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THE SECOND LECTURE ON MACEDONARMÂN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

THE OLD LITERATURE AND THE FIRST WRITINGS

The first **document** of Macedonarmân language are the words “Torna, torna, fratre!” (Turn back, turn back, brother!) dating back to the year 587. These words can be found at the Byzantium chronicler Theophanes, who tells about a fight of a Byzantine army against the Avars - a barbarian people. The chronicler Simokattes had also written about this event a hundred years before.

Both Simokattes and Theophanes are saying that because of some soldiers in the Byzantine army who were shouting at the height of their voices **retorna** (according to Simokattes) or **torna, torna, fratre** (according to Theophanes), the Byzantine army nearly lost their battle against the Avars. And this is what the two chroniclers tell us: “While following a mountain path on their loaded mules, one of the Byzantine soldiers walking ahead had his loaded saddle falling off the mule. His companions behind shouted to him “in their country’s language” (epihorio ti ylotti – Simokattes) or “in their mother’s tongue” (ti patroxori – Theophanes) to turn back and fasten the saddle on the mule. These words brought about a big confusion among the Byzantine army who believed they were a military command and started running away while shouting as loud as they could “torna, torna (get back, get back.)”

In like manner both the Avars and the Byzantines started running away in disarray.

These words stand as a proof that during that time the Latin language was alive in the Balkans and that there existed a Latino-phone people, which were the Macedonarmans.

The words “Torna, torna, fratre” are also a witness to the fact that in the Byzantine army the military commands were being made in Latin. However, military commands could not include the word “fratre” (brother), reason for which several scholars, such as Al. Philipidde, C Jirecek, P. Násturel, Eugen Coseriu, said that this word was added by Theophanes.

About this first document of Macedonarmân language has been written a lot. G. Calinescu in his “History of Romanian Literature” made the following affirmation: “Torna, torna, fratre” is for the Macedonarmâns what the “Oath of Strasburg” (842) is for the French language or Carta Capuana (960) for the Italian language.

The second document of Macedonarmân language is the “**Inscriptia alu Nectarie Târpu**” (Nectarie Târpu’s Inscription) from 1731, Ardenitsa, the Ottoman Empire (today Albania). The text says the following: “Viryira, muma-alu Dumnidză, oarâ trâ noi picâtoshlli...” (The Virgin, our Lord’s mother, is wishing us the sinners...) The same text is also written in Albanian on the same icon, at the top on the right, and at the bottom, in Greek. The icon was found by Dh. S. Shuteriki.

“The Inscription on the Shimota Dish” – is an undated text and the scholars said that it might date from the 18th century. It is a beautiful wine bowl that has a text written in Macedonarmân on the one side and in Greek on the other side. Both texts are written in Greek characters and here is what they say: “My fellow Câlâritu, drink from this wine like from yours/ Don’t drink too much so you don’t vomit./ And so that it won’t harm you/ and that I don’t get you drunk/ Just drink once, and go home.” (Câlâritlu-a meu, bea yinu ca pi-a tău/ Multu s-nu beai, si nu ti vumeai./ Tra s-nu-ts facâ-arău/ Tra s-nu ti-ambetu eu/ Unâ oară s-beai shi-acasă tsi s-vai (s-vâisheshtsâ)).

The fellow Câlâritu was a Macedonarmân person from the village Câlari. (*Câlâritu, besides meaning “an inhabitant of Câlari”, could also mean traveler; an interpretation that should not be excluded.*)

The same as with other peoples, the first writings of the Macedonarmâns were connected to church or religion. The most important religious text in Macedonarmân is the Macedonarmân Liturgy Book (Lituryierlu Armânescu), found in Albania. It is an anonymous manuscript and it was first printed by Prof. Matilda Caragiu-Marioteanu, in 1962, with the Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest.

The Liturgy Book was found in Korce, Albania, in 1939 by the scholar Ilo Mitke-Qafezezi. According to Caragiu this text could be dated at the beginning of the 18th century. It has 24 pages of Macedonarmân text written in Greek characters and one page containing a text in Greek language. The Liturgy Book displays two kinds of writings: one in black ink for the Macedonarmân text, and one in red ink, in Greek language, which gives instructions to the priest with regards to what to do and which prayer to say. This stands for the fact that the priests knew the Greek language, but the Macedonarmâns were supposed to attend the Liturgy in their mother language, as they could not understand Greek.

