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Features of Austro-Hungarian Occupation and Administration in Peja (1915-1918)

Avusturya-Macaristan'ın Pejë (İpek) İşgali Sırasındaki İdari Özellikleri (1915-1918)

Abstract

The Austro-Hungarian occupation and administration of Peja and its environs from December 7, 1915, to October 12, 1918, for almost three years, was accompanied by important political, military, economic, social, and cultural-educational developments, within the framework of World War I. This territory of Kosovo was of strategic importance to Austria-Hungary, and in particular to Albanians, to their political aspirations, and their social and cultural development. These years were characterized by multidimensional events and phenomena, which started with an Albanian-Montenegrin confrontation and ended the same way with an Albanian-Austro-Hungarian armed confrontation.

Keywords: Peja, Austria-Hungary, Albanians, administration, development

Öz

Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında İpek yaklaşık olarak 3 sene kadar (7 Aralık 1915-12 Ekim 1918) Avusturya-Macaristan tarafından idare edildi. Bu işgâl ve yönetim İpek için siyasi, askeri, iktisadî, sosyal ve kültürel gelişimi açısından önem arz etmektedir. Bu bölge Avusturya-Macaristan için önemli ve stratejik bir bölge olduğu kadar Arnavutlar için de siyasi, kültürel ve eğitimsel özel bir önemi vardı. Bu dönem'de İpek ve civarı için çok boyutlu savaşlarla karakterize edildi. Arnavutlar Karadağlılara karşı savaş verdikten sonra Avusturya-Macarlarla da çarpıştılar.

Anahtar kelimeler: Pejë (İpek), Avusturya-Macaristan, Arnavutlar, yönetim, kalkınma

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Introduction

Peja lies in the northwestern part of the Dukagjini Region (Rrafshi i Dukagjinit) in Western Kosovo, at the foot of Bjeshkët e Nemuna (the Accursed Mountains), on both sides of Lumbardhi of Peja (Lumbardhi i Pejës), at the entrance of Rugova Canyon (Gryka e Rugovës). Through crossroads across Rugova Canyon (Gryka e Rugovës) and Qafa e Çakorit, it provides access to the Adriatic Sea, making this an important center at the crossroads which connects the interior of Balkan Peninsula. Traces of a cave settlement from the Paleolithic Age have been found on the outskirts of the city, while in antiquity this settlement was known as Siparunton.¹ According to ancient authors, this area was inhabited from antiquity by the Illyrian tribe of Dardanians, the ancestors of the Albanians, whom since the IV century B.C. had managed to build a politically structured society: The Kingdom of Dardania. Despite the Roman, Byzantine, Bulgarian conquest and the influx of barbarian tribes, the indigenous population of this area managed to preserve its ethnic identity and its characteristics.²

The first traces of Peja as a city have been marked since 1202, while in Stevan Prvovenčan card it is mentioned as a village, in the Hvsonos region. At the end of the XIII century, it is mentioned as “Pek” and “Pek arhiepiskupova”, while in archival sources, documentaries, and Ottoman notebooks it is marked with the name “Ipek”, where, as such it is also known during the Austro-Hungarian occupation and administration. In the XIII century until 1389, Peja was under the occupation of the Nemanjic of Raska (Nemanjiçëve të Rashkës). After the Battle of Kosovo (1389) until 1462, Peja was first administered by the Balshajt and then by the Dukagjinët. After this year, the Ottomans possessed it until 1912.³ On October 30, 1912, during the First Balkan War, the Montenegrin army occupied the city of Peja⁴. By decision of the Conference of Ambassadors in London, on March 22, 1913, the city of Peja was annexed to the administrative territory of the Kingdom of Montenegro.⁵

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- 1 Jusuf Osmani, *Vendbanimet e Kosovës (Peja dhe Deçani)* nr.11, Prishtinë: 2004, p.17; *Fjalor Enciklopedik Shqiptar*, Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2009, p.1971.
 - 2 Neritan Ceka, *Ilirët*, Tiranë: “Migjeni”, 2005, p.175-188; Aleksandër Stipçeviq, *Ilirët – historia, jeta, kultura, simbolet e kultit*, Tiranë: “Toena”, 2002, p.46-47; Kristo Frashëri, *Historia e Kosovës*, Vëll. I, Dardania (Kosova antike), Tiranë: Botimet “Dudaj”, 2008, p.55-59.
 - 3 Isuf Ahmeti, *Qytetet e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XVI-XVIII*, Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë “Ali Hadri” - Prishtinë, 2014, p.31-33.
 - 4 *Archive of the Institute of History in Pristina (AIHP)*, Fund: Documents from the State Archive of Montenegro, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1912-1914, no.6 box, Телеграм од Јанко Вукотић од Пећ послао Краљ у Подгорица, 17.X.1912.
 - 5 *Dokumente britanike për çështjen shqiptare në Konferencën e Ambasadorëve në Londër 1912-1913*, zgjedhi, përgatiti dhe redaktoi: Muhamet Shatri, Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike & Instituti i Historisë – Tiranë, “Toena”, 2012, p.368, Note in the protocol of Mr. H. C. Norman-it, Foreign Office, March 26, 1913; Thoma Murzaku, *Kur u caktuan kufijtë e Shqipërisë (1912-1914) – (Me një epilog: Pse kjo çështje vazhdoi të diskutohej përgjatë disa dekadave të tjera)*, Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e Shqipërisë, 2017, p.161-179.

The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Peja in December 1915

World War I found Peja under heavy administration and occupation by the Kingdom of Montenegro. Its beginning suspended an intense Montenegrin campaign forcing Albanians to move from their homes, for the cultural and national alienation of Albanians who continued to live in their homes, and for the Montenegrin colonization of this area. Meanwhile, the Albanian National Movement (Lëvizja Kombëtare Shqiptare), which also included activists from Peja, considered that the military clash between Austria-Hungary and its allies on one hand, against the Kingdom of Serbia and Montenegro on the other hand, was a strategic moment to reactivate armed liberation efforts. This is the reason why Qerim Begolli from Peja, a prominent activist of the Albanian National Movement from the Albanian state territory was charged with the command to continue the armed actions against the oppressive Serbo-Montenegrin government power in Kosovo.⁶ Under his influence, a range of people from Peja became continuous supporters of this idea. However, Montenegrin military authorities in Peja and its environs reacted immediately, increasing control on the population and the borderline with Albania, and also blocked all road corridors which were considered dangerous. That is why difficult obstacles were raised around the roads.⁷ So, for over a year, armed and sporadic attacks by the Albanians of these areas did not achieve the intended effect.

