Comparative studies of writing systems and script conversion tend to emphasize the extent of cultural re-orientation and the rapidity of implementation of Turkey’s shift from the Arabic to the Roman script, but they rarely mention the period that led up to this change. As early as 1863, the Azeri playwright Ahunzade Mirza Fethali presented a proposal for a Latin orthography for Turkish, before the Cemiyet-i İlimiye-i Osmaniye (Ottoman Society of Science) in Istanbul. A second event in Ottoman script reform, though less well known than Ahunzade’s proposal, was the adoption by many former members of the Cemiyet-i İlimiye-i Arnavudiye (Albanian Society of Science), in Istanbul, in 1879, of a Latin-based alphabet for Albanian. This “Stamboul Alphabet” was designed by Shemseddin Sami Bey and, unlike Ahunzade’s proposal, was immediately acted upon and subsequently adopted by the new Albanian presses in Bucharest and Sofia, from which it spread through southern and central Albanian lands, all still under Ottoman rule.

The Stamboul alphabet for Albanian thereby became the only Latin-based alphabet adopted by a largely Muslim people in the Ottoman Empire; it predated Atatürk’s promulgation in 1928 of a Roman script for Turkish by almost fifty years. The Stamboul alphabet was remarkable for the period in which it was introduced, but it was also notable for its inclusion of Greek and Cyrillic characters among the more numerous standard Latin ones.

Reactions among Albanians to this innovative and distinctive alphabet help reveal their “scriptal environments”; that is, their attitudes toward scripts in their particular social space—here, in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. The subsequent competition from newer all-Latin alphabets of Albanian, and the demise of the Stamboul alphabet during World War I, suggest ongoing changes in scriptal environments, as well as a shift in ways Albanians defined themselves as they evolved from a distinct people in a multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire into a separate nation in the Balkans.

In this paper I present the Stamboul alphabet both as interesting in its own right and as an object for comparison with early Turkish language reform. First I describe the Stamboul alphabet—its importance as a symbol of Albanian unity, its distinctive graphemes and design system, its relationship to earlier Albanian alphabets, and
its meaning in the Ottoman cultural setting. Then I document Albanian propagation of the alphabet and the reactions of Ottoman and local Albanian authorities to that propagation. Finally, I contrast the Stamboul alphabet with subsequent alphabets developed for Albanian and describe how the Stamboul alphabet was modified by the Congress of Monastir in 1908, and then left to fade from use. In closing, I draw parallels between Shemseddin Sami Bey’s contribution to Albanian language reform and his contribution to Turkish language reform and contrast the Stamboul alphabet with the later alphabet of Atatürk’s Turkish script reform.

Major studies of Turkish language reform to date have ignored the Stamboul alphabet, referred to it sporadically, or treated it in summary fashion. Although the Stamboul alphabet is not central to Turkish language reform, it is illustrative of the way script reform was approached in the 19th century and provides comparative and developmental perspectives on Turkish language reform. The Stamboul alphabet has been noted peripherally in studies of Albanian nationalism and in works of Shemseddin Sami Bey, but historians have tended to gloss over the particulars of the alphabet and have simplistically related Albanian disputes surrounding the alphabet to matters of dialect.

This paper presents a more thorough socio-linguistic description of the alphabet, for certainly if comparisons are to be drawn, as encouraged by Leila Fawaz for Middle Eastern Studies in general, and demonstrated by John Perry for language reform, the particulars must be known. It also makes more accessible the data from Albanian documents as well as from studies in Albanian, and shows how the Stamboul alphabet was both an innovation and an artifact of the late Ottoman period. Further, it is intriguing to consider the personage of Shemseddin Sami Bey, who was the architect of the Stamboul alphabet, an important writer in it, and, at the same time, a major figure in the movement for Turkish language reform. There he is best known for his early call, in 1881, for developing the Turkish element of Ottoman, and especially for his dictionary, Kamus-i Turki (1901), which served as the basis for the Turkish Philological Society’s creation in 1932 of a modern Turkish literary language. In addition, Shemseddin Sami Bey was chief editor of a daily newspaper, Tercüman-i Şark; founder of several journals; author of early novels and plays in Ottoman Turkish; and author of the six-volume encyclopedia, Kamus ul-Alam (1889–99).

The case of the Albanian Stamboul alphabet and its relationship to Turkish script reform supports adoption of a broad perspective on language reform, in linguistic terms—an areal perspective rather than the narrowly nationalistic one that the rhetoric of modern language reform has tended to foster.

**THE STAMBOUL ALPHABET: A DISTINCTIVE ALPHABET**

Albanian is an Indo-European language that by the mid-19th century still could be considered unwritten in the sense that most literate Albanians did not write in it. However, it was not unwritten in the sense that it had never been written in. On the contrary, one of the problems was that Albanian had been written by its speakers in several different scripts—Roman, Greek, Arabic—but the scripts were all tied to particular religions (Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, Islam) and had been
largely restricted\textsuperscript{19} to the propagation of the respective religions. Indeed, the Albanians in the Ottoman Empire were divided among two millets (Muslim and Orthodox), three religions (70\% Muslim, 20\% Eastern Orthodox Christian, 10\% Roman Catholic),\textsuperscript{20} and four vilayets (Yanina, Shkodër, Kosova, Monastir). Internally, they were further divided by two dialects: Tosk, or southern Albanian, and Geg, or northern Albanian.

In addition to their administrative divisions, a condition of the Albanian lands in the 19th century was their vulnerability to the territorial designs of their newly independent Balkan neighbors. After the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, the Treaty of San Stefano proposed allotting large areas of Albanian lands to Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria. To try to prevent such losses, Albanians came together in Prizren (Kusova) as the Albanian League, one of whose leaders was Abdyl Frashëri, the eldest brother of Shemseddin Sami Bey. To help develop this new Albanian unity, Albanian leaders in Istanbul, who had been discussing a single alphabet for Albanian for decades, finally moved beyond debate. The Treaty of Berlin in 1878, which superseded the Treaty of San Stefano, reduced the Albanian territories to be accorded to the neighboring Slavic nations, but still proposed the ceding of Albanian lands to Montenegro in the north. These political events were the immediate impetus for Albanian leaders in Istanbul to agree on a single alphabet for Albanian.

