

Prof. Asoc. Dr.
Bedri MUHADRIInstitut of History "Ali Hadri"
Prishtina
bmuhadri@hotmail.comORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7583-653X>

Eser Geçmişi / Article Past:

Başvuruda bulundu. / Applied
17/03/2021Kabul edildi. / Accepted
25/03/2021

Araştırma Makalesi

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21551/jhf.898751>

Research Paper

Orjinal Makale / Original Paper

The Battle of Kosovo 1389 and the Albanians

1389 Kosova Savaşı ve Arnavutlar

Abstract

Ottoman infiltration progressed relatively quickly in Southeast Europe in the late XIV century. The Battle of Kosovo, 1389, which took place near the city of Pristina, between the armies of the Balkan and Ottoman coalitions, was one of the most determined efforts of the Balkan population to stop the success of Ottoman expansion in the Balkan Peninsula. Serious preparations from both sides for this battle, the large number of opposing armies, the historical course of the battle, before and after it, have influenced the Battle of Kosovo to be the most crucial part of medieval historical studies for the territory of ancient Dardania - Kosovo. Historical sources, such as Ottoman, Byzantine, Italian, Ragusan, Albanian, Slavic, etc., provide evidence of the participation of some population of the Balkans, such as: Albanians, Croatian Serbs, Hungarians, Vlachs, Bulgarians, Czechs, etc. The Ottoman camp, led by Sultan Murat I, consisted of numerous forces from the kingdom and its vassals. From historical sources we have the assertion that the Balkan coalition was led by the Serbian king Lazar Hrebelanovic, as well as by the well-known Albanian leaders, such as Gjergj Balsha II, Teodor Muzaka, etc.

In today's historiography, the First Battle of Kosovo has been extensively addressed and has yielded its well-known results on this issue: The First Battle of Kosovo has the character of a broad coalition of forces from both sides. From historical sources we have the assertion that the Balkan coalition was led by Lazar Hrebelanovic, prince of the Principality of South Moraves, Bosnian military troops under the leadership of Vlatko Vukovic, as well as well-known Albanian chieftains, such as George II Strazimir Balsha Principal of Shkodra, Prince of Shkodra Teodor Muzaka II prince of the Principality of Opar, as well as other peoples such as Vlachs, Hungarians, Croats, Poles, etc. Thus, this united war against the Ottomans was called the "Balkan Coalition against the Ottomans". The Ottoman coalition consisted of numerous forces from the Empire and its vassal states. These forces were led by Sultan Murat I.

Key words: Battle of Kosovo, Lazar Hrebelanović, Sultan Murat I, Gjergj II Blasha, Teodor Muzaka II, Dhimitër Jonima, Vuk Brankovic,

ATIF: MUHADRI, Bedri, "1389 Kosova Savaşı ve Arnavutlar", *Tarih ve Gelecek Dergisi*, 7/1 (Mart 2021), s. (436-452)

CITE: MUHADRI, Bedri, "The Battle of Kosovo 1389 and the Albanians", *Journal of History and Future*, 7/1 (March 2021), pp. (436-452)

Öz

Osmanlıların Güneydoğu Avrupa yörelerindeki nüfuzu XIV. Yüzyılda tekâbul edilmiştir. Priştine yakınlarında gerçekleştiren Birinci Kosova Savaşı Balkan halklarının Osmanlı'ya karşı en büyük direnişidir. Savaş hazırlıkları, savaşta katılan asker sayısı, savaşın gerçekleştirdiği tarih gibi olayların önemi ve sebeplerinden dolayı Dardania'nın (Kosova'nın) Ortaçağ tarihi araştırmalarının en önemli konularından biri olmuştur. Bu savaşta katılanlar arasında Arnavut, Macar ve Bulgar gibi halklarının yer aldığına dâir Osmanlı, Bizans, İtalyan, Arnavut, Slav kroniklerinden bahsedilmektedir. I. Murâd komutanlığındaki Osmanlı askerî gücünde Osmanlı'ya vassal statüsünde olan devletler de yer almışlardır. Balkan koalisyonunda ise Sırp'lardan Lazar Hreblanoviç, Arnavut Beylerinden ise II. Gjergj Balşa (II. Cerce Balşa) ve Teodor Muzaka vd. yer almışlardır.

Bugünün tarih yazımında, Kosova Birinci Muhârebesi kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınmış ve önemli sonuçlar varılmıştır. Bu sonuçlara göre, I. Kosova Savaşının iki taraftan yer alan askerî güçleriyle bir koalisyon savaşı olduğunu kanıtlanmaktadır. Balkan koalisyonun başında Güney Morava Prensiğinin başındaki Lazar Hreblanoviç, Bosnalı Vlatko Vukoviç, İşkodra Prensi II. Gjergj Stratizmiri, II. Teodor Muzaka, Opar Prensi II. Teodor Muzaka ve bunların dışında Ulahlar, Macarlar, Hırvatlılar, Polonyalıların prensleri de yer almışlardır. Böylece, bu ortak savaşa “ Balkan Koalisyonu” vasfını kazanmıştır. Osmanlı Koalisyonunu ise Osmanlı Devletinin farklı diyârlarından güçleri hâricinde Osmanlı'ya vasâl olanlar da dâhil olmuşlardır. Osmanlı güçleri I. Murâd komutanlığında hareket etmişlerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: I. Kosova Savaşı, Lazar Hrebelanoviç, I. Sultan Murâd, II. Gjergj Blasha, II. Teodor Muzaka, Dhimitër Jonima, Vuk Brankovic.

Historical overview

There are many important moments and events in the history of peoples that attract the attention of various historians and scholars, however special attention deserves those major events that mark turning points in their further historical development. An event of such importance, the Battle of Kosovo, fought near Pristina in 1389. Historical sources identify the day of St. Vito / St. Vid 15/28 June 1389) as the date of the military confrontation between the army of the “Balkan Coalition” (Serbs, Arbri, Bosniaks, Hungarians, Croats, Vlachs, Czechs, etc.) led by Prince Lazar Hrebelanoviç, who awaited them in Fushë Kosovë, where the places Llapi and Sitnica meet, to face the Ottoman army led by Sultan Murat I, his sons Bayezid and Jakub.

In this battle, Sultan Murat I and Prince Lazar were killed. We must accept the fact that the historical event of the Battle of Kosovo is difficult to write about, because it is a very dark, hypothetical and objectively unenlightened scientific event. The main reason for not covering this historical event lies precisely in the lack of diplomatic sources and first-hand those of the time of the event when it took place. And on the other hand, due to the influences of Pan-Slavic “mythology”, there is to fantasize a lot about this (Kosovo) battle. So far, we have only Ottoman, Slavic and Western chronicles as narrative sources, which are usually not contemporary with the events, but

tend to preserve the authenticity of the events that took place.¹ However, it is known that they are not as valuable as the official diplomatic sources of the time.