M. Caragiu-Mariotseanu stated the following: “The Macedonarmân Liturgy is of great importance; it is the oldest text in Macedonarmân, dating from the beginning of the 18th century or even from an earlier date. Also, it is the oldest church text in the mother language of the Macedoarmâns, a witness to how early in time the liturgy was being delivered in Macedonamân so the people could understand it.”

Another Macedonarmân Liturgy is **“From God Liturgy to the one at the bosom of John the Golden Mouth, the Archbishop of Constantinople”** (Di la Dumnidzău Lituryii a tsilui ditu Sinlu a pârintului a nostu Ioan Gura di-Amalmâ, Arhiipiscopu ali Constantinopoli), edited by the Cultural Society Balcania, Paris, 1967 (in 42 pages). The name of the translator is unknown.

One of the most beautiful Liturgies is **“The Saint Liturgy of Saint John the Golden Mouth”** (Sâmta Lituryii a sâmtului Oani Gurâ di Malâmâ), for many voices, printed by the Macedoarmân Society “Santa Dzurdu” in Shtip, FYROM/Slavic Macedonia. It was translated in Macedonarmân by Dina Cuvata and musically notated by Iane Cogeabashia.

It is the first time in the modern times that we have such a liturgy written in an exquisite Macedonarmân language.

CODEX DIMONIE is a manuscript found by Gustav Weigand , who called it by the name of the family where he found it, in Ohrid, today FYROM or Slavic Macedonia. It's also undated and anonymous. There seems to be several authors who wrote it as it shows differences from one text to the other. Matilda Caragiu-Mariotseanu says that “according to the type of language, it seems that the text was translated into Macedonarmân at the beginning of the 19th c.

The first part of the manuscript was transcribed and then translated into German by one of Weigand's students, Paul Dachsel, in volume 1 of G. Weigand's annual magazine (Jahresbericht Leipzig, 1894). Matilda Caragiu, who spent a lot of time over this manuscript, said: “Codex Dimonie is a collection of church texts which the translating-authors named ‘**didahii**’”. There are 15 texts. For further information look up Matilda Caragiu-Mariotseanu's article “The Bible at the Macedonarmâns”, in the Revista de istorie si teorie literară, Bucuresti, 1991, pp 306-315.

The discovery of “Codex Dimonie” is of major importance for the spiritual history of the Macedonarmâns. It bears witness to the Macedonarmans' permanent search for spiritual enlightenment through their mother language. The manuscript is written in a clear Armân language especially beautiful for its unique form, a form which never the manuscripts, written after the contacts with Romania and particularly after the contact with the schools of Rumanian language opened for the Macedonarmâns, would display again.

FURTHER RELIGIOUS WRITINGS

In the article “The Bible at the Macedonarmâns”, Matilda Caragiu-Mariotseanu is giving us an overview of all the religious writings in Macedonarmân language. Here it is interesting to see some common words in the two languages, the Macedonarmân and the Latin; the former still alive, while the second, though extensively written about two millennia ago no longer in use today.

Dumnidză – Lat. domine, deus – God

Bâsearicâ – Lat. basilica – church

Crishtinu – Lat. cristianus – Christian

Crutsi – Lat. crux – cross

Preftu – Lat. presbiter – priest

(preftulu) cântâ – Lat. canto, cantari – to sing, singing

(preftulu) oară – Lat. oror; orari – to wish, wishing

(preftulu) pâteadzâ – Lat. baptizare – to baptize

(preftulu) cumânicâ – Lat. communicare – to take communion

(preftulu) ncurunâ – Lat. coronare – to bless/sanctify the marriage of the newly-weds

(omlu) blastimâ – Lat. blastimare – to curse

Llertu – Lat. liberto – to forgive

Tsearâ – Lat. cera – wax candle

Tseru – Lat. caelum – sky
Dracu – Lat. draco – devil
Murmintu – Lat. monumentum – monument
Dari, dare – Lat. do, dare – to offer libation, to give, to sacrifice
Pâreasini – Lat. quadragesimae – fasting
Cârciunu – Lat. creationis – Christmas
Pashti – Lat. Pascha, ae – Easter
Dumânica – Lat. dominica – Dominus’ day, Sunday
Sân-/Sâm-/Sum – Lat. sanctus – saint

The Macedonarmâns developed their spiritual culture under the Greek influence and vice-versa. They drew upon each other’s cultures for thousands of years. The Rumanians fell under the Slavic influence, while the Polish, the Tchechs, the Hungarians, under the Latin, the Catholic one. During that time the language used officially was the church language. In the Byzantine world, where the Macedonarmâns belonged, it was Greek. With the Rumanians, the Serbs, the Bulgarians it was the Slavonic, while with the other European peoples it was Latin. These three languages were the languages of education as well as the languages of the church liturgy. It took a long time for the languages of all the Christian peoples to become what they are today. Therefore there should be no wonder why the Macedonarmâns had their own first writings in Greek characters. When they started to write in their own language they did it in Greek letters just as the Rumanians did it in Slavonic Kirilic characters.

