature of Albanian nationalism.²⁴ Certainly effort being separate society from prehistory serves to differentiate from other societies or people. Emphasis done consistently opposed and features from the past is message to differentiate Albanians from neighboring peoples. Unique language, traditions and history of the unique will be divide Albanians from Turks, Slavs and Greeks.²⁵ This was an important message of Albanian nationalism appeared before Albanian society itself but also around the world. Acquiring Pellasghs and Illyrians as ancestors of the Albanians present them as older peoples of Europe is also an attempt to align the Albanians as an inevitable part of Western history, respectively the European history.²⁶ Albanian nationalism through increasing attempts to unify the Albanian origin myth along with a common language. Thus the myth of origin and language become raising tools through which national unity can be excluded any other partitions feature of the Albanian people.

Albanian nationalist mentality reserve an important place for the establishment of national icons. As much as earlier mentioned Albanian nationalism manipulate with social assets using also pre-national figures, such as an exalted icon Gjergj Kastrioti – Skënderbeu. In this figure summed up the whole mentality hostile to the Ottoman state, respectively the opposition of Turkish influence among Albanians. Through the recovery of historical memory increase past into instrumental way exceeds the limits of symbolism and myth becoming an important tool of nationalist thought. By selecting the figure of Scanderbeg was born among Albanians memory of being a unique nation and independent state.²⁷ Pre-national icons are highly complementary in meeting the needs of being sovereign, state or empire. Not infrequently, these icons are related to the goals of nationalism.²⁸ Frequent use of this figure by the Albanian nationalism has become the cause of symbolism that gathered this figure in itself. First, his leadership recall among the Albanian leadership. One thing needed to be met by the Albanian society. Secondly, figure of Skënderbeg brought

23 Eric J.Hobsbawm, *Ibid*, p.83.

24 Naim Frashëri, *Vepra të Zgjedhura II*, (Selected Works), Tiranë, 1980, p.268. Pashko Vasa, *Ibid*, p.47.

25 Nathalie Clayer, *Ibid*, p.291.

26 Enis Sulstarova, *Arratisje nga Lindja*, (Escaping from the East), Botimet Dudaj, Tiranë, 2006, p.35.

27 Hysamedin Feraj, *Ibid*, p.84.

28 Eric J.Hobsbawm, *Ibid*, p.94.

to mind the idea of being unique against a foreign enemy. It was just a reformulation of Albanian political organization.. Thirdly, the figure of Skënderbeg gathered in itself all the beliefs that exist among Albanians. Born as child in a zone around the Orthodoxies, grew up and was educated with of Bektashi janissaries, served to Ottoman Sunni dynasty and later worked deeply with European Catholic royalty. It is very important that the figure of Skanderbeg is rediscovered by Albanian nationalist activists from European literature.²⁹ Being named figure in European literature fulfill the Albanian need for supporting of European countries. The using of this figure expresses hostility and euphoria of Albanian nationalism against Ottoman rule. Elevates Skënderbeg period as a period that Albanians held off Ottoman rule and made shield of Europe against Ottoman rule.³⁰ It is worth noting that is the feature of Balkan nationalisms to acquire orientalist mentality. Along with the rise of nationalist ideas show their trends underestimating the whole eastern cultural heritage, respectively the Ottoman. This trend will continue later in the official historiographies of Balkan national states. In between the Albanians had the same experience with their orientalist approach of their nationalism.

Albanian Nationalism; the Political Environment and the Transformations

In the initial period Albanian nationalism is coordinated only with cultural activity. Should know that this activity was not extensive involvement. It started by foreign intellectuals and embraced by a narrow layer of mainly Albanian intellectuals operating outside the Albanian geographical space. Interest in Albanian culture and tradition gained political importance and shake the foundations of the Ottoman state. This raised the level of initial cultural nationalism to another level by giving political nature. The serious political environment transformed Albanian nationalist mentality to associate directly with the state. We can understand correctly the political side of nationalism when linked it with the phenomenon of state. Nationalism in this way related to politics and politics is about power - authority. In the modern world power – authority as a concept is equal to the state leadership.³¹ When we look at the evolution of Albanian nationalism look to be related to excessive political events that took place in the Ottoman state. We can say that since the Tanzimat center and periphery relations began to experience strain. In this environment the Albanians as a community experience a distance from Ottoman center. Period of Sultan Abdulhamit II is the period when Albanian nationalism experiencing empowerment and extension measures. In this period, the government policies especially driven by sultan advanced in order to obtain an Albanian loyalty

29 Rexhep Qosja, *Historia e Letërsisë Shqipe*, (History of Albanian Literature), Toena, Tiranë, 2000, p.263.

30 Thoma Murzaku Thoma Murzaku, “Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu Si Simboli I Luftës Për Çlirim Dhe Bashkim Të Popujve”, (Skënderbeg As a Symbol of the Fight for Liberation and Unification of Peoples), Vjetar, Arkivi i Kosovës, Prishtinë, 2006, s. 65.