In this battle were present some of the Arber rulers, such as Gjergj II Blasha, the ruler of Shkodra, Teodor Muzaka II, lord of Berat and Myzeqe, Dhimitër Jonima, lord of the territories along the trade road Lezha-Prizren, Andrea Gropa, lord of Ohrid and the regions around it, rulers of Lower Arberia, Milosh Nikolle Kopili from the central part of Kosovo, Leka I Dukagjini.² They were joined by other Balkan rulers, such as the Romanian duke, Mircea, the Croatian bani, Ivan Horovat, the army of the Kingdom of Bosnia led by Vladen Vukovic, Vuk Brankovic, who held his holdings in the northern part of the Fushe Kosova. Ottoman historical sources on this event emphasize the large number of the army of George II Balsha and describe him as one of the three main rulers of the anti-Ottoman coalition.³ At the start of the battle, Vuk Brankovic withdrew his troops from the coalition. The famous Arbër prince, Teodor Muzaka II, was killed in this battle, as well as many other Arbër comrades.⁴

Two Serb rulers of the nearest territories of Macedonia and Bulgaria, Marko Krajlevic and Konstatin Dejanovic, had been Ottoman vassals since the Chernomel War on the Marica River in 1371, and the first task of the vassal was to secure troops for his sultan, and this, in all likelihood, they did, so it is said that both took part in the war, on the side of the Ottomans⁵. An early Italian chronicle written, perhaps 17 years later, notes the presence of “Greek and Christian” soldiers in the Ottoman army and concludes: “*The reason for Murat’s victory consists in the participation of 5000 Christian archers, whom he had hired among the Greeks and Genoese, as well as many other knights*”.⁶

The very dubious version of the participation of the two Albanian tribes of Malësia, Mirdita and Kelmendi, in their military participation on the side of the Ottomans, claiming that a few centuries later (at the Congress of Berlin 1878) they were given important privileges within the Turks system, known as the Venomians of Mirdita, have rightly been seen as oral fabrications and oral historical falsifications, even intentional by the highlanders themselves, in order to preserve

1 Iljaz Rexha, “The Battle of Kosovo in the Ottoman Chronicles-Sources of the XV-XVI century”, *Albanological Research, Historical Sciences Series no. 19-1989, Prishtina*, 1990, 19.

2 *History of the Albanian people of the Illyrians Medieval Albania under the Ottoman Empire during the century. XIV - 20s of the century. XIX, Academy of Sciences of Albania Institute of History, Tirana*, 2002, 376.

3 Krinisti osman, Mehmet Nishriu, in his work *The World Indicator*, writes: “When at the coalition headquarters, Prince Lazarus asked the leaders of the military coalition fighters who had come to the battlefield, “Do you think it is reasonable for us to launch a surprise attack on the Ottomans at night “, which everyone liked *his opinion*. But among them was an infidel named Jorgji (it is about George II Balsha, son of Strazimir (1385-1403), who according to Nishri, had 90,000 thousand soldiers. He objected, arguing that the Ottomans would take advantage of the darkness and escape. Gjergji II Balsha was of the opinion that the attack should take place in the morning and so we can keep them alive, we keep some of them as captives, while others sell them ”(*Albanian-Turkish War in the 15th Century - Ottoman Sources, Prepared for Press by Selami Pulaha, State University of Tirana & Institute of History and Linguistics, Tirana*, 1968, 84).

4 *History of the Albanian people I*, 376.

5 Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo a short history*, Translated from English by Abdullah Kajragdiu, Second Edition, “Koha”, Prishtina - Tirana, 2001. 64.

6 *Ibid*, 64.

their administrative rights within their customs.⁷

Regarding the non-participation of Gjergji II Balsha in the Battle of Kosovo, are talking the scholars like Č. Mijatović and G. Gelcich. We find similar thoughts in the researcher I. Ruvarac, and St. Novaković. The researcher, Č. Mijatović states that: “Rumors may have circulated that he was gathering the army and that he was coming, but it is clear that he did not come”.⁸ The researcher, G. Gelcich initially based on records when they say that after the defeat of the Christian army in Fushë Kosovë, many of those who escaped the sultan’s sword took refuge in Montenegro, and there began to populate those lands. If Gergj Strazimir II had been with his army, he should have returned to Montenegro as a soldier. We are learning that on July 7, 1389, the Ragusans send to Budva an armed gallery to invite Gergj Strazimir II to stay among them for a few days. This invitation, in a way, had an important political background, and so it cannot be said that it was not unintentional, they even knew exactly where Gjergj Strazimir Balsha II was. So they knew that at the beginning of July he was in Ulcinj. Thus he would need four days or more of traveling and through unfriendly lands, being pursued, he had to have some shelter with a security background so as not to encounter or to fall into the hands of the enemy traveling to come from the battle of Fushë Kosovë on July 28, 1389 in Ulcinj. And Gjergj II Strazimir Balsha on the day of the breaking of Kosovo was exactly in Ulcinj” .⁹

The Researcher L. Malltezi was against the opinion of G. Gelcich, arguing that the Ragusans sent an official to Balsha at his headquarters in Ulcinj, but it does not mean that Balsha necessarily had to be there, because the message and the goal is achieved and with his absence there. Important here is the fact that Gjergj II thanks to the invitation went to Ragusa in the last ten days of August, about two months after the battle of Kosovo.¹⁰

Meanwhile the researcher I. Ruvarac categorically denies the participation of Gjergj II Balsha in the battle of Kosovo 1389.¹¹ Tomaci, completely doubts the participation of Gjergj II Balsha in the battle of Kosovo in 1389. According to him, the Balshaj now after the battle of Savres, were not even proper military forces, but also for the fact that the Balshaj were already vassals of the Ottomans, therefore they could not engage against the Ottomans.¹² Serbian scholar ignores some facts from Ottoman sources that lead to the participation of the Balshaj in the battle of Kosovo 1389. Gjergj II Balsha in the ranks of the Christian coalition had the weight of his word in the war council in making decisions. Ottoman chroniclers clearly say that it was Gjergj II who proposed that the attack on the Ottomans takes place in the day and not in the night. Serbian scholars also overlook the fact that it was the family ties between Balshaj and Lazar (Gjergj II Balsha was the son-in-law of Lazar Hrebelanović, and brother-in-law with Vuk Branković), which certainly constituted a moral motive for Gjergj II to come to their aid. Alongside the moral aspect in between

7 Ibid, 65.

8 Čedo Mijatović, “Balšiči, a sketch for the history of Zeta”, *Messenger SUD, knj. XLIX* Belgrade, 1881, 126.

9 Giuseppe Gelcich, *Zeta and the Balshaj Dynasty*, Tirana, 2009.170.

10 Luan Malltezi, “The Battle of Fushë Kosovë (1389) and the contribution of the Albanians”, *The Battle of Kosovo 1389 (Summary of studies)*, Tirana, 2005 71.

