Map 1. Clan regions in northern Albania in the early twentieth century (Source: Doja 1999).

355
Map 3. Map of Albania showing troop movements during major German offensive against communist partisans in the winter of 1943. Troop activities on map indicate heavy partisan concentrations in the lowlands of central and southern Albania and their near total absence in the northern highland region (Source: Buda and Frashëri 1985).
APPENDIX B

Sample of Besa Agreement Between National Government and Highland Peasants on Terms of Law and Political Rule

Sample of besa document establishing the terms of rule of the Albanian national government in the highland region of Mat in 1919 (Source: CSAA, Fund 152, Dossier 1 [1919]).

In order to secure our beloved homeland Albania, to secure peace and to increase the love and fraternity between each other, those of us who have gathered in Mat have agreed to commit to a general Besa, becoming subject to all the orders of the government in accordance with its laws.

1) We are all brothers and have as our goal the best for our homeland.
2) We recognize the government and are bound by our will and our soul to all the commands it issues.
3) Every Albanian, whatever his issue or trouble, shall demand his rights from the government.
4) Murder and the seeking of blood by one Albanian against another is banned for one year. For an entire year, blood vengeance will be suspended.
5) Theft is forbidden, and an Albanian that takes the life of another will be punished as follows:
6) His property will be confiscated and his family banished from the Mat region, the perpetrator’s home will be burned down and he will be sent to face military court.
7) He who steals the property of another will be punished by three months to three years in prison, and will pay double the value of the stolen property.
8) For an Albanian that kidnaps the daughter or wife of another, kidnapping will be considered by the people as equal to murder, and will be punished in accordance with point 5.
9) According to local custom, if one takes the life of another for questions of honor, or catches one in the act of stealing, the murder will be considered justified and the perpetrator will not be penalized.
10) Dishonoring another and fighting among the people is not permitted, and will be punished severely.

11) Firing weapons for pleasure without the permission of the government is forbidden and will be punished severely.

12) Those who take and offer shelter to perpetrators in their home and does not notify the government or the local council of elders [pleqësi], but provides assistance to them, will be punished the same way as the perpetrators, in accordance with points 5 and 6.

13) Italian soldiers and their equipment will not be touched. Anyone who tries to lay a hand on them will be hanged.

14) He who cuts telegraph and telephone wires or steals poles will be handed to the Italian military court, which will issue its punishment.

15) Those that did not accept and did not enter into this besa are considered enemies of the homeland and are not our brothers. For this reason their families will be deported from the country.

16) All, young and old, will conduct their own affairs and will not deal with politics.

17) Those who deal with politics and foreign propaganda are against the goal of organizing Albania or have the intention of causing disorder and upheavals, will have their families deported and their homes burned to the ground.

18) By offering our hand in besa to each other, we agree to uphold these agreements and protect the honor of our country.

19) In accordance with custom, we give our pledge and sign this paper and agree that for its implementation we will follow the decisions of the subprefect and the Commission.

20) For all matters the people must address the Albanian Government, he who does not do so is not considered our brother.

21) If for any reason the government requires a national militia we will obey all commands issued by the government.

22) In due time, after the government and Commission have made their decision, the bearing of arms will be forbidden.

Burgajet, March 5, 1919

[signatories]

The establishment of a Commission consisting of 20 representatives of the people of Mat to act in accordance with the rule of the government is hereby certified, as demanded by the honor of our country.
APPENDIX C

