



Pseudo-Doctrine Kosovo - Old Serbia

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Keywords :

"KOSOVO: OLD SERBIA" is a strongly elaborated concept firstly by Jovan Cvijic¹, a historian, ethnographer and one of the most well-known Serbian researchers, who supported his views with invented topographic, ethnographic and demographic arguments, followed by many other Serbian theorists such as V. Djordjevic², J. Tomić³, V. Čubrilović⁴, and later on, by others such as B. Nukshic, I. Andrić, S. Molevic. This concept is the axis on which the whole Pan-Slavic doctrine of "The Great Serbia" is built on. Since this concept was articulated and elaborated by such Serbian academic authorities, it has and still continues to echo, impact and be of particular importance in the political doctrines of the peninsula and beyond. Cvijic and others have developed and manipulated historical and ethnographic arguments aiming to present Kosovo and Albanians in Kosovo as an "alien element"⁵ in the ethnographic area where they live.

This viewpoint was proclaimed and upraised in a theoretical platform by this well-known Serbian researcher during the first two decades of the 20th century, corresponding therefore to the conception period of the new Albanian State and to the development of major European Conferences that would influence its political existence.

It was these important Conferences of the international Great Powers that, among other things, would decide on the existence of the Albanian political subject in its natural extension, giving to these two decades an added value in the Albanian nation's history. In this rather difficult time for the political history of the Albanian state, and apparently not by chance, the Cvijic theory was delivered and echoed everywhere in Serbia⁶.

But where is this theory rooted?

By researching the time of creation of the political Serbian state, it seems that the origin lies in the political ideas elaborated by Garashanin, during the 40s of the 19th century, by which time the Serbian state had lived only two decades since its creation and was seeking to expand territorially further to its east and south⁷. However, a significant proportion of the targeted territory was militarily controlled by the Ottoman state. Apparently, this was the reason why one of the directions of Serbian policy was to free these territories and unite them in the Serbian state of Karadordevic. But, parallel to this orientation, chauvinistic tendencies appeared in the Serbian policy, which later on developed into a fundamental line of official state policy.

In 1844, Ilija Garasanin, at the time serving as Minister of Internal Affairs of Serbia, announced his political program to empower Serbia, later referred in European political history as "Nacertanije", which became the foundation of Serbian policy. Basically this theory reflected the following ideas:

- liberation of south Slav lands from the Ottoman political

and military control, with the aim to build a state similar to the empire of Stephen Dušan (Dušan the Mighty)⁸.

- incorporation into the borders of this proposed state of the Albanian-populated territories⁹, including the ethnic territory of Kosovo, that Garashanin would call "Old Serbia"¹⁰.
- non recognition of the existence of an Albanian state.
- by refusing to acknowledge the need for creation of the Albanian state, the Kosovo regions were considered as "the cradle of the Serbian state"¹¹, based on two symbols:
 - the Serbian Patriarchate of Pejë (Pec, serb) – 1346
 - the Battle of Kosovo (1389)¹², surrounded by legend, were Serbian resistance to Turkey was manifested. While Albanians in Serbia's eyes were a foreign body¹³ that, according to Serbian politics, had no historical and cultural right.

All these ideas were converted into a permanent official policy with political consequences for Albanians. Hence, the Serbian ambition to create a purely Serbian state, which was represented in the "one country, one king, one nation"¹⁴ idea, did not take into consideration the centuries long evolution symbiosis of Albanian and Serbian ethnicities, therefore, this official policy could only function by changing the ethnic structure. Meanwhile, on the other hand, there was a great power state like Russia, which inspired the creation of the Balkan League politically encompassing Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, for two reasons:

- firstly, elimination of the Sublime Porte dominion;
- secondly, the annexation of Macedonia, Thrace and Albania.

All the above were accompanied by the statement of Nikola Pasic, the Serbian Prime Minister in the years 1919-1926, for the assimilation of Albanians both from the national and cultural standpoints, followed by the agrarian reform in the years 1932-1941, undertaken by the Serbian government to eliminate the feudal relations. This was also meant to weaken as much as possible the land ownership of Albanians, who were left without the state's protection and care.