The Macedonarmâns started to translate their church texts just about the same time as all the other Balkan peoples. Unfortunately, due to the deeply troubled and threatening history of the Balkans, many of our original manuscripts vanished and today we are having trouble finding out when the first Macedonarmân text was really written. Matilda Caragiu-Mariotseanu affirmed that we don’t have an integral bible of the Old and New Testament in Macedonarmân. We only have fragments of both and more of these from the New Testament, which is mostly material for reading in the church. For certain, fragments from the Old Testament used to circulate before the 18th c.

The Old Testament

It is known Dimitri Athanasescu’s “A shortening of the Sacred History for the Romans on the right side of the Danube, worked out from the Text of a Sacred Scripture by D.A., Bucharest, 1867. It is a booklet of 100 pages, written in Latin alphabet. It is a very brief narration of the Old Testament, to be understood by everybody. The language used by D. Athanasescu is widely Rumanianized and full of foreign words used even when there was an Macedonarmân word quite at hand to choose.

Short fragments of this sacred book are circulating around as early as the 18th c., in the book of Constantin Ucuta the Moscopolean – The New Pedagogy (Nea Paedayoyia), 1977, Vienna. We will refer later to this book again.

Right is Matilda Caragiu-Mariotseanu when she says: “These can’t be the only written texts surviving from the Old Testament. Some of them we may not have found yet, others must have been lost. Surely there must have been the Psalms, which was the main book of faith for the Macedonarmâns, as it was often read/sung in the church, read at home, and most importantly in schools. And as I am writing about the instruction at the Macedonarmâns, Pericle Papahagi used to say that, at school, they first studied the Alphabet, then the Oktoiheion, then the Psalms, next the Oroloyion, and finally the Apostle and the Gospel. When they went through all these books, they were all ready to become priests or teachers. Where are all these books? What has happened to them?”

The New Testament. We do not possess a translation of the whole New Testament. We only have fragments of this book of Christianity: 1. The Gospels by Mathew, Mark and Luke). 2. The Facts of the Apostles 3. The Apostles’ Epistles.

Most of the surviving texts are Gospel texts from the 19th c, when Rumanian Schools were being opened, for Macedonarmâns, in Macedonia (1864). The Macedonarmân language was being heard in churches in many of the villages. In a book published by The Biblical Society for Anglicans and Foreigners, London, 1899, besides those 320 languages and dialects from all over the world in which a part of the Gospel by John was translated, it is also mentioned **Macedo-Roman**, a language spoken in “**Macedonia, Albania, and Thessaly.**” The Macedonarmân text given here is a fragment from the Gospel by Mathew. We are giving below the names of the text from the Gospel:

1. The Saint and Godly Gospel in Macedo-Roman dialect, 1881, The Printing House Thiel & Weiss, Bucharest. The name of the author is unknown.
2. The Gospel by Matthew in Macedo-Roman dialect, Bucharest, The Printing House of the Albanian Society, “Dituria”, 1888. The author mentions his name at the end thus: “This Gospel is translated into Macedo-Roman dialect by Lazulu alu Dumii/Lazarus of Dumii (Pisodrenu – from the village of Pisoderi). The text has 28 chapters. The language is full of Daco-Rumanianisms and Latino-Roman neologisms; however, the Macedonarmân isn’t entirely destroyed.
3. The Saint Gospel by Mark, in Macedonarmân language by Apostol Caciuperi, The Avdella Publishing House, 1984 (50 pages).

Doubtlessly there were a lot more Gospels written for and by the Macrdonarmâns and published much longer before the ones mentioned above. Gustav Weigand said: “In Macedonia, it is said that in many churches are being used old translations of Boiagi from the Gospel, translations which, after the national movements of the Macedonarmâns, were hunted and destroyed by the Greek episcopate, reason for which no copy has survived.

