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Arbers in Kotor During the Fifteenth Century

On Beşinci Yüzyılda Kotor'da Arberler

Abstract:

The study aims to summarize the presence of Arbers in the territory of Boka e Kotorrit during the Middle Ages. The author has prudently analyzed the entire matter of historiography through the relevant literature that covers this complex historical period. The paper provides abundant information about the history of the city of Kotor and the relations of the Arbers with this important Mediterranean city on the Adriatic line during the Middle Ages.

Keywords: Arbers, Kotor, noble Albanian families, 14-15th centuries, etc.

Öz :

Çalışma, Orta Çağ boyunca Boka e Kotorrit topraklarında Arberlerin varlığını özetlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Yazar, bu karmaşık tarihsel dönemi kapsayan ilgili literatür aracılığıyla tarihçiliğin tüm konusunu ihtiyatlı bir şekilde analiz etmiştir. Makale, Kotor şehrinin tarihi ve Arberlerin Orta Çağ boyunca Adriyatik hattı üzerindeki bu önemli Akdeniz şehri ile ilişkileri hakkında bol miktarda bilgi sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arberiler, Kotor, soylu Arnavut aileleri, 14-15. yüzyıllar vb.

Introduction

The time period that our topic discusses includes 14th and 15th centuries, at that time, when speaking of the process of ethnic changes in Kotor, from the common Illyrian-Arberian base was towards the end and in documents the Arberians emerge from then on as a separate element, while the Kotor inhabitants as another social and ethnic element. The common base is seen in this case

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apart from the mentioned historical process also from the names and surnames of the noble families of Kotor. The Baska family (Basca, Basche) and the documents also mention some members of the Basca family such as Matheus de Basche, Tryphon de Bascha, Marinus de Bascha - compare Albanian with Basha.¹ The coat of arms of Bolica family (Bolica, Boliça, Bioullica) has been preserved in some places carved in stone. Coat of arms' golden field is split in two halves. At the bottom of the field there are three green areas tilted to the right on which in the upper part of the field stands the buffalo, the red buffalo (compare Albanian buall - buallica) from where this family certainly comes, and according to S. Rizaj and the toponym Kotor has Albanian etymology that comes from the name Kotor, the calf of the buffalo up to a year, so Kotor was a place where there were many buffalo calves.² In one case, the surname of this family is written as "Biuaiça" which for linguists is a document that it is about the buffalo (also presented in the coat of arms) and not the word muzat or bull, since the drawing could be concluded incorrectly. That it is about the buffalo, we can understand from the translation into Slavic of this surname as Bivolic that we encounter as a personal surname later in Kotor.³

Second part of 14th century is characteristic for the development of the Bucha family (compare with the surnames of some Albanian families Buça - Buçaj) whose members managed to be the central figure of the diplomatic trade of Kotor at that time. Important personalities of this family were Trifun, Nikolla and Mihaj Buçaj.

The Dabro family (Dabronis, Dabrosi) was one of the oldest in Kotor. As early as 1181 Dabro de Ivan Dabro is mentioned in the time of Comes triphon dominator Catari.⁴ The surname of this family also aroused curiosity based on the similarity with the surname of the Albanian Dobra, Dobrosi families. The Drago family from Kotor was one of the largest in terms of the number of members in Kotor as some of the members of the Drago family began to take other surnames derived from the important personalities of their tribe. The nominative analogy with the surname of the Albanian family Draga is also evident in this surname. A member of the Canus family, Cannes, is mentioned in 1371 in Kotor with the name Çan (Çane, Canus, Cannes), compare with the Albanian name dog, Latin Canus, Canes. Apparently the name of this family is translated from Albanian into Latin, so it comes in two forms, as dog and as canus.

As analogous surnames with the Albanian ones can be taken the surnames of the Meksha families (Mexe, Mechsche), mentioned in Kotor during the 14th century, then Vrankjen (Vracien, Uracien, Vrachini), then de Golia (Golia, Gollia, Golicle). In 14th century, the process of ethnic separation of the Kotor inhabitants from the basic substrate was nearing completion so the status of the city provided ethnically important data for the population outside the city walls. It mentions Sclavi, Arbanenses et Vlachi, the Albanians

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- 1 Muhamet Mala - Jahja Drançolli, *Marrëdhëniet e hershme ndërmjet Arbërisë dhe Kroacisë, Unioni shqiptar në Republikën e Kroacisë*, Zagreb, 2021, 225.
 - 2 Skënder Rizaj, *Shqiptarët dhe serbët në Kosovë*, Prishtina, 1991, 53.
 - 3 Jovan Martinovic, *Priolozi proucavanje genealogije i heraldike znamenitih vlasteoskih rodova u Kotoru prve polovine XIV veka*, Kotor, 1964, 34.
 - 4 Martinovic, *Priolozi proucavanje*, 50.

