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The birth of the first Albanian-Hungarian dictionary (1913)

Albanology as a science was born in Austria-Hungary. The history of its origin and emergence and the history of the first generations dealing with this discipline have been discussed by a small number of studies and monographies. Generally speaking, ‘the Austro-Hungarian albanology’ is regarded as a science of German speaking scholars who carried out their researches in the Austrian part of the empire. Both Austria-Hungary and the Austro-Hungarian albanology had, however, a *Hungarian* part. This lecture aims to highlight the significance of the Hungarian speaking scholars and the role they played in the history of albanology.

It is not an easy task to position the beginning of the history of the Hungarian albanology. To understand this claim, it is worth quoting a thought from the well-known book of Robert Musil (“The Man Without Qualities”): “This sense of Austro-Hungarian nationhood was an entity so strangely formed that it seems almost futile to try to explain it to anyone who has not experienced it himself. It did not consist of an Austrian and a Hungarian part that, as one might imagine, combined to form a unity, but of a whole and a part, namely of a Hungarian and an Austro-Hungarian sense of nation hood; and the latter was at home in Austria, ...”¹

Why might this quote serve as a perfect point of departure for this paper? Because it sheds light on the relations between the independent Hungarian albanology and its Austro-Hungarian counterpart. Incredible as it may sound, two different schools of albanology emerged in Austria-Hungary. One of these is referred to as the Austro-Hungarian, the other as the Hungarian. Generally speaking, the Austro-Hungarian school shared some properties with the Hungarian: both were parts of an imperial foreign policy (that of Austria-Hungary and Hungary), and both had an economic and a scientific side to it. The difference lies in the fact that the High Command of the joint Austro-Hungarian army supported the Austro-Hungarian discipline, while the Hungarian albanology had no associations to the military. The former had been supported also by the Ballhausplatz from 1896 on, while the latter won the support of the Hungarian government in not earlier than 1913 as a consequence of the First Balkan War. Finally, the Austro-Hungarian albanology carried a far greater significance than the Hungarian for both the Monarchy and the Albanians.

¹ Robert MUSIL, *The Man Without Qualities*, <http://uberty.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/musil-1.pdf>; 42. The Great Conference

It is important to note, however, that the efforts of the two schools were in synch, that is, these were not rivalling disciplines. The sole purpose of the Hungarian albanology was to support the Hungarian imperial aspirations in a way that would not compromise the foreign political and foreign economic interests of Austria-Hungary. The representatives of the Hungarian albanology conducted their researches within the political framework of the dualist state. Another reason why the relations of the two k.u.k. albanology schools were so peaceful was that Lajos Thallóczy played a key role in both.

Lajos Thallóczy and Ferenc Nopcsa were undoubtedly the most prominent figures of not only the Austro-Hungarian albanology but also of the Albanian lobby operating alongside the Ballhausplatz. Thallóczy's role in the Albanian state and nationbuilding process is currently being researched in Albania and Hungary as well (Beluli, Csaplár-Degovics).² The research of Ferenc Nopcsa's political and scientific activity has already yielded major results, therefore it is to be assumed that albanology will not pose significant questions about him in the future.

Who else were then the members of the first great generation of the Hungarian albanology besides these two scholars? And what necessitated the development of an independent Hungarian discipline alongside the joint Austro-Hungarian albanology?

At the turn of the century the imperialistic aspirations of Hungary grew out of the Hungarian Oriental studies, the quality of which significantly improved following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. Upon the formation of the dualist state, the preconditions of building a modern, burgeoning Hungary were also created. By the turn of the century the system of the Hungarian scientific institutions had consolidated, and the reigning governments donated generous sums to advance the sciences. Basically, by funding the Oriental studies, the Budapest government aimed to create "positions in the world economy" for Hungary in the Eastern countries.³ By the Orient, Budapest meant the Balkan peninsula, Anatolia, today's Middle East and the Asian continent.

The Hungarian governments had a number of designs on how to attain these Eastern positions. Firstly, they set out to establish operations for an independent and secret diplomatic body in the 1870s. This network of "commercial correspondents" came under the supervision

² Lajos THALLÓCZY, Të ndodhurat e Shqypnis. Transkriptoi, dokumentoi e komentoi Raim BELULI. Shkodër, 2008, Botime Françeskane; Krisztián CSAPLÁR-DEGOVICS, Lajos Thallóczy und die Historiographie Albaniens, *Südost-Forschungen* (68) 2010, 205–246.