In his book *The Macedonarmâns (Die Aromunen)*, Leipzig, 1895, Gustav Weigand reported that the bishop of Berat (Albania) told him about two very beautiful old “Codices”: the older one included the Gospels by Mathew and Mark, written in silver letters which got worn out with time. The color of the parchment altered; the other, the newer one, which kept in great shape, written in gold letters, includes all four gospels.”

In the Balkan, the Macedonarmâns used to spread written culture. Big or small businessmen, tradesmen, the Macedonarmâns kept the books and records of the movement of merchandize as well as of their profits. If in some churches one could only hear Greek, we are aware that there were churches in which the Gospel was read /chanted in Macedonarmân.

The Macedonarmâns were known not only for their business of keeping sheep but also for being well-known merchants. Commerce in the Balkans, in its largest part, was in their hands. Thus started to come into birth the Macedonarmân centers in Epirus, then part of the Ottoman Empire, such as Ianina, Aminciu, Calari, Siracu, and in western Macedonia, part of the Ottoman Empire, Macedoarmân towns such as Moscopole, Gramoste, Niculitsa. The towns in Epirus were having connections with harbors in Italy and mostly with those of Venetia. Foreign travelers like Poukeville, Cousinery, Heuzey, Leake, Holland, Thunmann, Kanits, Cvijic, Dusan Popovici, have left us lots of information about the cultural life of the Macedonarmâns. From the written historical documents of those travelers we can see that the Macedonarmâns used to have trading links with France ever since the time of Louis XIV, and ever since the 17th c they would travel all the way to Venetia, Trieste, Ancona, Genova, Ragusa, Livorno, Neapoli, Sicilia, Sardinia, Malta. Many get as far as Cadiz, Spain.

During the Austro-Hungarian Empire they formed out large colonies in Vienna, Pesta, Miskolcz. We will find them in Belgrade, Poli (Istanbul), in the three Rumanian countries, Poznan (Poland), Moskow, and Egypt. Obviously, all these Macedonarmân merchants, who traveled and held connections with the whole world, could not have been uneducated people. Poukeville, France's consul to Ali Pasha of Ianina, during the time of Napoleon 1st said: "The Vlachs (as the Greeks call the Macedonarmâns) who travel – and they are so many – speak several languages and hold libraries full of collections of French and Italian books. They also possess good editions of the classical Greeks. However, what is very impressive about them is the spirit of order and cleanliness you can see in their cities and houses."

We know lots of names of Macedonarmâns from Moscopole, Aminciu, Gramusti, Vlaho-Clisura etc, who, during the 18th c, studied theology, philosophy, mathematics, medicine in universities of Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and England. While studying Latin they immediately had a sense of their roots also connecting with Rome. The cultural life of the Macedonarmâns is most tightly linked to the city of Moscopole, in western Macedonia of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1788, Moscopole counted 60.000 people and at that time it was the largest cultural center in the Balkans. After Constantinople, it was the second largest city in the empire – founded and populated mostly by Macedonarmâns. (Athens was counting at that time only 9.000 inhabitants!) An inhabitant at the time wrote: "The City of Moscopole is

situated in Macedonia, at the boundary with Albania; it is the largest city not only in all Greece but also in the whole Turkish Empire, a city endowed not only with extraordinary privileges and freedoms, but also with important advantages from the Turkish Empire.” This Latin document about Moscopole is to be found in the “State Archives” in Budapest and it was printed for the first time by Gh. Alexici, in the *Convorbiri Literare* magazine, Rumania.

To Moscopole are linked the names of the first learned Macedonarmâns who wrote in Macedonarmân. Moscopole had a printing house (one of the few in the Balkans), an Academy, and Superior Schools where humanist sciences were being taught. The Macedonarmâns were educated in Greek; however, they were also using Macedonarmân written in Greek characters. Greek language was being used in the whole southeast of Europe in education and philosophical writings, just as Latin was being used in Western Europe.