(Arbëresh) mentioned by the statute lived mostly in Gërbal and were engaged in agriculture and livestock.⁵ They also began to enter the cities where they engaged in petty trade and handicrafts, while they were priests and monks. We constantly encounter Arbëresh as a collective ethnicity throughout the coast of present-day Montenegro. Jeriçek emphasizes that some documents of the 15th century mention the Arbëresh as peasants near Kotor and in the valley of the river Sërmnica in the northwest of Lake of Shkodra where they do not exist today. Jeriçek also mentions some toponyms in Montenegro that are related to the Albanian language, such as Shingjon, Goljemade in a document from 1444 (Gojëmadhe - Big Mouth) then Sekulare (from Albanian shekullbotë - world century).

Kotor notary acts are full of individual cases of Albanian individuals, while numerous articles of the city statute mention the Albanians of Kotor and the surrounding area as a collective. For the Albanian presence as a collective in these areas we also understand from the data of the Republic of Ragusa which among others engaged 200 Albanians from Pashtovic and Veleresovic (from the territory of Boka) in the war of Konavil against Prince Radoslav Butovic.⁶ In the war in question, the Albanians from Lushtica (Albanesis de Lustiza) are also involved on the side of the Ragusa army. Despite the Albanian-Slavic symbiosis and the beginning of the increasing stratification of the Slavic element during the period of 12th to 15th centuries, Albanians remained present with the medieval Zeta. The Slavic invasions that had influenced the further development of Roman-Latin development in the coastal cities failed to change for a long time the ethnic structure of Zeta. Arbëresh tradition and not only the tradition, but also their presence in these parts made writers of the time, people of the Serbian royal court like G. Camblaku and K. Philosophers to consider this part as an Albanian territory, while the present part of the Montenegrin coast was called Albania Veneta by the Venetian administration, and King Dusan himself considered it as part of Albania in a charter of 1349.⁷

Presence of Arbers in Kotor during the Middle Ages

Albanians as a collective ethnic group throughout the Middle Ages, as noted above, are found near Kotor, in the city of Kotor itself and in other parts of present-day Montenegro and beyond. In this case, it is important to emphasize a more important moment, when it comes to Albanians as a collective ethnicity and as an individual case. It is known that the collective ethnicity, whatever it may be, includes in itself a certain mass of people and a certain degree of cultural and social development. Viewed from this aspect, we bring out various scientists, as a collective, as farmers, peasants, or ranchers in the vicinity of Kotor, generally identifying them as such and dividing the individual cases intentionally or accidentally of educated Albanians who contributed to the cultural and political life of the country or by identifying individuals with any other ethnicity.

Medieval history recognizes many individual cases of Albanians who contributed to the cultural rise of Kotor and beyond and as such they can not be divided individually,

5 I.Sindik, *Komunalno uredjenje Kotora od druge polovine XII do pocetka XV stoljeca*, Beograd, 1950, 39.

6 Jahja Drançolli, *Prania e shqiptarëve në Raguzë gjatë shekullit XIII-XV*, "Gjurmime albanologjike, seria e shkencave historike", nr. XVI, Prishtina, 1986, 51.

7 Group of authors, *Istorija Crne Gore II*, Titograd, 1972, 138.

because their cultural level to some extent expresses the general collective level, a collectivity they were members of, so we do not have collective Albanians only farmers and fighters and individual cases of educated Albanians. This is the essential difference that is often intentionally or unintentionally divided into collective Albanians and educated individual cases, often appropriated by others. The influence of Albanians should be treated as a collective influence through educated individuals and not through individual cases. The cultural routes of the rise of Kotor without this understanding would be deficient. We find it appropriate here to emphasize the opinion of K. Jeriçek where among other things he says: "From the personal names of the medieval Arbëresh, it can be seen that it was a people of an old Christianity partly with a civic culture closer to the Byzantine Greeks and Dalmatian Romans than to the Slavs."⁸ Culturally advanced individuals should be taken as a barometer that shows the general collective cultural level of Albanians, a high level that brought those representatives, and not to understand it as individual cases mechanically separated from the masses, because individuals ultimately make up the mass. Understanding these moments, then we say that in Kotor we meet many Albanians from different fields of action such as doctors, priests, craftsmen, merchants, etc., and our individual citation of each in this case should be just an illustration of what we said, i.e. a certain level of social development of Albanians as a collective.