³ Zoltán HAJDÚ, Az intézményes Balkán-kutatás kialakulásának és fejlődésének problémái Magyarországon 1948-ig, különös tekintettel a földrajzi kutatásokra, *Balkán-füzetek* (1) 2003, No. 1, 9.

of the Hungarian Ministry of Commerce, and its well-trained members dealt not only with economic matters, but were also tasked with intelligence gathering and international network building operations. The most talented correspondent of this secret body was no other than Lajos Thallóczy.

The young man's first covert spy mission took place in Russia.⁴ After that, in the spring of 1882, he set out on a round trip in Levant: he visited Serbia, Bulgaria, Constantinople, Greece and finally coastal Albania. Formally he wrote road journals as the travelling correspondent of the daily *Pesti Napló*, but in reality, under the pseudonym "Lemaics", he made secret political and economic reports primarily to Baron Gábor Kemény, Minister of Trade in Budapest. (His dispatches for the *Pesti Napló* from Levant were published in an independent volume.⁵)

According to Engelbert Deusch, the Hungarian political circles were greatly distressed by the foreign agitators that appeared between 1878 and 1882 in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Northern Albania, and that was why they sent Thallóczy there (he could never gain the trust of Lippich, the Austro-Hungarian consul-general in Shkodër). Although his primary mission was to collect intelligence, according to Deusch, the young spy successfully incited several Albanian tribes to revolt, which further complicated matters in connection with the fall of the League of Prizren.⁶ The mission, however, brought about two major consequences. On the one hand, Benjámín Kállay, joint minister of finance, took the troublemaker to Vienna in 1885 and appointed him a joint official. On the other hand, it was during his 1882 trip to Albania that Thallóczy took a liking to the Albanians and started to collect scientific data about this people.

Many of these commercial correspondents became well-trained scholars over time and engaged in scientific activity either as private researchers or as teachers of the Budapest Oriental Academy, an institute founded by the Hungarian government. The Hungarian Royal Oriental Commercial Academy was founded in 1899. The idea of the elite educational institute had been put forward by Thallóczy with the primary objective of nurturing relations between Hungary and the Orient.⁷ While the Academy obviously focused on teaching practical skills, the education was also characterised by scientific diversity. Also, the very best

⁴ Lajos THALLÓCZY, *Oroszország és hazánk*. Budapest, 1884, Athaeneum.

⁵ Lajos THALLÓCZY, *Utazás a Levantéban. A keleti kereskedelem története Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1882, Pfeifer N.

⁶ Engelbert DEUSCH, *Der Aufstand der Malësia e Mbishkodrës von 1883 und das Verhältnis der albanischen Katholiken zu Österreich-Ungarn*, *Südostforschungen* (63/64) 2004/2005, 267–274.

⁷ XII. Session (3. összes ülés), 31.03.1913, *Akadémiai Értesítő* (24) 1913, 4. füzet (15.4.1913), 230; XXXI. Session (9. összes ülés), 30.10.1916, *Akadémiai Értesítő* (27) 1916, 11. füzet (15.11.1916), 657.

language teachers of Hungary held classes at the Academy. Albanian, for instance, was taught by the internationally renowned linguist, József Schmidt (1863–1933), head of the Indoeuropean Languages Department at the Pázmány Péter Royal University.⁸

Secondly, the great Hungarian geographical expeditions of the time also served the purpose of securing positions for Hungary in the East. Several Hungarian geographers rose to international fame as a result of the geological and geographical expeditions organized by the Hungarian Geographical Society, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian Geographical Institute. Count Béla Széchenyi (1837–1918) led an expedition into Inner Asia and Western China in the 1880s. Before the turn of the century, Hungarian research expeditions appeared in Finland, Bulgaria, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Caucasus. (The young Ferenc Nopcsa also participated in some of these expeditions.) The expeditionists collected not only geographical data but also local folklore. Today this collection is housed in the Hungarian Folklore Museum. Count Ágost Zichy (1852–1925) led an expedition to Mongolia in 1875–76; Károly Újfalvy (1842–1904), teacher of the Paris *Écoles des langues vivants* visited Inner Asia, the Pamirs and Northern India (1876–1881). György Almássy (1867–1933) Juris Doctor and zoologist, father of the famous Africa explorer, László Almássy a.k.a. “the English patient” (1895–1951), travelled Russian Central Asia and Northern China between 1900 and 1906.⁹

