



University of Zagreb

Faculty of Croatian Studies

Genc Prelvukaj

THE ALBANIAN COMPONENT IN
MONTENEGRIN ETHNOHISTORY IN THE
PRE-MODERN PERIOD (13TH – 18TH
CENTURY)

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Supervisor:

Professor Stjepan Ćosić, PhD

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Fakultet hrvatskih studija

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ALBANSKA KOMPONENTA U
CRNOGORSKOJ ETNOHISTORIJI U PRED -
MODERNOM RAZDOBLJU (13 – 18
STOLJEĆE)

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From 1992 to 1995 he was an archivist in the Dubrovnik State Archives. From 1995 to 2003 he was a researcher at the Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Dubrovnik.

From 2003 to 2012 he served as the national archivist in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb. Since 2012 he has been a professor at the Department of History of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Split. He was elected as full professor in 2013. As a professor and head of the Department of Early Modern and Contemporary History, he taught the following courses: Croatian History in the Early Modern Period, History of Historiography, Methodology of Scientific Work, Contemporary Historiography: Theories and Methods, History of Dubrovnik, and History of Government Institutions in Croatia. From 2017 to 2014, he was a professor at the Department of History at the Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb, where he taught several courses in the studies of history, as well as in the doctoral study of history.

In 2018, he was elected as an associate member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and to tenure professor at the University of Zagreb, and in 2022, he was elected as a full member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

From 2019 to 2022, he was the vice-dean and dean of the Faculty.

Since 2024, he has been a scientific advisor and researcher at the Institute for Migration Research in Zagreb.

Working in archives, he studied materials in numerous Croatian archival institutions. As a researcher, he also worked in a number of foreign archives (Bari, Naples, Vatican, Venice, Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Sarajevo, etc.). His research interests focused on a wide range of topics from the political, cultural, intellectual and demographic

history of Dubrovnik, the Dubrovnik Republic, Dalmatia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina from the late Middle Ages to the 20th century. He also deals with archival topics, heraldry and historical cartography. He is the author and co-author of nine books and about sixty scientific and professional papers and studies. As an associate since 2000, he has taught numerous courses at the Faculties of Philosophy in Zadar and Zagreb and at the University of Dubrovnik - at graduate, postgraduate and doctoral studies in history, historical demography and archival studies. He has edited several volumes of journals, books and monographs published by the Institute of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Dubrovnik, the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska and other publishers. He has been a long-time member of editorial boards and editor of journals published by the Institute of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and other professional institutions. He is currently the editor-in-chief of the journals: *Rad HAZU* (Department of Social Sciences) and *Radovi Instituta za znanstveno istraživanje u Varaždinu*. From 2007 to 2013, he was the head of the project "Sources for Croatian History in Foreign Archives". As a researcher, he participated in two scientific projects funded by the Croatian Science Foundation. He has participated in numerous domestic and international scientific conferences. For his historiographic work, he received the Dubrovnik Award (2000) and the HAZU Science Award (2006).

Abstract

Based on the existing historical sources, as well as interpretations derived from auxiliary sciences, the Albanian cultural element appears early and prominently, both in the coastal region and in the Montenegrin hinterland. Within the statutes of urban centers, church charters, Venetian documents or Ottoman records, they are mentioned as an active community in commercial, political, military and tribal dynamics. Although, due to intensified interaction with other ethnic groups and complex political or confessional circumstances, Albanians in many Montenegrin territorial units gradually lost ground through ethnic assimilation or displacement, reflections of their presence nevertheless remain evident. Toponymic examples whose meanings derive from the Albanian language—such as Goljemadi, Progonovići, Bukumir, Škurda, Malenza, Lekovići, Katun, Mataguži, Briđe, Šekular, Sotonići, Bušat, and many others—attest to this context. Moreover, the way of life, social organization within tribal communities, superstitions, and traditional costumes—which display a high degree of similarity between Albanians and Montenegrin society—may be interpreted as additional evidence.

Collective memory also appears to be in accord with written sources and onomastic evidence, offering relevant insights and complementing the argumentative foundation of this study. Narratives transmitted from one generation to another emphasize a significant Albanian component within the core of tribal communities such as the Bjelopavlići, Kuči, and Vasojevići, as well as within certain brotherhoods in regions such as Zeta, Paštrovići, Stara Crna Gora, Lješkopolje, Grbalj, and Luštica. Subsequently, based on collective memory, it appears that the institution of Besa—a typical and distinctive feature of Albanians throughout each documented phase of their history—was also practiced in the Montenegrin hinterland, alongside numerous legal norms that are likewise reflected in the medieval Albanian customary law codes.

Keywords: *Keywords: Albanians, Montenegrins, tribes, besa, Zeta, ethnohistory, collective memory, cultural interaction.*

Sažetak

Prisutnost predslavenske komponente u povijesnom putu crnogorskog naroda slabije je raspravljana u znanstvenoj sferi u usporedbi s temama koje su za cilj imale druge društveno-političke događaje tog vremena. Balkanska znanstvena literatura teško može pružiti sveobuhvatnu i objavljenu građu koja kao glavni fokus ima ispreplitanje starog elementa, posebno protoalbanskog, u supstanci crnogorske nacionalne zajednice. Skupina autoritativnih istraživača se u dominantnoj mjeri bavila ovom temom ili u okviru kratkih radova ili djelomično u okviru publikacija koje su u osnovi imale drugi znanstveni interes. Međutim, u ovom kontekstu, kako bi se izbjeglo pogrešno tumačenje prvih redaka, potrebno je jasno istaknuti da je upravo spomenuta zajednica, terenskim istraživanjem i pronalaženjem mnogih relevantnih materijala u arhivskim fondovima, stvorila pozitivne okolnosti za opsežnije studije. Dakle, istraživači poput Jovana Erdeljanovića, Andrije Jovičevića ili Petra Šobajića možda su stvarali svoja djela na drugim temeljima, ali su paralelno pružili kvalitativne podatke od velike važnosti, koji omogućuju formuliranje hipoteze koja govori o visokoj prisutnosti albanske komponente unutar crnogorske etnohistorije.

Znanstveno istraživanje koje imate u rukama izgrađeno je na temelju dokumentarnih izvora, opisa vremenskih odnosa, materijala iz kolektivnog pamćenja i drugih podataka koje pružaju pomoćne discipline povijesti. U odnosu na konzultirane stare spise, njihov dominantan dio nalazi se u publikacijama drugih istraživača, dok je drugi dio pronađen u arhivskim fondovima. Za razliku od drugih tema, gdje svako spominjanje subjekta ima neupitnu vrijednost, u slučaju ovoga rada relevantnim se dokumentima uglavnom smatraju oni koji sadrže etničke odrednice, što je smanjilo opseg izvora koji su se mogli uzeti kao reference. Radi veće jasnoće: slučajevi u kojima se Luštica izričito navodi kao teritorij unutar dokumentarnih izvora ne reflektiraju značaj dokumenta iz 15. stoljeća, u kojem je njezino stanovništvo definirano kao etnički albansko. Zbog toga je arhivirana građa korištena samo u slučajevima konkretne relevantnosti, izbjegavajući česte oblike digresija. Nadalje, u pogledu interpretacije dokumenata, primijenjen je objektivan pristup, uz osobitu metodološku opreznost pri izvođenju zaključaka o etimologiji onomastičkih primjera. Za identifikaciju njihova jezičnog podrijetla kao polazište su uzeta znanstvena mišljenja istaknutih lingvista, često nadopunjena pretpostavkama starijih etnologa koji su poznavali predmetno područje. U slučajevima kada je za neki naziv mjesta, bilo toponim ili

mikrotoponim, izostala interpretacija, odnosno kada nije pronađen nijedan istraživač koji bi izložio povijest pojma, iznesene su pretpostavke, uglavnom utemeljene na analognim primjerima, ali bez zauzimanja konačnog stajališta.

Za razliku od toponimije, koja je u mnogim slučajevima jasno interpretabilna, područje antroponimije na crnogorskom prostoru pokazuje znatno veću složenost, zbog relativno visoke zastupljenosti biblijskih odnosno univerzalno kršćanskih imena, koja su bila u upotrebi kako kod Albanaca, tako i kod drugih etničkih zajednica. U ovom slučaju, prema imenima kao što su Stefan, Andrea, David, Marko, Petar, Nikola, Toma ili Simon zauzet je neutralan stav, dok je pretpostavka da su njihovi nosioci mogli biti Albanci iznesena isključivo u slučajevima kada je ime povezano s etnonimom Arbanas ili kada postoje dopunski argumenti koji idu u prilog takvom zaključku. Potpuno drugačija situacija javlja se kada se, unutar mletačke i osmanske administrativne građe ili njezinih sažetaka, pojavljuju imena na albanskom jeziku ili u kršćanskoj formi oblikovanoj prema jezičnim pravilima albanskog jezika, pri čemu je tada moguć znatno čvršći stav. Dok je u slučajevima kada je etničko porijeklo nekog osobnog imena bilo sporno, putem komparativne metode, osobito u pogledu njegove rasprostranjenosti, kao i na temelju mišljenja stručnjaka iz dotičnog područja, pokušana njegova identifikacija. Konkretna slučaj predstavlja antroponim Leš, gdje je radi zauzimanja stava o njegovoj pripadnosti bilo potrebno proučiti deftere i stare izvore, u kojima se vidi da nije bio zastupljen ni u slavenskom seoskom stanovništvu ni u aristokraciji, dok je kod Albanaca prisutna drugačija situacija.

Iz ukupnog korpusa relevantnih izvora, podaci iz kolektivnog pamćenja čine sastavni i značajan dio rada te u mnogim slučajevima nadopunjuju nedostatke drugih disciplina. Za razliku od drugih balkanskih područja, u znanosti prevladava uvjerenje da u današnjim albansko-crnogorskim prostorima usmena predaja ima visoku razinu točnosti, često bivajući u skladu s pisanim izvorima. Ovu je karakteristiku rano uočila skupina balkanskih i stranih etnologa, dok jedan od konzervativnijih predstavnika tog shvaćanja, Mirko Barjaktarović, ističe da je vjerodostojnost usmene tradicije u plemenskim područjima Crne Gore veća nego što se na prvi pogled može pretpostaviti. Očito je da najproblematičniji dio predstavlja onaj koji govori o uspostavljanju plemenskih organizacija od strane jedne zajednice ili balkanskih feudalnih glavarova, dok se ostatak čini prilično pouzdanim. Međutim, čak i u prvom slučaju, ukoliko se tvrdnja tumači drugačije, odnosno promatra iz druge perspektive, usmena predaja može poslužiti kao relevantan izvor. Na primjer, tvrdnja bratstva Drekalovići da potječu iz loze Kastriota doima

se izmišljenom, no ako se predaja analizira dublje, moguće je uočiti određene vrijedne elemente. Konkretnije, kako bi se takva predaja proširila među stanovništvom i učinila vjerodostojnijom pred drugim skupinama, bilo bi potrebno da predmetna zajednica posjeduje određene sličnosti s Kastriotima, među kojima se kao jedna od temeljnih ističe jezik. Nasuprot tome, narodna sjećanja koja se odnose na uže migracijske procese iz današnjih albanskih prostora prema crnogorskom teritoriju teško se mogu dovoditi u pitanje, budući da korespondiraju s onomastičkim i etnografskim zapisima područja na kojima se navodi njihovo naseljavanje. Kako bi se u istraživanju slijedila što objektivnija linija, literatura korištena kao referentna osnova za izradu ovoga rada heterogenog je karaktera, odnosno autori potječu iz različitih etničkih sredina, što predstavlja povoljnu okolnost za usporedbu. Međutim, zbog specifične prirode rada, djela iz crnogorske i srpske historiografije zastupljena su u dominantnoj mjeri, dok su u preostalom dijelu obuhvaćeni radovi hrvatskih, mađarskih, britanskih, čeških, talijanskih, ruskih i drugih znanstvenika. Unatoč činjenici da je albanska znanost proizvela brojne autoritativne istraživače, na razini etno-historijskih studija o crnogorskom društvu čini se da postoji deficit radova. Stoga su konzultirani samo autori koji su djelomično obrađivali predmetni kontekst, kao što su Selami Pulaha, Eqrem Çabej, Idriz Ajeti, Jahja Drançolli, Shaban Demiraj, Muhamet Tërnavë, Pëllumb Xhufi i dr.

Sagledano u cjelini, ova disertacija razmatra isključivo albansku komponentu unutar crnogorskoga društva, što podrazumijeva da istraživanje nije obuhvatilo druge kulturne i jezične zajednice koje dijele isti politički prostor. Iz toga su razloga iz rasprave izostavljene i feudalne obitelji, za koje u znanosti postoji suglasnost o njihovu izvorno neslavenskom podrijetlu. Što se tiče pojmova, oni su ostavljeni u svom sadašnjem obliku, uklanjajući iz uporabe apelative koji su mogli nastati kasnije ili su imali kraće razdoblje korištenja. Preciznije, u okviru rada korišteni su nazivi kao što su Lješkopolje, Katunska nahija, Bratonožići ili Paštrovići, bez pokušaja prilagodbe na albanski jezik, ponajprije zbog mogućih nejasnoća, a zatim i zbog činjenice da u posljednjim stoljećima nije poznat nijedan paralelni naziv za navedene oblasti. Međutim, uporaba navedenih pojmova, koji se javljaju sa slavenskim nijansama, ne može se tumačiti kao prihvaćanje tvrdnji o njihovu slavenskom podrijetlu, već kao tehnička metoda radi pojednostavljenja snalaženja svakome tko se dublje upušta u proučavanje ovog materijala.

S obzirom na metode znanstvenog istraživanja, u okviru ovog rada intenzivno su korištene komparativna i povijesna metoda, dok je u rijetkim slučajevima primijenjen i statistički pristup.

Usporedba izvora pridonijela je objektivnijem sagledavanju okolnosti, a kao proces dodatno je otvorila put preciznijem čitanju postojeće literature. Primjerice, unutar svog rada o plemenskoj oblasti Kuča, Jovan Erdeljanović donosi određene zaključke koji su u suprotnosti s osmanskim defterima otkrivenima kasnije, a koji mu u njegovo vrijeme nisu bili dostupni. Dakle, komparativna metoda poslužila je za diferenciranje podataka, stvarajući prikladnu situaciju za pozivanje samo na ona djela koja ne proturječe dokumentarnim izvorima. Zatim se u etimološkim raspravama nerijetko navode ekvivalentni primjeri kao usporedba. Preciznije: kako bi se postavila hipoteza o albanskom podrijetlu nekog mikrotoponima unutar crnogorskog prostora, u pojedinim slučajevima kao paralelan primjer uzima se postojanje istog naziva u albanskom zaleđu, uz pretpostavku da su nastali iz istoga etničkog supstrata.