In the meantime, the views of Vukosavljevic and Balozovic are expressed in the "Police" Journal (1922), in their article "The colonization of Kosovo", which evaluated the colonization of Kosovo as an important factor for the denationalization of the Albanian territories. This article even gave an orientation that only by a planned colonization and in full compliance with the legal provisions, a permanent success could be reached. Djordje Krstic also shared these views, in his work "The colonization of southern Serbia", where the colonization was evaluated as first hand state issue, by correctly implementing assimilation and nationalization of problematic regions. Krstic proposed the approval of a law, which would

enable the fulfilment of the Serbian minority interests; such a law would create a close connection and an intimate relationship between the Serbian colonists and the local element. This was followed by orientations such as not intervening in the work of agrarian colonizing authorities and the motivation of their activity only by state reasons. By this approach, the establishment of colonies in the territories bordering Albania would be enabled, thus interrupting the connection with their parent ethnicity, and facilitating the assimilation of Albanians in Yugoslavia. However, this theory would not be effective if it was not institutionalised. Therefore, the Ministry of Agrarian Reform and its subordinate authorities such as the High Agrarian Department of Skopje were committed. What is important, from the state theory standpoint, is that Djordje Krstic' ideas and guidelines were adopted at all levels of state apparatus, which, through the help of public information means, influenced the wide opinion in Yugoslavia.

Whereas, according to Cubrilovic¹⁵, the problem of Albanians in the national and state life of Serbia was not an issue of modern times. According to him, this problem played a major role during the Middle Ages, but its importance became decisive by the end of the 17th century, at the time when masses of Serbian people were displaced northward from their ancestral territories of Rashka and were supplanted by Albanian Highlanders (Malissors)¹⁶. He continued by stating that Albanians have gradually come down from their mountains to the fertile plains of Metohija and Kosovo; penetrating to the north they spread in the direction of Southern and Western Morava and, crossing the Sar Mountain descended toward Polog and thence, in the direction of the Vardar.

For Cubrilovic, this was the Albanian way of colonising until the 19th century, by which time

*they managed to create the Albanian triangle, a wedge which based on its Debar-Rogozna axis in its ethnic hinterland, penetrated as far into our territories as Nish/Niš, and separated our ancient territories of Rashka/Raška from Macedonia and Vardar Valley*¹⁷. This Albanian wedge, he continues, with Albanian anarchist elements¹⁸, was the mere factor that interrupted the cultural and ethnic communication between northern and southern territories in the 19th century. This was the main reason why only in 1878 Serbia managed to establish and maintain, through Vranje and the Black Mountain of Skopje, a constant relationship with Macedonia and, consequently, to have a cultural and political influence on the Vardar Valley, regions that had geographical, transportation and historical connections. Serbia began to cut pieces off this Albanian ethnic wedge¹⁹ as early as the first rebellion, by expelling Albanian residents of the northernmost territories.

Interesting is Cubrilovic's view on the Serbian political ambition in the service of colonialism, which is associated with a criticism of the methods pursued by that time. According to him, *"the current methods of our colonization policy in the south have not reached the expected results and it stands as the great task of our present state"*²⁰.

The Serbian academic theorists considered the colonization of Kosovo territories as of vital importance for the Serbian state. This is better shown by the well-known academic Cubrilovic when he considered the territories north and south of Shar Mountains as something not coincidental. According to him, this block had a great national, state and strategic importance for the Serbian state. Again referring to Cubrilovic, it seems that the colonisation was not some short term policy. On the contrary, in essence it had been on-going from early times. The references to the foundation of the first Serbian state, starting from the 9th century, show that their strength has always been based on the continuity of the territorial expansion in all directions, even in the south.

But, what constitutes the demagogy of the Serbian state colonisation theory is that this territorial continuity was interrupted by the Albanians. Hence, until the ancient and uninterrupted

connection between Serbia and Montenegro with Macedonia, in its extent from Drin up to South Morava, would be re-established, politically the Serbian state would not be safe and secure in the possession of this land. The Serbian aim was to enable ethnic connection, according to them, between Macedonia and Serbia motherland, which could not be accomplished without destroying the Albanian ethnic wedge. But, this Albanian ethnic wedge was difficult to destroy for some reasons, which according to Serbian theorists derive from:

- first: fertility of Albanian women,
- second: the Albanian sensitivity to their cause,
- third: this race is rooted with language and properties,
- fourth: Albanians are acclimatised.

What are the problems that will arise during colonization?