THE CULTURAL MOVEMENT OF MOSCOPOLE

Much has been written about this movement. Unfortunately, thus far no in-depth new research has been done about this European Balkan cultural phenomenon. What is the character of this movement? Is it only Greek, as the Greeks claim? How much of it was Macedonarmân? – considering that fact that it was founded and grown up by Macedonarmâns. And more interestingly, it is fascinating to see in this movement an initial start of the development of the European spirit in the Balkans. Just as Byzantium had not been only Greek, although Greek was the language of writing, likewise, the cultural movement of Moscopole could not bear witness to only one culture. Moscopole gave birth to a multicultural movement. Here lived together Macedonarmân, Greek, Albanian, and Slavic cultures. All academics were Macedonarmân though! They became aware of the need of communication, of a spiritual togetherness of all the Balkan peoples. For this modern European Balkan spirit was Moscopole highly commended by so many foreign scholars from the West!

At Moscopole’s printing house were being published Macedonarmân books under the aegis of the New Academy (*Nea Academia*), lead and counseled by the great Macedonarmân scholar **Theodor Anastasie Cavalioti**. The work at the typography started in 1740 and lasted for two years. There had been printed many church books. Weigand said that: “The birth of this typography in the 18th c in the Ottoman Empire should not make us wonder. We know how big and rich Moscopole was at that time and how much its commerce, industries, and science were developed there. According to George Constantin Roja many Macedonarmân books had been printed there, but non have been found so far.”

Professor Max Demeter Peyfuss, who has written one of the most important books for the Macedonarmâns – “*Die Aromunische Frage*” (Vienna, 1972) is one of those scholars who for many years has been doing research in order to find out and bring to light the activity of Moscopole’s typography.

In the cultural movement of Moscopole we can distinguish two directions: one that was trying to teach the Macedonarmâns only Greek and the other one which was promoting education in their mother language as well. Moscopole was set on fire twice, and many of the books printed there vanished in its ashes forever. For the books written in Macedonarmân were hated and chased by the Patriarchy at Constantinople, who believed there was only one God's language to be committed to writing – Greek.

Moscopole was the birthplace of the Macedonarmân enlightenment just as later on “The Ardealean School” in Transilvania would be the birthplace for the Romanian enlightenment, whose birth and development happened only by the help of the Moscopolean Macedonarmâns living in exile in Vienna and Budapest. To Moscopole's cultural movement are linked names of learned people such as Th. Anastasie Cavallioti, Daniil of Moscopole, Constantin Ucuta, George Constantin Roja, Mihail G. Boiagi, N. Ioanovici, Dimitri Nicola Darvari, Constantin Emanoil Ghica of Djanfalva, Ioan Nicolidi of Pindu, who left books of major interest for philosophy, history, and science.

TEODOR ANASTASIE CAVALLIOTI was the head of the New Academy of Moscopole, at that time the highest institution of education in the Balkans. He was the author of a number of books of grammar, philosophy and poetics. From Johan Thunmann we are learning that Teodor Cavallioti had written books in all fields of science at the time, but no one of them have been published during our time. He wrote “The First Learning” (Protopiria), published at Venetia, in 1770. It is a book for reading written in Greek, with biblical texts, which at the end includes a lexicon of 1.170 words in Greek, translated into Macedonarmân and Albanian. The book had a practical and functional purpose and it was published by the help of George Tricupa Cosminski, a Macedonarmân merchant who did business with wines in Poland and Hungary. Just like a mystery, a copy of Cavallioti's Protopiria is still extant today. While a student at the University of Halle, the Macedonarman Constantin Hagi-Ceagani gave that copy to Professor Johan Thunmann. Thunmann immediately appreciated the value of that book and its importance for the written culture in the Balkan. He reprinted it in his book of great historical interest: “A Research in the History of Eastern European Peoples”, Leipzig, 1774. And this is how the first and only book showing the beginning of Macedoarmân writing fell under the scrutinizing eye of a philologist at that time. Another complete copy of Protopiria was never to be found.

Gustav Meyer, a researcher in Albanian culture, found an incomplete copy and published it in “Albanian Studies.”

The student Constantin Hagi-Ceagani spent three years at Halle and gave professor Thunmann lots of information about the Macedonarmâns: their language, their number, their country. Thunmann left words of commendation about this Macedonarman student, who studied languages, philosophy and mathematics at the University of Halle.