Iako u znatno manjoj mjeri, u procesu strukturiranja građe, kako je već prethodno navedeno, primijenjena je i statistička metoda. Jedan od konkretnih slučajeva predstavlja prikaz numeričkih podataka, uključujući i etničko izjašnjavanje, iseljenika iz plemenske oblasti Kuča na teritorij Republike Kosova. Pomoću ove metode, istaknuta je činjenica da potomci cijele navedene kolonije dijele slične kulturne osjećaje i pripadaju istoj jezičnoj zajednici. To je potom poslužilo kao osnova za pretpostavku da su i njihovi preci mogli imati slične društvene karakteristike. Osim toga, u pojedinim slučajevima citirani su i istaknuti istraživači koji su primjenjivali takvu metodu, poput Andrije Jovičevića, koji donosi statističke podatke o podrijetlu crnogorskog stanovništva u današnjem području Zete.

U međuvremenu, što se tiče vremenskog raspona, rad nije ograničen na kratko vremensko razdoblje, budući da se relevantni podaci pojavljuju u svakom razdoblju, počevši od kasnoga dijela srednjega vijeka pa sve do nekoliko desetljeća unatrag. Štoviše, postoje i slučajevi u kojima nije moguće utvrditi starost nalaza. Konkretnije, nije poznato u kojem su razdoblju nastali toponimi poput Djinovići, Golemadi, Limljani, Arbanasi ili Malenza, za koje u znanosti prevladava mišljenje o njihovom podrijetlu iz albanskog jezika. Slična se okolnost javlja i kod brojnih etnografskih obilježja prisutnih među Albancima i Crnogorcima, čiju je starost teško jednoznačno utvrditi. Primjerice, institucija bese, čija se primjena bilježi u plemenskoj oblasti Kuča i u Katunskoj nahiji, smatra se vrlo starom duhovnom karakteristikom, premda nije moguće precizno utvrditi stoljeće njenog nastanka. Međutim, kada se razmatra većina materijala, osobito u odnosu na pisane izvore i pripovijesti koje proizlaze iz kolektivnog sjećanja, čini se da razdoblje između 14. i 17. stoljeća predstavlja osnovni okvir iz kojeg su prikupljeni podaci.

U pogledu strukture, disertacija je podijeljena u nekoliko poglavlja, pri čemu je, radi jasnijeg i sustavnijeg prikaza materije, u prvom poglavlju prvenstveno razmatrana terminološka pitanja, provincije te etnička struktura antroponima koji se pojavljuju u dokumentarnim izvorima, kao i proces nastanka toponima i mikrotoponima na albanskome jeziku na području današnje Crne Gore. Nadalje, ostatak rada strukturiran je u poglavlja prema teritorijalnim specifičnostima, pri čemu se razmatraju ranije i kasnije plemenske organizacije, dok se u završnom poglavlju navode karakteristike i zajedničke kulturne osobitosti dviju zajednica koje su predmet ovoga istraživanja. Potom, ovaj rad može poslužiti kao osnovna referenca drugim istraživačima koji dijele isto znanstveno područje interesa, a koji će s vremenom dopunjavati nove podatke, ali i ispravljati ono što bi unutar ovoga materijala moglo biti drugačije formulirano ili interpretirano.

Radi izbjegavanja pogrešnog tumačenja, treba reći da je crnogorsko društvo već dugo oblikovano kao narod, pri čemu posjeduje niz prepoznatljivih specifičnosti u usporedbi s drugim balkanskim zajednicama. Štoviše, u svojem razvoju ono prepoznaje i izgubljene i dobivene bitke, kao i povijesne ličnosti koje su, unatoč svojoj etničkoj pripadnosti, pridonijele oblikovanju novoga identiteta. Stoga ova disertacija nema za cilj osporavati crnogorsku etničnost, već prikazati ulogu i utjecaj Albanaca u njezinu oblikovanju.

Ključne riječi: Albanci, Crnogorci, plemenske zajednice, besa, Zeta, etnopovijest, kolektivno pamćenje, međukulturni odnosi.

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INTRODUCTION

It seems that the presence of the pre-Slavic component in the historical journey of the Montenegrin ethnicity has been discussed more poorly in the scientific realm compared to the subjects that had as an objective other socio-political developments of the time. Balkan literature can hardly provide a complete and published material which has as its basic focus the intertwining of the old element, especially proto-Albanian, in the substance of the Montenegrin folk community. To a dominant degree, the community of authoritative researchers has got into this topic either within the framework of short papers, or partly within publications which basically had other scientific interest. However, in this context, in order to avoid an incorrect interpretation of the first lines, it is necessary to make it clear that it is precisely the aforementioned community that, through field research and archival funds, has created a positive circumstance for more extensive studies. Thus, researchers such as *Jovan Erdeljanović*, *Andrija Jovičević* or *Petar Šobajić*, may have created their works upon other foundations, but at the same time they have provided qualitative data of major importance, based on which a hypothesis can be raised that tells about the presence of the Albanian component within Montenegrin ethnohistory.

The scientific research that you have in your hands is a matter built based on documentary sources, descriptions of time relations, materials from collective memory and other data that are provided by the auxiliary disciplines of history. In relation to the consulted old papers, the dominant part of them is found published in the volumes of other researchers, while another part was found in archival funds. Unlike other topics, where every mention of the subject has an indisputable value, in the case of this paper, mainly those that contain ethnic definitions appear as relevant documents, and this minimizes the volume of sources that could be taken as a reference. To be more clear, the cases where *Luštica* is expressly mentioned as a territory within the documentary sources, do not manifest the importance of the 15th century document, when its society is described as ethnically Albanian. For this reason, the archived material has been classified and used only in cases of concrete relevance, avoiding frequent forms of digression. Whereas, as far as the interpretation of the documents is concerned, the objective line has been followed, with extra caution in the conclusions on the etymology of the onomastic examples. For the identification of their linguistic source, the scientific opinions of prominent linguists in

science were taken as a basis, often supplemented with the assumptions of old ethnologists who had knowledge of the area. In cases where there has been a lack of interpretation for any place name, be it toponym or microtoponym, that is, no researcher has been found who tells about the history of the notion, then assumptions are given, mainly based on analogous examples, but without definite positioning.

Unlike toponymy, which in many cases breaks down, the field of anthroponymy in the Montenegrin territory appears more confused, due to the rather high presence of biblical or universal Christian names that have been used by both Albanians and other ethnic societies. In this case, towards names like *Stefan, Andrea, David, Marko, Petro, Nikola, Tomas* or *Simon*, a neutral position has been taken, while their treatment as Albanians has only been done in cases where the name appears related to the ethnonym *Arbanas* or when there are complementary arguments that speak in favour of such a finding. A completely different situation appears when, within the Venetian and Ottoman administrative materials or summaries, names appear in Albanian, or of the Christian form treated by Albanian language, where immediately a more rigid positioning is possible. While in cases where the ethnic source of a personal name has appeared to be contested, then through the comparative method of extent and opinions from researchers of the field, its identification has been tried. A concrete case is the anthroponym *Lesh*, where in order to take a position on belonging, it was necessary to examine old registry books and sources, in which it can be seen that it was neither present with the Slavic peasantry nor with the aristocracy, while the other circumstance prevails among the Albanians.

From the entirety of valuable sources, the data from the collective memory are a vital part of the work, moreover in many cases they complement the silence of other disciplines. Unlike in the other Balkan territories, in the science prevails the conviction that in the current Albanian-Montenegrin depths, the inherited folk narratives have a high rate of accuracy, being often consistent with written sources. This characteristic has been noticed from the beginning by the colony of Balkan and foreign ethnologists, where one of the most conservative representatives of this opinion, *Mirko Barjaktarović*, states that the authenticity of the oral tradition among the Montenegrin tribal regions is greater than one might initially think.¹ Apparently, the most problematic part is the one that tells about the establishment of tribal organizations by a single

¹ Мирко Бајрактаревић, Још о неким народним преданјима код нас. Гласник етнографског института, Српска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Етнографски Институт, Књига 34, Београд, 1985, page 79

community or by Balkan feudal heads, while the rest seems quite accurate. However, even in the first case, if the claim is read differently, that is, if it is seen through a different angle, word of mouth can serve. For example, the claim of the *Drekalovići* bloodline that they descend from the house of the Kastriots seems to be made up,² but if the narrative is analysed more deeply, something valuable can be understood. More specifically, in order to push such a story to the people, to make it more credible to other groups, it would be necessary for the community in question to have some characteristics similar to the Kastriots, one of the fundamental ones being the language. Whereas the folk memories that deal with narrow emigration processes from the current Albanian depths towards the Montenegrin territory, can hardly be treated with hesitation, since they correspond even more with the onomastic and ethnographic records of the areas where they are said to have been settled.

In order to follow a more objective line in the research, the literature used as a reference for the realization of this paper is heterogeneous, that is, the authors share different ethnic backgrounds, which means there is a favourable circumstance for comparison. However, due to the specific nature of the paper, works from Montenegrin and Serbian historiography appear to a dominant degree, while in the other part the materials of Croatian, Hungarian, British, Czech, Italian, Russian and other scholars are lined up. Despite the fact that Albanian science has produced many authoritative researchers, there seems to be a deficit of papers in the field of ethno-historical studies on Montenegrin society. For this reason, only those who have worked partially in the context of the topic have been used for reference, such as *Selami Pulaha*, *Eqrem Çabej*, *Idriz Ajeti*, *Jahja Drançolli*, *Shaban Demiraj*, *Muhamet Tërnavë*, *Pëllumb Xhufi*, etc.

Taken as a whole, within this dissertation the Albanian component is discussed only in the Montenegrin society, which means that the research has not been extended to other cultural and linguistic communities that share the same political space. Similarly, for this reason, the feudal houses have been left out of the discussion, on which there is agreement in science on their non-Slavic origin. Meanwhile, regarding the notions, they have been left in their current form, removing from use the appellatives which may have either come later, or had a shorter period of use. More precisely, within the paper are used names such as *Lješkopolje*, *Katunska Nahija*, *Bratonožići*, or *Paštrovići*, without attempting to adapt them to Albanian, firstly due to eventual confusion, and secondly due to the very fact that in the last centuries there is no known

² Milan Shufflay, *Izabrani eseji, prikazi i clanci*. Nakladnik: Darko Sagrač, Zagreb 1999, p.72

parallel name of the regions mentioned above. However, the use of the abovementioned notions, which appear with Slavic nuances, cannot be implied as an approval of claims for their Slavic origin, but as a technical method to simplify the orientation of anyone who goes deeper into the consultation of this material.

As far as the method of scientific research is concerned, within this paper, comparison and historical methods have been extensively used, while in rare cases the statistical line has also been followed. The comparison of sources has influenced the more objective reflection of the circumstances, moreover as a process it has opened the way to a more accurate reading of the existing literature. For example, in *Jovan Erdeljanović's* work on the tribal region of Kuči, there are times when he gives conclusions that contradict later discovered Ottoman registry books, which were absent in his time. Thus, the comparative method has served to differentiate the data, creating a suitable situation to take as reference those publications that do not match the documentary sources. Then, in the case of the etymological discussion, equivalent examples are often given as a comparison. To be more clear, in order to come up with a hypothesis about the Albanian source of a microtoponym within the Montenegrin area, there are cases where the existence of the same name within the Albanian deep regions is taken as a parallel example, assuming that they were created from the same ethnic substrate.

Although much poorer, in the process of structuring the matter, as discussed above, the statistical method has also been put to work. One of the concrete cases is the reflection of numerical records, including the ethnic declaration of emigrants from the tribal region of Kuči in the territory of the Republic of Kosovo. Through this method, it has been pointed out the fact that the descendants of the entire aforementioned colony share the same cultural feelings and belong to a linguistic community. This has then served to question the assumption that their fathers may have had the same social characteristics. In addition, in some cases authoritative researchers have been cited who used such a method, such as *Andrija Jovičević*, who gives mathematical notes on the origin of the Montenegrin population in the current area of Zeta.

Meanwhile, as far as the time span is concerned, the paper is not framed within a short interval, since relevant data appear in each period, starting from the end of the Middle Ages until a few decades ago. Moreover, there are also cases when the age of the findings cannot be proven. More specifically, the appearance of toponyms such as *Đinovići*, *Golemadi*, *Limljani*, *Arbanasi* or *Malenza*, for which science has an opinion about their source in Albanian, it is not known at

what time they were formed. The approximate circumstance also appears in the case of many ethnographic features that appear both in Albanian and in Montenegrin society, the age of which is irrational to be concluded definitively. For example, the institution of besa (pledge of honour), the practice of which has been evidenced in the Kuči tribal region as well as Katunska Nahija, is believed to be a very old spiritual characteristic, but without being able to be located as a phenomenon that appeared in this or the next century. However, if we talk about most of the material, especially in relation to the written sources and the stories that derive from the collective memory, it seems that the time interval between the XIV-XVII centuries constitutes the basic grounds from which the data was collected.

In relation to the structure, the dissertation is divided into several chapters, in order to make the matter more understandable, in the first chapter it is mainly discussed about the notions, the regions, the ethnic anatomy of the anthroponyms that appear in the documentary sources, as well as about the way of the rise of toponyms or microtoponyms in Albanian within the current Montenegrin territory depths. Then, the rest is organized into chapters according to territorial specifics, where early and late tribal organizations are discussed, until the last chapter lists the common cultural characteristics and features of the two communities that are the focus of this study. In conclusion, this volume can serve as a basic reference for other researchers who share the same scientific interest, who, over time, will add new data, but also correct what could have been said differently. within this material.

Finally, the Montenegrin society has long been shaped as a people, having many distinctive features compared to other Balkan communities. Moreover, it recognizes lost and won battles in its journey, as well as historical personalities who, despite their ethnic background, have paved the way for a new identity. Therefore, this dissertation is not intended to contest the Montenegrin ethnicity, but to reflect the role and influence of Albanians in shaping it.