- The attention of the Serbian colonisation doctrine mainly focused on the southern regions, the Sharr mountains range, because the surrounding areas otherwise the ethnic Albanian wedge, were considered as an important position in terms of military and strategic standpoint for their expansion, as it was *"starting point from which the Balkans rivers flow toward the Adriatic Sea, the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea"*²¹.
- The holding of this strategic position, would determine to a great extent the fate of Central Balkans, but also the fate of the very important Balkan communication line Morava-Vardar²².
- The nationalization of the regions around Sharr mountains meant the suppression once and for all of any irredentism, and at the same time the realizing of permanent power of Serbian authorities over those lands. This, from the colonisation perspective, was considered to be fulfilled when the Serbian colonists, descending from the northern territories, would meet each other in Kosovo and Metohija, in the areas surrounding the mountains of Sharr and Polog, in order not to leave vacant lands, up to the territories inhabited by Macedonians.

But what was most important, according to Cubrilovic, was the mass displacement of Albanians, which also meant the termination of the last connection between the Muslims of Bosnia and Novi Pazar, and the rest of the Muslim world²³.

The gradual displacement (gradual colonization) did not seem very efficient, because the Albanians were the only people who, during the last millennium, not only resisted the core of the Serbian state of Rashka and Zeta²⁴, but also constituted an ethnic epicentre that could bring other consequences. This very vital ethnic mass managed to shift the ethnic borders further to the north and east. From this standpoint, the best way to colonize the Albanian territories was the use of state brutality, through state organization, which was not used before on any problematic ethnicity for the Serbian state policy.

Theoretically, Cubrilovic's criticism of the state is quite impressive; according to him, the state had not been successful since 1912 with Arnauts (Albanians) or otherwise called 'shqiptarhanen' by the Serbian colonialism theorists. This concern seems to be associated with fear of an organic link between ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav political territory and the political Albania, especially after the proclamation of political independence of Albania²⁵. It was feared that the declaration of Independence of Albania would awake their national awareness; therefore, the Serbian politics was hurrying in assuming a fully nationalist position. This is also enhanced in Cubrilovic's statement that *"if they did not settle accounts with Albanians at the border, within 20-30 years there would be terrible irredentism to cope with, the signs of which were already apparent and inevitably would jeopardise their territorial possessions in the south"*²⁶.

But, aside from Albanians, concern stemmed also from international political factors, which were very sensitive to the issue of colonization. For this reason, the immediate dis-

placement of Albanians of Yugoslavia seemed more favourable and effective. The Turkish State, with a broad and still inhabited area, especially in Asia Minor and Kurdistan, was evaluated as a good opportunity for the settlement of Albanians displaced from the Yugoslav political territories. This actually coincided with a particular interest on the part of the Turkish State to attract a significant part of Albanians. Initially, it was thought to attract around two hundred thousand displaced Albanians, and this constituted a political favour sufficient for the Serbian plan, to implement with international support the deportation of Albanians from their ethnic areas. The Displacement Convention (1938) was signed between Turkish and the Yugoslav states²⁷.

Intensive discussions for the deportation of Albanians from Yugoslavia to Turkey took off with the formation of the Milan Stojadinović Government (1935-1939). In 1935, within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a Committee for Colonization was illegally established, whose scope of work was to analyse the project base on the Law on Citizenship, Article 55. This was followed by the formation of the respective Institutions, which should work intensively for the deportation of Albanians²⁸. The whole issue was to dress a legal vest to the colonisation policy and to have such policy being represented politically by respective states. This was realized through the International Conference with representatives of the respective countries. The conference supported in an institutionalised manner the deportation of Albanians through:

- Firstly, mass deportation of Albanians toward Turkey, based on a bilateral signed convention.
- Secondly, the rest of Albanians (those with no opportunity of displacement towards Turkey) that would remain in Yugoslavia were to submit to the anticipated assimilation given the ratio to the Slavic population, after the deportation.

However, both approaches would be conducted through the pressure by the state apparatus; even though an Albanian anti-propaganda was probable to emanate from the Albanian State.

The Yugoslav State had carefully prepared the manipulation of the transportation of Albanians through interesting techniques. One of these techniques was to reward the Turkish state a monetary sum for each displaced family. Indeed, in order for the process to result cost effective, they found ways to create as large families as possible, through the manipulation of the surname, deceptively including under the same family name individuals with distant kin connections while in some cases with no kinship at all.