The importance of language as a central symbol of Albanian unity and identity cannot be over-emphasized. Certainly, for the growth of national consciousness, language provides convenient associations with a people’s much earlier history, an association that helps legitimize new national movements. Language also serves as a bond for people who have never met, helping create what the historian Benedict Anderson refers to as the “imagined communities” that are at the core of national ideologies.\textsuperscript{21} But specifically in the context of the 19th-century Balkan lands, the Greek and Slavic neighbors who coveted Albanian lands had a common religious tradition (for example, Greek Orthodoxy for the Greeks) to reinforce their new national identities. In contrast, the Albanians were divided by religion, and this division was compounded by the Ottoman administrative division of the Albanian lands into four vilayets. Thus, language became a particularly important symbol of shared Albanian identity. And in this time before mass radio and television, it was the printed or written form of language that served as the emblem of Albanians’ common spoken language and as a means of re-affirming bonds and promoting communication and education.

Historians have emphasized the importance of printing in the growth of nationalism and see in the lively vernacular press in Istanbul in the 1870s the seeds of later Turkish nationalism.\textsuperscript{22} Among the Muslim Turks, a written Turkish language as opposed to Ottoman did later become a significant symbol of their new nationalist identity, which evolved out of changes wrought by modernization.\textsuperscript{23} Returning to the Albanians, however, if they wanted to participate in printing ventures as a people, at the very least they needed a common alphabet.

The alphabet designed by Shemseddin Sami Bey that was adopted in 1879 by the Istanbul Society for the Printing of Albanian Writing was made up of thirty-six letters representing seven vowels and twenty-nine consonants. The phonological analysis of Albanian was not disputed; both the Tosk and Geg dialects\textsuperscript{24} could be well represented by thirty-six letters, with additional diacritics to mark nasality and vowel
lengths that were also phonemic in Geg. It is interesting to note that of the scripts historically used to reduce Albanian to writing, the Arabic script, enriched by additional symbols for the phonemes found in Indo-European Persian, required the fewest additional graphemes (seven); Greek required more graphemes (eleven), and the Roman script required the most additional graphemes of all (twelve) to represent Albanian. Obviously, simply phonemic representation was not the basis for the choice of the Roman over Greek or Arabic scripts.

Rather, I relate Shemseddin Sami Bey’s proposal for a Latin-based alphabet for Albanian at least partly to his life-long attachment to French. Throughout his life he translated many works from French into Turkish, including Les Misérables (Sefiller, 1878) and published both French-Turkish (1882) and Turkish-French dictionaries (1884). More particularly, though, I relate Sami Bey’s proposal for a Latin-based alphabet for Albanian to his familiarity with the Latin-based “Standard Alphabet” of the German Egyptologist and linguist Richard Lepsius, a predecessor (1855, 1863) of the later International Phonetic Alphabet (1888). Sami Bey knew of Lepsius’s work through his friendship with the Albanian linguist Konstantin Kristoforidhi, who had translated the New Testament (1872) into the northern Geg dialect using Lepsius’s system. Lepsius’s Standard Alphabet, which included more than 180 symbols and required the cutting of at least 200 typefaces, was designed to provide a systematic way to represent the phonology of any language of the world in European letters. It was totally impractical in that the extensive diacritics and unusual symbols were excessively expensive to print, but it was linguistically descriptive. Sami Bey adopted only some of the symbols from Lepsius, but Kristoforidhi’s use of the Lepsius system for Albanian provided a high standard of linguistic fit of script with phonology, which Sami Bey followed in his subsequent Stamboul alphabet.

Linguistic fit aside, any Latin-based alphabet for a largely Muslim people in an Ottoman cultural context would have certain stigma to overcome. In the more restricted Albanian context within the Ottoman Empire, the Latin alphabet had traditionally been associated with Roman Catholicism. In the broader Ottoman cultural context, the Latin script was associated with the infidel Christian West and with secular social ways that posed a threat to traditional Muslim society.

Indeed, the inability of Albanian leaders to come to earlier agreement over a single script, although they had been actively involved in putting forth alphabets for Albanian since the 1840s, shows that a Latin script was not an obvious choice. Naum Veqilharxhi had even designed a special original alphabet for Albanian and printed a primer in it in 1844. Not only did he wish to avoid the religious associations and divisions that the Latin, Greek, and Arabic alphabets occasioned for Albanians; he also saw a separate script as appropriate for Albanian as an independent language and as a way to avoid foreign political influences. From 1869 to 1878 in Istanbul, members of the Cemiyet-i İlimye-i Arnavudiye, many of whom later constituted the Society for the Printing of Albanian Writing, discussed alphabets for Albanian. Some Albanian pashas favored an Arabic alphabet; Jani Vreto favored a Greek alphabet, arguing that Greek was linguistically related to Albanian; Vaso Pasha from Shkodër and Ismail Qemal favored a Latin alphabet; and Veqilharxhi and Hoca Tahsin put forward different original alphabets. No agreement could be reached until the ceding of Albanian lands through the Treaty of Berlin mobilized Albanian leaders to resolve
the issue, and they came to agree on Shemseddin Sami's newly proposed Latin-based alphabet.

One of the arguments that Sami Bey put forward in favor of a Latin-based alphabet, particularly over an original alphabet, was that printing equipment could be readily acquired. But this was also true of a Greek or Arabic script in Istanbul at this time. Instead, the agreement on the Latin-based Stamboul alphabet appears to be more a political agreement by default than a positive choice. The Greek alphabet was closely associated with Greek nationalists who in 1879 laid claim to Albanian lands known to them as northern Epirus, and the Arabic alphabet was closely associated with Islam and Ottoman policy that tried to keep Muslim and Christian Albanians separate, and thereby vulnerable to their neighbors. Only the Latin alphabet was not associated with any immediate danger to Albanian lands. As for the earlier original alphabets of Veqilharxhi (1844) and Hoca Tahsin (1878), they too were not associated with any threat, but they were hard to learn and expensive to print. This left Latin-based alphabets as the least alienating and the most practical choice.