11 Ilarion Ruvarac, *O prince Lazarus*, Novi Sad, 1887. 350.

12 Malltezi, “The Battle of Fushe Kosove (1389)”, 73.

was the political aspect: Lazar and Vuku ultimately formed in the end his political circle.¹³ In the case of the Balshaj, finally, whose possession had direct economic contacts and ties with Kosovo (the Balshaj in the years 1372-1378 had also had Prizren, and even extended as far as Kriva Reka), the issue of participation in the battle of Fushë Kosovo was gaining capital importance.

The engagement in the battle of George II Strazimir Balsha, most Serbian scholars leave it in silence, at the same time expressing the wrong consideration for the state of Balshaj as a Serbian state.¹⁴ Few are the authors who have admitted, albeit hesitantly, his participation in the battle, or claim that only a few Albanian mercenaries have participated. More recently, efforts have been made to portray Serbs as the only people in the Balkans who were able to withstand Ottoman aggression.¹⁵

However, it should be noted that the founders of the Serbian school of anthropogeography and Serbian historiography in the 19th century, directly or indirectly acknowledged the presence of Albanians in the Battle of Kosovo 1389 on the side of the wider Balkan coalition against the Ottoman Empire. The Historian D. K. Jovanoviqi admitted that the Albanians in the Battle of Kosovo were led by Theodor II Muzaka and Gjergj II Balsha.¹⁶ Even the good connoisseur of the Battle of Kosovo, the Serbian historian of the XIX century, J. Miskovic, announced that the Balshaj were in Kosovo and that with authentic documents it can not be said otherwise.¹⁷

Very little is known about the course of the battle, except that both commanders, Lazarus and Murat I, died and that there were losses on both sides. However, the event in Serbian popular culture is considered a historical turning point that heralded the end of medieval statehood. However, it should be noted that historical sources that prove that the bells of the church Notre Dame in Paris really honored the victory of the Balkan alliance against the Ottomans, but not for the battle of Kosovo in 1389, but for the battle of Rovina in 1395.¹⁸

Although historians had an opinion on the battle, but divided into the type of battle. Some have hailed it as a battle of the populations and some a battle of the feudal lords. The Scholar J. Hammer has described it as a League of Populations, where the army consisted of Serbs, Bulgarians, Bosnians, Albanians, Vlachs, Poles according to the testimonies of Ottoman and Hungarian historians.”¹⁹ The idea of the battle of the populations has prevailed in Albanian historiography as well as : A.Buda²⁰, S.Pulaha.²¹ K.Frashëri goes even further in defining this event. According to him, the battle of Fushë Kosovë did not have the character of a religious crusade, nor of an ethnic confrontation, as some Serbian historians claim, who moreover turned it into a myth, as if it were a victory of theirs. In Fushë Kosovë, not only Christian Serbs confronted Muslim Turks,

13 Ibid, 75.

14 Selami Pulaha, “ Albanians and the battle of Fushë Kosovë in 1389”, 35.

15 Ibid, 36.

16 Muhamet Pirraku, “ Participation of Albanians in the battle of Kosovo 1389”, *Albanological Research, Historical Sciences Series no. 20-1990*, Prishtina, 1991,110.

17 Jovan Mišković, *The Battle of Kosovo (15. June Year 1389)*, Belgrade, 1933.

18 Jahja Drançolli, *In search of medieval Arberian history*, Albanian Catholic Mission in Croatia, Zagreb, 2019, 95.

19 Constandin J. Jireček, *History of the Bulgarians*, Prague, 1986, p. 342-344.

20 Aleks Buda, *Historical writings, vol.I*, Tirana, 1986, p. 260.

21 Pulaha, “Albanians and the battle of Fushë Kosovë in 1389”, 21.

but also other nationalities. Against the Ottoman armies fought: Serbs, Albanians, Bosniaks. They were accompanied by Vlach, Hungarian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Czech and Polish units. Some were Orthodox, some Catholics. The battle of Fushë Kosovë was, as defined by world historiography, a Balkan clash, a confrontation of civilizations and not a religion, more precisely a confrontation between European and Asian civilization.

Kosovo as a geographical meaning went down in history after the First Battle of Kosovo. According to one of the earliest sources of the time, the guide of the XV century, Filip de Mezier, this Battle took place in Albania. Mezieri was well acquainted with the eastern world and one of the first to inform the west about the Battle of Kosovo. He in October 1389 in his work “*Song du viril Pelerin*” (Ëndërra e Pelerinit të moçëm) at the end of the book he states that “... *urati suffered a great defeat in parts of Albania (es parties d’ Albani)*”.²² So Mezieri clearly states that the battle of Kosovo took place in Albania seeing the territory of Kosovo as part of the common geographical and political concept. It is known that Mezieri at that time was in the lands of present-day Greece diplomatic representative of France, who would have known well the historical geography of the Balkans. Also the guide Bertrand de La Brocieri who in 1433 visits the areas of today’s Kosovo states that Kosovo was Albania and that its population is called Albanian.²³ The Fushe Kosova in the sources of the time was called Campus Merulorum by the Latin chroniclers, Rigomezo (Hungarian), Campus des Merles (French), Kosifopedhio (Greek) Kosovo Polje (Serbian) or in German Amselfeld, Campus.²⁴ Në gjuhën shqipe emri Campus Merulae ka kuptim Fusha e Mëllenzave. Ky toponim nuk është i panjohur dhe i vetmuar në Ballkan, ekzistojnë fshatra dhe vise të ndryshme që quhen Kosovë, si në Dalmaci, Bosnje ashtu edhe në Shqipëri.²⁵

Ottoman sources

Ottoman sources as the most famous, Ottoman chronicles, appear richer than other sources, be they Byzantine, Slavic, etc., as they bring interesting announcements about the Battle of Kosovo 1389. Without these it would be impossible to truly discover the character of the Battle and to reflect its development.

In support of the Ottoman chronicles, the Battle of Kosovo took place on June 28 (according to the old calendar on June 15, 1389) in Fushë Kosovë (today’s municipality of Obiliq), between the forces of the Christian-Balkan coalition on the one hand, and the Ottoman-Islamic and their vassals on the other hand, who fought on the side of Sultan Murat.²⁶

The Ottoman source talks about the Battle of Kosovo 1389 begins with the chronicler Ahmad (1334 - 1413), his work “*Iskender – nâme*”, (*Book about Iskenderin*) is written in verse. This chronicler never speaks directly about the Arberian-Albanian territories, but in the context of the historical events related to Sultan Murat I, which have to do with the Arberian territories, he describes in general terms the events of the time that occurred. Thus, Ahmad describing the war of 1389 (does not say where the Battle of Kosovo took place), does not give any member

22 Михаило Динић, “Два савременика са Боја на Косову”, ГЛАС СКА ССXXXIII/-92, Београд, 1940, 133

23 Skender Rizaj, *Kosovo, yesterday, today and tomorrow*, Prishtina, 1992, 9.

24 Muhamet Mala, *Albanians and Central Europe over the centuries XII-XVIII*, Zagreb, 2010, 79.

25 Ibid.

26 Rexha, “*The Battle of Kosovo in*” 20.

of the numerous coalition countries against the Ottomans. About the event of the battle of 1389, Ahmad writes, “..., *Lazarus gathered an innumerable army ..., fought with Murat, who emerged victorious...*”.²⁷

The chronicle in question, describing the war of Sultan Murat I with King Lazarus, does not mention any of the members of the anti-Ottoman coalition, including Arbrit,²⁸ does not provide any details on the military force report and does not explicitly say which armies took part in that battle.²⁹ In addition, this chronicle does not mention the scene, only the work matters that the Informations was collected in Edrene, by members of the Battle.³⁰ Kronika do shërbejë si burim për shumë kronistë dhe autorë të mëvonshëm.