1. INITIAL ISSUES AND CLARIFICATIONS

1.1 Notions, regions and important political units

According to material sources and written data, the human element appeared early in many present-day Montenegrin units, moreover, the oldest findings suggest the Middle

Paleolithic as the starting point of the population,³ although until the Bronze Age they are within a quite low number. The first organized social structures are defined as Illyrian communities, the remains of which culture are easily recognizable, always based on the results of field research by the relevant scientific community. In the old historical sources, a fraction of this early Balkan society was known through the appellative *Labeatis*, whose members populated a wide territory and of political importance of the time. Since the Roman authorities called today's Skadar lake after them (*lacus labeatis*),⁴ it seems that the territorial core of the aforementioned tribal organization was located around this water massif.⁵ As additional references in relation to the basic habitat of this society, the notes of the ancient historians Titus Livius and Polybius are also listed, for whom centres such as Shkodra and *Meteon* were under the control of the Labeats.⁶ However, next to them towards the east appears the tribe of Skirtons, while from the northern side the Docleats, the name of the latter is thought to have been formed after the old urban centre Doclea, located near the current Podgorica.⁷ In the historical context, it is thought that the walls and constructions inside it were destroyed at the beginning of the 7th century, by Slavic armed formations during the invasion towards the eastern side of the Adriatic.⁸ Meanwhile, around the Tara river, the old writings speak of settlements of the Autariats,⁹ whom Strabo lists among the most powerful Illyrian tribes,¹⁰ while the Pirusts are assumed to have only partially penetrated the Pljevlja area.¹¹

The establishment of the Roman administration after the conquest, initially divided the territory populated by the Illyrian communities into two large provinces, known in written

³ Милутин Гарашанин, Црна Гора до досељавања словена. Црна Гора. Београд 1976, page 104

⁴ Konstantin Jireček, *Nga Shkodra gjer në Vlorë nëpër Shqipërinë mesjetare*. Instituti i historisë, Tiranë 2017, p.23

⁵ Aleksandar Stipčević, *Ilirët – Historia, jeta, kultura*. Rilindja, Prishtinë, 1980, p.37

⁶ Jahja Drançolli, *Ilro-arbërit në Mal të Zi gjatë antikitetit dhe mesjetës. Në një cep të Ilirisë – Monografi për shqiptarët në Mal të Zi*. Dukagjini, Pejë, 2006, p.12; The city of Meteon, according to archaeological findings, but also according to written sources, can be identified with the current Medun in the region of Kuči. In the 17th century, it was mentioned as a destroyed town, whereas later it was rebuilt again. According to Jahja Drançolli, although it had lost its importance over the centuries, Meduni is considered one of the rare Mediterranean castles, which has a history of two thousand years. (ibid., p. 12-13)

⁷ Aleksander Stipčević, *Iliret – Historia, Jeta, Kultura*. Rilindja, Redaksia e botimeve, Prishtine 1980, pages 36-37.

⁸ Jahja Drançolli, *Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku*, Zagreb 2019, p.74

⁹ Павле С. Радусиновић, *Становништво Црне Горе до 1945 године*, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна Издања, књ. DXV, Одељење друштвених наука књ.80, Београд 1978, page 6

¹⁰ Fanula Papazoglu, *Srednjobalkanska plemena u predrimsko doba*, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Djela-Knjiga XXX, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, knjiga I, Sarajevo 1969, page 71

¹¹ Милутин Гарашанин, Црна Гора до досељавања словена. Црна Гора. Београд 1976, p. 111-112. *Here it is said that the toponym Tara itself derives from the Autarians.

sources as Pannonia and Dalmatia. The current Montenegrin area was included within the latter province, in the region of Narona.¹² This period also marks the beginning of the Romanization process, a phenomenon that involved a part of the population, especially within the important commercial centres,¹³ while the peripheral areas and the mountainous region depths were still dominated by the old local culture.¹⁴ Later, after the reforms of Emperor Diocletian between 297-306, which resulted in the creation of four large Roman prefectures, which were then divided into dioceses and the latter into provinces, the Montenegrin territory was included in the Prevalitana province. The boundaries of this unit remained unclear, but it is assumed that they crossed the Kotor-Mat- Sharr (srb. Šar Planina) line,¹⁵ leaving open the question of its northernmost point, while Shkodra was the administrative centre.¹⁶

The penetration of Slavic colonies in the first part of the 7th century¹⁷ produced other demographic circumstances, a development that gave a different appearance to the present-day Balkan peninsula. Their influence manifested itself in political, cultural, and ethnic changes,¹⁸ of the kind that had never been experienced before,¹⁹ and the need for a new administrative organization was immediately created. Prevalitana and many other provinces ceased to exist, paving the way for the formation of other territorial concepts. One of them, which arose over the present-day Montenegrin area, was the principality of Diocles, named after the Roman centre

¹² Милутин Гарашанин, Црна Гора до досељавања словена. Црна Гора. Београд 1976, p.116

¹³ About the Romanization process of the coastal centers of the proto-Albanians, see for more the paper on Epirus, the Illyrians and the Albanians by Shaban Demiraj. (Shaban Demiraj – Epiri, Ilirët dhe Shqiptarët. Akademia e shkencave të Shqipërisë, Infbotues, Tiranë 2008, page 109-126); Something similar can also be read in Henrik Barić. (Henrik Barić, Nymje në historin e gjuhës shqipe. Shtëpia botuese “Mustafa Bakija”, Prishtinë, 1955, p.61)

¹⁴ Милутин Гарашанин, Црна Гора до досељавања словена. Црна Гора. Београд 1976, p.116

¹⁵ Jahja Drançolli, Iliro-arbërit në Mal të Zi gjatë antikitetit dhe mesjetës. Në një cep të Ilirisë – Monografi për shqiptarët në Mal të Zi. Dukagjini, Pejë, 2006, p.14; Perhaps, the current oronym Prevala, which marks a mountainous massif near Sharr, may be a memory inherited from the aforementioned region.

¹⁶ Вук Караџић, Црна Гора и Црногорци. Обод, Цетиње 1975, page 21; Jahja Drançolli, Iliro-arbërit në Mal të Zi gjatë antikitetit dhe mesjetës. Në një cep të Ilirisë – Monografi për shqiptarët në Mal të Zi. Dukagjini, Pejë, 2006, p.16; Djordje Popović, Istorija Crne Gore, Beograd 1896, p.16

¹⁷ Сима Ћирковић, Црна Гора од досељаванја словена до пада под Турке. Црна Гора, Београд, 1976, , p. 122; “Првих година VII века, после пропасти Маврикијеве дунавске експедиције, отпочела је, међутим, масовна словенска колонизација. Огромне масе Словена и Авара шириле су се по целом Балканском Полуострву, до Јадрана и до Јегејског Мора. Док су се Авари, после плачканја и разаранја, већином повлачили преко Дунава, Словени су се трајно насељавали на Балканском Полуострву, одузимајући Византинцима велике територије.” (Георгије Острогорски, Историја Византије. Српска Књижевна задруга, Београд, 1959, p.110.)

¹⁸ Георгије Острогорски, Историја Византије. Српска Књижевна задруга, Београд, 1959, p.110.

¹⁹ Васа Чубриловић, Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд 1974, page 47

Dioclea and stretched between Kotor and Bojana (alb. Buna),²⁰ including both the lowlands and the highlands towards the east. According to the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913-959), Dioclea bordered Serbia²¹ from the mountainous side and this border line should be sought in the northern direction of the Nikšić - Kolašin horizontal line. Approximately in the same area where centuries later, in 1444, it was said that the borders of Albania began. (*Ostrog, castello con lo contato ali confini de Albania*).²² Byzantine written sources of the 11th century described its population as a distinct ethnic group, easily distinguishable from Croats and Serbs.²³

At the end of the 11th century, alongside the name Doclea, the notion of Zeta appeared, which over time became widely used. It is first mentioned by the Byzantine author *Keukamenos* in 1080,²⁴ and then by *Presbyter Diocleas* in the second half of the twelfth century.²⁵ The root of this notion is the river with the same name, which originates near the Ostrog monastery and joins the Morača north of Podgorica. The researcher Hopf takes the origin of this word to Albanian linguistics,²⁶ while the Balkanologist Konstantin Jireček writes that this notion does not belong to the Serbian lexicon, so he treats it as an Illyrian remnant.²⁷ Judging from the old Slavic records, Zeta at the time of the Nemanja dynasty appears as a detached unit in relation to other places, whose rule was not treated within the framework of the right inherited from the aforementioned feudal line. For this reason, at the time when it subjugated to the Serbian leader, this undertaking was understood as a conquest (*srb.osvajanje*), which is clearly read in the records of Sava, one of Nemanja's three sons.²⁸ An interpretation of the Montenegrin academic Radoslav Rotković may be relevant here, who writes that if Zeta was treated as a Serbian region, Stefan Nemanja would not tear down every wall and destroy every building with fire, as his

²⁰ Сима Ћирковић, Црна Гора од досељаванја словена до пада под Турке. Црна Гора, Београд, 1976, р.123; Bojana (alb. Buna) a river south of Shkodra.

²¹ Сима Ћирковић, Црна Гора од досељаванја словена до пада под Турке. Црна Гора, Београд, 1976, р.123.

²² Михајло Динић. Српске земље у средњем веку. Београд, 1978, page 202;

²³ "U vizantijskim izvorima XI vijeka, Dukljani su iskazani kao zaseban etnos, jasno odvojen i od Hrvata i od Srba." (Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi crnogoraca, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 9)

²⁴ Milan Shufflay – Serbet dhe Shqiptaret, Rilindja, Prishtine, 1968, page 44; Jahja Drançolli, Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku, Zagreb 2019, page 74.

²⁵ Живко Андријашевић, Историја Црне Горе, Вукотић Медиа & Атлас Фондација, Београд, 2016, page 20. *In Slavic literature these records are known as "Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina".

²⁶ Josip Jelčić, Zeta i Dinastija Balšići, Matica Crnogorska, Cetinje – Podgorica, 2010, page 36.

²⁷ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, page 53.

²⁸ Сима Ћирковић, Зета у државу Немањића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, том први, Редакција за Црну Гору, Титоград, 1970, page 3

military expedition is described.²⁹ Meanwhile, the Serbian researcher Ivan Božić, after an objective examination of the medieval maps of the feudal lord Stefan Dušan, writes that the latter considered the current Montenegrin territory as part of the Albanian territory.³⁰ However, in terms of geography, this region had two constituent units: Lower Zeta, which stretched along the sea line from the half-island of Luštica to Bojana, as well as Upper Zeta, which roughly meant the territory between Ostrog, Njeguš and the eastern shore of Lake Shkodra.³¹ Later, in the 14th century, several settlements of the province of Pult were divided within the latter, one of them the village of *Kupelnik*,³² whereas from the eastern direction, its border was closed at the place where the two rivers, Zeta and Morača, joined.³³

In the medieval society within the Montenegrin territory, along with other provincial terms, there was also another name, which later acquired a fundamental importance. It is about the notion of Crna Gora, which appears in historical documents for the first time in the 13th century, but only as a geographical locality between the *Lovćen plateau* and Shkodra lake.³⁴ In the scientific debate on its name, there are several competing theories. According to the first, the name is thought to have to do with the former existence of dense forests,³⁵ a rather debatable assumption since the entire region is ruggedly rocky. The other hypothesis, represented by Dimitrije Milaković and Nićifor Dučić, points the source of this name to the appellative of the Crnojevići feudal family, who owned the aforementioned province for a while.³⁶ However, this assumption has been rightly rejected by Jovan Erdeljanović, Ilarion Ruvarac, Ivan Jastrebov and Pavel Rovinski, due to the very fact that the Crna Gora notion appears before the rise to power of the Crnojevići dynasty. Another convincing argument against this hypothesis also appears in the

²⁹ Radoslav Rotković, *Etnička i društvena struktura Zete pod Nemanjićima*. Crnogorski Anali, Godina 1, broj 3, Cetinje, jun 2013, page 55

³⁰ У једној повељи из 1342 год. Стефан Душан назива себе царем „всех српских и грчких и поморских земљ, рекуже Албанији, и западне стране и великому дису“. Ту је он Поморје изједначио са Албанијом. (Иван Божић, *Зета у деспотовини*. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, page 138); The Albanian researcher Jahja Drancolli also wrote about the treatment of Zeta as part of Arberia ((Jahja Drancolli, *Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore*. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku, Zagreb 2019, page 83)

³¹ *Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore*, Per-Zh. Vijesti 2006, page 1213.

³² Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët*. Rilindja, 1968, page 44

³³ Josip Jelčić, *Zeta i Dinastija Balšići*, Matica Crnogorska, Cetinje – Podgorica, 2010, pages 35-36

³⁴ *Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore*, A-Crn, Vijesti, 2006, page 207

³⁵ Глигор Станојевић, *Борба црногорских, брдских, и Херцеговачких племена против турских власти XVI-XVIII в. Црна Гора, Београд, 1976, р. 176*

³⁶ Нићифор Дучић, *Црна Гора*. Београд, 1874, page 6; Јован Ерделјановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Лубље*, Београд, 1978, page 39.

works of the researcher Jovan Cvijić, according to which, if the province had received its name in this way, then it would not have been called *Malizi* and *Karadag* by the Albanians, respectively the Ottomans.³⁷ Meanwhile, while the theory on the formation of the term of Crna Gora based on their surname seems a difficult hypothesis to defend, the opinion that the feudal family Crnojevići turned the word Crna Gora from a provincial name into a state notion has a more stable foundation. The move of their headquarters from Žabjak to Cetinje seems to mark the end of Zeta and the beginning of the new unit. However, unlike Prevalis and Doclea, the name of Zeta did not die out completely, but turned into a local name meaning a small province in the Podgorica plain.

From a territorial point of view, the new political entity that Montenegrin literature calls Stara Crna Gora originally included only a small area, without any significant cities. It lay in the quadrangle Ostrog-Morača-Sutorman-Kotor and according to the descriptions it was the poorest region in the entire current Montenegrin area.³⁸ In the eastern direction, it cohabitated next to several tribal organizations known as *brda*; in the western side there were the coastal cities and the population (*primorje*); in the north there were the tribes of Herzegovina, while in the south it bordered with the current Albanian region. Its borders remained the same until 1796 when a process of unification with the tribal societies mentioned above began,³⁹ a development that paved the way for territorial expansion and the formation of the modern Montenegrin state. Judging based on materials written between the 14th and 16th centuries which happened to be folded in the archives of Dubrovnik and Kotor, here too, just like in the case of Diocles, the population was not defined within the Serbian ethnic group,⁴⁰ so there was a different kind of folk stratum.