Tables of the Stamboul alphabet are found on the first or last page of many Albanian books printed in the alphabet. Table 1, drawn from the 1898 National Almanac, is representative of tables found in books in the Stamboul alphabet from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The lower-case Albanian letter is defined with reference to its representation in French, in Greek, and as the first letter of a common

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<th>Cqip</th>
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</table>

Source: Kalendari Kombiar 1898 (National Calendar 1898) (Sofia: Mbrothsia).
TABLE 2  
Stamboul alphabet

| Lower case | a b c ç d ē e f g ğ h i j k l łą m n ń o p q r ş s o t ē t u v x y z z |
| Upper case | A B Ç Ć Ď Ė Ė F G Ğ H I J K L łą M N İ O P Q R Ş S Ç T Ğ T U V X X Y Z Z |
| Sample sentence | Gqip eete ŋe guhe eume ě bukur |

(Albanian is a beautiful language)

Albanian word. Minor differences in such tables are the occasional inclusion of Bulgarian as a reference language, particularly in the tables of almanacs that were printed in Sofia.

What is interesting is the absence of Ottoman Turkish as a reference language in these tables. I have not been able to examine all the texts in the Stamboul alphabet, but of the ones available to me, Ottoman Turkish appears as a reference language only after 1909, when the Albanian populace had become politicized around the alphabet issue. It is possible that the typeface was not available or too expensive. But it is also likely that the omission of Arabic script was politically wise. Its omission made the table less accessible to Ottoman and Muslim authorities and less open to criticism that the alphabet might become a blasphemous tool to transliterate or translate the Qur’ān from Arabic letters. In line with the political interpretation of the absence of Arabic script in these tables, Muslim Albanian authors of articles and monographs in the Stamboul alphabet often used non-Muslim pen names (for example, Midhat Frashëri used the pen names Lumo Skendo and Mali Kokojka), or only their initials, as did Shemseddin Sami Bey (S. F. for Sami Frashëri) and his brother Naim (N. F. for Naim Frashëri).

What is also noteworthy in the Albanian tables of the alphabet (see Table 1) is the single-letter Albanian graphemes matched with single-word examples, implying single-phoneme correspondences. This reflects the design principle of the Stamboul alphabet that there be only “one symbol for one [distinctive] sound.” Shemseddin Sami noted that the alphabet was designed on this “scientific” basis.31 This stood in stark contrast to the Ottoman writing system, in which a single letter could represent multiple phonemes (qāf could represent five different phonemes: /k/, /kj/, /γ/, /γl/, /γl/) and multiple letters could stand for a single phoneme (the Turkish phoneme /z/ could be represented by three different Arabic letters). These multiple equivalencies constituted a main criticism of the Ottoman Turkish alphabet by Sami Bey and others. Greek and French, with its digraphs and silent letters, also fall short of “one symbol for one sound.”

An extension of the principle of “one symbol for one sound” in the Stamboul alphabet is the lack of diagraphs, or two letters representing one phoneme (such as {ch} for the single phoneme /ç/ in English). Sami Bey noted that with the multiple consonant combinations that are characteristic of Albanian (CCCVC is not uncommon), use of digraphs would lengthen words unnecessarily (shkryth, “I loosen”; shprrallës, “gossiper”).
Besides the design principle of the alphabet, also notable is Sami’s choice of symbols to represent the Albanian phonemes that the Roman script was not designed to represent. There are fourteen of these, including palatals, certain fricatives, affricates, and the central vowel phoneme. (See Table 2 for upper- and lower-case letters of the entire Stamboul alphabet.) The most distinctive of these are the seven lowercase letters from Greek and the four upper-case letters from Cyrillic. Sami Bey knew both ancient and modern Greek. He was educated in Yanina at the famous Greek gymnasium, Zosimea. But I trace his use of Greek letters to augment his alphabet to Lepsius’s use of Greek letters in his Standard Alphabet, as adopted by Kristoforidhi in his Geg translation of the New Testament. Three of Sami Bey’s Greek letters come directly from Lepsius’s use. It appears that Sami Bey continued, and just chose four more Greek letters to fill his needs. But instead of using all upper-case Greek letters to correspond to the lower-case ones, Sami Bey diluted the “Greek appearance” by selecting instead letters and modified letters from Cyrillic for four upper-case graphemes.

In contrast to Lepsius’s alphabet and the Latin alphabets of many European languages, the Stamboul alphabet has few diacritics. There are only two letters with permanent diacritics: {ç} and {ç}. There are also letters formed by the reversal of a character, as in the reversed {g} to represent the palatalized /ɡʃ/, and the upending and turning of a Cyrillic character to represent the upper case of the centralized vowel. Also original are the modifications of standard Latin graphs {n}, {p}, and {d} for distinctive Albanian sounds: [nj], [R], [dh]. Finally, the least apparent of special symbols are the use of the extra letters of Latin: {c}, {q}, and {x} to represent the Albanian [ts], [kj], and [dz].

The overall effect of the mixture of Latin, modified Latin, diacritics, Greek, Cyrillic, and modified Cyrillic letters is that of a distinctive alphabet. Many alphabet tables of the Stamboul alphabet also include examples of each letter in an elegant cursive handwriting. In comparison with Kristoforidhi’s Geg alphabet using Lepsius’s system, Sami Bey’s Stamboul alphabet has one-tenth the number of diacritics, and the non-Latin letters flow well with the others, rather than standing out as strange.

I believe that this “distinctive” but not unwieldy appearance was not an accident but a culturally valued goal. In an article in a Turkish journal published in 1869, there is report of a commission being established by the Osmanli Maarif Nezareti (Ottoman Ministry of Education) to recommend an alphabet for Albanian, “there being no special writing for Albanian as yet” (“Arnavuçuçan kendine özgü bir yazısi olmadığı için”). This commission came to naught, but the implication of the possible expectation of a special script is noteworthy.

As mentioned, earlier in the 19th century, Veqilharxhi had designed a special alphabet to be used by Albanians of all faiths, but it was not used by anyone other than himself. Later, in the 1870s, Tahsin designed an original alphabet for Albanian in Istanbul. It somewhat resembled Georgian. In the table that Tahsin prepared to introduce his alphabet, the other referent languages, in order from left to right were: Ottoman Turkish, French, Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian, and then his new Albanian. I find it most significant that Armenian was included at all. There was no practical reason for its inclusion, as Albanians did not use Armenian. I also find it significant that Armenian was placed closest to the new Albanian script in the table. I interpret
this inclusion and placement as an attempt by Tahsin to evoke the Ottoman cultural model that a distinctive script was an expression of a distinct people.