Three manuscripts of Cavallioti's: A Treatise of Logics, A Treatise of Physics, and A Treatise of Metaphysics are part of the collection of books at St. Sava Library of Greek

Academy, in Bucharest. The Treatise of Logics is an autograph, handwritten and dated by Cavallioti himself: 5th of February 1755. At that time Cavallioti was 27. These treatises were the subject-matter for his lectures at The New Academy. The other two treatises were handwritten by one of his students, Naum Anastasie Data. With regards to Cavallioti's life we have a lot of information from the German Johan Thunmann as well as from the Greek historians Zaviras, Sathas, and Vretos. In "Nea Ellas", Zaviras said: "Theodor Athanasie Cavallioti of Cavala (sic), was a genius. By the help of the coppersmiths he was sent to Ianina, where he was instructed by Eugeniu Bulgari." Thunmann said that Cavallioti "is a learned man, the most learned of his people, who studied languages, philosophy, and mathematics, with great success." V. Papacostea said: "A lofty air of classicism was breathing at Moscopole."

Cavallioti was one the forerunners of comparative linguistics. Later on scholars such as Thunmann, G. Meyer, Fr. Miklosich, Emil Picot would use his book in their writings about Balkan Latinity.

The purpose of Cavallioti's "The First Learning" (Protopiria) was to spread Greek language among the Macedonarmâns. But to reach this purpose he had to write the Macedonarmân language as well and thus it got written for the first time; and the effect was the opposite! This outcome maddened the Patriarchy at Constantinople who started chasing this book, which in fact was meant to teach the Macedonarmâns Greek. The Patriarchy realized that this book was in fact awakening the Macedonarmans to the realization that their language could be written! For the Patriarchy at Constantinople the only language in which Christ's word was supposed to be heard was Greek! That is why only one copy of Cavallioti's Protopiria survived, and it fell into the right hands – Thunmann's.

It is also of great interest to be mentioned that Theodor Athanasie Cavallioti was greatly inspired by the German culture. The trading affairs after 1700s made it felt more and more deeply all over Balkans, particularly among the Macedonarmâns, who were at the heart of trading and held the monopoly of logistics. After the Peace Agreement of Pasarovits between Austria and Turkey, links among the German and Balkan peoples increased. Many of the Macedonarmân merchants took their children to study in the west and soon this would become a tradition among the Macedonarmâns, who would start sending their children to universities in Germany and Austria. In those centers of education a new field for scientific and philological research was being opened and Leibniz's theories were fairly respected.

DANIIL THE MOSCOPOLEAN, by his full name "Daniil Mihali Adami Hagi the Moscopolean," wrote a book of Reading in four languages – **Lexicon Tetraglosson** – which was part of a greater work "Teachings for Beginners," a book which had both a religious and scientific goal. The sentences were written in Greek, Macedonarmân, Bulgarian, and Albanian. The book has got down to our days in two editions: the first edition – undated, and the second dated 1802. The first edition was reproduced by William Martin Leake in "Researches in Greece," published in London, 1814.

Daniil's book is of greater importance than the Cavallioti's because it includes not only words but also full sentences of language. In it we can find the beautiful language of the time. In 1841 a Bulgarian edition of the Tetraglosson was published, in Thessaloniki. Again, the purpose of this book was to spread Greek among the Balkan peoples. And here is what Daniil the Moscopolean says: "Enjoy yourselves you Bulgarian, Albanian, and Armân youth.../ Wake up from your deep sleep of ignorance/ Learn the Greek language, the mother of wisdom." But this book contributed again to the awakening to their national identity as Macedonarmâns, by seeing that their language could be put to writing. Again the patriarchy got mad and again it took up a book chase.

CONSTANTIN UCUTA – a protopope in Prusia, descendent from Moscopole, printed in Vienna, in 1797, a book of major interest – "A New Pedagogy", "an easy ABC for children to learn the Macedonarmân language." The major part of this book is its preface where we can see that at that time Moscopole was preparing to introduce their language in schools. He is the first who in a conspicuous manner talked to his people straightforward about the enlightenment through their mother language. The book was printed at the printing shop of the marquises Pulliu, who themselves were Macedonarmâns. Even more than at his predecessors: Cavallioti and Daniil the Moscopolean, Ucuta's book was furiously chased by the patriarchy while the author was excommunicated. Here is Ucuta's heroic, direct address of his nation knowing that this will cost him his position in the church: "To the reader. Wait for this little light to be used in our families, for I believe you've been pining for long to see this beginning for our nation." (Adhyivâsitorlui. Ashteaptâ-u luñina aistâ putsânâ trâ ufilisirea a fumelliloru a noster, câ pistipsescu di multu câ tsâ eara doru s-u vedz aestâ arhizmâ (ahurhitâ) tru fara a noastâ.) And like a real grammarian, Ucuta issues rules of phonetics, morphology, and syntax for the Macedonarmân language. This is how Ucuta supports the idea of learning the mother language: "As the apostle Paul writes to the Corinthians: for if I pray in a foreign language, my soul is praying, but my mind is fruitless." (Câ scrie apostolu Pavlu la Corinthiañi: se fure câ mi-ancclinu cu limbâ xeanâ, suflitlu-ñi si-ancclinâ, ma mintea ñi-easti ârâ carpo."