Today one may smile at the grand Oriental designs of Hungary, but at the time these visions seemed not unfounded at all. The “imperial thought” was very much in synch with contemporary European trends, and the fast-paced economic modernization and intellectual progress in Hungary may also account for such plans of grandeur. Let us see the statistics that fuelled this self-confidence.

The population of Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century was around 20.5 million. At the same time the total population of Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro was around 16.45 million. It means that the Carpathian Basin had a population approximately 4 million more than all the independent Balkan states together. The area of Saint Stephen’s Hungary was 325.000 km², which exceeded the total area of Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro in 1905. According to a 1911 British statistical report, the revenue of the Hungarian state amounted to 64 million pounds, while Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and

⁸ HAJDÚ, Az intézményes Balkán-kutatás, 12–13.

⁹ András RÓNA-TAS, Belső-Ázsia magyar felfedezői. A kezdetektől az első világháborúig, *Keletkutatás* (I), 1986 ősz, 40, 42.

Serbia together had an income of 33.5 million pounds (GDPs were similarly proportioned!). Thus it is understandable why the Hungarian political elite envisioned a future Hungarian empire.¹⁰

It is important to emphasize once again, that the most prominent Hungarian political and economic elite never lost sight of their primary goal: the economic interests and advantageous positions of Hungary were to be protected *within* the joint market of the Monarchy. Accordingly, Hungarian imperial aspirations never meant to challenge the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, as the agreement guaranteed utmost protection against Russia and the nationalities. Rather, these aspirations intended to promote a division of interests over and beyond the border of the Monarchy.¹¹ Therefore the objective was to identify certain areas that serve rather the Hungarian and others, that serve rather the Austrian imperial aspirations. In spite of the positive economic indices, the Hungarian economy did not suffice to support the implementation of a grand-scale imperial policy and so the Hungarian political and intellectual elite shifted focus to “Europe’s East”, that is, the Balkan Peninsula.¹²

Major Hungarian corporations and banks (e.g. the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest) appeared on the peninsula as early as the turn of the century. What is more, at the request of the Ballhausplatz the banks provided government loans to the lesser nation states of the Balkans. But these major Hungarian banks also actively shaped the economy of the peninsula as railway and industrial investors and as stock exchange and bank shareholders, even though they did not belong among the most important actors. Thus the Balkans promised to be a realistic market for political and economic interests to be realized.¹³

Following this short review of the Hungarian imperial aspirations, it is important to make two further distinctions between the Austro-Hungarian and the Hungarian branch of albanology. What we may call Austro-Hungarian albanology is the discipline that was supported by the joint ministries as well as by Austria’s political and scientific institutional network. The Hungarian albanology, on the other hand, was backed by the Hungarian ministries and scientific bodies only. The other major difference is that the Hungarian branch did not aim to support the Albanian nation and statebuilding process, while this became one of the most significant ambitions of the Austro-Hungarian albanology. (Kurt Gostentschnigg’s

¹⁰ Iván BERTÉNYI ifj., A „magyar birodalmi gondolatról” – az I. világháború előtt, *Kommentár* (2) 2007, 4. szám, 47–48.

¹¹ Ignác ROMSICS, A magyar birodalmi gondolat, in: Ignác ROMSICS: Múltról a mának. Tanulmányok és esszék a magyar történelemről. Budapest, 2004, Osiris, 122.

¹² BERTÉNYI, A „magyar birodalmi gondolatról”, 41, 43, 52.