For example, in the 1831 Ottoman census, the categories were: Muslims; Reaya, made up largely of Orthodox and Catholic Christians; gypsies; Jews; and Armenians. Apart from the gypsies, each of these groups had its own distinctive script. In the 1881 general Ottoman census, the categories were: Muslims, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Latins (European Catholics), Syriac, non-Muslim gypsies, and foreigners. The main categories—that is, the first six—all had their own scripts. Obviously, the main criterion of the 1831 and 1881 census categories is religion. But distinctive script coincides in many cases, thereby serving as an emblem of the group.

What the Albanian patriots wanted most in the late 19th century was to be recognized as a people and an entity, as a basis for resisting the absorption of Albanian lands by their neighbors. The Ottoman categorization of peoples by religious and religious-ethnic group worked against the multi-faith Albanians, as did the Ottoman administrative division of areas of Albanian population among four different vilayets. I see Sami Bey’s Stamboul alphabet as approaching this goal of a “distinctive alphabet” to symbolize the Albanians’ uniqueness as a people in the Balkans and in the larger Ottoman context. But with the printing and typesetting technology of this time, distinctiveness could more practically come from a distinctive mixture of the readily available typefaces than from a truly separate alphabet.

THE STAMBOUL ALPHABET: AN ALPHABET AND LANGUAGE UNDER ATTACK

The Istanbul Society, as the organization of Albanian leaders who had adopted the Stamboul alphabet became known, published an alphabet reader in the new alphabet in 1879. Because Ottoman authorities immediately made further printing in Albanian in the capital city difficult, a press in Bucharest, where there was an Albanian colony, began to print in that alphabet. Later, an Albanian press was established in Sofia that also printed in the Stamboul alphabet. Except for the first reader, most of the books, pamphlets, monographs, and almanacs printed in the Stamboul alphabet were printed in Bucharest or Sofia. These included a history of Skenderbeg (the Albanian national hero); books of poetry by Naim Frashëri, brother of Sami Bey and the most famous Albanian poet of the period; yearly almanacs; and works by Sami Bey himself, including a reader in Albanian in 1886, a grammar of Albanian in 1886, a manual of geography in 1888, and, in 1899, a political treatise that became the most widespread work published in the Stamboul alphabet. That treatise was titled Shqipëria: Ç’ka Qënë, Ç’Eshtë, Ç’do të Bëhetë? (“Albania: What Was It, What Is It, and What Will It Become?”), and subtitled “Thoughts for the saving of the Motherland from the dangers that surround it” (Bucharest, 1899). This treatise became the manifesto for the Albanian Rilindja, or “rebirth,” as this period of national awakening is known. In it Sami Bey protested attempts to separate and assimilate Albanians on the basis of religion. Rather, he advocated the unity of all Albanians, leading to their autonomous administration, nominally under the sultan. Without this, he foresaw the partitioning of Albanian lands among Greek and Slav neighbors.
A main purpose in printing these books was the furthering of education of Albanians as well as promoting national consciousness. Ottoman educational policy held that Muslim Albanians should study in Turkish or Arabic, while the minorities such as the Christian Greeks should study in Greek in their own schools. The reality was that there were few schools for the Muslims in the Albanian lands, while the Greeks had relatively more schools. For example, Shemseddin Sami Bey, like his two older brothers, had been born in southern Albania and had studied with private tutors for Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, but attended the Greek gymnasium in Yanina.

Fearing the growth of separatist nationalism, particularly among Muslims, the Ottoman administration prohibited teaching in Albanian in schools for Muslims. The Orthodox Patriarchate also opposed education in Albanian for Orthodox Albanians on the grounds that this could lead to a decrease in its authority and possibly to the creation of an Albanian orthodox church (which did occur among Orthodox Christian Albanians in America in 1908). To make clear the church’s policy against education in Albanian, local Orthodox bishops excommunicated Orthodox teachers caught teaching students in Albanian.

Despite these problems, Albanians in Istanbul briefly got permission to found a private school in Korçë in 1885. The school had both Muslims and Christian students, but Turkish pressure forced the Muslim students to leave, while threats of excommunication led to the departure of the Christian students.

Nonetheless, informal education in Albanian continued. This depended greatly on the books from the Bucharest and Sofia presses. To counter such informal education in Albanian, Greek clergy anathematized the Albanian letters and those who taught them, and made this known through letters to priests and their people, such as one circulated in the Korçë region in 1892. Ottoman authorities also tried to discourage such informal education by making the possession of books printed in Albanian illegal. Despite these measures, Austrian consuls in Albania reported that by 1905—that is, only twenty-six years after the first propagation of the Stamboul alphabet—it had spread among Muslims and Christians throughout the southern and central Albanian lands, even into Geg regions as far away as Durrës and Dibër.

In 1902, another decree, on top of the one banning books printed in Albanian, made even corresponding in Albanian illegal. Albanians responded by smuggling more books into Albania and hiding them in places such as Bektashi tekkes, for the Bektashis had been early supporters of the cultivation of the Albanian language, though at first in Arabic letters. Several Bektashi babas were imprisoned for periods in Yanina when caches of Albanian books, printed in the Stamboul alphabet, were found in their tekkes.

Not all local Muslim leaders favored the idea of education in Albanian and in a Latin-based alphabet, however. Muslim leaders in the less literate and more isolated north had been telling their people that the only proper alphabet for Muslims was that of the Qur’an, that the Latin alphabet was the instrument of the infidel, and that use of that alphabet was a sacrilege for Muslims. But local Muslim opposition to such a Latin-based alphabet did not become effective until members of this opposition had the support of Young Turk initiatives in 1909. The Young Turk leaders who favored centralization of the Ottoman Empire, and who saw a Latin Albanian alphabet as contributing to the potential separation of Albanians from the empire, helped organize
opposition to the Albanian alphabet and support for the Arabic alphabet throughout Albanian lands in 1909 and 1910. They did this through meetings, demonstrations, sponsorship of a newspaper in Arabic letters, and edicts closing Albanian schools. However, many Albanian Muslim leaders besides the Bektashi did not see a Latin alphabet for Albanian as jeopardizing their Islamic faith, and they supported the new alphabet. The following argument by one such Muslim imam was used to counter the allegation that it was a sin for Muslims to write from left to right.