At the end of 1915, Peja and its environs became an arena of battles between the warring forces of the Central Powers and the Entente. Gradually, after occupying several major cities during October-November 1915, the Austro-Hungarian army and its allies forced the Serbo-Montenegrin to withdrawal from Kosovo. However, Peja was the only city where the military forces of the Central Powers had not yet managed to conquer. A large number of Serbo-Montenegrin military forces, that had planned to resist, were concentrated there. After several days of resistance against the Austro-Hungarian army and the Albanian armed groups, the Serbo-Montenegrin military forces accelerated their departure from Peja. Consequently, in the border area of Berane, the Austro-Hungarian troops who came from Mitrovica had attacked key positions of the Montenegrin army. On December 6, 1915, they fought hard east of Peja, but Montenegrin and Serbian troops could not resist the Austro-Hungarian attack. The Austro-Hungarian troops stood near the city of Peja that day. On the morning of December 7, 1915, they entered Peja.⁸

In the fight to protect the city of Peja from the military attacks by Austro-Hungarian artillery and Albanian armed groups, the Serbo-Montenegrin army had put up a two-day

6 *Archive of the Institute of History in Tirana (AIHT)*, Fund: Vienna Archive, Vj.24-36-3634, no.403, Telegram of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Durrës sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna, Durrës, September 6, 1914.

7 *Ibid.*, Vj.24-36-3626, no.429, Telegram of the Austro-Hungarian consul in Shkodra, Karl Halla, sent to the MFA in Vienna, Shkodra, August 30, 1914.

8 Der österreichisch-ungarische Heeresbericht: Ipek und Djakova in Montenegro besetzt, Der Stellvertreter des Chefs des Generalstabes. v. Hofer, Feldmarschalleutnant, Wien, 7. Dezember 1915, *Amtliche Kriegs-Depeschen nach Berichten des Wolff'schen Telegr.-Bureaus*, Band 3, Berlin: "Nationaler Verlag", 1916; *Reichspost*, "Unsere Truppen vor Ipek. 2100 Serben und Montenegriner gefangen.", nr.574, XXII. Jahrgang, Wien, Dienstag den 7. Dezember 1915, p.2; *L'Home Enchainé*, "Les opérations contre le Monténégro", No.424, Paris, Mercredi, 8 décembre 1915, p.1; *Streffleur Katonai lapja*, "A balkáni hadműveletek.", nr.57, Bécs, szombat, 11. december 1915, p.5-6; *Vëllazënija*, "Lufta Balkane. Kalendari i luftës prej fillesës së mësymes së re të fuqivet qendrave.", nr.1, Vjenë, 12 Kallënduer 1916, p.2-3.

resistance. During the occupation of Peja, more than 1,000 Serb captives and large quantities of war material, were caught.⁹ Among the captives, two Serb officers were also there.¹⁰ Albanians were also actively involved in the fight for Peja, the Austro-Hungarian general, Hofer, reported.¹¹ On December 6, 1915, Albanians led by Bajram Curri and Qerim Begolli, were the first to enter Peja.¹² The Austro-Hungarian army also came in as triumphant after them, which immediately took the situation under control.

The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Peja echoed in the international press, as well. The Australian newspaper *The Mercury*, citing European sources, on December 10, 1915, in the article entitled “Battle of Ipek”, wrote that, on Tuesday, December 7, 1915, near Peja, the Austro-Hungarian army had captured 2,000 soldiers and seized 80 weapons.¹³ Austro-Hungarian forces and their German allies also used military aircraft to fight Serbo-Montenegrin army targets in retreat towards Podgorica. Besides, the number of captives was steadily increasing while the discovery and confiscation of the weapons paralyzed any eventual ideas for resistance. In the following days, after the occupation of Peja, over 1,000 Serbo-Montenegrins were arrested and 122 modern hidden weapons were discovered.¹⁴ Some days after, the international press revealing the political events of the war in Balkan, praised the previous attitude of Austria-Hungary towards Albanians, where it reported that “it predicts an Albanian protectorate including Peja and Gjakova”.¹⁵ However, with all the consent of political and diplomatic circles in Vienna, in the service of the Albanian national aspirations, the Austro-Hungarian military circles from the beginning did not prefer territorial and administrative changes in favor of the Albanians. As a result, Peja continued maintaining the administrative district status within the Austro-Hungarian General Military government of Montenegro based in Cetina.¹⁶

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- 9 Dielli, “Shqiptaret marrin piесе ne luften per Ipekun”, nr.534, Boston, Mass., December 8, 1915, p.1; *Le Petit Journal*, “Les Autrichiens tenus en échec par les Monténégrins”, No.19339, Paris, Mercredi, 8 decembre 1915, p.3; *La Lanterne*, “Comuniqué monténégrin”, No.14.018, Paris, Venredi, 10 decembre 1915, p.1; Peter Enne, *Die österreichisch-ungarische Offensive gegen Montenegro 1916 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Operation über den Lovćen und des Zusammenbruchs der montenegrinischen Armee*, Diplomarbeit, Wien: Universität Wien, 2008, p.53.
- 10 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, “Südöstlicher Kriegsschauplatz.”, nr.340, XXVII. Jahrgang., Wien, Freitag, 10. Dezember 1915, p.1.
- 11 *Streffleur Katonai lapja*, “A balkáni hadműveletek.”, nr.57, Bécs, szombat, 11. december 1915, p.6.
- 12 Dielli, “Shqiptaret”, nr.568, Boston, Mass., Wednesday, January 19, 1916, p.2; Niman Ferizi, *Familja Curri*, Konstancë: “Albania”, 1935, p.25.
- 13 *The Mercury*, “Battle of Ipek.”, No.14,274, Hobart, Friday, December 10, 1915, p.5. Depending on the information authenticity and its dissemination to information agencies, different numbers of captives were initially reported. Thus, another informative report states that 1,250 were taken hostage during the occupation of Peja. However, their number increased day by day. See: *The Carolina Home and Farm and The Eastern Reflector*, “Attempt crush Allied troops in Macedonia”, Volume 47, Greenville, North Carolina, Friday, December 10, 1915, p.1.
- 14 Der Weltkrieg am 13. Dezember 1915: Balkankriegsschauplatz, *Amtliche Kriegs-Depeschen nach Berichten des Wolff'schen Telegr.-Bureaus*, Band 3, Berlin: “Nationaler Verlag”, 1916.
- 15 *The Ashburton Guardian*, “Roumania’s policy may result in a new war zone.”, Vol. XXXV, No.8327, Ashburton, New Zeland, Tuesday, December 21, 1915, p.5.
- 16 Fitim Rifati, *Kosova gjatë Luftës së Parë Botërore 1914-1918*, Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë - Prishtinë, 2019, p.167.