This Convention claimed to represent the aspiration of the Turk Muslim population, which would leave the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia with the legitimate desire to join its natural ethnic trunk in Turkey. Hence, by politically manipulating this desire as all Albanian Muslim desire, it was easy to encode through 21 articles a deal that included the right of migration for the Muslim population that had Turkish origin, language and culture.

The number of families that the Turkish government had agreed to accept was about 40,000. According to Article 3, *"With the term family it is understood people of one blood and their children, who at the time of signing of this Convention, live on a rural common and undivided property and under the same roof."* The displaced would not have the right of a real estate, which after their departure would be considered property of the Yugoslav state. The Law even provided that, young Muslims, whose families were recorded in the annual list of the displaced, that were mobilized in the Royal Yugoslav Army, would be immediately released from military service and would be displaced along with their family. Legally, the displacement was codified collectively, which means that the displaced were equipped with a collective passport (Turkish), which would be delivered by the consular authorities of the

government of the Republic of Turkey to the Yugoslav state.

But what draws attention from the legal standpoint, is the fact that the Law foresaw only the displacement of the rural population, which meant that the Yugoslav state was granted the legitimate right to forcibly displace this population, regardless of the will of contracting population. While the right to transfer the urban population was optional, which meant it was possible only when Muslims citizens agreed to move towards Turkey. In both cases, the Law recognized to the displaced population only the right of taking movable property and some cattle.

Let's see what history provides as examples of unsolved problems between different ethnical groups, problems that sometimes would aggravate until hostility. This problem raised the attention of Hegel, in 1800's Germany. Because of the similarity of nature, although almost two centuries later, I find it appropriate to refer to the Hegelian doctrine in order to compare the theoretical effects with the Kosovo case.

Hegel, who has revolutionized the study of the state, looked concerned at the often hostile and not at all integrating relations between different ethnical groups that shared the same geographical area, be it Germany or elsewhere. In order to provide a substantial solution to this rejecting cohabitation, he studied the organization and regulation of such phenomena in the Hellenic antiquity, in the light of the integration possibility for uncivilised ethnicities.

The conclusions were overwhelming, just because of reference made to the antiquity of the Hellenic model. In fact, the Hellenic model has served as an embryo for many modern time models and doctrines. What Hegel brought to light, by proposing it as an example to follow, was the simplicity and the adequate attention that the ancient state had paid to the matter of cohabitation with clear integration opportunities.

In the ancient polis, the right to be public was granted only to the citizen, who was considered as such only if he was heir to property, from both parents' lines. As such, this right seems quite excluding any person who could not be a citizen, whereas a member of a wild ethnicity could never become one (citizen) on its own. However, parallel to this legal disposition, the ancient Hellenic polis had also determined the legal ways how to obtain citizenship, and that was through integration in the labour market. This disposition foresaw: registration and employment, through which the award of public right came with time. Hence, easy: the ancient state accepted all ethnicities, on the condition that each individual should undergo the very clear path of public integration. Hegel, generalised this ancient school of thought by defending the thesis that integration of people in order to live in peace with each other may be accomplished in a safe and sustainable way only through conversion of the sum of identities into a spiritual entity, kept alive by an internal political relationship.

This political relation built on rules that are very clear and accessible to anyone, leads and motivates the gradual integration of different people, by admiring each other's ethnicity and by avoiding violence. The clearest example illustrating Hegel's conclusion is the integration of Eumenids, who left behind their wild nature by passing through reconciliation and officialising towards their civic life.

Hegel articulated some features of his doctrine in relation to the cohabitation of multi ethnicities. Some of the most important follow:

- Possibility and right to reconciliation;
- Dependency of the defeated culture on the defeating culture;
- The transition between two cultures in neighbour territories.

The Hegelian doctrine is scientific because it survived the se-

vere and frontal criticism, managing to influence the setup of game rules in politics at the time, which warranted the safety in the interethnic relations.

The more valuable becomes the Hegelian lecture in the year 1920, by which time, the reality of multi ethnicities over the same territory was present in the right of many countries. This legal right, almost unanimously accepted by the whole civilised world, was refused by the Serbian state. Under the auspices of such refusal, this state could not produce but displacement policies for the Albanian population of Kosovo.

In the political doctrine plane, it prevails that the Serbian political thought did not obey to the rules of game in the international context, which were even better defined in the modern Balkan and European times.