Seventy years later, this historical event was more widely described by the Ottoman chronicler Shukrullahu (1386-1459). His work, “*Behcet – üt – tevārih*” (*The pleasures of history*) he talks about the Albanians, whom he knows as Arnavud.³¹ This author gives the first Informations on the place and time of the Battle. Writing about the battle of 1389 in Kosovo, he describes the participants of the coalition against the Ottomans by mentioning the arbit. In describing the event to the participants of the coalition against Sultan Murat I, he writes: “..., *Soldier from Vlachs, Hungarians, Czechs, Serbs, Arberite, etc.*”³² About the assassin of Sultan Murat I he writes that “*A wounded soldier hiding among the slain, managed to assassinate Sultan Murat I in treachery*”³³. This work is based on the chronicle of Ahmad.³⁴ Shukrullahu’s work gives the first Informations on the place and time of the battle and the participation of Albanians alongside other people (Bosnians, Vlachs, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, etc., in the anti-Ottoman coalition.³⁵ This chronicler mentions Albanians as Arnavud. For the period before and after the battle of Kosovo, this author does not provide any information on the events in Arbëri.³⁶

A few years later (1464), in the work where the history is written in verse, entitled “*Dusturname*” by an author known by the nickname Enver, describes in more details the Battle of Kosovo. For the period 1389 does not bring any Informations on the Albanians, while the Battle of Kosovo describes in a broader way compared to previous chronicles and mentions the Albanians as participants in the battle³⁷. Describing the Battle of Kosovo, he writes: “...*Soldiers came from Albanians, Bosnians, Vlachs, Czechs ...*” etc. This chronicler of the Battle of Kosovo gives a date,

27 *Albanian-Turkish war*, 28.

28 *Albanian-Turkish war*, 27-29.

29 Rexha, “*The Battle of Kosovo in*” 20.

30 Petrika Thëngjilli, “*The value of Ottoman resources for the battle of Fushë Kosovë*”, *The Battle of Kosovo 1389*, (summary of studies), Tirana: Albanian Academy of Sciences Institute of History, 2005, 164.

31 *Albanian-Turkish war*, 30.

32 Ibid, 31.

33 Ibid, 32.

34 Rexha, “*The War of Kosvo*”, 21; Thëngjilli, *Albanians between the East*, 164.

35 Lazarus sent invitations to Western countries asking for help. Armies were sent by Vlachs, Hungarians, Czechs, Serbs, Albanians. (*Albanian-Turkish war*, 31).

36 Ibid, 31.

37 Ibid, 33.

791 / h. December 20, 1389,³⁸ which is wrong.

Chronicle Oruçi (missing data on the date of birth and death of the author), in his work, “*Tevârih-i âl-i osman*” (*History of the Ottoman Dynasty*),³⁹ gives a more detailed description of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, such as the number of soldiers of the warring parties, etc. In the number of military forces from the Ottoman camp, this author writes: “*He (Sultan Murat I B. M) with fifty-sixty thousand soldiers went out to the field of Kosovo. Here was the meeting place. Lazarus also gathered soldiers from the Serbs, from the vilayet of Rasha, from the land of the Albanians and from every other population*”.⁴⁰

Dervish Ahmet Ashiku, known as Ashik Pashazade (1400-after 1484) in the work “*Tevarih-i-al Osman*”, who wrote the history of the Ottoman Empire until 1448, in the notes on the Battle of Kosovo, is the first author to give the name of Murat’s assassin.⁴¹ This chronicler, in 1448, participated in the Ottoman army in the Second Battle of Kosovo, against Janosh Huniadit.⁴² Ashik-Pashazade provides accurate information only for the first part of the fight. Mention without hesitation the penetration of Lazarus and the breaking of Jacob, an important link of the Ottoman army.⁴³ Ottoman chronicles (anonymous), written during the end of the XV century and the beginning of the XVI century, on the Battle of Kosovo, provide some repetitive information and mainly taken from previous authors.

A culminating moment in the Ottoman chronicles marks the historical work “*Cihân-nümâ*” (World Indicator) by Mehmet Neshri (Information on births and deaths are little known). This author, for the first time informing about the participation of the Balkan coalition, testifies about the participation of Gjergj Balsha II (Jorgji) and Dhimitër Jonima (Junud oğlu Dimitri).⁴⁴ This is Dhimitër Jonima, the lord of the province between Lezha and Milot, whom Prince Lazar placed, together with the army of the king of Bosnia, on the left flank of the front.⁴⁵

Neshri’s work gives a special importance to the personality of Gjergji II Balsha. This is expressed in the opinion of George II Balsha, when at the coalition headquarters, Prince Lazarus asked the leaders of the princes who had come to the battlefield, if they saw fit to make a surprise attack on the Ottoman armies at night. Only the Albanian prince, Gjergji II Balsha opposed it, because at night - he stressed - the Turks would take advantage of the darkness and escape. Not at night, but to capture them all alive, by day, had given the opinion of George II Balsha, the Albanian prince, who had come to the front, according to Neshriut, with 90 thousand soldiers.⁴⁶ Neshri reduces the defeats of the Turks, or does not talk about them at all. To magnify the victory of the

38 Ibid, 34.

39 Ibid, 39

40 *Albanian-Turkish war*, 42.

41 *He was an infidel named “Bilesh Kyble”, known as “Milosh Kuble”. Pretending to want to kiss Murat Hanis hand, he cunningly managed to mortally wound Sultan Murat I.. (Albanian-Turkish war, 66).*

42 Ibid, 62.

43 Flamur Hadri, “*The Battle of Kosovo in Resource View*”, *Albanological Research, Historical Sciences Series 22-1992, Prishtina*, 1994, 31.

44 *Albanian-Turkish war*, 75.

45 Kristo Frashëri, *History of Albanian civilization (From ancient times to the end of the Second World War)*, *Academy of Sciences of Albania, Tirana*, 2008, 101.

46 *Albanian-Turkish war*, 84.