Order maintenance difficulties and the deportation of the population

Nevertheless, the new occupier did not find a completely warm environment in the population of this area, to calmly enable the establishment of the administration and executive bodies. Firstly, Albanians were not recognized for their political rights by the Austro-Hungarian state, while the army officers and the Austro-Hungarian army leaders, especially those of Slavic nationality had no solid knowledge of Albanian culture, costume, traditions, and national consciousness.¹⁷ Secondly, order and tranquility could not be established immediately due to contradictory political orientations of a part of the leaders and popular leaders and its population, which during the Montenegrin occupation and administration was engaged with active participation in city administration positions.¹⁸ And, thirdly, a mass of Muslim Albanians added mutual tensions, capable of war and still with a sense of Ottoman citizenship, who responded to the propaganda to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire and join its army in the front line of Galicia.¹⁹

Thus, the Austro-Hungarian authorities took punitive measures against the disobedient Albanians, such as imprisonment, deportations, and execution, while in Kuqishtë they established a police station to keep the Rugova people under control.²⁰ Meanwhile, during June and July 1916, in Peja district, there were cases when a part of Albanians and Serbo-Montenegrins, within the framework of Montenegrin efforts against Austro-Hungarian occupation, carried out armed actions against the Austro-Hungarian gendarmerie members. In the middle of July 1916, in Peja district, respectively on the road leading from Runik towards Mitrovica, Albanians attacked and killed two Austro-Hungarian gendarmes. In retaliation, the Austro-Hungarian military authorities warned and there was no delay in imposing sanctions on Albanians and Serbo-Montenegrins of this district. Consequently, on July 21, 1916, in the city of Peja, through a fast court procedure, seven Albanians were executed on the charge “*for the crime against the armed state forces (the army of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, F. R)*”, not only to punish Albanians who had committed armed attacks against them, but also to create fear among the rest of the population, which claimed to carry out actions against the administrative power. Despite this, military authorities killed three other Albanians in the city as they tried to escape themselves and to escape the punishment.²¹

17 *AIHT*, Vj.26-7-719, nr.25,492, Annex to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, May 20, 1916.

18 *Ibid.*, Vj.26-3-393, no.867/ res, Appendix to the private letter sent by the Austro-Hungarian General Consul in Shkodra, August Kral, to Alfred von Rappaport, Shkodra, August 13, 1916. Sefedin bey Begolli, who worked in administration in the judicial sector in Peja, showed his devotion and loyalty to the Kingdom of Montenegro in a speech published in the Montenegrin press, in November 1913, who was appreciating “the religious tolerance between Christians and Muslims” under Montenegrin rule. He expressed his readiness to sacrifice himself for the interests of Montenegro. See in more detail: Глас Црногорца, “Говор г. Сафедин бега Махмутбеговића”, број 52., Цетиње, субота, 9. новембра 1913., p.5.

19 Hasan Bello, *Marrëdhëniet shqiptaro-turke 1912-1939*, Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike - Instituti i Historisë, 2015, p.125.

20 Shukri Rahimi, “E kaluara historike e Rugovës”, *Rugova – Monografi etnografike – Libri XIV*, Sesion i Shkencave Shoqërore, Libri 6, Prishtinë: Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, 1987, p.27.

21 *AIHT*, Vj.26-1-118, nr.1861/II, Annex of the relation no. 58A-B/p, of July 23, 1916, of the Plenipotentiary Minister Eduart Otto, the representative of the MFA in Cetina sent to the MFA in Vienna, Cetina, July

This event caused the immediate reaction of the international press, especially that of Entente states. On August 19, 1916, the British newspaper, *Daily Telegraph*, based on its reporter from Rome, published data on the recent killings carried out by the Austro-Hungarian army in Albania, Serbia, and Montenegro. According to it, only during July in these countries, the Austro-Hungarian military authorities had executed 808 people, including Albanians from Peja. The counterreaction of the Austro-Hungarian press was immediate, which qualified the press reports of Entente as lies. The Austro-Hungarian newspapers *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Pester Lloyd* denied allegations by Entente press about the Austro-Hungarian army conduct in Albania, Montenegro, and Serbia. In its reports, in July 1916, the Austro-Hungarian press admitted that nine Albanians were executed in Peja for crimes against military power. However, the Austro-Hungarian press insisted that in the Albanian areas under Austria-Hungary, there was complete silence and that the administrative power was very acceptable to the local population.²²

During this time, the Austro-Hungarian authorities in the Peja region imposed strict measures on individuals carrying illegal weapons and they restricted the freedom of movement from one administrative region to another. If the weapons were not handed over in time, the death penalty ensued. Thus, there were 15 people executed in this area. Despite this, they also took members of Albanian families as hostages, who were armed and threatened the administrative order. For every murder, which was considered as a criminal act, the killer was obliged to pay 25.000 Krone as compensation. So, by December 1916, 50.000 Krone had been paid in the Peja region to two Austro-Hungarian killed gendarmes, the perpetrators of which were still unknown.²³ The execution of Albanians in Peja was carried out by the law of war for principally committed crimes. Whereas, for this act, the Austro-Hungarian law of War predicted a death penalty (physical liquidation).²⁴

After the riots of June and July, there were about 100 Albanians who were deported, among whom there were beys of Peja and children aged 14 and 18, such as Qerim Begolli's brothers.²⁵ They were deported in Aschach, Waidhofen, and Karlstein in Austria and Boldogasszony, Nezsider, Nagymegyéri, and Szolnok in Hungary. So, there were deported from Peja, especially from the well-known Mahmutbegolli family. Consequently, Sefedin bey Begolli was deported in Waidhofen, Esad bey Mahmutbegolli, Abdulla bey Mahmutbegolli, Kemal bey Mahmutbegolli and Munir bey Mahmutbegolli were deported

22, 1916.