“Does it not say in the Qur’an that we should fight for our faith?”
The villagers assented.
“And when we fight, have we not long used the sword to defend our faith?”
Again the villagers agreed, this time with pride, for Albanians were well known throughout the Ottoman Empire for their loyalty and their military prowess.
“And when you pull your sword from your scabbard, how do you pull it out?”
The villagers looked questioningly.
“Of course, you pull it from the left to the right. Let that be a lesson for us.”

Despite the Young Turk leaders’ attempt to promote the teaching of Albanian in Arabic letters, support for a Latin alphabet continued to grow. In Korçë in 1910, 15,000 people gathered to demonstrate against the imposition of Arabic letters by force. When people in a southern Albanian town learned that twelve Muslim hocas planned to demonstrate in favor of the “Turkish”—that is, Arabic—script, they sent a telegram to Istanbul in which they wrote, “We will shed the rest of our blood for the Latin alphabet.”

The ulema of the city of Tirana requested an opinion from the Şeyhül-İslam on the matter of the Albanian alphabet. In response, the Şeyhül-İslam issued a fetva in the spring of 1910 in which he held firm to the use of Arabic letters for the education of Muslim students, came out against the use of the Latin alphabet for this purpose, and even noted that any tampering with Arabic writing would be a sin. As Şimşir notes, this fetva was directed at Turks as well. But in response to other centrist policies of the Young Turks, fighting broke out in the northern Albanian lands, then spread southward. With the coming of the Balkan Wars, and the Albanians’ declaration of independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1912, Istanbul no longer had influence on the issue of alphabets in Albania.

THE STAMBULL ALPHABET: MODIFIED AND LEFT TO FADE AWAY

By the end of the 19th century, while Albanians in the southern and central lands used the Stamboul alphabet, those in Western Europe and America began to use other Latin-based alphabets. In particular, Faik Konitza used an all-Latin alphabet in his journal Albania, which he published in Western Europe from 1897 to 1910. The Albanian newspaper Dielli (The Sun), published in Boston beginning in 1906, also used an all-Latin alphabet. In these contexts, all-Latin alphabets were cheaper to print than the Stamboul alphabet, with its Greek, Cyrillic, and modified letters.

In addition to these all-Latin alphabets from the Western Albanian diaspora, two new all-Latin alphabets for Albanian were developed in the northern Albanian city
The Stamboul Alphabet

of Shkodër at the turn of the century. In 1899, an Albanian abbot, Prenk Doçî, decided to reform the unwieldy alphabet that had been used by Roman Catholic missionaries in the north since the 16th century. He designed a new all-Latin alphabet, referred to as the Bashkimi (unity) alphabet, but one in which the sounds not found in Latin were represented by digraphs, mostly constructed with “h” (\{ch\}, \{dh\}, \{gh\}, \{sh\}, \{th\}, \{xh\}, \{zh\}).

Then, in 1901, another Albanian Roman Catholic leader in Shkodër, Dom Mjeda, designed yet another all-Latin alphabet for Albanian, called the Agimi (dawn) alphabet. Like the Stamboul alphabet, it followed the principle of “one symbol, one sound,” but unlike the Stamboul alphabet it formed the additional symbols needed through the extensive use of diacritics: (\{c\}, \{d\}, \{g\}, \{ı\}, \{ń\}, \{ı̈\}, \{š\}, \{ž\}). The model for this alphabet was the Croatian alphabet and parts of Lepsius’s system.

By 1908, Albanian leaders realized that the multiple alphabets for Albanian, albeit all Latinate, were potentially divisive. And as the possibility for opening Albanian schools had briefly improved after the Young Turks took power that year, a single alphabet was sought for textbooks. To this end, Midhat Frashëri, a nephew of Shemseddin Sami Bey, called for representatives of all Albanian communities in the Balkans and the diaspora to come together in a congress to agree on a single alphabet. This congress met in the city of Monastir (now Bitola in Macedonia) in November 1908.

The 200-member Congress quickly realized that a smaller body was needed to discuss and decide on a single alphabet. They appointed an eleven-member committee to deal with this, made up of the “most educated members” of the various communities. This committee included four Muslims, four Orthodox Christians, and three Roman Catholics, with a Roman Catholic as chair. Reportedly, the arguments touched on issues of tradition—the Stamboul alphabet had been used for almost thirty years in Albanian lands, and most of the books existing there were in that alphabet, and on issues of international consideration: that the all-Latin alphabet was easier to print in the West and better suited for telegrams and international commerce. But questions of alphabet are not simply pragmatic, they also involve emotional and cultural attachments.

The eleven-member committee split over whether to support the Stamboul or the Bashkimi (digraph) alphabet. All four Muslims and one Catholic supported the Stamboul alphabet, while all the Orthodox Christians and the other two Catholics preferred the Bashkimi alphabet. The one Catholic who favored the Stamboul alphabet, Dom Mjeda, was the architect of the Agimi alphabet, which, like the Stamboul alphabet, held the principle of “one symbol for one sound.” He may also have been casting a negative vote against the other alphabet that had been in competition with his own in Shkodër. Not unpredictably, the other two Catholics supported the Bashkimi alphabet, which had been developed in their region. But what is interesting is the split between Muslims and Orthodox Christians, with the Orthodox Christians lining up against the alphabet that included some Greek letters.