In addition to the provinces mentioned so far, in the late medieval period another political creation appeared, Venetian Albania, which meant a region that had passed into the ownership of the Republic of Venice. Within this administrative unit, between the time interval 1392-1442, all

³⁷ Јован Ерделјановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Лубље*, Београд, 1978, page 39

³⁸ Глигор Станојевић, *Борба црногорских, брдских, и Херцеговачких племена против турских власти XVI-XVIII в. Црна Гора*, Београд, 1976, p. 176. *The western border went up to the mountains above Kotor but did not include the city.

³⁹ *Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore*, A-Crn, Vijesti, 2006, page 207. *In 1796, "Stara Crna Gora" was united with the tribes Piperi and Bjelopavlići, then between the years 1820-1830 with the tribes Rovca, Morača and part of Kuči. (ibid., page 207). Montenegrin territorial expansion continued until 1913, when it took the form it has today.

⁴⁰ Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi crnogoraca*, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 9

urban centres were included, from Shkodra as its capital up to Kotor.⁴¹ However, with the exception of a narrow territory along the sea line, this unit did not penetrate far inland, leaving the majority of the population in the present Montenegrin area unaffected.⁴² Although the name seems to have been created based on the presence of Albanians within its borders,⁴³ treating Venetian Albania as a mono-ethnic environment is impossible, especially in the upper parts where urban areas appear more mixed.⁴⁴ Therefore, in the old documents of the Venice chancelleries, the term *de Albania* through which any individual originating from centres such as Kotor, Bar (alb.Tivar) or Budva is described can only be interpreted within the geographical plane. As for the notions of *albanenses* or *arbanenses* which appear in the upper part of the Montenegrin area, with any exception which must be argued as a confusion, their meaning has an ethnic character, since Albanians appear in that area even before the Venetian rule. For example, the medieval charters of Budva and Kotor make a clear distinction between the Slavs, Vlachs and Albanians who populated the areas outside the city walls.⁴⁵ An eventual hypothesis raised based on a double standard, according to which the names of other groups in Venetian Albania had a cultural and linguistic character (*sclavis, vlach, turchis*), while the term of *albanenses* has a territorial meaning, is easily debunked. The scientific discourse in this case should not start from verifying if an ethnic Albanian stands behind an *albanenses*, but if there is a confusion behind an *albanenses* that must be proven through argument and Slavic anthroponymy cannot be taken as an explicit argument when it is known that it was also in use by other folk communities such as Albanians, Vlachs or Greeks. In addition, the use of the notion of *albanenses* simultaneously for all the inhabitants of the Venetian possessions between Kotor and Ulcinj (alb. Ulqin), as well as for the Albanians as an ethnic society up to the Greek borders, would necessarily cause an unnecessary complication for the central authorities of the republic. Moreover, the establishment of the organizations *Scuola degli Albanesi* and *Scuola*

⁴¹ Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Arbëria venedike 1392-1497*, Fjala Publishing, Tirane 2014, pages 49-50

⁴² According to Oliver Schmitt, the zhupas of Morača and Onogošt were outside the Venetian rule. (Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Arbëria Venedike 1392-1479*. Fjala Publishing, Tirane 2014, page 68.

⁴³ Jahja Drançolli, *Iliro-Arbërit në Mal të Zi gjatë antikitetit dhe mesjetës. Në një cep të Ilirisë – Monografi për shqiptarët në Mal të Zi*, Dukagjini, Pejë, July 2006, p.23.

⁴⁴ In part, researcher Ivan Božić has also written about the mixed ethnic character of the upper parts of Zeta. (Иван Божић, *Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе*, Титоград, 1970, p.136-138, footnote 2.)

⁴⁵ Milan Shufflay, *Serbet dhe Shqiptarët*. Rilindja, Prishtine 1968, page 209

degli Schiavoni in Venice during the 15th century,⁴⁶ by the colonies that emigrated mainly from the area of Shkodra and the Montenegrin coast,⁴⁷ is an additional indicator that the two terms have expressed a rigid difference in the country of origin, a difference that was then carried across the sea. Therefore, in the Venetian documents drawn up between the 15th and 16th centuries, the Slavic element can hardly be included within the *albanenses* notion, especially when a division between the two ethnicities appears very often in the documents of the chancelleries of the Republic of Saint Mark, of that time. Thus, in a document drawn up on the twenty-sixth day of June, 1455, Albanians and Slavs are mentioned as two different ethnic categories. (*Et hoc principaliter procedat ex copiosa conducione Sclavorum et Albanensium...*)

⁴⁸ Then, based on written sources, it is understood that the old clothing of the peasantry and the feudal class of Zeta, by the Venetian authorities, was described as an Albanian composition.⁴⁹ In this case, it seems clear that this definition was made based on cultural and not administrative specifics, since it was not a question of a uniform installed in the people on the occasion of the creation of Venetian Albania, but of a costume of a folk community that distinguished itself from other Balkan communities. Therefore, this could be another additional argument in favour of the theory, according to which the political society of the Republic of Venice, by means of the notion of *albanenses*, in most cases did not mean a heterogeneous category of citizens, but an ethnic community to whom it recognized, among other things, also the cultural features. Moreover, in the medieval documents of Dubrovnik, the inhabitants of Luštica near Kotor, as well as those of the region of Paštrovići above Budva, are defined through the appellation *albanenses*, which implies an ethnonym⁵⁰ because it cannot be thought that the notary of Dubrovnik was served with foreign administrative names for a population on its borders, with

⁴⁶ The year of the foundation of the bloodline "Scuola degli Schiavoni" is thought to be 1451. (Lovorka Čoralić, *Iseljenici iz Zete u Mlecima XV-XVII stoljece: Prilog poznavanju Crnogorsko-Mletačkih veza u prošlosti*. Историјски Записи, Година LXXXIII, Бр.1/2010, Историјски институт Црне Горе, Подгорица, 2010, page 77)

⁴⁷ According to the researcher Lovorka Čoralić, the biggest contributors to the "Scuola degli Schiavoni" were mainly Slavic refugees from Kotor and Bar. (Lovorka Čoralić, *Iseljenici iz Zete u Mlecima XV-XVII stoljece: Prilog poznavanju Crnogorsko-Mletačkih veza u prošlosti*. Историјски Записи, Година LXXXIII, Бр.1/2010, Историјски институт Црне Горе, Подгорица, 2010, page 77)

⁴⁸ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, Knjiga X, Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. page 60

⁴⁹ *Селаци су се одјевали онако како је изискивала вијековима баштињена традиција, а исто тако и истакнути феудалци, чију су ношњу Млечани називали „арбанашком“*. (Иван Божић, *Зета у деспотовини*. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, p.239)

⁵⁰ DAD, Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 179; DAD, Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 173; Jahja Drançolli, *Prania e shqiptarëve në Raguzë gjatë shekujve XIII-XV*, Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e shkencave historike, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1987, page 51

which it had relations even before the Venetian expansion.⁵¹ This is not known to have been done even by exponents of the Ottoman Empire afterwards, which can be seen in the description of the chronicler Evliya Çelebi, where a clear distinction was made between Croats, Albanians and Bosniaks in the 17th century, within the walls of Herceg Novi.⁵² Therefore, it is difficult to think that for other political forces of the time, the notion *albanensi* had a cultural and linguistic meaning, while for the Venetian authorities, in an explicit form, of the citizens. Then, as long as the early presence of ethnic Albanians in that territory is a documented phenomenon, there is no need to take the appearance of the term *albanenses* as an ethnonym in the Venice documents which refer to the aforementioned area, as an unusual phenomenon. However, in order to prevent a wrong reading of what has been said up to this point and for scientific correctness, it must be said that in Venetian documentary sources, there are indeed cases when confusions with the notion of *albanenses* are noticed, but the dominant majority of them appear during the 17th century. However, this cannot serve as a basis for misinterpreting other Venetian documents, in which Albanians are clearly mentioned as an ethnic community in the coastal Montenegrin territory.⁵³ Nevertheless, with the Ottoman conquest of Skadar, Ulcinj and Bar, this unit shrinks only to the area of Kotor and Budva until it ceases to exist in 1797.⁵⁴

With the penetration and establishment of the Ottoman authorities, the Montenegrin territory became an administrative part of several sanjaks,⁵⁵ depending on the time period. Based on the population and property registers, in the latter part of the 15th century, most of the inhabited provinces appeared included in the Sanjak of Shkodra,⁵⁶ while another part passed

⁵¹ Monumenta Ragusina, Libri Reformationum, Tomus II, Ann.1347-1360 Additamentum a. 1301-1305, 1318. 1325-1336. Monumenta Spectantia. Historiam slavorum meridionalium. Volumen XIII. Zagrebiae 1882, p. 291

⁵² Evlia Çelebi, Putopis – odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama. Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1967, page 429

⁵³ Such an interpretation is found with Gligor Stanojević, who takes its cause from a document from 1626, more precisely from a list of officers and sailors recruited from Venice, where there is most likely a confusion since the Albanian notion also includes a Slavic element, to then contest every document where Albanian really has the meaning of an ethnonym. Stanojevic on this occasion writes: “Напокон из извора се види да када год у млетачким актима сретнемо израз Албанесе – мора се бити обазрив и знати да то не значи Албанац...” (Глигор Станојевић, Један платни списак морнара и официра Млетачких наоружаних барки из 1626 године. Историјски Записи, година XX, књига XXIV, св.2, Титоград 1967, р.364)

⁵⁴ Милош Милошевић, Зашто се Бока Которска у млетачким изворима називала Млетачком? Споменик СХХVII. Књига 5, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Одељење историјских наука. Београд, 1986, р.239

⁵⁵ In the Ottoman Empire, this notion meant a large territorial unit, under a military command, whose leader held the title Sanjak Beg. It was established immediately after the conquest of a region. In the organizational sense, Sanjak consists of ten units called Ziamets, as well as a hundred smaller units called Timars. In the executive aspect, Sanjak was divided into several Nahije and Kadiluks. (Сима Ћирковић & Раде Михајлчић, Лексикон Српског средњег века, Београд, 1999, р.654)

⁵⁶ Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore, CRN-CU. Vijesti. Podgorica 2006, pages 282-283.

under the administration of the Sanjakbe of Herzegovina. This administrative division continued until 1513, when the Sanjak of Montenegro was established and Skenderbeg Crnojević, one of the Islamized sons of the feudal lord Ivan Crnojević, became the leader.⁵⁷ Since his governance is characterized by numerous abuses and violent measures against the population,⁵⁸ this is most likely the reason why he was removed from this position by the decision of the Ottoman authorities.⁵⁹ After this development, the Sanjak of Montenegro is abolished and its territorial parts return again under that of Shkodra.⁶⁰ However, in relation to state obligations, the population gained a more favourable position, compared to other Christians within the Ottoman area. In the first half of the 16th century, these privileges increased even more and their position was raised to a kind of autonomy where ordinances were accepted only from the headquarters of the empire and not from the local authorities.⁶¹

1.2 Albanian toponymy in the Montenegrin territory

In almost every geographical unit within the present-day Montenegrin state, there were notions or names of places which have no clear, nor even approximate, meaning in Slavic linguistics. The early documentary sources and especially the field work during the last two centuries of Balkan and foreign researchers have significantly contributed to the preservation of a large number of these toponyms and microtoponyms, here a good part of them can be easily connected with today's Albanian language. *Ceklin*, *Progonovići*, *Kuč*, *Bukumiri*, *Đinovići*, *Goljemadi*, *Bardanje*, *Gur Vaissa*, *Krusi*, *Arbanasi* and *Bušat* are just some of them, although in those areas Albanian language ceased to exist a long time ago. The extent of toponyms of this nature appears as a dominant phenomenon in some regions, elsewhere in a pronounced way, while in some parts the names in Albanian language appear in a smaller number. The scientific

⁵⁷ Istorijiski Leksikon Crne Gore, CRN-CU. Vijesti. Podgorica 2006, page 283.

⁵⁸ Глигор Станојевић, Борба црногорских, брдских и Херцеговачких племена против турских власти XVI-XVIII в. Црна Гора, Београд, 1976, р. 178

⁵⁹ Istorijiski Leksikon Crne Gore, CRN-CU. Vijesti. Podgorica 2006, page 283.

⁶⁰ Istorijiski Leksikon Crne Gore, CRN-CU. Vijesti. Podgorica 2006, page 284.

⁶¹ Istorijiski Leksikon Crne Gore, CRN-CU. Vijesti. Podgorica 2006, page, 284. According to these privileges, the population was obliged to go to war only by the direct calls of the sultan. On the other hand, no governor from nearby regions could enter Montenegrin territory without prior authorization from the Ottoman headquarters, not even tax collectors. All Orthodox monasteries continued to hold possessions under Ottoman guarantee and security, while the empire's authorities also recognized a Montenegrin council as an authority that could speak on behalf of the entire population of the area. (ibid., page 284)

curiosity about their presence in a currently different environment in the ethnic sense necessarily leads to a deeper study, where one of the fundamental nodes to be analysed is the context in which they were created.

The first way of forming toponyms and microtoponyms that coincide with Albanian linguistics seems to be related to the old pre-Slavic communities, for which there is no data on another geographical origin, so there is no evidence of their late arrival to these units. To these belong tribal groups such as Mataruga, Spani, Mataguži, Bukumiri, Macuri, Krići and Malonšići,⁶² communities that, according to existing data, had presence widely in the current Montenegrin depths. Pursuant to collective memory and onomastic studies, it is understood that some had ethnic Albanian physiognomy, while among the rest there was a distinct mix between the Albanian element and a Romanized population. Scholarly opinions, according to which some of them were colonies coming from the direction of the south, remained within the framework of assumptions with weak support. In the inherited Montenegrin narratives, the communities mentioned above are described as an old people (*davni narod, stari svijet*), so in these circumstances, their definition as a human stratum of remote origin may be an inaccurate narration. The Malonšići tribal community is a concrete example, for whom in Montenegrin historiography the conviction prevails that it was a collective originating from the upper regions of Puka.⁶³ The similarity between their appellative and the word *malësi* (*highlands*) is taken as a documentary ground, which in the etymological sense seems to be right, but the error lies in the narrow understanding of the notion. To simplify this: *malësi* (*highlands*) in Albanian is an auspicious word of the language⁶⁴ which serves to express any inhabited mountainous massif and not necessarily the regions around Drin.⁶⁵ In this context, the word Malonšići may have been created based on their living in the hilly territory and not that they have any other geographical origin. However, microtoponyms such as *Bukumirsko Jezero*, *Malenza*, *Špansko Katunište*, *Macurski put*⁶⁶ and so on, are considered as remnants of these communities.