22 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, "Ententelügen über die Verhältnisse in Serbien, Montenegro und Albanien.", nr.238, XXVIII. Jahrgang., Wien, Montag, 28. August 1916, p.2; *Pester Lloyd*, "Ententelügen über die Verhältnisse in Serbien, Montenegro und Albanien.", nr.239, 63. Jahrgang, Budapest, Montag, 28. August 1916, p.4.

23 F. Rifati, *Kosova gjatë Luftës...*, p.205.

24 *AIHT*, Vj.26-17-1799, nr.84/P, Top secret report of the MFA representative in Cetina, Otto, sent to baron Burian in Vienna, Cetina, October 8, 1916; Xhevat Repishti, "Revolta e masave të Shkodrës në pranverën e vitit 1916 kundër pushtesve austro-hungarezë", *Studime historike*, viti XXVII (X), nr.1, Tiranë: Akademia e Shkencave e RPSH & Instituti i Historisë, 1973, p.74; Ledia Dushku, "Shqiptarët përballë ushtarakëve dhe diplomatëve austro-hungarezë (1914-1916)", *Studime historike*, Viti LXX 3-4/2016, Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike - Instituti i Historisë, 2016, p.82.

25 *Ibid.*, Vj.26-18-1809, no.1135/Res, Annex of the Austro-Hungarian General Consul in Shkodra, August Kral, sent to Alfred von Rappaport, Shkodra, December 3, 1916.

in Aschach. Abdurrahman Mahmutbegolli and Kemal bey Mahmutbegolli were deported in Bologasszony. Ragib bey Kajabegolli, Ramiz bey Kajabegolli, Mahmut Zajmi, Bilall Rrusta, Shaqir Çavdërbasha, and Ali Goska were deported to Aschach. Well-known leaders and personalities of Peja were deported in other parts of Austria-Hungary.²⁶ The orthodox religious clerics of the Peja region did not escape this punishment either.²⁷

Hasan Prishtina, who at this time was operating in the area of Austro-Hungarian occupation and administration in Kosovo, as part of deportation measures, considered that the most dangerous could be Sefedin bey Begolli, Mahmut Zajmi, Sulejman Agë Batusha, Muhamed Grezda, etc, due to the political and administrative resilience that had shown with the Montenegrin rule. He tried to convince the Austro-Hungarian military administration branches that the deportation of beys and other personalities was wrong since it negatively affected the impressions of the Albanians of Peja on the Austro-Hungarian attitude towards them.²⁸ In this context, Hasan Prishtina's immediate reaction and the suggestion he made to the relevant Austro-Hungarian authorities, reflected in the changing points of view about the main leaders of Peja. Therefore, the Austro-Hungarian authorities took measures to verify the personalities of this area, who did not pose a threat to order and security. While Qerim Begolli's return from the escape to Pristina, also happened with the suggestion and intercession of Hasan Prishtina.²⁹

Meanwhile, an important problem that increased the mutual tension had to do with a mass of Muslim Albanians, who were capable of war and still with a sense of Ottoman citizenship. They emigrated to the Ottoman Empire and joined its army on the Galicia front. Also, another group was forced to serve within the military administration in the Austro-Hungarian area and beyond. However, official Vienna was extremely alarmed by the fact that about 6,000 "*Albanian Muslim volunteers*" from the districts of Peja, Plava, and Gucia (Gusinje), wanted to get Ottoman passports, to go to the Ottoman Empire, and to fight alongside its military forces on the eastern fronts of the war.³⁰ This attitude was not welcomed by the highest political and diplomatic bodies in Vienna, which categorically opposed any military policy that hit the Kosovo Albanians.

The promotion of the economic development

After the installation of administrative mechanisms and the order maintenance, the implementation of Austro-Hungarian economic policies began in Peja, which reflected in certain economic sectors of this city and surrounding areas. It is worth noting that, after the

26 Vukota Vukotić, "Muslimani internirani u Austro-Ugarsku 1916-1918", *Almanah*, nr.75-76, Časopis za proučavanje, prezentaciju i zaštitu kulturno-istorijske baštine Bošnjaka/Muslimana, Podgorica: 2017, p.295-298.

27 In January 1917, a mass of Orthodox clergy returned from exile in Montenegro. Among them there were Theofan Gjoković, Milutije Vuković and Grigarije Ristić from Peja. See: *Cetinjer Zeitung*, "Rückkehr internierter Geistlicher nach Montenegro.", nr.45, Cetinje, am 18. Jänner 1917, p.3.

28 *AIHT*, Vj.26-18-1809, no.1135 / Res, Annex of the Austro-Hungarian Consul General in Shkodra, August Kral, sent to Alfred von Rappaport, Shkodra, December 3, 1916.

29 Limon Rushiti, *Rrethanat politiko-shoqërore në Kosovë 1912-1918*, Prishtinë, "Rilindja", 1986, p.188.

30 H. Bello, *Marrëdhëniet shqiptaro-turke...*, p.125.

Austro-Hungarian occupation, the economic situation in Peja and its environs, continued to be severe due to Montenegrin economic policy. There were cases when the population was suffering from hunger. Thus, to alleviate the dire situation, the population was facing, the Austro-Hungarian authorities took care immediately in improving food conditions. Although, there was no food in abundance from April to July 1916, the administrative authorities brought flour, corn, vegetables, sugar and distributed them to the population as part of food aid, even in some particular cases also applying exchange channels.³¹ For this reason, in October 1916, the Albanians of Peja district presented to the Austro-Hungarian authorities, the satisfaction with their city administration from the dualist monarchy, which “*was only acting for the good of the country*”.³²

Meanwhile, Peja and the surrounding areas were of great importance for the economic use in agriculture, trade, and road traffic. Dukagjini Region (Rrafshi i Dukagjinit) kept being the main grain barn for Montenegro and the Austro-Hungarian administration. About 75% of total grain production in Montenegro, came from this region. According to estimates by the Austro-Hungarian general military governor in Montenegro, Klam Martiniq, in December 1917, out of 600-grain wagons taken out of Montenegro, 450 wagons were from Peja.³³ Fertile soil, climatic conditions, and rich agricultural yields made the Austro-Hungarian administration based in Cetina keep its economic attention on this region and treat it as the main source for Montenegro’s economic sustainability.