Turks, he writes that the number of enemy soldiers was 500,000, a figure that is far from the truth.⁴⁷

The chronicler Neshriu, despite the fact that he lived in the XVI century, his safe dam almost reconstructs the mosaic of events. This chronicler informs us that Evernozi advised Murat I what strategy should be used in this battle. The chronicler Neshriu writes “..., *Let’s get ahead and choose the best position. He (Lazarus B. M) let him come after us. Then let us not hurry, let him (Lazarus B.M) start the war ...*”.⁴⁸ From the outset, they agreed on a defensive strategy that would ensnare the heavily armed cavalry of the opposing army.⁴⁹

Notes on the participation of Gjergji II Balsha in the battle of Fushë Kosovë, also given by another Turkish author, *Idris Bitilsi*, in the work “Hest Bihist” (Eight paradises).⁵⁰ Bitilsi also talks about the participation of Dhimitër Jonima and other Albanian rulers in the Battle of Kosovo. Since these Informations differ slightly from those of Nishriut, it suggests that he must have used other sources that are not yet known today.⁵¹ Another chronicler, known as Sollakzade (? -1657), gives a detailed description of the beginning of the Battle of Kosovo, where among its protagonists is Gjergj II Balsha. “*If we attack the enemy army at night, it is likely that they will not fight and escape; then where can we find the Islamic army in the darkness of night*”.⁵²

Ottoman sources have been studied extensively by Albanian historiography by scholars such as S. Pulaha, P. Thëngjilli, S. Rizaj, I. Rexha. With their study, Albanian historiography concludes that Ottoman sources belong to a special and important place for the battle of Fushë-Kosovë. As for all other events, even for the Battle of Kosovo, Ottoman sources give us very rich and interesting Informations. In them he finds valuable details about its various problems, such as the time of the event, the causes of the military confrontation, the participating forces, the war tactics, the development and the participation of the Albanians in this battle, the assassin of the sultan by Milosh Kopili and the end of battle.⁵³

Albanian sources

For the Battle of Kosovo and the participation of Albanians in the anti-Ottoman coalition, we have sources from Albanian authors. Among the first Albanian sources is the author Martin Segoni (half of the XV-1485 century), Kosovo Albanian, from Novobërda, bishop of Ulcinj.⁵⁴ The Albanian author, Martin Segoni, in the work “On the roads from where the Turks can be attacked” (*Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggrendendi*)⁵⁵ talking about the Balkan roads leading to Istanbul, mentions the road that passes through Kosovo. In this context, he briefly writes about the Battle of Kosovo: “Despot Lazarus came forward with several thousand to the Turkish king Amurat, who

47 Petrika Thëngjilli, *Albanians between East and West Political Field I*, Tirana, 2008, 504.

48 *Albanian-Turkish war*, 84.

49 Hadri, “*The battle of Kosovo in sight*”, 31.

50 *Albanian-Turkish war*, 125.

51 Thëngjilli, *Albanians between the East*, 505.

52 *Albanian-Turkish War*, 298.

53 Thëngjilli, *Albanians between the East*, 507.

54 Jahja Drançolli, “The battle of Kosovo in the light of Ragusa resources”, *Albanological research, Historical sciences series, 21-1991, Prishtina*, 1993,50.

55 It should be noted that until today, when the true author of this work (Martin Segoni) was discovered by the Italian scholar A. Pertusi, the work in question has been attributed to F. Petançi. (Drançolli, *In Search of History*, 112).

was penetrating with a large majority of barbarians from Trakia to Mezi, and there he was killed, while from his army few survived; meanwhile, the Turks won the victory⁵⁶ Explaining the text in question, the scholar A. Pertusi states that in Kosovo Lazar Herebelanoviçin was accompanied by Arber, Bosniak, Vlach and Bulgarian allies.⁵⁷ The Work “*Memory*” written by the noble Arbëri Muzakajve, Gjon Muzaka, in 1510 in Italy, gives important notes on the Battle of Kosovo. He was a contemporary and comrade-in-arms of Skanderbeg, had taken an active part in supporting Skanderbeg in the fight against the Ottoman invaders. After the Ottoman conquest of the last Albanian castles, like many other compatriots, Gjon Muzaka emigrated to Italy and settled in Naples. This book is very important for the study of medieval Albanian history. This work was first discovered by the German historian Karl Hopf (1832-1873) in the Brancacane Library of Naples, in 1863.⁵⁸ Thus, the work of the Albanian nobleman, Gjon Muzaka, who was the nephew of Theodor Muzaka, participant in the Battle of Kosovo, speaks of the participation of Albanians in the Battle of Kosovo.⁵⁹ Muzaka’s work does not mention where the battle of the Albanian gentlemen took place, but announces that Theodor Muzaka of their family was killed in the battle.⁶⁰ The Author of the Book “*Memory*” does not dwell too much on the broader description of the Battle of Kosovo in the year 1389. Important is the fact that the Battle is considered a crucial moment in the penetration of the Ottomans in Albania.⁶¹ Muzaka genealogy highlights the loss of independence of the domains of Albanian feudal lords as a result of the Ottoman invasions in Albania, after the Battle of Kosovo.⁶² The work of Gjon Muzaka announces that the possessions of the Muzakaj Principality fell under Turkish rule after the Battle of Kosovo.

Even the Arberian humanist, Marin Beçikemi (1468-1526), who lived at this time in Ragusa, gives important information about the Battle of Kosovo in the year 1389. The Arberian humanist also mentions the hero of Kosovo, Milosh Kopilin (Milosso Cobilchio), whom he considers the main character of the Battle.⁶³ AutoriGiacomo Petro di Luccari (1547-1615), for which the scholar J. Drançolli, notes that he is a generous Ragusan of Albanian origin, in the work *Pasqyrë e gjerë e anave të Raguzës (Copioso ristretto degli Annali di Ragusa)*, gives important Informations about the battle of Kosovo. “In 1389, Murat of Turkey penetrated Fushë-Kosovë, which the Germans call Amselveld, the Hungarians Rigomezzi, and the Turks Kosova...., and on the shores of Sitnica

56 Drançolli, “*The battle of Kosovo in the light*”, 51.

57 Drançolli, *In search of History*, 112.

58 Gjon Muzaka, *Memory*, Tirana, 1996, 3.

59 “... And then Murat rushed to Serbia and Bulgaria, but Lazarus, the despot of Serbia, Markua, the king of Bulgaria, Theodhor Muzaka, the second son of our house and together with other rulers of Albania, clashed with the Turks. There the Christians were broken and our Theodore was killed, who had brought with him a large army of Albanians.. It was there that Lazarus of Serbia was taken prisoner and later killed by the Turks. And then began the incessant wars of the Turks in Albania, in which so many generous and brave warriors lost their lives...”,(Muzaka, *Memorje*, 19).