31 Umut Özkırımlı, *Milliyetçilik Kuramları*, (Theories of Nationalism), Doğubatu Yayınları, Ankara, 2008, p.134.

to the Ottoman state. Through reports prepared by the Ottoman emissaries about the political situation in the Balkans proved special importance for stability of Albanians and especially importance of Ottoman presence in this space.³² Subsequent importance given to Albanians viewed through central policy in the establishment of educational institutions, railway and telegraph network expansion. Although these can be regarded as modernizing actions on the other hand are the areas through which the Ottoman center would increase its influence and control to the periphery. Treaty of San Stefano as a result of the Russian - Ottoman war impact on Albanian's everyday life. The treaties about borders were reached after the Berlin Congress rough Albanian population and set them to self organize. This led to a opposite position to the Ottoman center and allowed to expand by Albanian nationalist opinion. The late periods will be characterized with deep attention of the state in this area. Sultan personally will work to establish a relationship with the local authorities, whether religious or political character emerging. Through these friendships control and regulate state-built reports and awards prizes as well as regular payments from the Ottoman state caches.³³ Even the created friendship will arrive to intervene at the end of the hostilities of blood feuds among Albanians.³⁴ On the one hand, trying to win the loyalty of Albanians and on the other side stopping everything was with Albanian nationalist content Ottoman center create an hostile and distrustful environment. Especially in the field of education in the Albanian language is shown rather limited. Ottoman state representatives were obliged to stop everything related to the Albanian language. Included stops as Albanian schools as well as publications that appear in that language.³⁵ These restrictions later became strong weapon for Albanian nationalist activists to laying their claims against the Ottoman center. Another important thing is the beginnings of the Albanian community alienation from the Ottoman state. Consistency of numerous objections will be a cause of increasing hostility. This phenomenon will increase in the period between 1900 - 1912 where the Albanian armed groups in response to the government will take positions in mountainous areas.³⁶ Later we see that the use of violence in this period will be able to become a defensive tool by the state as well as members of the society in general. Numerous documents indicate an extraordinary presence of violence.³⁷ This tense situation began to legitimize Albanian nationalism and alienate Albanians measures from the Ottoman State. At the same time also should think Italian and Austrian influence. Their influence extended through schools and through publications that espouse. Also different

32 Nathalie Clayer, *Ibid*, p.236.

33 Bilgin Çelik, "İttihatçılar ve Arnavutlar", (Unionists and Albanians), Bûke Kitapları, İstanbul, p.43.

34 George Gawrych, *Gjysmëhëna dhe Shqiponja, Sundimi Otoman, Islamizmi dhe Shqiptarët*, (The Crescent and The Eagle, Ottoman Rule, Islam and The Albanians), Bota Shqiptare, Tiranë, 2007, p.203.

35 Nathalie Clayer, *Ibid*, p.353.

36 Süleyman Külçe, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Arnavutluk*, (Albania in Ottoman History), İzmir, 1944.

37 George Gawrych, *İbid*, p.203.

groups Albanian nationalist activists were sponsored by the governments of various countries. Albanian nationalism activists more and more will be constantly in contact with politicians and foreign diplomats and will make efforts to the interests of foreign states to comply with the Albanian interests already.

A deep politicization of the Albanian community will experience revelation of constitutionalism (II.Meşrutiyet) where many Albanian nationalist activists as representatives of the local Albanian population will become part of the Ottoman Parliament and will be an active part of the Albanian question.³⁸ Albanian nationalists known figures like Ibrahim Temo, Ismail Kemal, Nexhip Draga, Shahin Kolonja and Mithat Frashëri will be involved in the Young Turk movement in the Ottoman parliament and were grand contributors to Albanian nationalist movement.³⁹ Troubling even deeper Albanian issue and not right reading from Ottoman central government will bring antagonism and irreparable controversy between Albanians and Ottoman rule.

Most challenging periods continued to grow after the opening of the Ottoman parliament and continues up to the declaration of Albanian independence. Campaigns and numerous military expeditions made by the government did not allow space for solutions tricky situation. Thus, nationalism became the only option for salvation of Albanian population. Subsequent events will take divided direction by the position that has been of Albanian nationalism. A drastic transformation will result in attitude toward the Ottoman state. This approach would incur the direction hostile to the Turkish state. Balkan Wars will also be triggers ongoing transformation of Albanian nationalism. After the period of the declaration of independence of Albania because of invasions of neighboring countries that made to the Albanian lands will change directions to Albanian nationalism. Ideal goal of the Albanian nation and will be transformed in order to create Albanian leadership and the Albanian government consolidation. Anarchy and weakness in order to withstand the gap created after independence, invasion of neighboring Ottoman forces removal and administrative leadership emptiness were blow for Albanian nationalist mentality.

Many Albanian nationalist activists as masterminds of Albanian nationalism was transformed into leading politicians where many daily problems stopped them to idealizing further around the nation. Example of Ismail Kemal and Hasan Prishtina shows us the vicissitudes of this transformation. From being members of the Ottoman elite and ideologue of Albanian nationalism, the Albanian political life after 1912 forces them to be part of the political clashes between interest groups that aim political power.