⁶² Old non-Slavic tribal groups, which will be discussed later.

⁶³ Иван Божић, Владевида Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970. p.364.

⁶⁴ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V*, K-M. Botime Cabej, Tirane 2014, page 275

⁶⁵ In the area populated by Albanians, the word highlands is used to name several different regions: the Great Highlands, the Small Highlands, the Gjakova Highlands, the Tetovo Highlands, the Gollak Highlands, etc., so it is a notion that cannot be localized in just one geographical unit.

⁶⁶ The microtoponym "*Macurska Kučišta*" was recorded in the village of Kralje by Radoslav Jagos Vešević. (Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, p.135); Researcher Risto Kovijanić writes that "*Špansko Katunište*" is a toponymic remnant from the Spanis. (Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u*

The second way is related to the process of emigration of some folk groups from the interior of today's Albanian territory towards the Montenegrin area. According to oral tradition in regions such as Vasojevići, Ceklin, Lješkopolje, Zeta, Morača, Bjelopavlići, etc. incoming elements, which have either been included within the existing tribes or have contributed on the way to tribal organization, are distinguished. In some regions, these communities make up the major part of the population. Andrija Jovičević, in 1926, wrote that in Zeta and Lješkopolje the groups of early origin from Albania constituted 26.56% of the total population amounting to 496 houses.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, microtoponyms such as *Hotska gora* in Morača, or *Klimenački Laz* and *Hotsko Groblje* in Vasojevići, are complementary arguments that speak in the context of the rise of some toponyms as a consequence of the penetration of the human element from within the current Albanian depths.⁶⁸ Thus, the Albanian nuances of the toponymy in those units are undoubtedly a contribution of new settlements, always not excluding the possibility of intertwining with the names found there, of the early proto-Albanian culture. Thus, the family communities coming from Lezha, Kruja or the Dukagjini region, may have found something in terms of toponymy from the Spani, Malonšići, Mataruga societies, or from any other Albanian population not organized into tribal communities. From this angle, superimposition seems a natural process.

Despite the fact that the two ways explained above are the main phenomena based on which the names that come within the framework of Albanian linguistics have been established, science recognizes two other possibilities, but in the territory that is spoken about they seem quite remote. One of them is the phenomenon of seasonal movement of pastoral groups and the other is cultural influence. In spite of the interest that these two theories may arouse, a correct reading of the sources leads to the conclusion that these are narrow phenomena. The rigid way of life in this Balkan area and the conservative folk mentality throughout the medieval period, does not create space to interpret them as common phenomena. In the case of pastoral movements, the

Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 44); For the connection of Bukumiri with the Bukumirsko Jezero microtoponym: Јован Ердељановић, Кучи-Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 137; Malenza still exists today as a settlement on the opposite side of the Bjelopavlići tribe.

⁶⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 154.

⁶⁸ Savo Orović, Sličnost folkloru kod Arbanasa i Crnogoraca, Rad XIV kongresa Saveza folklorista Jugoslavije u Prizrenu 1967, Beograd 1974, page 480; Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 149;

influence of this community on the toponymy is more limited. A community that temporarily uses pastures in a foreign territory can hardly exert influence on the local inhabitants and impose names, especially in another language, moreover if another ethnic environment is in question. However, this assumption cannot be invalidated, but at the same time it cannot serve as a major argument to justify the presence of a high number of toponymic examples that are related to Albanian language.

In contrast to the theory of seasonal pastoral settlements that has been analysed above, the fourth theory which integrates in itself the factor of cultural influence appears to be even weaker. However, there are cases when the interaction between the two ethnic groups is also manifested in the toponymy, but in the Montenegrin territory this phenomenon can only be accepted in a narrow dimension and for this there is a simple explanation. Compared to the Serbs, who a few centuries after the migration had achieved political power by establishing powerful kingdoms, had established a strong Orthodox Church and had widely used the Cyrillic alphabet, the Albanians were in a much more difficult position. Barricaded mainly in rugged areas, without an organized church system, with small principalities only in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages and with a lack of written Albanian language, it is impossible to assume an influence against the Slavic population that, at the time which is being talked about, appears quite compact militarily, religiously, and politically.⁶⁹

The hypothesis about the creation of Albanian toponyms as a result of a possible cultural influence is also weakened by several other points of view. Initially, in many present-day Montenegrin regions, toponyms of this type did not appear in low numbers, on the contrary in some places they are even dominant. Moreover, in all the geographical units where their presence has been registered, in parallel names of people in Albanian were also encountered, whereas in the folk memories of many bloodlines within these regions, there is talk of a possible origin from within the Albanian territories. At the very end, the fact that a large part of the ethnographic elements and tribal rules correspond with the ethnic Albanian corpus of Gegëria is highlighted.⁷⁰ When all these are combined, it seems clear that the toponymy in Albanian within

⁶⁹ Johan Georg von Hahn speaks similarly. According to him, the Albanians cannot be said to have had cultural superiority over the Slavic element to influence their Albanianization. Reference: Johan Georg von Hahn – *Studime shqiptare*. IDK. Tirane, p. 288

⁷⁰ The territory populated by Albanians was divided into two parts: Toskëria and Gegëria. Toskëria, inhabited by the Toskë Albanians, stretches from the Shkumbin river to Greece, while Gegëria, populated by the Geg Albanians,

these units cannot have come as a result of any influence, but due to the significant presence of Albanian groups in those units, the dominant part of which seems to have been assimilated ethnically. This process, that is, the transformation towards the Montenegrin or Serbian ethnicity, a development accepted by Slavic and foreign researchers such as Jireček, Šekularac,⁷¹ etc., could not have been done if the cultural supremacy was on the side of the Albanians, therefore an imposition of onomastic elements seems to be impossible.

In the old Montenegrin literature, in some cases, other explanations can be found on the way of creating some of the toponyms that are related to Albanian language, but which also cannot be treated in the framework of the general phenomenon. Thus, on the eastern side of the village of *Golubovac*, there is *Arbanaška Glavica* which, according to the explanation given by Andrija Jovičević, is about the death of forty Albanians who, after a looting campaign deep in the Montenegrin territory, were killed in an ambush by the Serbs.⁷² Although no additional data is given, such as the time of the event or any other accompanying data, such a development can be accepted as a reason for the creation of a toponym. However, stories of this type should be looked at more closely, as they can be turned into instruments to minimize the continuity of Albanians in certain regions.

In order to avoid a possible misunderstanding, it should be said that the abovementioned ways of forming toponyms in Albanian within today's Montenegrin territory are different from the source or ways of forming Slavic toponyms within the Albanian language area. The latter seem to be more products of the influence of the powerful Serbian church and kingdoms than of the constant presence of the Slavic human element. Just as Ottoman toponyms are a product of rule and not of Turkish linguistic colonies. According to Selami Pulaha, the toponymy in the Albanian territory, in a series of cases, is related to the activity of the foreign state,

covers the entire rest of the territory. Gegëria constitutes the majority of today's Albanian territory and population.

⁷¹ "Иако су Арбанаси у ранијем средњем веку према Србима, изгубили много земљишта, ипак не беху народ који изумиру". (Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба, Прва књига до 1537 године – Политичка Историја. Народна Књига, Београд 1952, page 86); "U planinama Zete zadržao se i održavao ilirsko-romanski, nomadski i polunomadski stočarski elemenat – Vlasi i Arbanasi. Ovaj sloj je dugo živio odvojeno od župskog društva. No, vremenom je došlo do procesa etno-biološkog stapanja, putem koga se vrši sloveniziranje sve većeg dijela Vlaha i Arbanasa, koje će kulminirati u doba kada je Zeta bila u sastavu Srpske države Nemanjića..". (Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narrativni podaci o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica, Godina XII, broj 46/47, Ljeto/Jesen 2011, Cetinje-Podgorica 2011, pages 264-265)

⁷² Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, p.40

administrative and military apparatus, and there was no ethnic reality behind them.⁷³ In addition, the documented use of Slavic names by Albanians may have been a source of toponymy as well. Settlements such as Ivanaj, Vladimir, Vukël, Radomirë, Vlad may have received these names from Albanians with Slavic names, such as the villages of Sinanaj, Elezaj, Kurtaj, Demiraj, Aliaj, Selimaj, Xhaferaj,⁷⁴ which may have been named after Albanians under Ottoman names. One cannot accept one as a reason and exclude the other, when the circumstances appear to be the same. Undoubtedly, some of these toponyms may have their source from a Slavic colony, but not within the general interpretation.

1.3 Ethnic diversity behind Slavic anthroponymy

In the old written materials, especially within the documentary sources compiled between the 14th and 16th centuries, a large number of Slavic anthroponyms appear in the Montenegrin depths, which, compared to the typical names of other ethnic communities, constitute the dominant majority in many regions. Often in scientific works, especially by Balkan authors, their bearers have been treated as such ethnically, thus excluding the possibility that this category of anthroponyms has served other folk communities as well. This kind of arbitrary reading of historical data has served as the basis for raising many subjective hypotheses,⁷⁵ although a rational approach to the existing material, including the correct assessment of the socio-political circumstances of the time, would in any case lead to a different conclusion. Because, the data show that the Albanians, but also other Balkan groups, during the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the new era, also carried names of a Slavic nature⁷⁶ and this phenomenon is supported, both by documentary sources⁷⁷ and by those classified as secondary in terms of importance.

⁷³ Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosoves mes shekujve XV-XVI*. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë-Instituti i Historisë, shtëpia botuese 8 nëntori, page 27

⁷⁴ Ivanaj, Vladimir, Vukel, Radomirë, Vlad, Sinanaj, Elezaj, Kurtaj, Demiraj, Aliaj, Selimaj and Xhaferaj, are villages that are still populated by Albanians today.

⁷⁵ Researcher Selami Pulaha has written more extensively about this phenomenon. (Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shek. XV-XVI*, Akademia e shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë. 8 nëntori. Tiranë, p.7-42.

⁷⁶ Pëllumb Xhufi, *Vështrim mbi popullsinë e qyteteve bregdetare shqiptare*. Studime historike, 1982, Nr.4, Akademia e shkencave e RPSSH, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë, 1982. p.153

⁷⁷ For example: within a document drawn up in 1388 by the state authorities of Dubrovnik, a Dimitrie Petrović Albanensi appears. (DAD. *Diversa Noteriae*, Ser. 26, Br. 10, God. 1387-1391, fol. 17)

Based on the Venetian and Ottoman statistical summaries for the population and property, but also according to the materials drawn up in the offices of other politically important centres of the time, the use of Slavic names among Albanians appears to be a fairly widespread phenomenon, that is, it is not a question of isolated cases. Thus, in the book of cadastre and concessions for the district of Shkodra (1416-1417), in addition to the names in Albanian which make up the majority, interwoven forms such as: *Vukota Butadosi*, *Radoslav Bethkasha*, *Rajko Bardi*, *Vuka Bukadiata* and *Rajko Prekali* ⁷⁸ appear. Since the surnames of these registered men appeared with full and correct meaning in Albanian, as well as the very fact that they appear in Albanian environments in terms of anthroponymy, it is unlikely that their bearers had other ethnic feelings. Except for the rare cases, where a Slavic-speaking individual may have moved for some reason to an environment of Albanians and his surname was given by them, in the form of a pseudonym. However, the use of Slavic names among Albanians, as a phenomenon, also appears in other territorial units and this is understood from old documents, which in their first or reproduced form have reached the late times. One of the materials of this type, where concrete examples were encountered, is a document drawn up in the thirties of the 15th century by the Ragusan merchant *Mihailo Lukarević*, who had registered every man from Novobrdó who had unpaid economic obligations to him. In this book of debts there are also people named like *Radosav Gonouich*, *Petcho Progonouich* or *Tanus Bogdanouich*, ⁷⁹ whose names and patronymics create a circumstance to assume that they are ethnic Albanians, although, alongside the names in Albanian (*Gjon*, *Tanush*, *Progon*), they also used the other type (*Petko*, *Radosav*, *Bogdan*).

In the Ottoman register of 1455 for the territory that was once controlled by the *Branković* dynasty, the phenomenon of Albanians hiding behind foreign anthroponyms appears even more clearly. There are sixteen villages in which residents such as: *Radica Arbanas*, *Raško Arbanas*, *Petko Arbanas*, *Branko Arbanas*, *Miloš Arbanas*, *Vladko Arbanas*, *Mirko Arbanas* and

⁷⁸ Sime Ljubić, *Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416*. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, p. 33-50.