From 1917, the Austro-Hungarian administration bodies of the civil department in the Peja region also registered shops, firms, and commercial companies. In the city of Peja, 369 owners of shops, firms or companies were registered. Of these 244 (66%) stores, firms, or companies had Muslim and Christian owners (mostly Albanians^{34*}), 113 (30%) stores, firms or companies had Christian owners (mainly Serbo-Montenegrins^{35*}), while 12 (4%) stores, firms or companies had more than one owner or they had foreign owners. So, five stores had Austro-Hungarian owners, two stores had two Serbo-Montenegrin owners each, one had two owners (an Albanian and a Serbo-Montenegrin), and the other had two owners (an Albanian and one non-Albanian), whereas 1 store was registered without an owner. In ten cases, one owner had two stores; in nine cases, two owners had a store; in two cases two owners had two stores.³⁶ In the following chart, it turns out that in the city of Peja there were 32 types of stores that reached 381 number, in total. This city was dominated by specialty and general merchandise stores.

31 Pester Lloyd, “Ententelügen über die Verhältnisse in Serbien, Montenegro und Albanien.”, nr.239, 63. Jahrgang, Budapest, Montag, 28. August 1916, p.4.

32 Cetinjer Zeitung, “Albanische Führer in Albanien.”, nr.20, Cetinje, am 22. Oktober 1916, p.3.

33 AIHT, Vj.27-2-257, no., Letter from the General Military Governor of Montenegro, Count Klam Martiniq, sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Czernin in Vienna, Cetina, 13 December 1917.

34 * We can mention some of them, such as Abdulla Mustafa, Agush Sulejman Zeka, Ali Fetah Kullashi, Avdulla Aligjiku, Beqir Hajdar Aligjiku, Brahim Malë Belegu, Ethem Sapunxhiu, Halim Haxhi Jashari, Haxhi Emin Zajmi, Haxhi Hasan Muhaxheri, Idriz Mula, Isa Halit Blaku, Jakup Radoniq, Lorenc Gjon Augustini, Mehmed Jahja Kasapi, Mustafa Gega, Rexhep Hajdari, Shaban Belegu, Shyqri Rashiti, Zef Pjetri, etc.

35 * We can mention some of them, such as: Aleksija Stefançeviq, Arso Jovanoviq, Cvetko Momiq, Ljubomir Teodosijeviq, Malishiq Stefançeviq, Milan Jovanoviq, Todor Joksimoviq, Zhivko Radevq, etc.

36 See in more detail, the published issues of *Cetinjer Zeitung* from March 17 to June 30, 1918.

Number:	Type of store, firm, or company:	Quantity:
	Antiques store	1
	Jewelry store	12
	Copper store	5
	Plank store	2
	Tabacco store	11
	Confectionary	5
	Barber shop	9
	Fruit shop	2
	Bakery	12
	Fur store	5
	Blacksmith shop	2
	Inn	6
	Ironworks	2
	Hydraulics	3
	Hotel	1
	Café	15
	Lid store	1
	Shoe store	9
	Paper store	1
	Leather shop	2
	General merchandise	67
	Manufacturing	1
	Butcher shop	1
	Paint store	1
	Opinga (Shoe) store	9
	Watchmaker shop	5
	Tailor shop	27
	Soap shop	2
	Specialty store	143
	Saddle store	8
	Tavern	8
	Sack store	3
In total:		381

Overview of shops, firms, and companies registered in the city of Peja during 1917-1918

Special attention was paid to the improvement of road traffic conditions, which enabled the movement of Austro-Hungarian administrative structures and the movement of the population from one district to another and from one village to another. At this

time, the road construction began at a distance of 22 kilometers that connected Peja with Andrievica, Podgorica, and Kotor. This road started from Peja to its canyon and ended in Beluha, in a length of 22 kilometers, which connected the following cities: Beluha Velik, Andrievica, Podgorica, and Kotor. The population of the Peja region was obliged to participate in the works for its construction.³⁷ According to the statistics of the Austro-Hungarian administration of the end of 1917, only in the city of Peja were living 12,000 people, most of whom were of Islamic religion, also included about 300 Catholics, without emphasizing the Orthodox element.³⁸

Social, cultural, and educational position

In the First World War conditions, all that the Austro-Hungarian military administration offered for these territories was the implementation of a partially affirmative policy, the appointment of Albanians in administrative positions and their cultural-educational emancipation, which aimed at improving the socio-political status, Albanians training and consolidation for future self-government under Austria-Hungary. In this context, Nexhip Basha^{39*}, an experienced administrative figure was appointed as prefect of Peja district.⁴⁰ Therefore, in the continuation of care and improvement of political, social, and health life, a civil hospital was opened, consisting of 50 beds (August 1916)⁴¹ and a traditional kitchen (May 1917), in Peja.⁴² On holidays, the Austro-Hungarian authorities in and around Peja provided money to poor families.⁴³ A special commitment for poverty alleviation among the population of Peja and the surrounding area was given by the Austro-Hungarian Civil Commissioner, Emil Opalka. He made a positive impression on the population of this region, for his devotion to poor families, enjoying great respect and popularity. His death, on June 22, 1918, saddened the population of the Peja region.⁴⁴

A peculiarity of the administration of the Austro-Hungarian state in Peja and the surrounding areas was intended to preserve national, cultural, and linguistic characteristics; of particular names of Albanians regardless of their meaning or significance. The Austro-