38 Tark Zafer Tunaya, Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler, (Political Parties in Turkey), Doğan Kardeş Yayınları, İstanbul, 1952.

39 Banu İşlet Sönmez, II. Meşrutiyette Arnavut Muhalefeti, (The Albanian Opposition on II. Constitution), Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p.64.

Constant interference of neighboring countries in Albania lost the values of any local authority who will lead the country. Albanian nationalism seemed to feed the idea of the Albanian national being but this environment had secured by Ottoman state. Invaded by the armies of neighboring countries and the lack of control over its citizens the new Albanian state with a newly formed government failed to establish authority and legitimacy. Immediately interest groups were able to articulate the voice of the opposition against nationalist government. Formal groups supported the great landowners became influential opposition layer deep. In this way, the Albanian nationalist government was facing internal social problems. Albanian nationalist mentality did not develop and analyze the possibility of the occurrence of such a problem. Lack of control over its own territory, the lack of authority over the people and the lack of international legitimacy forced first Albanian nationalist government to relinquish his leadership of the state which created.⁴⁰ In such an atmosphere even idealistic goals could not be implemented. Many administrative leadership practices were inherited from the Ottoman system. Attempt to unify around national education became the exclusion of religious education in schools.⁴¹ Nationalist government also watched the possibility of cancellation of economic concessions inherited from Ottoman rule in Albania. This aggravated the Nationalist government's international legitimacy. Extremely important, for other Albanians remained outside the borders of the Albanian state. A tacit consensus among Albanian politicians was achieved by not insisting on the goal of being under an unique Albanian state. In addition heads originating from the remaining areas under the occupation of Serbia, Montenegro and Greece other leaders and the central part of Albanian leaders did not attempt to discuss and solve the problems of the Albanians remained outside the new state. Overall efforts, including those focused nationalist efforts within state borders. Immediately after the declaration of independence distinguish three social layers who aspire to their political goals. The first layer is a continuation of the Albanian nationalist activists who did fight against all the players who did not believe in the Albanian nation and declared the independence of Albania. Second layer enter the great landowners. These representatives inherited from Ottoman rule did not see any interest associated with the nationalist leadership. For more nationalist government was the only barrier and became the cause of stopping previous privileges. On the other hand a narrow layer sits about Albanian irredentism and represents the most important grouping nationalist opponents of the government and society of the new Albanian state.⁴² The main problem of this layer was remaining under occupation by neighbors. Albanian political life will be the scene of the problems of these layers with each other and with the external world in general more neighbors. Albanian periodical press suffered a significant decline. Former mobilization of Albanian nationalist

40 Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, Historia e Popullit Shqiptar III, (History of The Albanian People III), Botimet Toena, Tiranë, 2007, p.39.

41 Historia ... Ibid, p.45.

42 Historia ... Ibid, p.125. Fehmi Pushkolli, Mbrojtja Kombëtare Shqiptare e Kosovës, (Albanian National Defance of Kosova), Prishtinë, 1991.

activists in many global center focused now within the boundaries of the state. Periodical publications, although not numerous in post-independence period display problems, processes, and issues important to the Albanian political history.⁴³ Albanian nationalism started as a project to collect Albanians within a political organization failed. Further progress of events demonstrates the profound transformation of Albanian nationalism. Albanian nationalism already begins to become part of the Albanian political mentality. In the midst of being exclusive part of a core of intellectuals and activists takes place in all classes or leading political factions. The cause of the policy interest is nationalism has been used occasionally. Through nationalism is seeing Albanian political life enrichment.

Conclusion

Beginnings and development of Albanian nationalism was done in the period of Ottoman rule. This development has enormous performance interconnection processes that happen in the Ottoman state. Being part of this state for the Albanians and their idea of nationalism had enough space to build a comprehensive and articulated nationalist opinion. Similarity of content structure of Albanian nationalism are similar to neighboring nationalisms but we cannot say that is offensive character nationalism. By the time Albanian nationalism experienced profound transformations. Political situation charged excessively the Albanian nationalism. Especially after the period of Ottoman rule created political anarchy led to particularization of Albanian nationalist thought. Political currents created after independence allowed the embrace of nationalism from all political groupings. But this hug or fit with nationalism was partial. Given that we will see not only an Albanian nationalism as a unifying generally Albanian political opinion but will show a series of "nationalisms" as part of the currents and created the Albanian political groups. The theoretical and ideal fields of Albanian nationalism shaped by intellectual capital and practical political experience of Albanian nationalist activists, but the practice of Albanian nationalism shaped by crisis and political anarchy. Among the two opposite direction Albanian nationalism emerged a trend influenced by the development of both sides. So idealized Albanian nationalism in the Ottoman period by Albanian intellectuals never found relevant political interlocutors in practice of Albanian political life.

43 Historia ... İbid, Luan Zhelka, Shtypi Shqiptar Gjatë Viteve të Pavarësisë, (Albanian Press during the Independence Years), Toena, Tiranë, 2001. Gazmend Shpuza, Kuvendime për Historinë Kombëtare, (Conversation on National History), Dituria, 2000.

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