¹³ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL), Pesti Magyar Kereskedelmi Bank (PMKB), Z 33, 11. csomó: 1913–1915 évi és 12. csomó: 1916–1919 évi; and Z 34, 50. csomó.

statement, that it was the imperialistic policy that played a key role in the creation of albanology and in the first decade of its history, seems to be valid to the Hungarian branch of the science rather than to the Austro-Hungarian one.¹⁴⁾

At the time of the annexation of Bosnia, on October 1, 1908, Thallóczy submitted a proposal to the Hungarian government. In it, he made recommendations to Budapest as to the best possible reactions to the final annexation in order to profit from the new politico-economic environment. Thallóczy, who was a historian and an official, shared two main insights: that it was necessary to commence state-organized scientific research on the peninsula and that communications with peoples of the Balkan had to be improved. He claimed that the primary prerequisite of successful communication was an excellent knowledge of local languages and therefore urged for the compilation of modern, up-to-date dictionaries of the Balkanian languages.¹⁵ Thallóczy once again voiced his above recommendations, when in the late autumn of 1912, during the First Balkan War, he addressed a memorandum to the Hungarian Government.¹⁶

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences accepted and started to put Thallóczy's scientific and cultural proposals into practice. Firstly, in the winter of 1912-1913, a Body of Experts was convened under the leadership of the famous geographer and would-be Prime Minister, Count Pál Teleki (1879–1941). On March 31st 1913, The Body proposed to form an Oriental Committee responsible for starting scientific researches and publishing new dictionaries.¹⁷ The Committee was finally set up in early 1914 under the name “Balkanian Committee” rather than the previously proposed Oriental Committee. On the May 6th 1914 great assembly of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Committee formally announced its formation and the first open scholarships: they called for studies to be published in an encyclopedia on the Balkan Peninsula and for the compilation of an Albanian-Hungarian, Bulgarian-Hungarian and Turkish-Hungarian dictionary.¹⁸

¹⁴ Kurt GOSTENTSCHNIGG, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik. Die österreichisch-ungarische Albanologie 1867-1918*. Phil. Diss., Graz 1996, 137–142.

¹⁵ Márta TÖMÖRY, *Bosznia-Hercegovina anektálásának történetéből (Részletek Thallóczy Lajos naplójából)*, *Századok* (100) 4–5. szám, 1966, 895–896; Országos Szécsenyi Könyvtár (OSZK), Kézirattár, Quart. Hung. 2459, 11. kötet, f. 79–80.

¹⁶ Református Zsinat Levéltár Budapest (RZSL), 45. fond, 10.43. Lajos THALLÓCZY, *A Balkán-félszigeten beálló változásokról*, pp.12.

¹⁷ XII. Session (3. összes ülés), 31.3.1913, *Akadémiai Értesítő* (24) 1913, 4. füzet (15.4.1913), 230.

¹⁸ *Akadémiai Értesítő* (25) 1914, 2. füzet (15.2.1914), *Kisebbségi Közlemények: Keleti Bizottság, előzetes jelentés*, 127; LXXIV. Great Session, 6.5.1914, First Day, *Akadémiai Értesítő* (25) 1914, 6–7. füzet (15.6.1914); HAJDÚ, *Az intézményes Balkán-kutatás*, 14–16.

Árpád Degen (1866–1934), a botanist of European fame, was the first famous scientist of the Hungarian albanology. Although he personally never visited Albanian territories, between 1895 and 1928 he took on the enormous task of recording and organizing the tremendous botanical collections of the Albania-explorers (Antonio Baldacci,¹⁹ Ferenc Nopcsa, Ignaz Dörfler²⁰).

Though the first state-funded economic researches about Albania were published in 1914,²¹ the organized researches of the Hungarian albanology started from 1916 with the support of the Balkan Committee and the Austro-Hungarian High Command. Árpád Buday conducted archaeological researches mainly in today's Albania.²² Economist Adolf Strausz analyzed the possible future of the Albanian economy as part of the transforming Balkan Peninsula.²³

Although the above researches were important, the greatest achievements and findings belonged to the botanical and zoological expeditions. The first botanist to collect plants in Albania was József Andrasovszky (1889–1943). He made an expedition in 1916-1917 along what is today the triple border of Montenegro, Albania and Kosovo. His collection was organized in Budapest by Sándor Jávorka (1883–1961), who also explored parts of Albania in the summer of 1918 in the company of Béla Kümmerle J. (1876–1931).²⁴ Jávorka collected specimens in Central and Northern Albania, while his companion worked along the Prizren-Šar Planina line. Entomologist Ernő Csiki (1875–1954, born as Ernst Dietl) researched the local insects of Albania and today's Kosovo in 1917, mainly in the Peja and Gjakovë area.