The earliest records of the presence of Albanians in Kotor are found from the time of the consecration of the church of St. Tryphon in the city of Kotor. The act of ordination, the document mentions "Maio episcopus Ctharensis cum Episcopis Lazaro Albanensi et cum Martino Drivastensi et cum Lohanne episcopo Duncienci".⁹ On the occasion of the ordination, along with other priests, John the monk of St. George, George the Abbot of St. Shelbuen of Arberia, then Peter of Sfaq and Andreas the priest of Arberia also participated as elected. As a religious official who worked on the formation of the monasteries of Shkodra, Sibenik and Kotor, we also encounter the Arbëresh Dominik Topija, a member of the typical Albanian family and uncle of Prince Karl Topija. Dominik was introduced to the role of regulars and adviser to King Robert of Naples.¹⁰ Later we meet Dominik as his regular parish assistant to Dalmatia and Durrës.¹¹ After this time we meet him for about a year staying in Albania in which case Dominik made unsuccessful attempts to be appointed as archbishop of the church of Dubrovnik. In 1332 in Kotor we encounter a priest of the Benedictine order (besides him there is also one from Dubrovnik and one from Ulcinj-Ulqin) named Dom Bartholomew from Arberia. In October around 1330 as Presbyter we met Johannes (John) Sestagni. According to Jeriçek, the surname Sestagni marks its origin from the village of Shestan on the western shore of Shkodra Lake.¹² In 1372, the Pope appointed the bishop of Lezha, who had lost his diocese, as the guardian

8 Mala-Drançolli, *Marrëdhëniet e hershme*, 228.

9 Mala-Drançolli, *Marrëdhëniet e hershme*, 229.

10 Arkivi Historik i Kotorrit (Më tej : AHK), Fondi: Acta Notarska Spisa, 134.

11 Bogumil Hrabak, *Poslovanje pomoraca i trgovacko iz Boke kotorske u Albaniji do 1600 godine*, Beograd, 1986, 42.

12 Mala-Drançolli, *Marrëdhëniet e hershme*, 229.

of the monastery of St. John in Perast near Kotor.¹³ Even later, among the religious people in Kotor, Albanians had a place of honor. In 1432, the Dominican monastery in Kotor was led by Dom Dhimitri from Shkodra.¹⁴ Another Shkodra resident Franjevasi Bernardin was in Kotor in 1508 drafting a marriage contract. Taken as a whole we agree with the opinion of the researcher I. Sindik which points out among the priests who were not from Kotor, the largest number were Arbëresh. In 1370 in Kotor an ordinance was issued forbidding foreigners to lead the best churches, but two years later the municipality was forced to give way in this direction under the pressure of the Pope, so in 1372 as a leader of church in Perast was named the aforementioned bishop of Lezha. In 1381, Alex from Durrës was at high level in the Dominican assembly of Kotor.¹⁵

In addition to the Albanian priests who in Kotor, as we mentioned above were mostly as one of the higher education, in the profession of doctor we encounter the surgeon Gjergj Spani from Lezha. We find evidence on him in April 1439 at a public auction in Kotor where “Magister Georgius medicus” bought from Marin Drushko’s inheritance a cover six cubits long for a curtain for one perper, five tablecloths (tabaloj) for one perper and four groschen and a bench for one perper, a rug for four perpers.¹⁶ Gjergj Spani is mentioned as a doctor from Kotor in mid-June 1443, when, among other things, he was authorized by the Venetian Laurencies Sumaripa to represent him in his work in Kotor. Towards the middle of November of the same year, Gjergj is mentioned as a former doctor from Kotor. In his statement given before the court, Spani states that he owed the people of Kotor to Buçë Buça, Sinik Branjoli and Dabko Marinov a monthly salary each, which they could receive from the Kotor chamber. That means that the municipality had not paid the doctor the last monthly salary.¹⁷