Another great humanist idea which Ucuta advanced was the need to approach foreign words "without embarrassment". "Do not be embarrassed to take letters from the Greeks or to borrow from other languages, for all the existing languages are borrowing from each other. All the other nations borrowed from the old Hellenes; they borrowed letters, words, and nobody can stop or hide this for their letters can be seen and their words can be understood, just as with us."

In the first part of his work, which is more didactic, Ucuta adapts the Greek letters to the Macedonarmân pronunciation. In the second part, he translates Psalms from the Bible such as "Our Father"; a prayer for after lunch or dinner; "the Creed" and "the Ten Commandments of God." (See M. Caragiu-Mariotseanu – The Bible at the Macedonarmans, p. 308).

GHEORGHE CONSTANTIN ROJA (1786-1847) With Roja begins the movement towards the adoption of Latin letters for the Macedonarmân writing. This beginning will be further advanced by Mihail G. Boiagi but with much greater scientific progress.

MIHAIL. BOIAGI is one of the first grammarians in the Balkans. We don't know much about Boiagi's life. We know he was born in Budapest in 1780 and was coming from a family of Macedonarmâns from western Macedonia of the Ottoman Empire. When he published his grammar he was a teacher at the National School of the Greek Church in Vienna and continued to reside here even after he was excommunicated. It seems that he died in 1828. In an encyclical, the patriarch at Constantinople excommunicated not only Boiagi but also all those who believed in the words "of an erratic who rebels against the language in which God spoke and speaks (- Greek)."

In 1813, signed in German by the name of Michael Bojadjchi, in Greek letters Mihail (Rumanian version of Mihali) Boiatzi, which in Macedonarmân it would be Mihali Buigi, a book was published in Vienna called "Gramatiki Romaniki, or Makedonovlahiki," a title also given in German as such: "Romanische, or Macedonowlachische Sprachlehre".

We have to spend some time over the title of this book, which has always been translated in versions meant to suit political purposes. Boiagi writes "romaniki" in Greek and "romanische" (not "rumänische", which is Rumanian, as it was wrongly translated). For Boiagi these names mean "Macedonarmâns" and "Roman" (from Rome!). There is a huge difference between the German words "romanisch" (Roman from Rome) and "rumänisch" (Rumanian from Rumania, a word that entered linguistics much later, after the formation of the modern national state Rumania).

All the German scholars called the Macedonarmâns "mazedoromanisch" (macedo-roman and not "mazedoromänisch"/macedo-rumanian, as it was translated in Rumania) or "aromunen" (see G. Weigand) and not "arumänen" (aromâni). Therefore, the Rumanian translation given to the title of Boiagi's book: "Gramatica Română or Macedo-română" (Rumanian or Macedo-rumanian Grammar), published by Pericle Papahagi, in 1915, was incorrect and unjust. A correct translation of the title was made by the edition published by Professor Barba in 1988, Freiburg: "Gramatica armână ică macedonovlahă" (Arman or Macedonovlach Grammar), which accurately fits the original title: "Romanische or Macedonovlachische Sprachlehre (in German), and Gramatiki Romaniki, or Makedonovlahiki (in Greek).

Here is what Matilda Caragiu-Mariotseanu says in her foreword to this edition: "Boiagi's Grammar is not Rumanian or Macedo-rumanian, as Pericle Papahagi interpreted it, but it is a Macedonarmân or a Macedono-vlach Grammar, just as Boiagi named it, and here Boiagi showed a deep intuition of a learned man."

It is the first scientific Grammar written in Latin letters in the mother language of the Macedonarmân people. In her foreword Matilda Caragiu-Mariotseanu also adds: "Boiagi's language is the language his parents spoke around the years 1750s, in and around the city of Moscopole; it is the language of Nectarie Târpu's inscription (1731); it

is the language Th. A. Cavallioti, of Daniil the Moscopolean and of Constantin Ucuta. Boiagi's language and particularly the language of the Texts – is purely Macedonarmân...”