By looking at the Serbian state doctrine through the glass of structure and political philosophy, it's apparent that it is lacking the main element to be considered a coherent theory, that element being the harmonisation of the natural and political right. The latter, has evidently impeded their harmonised interference.

By analogy, referring to the political history of the French or English states crisis, the analysis and consequences have shown that one of their widely accepted causes has been the lack or disregard of the political right vis-à-vis the natural right.

Under this viewpoint, it would be of scientific interest to understand how the will of the Albanian population was represented in the common Convention between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Turkey, for the displacement of the Albanian population from their ethnic territories²⁹. Here, the work of Tomas d'Aquin, the doctrine revolutionary, is of assistance; in his theory of natural right he elaborated his thesis about the rights, such as:

- Harmonisation of the natural right with that of the political system;
- The right of ownership;
- The right of family;
- The political right, which regardless of its desire, should include the will of the natural right, otherwise the political system will be accompanied by continuous and dead-end crisis.

As explained above, the Convention disregarded all of these rights of Albanians, therefore being since its signing, a flagrant violation of those rights that humanity had recognised to itself since centuries.

The Serbian theorists of the displacement of Albanians paid attention that their theory received public support by focusing in some non-substantial elements of this policy. For instance, as part of this policy, they marketed and promoted the beauty and wealth of the new destination territories in Turkey, as well as the religious elements of life in Turkey, aiming at achieving a voluntary displacement. On the other hand, the Serbian press engaged in the propaganda of a comfortable and normal displacement, by concealing from this whole process the tragic element of what was happening to the Albanians.

The whole state apparatus was involved, which through the implementation of a set of Laws sought to make it impossible for Albanians to reside in the Yugoslav state. This included the application of fines, taxes, imprisonments, etc. The ruthless application of police dispositions forced individuals to suffer heavy sanctions which were not limited to compulsory labour, but sometimes were associated with non-recognition of old land deeds, state appropriation of pastures, cancellation of concessions, withdrawal of permits to conduct business, dismissal from state jobs, etc. All these coercive measures were associated with the organization of old cetnik action, by encouraging a new wave of Montenegrins towards the many conflicts with Albanians, who were supposedly rioting.

Hence, by initiating local disagreements, the Serbian government sought to achieve bloody clashes among ethnicities, which often deteriorated in the illegal burning of the Albanian villages, without the need to use the army.

All this under the only purpose: to force the Albanians towards voluntary displacement in an attempt to survive the worst. Indeed, they reached only partly their goal for the Albanian population displacements toward Turkey, by bringing close the Serbian doctrine to its final goal. But, they couldn't realize the total Albanian disappearing from their territories. Most of the Albanian families did resist and survived over years by keeping their homes and land and turning the "Great Serbia" Pan-Slavic dream a lost dream.