Doctor Gjergj Spani in 1446 became a surgeon of the Republic of Ragusa (Prohyzico et cirugico). Following his further activity, we understand how he served as a doctor in Dubrovnik for ten full years, and he died in Kotor. Master Gjergj Spani was admitted to the Dubrovnik state service in April 1444 with an annual salary of 500 perpers. The contract stipulated his obligation to cure the sick in the city and throughout the Republic. As a well-known doctor, he is invited outside the city to provide his services. Thus, as a surgeon and internist in 1445, he went to Herzegovina at the invitation of the Hercegovina Stefan Vuksic Kosaca to treat his sister-in-law, the wife of Voyvoda Petar Vojislav, where he stayed for three months. In September 1449 the doctor Gjergj Spani went to Montenegro to cure the voivode Gojcin Cernojevic. In August of the same year we encounter him in Kotor healing the Venetian providur who begged the Republic of Ragusa to send him the doctor. Upon demand of Herceg Stefan Kosaca, Gjergj went to cure Ivan Pavlovic where he stayed for three months, and in October 1450 we meet him treating one of the sons of Herceg. In May 1451 he healed Herceg’s mother Catherine (Katarina), and in April 1453 Herceg’s son Vladislav. At this time his annual salary was 600 perper. In December 1453,

13 Mala-Drançolli, *Marrëdhëniet e hershme*, 229.

14 Hrabak, *Poslovanje pomoroca*, 42.

15 Mala-Drançolli, *Marrëdhëniet e hershme*, 230.

16 R.Kovijanic, *Kulturni zivot starog Kotora XIV-XVIII*, Cetinje, 1957, 24.

17 Kovijanic, *Kulturni zivot*, 24.

the great council of Dubrovnik decided to reduce his salary, in which case it seems that he left Dubrovnik. Gjergj was married to a woman from Dubrovnik named Tomazina, the daughter of Radosav Utishenovic. Towards the end of May 1458 Gjergj died in Kotor, possibly in the service of the municipality of Kotor. His son also studied medicine in Paris (1560) as a scholarship holder of the Republic of Ragusa. He wrote the work "How to medically treat those born in the land of Dubrovnik", a work which was destroyed in the great earthquake. In Kotor, during the 14th century we meet members of the family of the great humanist of the 15th century, Gjin Gazulli Maxi et Bocardus Gausolus.¹⁸ The jeweler Milko from Novobërda also joined the ranks of the people of Korça intelligence and handicrafts. During the Middle Ages, a quantity of different and noble metals from the ores of Kosovo and especially from Novo Brdo were brought to the city of Kotor. The silver of Novo Brdo mixed with gold (argentus de glama) was known and sought after in Kotor. Along with the raw material in Kotor arrived silver and gold processing craftsmen from Kosovo who raised the craftsmanship of Kotor to a very high level. Development of the jewelery craftsmanship. The development of the jewelry craft was quite spread in this city.

Only in the first notary book (1326 - 1337) 50 jewelers were mentioned. From the data we can not say when the jeweler Milko had arrived in Kotor, probably after the victory of the Ottomans in Marica in 1371 or before the Battle of Kosovo. In Kotor we meet him in 1388 during the reign of the Bosnian king Tvrtko. The jeweler Milko is obliged before the court in Kotor on 06 January 1338 that Ivan Tryphon Buça and Mark Tryphon to the caretaker of the monastery St. George would build a silver cup for the church of the monastery and would cast it into gold (unam colicem argendi laburant et in aurathum) heavy as a book, since the jeweler Milko had not been able to fulfill his obligation, perhaps as a cause were the many disturbances and wars which in those years did not cease in that area. The guardians of the above-mentioned monastery in Bolica, Laurenice Buça and Nikolle Gllavati on 28 November 1399, relying on the contract of 1388, sought to fulfill the obligation taken. Gjergj accepted the decision that the obligation he had taken ten years ago should be fulfilled by December and to hand over the cast cup to the monastery. A year earlier, specifically on 26 December 1398, the master Milko Shishmani hired a worker from Boka e Kotorrit, and in such case the usual contract was drafted. Milosh from Lushtica handed over his son Ivan to the master Milko, a jeweler to serve in his craft for eight years. Milko was obliged to feed, dress and teach the apprentice the craftsman of the jeweler and at the end of the service to give him the tools for work.¹⁹ Master Milko in 1419 is mentioned as a deceased, and records of his activity to this day have not been preserved. For his economic position we can conclude from the fact that he owned in Kotor two houses, one large and one small, which were located between the well-known noble families Bolica and Meksha, respectively near the church of St. Luke, in one of the houses, however on the ground floor Milko must have had his own workshop. Moreover, that part of the city is called the Quarters of blacksmiths and artisans. We can not say whether he had bought the houses with the money earned in Kotor or with the money brought from Novo Brdo. However,