⁷⁹ Muhamet Ternava, *Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XIV-XVI*, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1995, page 41; "Progon, Gjon, Tanush are characteristic Albanian names" (Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shek. XV-XVI*, Akademia e shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë – Instituti i Historisë. Shtëpia botuese 8 Nentori, p. 21)

*Vlcoslav Arbanas*⁸⁰ appear. Despite the fact that these people bear Slavic names, it is the *arbanas* suffix that prevents another interpretation, moreover it seems like their ethnic uniform. Beyond this, within these settlements there are cases when anthroponyms such as *Branislav*, *Jovan*, *Radac*, *Bogdan*, *Radihna*, *Novak* and *Radislav*⁸¹ appear, which at first reading look like Serbs, but all of whom are identified as children of Albanians. Always according to this register, not far from today's Serbian city of Prokuplje, in 1455 the village of *Arbanaška* appears, within which there are no anthroponyms in Albanian.⁸² Here, either the population has gradually merged ethnically and only the toponym remains, or the Albanian residents bear the same names as the Serbs. However, this case given as an example does not express a rare phenomenon, since almost identical circumstances, where the toponym is in Albanian, while the inhabitants within the locality bear Slavic names, also appear in other regions, a phenomenon noticed early by Selami Pulaha.⁸³

In addition to the northern area, the ethnic diversity among the bearers of Slavic names is also easily discernible in the eastern presence of the Albanians. In the Ottoman statistical materials of the year 1468, for the district of Manastir (Bitola),⁸⁴ some of the residents are listed as follows: *Bojko Arbanaš*, *Stojo Arnaud*, *Bogdan son of Arbanas*, *Mile Arnaud*, *Boško son of Arbanas*, *Pavle Arnaud*, *Stojko Arbanas* or *Rale son of Arnaut*.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, within the aforementioned material, there is another feature, where the son's name is in Slavic while the father's is in Albanian. Thus, in the village of *Srpča*, two people registered as *Petko* and *Staniša* are said to be the sons of Fatimir, in *Optičari* a man named *Đurko* is said to be the son of Bardh, in *Drevenik* one of the residents is *Bogdan* son of Progon, in *Cernovec* village *Petko* son of Leka,

⁸⁰ Hadžibegić Hamid, , Handžić Adem & Kovačević Ešref - Oblast Brankovića, Opširni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine. *Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu. Sarajevo 1972*, p.30-217. *The settlements are: *Burnik*, *Vlčitrn*, *Kučica*, *Tušilje*, *Šipitova*, *Štimlje*, *Vrbica*, *Gornje Drenovce*, *Malo Obrinje*, *Zaskok*, *Kladorodnica*, *Karačica*, *Hlaplje*, *Grbovc*, *Obica* and *Podgorica*. These toponyms are given in the Serbian form according to the publication where the information was obtained. All of them are in the central and eastern territory of today's Kosovo and serve as examples to explain the phenomenon of the presence of Slavic names among Albanians.

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 30-217

⁸² Hadžibegić Hamid, , Handžić Adem & Kovačević Ešref - Oblast Brankovića, Opširni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine. *Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu. Sarajevo 1972*, p.299. Among the registered names are: Branko, Bogdan, Rahot, Vladislav, Petko, Bozjan, Radislav, Milošh, Radica, Vidca and Radovac.

⁸³ Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shek. XV-XVI*, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë. Shtëpia botuese 8 Nëntori. Tiranë. p. 492-493

⁸⁴ With this name the Albanians call today's city Bitola in western Macedonia.

⁸⁵ Соколки Методија, Турски документи за историјата на Македонскиот народ – Опширни пописни дефтери од XV век, Том II, Архив на Македонија. Скопје 1973, p.151-257.

in *Kaluđerica Jovan* son of *Don*,⁸⁶ and so on. In the case of the latter, the father bears a Christian name in the Albanian form, while the son in the Slavic form, although the source of the name is the same. The same situation appears in the district of Follorina, today a city in the north, in the Ottoman register of 1481. In this unit, there are twenty-one villages where residents are distinguished under Slavic anthroponyms, but their fathers either bear names in Albanian, or simply they are described as children of Albanians.⁸⁷

The registry of the Ottoman administration for the properties and population of the Sanjak of Shkodra is another valuable summary, especially in relation to anthroponymic research. Within this material, which is said to have been created from 17 February to 18 March 1485,⁸⁸ there are quite detailed notes that enable the creation of a broader image regarding the use of Slavic names by other peoples. Thus, within the village of Mel near Peja, an Albanian environment according to anthroponymy, in addition to the names Tanush, Gjin, Leka, Gjon and Gega, the names *Pavlo* and *Dejan* appeared in the register, who are said to be the sons of Gjon,⁸⁹ a name equivalent to Ivan or Jovan in Slavic culture.⁹⁰ A little further, in the village of *Kalić*, a

⁸⁶ Соколки Методија, Турски документи за историјата на Македонскиот народ – Опширни пописни дефтери од XV век, Том II, Архив на Македонија. Скопје 1973, p.162-264; On the Albanian affiliation of the name Lekë, see more in “Idriz Ajeti, Studime për gjuhën shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime të veçanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 63; According to researcher Muhamet Ternava Gjon is a characteristic Albanian name (Muhamet Ternava, Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XIV-XVI, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1995, pages 30-31); Milan Sufflay also writes about the Albanian affiliation of the names Bardh, Progon and Leka (Milan Shufflay, Serbët dhe Shqiptarët, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968, page 53); Fatmir is a very common name among Albanians even now.

⁸⁷ Соколки Методија, Турски документи за историјата на Македонскиот народ – Опширни пописни дефтери од XV век, Том II, Архив на Македонија. Скопје 1973, p.277- 457 *The villages are: Lipošnica, Krapešino, Kučkovjani, Kladorob, Pop Stefan, Oklis, Sirovičevo, Sekirci, Goričko, Zabrđani, Staro Kotori, Neret, Alagin, Frankovci, Labanica, Turje, Papaševo, Drenovo, Udžani, Trstenik, Dobrodišta. Most of these settlements today bear Greek names. While the registered people are: Stajko son of Arnaut, Pero son of Leka, Velicko son of Albanian, Pejo son of Don, Božik son of Arnaut, Jovan son of Leka, Petko son of Progon, Stajko son of Leka, Pejo son of Leka, Stojan son of Leka, Pejo son of Progon, Bogdan son of Leka, Veličko son of Gjon, Pejo son of Leka, Pero son of Don, Stajko son of Leka, Petko son of Don, Veličko son of Leka, Pavle son of Don, Petko son of Đin, Petko of Škembari, etc.

⁸⁸ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodres i vitit 1485, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, p.5

⁸⁹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodres i vitit 1485, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974. p.168-169; According to the researcher Shaban Demiraj, the name Gjin (Đin) is found only in Albanian-speaking territories and must have appeared quite early. The wide presence, both in the northern and southern parts, starting from the 14th century, attests to its antiquity. For more information, see: Shaban Demiraj – Epiri, Ilirët dhe Shqiptarët. Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, Infbotues, Tiranë 2008, page 84-86; The researcher Muhamet Ternava also commented on the Albanian source of the name Gjin, arguing that it also extended to medieval Kosovo. (Muhamet Ternava, Studime për mesjeten, Botues: Dukagjini, Peje, 2000, p.83)

⁹⁰ Милица Грковић. Имена у Дечанским хрисовулама. Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду. Институт за јужнословенске језике. Нови Сад. 1983. p. 119

man is called *Bogdan* and is described as the son of Kola,⁹¹ while in Netrobisht of Prizren, there is a *Drago Arbanas*.⁹² However, these are not the only examples in this district. In the village of *Slojan*, *Nenada son of Arbanas* is mentioned, in *Todurihoçi Bogdan Arnaut*, in *Dolina Petrić Nenko Arnaut*, in the village of *Lepovac*, where the Albanian anthroponymic element is prevalent, *Branko son of Tanush* appears,⁹³ and so on. Although the cases listed above have enough documentary weight, the demographic data that appear during the census of the people in the village of *Gorna Jashanica* seem to have an added importance. According to the aforementioned defter, it is understood that the anthroponymy of this locality, which also depended on the Peja kaza (district), was deeply Slavic in nature, but due to the very fact that a *Stepan son of Shkjar* appears among the inhabitants, the situation takes on a more complex form.⁹⁴ Since the patronymic in this case means an appellative (*Shkja*) through which Albanians once referred to the Slavs, then it is clear that the population of the village had a different ethnic feeling compared to Stepan's father, who was singled out through an ethnonym. More specifically, if the inhabitants were Slavs, it would not be defined through this notion, because others are supposed to have that affiliation as well.

The phenomenon of the use of names of the Slavic type or form by Albanians, apart from the peasantry, is also noticeable among the medieval aristocracy. In 1421, a Budimir Dukagjini⁹⁵ is mentioned as a fish merchant in Shkodra, while a few years later, in the medieval centre of Novobrd, Božidar Spani appears under the title of voivode, a nobleman from Drisht, whose father is mentioned in medieval documents as *Petro Span Albanenses*.⁹⁶ Meanwhile, in the memoirs of Gjon Muzaka, written in Italy in 1510, is mentioned Vladan Komnen Araniti,⁹⁷ who, most likely, must have been from today's central Albania,⁹⁸ while from other written sources it is

⁹¹ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodres i vitit 1485*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, p.192

⁹² Idem.p.236

⁹³ Idem. p. 249-277

⁹⁴ idem. p. 216

⁹⁵ Oliver Jens Schmitt – *Arbëria Venedike 1392-1479*. Fjala Publishing, Tiranë 2014, p. 441-442

⁹⁶ Konstantin Jireček, *Istorijs Srba*. Knjiga druga-Kulturna Istorijs, Narodna knjiga, Beograd 1952, p.390

⁹⁷ Gjon Muzaka, *Memorie*. Botimet Toena, Tirane 1996, p.45; According to Gjon Muzaka, Vladen Komnen Araniti was married to Angelina Kastrioti and from this marriage Muzak Komneni was born, whom the people called Muzak of Angelina. The latter was an officer of Skanderbeg; The memoirs of Gjon Muzaka were written in 1510 and were discovered for the first time by the German researcher Karl Hopf (1832-1873) in the Brankaccian library of Naples in 1863 (*Ibid.*, p.3)

⁹⁸ According to the researcher Franc Babinger, the Arianit tribe, most likely, originated from central Albania. In the first half of the 15th century, they owned territories starting from Çermenika, Shpat, Mokra and Malakastra, all the way to the sea. (Franz Babinger, *Fundi i Arianitëve*. Plejad. Tiranë 2004, p.17)

also known about a sister of Gjergj Topia named Vojslava (*Voysclava*).⁹⁹ Then, in the Venetian cadastral registry and concessions for the district of Shkodra, in the village of *Bolsa* appears a *Bogossin Jonema*,¹⁰⁰ who may have been related to the Albanian feudal family with the same surname. In summary, *Budimir*, *Vojslava*, *Božidar*, *Vladan* and *Bogossin* are undoubtedly Slavic anthroponyms, but it is their surnames that make it impossible to treat them ethnically as such.

As in the cases discussed above, data on the use of Slavic names by Albanians were also encountered in the interior of today's Montenegrin territory. On 7 July 1441, *Boichus Ginovich appeared*, a man originally from Podgorica, who had submitted a request for residence and to serve God in one of the monasteries near Kotor. (*Boichus Ginovich de Pothgorice, olim Mercator in Cataro, volens deo servire et disponens habitare in monasterio sancti Georgii de Culpo Catari tamquam converses*).¹⁰¹ Almost at the same time, in the middle of the 15th century, in the village of *Dinovici*, a man named *Radosav Zogovich*¹⁰² is mentioned. Around this village even today there is the microtoponym *Zogove Lazine*, so all these, including the name of the settlement itself, according to the researcher Risto Kovijanić, are solid evidence of the presence of an early Albanian population there, which then, by mixing with the Serbian newcomers has merged ethnically.¹⁰³ This phenomenon, that is, cultural and linguistic alienation, was apparently discussed for the first time by the bishop of Stefania in 1603, who talks about the conversion of Albanian Catholics to Orthodoxy, then becoming Serbs and Greeks.¹⁰⁴

Although in most of the Montenegrin tribal regions, including the coastal territory, there are approximate examples in each time period, however in isolated cases, some additional

⁹⁹ Јанко Шафарик, Попис акта принадлежећи к историји Срба и осталих југославена наодечи се у Млетачком генералном архиву. Гласник Друштва Србске Словесности. Свезка X, У Београду, 1858, p.85; Pëllumb Xhufi, Vështrim mbi popullsinë e qyteteve bregdetare shqiptare. Studime historike, 1982, Nr.4, Akademia e shkencave e RPSSH, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë, 1982, p.153

¹⁰⁰ Sime Ljubić, Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, p.37

¹⁰¹ Risto Kovijanić – Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijски Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, p27

¹⁰² Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II, Istorijски Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page p121); Zog (slv.ptica, en.bird), is a word of the Albanian lexicon;)

¹⁰³ “U selu Dinovićima, u susjednim Kosijerima, koje svojim imenom ukazuje na nekadašnje romansko stanovništvo (ilirsko-arbanasko) nalaze se Zogove lazine. Ime Radosava Zogovića, koji je ovdje živio sredinom XV vijeka, ukazuje na miješanje srpskih doseljenika sa starosjediocima i na pretapanje arbanaskog življa”. (Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II, Istorijски Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, p.121)

¹⁰⁴ Глигор Станојевић, Документи о завјери албанских првака из 1602 године, Посебан отисак из Годишњака Балканолошког Института Balcanica III, Историјски Иститут – Београд 1872, p. 300

clarifications are mandatory. Thus, in the first part of the sixteenth century, in the Montenegrin village of *Radosaljići*, in the documents of the Ottoman administration, in 1521 two people appear under the names *Radovan* and *Božic Lješ*.¹⁰⁵ Here appears to be a combination between two linguistic cultures. The first names are undoubtedly Slavic, while there is another explanation for the anthroponym Lesh. According to the Serbian linguist Mitar Pešikan, this name is in Albanian language or a form treated by Albanian language and this reflects a distinctive feature of Albanian communities.¹⁰⁶ Konstantin Jireček, a good connoisseur of Slavic history and culture, also treats it as an Albanian name.¹⁰⁷ Assumptions which are read in some Serbian works that the anthroponym derives from the Slavic name *Leposav*,¹⁰⁸ seem to have rather limited support. In the 13th-century charter of the monastery of Žiča near today's Kragujevac, the name Lesh does not appear among the registered individuals,¹⁰⁹ as well as in the Pirot register in 1581.¹¹⁰ In eighty-three notarial documents of the island of Lastovo in Croatia, this anthroponym is never encountered.¹¹¹ nor was borne by any of the medieval Serbian, Bosnian, or Bulgarian kings. On the other hand, in the territorial depths of the Albanians, the name Lesh appears as quite popular, is present widely, and is treated within the framework of old names.¹¹² In this context, the assumption that this anthroponym comes from Albanian seems

¹⁰⁵ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića*. Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2. Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 18-19

¹⁰⁶ Митар Пешикан, *Зетско-Хумско-Рашка имена*. Ономатолошки Прилози III, Београд, 1982, p. 28, 29, 42, 61;

¹⁰⁷ Константин Јиречек, *Историја Срба, Прва књига до 1537 године*, Политичка Историја. Народна Књига, Београд, 1952, p. 86.

¹⁰⁸ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена*. Слово Лубље, Београд, 1978

, p. 108.