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- 37 *AIHT*, Vj.27-4-436, nr.25-B/P, Reserve of Otto from Cetina sent to the MFA in Vienna, Cetina, April 5, 1917; *Vëllazënija*, “Përparimi i popullit të Pejës”, nr.109, Vjenë, 4 Shtatuer 1918, p.2; Sh. Rahimi, “E kaluara...”, p.27.
- 38 *Ibid.*, Vj.27-2-257, no., Letter of the Military General Governor of Montenegro, Count Klam Martiniq, sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Czernin in Vienna, Cetina, on December 13, 1917.
- 39 * Nexhip Basha (1877-1952) came from Peja. In 1904 he graduated from the High School for Law and Economics in Istanbul. He was a kaymakam in Peja, Mitrovica, Kumanovo, Presevo, Vushtrri, and Veles. As a well-known personality in administrative activities, in 1914, he was appointed as Prefect of Vlora. See in more detail: Muhamet Shatri, *Kryengritja e Përgjithshme Shqiptare kundërosmane e vitit 1912*, Prishtinë: “Libri Shkollor”, 2016, p.255.
- 40 *Ibid.*, Vj.26-1-146, no.736, Telegram of August Kral from Shkodra to Baron Burian in Vienna, undated.
- 41 *Cetinjer Zeitung*, “Sanitäre Einrichtungen im Hü. G. 6. in Montenegro.”, nr.2, Cetinje, am 20. August 1916, p.3.
- 42 *Ibid.*, “Die Volksküche in Ipek.”, nr.81, Cetinje, Donnerstag, den 24. Mai 1917, p.3.
- 43 *Ibid.*, “Tagesneuigkeiten. Des Kaisers und Königs Geburtstag. Ipek.”, nr.110, Cetinje, Sonntag, den 2. September 1917, p.2.
- 44 *Ibid.*, “Zivilkommissär Emil Opalka.”, nr.198, Cetinje, Sonntag den 7. Juli 1918, p.3.

Hungarian political authorities in Vienna took action to cleanse the Albanian anthroponymy from the elements of Serbization. They ordered the official Cetina to stop the Serbization practice of Albanian names and surnames with the suffix “viq”, in Peja and its environs. From the point of view of official Vienna, the further use of the suffix “viq” in Albanian anthroponymy, deeply hurt their national and cultural feelings.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, until October 1918, as long as these territories were under Austria-Hungary, the Austro-Hungarian administrative bodies based in Cetina, practically did not take any action to clean up the Albanian anthroponymy. On the contrary, the suffix “viq” continued to be used in Albanian surnames.

In general, a characteristic of the Austro-Hungarian occupation in the Balkans, including Peja and the surrounding areas, was the implementation of an educational policy, which aimed at the rapid development of the school system by the model of Western culture.⁴⁶ A special moment that characterized Peja and its environs, during this time was the opening of the first Albanian schools, which were named after prominent national figures, such as; Gjergj Kastriot - Scanderbeg and Haxhi Zeka. Prominent personalities known for their intellectual, political, and cultural-educational values, were appointed heads of higher education institutions. The prominent activist, historian, and professor Bedri Pejani, who worked as the education inspector, made a significant contribution to the opening of schools and the education of the Albanian youth.⁴⁷ Due to his influence one primary school in Peja was named “Skëndërbeu”, and another “Haxhi Zeka” which had a separate physical classroom in Kapeshnica. Such schools were also opened in Glllogjan and Baran.⁴⁸ Alongside him, Qerim Begolli provided material assistance for the functioning of Albanian schools. In August 1917, he donated 1,000 Krone for school purposes in and around Peja.⁴⁹

Among the most prominent teachers who were fully committed to the national education of children, to the youth and the Albanian population, were: Ali Hajdar Berisha, Xhevat Shkreli, Halit Kastrati, Zef Filip Krasniqi, Sylejman Shala, Kadri Harapi, Shaqir Çavolli, Muharrem Blakçori, Shaban Rexha, Murat Gjakova, Tomë Maroviqi (Arbëresh

45 *AIHT*, Vj.27-4-421, nr.3222, MFA telegram to Vienna sent to Storck, Vienna, June 15, 1917; Beqir Meta, “Ndikimi i Luftës I Botërore në procesin e konsolidimit të kombit shqiptar”, *Studime shoqërore*, nr.2-2015, Prishtinë: Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, 2015, p.195.

46 Helen A. Pavichevich, *Education and Modernization in Montenegro, 1831-1918*, Dissertations, USA: Layola University Chicago, 1976, p.7.

47 *AIHT*, Vj.27-4-421, nr.3222, MFA telegram to Vienna sent to Storck, Vienna, June 15, 1917; B. Meta, “Ndikimi i Luftës I Botërore...”, p.195.

48 Demë Mulliqi, *Rrugëtimi i shkollës dhe arsimit në komunën e Pejës deri në vitin 1945*, Pejë: 2004, p.54-55; Bajram Shatri, *Arsimi fillor në Kosovë në shekullin XX – sfida, dëshmi, fakte*, Prishtinë: “Libri shkollor”, 2006, p.37; Abdulla R. Vokri, *Shkollat dhe arsimi në anën e Llapit brenda viteve 1878-1944*, Prishtinë: Enti i Teksteve dhe i Mjeteve Mësimore i Kosovës, 1995, p.45; Ali Lunji, *Beqir Kastrati legjendë e arsimit kosovar*, Prishtinë: “Libri Shkollor”, 2001, p.13; Jashar Rexhepagiq, *Zhvillimi i arësimit dhe i sistemit shkollor të kombësisë shqiptare në territorin e Jugosllavisë së sotme deri në vitin 1918*, Prishtinë: Enti i Teksteve dhe i Mjeteve Mësimore i Krahinës Socialiste Autonome të Kosovës, 1970, p.262; Sherif Daut Krasniqi, *Vranoci në përthyerje historike (etnomonografi)*, Pejë: “Dukagjini”, 2011, p.479-480.

49 *Cetinjer Zeitung*, “Tagesneuigkeiten. Des Kaisers und Königs Geburtstag. Ipek.”, nr.110, Cetinje, Sonntag, den 2. September 1917, p.2.

from Zara), etc.⁵⁰ About 700 students attended these schools. At the end of 1917, to face the didactic needs of the schools that were opening and also the qualification of the pedagogical development of the professional teaching staff, which had no experience or it was unprepared besides modern standards for the education of students, the Austro-Hungarian authorities opened a pedagogical course in the city of Peja, which served the teachers of Peja region to affirm themselves in teaching and to serve as teachers in schools. About 40 teachers from the Peja region attended this course which lasted 6 weeks to three months. The trainers for the preparation of the teaching staff in this course were: Bedri Pejani, Tomë Maroviqi, Zef Duka, and some other trainers from Berati, Elbasani, and Shkodra. The purpose of this course was the need fulfillment for staff, for the opening and operation of primary schools in Peja and other parts of Kosovo.⁵¹ The Albanian schools which were attended by the children and adults of this city influenced the advancement of national identity and the subsequent political developments of the Albanians.