Tables and Data for Chapter 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company or proprietor</th>
<th>Total Land (ha)</th>
<th>Region(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hajdar Starova</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Veliternë (Pogradec)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Biçaku</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>Cërrik (Elbasan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berat group (names n/a)</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>Fier (Berat)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rexhep Jella</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Maminas (Durrës)</td>
<td>Orchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamit Toptani</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Acaushaj (Durrës)</td>
<td>Orchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhafer Taga</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Larushk (Durrës)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoqëria Maliq</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Maliq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Partial list of local proprietors and firms in large-scale commercial agriculture, 1925-1939. Compiled from data in Fishta (1989), Fishta (1999) and Fishta and Doçi (1965).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company or proprietor</th>
<th>Year of start of operations</th>
<th>Total Land (ha)</th>
<th>Region(s)</th>
<th>Lease origin</th>
<th>Original land owner</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ente Italiana Agricolo d’Albania (EIAA)</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3500-5000</td>
<td>Shijak             (Durrës)</td>
<td>private and state çiftlik</td>
<td>Banush Hamdi beu, Hamdi bej Toptani, Fuad bej Toptani, Miltiadh Shallvari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societa Anonima Agricola Industriale Albanese Italiane</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1000-1200</td>
<td>Aliko             (Saranda)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societa Anonima Prodotti Industrie Agrarie (SAPIA)</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Yrshek             (Tirana)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Zija bej Toptani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domenico Pantaleo and Vito Giusti</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Babicë             (Vlora)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Arshi Seifo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Pacelli</td>
<td>1932-?</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Tirana</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Servet Libohova</td>
<td>Failed after a few years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arturo Orandi and Umberto Uberti</td>
<td>1936-1938</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>Milfol             (Vlora)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Shefqet Vërlaci</td>
<td>Sought to maintain original çiftlik system of 1/2 levy on product.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societa Industriale Agricola Albanese (SIBS) (Arturo Orandi)</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>Liakatund          (Vlora)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Eqerem Vlora, Sefa Vlora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ettore Santi</td>
<td>1927-1930</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>Poro               (Vlora)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Mehmet pasha Vlora</td>
<td>Failed after a few years. Partly due to peasant resistance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindicato Agricolo Industriale Italo-Albanese (ITALBA)</td>
<td>1928-?</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Shijak             (Durrës)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Masar bej Toptani</td>
<td>Failed after a few years. Controlled transferred to EIAA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonanni and Grillo</td>
<td>1929-?</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Rushkull           (Durrës)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Miltiadh Shallvari</td>
<td>Mostly forest. Later sold to EIAA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batistioni</td>
<td>1928-29</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Bilvia-Vorë        (Tirana)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Masar bej Toptani</td>
<td>Failed after a year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernesto Ranciano and Ettore Guigliamani</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>Bestrovë           (Vlora)</td>
<td>private çiftlik</td>
<td>Seit Qemali</td>
<td>Failed after a year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A. ITALBA</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Pjeshekëz          (Durrës), Saranda</td>
<td>private and state çiftlik</td>
<td>State-owned company.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cleveland Tractor Company</td>
<td>1931-36</td>
<td>(30000-35000)</td>
<td>Coastal region</td>
<td>state çiftlik (?)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Land reclamation from swampland. Contract never approved.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Graph 1. Tax revenue from the tithe (e dhjeta), 1928-1938. (Source: Meta 1999, p. 110, 112).

*Note: Until the fiscal year 1934-35 tithe payments were made in kind. After 1935 payments were made in cash value. Values on y-axis are absolute values in Albanian gold francs.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owner type</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Amount of land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large landowners</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14,554 3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State çiftlik</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50,000 12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich peasants</td>
<td>4,713</td>
<td>91,133 23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small and middle peasants</td>
<td>128,961</td>
<td>237,668 60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>21,544</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>155,225</strong></td>
<td><strong>393,355 100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Land distribution structure in 1945, on the eve of agrarian reform. (Source: Sjöberg 1991, p. 33).
Graph 1. A graphic representation of institutional transformations in Albania's lowland agrarian system, c. 1800-1945.

Albanian National State, 1924-1944

Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Albania, c. 1800 - 1924

Dispossession

Peasantry

Judge

Prefectures

Landowner

State

National

Legal Authority

Capitalist Agriculture

Economic Power

Feudalism

Contract Law

Private Property Rights

National Civil Code

Protection of Subsistence Rights

Peasantry

Judge (Kadi)

Landowner

State

Imperial

Legal Authority

Political and Fiscal Authority

Government Agriculture

Imperial Agriculture
APPENDIX D

A Note on Archival Sources

The research of this dissertation relied heavily on archival documents held by the Central State Archives of Albania (Arkivi Qendror i Shtetit), Albania’s central repository of government documents and other textual historical material. The archival material consulted covered the period after Albania’s independence (1912), through the pre-war (1919-1939) and wartime (1939-1944) periods. Individual documents are cited in the endnotes whenever their contents are quoted directly or used to support an empirical claim.

The CSAA organizes documents on the basis of particular funds, which hold documents from specific entities, such as government ministries, prefectures, and diplomatic offices, as well noted individuals. These individual funds are further cross-indexed on the basis of a classification system that groups documents on the basis of specific domains. According to the latest (2004) classification system, these domains are: I. State Organization, II. Politics, III. Military, IV. Economy and Finance, V. Education, Culture and Science, VI. Health, and VII. Religion.

On Albania’s highland policy, I consulted documents from the period 1912-1944, organized under the following subheadings:
I-1-1.3. The election of village heads.

I-2-2.1. General information on the organization of state institutions.

I-4-9. Traditional customs and the reconciliation of blood feuds.

II-2.16. Political movements in the highlands, 1913-1944.

II-4-2. Zog’s campaign against participants of the June Revolution and regions resisting submission to his rule.

II-4-11. The activities of bajraktars and their relations with the Zog government.

In relation to the lowlands, in addition to documents filed under II-4-2, I consulted documents under the following headings:

II-4-7. The anti-Zog movement in Vlora.

II-4-8. The Fier revolt of 1935.

II-4-10. The Delvina movement of 1937.

In addition to the above, a valuable collection of primary documents involving conflict over land is the volume by Beqir Meta and Rinush Idrizi, *Lufta e fshatarësisë për tokë, 1925-1939: përmbledhje dokumentesh* (1985).
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