18 Jahja Drançolli-Jusuf Osmani, *Burimi i Arkivit të Kotorrit për historinë e Kosovës*, Rilindja, 27.04.1985, 14.

19 R.Kovijanic, *Kotorski zlatark Milko iz Novog Brda*, Herceg-Novi, 1969, 83.

based on the records of the time, we can conclude that the jeweler Milko had the authority and reputation of good craftsmen. The ethnicity of the master Milko is not mentioned, but considering the territory where he came from and his surname, we can conclude that he was an Arbëresh. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that in a coronation document dated 16 May 1420 in Kotor we find evidence about the granddaughter of the artist and craftsman in question who bears the Arbëresh name Mirusha “*Sibi lepoe in sui legitimam uxorem et Spansam Marusam filiam cuondam Simici Milce de Nou brada*”.²⁰ From a data of the 14th century, specifically from a contract dated 21 May 1335 we understand that the craft of the jeweler was learned by an Albanian apprentice. The document in question states, among other things: “I, Markula, the daughter of the late Mark Arbëresh, hand over to Dragovic the jeweler, my son Nikolla, who is present and aware that he will faithfully and without deception serve in his craft for the next ten years, provided that during this time he give him the necessary food and clothing, give him the tools as the custom is. In case Nikola leaves from the master’s, in our name and our property, we guarantee them to Bratushan Milkovic and Drago, the son of Ilija from Stolir, that we will personally bring them. In Kotor there were two categories of Arber traders: that of small traders and that of medium traders. Trade connected peoples because Dalmatians, Slavs, Arberians, and Venetians were often partners in trade, from which they all earned profits.²¹ The layer of Arbëresh merchants in the city of Kotor was represented by a majority, the Kotor area throughout the Middle Ages oriented its commercial activity mainly towards the Albanian territories for well-known political and economic reasons. From this period there are left a series of documents, respectively various contracts which show the presence of some citizens from the territory of Kosovo, respectively from Peja to Kotor. Their ethnicity can not be determined, but since they came from the territory of Kosovo, then we mention them as Kosovo traders in Kotor. Thus, at the beginning of June, specifically on 1 June 1327 in Kotor, there is evidence of Gruboja, the son of Dedoslav from Kosovo (De Coçova) who owed the man from Kotor Marin Meksha 200 Venetian grosch, which he had to return in two months. We find the same trader Dedoslav from Kosovo (De Coçova) in Kotor in a document dated 17. 10. 1327 returning a debt worth 70 crusader perper of Kotor, Marin Doman Bolica. The merchants from Peja, Mirko Pervicic and Bodes Banovich owed the Venetians Colutija Gumberti 61 Venetian perper grosch, which they would pay in 6 months, from this trip if they would not return from Slavona before this time (with remarks that if they did not pay the debt on time the amount of debt will be raised from 5 to 6 in value).²²

Bogdes Manouich from Peja is found in a document dated 3. 8. 1326 borrowing 10 crusader perper from the Venetian Colutio Gumberti which he would pay in 6 months, but even earlier when he returns from Sclauonia to Kotor, also with a remark if he does not pay the debt on time, the amount will increase from value 5 to 6. To the ranks of indebted merchants from Peja who borrowed money in Kotor is added Ozdroja, the son of Dragan, who on the 4th. 8. 1326 contracted a loan from the same Venetian Colusie Gumberti worth

20 Kovijanic, *Kotorski zlatar*, 83.

21 Alvin Saraçi, *Shkodra Tregtia e Adriatikut me Republikën e Venedikut në shekujt XVII dhe XVIII*, Akademia e Studimeve Albanologjike, Instituti i Historisë-Tiranë, 2018, 108.

