## KOSOVO

NOEL MALCOLM was born in 1956, and studied at Cambridge University, where he gained a starred First in English and a Ph.D. in History. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge from 1981 to 1988, he later became Foreign Editor of the Spectator and political columnist on the Daily Telegraph. His highly acclaimed Bosnia: A Short History was published in 1994. He lives in London and is currently working on a biography of Thomas Hobbes.

## Also by Noel Malcolm

De Dominis, 1560–1624: Venetian, Anglican, Ecumenist and Relapsed Heretic

George Enescu: His Life and Music

Sense on Sovereignty

Bosnia: A Short History

The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes (2 vols.), in the Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes

The Origins of English Nonsense

# NOEL MALCOLM

# KOSOVO

A Short History

**PAPERMAC** 



First published 1998 by Macmillan

This edition published 1998 by Papermac an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Ltd 25 Eccleston Place, London SW1W 9NF and Basingstoke

Associated companies throughout the world

ISBN 0 333 66613 5

Copyright @ Noel Malcolm 1998

The right of Noel Malcolm to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior written permission of the publisher. Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

#### 135798642

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Typeset by SetSystems Ltd, Saffron Walden, Essex Printed and bound in Great Britain by Mackays of Chatham plc, Chatham, Kent

This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

# Contents

	Acknowledgements	ix
	A note on names and pronunciations	xi
	Maps	xv
	Introduction	xxvii
1	Orientation: places, names and peoples	1
	Origins: Serbs, Albanians and Vlachs	22
3	Medieval Kosovo before Prince Lazar: 850s-1380s	41
4	The Battle and the Myth	58
5	The last years of Medieval Serbian Kosovo: 1389-1455	81
6	Early Ottoman Kosovo: 1450s-1580s	93
7	War, rebellion and religious life: 1580s-1680s	116
8	The Austrian invasion and the 'Great Migration' of the	
	Serbs: 1689–1690	139
9	Recovery and decline: 1690-1817	163
10	Reform and resistance: 1817-1878	181
11	Kosovo's other minorities: Vlachs, Gypsies, Turks, Jews	
	and Circassians	202
12	From the League of Prizren to the Young Turk revolution:	
	1878–1908	217
13	The great rebellions, the Serbian conquest and the First	
	World War: 1908–1918	239
14	Kaçaks and colonists: 1918-1941	264

### Contents

15	Occupied Kosovo in the Second World War: 1941–1945	289
	Kosovo under Tito: 1945–1980	
	Kosovo after the death of Tito: 1981-1997	314 334
	Notes	357
	Glossary	428
	List of manuscripts	431
	Bibliography	435
	Index	474

# Acknowledgements

MY FIRST DEBT of gratitude is to Alistair Horne, and to the Warden and Fellows of St Antony's College, Oxford, who elected me to the Alistair Horne Fellowship for 1995–6 in order to enable me to complete my work on this book. I am also grateful to Robert Evans and Richard Crampton for letting me try out some of the arguments presented in Chapter 8 at their Central and East European History seminar at Brasenose College.

Anyone who works on Balkan history will know how much time and effort can be spent trying to locate (or acquire) books and articles; there is not a single library, in Western Europe or even in the Balkans, that offers all the relevant materials under one roof. I am grateful to many friends for gifts, loans, copies and other services in this regard: above all, to Bejtullah Destani, whose own knowledge of the sources of Albanian history is extraordinarily encyclopaedic, and to Ahmed Žilić, a generous and ever-resourceful friend. For similar services I should also like to give special thanks to two other friends, D. S. and J. M., as well as to Norman Cigar, Ger Duijzings, Branko Franolić, Timothy Garton Ash, Fra Ignacije Gavran, Ivo Goldstein, Valeria Heuberger, Christine von Kohl, Branka Magaš, Kastriot Myftiu, Luan Malltezi, Želiko Mandić, Alexander Shiroka, Aleksandar Stipčević, Yuri Stoyanov, Marian Wenzel, Tadej Zupančič and Isa Zymberi. I am also very grateful to Philip and Anette Goelet for hospitality in Maryland, Berney and Betty Nunan for hospitality in Tirana, and Aleksandra Ivin and Professor M. Rotar for their help at the National Library in Zagreb.

For permission to study and cite manuscript materials in their collections, I am grateful to the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office (representing the Crown) in respect of the Public Record Office,

London, and also to the following: the Archive du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris; the Archivio della Sacra Congregazione della Propaganda Fide, Rome; the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City; the Archivio di Stato, Venice; the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice; the Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna; the Instituto per la Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice; the Kriegsarchiv, Vienna; the National Archives, Washington, DC; the School of Oriental and African Studies, London; and the Somerset Record Office, Taunton. In addition, I am also grateful to the following libraries and institutions: the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome; the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence; the Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele', Rome; the Bibliotekë Kombëtare, Tirana; the British Library, London; the Cambridge University Library; the Institut für osteuropäische Geschichte und Südostforschung der Universität Wien, Vienna; the Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Knjižnica, Zagreb; the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; the Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, Vienna; the library of St Antony's College, Oxford; the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London; the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg; and the Taylor Institution, Oxford.

Last but certainly not least, I should like to record my gratitude to Tanya Stobbs and Mary Mount for seeing this book so expertly through the press.

Kosovo – the Albanian-inhabited region of the former Yugoslavia – is potentially the most explosive of all the danger zones of Europe. In this first ever complete history of the area, Noel Malcolm carefully sifts facts from fiction and lays to rest many of the false claims which have bedevilled discussion and debate.

'Brilliantly researched and argued . . .

A magisterial work of history . . . an immensely valuable contribution to our understanding and knowledge of a contemporary crisis . . . this is [also] a profound and pioneering work which will endure for generations.'

Richard Crampton, Times Literary Supplement

'This is a profound and important book, essential reading for those who wish to understand either the complex history or the present politics of Yugoslavia.' Hugh Trevor-Roper, Sunday Telegraph

'A book to stop a massacre! . . . It is as if some new Edward Gibbon had appeared to instruct us in these matters and to restore a sense of human decency amid the crimes and horrors of our century. Noel Malcolm's book is short enough to be read by Foreign Secretaries but explicit enough to stop a repetition of the surrender to force which still leaves its evil consequences in his beloved Bosnia.'

Michael Foot, Observer

'A dreadnought of a book, all big guns, covering the whole history of Kosovo, with an authority that is often breathtaking and never oppressive.' Norman Stone, *Sunday Times* 