These scholars mentioned above laid the foundation of an independent Hungarian school on the field of zoology and botany with their researches in the countries inhabited by Albanians. The representatives of these scientific fields have been uninterruptedly researching the flora and fauna of Albania and Kosovo from the 1910s till today. The continuance of that

¹⁹ Antonio Baldacci (1867–1950): Italian geographer and botanist; one of the first modern researcher of Albania.

²⁰ Ignaz Dörfler (1866–1950): Austrian botanist.

²¹ Balkáni piacok a háború után. Gazdasági ismertető, Vol. 1–15., 17–20. Budapest, 1914, Magyar Királyi Kereskedelmi Múzeum. (Vol. 1: Albánia; Vol. 2: Skutari; Vol. 3: Durazzo; Vol. 4: Valona; Vol. 5: Új-Szerbia [present-day Kosova and Macedonia]; Vol. 9: Prizren).

²² Árpád Buday (1879–1937): archeologist, university professor. Árpád BUDAY, Régészeti kutatás Albániában. Kolozsvár, 1918, Stief.

²³ Adolf Strausz (1853–1944): officer, historian, ethnologist, politician, expert of the Balkans. Adolf STRAUZ, Das Osmanische Reich: wirtschaftspolitische Ausblicke. Posen, 1917, Mitteleuropäischer Buch- und Lehrmittelverlag; STRAUZ, Az új Balkán félsziget és a török birodalom: politikai, gazdasági tanulmány. Budapest, 1913, Kilián.

²⁴ Among others Sándor JÁVORKA, Új adatok Albánia flórájához. Neugkeiten aus der Flora Albanien, *Botanikai közlemények* (1921) 19, 1–6, 17–29; JÁVORKA, Plantae novae albanicae I, *Magyar Botanikai Lapok* (20) 1921, 1–12, 60–61; JÁVORKA, Plantae novae albanicae II, *Magyar Botanikai Lapok* (21) 1922, 1–12, 17–22; JÁVORKA, Utivázlat, in: Pál TELEKI / Ernő CSÍKI (szerk.): A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Balkán-kutatásainak tudományos eredményei III. Budapest, 1926, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. 74–89; JÁVORKA, Zwei Albanienreisen, *Ungarische Rundschau* (11) 1955, 9–10.

research history is unique within the framework of subdisciplines of both the Austro-Hungarian and Hungarian albanology.²⁵

Zoltán László (1881–1961), author of the first Albanian-Hungarian dictionary was born to a noble family, and his aristocratic lineage allowed him to receive an education in the very best schools of the Monarchy. After finishing his university studies, he became a financial expert, journalist, author and self-appointed scholar. He was an ardent fan of the Orient and a language genius. Besides his mother tongue he spoke excellent German, English, French, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, and could read Turkish and a bit of Arabic. After 1908 he became closely connected with Hungarian political, economic and scientific pressure groups whose members were the most ardent believers in the Hungarian imperialistic aspirations. Between 1908 and 1911, Zoltán László as an official in Bosnia-Herzegovina loyally served the Hungarian imperial causes in Travnik and Sarajevo. Later he worked as a correspondent for the major Budapest daily papers, and as a journalist he propagated the Hungarian interests in the Balkan.

His most memorable achievement was a dictionary in which he collected the Turkisms and Arabisms of the local South-Slavic dialect spoken in the annexed province.²⁶ Despite the fact that the author was merely a self-educated scholar, the dictionary is an important compilation on the Muslim use of language in Bosnia at the turn of the century. The special feature of the volume is that it contains such words as were not included in contemporary Croatian and Serbian dictionaries but were wildly used in everyday Bosnian speech. László listed not only the Hungarian but also the South-Slavic meanings of the Turkisms and Arabisms. The dictionary greatly facilitated communication with the Slavic-speaking people of Muslim nationality in the Balkans for tourists, merchants and officials alike. Since the dictionary contained the idiosyncratic legal terminology that the Bosnian Muslims used in their official pleadings, petitions and complaints, it could also be used as a textbook for officials.