Peja and the surrounding areas got the attention of Austro-Hungarian scientists, who researched in the field of zoology and archeology. From May to September 1916, in Peja, Rugova, Plava, Gucia, etc., there was the Austrian naturalist, dr. Arnold Penther, who on behalf of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, carried out scientific research expeditions in the field of zoology, in these areas.⁵² On August 2, he made a temporary visit to the city of Peja, whereas from August 24 to September 2 he stayed in Peja, where he managed to provide important information about the fauna of this city and its environs. The result of his research in Peja and its environs, in other parts of Montenegro and Serbia also brought about 500 species of the Lepidoptera.⁵³ A year later, in June and July 1917, the Hungarian archaeologist, dr. Budaj Arpad, made archeological research in Peja region, proving traces of the antiquity of this realm.⁵⁴ Despite other archaeological discoveries in this area, B. Arpad, on June 17, 1917, concluded that the antiquity ruins of Peja “...are found on a well-fenced surface, in the shape of an irregular quadrangle, with round towers in the corners... The ruins are near the city, on its northern side between the road that leads you to Mitrovica and Bistrica river, to its north”.⁵⁵ The study results of A. Penther and B. Arpad aroused interest and were welcomed in the Austro-Hungarian scientific circles.

Additionally, Austro-Hungarian state holidays were celebrated in and around Peja.

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- 50 *Monografia Peja: Vështrim monografik për Komunën e Pejës*, Pejë: Komuna e Pejës, Drejtoria për Kulturë, Rini dhe Sport, 2017, p.281.
- 51 *Vëllazënjia*, “Kurs pedagogjije në Pejë”, nr.85, Vjenë, 20 Dhetuer 1917, p.2; J. Rexhepagiq, *Zhvillimi i arësimit dhe i sistemit shkollor...*, p.262-263; Abdulla R. Vokri, *Ibrahim Kolçi mësues e patriot*, Prishtinë: “Rilindja”, 1993, p.34.
- 52 *Cetinjer Zeitung*, “Tagesneuigkeiten.”, nr.11, Cetinje, am 21. September 1916, p.3.
- 53 *Lepidopteren aus Neumontenegro* (Ergebnisse der im Jahre 1916 im Auftrage und auf Kosten der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien von Dr. Arnold Penther ausgeführten zoologischen Forschungsreise in Serbien und Neumontenegro), Von Prof. Hans Rebel, (Vorgelegt in der Sitzung am 11. Oktober 1917); Akademie d. Wissenschaften Wien, *Die lepidopterenfauna Albaniens* (mit berücksichtigung der nachbargebiete), von Hans Rebel und Hans Zenry, Vorgelegt ind der sitzung am 18. Juni 1931.
- 54 *Monografia Peja...*, p.54.
- 55 Luan Përzhita, “Kontributi Austro-Hungarez për arkeologjinë shqiptare”, *Austro-Hungaria dhe Shqipëria 1916-1918*, Tiranë: Ministria e Kulturës, Muzeu Historik Kombëtar, 2019, p.234.

From May 6 to 14, 1918, under an atmosphere of a popular organization, began the holiday celebration called “Karl Week”, in Peja.⁵⁶ The Albanian leaders Hasan Prishtina, Bajram Curri, Qerim Begolli, Bedri Pejani, etc, participated. Among them, religious leaders and administrative representatives of the Peja region also participated, such as Captain Sabo, Civil Commissioner Emil Opalka, accountant Kirigin, civil judge Breqanovic, etc. During the ceremony, a portrait of Gjergj Kastriot - Skanderbeg was presented in the auction, for which the Albanians of Peja offered 10,000 Krone. At the proposal of Hasan Prishtina, the portrait was donated to the municipality of Peja.⁵⁷ In this context, the Austro-Hungarian administrative authorities in Peja appreciated the importance and the influence that the religious beliefs, religious leaders, and religious institutions and facilities had on the population of this area. Also, the mosques and churches of Peja and its environs, in addition to the function of performing religious services and rituals, were used to organize the solemn state occasions marking.⁵⁸ Therefore, the freedom of Albanian education in these areas and the affirmation of historical figures gave good results for the national consolidation of the Albanian population and also for its cultural-educational emancipation. The state celebrations with folklore, artistic and historical content, created a special feeling for the population of Peja and aroused strong interest in recognizing the Albanians past.

“The unification of Albania”, liberation and reconquest

A special segment of Austro-Hungarian policy during the years 1916-1918, was the idea of administrative unification of the Peja region within the Austro-Hungarian General Military Government in Albania, based in Shkodra. This point of view was also forged among the Albanian political and popular elite, and in the Austro-Hungarian political circles, but was persistently opposed by the leading Austro-Hungarian military and administrative circles in Cetina and Belgrade. The unification into a single administrative unit of ethnic Albanian territories under Austria-Hungary meant an important political act for the realization of the national aspirations of the Albanians. However, this intention was not the consent of the Austro-Hungarian administrative leaders in Cetina. “*Without Peja district, it is obvious that Montenegro cannot exist economically*”, said Montenegrin military governor, Klam Martiniq. His opinion was that Austro-Hungarian state policy should focus on the realization of the idea of political and administrative unification of the South Slavs.⁵⁹ Seeing that the idea of ethnic, political, and administrative unification of the Albanians had no support among the military and administrative leaders of Austria-Hungary in Cetina and Belgrade, in December 1917 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary, Ottokar Theobald Czernin, reconfirmed the official position of the state to work more deeply on the

56 *Posta e Shqypnis*, “Ndisija komtare e Pejës – Nji ftyrë e Skanderbegut 10.000 koronë” nr.47, Shkodër, e Merrkure, 29 maj 1918, p.4; *Cetinjer Zeitung*, “Die Karlwoche in Ipek.”, nr.195, Cetinje, Donnerstag den 27. Juni 1918, p.4.

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Cetinjer Zeitung*, “Tagesneuigkeiten. Dankgottesdienst für die Errettung unseres Kaisers und Königs.”, nr.132, Cetinje, Sonntag, den 18. November 1917, p.2.