60 Po aty.

61 “...”, “*Continuous wars with the Turks in Albania would start here, in which many gentlemen and nobles gave their lives ...*”. (Muzaka, *Memorje*, 19).

62 “...”, And now (after the Battle of Kosovo 1389 B. M) the unceasing war with the Turks began in Albania, among which many generous gentlemen lost their bravery and possessions ...”, (*Selected sources for the history of Albania Volume II, VIII-XV Century. prepared by: A, Buda; I, Zamput; K. Frasherri; P. Pepo, State University of Tirana, Institute of History and Linguistics, Tirana, 1962, 206*).

63 Drançolli, “*The battle of Kosovo in the light*”, 53.

smashed and beheaded the prince of Serbia, who had been betrayed by Vuk Brankovii, his son-in-law.⁶⁴

Developments and the end of the Battle of Kosovo 1389

For the time when this battle took place there was a clash between the records of medieval chroniclers. The Ottoman chronicler Shukrullahu gives the time of the sultan’s assassination in 1388 (790 AH); Orui gives us the event in the period 1385-1389 (787-791), without giving the exact time; Enver tells us the year 1390 (792).⁶⁵ However, there are some Ottoman chroniclers who tells us the year 1389, when the Battle of Kosovo took place. Chronicler Bitlisi gives us the year 1389 (791 H). According to him, the time of the battle was spring.⁶⁶ Ashik Pashazade also marks the year 1389 as the year when the battle took place.⁶⁷

The prevailing opinion in the historical literature is that the battle took place on June 28, 1389 (15 June 1389, according to the old Calendar). About the time of the start of the battle, the chroniclers give different opinions. Ottoman Chronicler, Sadedini notes that it started “in the morning” ... as soon as the sun rose “.⁶⁸ Also, the other Ottoman chronicler, Sollakzade notes that “As morning approached, the wind ceased, and even rain fell, which wiped out the dust (and) the weather opened up.”⁶⁹. Morning as a time of battle is accepted as a suitable time in historiography.⁷⁰

According to Ottoman chronicles, a very big war took place here.⁷¹ For the duration of the battle the Ottoman chroniclers could not create the impression of such a fierce battle. According to the literature, it lasted five days, there are thoughts for three hours, etc. According to the memoirs of Konstantin Janiceri, it started on Wednesday and ended on Friday, while Kostandin Filozofi has determined not Wednesday, but Tuesday, since Vidovdani in 1389 coincides with the day that belongs to June 15, 1389.⁷² Interesting Informations that refer to the time and course of the Battle of Kosovo, we find in the writing of an anonymous author from Ragusa, namely Anonymous Ragusa (*Annales ragusini Anonymi*), which belongs to the 80s of the XV century, which states that: “In 1389, on June 15, the day of St. Vito, Tuesday, a battle took place between the Bosniaks and the Great Turks; ... Emperor Murat was assassinated, but so was the Bosnian king (this source calls despot Lazarus king of Bosnia); the victory was not left to either the Turks or the Bosnians, because there were many killed. The battle took place in Fushë Kosovë”.⁷³

64 Po aty, 53.

65 *Albanian-Turkish War*, 31, 41, 34

66 Ibid, 152.

67 Ibid, 65.

68 “When the emperor of heaven, the sun, which reigns on all four sides, was born full of splendor and illuminated the surface of the earth, the two armies, that which is in the way of god and that which is in the crooked way were lined up opposite each other”. (Po aty, 255).

69 Ibid.

70 Thëngjilli, *Albanians between the East*, 551.

71 “The place was filled with corpses. Horses walked on corpses, laying floors on top of each other. (Albanian-Turkish war, 53).

72 Thëngjilli, *Albanians between the East*, 559.

73 Jahja Dranolli, “The battle of Kosovo in the light of Ragusa resources”, 50.

As for the total number of armies, in fact, there is no reliable information. Ottoman Chroniclers: Enver notes that there were 100,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry;⁷⁴ Shukrullahu gives us the figure of 100,000 soldiers in Lazarus' command,⁷⁵ while Neshriu first says that Lazarus' army was extremely large, then adds that it had 500,000 men, of course given that this was an incredible number.⁷⁶ According to Oruçi, from Anadolli he made almost 15,000 torments, 25 akans. The Sultan with 50,000-60,000 went to the Fushe Kosova.⁷⁷ According to Neshri, Lazarus had collected such a large number of troops, twice the size of the Ottoman army, that his troops, fully convinced of the victory, had spent the whole night before the battle, drinking constantly and being drunk.⁷⁸ According to Bitlis, the Ottoman army was a quarter of the accursed army of unbelievers, while George II Balsha commanded 50,000 men.⁷⁹

In all the chronicles, the Ottoman authors write that the opposing army of the Balkan coalition had a numerical advantage, just as the tradition of Serbian authors has the same claims in the opposite direction. The authors of the Ottoman chronicles are clearly interested in increasing the number and importance of Lazarus' army, which they describe as having a much larger numerical superiority than Murat's army, in order to add to the glory of Turkish conquest.

The most approximate estimate by historians is the figure of 27-30,000 soldiers on the side of Murat, while on the side of Lazarus 15-20,000.⁸⁰ It is true that this event had a total mobilization of the Ottoman state, as this army gathered throughout the state, led by the sultan himself.

The records of the Ottoman chronicles make it more credible to mention a number of historical figures, leaders and main personalities of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, the Balkan princes and the peoples who led them. Prince Lazar, the ruler of the Serbian state of Morava, is mentioned in the first place, as the leader of the coalition,⁸¹ King Tvërtko of Bosnia,⁸² Vuk Brankovic, a ruler who also ruled part of the territory of Kosovo.,⁸³ Shishmani, King of Bulgaria,⁸⁴ Konstandini, Prince of Bulgaria,⁸⁵ Saruxha Gjymi, Prince of Bosnia,⁸⁶ Jorgji, the ruler of Albanian Shkodra,⁸⁷ Dhimitri, the son of Jundit,⁸⁸ Milosh Kopili.⁸⁹

74 *Albanian-Turkish War*, 35.

75 King Lazarus gathered soldiers from many countries “, Hungarians, Czechs, Serbs, Albanians, Bulgarians and Venetians. More than a hundred thousand infidels gathered (Ottoman Chroniclers thus called them Christian soldiers of the Balkans B.M), and came forward with all kinds of weapons”, (*Albanian-Turkish War*, 30).

76 *Ibid*, 83.

77 *Ibid*, 42.

78 *Ibid*, 84.

79 *Ibid*, 139,142.

80 Malcolm, *Kosovao*, 65.

81 *Albanian-Turkish War*, 28, 31-32, 34, 42, 53, 64, 76, 133.

82 *Ibid*, 312.

83 *Ibid*, 34, 80, 86, 255.

84 *Ibid*, 79, 135, 251, 311.

85 *Ibid*, 82.

86 *Ibid*, 80.

87 *Ibid*, 84, 132, 142, 253, 296-297, 312.