Boiagi's Grammar was written for the Macedonarmâns in their own motherland, where Greek was the language of education, as well as for the Macedonarmâns living in compact communities in exile, all over Europe, particularly for those living in Austro-Hungary, after the destruction of their cities and villages. That's why it was written in Macedonarmân and in two other languages, Greek, for those at home, and German, for those in exile in Austro-Hungary. Right is Matilda Caragiu when she says: “Boiagi's Grammar is the official document of the language of a European people, which is neither Albanian, nor Greek, nor Serbian, nor Turkish, but a language of its own among all the other Balkan languages.”

Boiagi's Grammar has a foreword (Vorrede) which is the most important document for the awakening of our people, which has its own identity, a people with its own language who is entitled like any other people to keep it and use it freely. Rightly does Boiagi say: “Every language is a mark of the human spirit. The more languages does a human being learn, the more paths will his spirit open. Just as Ennius once said: *Quot linguas calles, tot homines vales*”, or “Had the Vlachs/Macedonarmâns been Hottentots, yet would they have had the right to speak their own language and grow in it, the best way of all.”

Boiagi was not only a great Macedonarmân patriot but also a great humanist of his times. We should keep in mind that large communities of Macedonarmâns lived as exiles in Austro-Hungary (Vienna, Budapest, Mishkoltz), and Boiagi was trying to help them keep their mother language. Boiagi's foreword is a modern “Demand”, “avant la lettre” of the “Demand 1333”, a request to the European world, an appeal to all brothers of Latin languages, in order to help their little sister, the Macedonarmân, and stop its extinction. Boiagi further adds in his foreword: “The sister languages which I mentioned before (Italian, French, Spanish) were, in the beginning, in the same situation or even with less help and poorer, as it can be seen from their old books, and despite this, today, as a paradigm, the Italian language has become the general language of song in the whole of Europe, even though in those places German, English, French are being spoken and written!”

And also says Boiagi: “That is why the Macedonarmâns should not be ashamed of their language; on the contrary, they should feel proud of it, and when they will cultivate and enrich their spirit, their language will follow it happily just as it happens with many other languages.” And here are more of Boiagi's words: “I have used the Latin alphabet for the Macedonarmân language, just as all the other daughters of Latin did it a long time before me.”

Boiagi's book of grammar contains Texts at the end, which are original as well as being the first literary texts in Macedonarmân literature. They are fables, comic stories, and other short stories, all beautifully written.

To get a full understanding of how special and important is Boiagi's Macedonarm Grammar in the Balkans, we would like to draw attention to the fact that all the other Balkan languages wrote and published their grammars after Boiagi had written and published his own:

- Greece: in 1888, Yiannes Psuchares, by his book "To Taxidi" was able to make it easy for the spoken language (the dhimotiki) to enter the written one (the katharevusa).
- Serbia: in 1814, a year after Boiagi's grammar, Vuk Karagic published the Serbian Grammar.
- Rumania: in 1828 was published Heliade Rădulescu's Grammar.
- Bulgaria: in 1835, Neofit Rilski published the first Grammar of modern Bulgarian language.

In 1840 "Dacia Literară", M. Kogălniceanu's magazine, in Romania, was still being written in Kirilic Slavonic alphabet.

Hence we can understand Boiagi's place among the most learned linguists in the Balkans. His Grammar is also written in a great European language – German, which is another sign of European integration of Macedonarmân culture, about which K. M. Gauss has written extensively.

M-D. Peyfuss said about Boiagi: "His national Macedonarmân pride did not allow his mind to bother about the linguistic analogies between Macedonarmân and Rumanian languages..."

Professor Vasili Barba said: "This Grammar could also be a sound basis for further linguistic studies of which the Macedonarmâns are in great need, now when a great emphasis is being placed all over Europe on the preservation of all languages and cultures born and developed in this old continent."

We are now going to end our word on Boiagi by quoting Professor Matilda Caragiu: "Boiagi wrote with passion and love for the Macedonarmâns. He will be heard, be given consideration and deeply comprehended. He will bring light and joy into the Macedonarmâns' homes. This is "intention" and "creation", no matter how modest it will be. Boiagi's weeping and love for the language and the people who speak it, lest it or they should perish, it seems today, after 175 years, as though we heard them yesterday. That is why when we are holding this book in our hands, our soul should bow just as a Christian man's soul bows when he is holding the Bible in his hand."

Rüsselsheim, January 2002