¹⁰⁹ Митар Пешикан, *Зетско-Хумско-Рашка имена*. Ономатолошки Прилози III, Београд, 1982, p. 19

¹¹⁰ Татјана Катић & Драгана Амедовски, *Попис џелепа Пиротског кадилука из 1581 године*. Мешовита грађа, књига XXXIII, p. 143-170

¹¹¹ Грегор Цремошник, *Нотарске листине са Ластова, Српска Краљевска Академија*. Споменик XCI, II, Филозофско – филолошке друштвене и историјске науке., 70, I, Београд 1939, pages 15-47

¹¹² In 1485, *Leš Preladi* and *Leš Lepuroši* appear as residents of the Drišt district (Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*. Akademia e shkencave e R.P. të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1974, pages 399 and 401); In 1571 in the Ajas Luka neighborhood in Prizren, an almost entirely Albanian environment judging by the names and patronyms, a *Doda Gika Leš* appears. (Татјана Катић, *Опширни попис Призренског Санџака из 1571 године*. Историјски Институт, Посебна Издања, Књига 58, Београд 2010, p. 61); In 1571, in the villages of Gizhub and Blac near Pashtrik, *Doda Leshi* and *Dom Leshi* are mentioned (Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shek. XV-XVI*. Akademia e shkencave e R.P. të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Shtëpia botuese 8 Nëntori, p. 228 and 242); An approximate form of “*Liš*” appears in 1445, in the vilayet of Kostur, in the village of Terstie, where universal Christian and Albanian names constitute the dominant majority. (Соколоски Методија, *Турски документи за историјата на Македонскиот народ – Опширни пописни дефтери од XV век*,

more acceptable, thus it is consistently promoted by the community of proven Balkan researchers.¹¹³

The phenomenon of the use of Slavic names by Albanians within today's Montenegrin area is also noticeable throughout the seventeenth century. On 21 November 1606, the political representative of the Republic of Venice in Naples, in the letter he wrote to the Council of Ten, mentions a military personality, called Nicolo Stanissa, who is said to be Albanian,¹¹⁴ despite the patronym of some other kind. On the accuracy of this definition, in addition to the fact that there was no confusion of notions, speaks a later letter of the Albanian captain *Marco Gini*, who in February 1607, informed the bishop of Stefania that the military person Stanissa was his relative and close by bloodline. (*L' apportator della presente mia sara il capitan Nicolo Stanissa de Antivari, mio amice et parente*).¹¹⁵ Beyond this, this document brings to attention another issue which indirectly helps the more accurate reading of Balkan anthroponymy: that behind a biblical name (*Nicolo*) and a Slavic patronymic (*Stanissa*), an Albanian from Bar is hidden. It is quite debatable how this man would be treated if there were no additional data on his ethnic nature. For example, in the village of Ozrin in the district of Peja, in the Ottoman defter of 1485, one of the registered residents bears the same name as *Nikola Stanisa*, but the description of the ethnic

Том II, Архив на Македонија. Скопје 1973, p.104); In the Lish form, it was also recorded in the Virilan settlement of Kolonjë district, in 1445, in a completely Albanian environment according to the anthroponymy. (Соколоски Методија, Турски документи за историјата на Македонскиот народ – Опширни пописни дефтери од XV век, Том II, Архив на Македонија. Скопје 1973, p.125)

¹¹³ In his paper on the type of names that have historically been in use among Serbs, Tatomir Vukanović does not include the name Leš in the discussion. (Татомир Вукановић, Лична имена код Срба. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига петнаеста, Београд 1940, p.56-74); The researcher Jovan Vukmanović treats the name Leš as an anthroponym in Albanian. (Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнологска испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p.61); The Montenegrin researcher Miomir Dašić also speaks in favor of the Albanian affiliation of the name Leš. (Миомир Дашић, Васојевићи од помена до 1860, Матица српска – Друштво чланова у Црној Гори – Одељење за историју. Посебна издања. Књига 1, Никшић 2011, p.75); Milica Grkovic writes that Lesh is the Albanian form of the Greek name Alessios. (Милица Грковић. Имена у Дечанским хрисовулама. Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду. Институт за јужнословенске језике. Нови Сад. 1983, p.90); In the line of researchers who insist on the Albanian nature of the name Lesh, Milenko Filipović is also aligned. (Миленко Филиповић, Структура и организација средњовековног катунa. Симпозиум о средњовековном катуну, одржан 24 и 25 новембра 1961 г. Научно друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине, Посебна Издања, Књига II, Сарајево 1963, p.53); The opinion about the Albanian source of the name Lesh also appears in the Albanian scientific community. (Selami Pulaha, Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shek. XV-XVI, Akademia e shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë – Instituti i Historisë. Shtëpia botuese 8 Nentori, page 21); Muhamet Ternava, Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XIV-XVI, Instituti albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1995, page 37

¹¹⁴ Injac Zamputi, Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë. Vëllimi III. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë- Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1989. Page 81

¹¹⁵ Injac Zamputi, Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë. Vëllimi III. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë- Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1989. Page 103

type is missing.¹¹⁶ Treating the latter as a Serb without additional data can hardly be understood as an objective interpretation, since the latter case is from every point of view equivalent to *Nicolo Stanissa* from Bar. A similar example also occurred among the descendants of Pjeter Spani, since his son, as mentioned, was called *Božidar*, while his nephew was *Hrvoje*.¹¹⁷ Normally, in any other case, the connection of two such names can serve as a prerequisite to assume a Slavic human element, but the above examples speak enough that through anthroponyms brought by a ruling power, one cannot roughly determine the ethnicity of the bearer.

At this point in the discussion the science seems quite clear, since the lack of balance of power between two different cultural and linguistic communities usually creates a circumstance where the subordinated society begins to absorb cultural traits imposed by the major authority. Therefore, in old documents, it is very rare to find cases where an individual is called Leka, Tanush or Bardo Schiavone, while on the contrary, examples such as *Petko Arbanas*, *Branko Arbanas* or *Miloš Arbanas*,¹¹⁸ were encountered at a high level in old registers and documents. An interpretation of the Swiss researcher Oliver Jens Schmitt, who writes that in science it is indisputable that the bearers of an Albanian name belong to the Albanian language group while the bearer of a Slavic name does not necessarily have to be ethnically such as well,¹¹⁹ is quite relevant here. In addition, as one of the reasons that Albanians accepted Slavic names, for the historian Schmitt, was the common attendance of Orthodox churches, where the baptismal names crossed the linguistic borders from Serbs to Albanians easily.¹²⁰ Something similar was also said by the Albanian historian Pëllumb Xhufi in 1982, who writes that in the entirety of the historical materials there is no evidence of the spread of Albanian names in the neighbouring Balkan

¹¹⁶ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 1974, page 269

¹¹⁷ Константин Лиречек, *Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна књига, Београд, 1952*, p. 390-391; There are even more similar cases where an ethnic Albanian could be hidden behind a Christian name and a patronym of the Slavic form. For example, in a document drawn up by the Dubrovnik authorities in 1388, a Dimitrio Petrović is mentioned who declares himself as “albanensi”. (DAD. *Diversa Noteriae*, Ser. 26, Br.10, fol 17), in 1709 in the village of Ljuta in Kotor a Trifun Vulovic is mentioned who is described with the nickname “arbanas” (Ристо Ковијанић, О Вуку Мицуновићу и племенском умиру. *Историјски Записи*, 1959, бр.2, p.585)

¹¹⁸ Hadžibegić Hamid, Handžić Adem & Kovačević Ešref - *Oblast Brankovića, Opširni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine. Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu. Sarajevo 1972*, p.67, 109, 110.

¹¹⁹ “In science, it is indisputable that the bearers of an Albanian name belong to the Albanian language group. That the bearer of a Slavic name does not necessarily have to be a Slav is shown by the cases when the father bears an Albanian name, while the son bears a Slavic name” (Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Kosova – Histori e shkurtër e një treve qëndrore ballkanike*. Koha, Prishtinë, 2012, pages 106-107)

¹²⁰ Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Kosova – Histori e shkurtër e një treve qëndrore ballkanike*. Koha, Prishtinë, 2012, p. 107

populations, while a reverse process is a documented phenomenon caused by cultural, political, and religious pressure of foreign societies.¹²¹ According to the researcher Selami Pulaha, due to the Slavic dominance or supremacy in the political and religious plane, it would have been much easier for an Albanian to take a Slavic name, than the opposite.¹²² Therefore, in his opinion, it is more or less certain that only the folk Albanian element was hidden under Albanian names.¹²³ In this context, a note by the ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, according to which the Albanians, in the absence of clerics, have often succumbed to the collective pressure of the Orthodox Serbs and on this occasion have also celebrated their holidays and holy days,¹²⁴ seems that, in one way or another, gives the right to researchers Xhufi, Pulaha and *Schmitt* in their findings.¹²⁵ In addition, the phenomenon of the penetration of Slavic names among Albanians cannot be attributed exclusively to the influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church, because Slavic anthroponyms also appear in the Albanian Catholic society, something well noticed by academician Xhufi, who in his interpretation rightly includes also the cultural and political pressure. To document it better, the list of Albanian Catholic emigrants to Zadar, in the 17th century, who, despite the Roman faith, bear names such as *Vuka*, *Stanica*, *Rado*, *Jovan*, *Vladan* and any other similar ones is useful.¹²⁶

The ethnic diversity behind Slavic anthroponyms is also evidenced through the transfer of names of this nature from other cultural groups. Thus, in two Dubrovnik documents of 1284, *Radosclauum Blacus*¹²⁷ and *Ratus Peruosclauich Blacus*,¹²⁸ while a year later, in 1285,

¹²¹ Pëllumb Xhufi, Vështrim mbi popullsinë e qyteteve bregdetare shqiptare. Studime historike, 1982, Nr.4, Akademia e shkencave e RPSSH, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë, 1982. p. 155

¹²² Selami Pulaha, Dëfteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485. Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i historisë. Tiranë 1974, p.32.

¹²³ Idem, p. 32

¹²⁴ „До пре неколико десетина година Арбанаси су немајући свештеника били у многим подлегли утицају православних Срба, те су држали српске славе и празнике“ (Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 223).

¹²⁵ A record by the Ottoman chronicler Evlia Çelebi, in the middle of the 17th century, may also be relevant here. According to him, in the city of Skopje, the Latin society was obliged to perform religious ceremonies in Serbian churches, in the absence of Roman ones. Although his record does not specifically mention Albanians, but refers to the entire Catholic community, it still constitutes an analogous example, which narrates the supremacy of the Serbian church over other faiths in the central Balkans. Despite the fact that the narrative is related to Skopje, it is understandable that a similar situation may have existed in other parts, including the Montenegrin area. For more information, see: Evlia Çelebi, Shqipëria 350 vjet më parë. Horizont, Tiranë, 2000, p.125; The pressure on churches, servants and the Catholic hierarchy is also understood in Stefan Dushan's code. (Стојан Новаковић, Законик Стефана Душана. Државна Штампарија, Београд, 1898, , p.13)

¹²⁶ Tullio Erber, Albanska kolonija Arbanasa pored Zadra, Zadar, 2015, p. 19, 30.

¹²⁷ DAD, Diversa Cancellariae, Ser.25, Br.2, God. 1284-1286, p.38.

*Borrisclai Blachi*¹²⁹ are mentioned. The description as Vlachs makes their ethnicity clear, although the names *Radoslav*, *Peroslav*, and *Borislav* are anthroponyms of Slavic culture. However, these are not isolated cases and such examples were found in later documents as well. For example, in the population and property register, statistical material drawn up by the Ottoman administration for the Sanjak of Herzegovina in 1477, in the region of Rovca, individuals with Slavic names such as Vuk and Bogdan were encountered, but described as children of *Vlachs*.¹³⁰ Less than half a century later, in 1523, in the Montenegrin village of Građani, a man is called *Stojko Grk*,¹³¹ where despite the Slavic anthroponization, his surname suggests that he may have belonged to a completely different ethnic group. According to written sources, Slavic names and patronymics were also borne by members of the Germanic colony, known as Sas, in Brskovo during its prominence, in the 14th century.¹³² The fact that the anthroponyms that came with a ruling force do not reflect ethnic reality¹³³ is evident even in the last five centuries, when a part of the Balkan society began to use Ottoman names without being ethnically such. Montenegrin society is also included here, where the Serbian philologist Vuk Stefanov Karadžić, counts cases such as *Mustafa Vuksanović*, *Murat Vuković*, *Ramo Lazarević*, *Hasan Kezunov* and others.¹³⁴

Another issue that can sometimes serve as a source of confusion has to do with the universal names of the Christian nature that appeared in old documents depending on the ethnic affiliation of the notary who wrote them. According to the Balkan researcher Risto Kovijanić, when the notary wrote in Latin, the name *Pavle* was recorded as *Paulus*, and he gives an example when *Pavle Milijević* from *Čeklići*, in a document, was recorded as *Paulus Milievich*.¹³⁵ On this point, Kovijanić may be right, but this standard should also apply in the case of Christian

¹²⁸ DAD, Diversa Cancellariae, Ser.25, Br.2, God. 1284-1286, p. 42

¹²⁹ DAD, Diversa Cancellariae, Ser.25, Br.2, God. 1284-1286, p.45

¹³⁰ Бранислав Ђурђев, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, p. 73

¹³¹ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića. Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 130

¹³² Михаило Динић, За историју рударства у средњовековној Србији и Босни. Српска Академија Наука. Посебна издања, Књига ССXL, Одељење друштвених наука, Књига 14, Београд 1955, page 11

¹³³ Selami Pulaha, Kërkime shkencore për periudhën mesjetare osmane në Shqipëri Shek. XV – fillimi i shek. XIX. Studime historike, 1982, Nr.1, Akademia e shkencave e RPSSH, Instituti i historisë, p. 131

¹³⁴ Вук Стефанов Караџић, Етнографски списи о Црној Цори. Просвета – Нолит, Београд, 1985

¹³⁵ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek. Knjiga I. Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 183

names, which were handled by notaries of the Slavic language. If the notaries of Latin documents treated the name *Pavle as Paulus*, then also the Slavic notaries may have written the name Pal of the Albanians as Pavle, giving the Serbian nuance to the anthroponymy. Especially when you take into account the information that in the cities near the coast line such as Shkodra or Kotor, Serbian officials served alongside the Latin notaries, who performed, among other things, the duty of interpreters for the rectors and their people.¹³⁶ Therefore, based on all the data presented above, the Albanian component in the Montenegrin territory cannot be located only in those bloodlines where the authentic names in Albanian language appeared, but it can be assumed, of course if there is complementary data, also in the Slavic and Biblic names which a Slavic notary may have adapted to his own language.¹³⁷

1.4 Old documents, descriptions, and reports

After Byzantine documents of the 11th century, in the volume of the oldest documents related to the history of the Albanians, appears the medieval charter of the Serbian king Stefan Nemanja, which is believed to have been created in 1198.¹³⁸ Born in the former village of Ribnica,¹³⁹ which a part of the Balkan authors locate with today's Podgorica, baptized as a Catholic and later converted to Orthodoxy,¹⁴⁰ the founder of one of the largest Serbian dynasties, writes that he had taken under rule *Pilot* from the Albanians (*a od arbanas Pilot*).¹⁴¹ In science, there have been no contradictions for this notion and territory. It is about the

¹³⁶ „ У канцеларијама Скадра и Котора, поред латинских нотара, био је запослен и по један српски писар, који је страном ректору и његовим људима служио и као тумач (Иван Боћић, Зета у депспотовини. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том II, Титоград, page 257)

¹³⁷ For example: Pjetër in Petar, Gjergj in Đurađ, Ndre in Andrija, Dhimitër in Dimitrij, Shtjefën in Stjepan, etc.