REFERENCES

JOVAN CVIJIĆ: Osnove za gheografija i gheologhija Makedonije i Stara Srbije, Beograd 1906, but also in other works associated with political and ethnographic maps | VLADAN. DJORDJEVIC: Les Albanais et les grandes puissances, Paris 1913; VLADAN. DJORDJEVIC has been Prime Minister of Serbia and has covered also other functions | JOVAN. N. TOMIĆ: Les Albanais en vieille Serbie et dans le sandjak de Novi-Bazar, Paris 1913 | VASA ČUBRILLOVIĆ: Deportation of Arnauts, Belgrade 1937 (manuscript); Same material, but shortened in, The truth about Kosovo and Albanians in Yugoslavia, a publication of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, Tirana 1990, see there Deportation of Arnauts lecture, held at the Serbian Club of Culture in Belgrade on March 7, 1937, page 318 et seq. Academic Čubrillović has also drafted another memorandum in the '40s about the mass Deportation of Albanians from Kosovo, He has also been the Minister of Culture in the 70s. | JENS REUTER: Albanians in Yugoslavia, Tirana 2003, page 31. | Reference is made to years 1918-1920, at which time the existence of the Albanian state was tested, expressed through the Paris Peace Conference, where the great European powers had designed a new map of Europe, which put into question the existence Albanian political borders. (Arben Puto: Albania Politics, 1912-2000, Tirana 2008). | Here it must be said that, with the collapse of the large Albanian Pashaliks, Bushati in North and Ali Pasha in South, and after the Manastir massacre in 1830, where 500 of the Albanian chieftains were massacred, as well as with the activation of the orthodox Pan-Slavisation line in the Balkans elaborated by Russia, and the goals of new states in the Balkans, Greece and Serbia, their efforts for extending their territories at the expense of the ethnic Albanian population and reality in the peninsula were intensified. Therefore, at the same time, are Načertanija of Garashanin and the Greek program, called Megaloidea. Both programs relied on legendary reality or evoking ancient times, namely Greece for the Hellenic empire, whereas Serbia for the Empire of Steven Dushan. This latter, as a matter of fact, was only a 25-year military domination until 1355, from Dushan king and not a governmental entity consolidated and with clear roots. | State and Law history in Albania | A statement of Brailsford, member of the London Balkan Committee, clearly expresses the natural pattern of Albanian origin of Kosovo and the other territories targeted from Serbia "... Albanians speak the truth when they insist that they are themselves (in the territories) by the cause of their number, as they constitute the majority population of "Old Serbia" (HN Brailsford, Macedonia, its race and their future, London 1906). The author himself of the Serbian Principality map, in the year 1845, Jan Bugarski found that Bjelopolja is currently Albanian and three years later Davidović (serb) admits that "Kosovo and Metohija (region of Pejë) are inhabited by Albanians." (Quoted by ISHIRKOV: Zapadnata Kraichta Zemja bgrskata us, Sofia 1915). | Indeed the term appears for the first time in 1845 in the principality of Serbia Map of JAN Bugarski, printed in Belgrade that year and where Bjelopoljes province, in southwest Serbia appears as "Old Serbia or actual Albania", while the geography of Vuk Karadzic who was published to Belgrade in 1827, concluded that this expression is not found or something similar to it. See also ISHIRKOV: Prinos km etnografijata Makedonskite, Sofia 1907. | In contradiction to this definition of "the Serbian cradle", comes and scholar of Slavic peoples genesis, L. Niederle, who notes that "... the homeland of the Serbs in the Balkans was very narrow compared to the lands they occupied in 12-13 centuries ... the Serbs southern borders to centre 11 extended till Rashe, in northwest Novipazarit " (See L. NIEDERLE: Manuel de l'Antiquite slave, I, Paris 1923). As to S. STAJONEVIĆ: Iz Srpske prošlosti, Belgrade 1923, see "Raska, the core of the Serbian feudal state, lay on the eastern edge of Serbian lands, its population is mainly engaged in farming, and knew little about agriculture and was located between Dalmatia, Hungary and Illyricum ". | Regarding the Peje Patriarchate, it must be said that it was separated from Illyrian Primatisé Agreement: "... Ternovo and Peja primatitë were like Justinian - Ohrid primates. As one and the other, was fragmentation of the second, conducted by the Apostolic See. Second, that Ohrid was separated from Thessaloniki upon the request of Justinian Emperor, and two others at the request of Serbian Arkizhupanit and Joanis, Emperor of the Bulgarian-Vlach ... " (Jean-Claude FAVERIAL: History of Albania, chap. 42, Tirana 2005). While in this patriarchate was taught Albanian until the nineteenth century: See the Kombiar Calendar of the year 1898 "... until to the last century we had two patriarchs, one in Ohrid and in Peja, who used the Albanian language. These two patriarchs were raised in 1778 and merged with that of Istanbul ". Also, in this regard, the "Odnos ...", author B. Djurdjevic said that the Patriarchate of Peje in 