88 *Ibid*, 80, 143, 255,298.

89 *Ibid*, 35-36, 66, 245.

Balkan epics expand the circle of historical figures. Of the entire pantheon of heroes of the Serbo-Croatian epic on the Kosovo war in 1389, only car Lazari, carica Milicë, Vuk Brankovic, Music Stefani are historically proven persons, while Jug Bogdani, Ivan Kasançiq, Milan Toplica, Vasovic Strahini, Orloviq Pavëlare historically unproven.

Regarding the position and composition of the forces we have no direct evidence from any participant. Two letters, apparently written by Bajaziti I, by a scholar are treated as forgery of documents.⁹⁰ According to Ottoman chroniclers, the coalition armies lined up on the battlefield, with Lazar in the center, Vuk Brankovic on the right, and Bosniak chiefs Vlatko Vukovic and Arbër prince Dhimitër Jonima in the left. Kosovo Arber forces are in all likelihood positioned on the right wing of Christian forces. The Arbërs had also filled the ranks of the archers of the Balkan coalition forces, who were the first to start the battle under the command of Gjergj II Balsha. On the other side, opposite, was the Ottoman army, commanded by Murat I in the center; his European troops were on the right, led by his youngest son Bajaziti; while his eldest son Jakupi, on the left.⁹¹ The Balkan coalition army was led in the center by Lazarus holding close to 3,000 chosen cavalry; Vuk Brankoviç was on the right wing; while on the left, they were led by the Bosnian general and (according to Neshri) a certain Dhimitri, son of Jundit, placed the prince of Bosnia on the left, while the French, Vlachs, Hungarians, Albanians, Czechs and Bulgarians were placed on the side.⁹²

Regarding the whole course of the battle, we are again dependent on very late announcements. There is not even a description of the battle by any of the participants.⁹³ The most complete version we have is of the Ottoman chronicler, Neshriu, according to whom, the Serbs split the left wing from where the Ottoman troops were under the leadership of Jakup, then a very fierce battle took place in the center and, finally, the turn was an attack by Bajazitit, on the left flank (accompanied by Evrenozi) that caused the defeat of the Serb-led forces and their escape.⁹⁴ All reports of the course of the battle relate to three particularly confusing issues: the alleged betrayal of Vuk Brankovic; the time and manner of Murat's murder and the time and manner of Lazarus' murder.

According to Neshri, Lazarus proposed a surprise night attack. Everyone liked him except the ruler of Shkodra, Jorgji (Gjergj II Balsha), commander of 90,000 men, with the justification why he had to scare the Turks and that they should be able to escape, helped by the darkness of the night. The attack was to be carried out in the morning, to capture all the living, some of whom would be held captive, while others would be sold as slaves. According to Neshriu, Lazarus chose 1000 people out of every 100,000 soldiers for a total of 3,000 people, whom he kept close by and together with them was placed in the center. He placed the infantry behind him, according to the tradition of fighting. He placed the son-in-law, Vuk, and nephew on the right wing, the son of Jundit, and the prince of Bosnia on the left wing. While the French, Vlachs, Albanians, Czechs and Bulgarians were put aside and remained in the middle of the army.⁹⁵ The chronicler I. Bitilsi gives this ranking of the positions of the "seven infidel rulers", as the leaders of the Balkan coalition

90 Malcolm, *Kosovo*, 66.

91 Ibid., 65.

92 *Albanian-Turkish War*, 81, 255; Malcolm, *Kosovo*, 66.

93 Malcolm, *Kosovo*, 66.

94 *Albanian-Turkish War*, 86-90.

95 Ibid, 86.

were known by the Ottoman chroniclers: Lazarus was placed in the center of the army, while his nephew, Vuk Mrankovići, on the right wing. The King of Bosnia, Tvěrtkoja took his place on the left.⁹⁶ According to Sadedin, the armies of the Hungarians, Vlachs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Czechs and Peloponnesians were stationed alongside. Albanians and other allies were lined up on both sides of the center.⁹⁷

A chronicle published in Florence, perhaps 17 years after the battle, notes the presence of “Greek and Christian” troops on the Ottoman side. Among other things, it is stated that: “Murat won thanks to the participation of 5,000 Christian archers, whom he had hired among the Greeks and Genoese, as well as many other knights”.⁹⁸

After the first few successes of the coalition army,⁹⁹ the victory was finally skipped by the Ottomans, but the losses in people from both sides were too great.” Such a battle took place - Ahmadi reports, - that if you looked in any direction, you could only see beheadings. Everywhere you went you were on the bodies of the slain”.¹⁰⁰ Other descriptions give such descriptions that speak of the large number of people killed in the Battle of Kosovo.¹⁰¹ Among the fallen were the two leaders of the battle, Sultan Murat and car Lazari. Teodore II Muzaka and the assassin of the sultan, Milosh Kopili, were also killed there.

In Ottoman sources, there is no correspondence for the time when the sultan was killed. Some believe that Sultan Murat was killed after the end of the war, when the Ottoman army was put in pursuit of the enemy army. This represents the majority of chroniclers. Murat’s death has become the central event of the battle in Serbian sources. For this capital event, even Serbian sources do not match. Karlovac’s genealogical text mentions only the murders of Lazarus and Murat. Ruvarac’s text recognizes the traitor Milosh Kopili, who stabbed Murat. According to the text of Peja (chronicler), Murat fell from the sword in the middle of the battle. According to Konstantin Filozofi, Stefan Lazarević’s biographer, Murat was killed by a very noble soldier.¹⁰² Further reports on the progress of the battle from some non-Ottoman sources speak of the successes of the coalition army, especially after the withdrawal from the battle of the prominent soldier and son of Sultan Murat I Bajaziti, who headed to Edrene, Bulgaria to take the throne of the Ottoman Empire after the death of Sultan Murat.

After Murat’s assassination, Bajaziti withdrew to Edrene in order to secure an empty throne. To the participants of the Balkan coalition, this withdrawal created the impression that the Ottomans were defeated. We have this information from two documents of the king of Bosnia, Tvěrtko I. In

96 Ibid, 143.

97 Ibid, 255.

98 Ibid, 64.

99 According to Neshriut, “*The Christians first broke the left wing of the Ottoman army led by Jakupi, but in the meantime, Bajaziti, who commanded the right wing, intervened and restored the situation.*” “After that, the defeat of the coalition army began.” (Albanian-Turkish War, 88-89). This was announced also by Bitilisi. According to him, the left arm of the Ottoman army was broken, while the right arm remained unmoved. At this time, Jelldërëm Bajaziti intervenes, who returned the situation to the left wing. (Ibid, 145-146).