Zoltán László's Albanian-Hungarian dictionary, which was actually a Malissor-Hungarian dictionary, was published in 1913. What prompted the publication of the dictionary was the new situation in the aftermath of the First Balkan War and the partial

²⁵ The botanists of present-day Hungary in Albanian territories are: Dr. Zoltán Barina and dr. Dániel Pifko (Hungarian Natural History Museum): http://www.nhmus.hu/hu/munkatars/barina_zoltan; http://www.nhmus.hu/hu/munkatars/pifko_daniel

²⁶ Zoltán LÁSZLÓ, *Turcizmusok és arabizmusok. A balkáni szerb-horvát nyelvben előforduló idegen, de szlavizált szavak gyűjteménye.* Budapest, 1912, Franklin.

success of the Monarchy's ambitious Albanian policy. It is possible that the work had been inspired by Karl Steinmetz's (Northern) Albanian-German dictionary, published in 1912 in Sarajevo.²⁷

The concept and publication of the dictionary totally fit in with contemporary Hungarian imperialistic aspirations. Based on the author's foreword, it may be safely assumed that he was aware of Thallóczy's relevant plans and clearly understood the role the Monarchy played in the Albanian nation and statebuilding process. László regarded Austria-Hungary as the Protector of all Albanians. He published his dictionary with the intention to allow the citizens of Hungarian nationality to directly contact and communicate with the Albanians.²⁸ In the light of the above facts, it has remained a mystery why the author never nominated his work for the 1914 scholarship of the Academy of Sciences.

When, where and how could László collect the words and expressions published in his dictionary? All we know is that his data collection took place in the period between 1908 and 1912. László's publications as a journalist, a classical writer and as the author of the first Albanian–Hungarian dictionary suggest that he did not speak Albanian, but he picked up a lot by hearing. With his Albanian acquaintances he communicated in one of the Southern Slavic languages. It may also be safely assumed that in the regions he frequented the Albanian and the Southern Slavic languages existed side by side and were in direct contact. Therefore László was active most probably along the Peja-Gjakova-Prizren axis besides the Sanjak, in the Šar-Planina region (today's triple border of Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia) and in the town of Kalkandelen (Tetovo). He had never visited today's Albania before 1914.²⁹

Who were László's closest Albanian acquaintances? Did he need the help of interpreters? He certainly did. One of the Albanians László had a close relation with was "Mustafa Batanovich" who appeared in several of his literary works and publications. Mustafa most probably was a member of the Rugova tribe and was László's housekeeper in Travnik and Sarajevo (we do not know the Albanian version of the name of Mustafa).³⁰ Mustafa had good connections not only in Rugova but in the Sanjak and in today's Northwest Kosovo as well. In all probability, László's first acquaintances here were members of

²⁷ Karl STEINMETZ, *Albanische Grammatik. Nordalbanische Mundart*. Sarajevo, 1912, J. Studnička; Karl STEINMETZ, *Albanisches Not-Wörterbuch (Nordalbanischer Dialekt)*. Sarajevo, 1912, J. Studnička.

²⁸ Zoltán LÁSZLÓ, *Az albán nyelv szótára (észak-albán, maljiszór tájszólás)*. Budapest, 1913, Lampel. 3–4.

²⁹ Zoltán LÁSZLÓ, *Érdekeltségünk Albániában*, *Pesti Hírlap* (35) Nr. 51, 28.2.1913, 34–35.

³⁰ Zoltán LÁSZLÓ, *Emlékek – utirajz*, *Veszprémi Hírlap* (XVII) Nr. 43, 24.10.1909, 3.

Mustafa's personal network, and it was Mustafa who paved the way for László when he made friends with them. Ibrahim Avdar could be one these friends.³¹

Two other Albanian friends of László lived in Bosnia. Mehmed Bey Dubrich was László's fellow student at the university of Vienna, and it was with him that László explored the Tetovo region and travelled along the Vardar.³² He made Kustura Mehmed's acquaintance in Mostar and their connection lasted for years. He remembered Kustura as follows:

“During my roamings in the Balkans, he proved to be a good guide. He spoke Turkish, Albanian and Serbian, and my knowledge of languages that I picked up down there was partially due to his efforts.”³³

Besides this handful of Malissors it seems impossible to identify any other Albanian interpreters or guides. But it may not even be necessary. By that time, the Monarchy's Albanian policy had borne fruit among the common Albanians, too.³⁴ Wherever László roamed, the Albanians were pleased to have a word with him. Thus he was able to collect words from the dialects of such regions as he personally never visited.