Summary accounts of the Congress of Monastir say the split was between southern Tosks and northern Gegs, with the Tosks favoring the Stamboul alphabet that had been generally used in the south. This is simply not true, for all of the Orthodox
TABLE 3 Members of the Language Commission of the Congress of Monastir, 1908

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stamboul Alphabet Supporters</th>
<th>Bashkimi Alphabet Supporters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midhat Frasheri (Muslim)</td>
<td>Sotir Peci (Orthodox)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajram Topulli (Muslim)</td>
<td>Gjergj Qiriazi (Orthodox-Protestant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahin Kolonja (Muslim)</td>
<td>Gligor Cilka (Orthodox-Protestant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyzhet Bej Vrioni (Muslim)</td>
<td>Dhimitri Buda (Orthodox)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndre Mjeda (Catholic)</td>
<td>Gjergj Fishta (Catholic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luigj Gurakuqi (Catholic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Editor of newspaper in Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Representative of the British Biblical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minister, studied at Union Theological Seminary, director of American school in Korçë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Writer, political figure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Christians, like the Muslims on this committee, were Tosks. Why then did the Tosks split? The most obvious explanation is a political one: the Muslims followed the Muslim leader and nephew of Shemseddin Sami Bey, Midhat Frasheri, and Orthodox Christians followed the Orthodox Christian leader Gjergj Qirias, who subsequently wrote about the deliberations. But all the members were leaders in their own communities. I find no evidence of similar coalitions in other activities and therefore reject the notion that they were merely following two separate leaders.

Rather, in investigating the backgrounds of the Orthodox Christian and Muslim members of the committee, I found that they were all from the same region of southern Albania and had served on joint committees for Albania, but in their ongoing day-to-day work, they were involved in two different cultural settings (Table 3). In particular, three of the four Orthodox Christians had become involved, through emigration or missionary work, in English-speaking regions or organizations (one as an editor of a newspaper in Boston, another as a Protestant minister educated at Union Theological Seminary in New York and head of the American Girls School in Korçë, and the third as a representative of the British Biblical Society in Monastir). In contrast, the four Muslims had ongoing relationships with the Ottoman capital (one as an Ottoman civil servant; another as director of a Turkish secondary school; the third as a graduate of the Müülkiye, the Ottoman Civil Service Academy; and the fourth as a deputy to the Ottoman Parliament).

I would like to suggest that through their connections with Istanbul, the Muslim members were more influenced by the Ottoman cultural notion that a distinctive alphabet symbolized a distinctive people. Earlier, I supported the existence of this particular symbolic relationship among 19th-century Albanians through reference to their development of original alphabets for Albanian and to Hoca Tahsin's comparison of his alphabet with Armenian. I also noted that the groups which made up the main census categories in 1831 and 1881 each had a distinctive script. To this I
would add the demography of Istanbul in the last half of the 19th century, with its large non-Muslim populations, and the presence there at that time of many daily and weekly newspapers in different scripts: nine Greek publications; five Armenian dailies and eight weeklies; a Jewish daily in Ladino (a form of Spanish in Hebrew letters) and another daily in Hebrew; along with the Anglo and French daily presses; a paper in German; one in Italian; and one in Serbian; besides the dailies and weeklies in Ottoman Turkish. The variety of scripts in these papers circulating in Istanbul at this time was yet another and most visible illustration of the distinctive communities that they served. In contrast, the Orthodox Christian members of the committee would have become influenced by the conservative script aesthetic of the Anglo-Protestant cultural world in which distinctiveness or “strange symbols” were to be avoided.

With a close split of five committee members for the Stamboul alphabet and six committee members for the Bashkimi, or all-Latin digraph, alphabet, the committee wisely compromised by declaring that both the Stamboul and Bashkimi alphabets needed modification, but that with modification, both would be accepted as official Albanian alphabets. They legitimized their decision of two official alphabets with reference to the German use of two scripts. They also agreed to meet again in two years to resume discussion of the alphabet issue.

The modifications worked out by the committee served to bring both alphabets closer to each other. For example, the Greek rho of the Stamboul alphabet was replaced by the diagraph \( \{rr\} \) from the Bashkimi alphabet, while the digraph \( \{ch\} \) of the Bashkimi alphabet was replaced by the \( \{\zeta\} \) of the Stamboul alphabet. Interestingly, the final recommendation of the committee was hand-written in the Stamboul alphabet.

Yet within six years of its acceptance as one of two official Albanian alphabets, the Stamboul alphabet began to fade. By the end of World War I, the modified Bashkimi alphabet had taken over. The most common explanation for the demise of the Stamboul alphabet is that the Greek occupation of southern Albania, from 1912 when Albania declared its independence through World War I, caused Albanians to develop a distaste for anything Greek, including their own earlier alphabet, with its seven lower-case Greek letters. No doubt this has an element of truth in it. But I would also cite a change in scriptal environments.

After Albania’s declaration of independence in 1912, Istanbul was no longer the influential metropolitan cultural center that it had been for Albanian leaders in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Cultural connections with nationalist-minded Western Europe and with America became more important. Further, the scriptal environment in Istanbul was changing so that, by 1928, the Turks would adopt a Latin-based script. The aesthetic of the Stamboul alphabet, as a distinctive alphabet symbolizing a distinct people, had been tied to an earlier multi-lingual Ottoman cultural world that was fast disappearing. The association of a Latin-based alphabet with infidel foreigners would be re-figured after the Turkish War of Independence so that Atatürk could argue, in 1928, that it was only appropriate for Turkish to adopt the alphabet that met so well the linguistic needs of Hungarian and Finnish, which were understood to be linguistically related to Turkish.
EPILOGUE

The Stamboul alphabet survived less than forty years from its initial promulgation in Istanbul in 1879. The buffeting it took from Ottoman authorities partly reflected Albanian political realities. But the censure, anathematizing, banning, and heresy charges that the Stamboul alphabet attracted also reflected general attitudes to questions of script in the Ottoman Empire at that time. The Albanian leaders in Istanbul who adopted the Latin-based script in 1879 had no established power base; they were still under political control of, and therefore vulnerable to, the Ottoman government, the Şeyhül-Islam, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and those serving them and those resisting change. Language reform in Turkey, enacted almost fifty years later in 1928, was preceded by two major wars, loss of territories, and a decline in power of the Patriarchate and the Şeyhül-Islam. Had such language reform been attempted earlier, it no doubt would have attracted reactions similar to those experienced by the Albanians with their new writing.

From an Albanian perspective, the Stamboul alphabet, while it did not become the final official alphabet of Albania, was the instrument through which many Albanians first learned to read their language. And many efforts of Albanian language reform were first initiated through the Stamboul alphabet. It is interesting to compare some of these efforts toward Albanian language reform with later Turkish language reform, particularly since the contribution of Shemseddin Sami Bey can be seen in both.