22 Mala-Drançolli, *Marrëdhëniet e hershme*, 233.

43 Venetian grosch perper which he would repay within 6 months and even earlier once he returned to Kotor. With the same remark that the value from 5 will increase to 6 if he does not pay the debt on time. The presence of traders from the Albanian coast in Kotor along with those from the mentioned continental areas was constantly large during the 14th century. Here in a contract dated 19 May 1330 in Kotor we meet the citizens of Shkodra Pëtar Bërcina, Andrija Spani, Duces his son-in-law, Mojsi Travalo, Pjetër Boni and Gineq (Arbër Gjini) borrowing from Nikollë Buça 350 crusader perper which must be returned to the day of St. Stephen.²³ On the same day, 19 May 1330, we have a trade contract where Lluca, the son of Clime from Ulcinj, borrows 150 crusader perpers from Nikolla Nikë Buça with the obligation to return the day of the feast of St. Stephen. Albanians in Kotor often sailed on their own or borrowed boats to be supplied with various goods and to receive cash loans. As a result of the way of exchange, it amounted to big debts. Let us mention in this case the case of Arbëresh Gjini Dukagjini from Shkodra who in 1332 was obliged to pay Pal Buça 100 perper until the feast of the Christmas and Pjetër Koteli 160 perper within two months, respectively when returning from the trip, he had to repay to Pal Buça 135 crusader perpers within a month. Cases of such credit arrangements have also been found from a Tivar citizen named Halia (Helia Filius Nicolica Caguri de Anti Bari) who received a sum in value of 500 perper from the nobleman of Kotor, Ivan Gllavati. Borrowing, lending and debiting, respectively, were reciprocal between Kotor inhabitants and traders from different Albanian territories. Thus, we have opposite cases when the citizens of Lezha presented themselves in the role of creditor by lending large sums of money to the people of Kotor.²⁴ Thus Nicholas (Nikolla) Drago (the extramarital son of the noble Drago), Petko Dabishin, his brother Jean (Zhan) and Branko Rajkov all sailors from Kotor received on 10 June 1458 from Nicole (Nikollë) Urosi de Alexio (from Lezha) 18 ducats for trade. We encounter one of the most famous traders from Durrës, Mërkur Zhgura, in Kotor, as a co-owner of ships with the people from Kotor and as the owner of a house in Kotor bought from Ivan Marin Bista for 500 perpers of Kotor. Mërkur Zgura in August 1444 appears in Kotor as the owner of half of the barcozi (type of ship) which part he bought from the well-known businessman from Kotor Marin Buça for 40 ducats. The Sorgo family of Albanian origin (Sorgo di Cataro de Radoni d'Albania) also lived in Kotor. In fact, the members of this family are found in Dubrovnik as members of the small council and as members of the Rogat council. The Sorgs were one of the central families of the Ragusan nobles which had settled from Arberia in Kotor by engaging the barcozi of a Kotor inhabitant to transport wood and lead to Venice. In addition to the categories mentioned in Kotor, we also encounter Albanians who belonged to lower categories such as the case of the Albanian John (Gjon) who together with his wife Mary (Maria) and daughter of Nicholas (Nikolla) and Peter (Pjeter) and his daughter named Chiura owes to the nobleman of Kotor Basil de Salva to serve for life and be completely his.

We mention some of the most eminent representatives of different social strata of Albanians in Kotor, while their collective presence during the Middle Ages was quite

23 Mala-Drançolli, *Marrëdhëniet e hershme*, 233.

24 Bogumil Hrabak, *Privredne veze kotorana i perastana s Albanijom u XIV i XV veku*, Kotor 1979-1980, 65.

large. We encounter them as witnesses in various court proceedings, and for the Albanian presence in these areas, among other things, speaks the fact that in Kotor, in addition to Latin, the Italian, Albanian and Slavic languages were also used.²⁵

Conclusions

Kotor as an important center in the Middle Ages played an important role in the cultural and economic sphere of the Adriatic. Being a geographical connecting point, this city was also an attractive place for the Arber population. It should be noted that the cultural, scientific and economic activity of the Arberians in this city was of great value. It is undisputed that in Kotor we note that there is intensity of work of Gjon Gazulli as a humanist known for the time. Arberian families used this city to develop their economic life but also of the Arberian population with the people of Kotor and other peoples who followed the trade line with Kotor like the Ragusans. The old noble Arber families lived in Kotor at an early time, and they were also an ordinary part of social life in the Middle Ages

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