The investigation of the dictionary provides further details about the locations and the circumstances of László's work. The compilation contains a high proportion of words related to mountainous regions, which suggests that László collected words in the mountains, far from the more densely populated regions. He collected the vocabulary of geological objects (*mal-i, maje-maja, perpijete-ras, bjeskva, gryk-a*), words describing the dynamics of motion and differences in altitude or elevation (*me pri; hajd!; ec!; nelt; perpjét; n'; m'; mi; tepóst; post; n'fún; ti post!*), or means of transportation (*strem-i, kerr-i; ká-u, kal-i*).

The words collected in the Malissor mountain settlements formed another group. These expressions described the village (*katun*) and village life, the Malissor kinship and social strata (*fis-i, meftar-i*) and customary law (Kanuni Skanderbeut, plak).

The dictionary features a surprisingly rich urban vocabulary from such towns as Prizren, Gjakova and Peja which were visited personally by the author. Interestingly enough it has the potential that László was able to collect some urban words from Albanians dwelling in Shkodra: However, the author never had been to that town before 1914. As László

³¹ Zoltán LÁSZLÓ, Emlékek – utirajz, *Veszprémi Hírlap* (XVII) Nr. 43, 24.10.1909, 2–3; Ed d'em, bed d'em, in: Zoltán LÁSZLÓ, *A vérvád átka alatt*. Budapest, 1914, Lengyel. 124–126.

³² Zoltán LÁSZLÓ, Iza Boljetinac I. Útirajz, *Pesti Hírlap* (34) Nr. 178, 28.7.1912, 69; LÁSZLÓ, Iza Boljetinac II, *Pesti Hírlap* (34), Nr. 184, 4.8.1912, 70.

³³ Kiszlár-Hirsizs, LÁSZLÓ, *A vérvád átka alatt*, 196.

³⁴ Tamara SCHEER, „Minimale Kosten, absolut kein Blut!” Österreich-Ungarns Präsenz im Sandžak von Novipazar (1879–1908). Frankfurt et al., 2013, Lang, 55–66; The Bab Krali-story, Ekrem Bey VLORA, *Lebenserinnerungen 2*. München, 1968/1973, Oldenbourg. 9–10.

roamed the Albanian countryside between 1908 and 1912, he was very likely to have met people from Shkodër fleeing into the mountains or the territories of the Monarchy (Kotor or Bosnia) from the retributory actions of the Ottoman military. László collected the following words from the towns mentioned above: clock-maker (sáhátçii-ja), doctor (heçim-i), lady (vajse) / Miss (zonja) / “virgin” (zonka); pub or inn (mejháne-mejhánja), banker (sharafa), shopkeeper (tydzsár), barber (berber-i), ferry (trap-i), ferry driver (stremxhi-ja), stamp (pula), Adria (Buna), potato (kartoll) or words of the coffee culture (kafe-kafja, filxhán-i, kafe han-a).

In order that the Hungarian economy could gain ground in the region, it was necessary to collect words of commerce and economy: commerce (*tyxharluk-melun*), trade (*dugáj-a*), merchandise (*me blee, me bualish-verish*), merchant (*tyxhár-i, meshit-i*), how much? (*me kushtue?*), craftsman (*zanatlií-ja*), free (*bedihava*), encash (*mim-zer-bogjin*), money (*pare*). But investors needed to be familiar with the terminology of taxation and state administration and had to know the words for the local ranks (*vergien-a, menzer-borgjin, vergien me-la; meftar-i, zabit-i; kralj-i, mali katunit*). The dictionary also contains the Albanian names of some countries: Arabia (*Arapistán*), England (*Hinglis*), Austria (*Nemcia*), Bulgaria (*Bugaresh*), Egypt (*Katumet*), France (*Francus*), Greece (*Jonan*), Hungary (*Maxharistán*), Montenegro (*Karadak-u, Málizii*), Germany (*veni nemçesh*), Russia (*Miskovi*), Spain (*Kudus*) and Turkey (*Turkiija*).