In his Albanian textbooks and monographs, along with other Albanian writers, Sami Bey was creating a literary Albanian. Unlike Ottoman Turkish, with its six-hundred-year literary tradition, very few literary works existed in Albanian, and these were in three different scripts and various dialects. As for Ottoman Turkish itself, while there was a literary tradition, it was far from the spoken language of the people. Shemseddin Sami Bey was one of the first to call for establishing a modern literary Turkish based on the dialect of Istanbul and supplemented with terms from eastern Turkish. Thus, Sami Bey was interested in a literary language for both Albanian and Turkish, but in the case of Albanian, the basis of a common script had first to be established, which he initiated with the Stamboul alphabet.

A second feature of Sami’s language reform for both Albanian and Turkish was in terminologies for specific fields. In his Albanian works on grammar, geography, and political philosophy, Sami Bey created or devised grammatical, scientific, administrative, and military terminology for Albanian for the first time. In his Turkish writings, Sami Bey also called for use of Turkish terms, whereas in the past Arabic terminology had been the literary norm; his famous dictionary, Kamus-i Turki, included vocabulary from eastern Turkish for terms that had previously been expressed in Arabic or Persian in the written Ottoman language.

A third feature of Sami’s language reform for Albanian and Turkish was the relationship of orthography to phonology. In his Stamboul alphabet, Sami Bey established as a priority a high standard of phonological fit that facilitated learning to read, but it also served as a sort of democratic symbol, implying that the language should be best represented by a written form closely connected to the spoken one. In subsequent Turkish script reform, this high standard of phonological fit was also valued and attained. Shemseddin Sami Bey had not publicly put forth a Latin alphabet for
Turkish, but in the introduction to one of his early dictionaries he noted that it could be done with only thirty letters (the current one has twenty-nine). The representations in his dictionaries of how Turkish was pronounced were also in a Latin-based script.

A fourth feature of Sami’s language reform is choice of script characters. Besides the common Latin base, both the Stamboul alphabet and the later Turkish orthography held to the principle of “one sound, one symbol.” Neither the original Stamboul alphabet nor the later Turkish alphabet resorted to digraphs. The modification of \{\text{x}\} and \{\text{p}\} in the Stamboul alphabet, effected by the filing off of a small portion of the typeface, is similar to the modification of the “undotted i” in Turkish. Both include \{\text{ç}\} for the voiceless labio-alveolar affricate. The use of umlauts for the front vowels \{\text{ü}\} and \{\text{ö}\} in modern Turkish are generally traced to German, but they can also be found representing front vowels in the pronunciation guides to bilingual dictionaries written by Sami Bey in the 1880s.

The main difference between the Stamboul alphabet and later Turkish orthography is the “mixed script”—that is, the inclusion of lower-case Greek letters and upper-case Greek and Cyrillic letters, as well as the turned letters in the Stamboul alphabet. In contrast, later Turkish orthography, like the Bashkimi alphabet, was made up of only Latin-based letters. I have related Sami Bey’s choice of mixed script letters to the Ottoman cultural notion that a distinctive script was the emblem of a distinctive people, an association superseded in the Albanian context by the practicalities of an all-Latin alphabet and by changing scriptal associations even in Istanbul itself. The Stamboul alphabet thus remains an artifact of this earlier time, as does Shemseddin Sami Bey himself, who in late Ottoman times as an Ottoman reformer could be both an Albanian patriot and, at the same time, a cultural Turk of the highest order.

As a postscript, in the 1960s Albania requested from Turkey the remains of Shemseddin Sami (1850–1904), along with those of his two older brothers: Abdyl (1839–92), a leader of the Albanian League, and Naim (1846–1900), the famous poet of the Albanian rilindja, or “rebirth.” All three brothers had died and been buried in Istanbul. The Turkish government sent the remains of the first two brothers, but refused to send those of Shemseddin Sami Bey, citing his contribution to Turkish language and culture. Clearly by the middle of the 20th century, multiple national loyalties, like a new alphabet with characters from multiple scripts, were no longer acceptable.

NOTES

Author’s note: I gratefully acknowledge support from the International Research and Exchange Board for a research trip to Albania, where I acquired important research material for this study. I also acknowledge the valuable comments of John Fine, John Perry, and Kemal Karpat on earlier drafts of this paper, as well as suggestions and comments from careful readings of anonymous reviewers.

1 Florian Coulmas, The Writing Systems of the World (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 243–44; Hans Welleisch, The Conversion of Scripts: Its Nature, History, and Utilization (New York: John Wiley, 1978), 55–57. Note that researchers in writing systems prefer “Roman” as the more general designation for the script, because there have been various forms of Latin over time. However, I will use the more common “Latin” designation in phrases such as “Latin-based orthography,” and “Latin alphabet.”


3 The newly formed group called itself Shqëria e të Shypërë Shkronja Shqip—that is, “The Society for the Printing of Albanian Writings.” See Stavro Skendi, History of the Albanian National Awakening:
The alphabet is known variously as the “Constantinople alphabet,” the “Istanbul alphabet,” the “Fran- shéri alphabet,” and, in Albanian, the “Stamboll alphabet.” I build on the Albanian form of “Istanbul” (Stamboll), but have chosen a French spelling, “Stamboul,” to emphasize the European linguistic influence on the alphabet during a period in which French was admired by the intellectuals in the city. Moreover, Sami Bey himself had a strong interest in French, as evidenced in his translations from French into Ottoman and in his dictionaries, both French–Turkish (1882) and Turkish–French (1884).

In the history of writing systems, appropriating letters from other scripts is not new. Probably the best analogy to the Stamboul alphabet is that of the ancestor of the Cyrillic alphabet that Saints Cyril and Methodius designed in the 9th century through adaptations from the Greek alphabet, the addition of two Hebrew letters that were modified into four letters to express sounds not expressed by the Greek alphabet, and the creation of some new characters to efficiently reduce Slavic to writing. Associations of scripts with 20th-century nationalisms make such adaptations less acceptable today.


Şimşir, Türk Yazı Devrimi, 38–43.

Skendi, Albanian National Awakening, 140.