1455 was under Albanian control, by reinforcing the truth that churches in Kosovo were firstly Albanian-Roman, and later by the division of the Empire, were Byzantine-Albanian. As observed by Dr. M. Krasniqi: "They were built during the Byzantine government in the territories inhabited by Albanians. Therefore they are foreign cultural monuments of Serbia endorsed and presented to the world as its historical monuments." (see Mark Krasniqi: Traces of inquiries, Pristina 1979). | Until 1878 the Serbian principality had only 37 thousand square kilometers (CASTELLAN GEORGE: History of the Balkans, Tirana 1998). While the Albanians were permanent protagonist of Kosovo and beyond the Nishi Sanjak. Resources can go down even in protagonists the Middle Ages. So even after the Milutin invasion (1283-1321) that temporarily were extended up in Durres, Serbian kings were obliged to recognize the Albanian cities, respectively in our case that of Kosovo, the right to be governed by specific local statutes (Albanian). The cities of Prizren and Novobërdë enjoyed the privilege of cutting their currencies (see S. Novakovic: Zakonski spomenici Srpskih drzava sred-njega VEKA, Belgrade 1912). Against the Serbian dominion will have anti-Serb uprising in those areas, among which we can mention the one led by the nobleman Demetrius Suma in 1332 (See K. JIRIČEK: Istorija srba, Belgrade 1922) uprising in 1334 which included district of Prizren. While in the sixteenth century came the information mention from Lazar Soranco, which speaks for Dardania (ie the so-called "Old Serbia"), saying that Dukagjini, gheg tribe, living in Dardania, which is a country on the border with Albania, more inhabited by Albanians than Serbs (See SORANZO LAZARO: L'Otomano, Ferrara 1598). Further Der neue eroffneten Pforten, detach Aupsprung 1701: "... Prince Carl Philip in Pristina, Albania in the begging of 1690", and then "... in Prisseran (Prizren), the capital of Albania, which was itself Archbishop and Patriarch Kelmendi ... where were 5000 Arnaut, partly Christian and partly Turkish-Albanian (Muslims). | JENS Reuter: Albanians in Yugoslavia, Tirana 2003, page 31. | Vaso Čubrillović: ac. cit. | 17th century, meaning year 1690 is a crucial point on which Serbs theorists are relied to prove that Kosovo is "Old Serbia" populated by Albanians after this year from congested areas south and southwest of Kosovo. 1690 is the final defeat of the Austrians in the Austro-Turkish War, and to mark the defeat Albanians and Serbs who participated as volunteers in their side presumably moved to areas near the Sava. But in this war on the side of the Austrians were Albanians of Kosovo, Macedonia Sandzak, headed by their Archbishop Peter Bogdan, so before 1690 they were in the area. If there was displacement of Kosovo, they were not only Serbs, but mostly Albanians. (see in this connection M. KRASNIQI: Traces of inquiries, Pristina 1797; M. Kostic: Prilozii istoriji Srpsko-arbanskog ustanka 1689-1690, the archive za arbanskou starinu, jezik etnologioju, II, Belgrade 1924). And the testimony of Archbishop Peter Mazreku in 1623 regarding the number of inhabitants, religious and national affiliation of some Kosovo cities speaks clearly for Albanians like residents of these territories. For that year, according to him, for example Prizren had 12,000 thousand Muslim Albanians, 600 Serbs and 200 Catholic Albanian nationality (See: Relations on the state of North Eastern Albania and middle seventeenth century (1610-1634), Tirana 1963). Also, earlier evidence comes from the books of the Shkodra Sanjak recording of the year 1485, prepared by Salam Pulaha, a publication of the Academy of Sciences of Albania, Tirana 1974. According to the diary, Shkodra Sanjak, among others, included Peja kaza, kaza of Bihorit, and a part of the Vuçitrin region, Pristina and Prizren. From the historical record shows that in the 15th century Albanians did not live only in mountainous and not just dealing with livestock, they also inhabited large, meaning fields such as the Dukagjini Plains and Kosovo Plateau. Albanians are also present in Bihorit and Peja Sandzak, that the Albanian population was indigenous before the first arrival of the Turks and Albanians did not come after the Austro-Turkish War of 1690. In this line is also seen the Turkish cadastral registration of Prizren Sanjak in year 1591 (Historical Studies, no. 1 and 2, Tirana 1976). | Vaso Čubrillović: ac. cit., page 319. | Same report on page 319. | Same report on page 319. | Same report on page 318. | - Vaso Čubrillović: ac. cit., page 320 | - We recall here that the scholar Georg von Hahn asserts that "the flow of Morava is what separates Albanian province from Slavs" and further "major part of the population in Fushe-Kosove up to the coast of Vardar to Skopje is Albanian" (GEORGE VON HAHN: Travel from Belgrade to Thessaloniki, Vienna 1868). | - See Albanian political history after 1912. | - Also in the same article as below, page 321. | - See Albanian political history after 1912. | - Vasa Čubrillović: vep. cit., faqe 321 | - Ibidem, fage 322 | - Ibidem, fage 335 | - VASA ČUBRILLOVIĆ: vep. cit., faqe 323.