100 Ibid, 28.

101 Ibid, 32; 36-38; 145-147.

102 Thëngjilli, *Albanians between the East*, 562.

the first letter written a few days after the battle (August 1, 1389) he informed the city of Trogirit that, “Winning the battlefield with triumph, we defeated them (the Ottomans B. M) ... we killed them, so that little of them remained alive”.¹⁰³ The news of the victory seemed to have spread widely. Even in the second letter, dated October 20, 1389 (although this document has not been preserved) which he sends to the City of Florence, we understand from the response of Florence and it can be seen that it had the same content. This document states the day of St. Vidit as the date of the battle, and describes Murat’s assassination as “the work of the Twelve Conspiratorial Warriors, who, penetrating the enemy companies and the surrounding camels tied with swords, made their way to the of Murat’s tent. Happy among others, the one who leads all those powers, heroically stabbed him in the throat and bravely killed him”.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, he was well aware of the event of June 15, when Murati was killed in Fushë Kosovë, and in that glorious battle, the victory belonged to the kingdom. The French traveler of the XV century, Filip de Mezier, in his work, “The Dream of the Ancient Pilgrim”, written in October 1389, writes that Murat was completely defeated in Albania and that he was killed with his son and his most bravest soldiers of his army.¹⁰⁵ However, the victory belonged to the Ottoman Empire, which at the same time opened its doors to penetrate into parts of the Northwestern Balkans.

Conclusion

The Battle of Kosovo, 1389, fought in a territory near the city of Pristina, between the armies of the Balkan and the Ottoman coalition, was one of the most determined efforts of the Balkan princes to stop the success of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans in the end of the XIV century. Serious preparations from both sides for this battle, the large number of opposing armies, the historical course of the battle, before and after it, have influenced the Battle of Kosovo to be the most crucial part of medieval historical studies in the territory of ancient Dardania - Kosovo. Historical sources, such as Ottoman, Byzantine, Italian, Ragusan, Albanian, Slavic, etc., give evidence of the participation of some Balkan princes, such as Albanians, Croatian Serbs, Hungarians, Vlachs, Bulgarians, Czechs, etc. The Ottoman camp, led by Sultan Murat I, consisted of numerous forces from the Empire and its vassals. As a dramatic event in itself that marked the beginning of the Ottoman conquests in the Balkans, it has long attracted the attention of chroniclers, historians of the time and many scholars, which has consequently found a relatively broad treatment in the history of the population of the Balkans. Basic studies on it indicate a character of Balkan importance, especially of special importance for Kosovo. The old Serbian historiography of the XIX century and the newer Serbian historiography are presented in a completely different and tendentious way. In their writings they try to first present the Battle of Kosovo as a predominantly Serbian act, to deny the participation of Albanians in this battle. It is clear that this attitude is a Serbian political tendency to present the territory of Kosovo as “ancient Serbian land”. However, today, thanks to the latest research and results from Albanian historiography and with the most thorough approach by foreign scholars, it has been seen that the Battle of Kosovo has a character of Balkan historical importance and that most of the troops, the military forces of the Balkan coalition were from the vast Albanian territories, along with other troops such as Serbs, Bosniaks, Hungarians, etc. The

103 Qerim, Dalipi, *Ottoman Incursions in Albanian territories until 1402*, Kërçovë, 2002., 108.

104 Milovan Obradović, “*The Battle of Kosovo and its consequences*”, Përparimi scientific journal 4, Year XLIII, Prishtina, 1989, 446.

105 Obradović, “*The Battle of Kosovo and its consequences*”, 447.

victory belonged to the Ottomans who took the first steps in the conquest of the Balkans.

Bibliography

Albanian-Turkish War in the 15th Century - Ottoman Sources, Prepared for Press by Selami Pulaha, State University of Tirana & Institute of History and Linguistics, Tirana, 1968.

Buda, Aleks, *Historical writings*, vol.I, Tirana, 1986.

Dalipi, Qerim, *Ottoman Incursions in Albanian territories until 1402*, Kërçovë, 2002.

Drançolli, Jahja, *In search of medieval Arberian history*, Albanian Catholic Mission in Croatia, Zagreb, 2019, 95.

Drançolli, Jahja, “The battle of Kosovo in the light of Ragusa resources”, *Albanological research, Historical sciences series, 21-1991, Prishtina*, 1993.

Frashëri, Kristo, *History of Albanian civilization (From ancient times to the end of the Second World War)*, Academy of Sciences of Albania, Tirana, 2008.

Gelchich, Giuseppe, *Zeta and the Balshaj Dynasty*, Tirana, 2009.170.

Hadri, Flamur, “The Battle of Kosovo in Resource View”, *Albanological Research, Historical Sciences Series 22-1992, Prishtina*, 1994.

History of the Albanian people of the Illyrians Medieval Albania under the Ottoman Empire during the century. XIV - 20s of the century. XIX, Academy of Sciences of Albania Institute of History, Tirana, 2002.

Mala, Muhamet, *Albanians and Central Europe over the centuries XII-XVIII*, Zagreb, 2010.

Malcolm, Noel, *Kosovo a short story*, Translated from English by Abdullah Kajragdiu, Second Edition, “Koha”, Prishtina - Tirana, 2001.

Malltezi, Luan, *The Battle of Fushë Kosovë (1389) and the contribution of the Albanians”, The Battle of Kosovo 1389 (Summary of studies)*, Tirana, 2005.

Mijatović, Čedo, “Balšiči, a sketch for the history of Zeta”, *Messenger SUD, knj. XLIX* Belgrade, 1881, 126.

Mišković, Jovan, *The Battle of Kosovo (15. June Year 1389)*, Belgrade, 1933.

Muzaka, Gjon, *Memory*, Tirana, 1996.

Obradović, Milovan, “The Battle of Kosovo and its consequences”, *Përparimi scientific journal 4, Year XLIII*, Prishtina, 1989.

Pirraku, Muhamet, “Participation of Albanians in the battle of Kosovo 1389”, *Albanological Research, Historical Sciences Series no. 20-1990*, Prishtina, 1991.

Rexha, Iljaz, “The Battle of Kosovo in the Ottoman Chronicles-Sources of the XV-XVI century”, *Albanological Research, Historical Sciences Series no. 19-1989, Prishtina*, 1990.

Rizaj, Skender, *Kosovo, yesterday, today and tomorrow*, Prishtina, 1992.

Ruvarac, Ilarion, *O prince Lazarus*, Novi Sad, 1887.

Selected sources for the history of Albania Volume II, VIII-XV Century. prepared by: A. Buda; I. Zamputi; K. Frasheri; P. Pepo, State University of Tirana, Institute of History and Linguistics, Tirana, 1962.

Thëngjilli, Petrika, *Albanians between East and West Political Field I*, Tirana, 2008.

Thëngjilli, Petrika, “The value of Ottoman resources for the battle of Fushë Kosovë”, *The Battle of Kosovo 1389*, (summary of studies), Tirana: Albanian Academy of Sciences Institute of History, 2005.

Динић, Михаило, “Два савременика са Боја на Косову”, ГЛАС СКА ССXXXII/-92, Београд, 1940.