Stavro Skendi, “The History of the Albanian Alphabet: A Case of Complex Cultural and Political Development,” Südöst Forschungen: Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur und Landeskunde Südosteuropas (Munich: Oldenburg, 1960), 263–84. This otherwise excellent article omits particulars that linguists would require to compare alphabets. For example, there is no mention of the Cyrillic graphs in the upper case of the Stamboul alphabet, and even the lower case is described generally, with erroneous mention of representation for /gj/ (p. 270).

Ali Vishko, “Kongresi i Manastirit,” Gjurmime albanologjike, 18 (Prishtina: Institute Albanologjik i Prishtinës, 1988), 155–77. This article has much valuable information but relates support for the Stamboul alphabet to dialect affiliation—that is, Vishko contends that the Stamboul alphabet was favored by people because they were from the southern Albanian dialect region. I reject this in the body of this article.


Documents in this script include almanacs from the 19th and early 20th centuries, textbooks, and monographs. A collection of these items has been donated by Albanian immigrants to the library of the Albanian–American Teqe Bektashiane, located near Detroit, Michigan. Another set of documents are letters sent to the organizations of the Congress of Monastir in 1908, and the final statement of that Congress, collected in A. Buda, M. Domi, S. Pollo, K. Prifti, and M. Samara, ed., Alfabete i Gjuhes Shqipe dhe Kongresi i Manastirit: Studime, Matereale, Dokumente (The Alphabet of the Albanian Language and the Congress of Monastir: Studies, Materials, Documents) (Tirana: Institute of History, Language and Letters, 1972). I located this collection on my trip to Albania in 1993.


Shemseddin Sami, Kamus-i Türkü (Istanbul: İkdam Matbaası, 1899–1900 [1317–18]).

Shemseddin Sami, Kamus ul-'Alam: tarih ve cografya lugati ve tabir-i esahhiyle kaffe-yi esma-yi hassa-yi camidir (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1889–98 [1306–16]).

A major exception to this is the secular poetry written in Albanian in the Arabic script by poets from central Albanian lands in the 18th century. These poets are referred to in the Albanian tradition as the Bejtexhinjt—that is, those who make bezts, or poetic couplets.

These percentages are from census figures from the first half of the 20th century (Albanian censuses in 1921, 1927). If the Albanian areas of Kosovo and western Macedonia were also included, as they were under Ottoman rule, the percentage of Muslims would be somewhat higher. See Peter Bartl, Die Albani-


22Ibid., 75.

23Language was a main dimension for expressing the new identity and orientation brought about by modernization; it was also the common bond that defined the national community. For further discussion of modernization, see Karpat's article, “The Land Regime, Social Structure, and Modernization in the Ottoman Empire,” in Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East, ed. Wm. Polk and Richard Chambers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 69–92.


26Ibid., 71.

27Shemseddin Sami Bey’s later lexicographic work (French–Turkish dictionary, 1882; Turkish–French dictionary, 1884), in which he included systematic pronunciation notation, showed his ongoing interest in phonologically descriptive notation. Sami Bey’s familiarity with Lepsius’s work, with the work of the Austrian albanologist von Hahn and with French linguists, reflected in his short monograph “Language” (1885), further reveal his links to 19th-century European linguistics.

28Buda et al., Alfabeti i Gjuhes Shqipe, 17.

29Skendi, Albanian National Awakening, 139.

30Kristo Luarasi, Ditërisëfënsësi (Kalendari) Kombiar për 1898 (National Almanac for 1898) (Sofia: Mbrodhesia, 1898).

31In modern terms, we would say that what Sami Bey referred to as “scientific” was the phono-graphic basis of the alphabet. We now know that many writing systems are morpho-graphic and tend to become more so with age. That is, morphemes, such as the plural in English, are efficiently symbolized by fewer graphemes than their pronunciations would require (the plural {s} morpheme in English stands for either /s/ or /z/). We know that there are advantages to alphabets being morphemically rather than strictly phonemically based (see Richard Venezky, “Principles for the Design of Practical Writing Systems,” Anthropological Linguistics, 12, 7 (1970): 256–70), and that at least for proficient readers morpho-graphic systems are more efficient. We also know that reading is a complex process and that some deviations from phonemic correspondences can help distinguish meaning, all of which implies that criticism of Ottoman, at least in this regard, needs to be contextualized. However, this was not generally known in the 19th century.

32Şimşir, Türk Yazi Devrimi, 39.

33Buda et al., Alfabeti i Gjuhes Shqipe, 21.


35This is available in Albanian in Sami Frashëri: Vepër 2 (Prishtinë: Rilindja, 1978), 21–107, and in German (Was war Albanien, was ist es, was wird es werden? [Vienna and Leipzig: A. Holder, hof-und universitäts-buchhandler, 1913). Levend does not accept Sami Bey’s authorship of this monograph on the basis of its content and style, and his reading of Sami Bey’s character. Some suggest that Sami Bey’s brother, Naim, wrote it; others that Shahin Kolonja, who translated it into Turkish, wrote it (Levend, Şemseddin Sami, 143–51). However, from my reading of the monograph in Albanian, both the content, with the frequent reference to etymologies and early history (like some of his articles on Turkish) and the style support Sami Bey’s authorship. Kemal Karpat characterizes Sami Bey as an Ottoman reformist—that is, politically an Ottoman and culturally and ethnically an Albanian.


37Ibid., 271.


39Baba Rexheb, a Bektashi leader and native of the Gjirokaster region, born in 1901, provided me with this account in the fall of 1991 at his tekke outside Detroit.


Ibid., 42; Vishko, “Kongresi i Manastirit,” 172.

Buda et al., *Alfabeti i Gjuhes Shqipe*.


Ibid., 96.

The historical background of not tampering with the Latin alphabet goes back to the Middle Ages when Latin, as the language in which the Vulgate was written, was held inviolable. Only in Iceland and for a while in England were runic letters tolerated as additions to the Latin alphabet. These died out in England before the invention of printing. This long conservative tradition, coupled with English's minimal use of diacritics and imperial sense of itself as separate from the continent, combined to fashion a most conservative script aesthetic in which any change or addition was viewed negatively.

Buda et al., *Alfabeti i Gjuhes Shqipe*, 38.


For a study of the contributions of Sami Bey to the development of the literary languages of Turkish and Albanian, see Kaleshi, “Le Role de Chemseddin Sami Frachery.”

Ibid., 213–15.