59 *AIHT*, Vj.27-2-257, no., Letter from the General Military Governor of Montenegro, Count Klam Martiniq, sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Czernin in Vienna, Cetina, December 13, 1917.

revival and strengthening of Albanian national and state feelings, which were considered very essential steps for future self-government and cultural development of Albanians.⁶⁰ This politically negative attitude was reflected in the toughening of the Albanians position opposite Austria-Hungary and the presence of military and administrative troops in Peja and other cities of Kosovo.

Consequently, in the summer of 1918, the First World War continuation led Austria-Hungary and its allies towards capitulation, which encouraged Albanians to act according to the Committee platform “National Defense of Kosovo” (Komiteti “Mbrotjtja Kombëtare e Kosovës”). In this situation, the leader of the Albanian armed groups, Azem Galica, agreed with the French military representatives in Skopje to launch attacks for the liberation of Kosovo cities, having the promise that the right of Albanians to self-determination will be respected. In October 1918, the main armed confrontation took place for the city of Peja, since considerable Austro-Hungarian forces were blocked from all directions for the retreat. On October 12, the Albanians led by Azem Galica managed to capture the Austro-Hungarian military forces, disarm them and finally liberate the city of Peja. Five days after, with the invitation of Azem Galica, French troops arrive in Peja.⁶¹ But, according to the French chronicles of the Montenegrin war front, the French cavalry which had the support of Serbian armed committees had attacked the Austro-Hungarian conveyors which were withdrawing from Mitrovica, seizing 3,000 wagons with large quantities of material. On October 13, 1918, this French detachment, “entered Peja, where it captured 600 prisoners and enormous wheat shops”.⁶²

As a consequence, French demagogic policy gave way to the violence. To manipulate the opinion and the relevant international factor, through official Serbo-French communique, published in the foreign press, false information was presented focusing on the liberation attributes of Peja from the armies of the Serbo-French allies. According to them, the presence and the influence of the Albanian armed factor, which had a decisive role in the liberation of Peja, were completely denied.⁶³ Thus, upon arriving in Peja, the allied Serbian-French military forces removed the Albanian national flag and the portrait of Gjergj Kastriot - Scanderbeg from the municipal building, took control of the situation, reorganized the administration, and restored the Serbian regime. Albanians realized that French military representatives had pursued a policy of deception against their aspirations, so they protested to the French government.⁶⁴ In the following days and months, the Serbian

60 *Cetinjer Zeitung*, “Die Balkanvölker”, nr.137, Cetinje, Donnerstag, den 6. Dezember 1917, p.2.

61 *Central State Archive of the Republic of Albania (CSARA)*, Fund: Hoxhë Kadri Prishtina, nr.422, a file without number and year, which lacks the first 9 pages, p.15-16, 22, Document on the situation of the Albanian population of Kosovo on the eve of the end of the First World War, in 1918; Ajet Haxhiu, *Shota dhe Azem Galica*, Botim i dytë, Tiranë: “8 Nëntori”, 1982, p.58; Lush Culaj, *Shqipëria dhe problemi kombëtar 1918-1928*, Prishtinë: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, 2004, p.28.

62 *Pages de Guerre, Ecrites au jour le jour, Fascicule deux cent-treizième, Ein pleine Guerre*, “Communique de l’armée d’Orient”, 17 octobre 1918, Nancy (5 Novembre 1918), p.6812, 6823; *The Kia Ora Co-ee news*, “In Macedonia”, Official Magazine of the Australian and New Zealand forces in Egypt, Palestine, Salonica & Mesopotamia, No.10, October 23rd., 1918, p.7.

63 *Le figaro*, “ARMEE D’ORIENT”, nr.291, Paris, venredi, 18 octobre 1918, p.1.

64 *CSARA*, Fund: Hoxhë Kadri Prishtina, nr.422, a file without number and year, which lacks the first 9

military regime began to violently disarm the population, which necessarily provoked the revolt of Albanians and consequently acts of violence, killings, and massacres against them.⁶⁵ Thus, began the collapse of the economic, social, and cultural-educational achievements of the Albanians of this city and its environs who had built with difficulty for almost three years.

Conclusions

Peja and the surrounding areas during the First World War went through an important historical process, which affected all areas of political, military, social, economic and cultural-educational life. While the Montenegrin government aspired to accomplish its policy of national and cultural transformation of these territories, always minimizing their Albanian character and presence, under Austria-Hungary these territories experienced an affirmative policy, which aimed at reviving the national feelings of Albanians and consolidating their state, to take over the fate of the future. The rights to use the Albanian language, to guide administrative positions, to open schools in the Albanian language, to commemorate the national and religious celebrations, to use national symbols and affirm historical figures, were positive elements that the Albanians of Peja and the surrounding area enjoyed under Austro-Hungarian occupation and administration. In addition, the general circumstances of the First World War, prompted the Austro-Hungarian military administration to punish any Albanian who didn't accept administrative authority. The liberation of Peja by the Albanians on the one side and its reconquest by the Serbian-French allies in October 1918, restored the Serbian policy towards the Albanian people of this region and consequently the continuation of the Albanian armed efforts for liberation and national unification.

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- 65 *Kosovo State Archives Agency (KSAA)*, Fund: Collection - memoirs, box no.2, Memoirs of Gjoke Pantic, p.22; Bogumil Hrabak, "Reokupacija oblasti Srbske i Crnagorske države s arbanaškom većinom stanovništva u jesen 1918. Godine i držanje arbanasa prema uspostavljenoj vlasti", *Gjurmime albanologjike*, nr.1-1969, Prishtinë: Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinë, 1969, p.256-258; Димитар Тасић, *Пам после рата - Воска Краљевине Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца на Косову и Метохији и у Македонији 1918-1920*, Београд: "Институт за Стратегијска Инстраживања", 2008, p.46-37; Hakif Bajrami, "Si e riokupoi Serbia Kosovën më 1918", *Vjetar*, nr.XXXVII-XXXVIII, Prishtinë: Arkivi i Kosovës, 2007, p.213-221; Izber Hoti, "Peja me rrethinë në fund të vitit 1918 mbështetur në të dhënat serbe", *Kosova*, nr.28-2006, Prishtinë: Instituti i Historisë, 2006, p.200.

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