¹³⁸ Ludovicus de Thalloczy, Constatinus Jireček & Emilianus de Sufflay, Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis, Volumen 1, Vindobonae MCMXIII. Drejtoria e përgjithshme e arkivave & Revista Ekskluzive, Tiranë-Prishtinë 2002, page 37

¹³⁹ Константин Лиречек, Историја Срба, Прва књига до 1537 године, Политичка Историја. Народна Књига, Београд, 1952, page 148.

¹⁴⁰ Милош Благојевић, Србија у доба Немањића. Београд 1989, page 35. * According to the reseracher Blagojević, the birth of Stefan Nemanja most likely happened after the death of the *župan* Vukan (around 1112), at the time when his father Zavida and his family, were temporarily sheltered in the territory of old Dukla. The records say that he was baptized in the Latin ritual because at that time there were no priests of the Eastern Church in Zeta. After their return to Ras, Stefan Nemanja converted to Orthodoxy, in the “Sv.Petra i Pavla” church, which still exists today. (Idem, page 35);

¹⁴¹ Franc Miklosich, Monumenta Serbica, Historiam Serbiae Bosnae Ragusii. Viennae 1858, page 4.

mountainous region of Pult, which in the late Middle Ages meant a much wider geographical area compared to what this notion means in the present time.¹⁴² According to the Serbian researcher Gavro Škrivanić, the Pult region stretched from Mount Koritnik in the east, rose through the Has to the upper course of the river Valbona, then the boundary approached the mountainous depths below Selca, descended above Koplik from where, through a vertical line, it closed in the lower course of the river Gjadër.¹⁴³ With some eventual exception,¹⁴⁴ the boundaries given by the researcher Škrivanić seem relatively accurate, have documentary basis, thus until now, his hypothesis remains the most accepted in the science.¹⁴⁵

The document mentioned above, drawn up by the chancellery of one of the most powerful Balkan feudal lords, is one of the most convincing arguments, which define the aforementioned region as the habitat of Albanians since the twelfth century. In the context of the topic, this note is quite relevant as it serves enough to document the early dominance of Albanians in a territory from which, centuries later, some bloodlines would gravitate towards the present-day Montenegrin depths. However, to avoid any eventual confusion, it must be said that the boundaries of Pult do not correspond to the end of the Albanians' presence, since the preserved data speak of an even more upper presence. Thus, in a document from the year 1278, it is said that the commercial caravans that started from Brskovo towards Kotor were disturbed by the Albanian communities during the journey.¹⁴⁶ The first interpretations of this document produced incorrect hypotheses in science, and this is due to the uncertainty about the extent of Brskovo.¹⁴⁷ However, with the pinpointed location of this centre, in addition to

¹⁴² Today, Pult represents a rather shrunken territory, near Drisht.

¹⁴³ Гавро Шкриванић, Област средњовековног Пилота у XIV ст. Историски Часопис, Српска Академија Наука, Књига VII, Београд 1957, page 329

¹⁴⁴ Of its definition only the northwest side is uncertain. According to him, on this side the boundary extended to Kuševo, a village that appears in old Serbian documents as part of Zeta. However, the localisation that Škrivanić does for this settlement, equating it with the current settlement of Kushe south of Hoti, may be doubtful, since it seems more likely that the old Kuševo is the village of Kshevo (srb.Krševo) near Dinoshia.

¹⁴⁵ His theory on the extent of the Pult is unequivocally accepted by Ivan Vožić (Иван Божић, Албанија и Арбанаси у XIII, XIV и XV веку. Глас CCCXXXVIII. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Београд 1983, р. 12); Also by Oliver Jens Schmitt (Oliver Jens Schmitt, Arbëria Venedike 1392-1479, Fjala Publishing, р. 48-49).

¹⁴⁶ Грегор Цремошник, Историјски споменици дубровачког архива. Серија трећа, Свеска 1, Канцеларијски и нотарски списи 1278-1301. Српска краљевска академија. Зборник за историју, језик и књижевност српског народа. Београд, 1932, р.17; Иван С. Јатребов, Стара Србија и Албанија. Службени Гласник, 2020, page 52

¹⁴⁷ Čedomil Mijatović wrote that the area where Brskovo may have been located is likely to be the village of Beri, a settlement on the western side of Podgorica (Љубомир Ковачевић. Трг Брсково и жупе брсковска и

getting rid of the scientific discourse unstable assumptions,¹⁴⁸ at the same time, new circumstances were created for a more objective reading of the document mentioned above. In this context, the attention was shifted to the determination of the road arteries, which sent from one centre to another, a process which was based, in addition to the data, on the natural possibilities, that is, the configuration of the terrain. In spite of some superficial differences, the scientific authorities involved in the debate assumed that the channels of communication between Brskovo and Kotor penetrated, to a dominant degree, through the tribal regions of *Rovca*, *Morača* and *Stara Crna Gora*¹⁴⁹ in which the old pre-Slavic society took on a different ethnic colour.

Four years later, the Albanians appeared again, this time in the old documents of Dubrovnik. Within a report describing a violation of the law, dated 14 July 1284, are mentioned some robbers who had robbed a vineyard in the village of Belen.¹⁵⁰ According to the record, a man named *Milošlav*, together with his sons, Jon and Nicola, described as *albanenses*, were captured and taken to the authorities, while his other son, named *Metuetus*, had managed to escape. According to the witnesses, cries were heard in the Albanian language (*lingua albanesca*)¹⁵¹ during the captivity. A few years later, in 1300, in the southern part of Herzegovina appears the Burmazi bloodline, an old community whose name, according to Konstantin Jireček, also supported by other researchers, derives from the connection of the two

љубовићска. Глас XXX, Српска Краљевска Академија, Београд 1891, page 3); Pavel Šafarik explicitly suggested the area between the plain of Peja and Zeta (ibid., p.3); Stojan Novaković and Konstantin Jireček assumed the district of Plav (Иван С. Јатребов, Стара Србија и Албанија. Службени Гласник, 2020. page 52); Jireček corrected this opinion later, aligning himself with the opinion talking about the district of Kolašin near the Tara river. (Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба, Прва књига до 1537 године – Политичка Историја. Народна Књига, Београд 1952, page 270); However, with the discovery of the ruins of the city, six kilometers east of today's Mojkovci, the location is considered a closed debate. (Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore – A-Crn, Vijesti, 2006, p.172)

¹⁴⁸ One of them is that of the Russian ethnographer Ivan Jastrebov, who, in order to relocate the northern border of the Albanians as close as possible to the flow of the Drin, tried to locate Brskovo above Prizren, from where the route of the road to Kotor would penetrate through the heights of Dukagjini (Иван С. Јатребов, Стара Србија и Албанија. Службени Гласник, 2020. page 52-53)

¹⁴⁹ Гавро Шкриванић. Путеви у средњовековној Србији. Туристичка Штампa, Београд 1974, pages 64-66; Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 61

¹⁵⁰ Today the village of Plat on the outskirts of Dubrovnik

¹⁵¹ DAD. Diversa Cancellariae, Ser.25. Br.2. God.1284-1286. F.110v-111.

Albanian words *burrë (man)* and *madh (big)*.¹⁵² On their ethnic nature also speaks an inscription carved on a cross, found in the early settlements of this community by Jefto Dedijer, where a Petar Zot is mentioned, whose surname, apart from being without the characteristic Slavic suffix, is a word from the Albanian language lexicon.¹⁵³ Without delving into the history of their presence there, the overlapping appearance of Albanians around Dubrovnik creates a precondition for assuming that in today's Montenegrin territory, such communities may have existed in much larger numbers. Among the basic reasons for raising such an assumption, is the greater geographical proximity to the current Albanian environment. Another indicator of the presence of the Albanians on the boundaries of Pult is the village of Arbanasi in Riječka Nahija, which appears in the charters of the Serbian heads since 1297.¹⁵⁴ Since the first mention, it almost never corresponds with the date of establishment of the settlements of this type, then it is very likely that it was there at the time of the drafting of the document by Stefan Nemanja.

The presence of Albanians in the present-day Montenegrin depths is also found in the documents of the following century. In another charter of the Serbian king Milutin, addressed to the monastery of Rotec at the beginning of the 14th century, Vladislav Jonima appears under the title of župan, to whom the Pope in 1319 addressed as *Dioclee et Maritime Albanie comiti*.¹⁵⁵ Based on the existing data, the Jonima family was part of the community of Albanian feudal dynasties who were mentioned as vassals of Dhimitër Progon as early as the 13th century. Although their possessions extended north of Lezha, it seems that some of their branches may have moved north. Meanwhile, in 1333, a *Bardogna Rigic* is mentioned as the

¹⁵² „Име пастирске општине Бурмази или Бурмазовићи у столачком срезу у Херцеговини, које се спомиње од 1300, изведено је од арбанашког имена Бурмаз (велики човек).“ (Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба, Прва књига до 1537 године – Политичка Историја. Народна Књига, Београд 1952, р.85); Dragomir Vujičić, Mikrotoponimija Hercegovackih Burmaza. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Radovi XXXVIII, Odeljenje društvenih nauka – Knjiga 13, Sarajevo 1970, page 213; Selami Pulaha, Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shek. XV-XVI, Akademia e shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë – Instituti i Historisë. Shtëpia botuese 8 Nentori, page 13.

¹⁵³ Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, p.63; Perhaps from the name of the Illyrian god Anzotika preserved among the Albanians in the shortened form Zot (it *dio, en.god, hr.bog*)

¹⁵⁴ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 121. *About the village of Arbanasi and Riječka Nahija will be discussed in more detail later.

¹⁵⁵ Сима Ћирковић, Зета у државу Немањића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, том први, Редакција за Црну Гору, Титоград, 1970, р.66-67; Иван Божић Ivan Božić, Албанија и Арбанаси у XIII, XIV и XV веку. Глас СССРXXXVIII. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Београд 1983, page 35

supervisor of the monastery of Rotec, whose ruins can still be seen north of Bar. (*Bardogna Rigic homo sancta Marie de Rotec*),¹⁵⁶ who judging from the name has a chance to have been Albanian. According to researcher Konstantin Jireček, the name Bardonja derives from the Albanian word Bardh and as such is considered an Albanian anthroponym.¹⁵⁷ Then, in the charter of the Serbian feudal lord Stefan Dušan, which is believed to have been written in 1349, the latter, according to the Serbian researcher Ivan Božić, identifies the current Montenegrin coast with Albania (*...vseh srpskih i grckih i primorskih zemlj, rekuze Alvaniji, i zapadnoj strane i velikomu disu..*).¹⁵⁸ Whereas, in the second half of the 14th century, documentary sources say that the coastal city of Budva was ruled by Nichola Zakaria, who was also known by the surname Sakati, after his village near Danjo.¹⁵⁹ Also, in the documents of the Paštrovići region (*Paštrovske Isprave*), between the 13th and 14th centuries, anthroponyms of a non-Slavic nature are distinguished, which the researcher Jovan Vukmanović describes as Albanian or Vlach.¹⁶⁰

The pre-Slavic component in today's Montenegrin territory also appears in the materials that trace or relate to the aristocracy of Zeta, more precisely to one of the most mentioned feudal families during the 14th and 15th centuries, Crnojevići, who also appear through the appellative *Giurazy*¹⁶¹ or *Jurassevic*¹⁶² (*sl.Đurašević*). In January of 1396, the representatives of the city of Kotor had expressed their plea to the authorities of the Republic of Venice, that the latter take the city under administration, with the reasoning that if this was not achieved, then Kotor should be subjugated to the Albanians, Serbs or Ottomans (*aut Albanensibus, aut Sclavis, aut Turcis*).¹⁶³ According to the researcher Božić, while the Kotorans at that time were

¹⁵⁶ Risto Kovijanić – Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vek, Kniga I, Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, p.125

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 125; Eqrem Çabej writes that there is an analogy between this anthroponym and Illyrian names such as Bardus and Bardyllium. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime gjuhësore IV, Botim i dyte. Rilindja, Prishtinë 1987, p.201)

¹⁵⁸ Иван Божић, Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, p.138, footnote 2

¹⁵⁹ Сима Ћирковић. Доба Балшића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград 1970, p.22

¹⁶⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, p.63

¹⁶¹ “.....*de li formenti et altri danni e guasti facti si per la vignuta del primo exercito vene chon voyvoda Altomano e cum tuti Zernoievichi chiamadi Gurasy..*” (Sime Ljubić, Listine o odnošajih izmedju Južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke Republike, Knjiga IX, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb 1890, page 303)

¹⁶² Pëllumb Xhufi, Brda apo Bardha?, Kosova, Instituti i historise Ali Hadri, nr.46, Prishtinë 2021, page 45

¹⁶³ Иван Божић, Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, page 137

threatened by Radić Crnojević, Sandalj Hranić and the Ottoman military units, it is more than clear that they defined the first as an Albanian, while the Bosnian nobleman *Sandalj Hranić* as a Serb (С обзиром на опасности које су тада предиле граду, Которани су под Арбанасима мислили на Црнојевиће, а под србима на Храниће).¹⁶⁴ Within this document, it seems clear that it is about the ethnic definition, since alongside Albanians, Slavs and Turks are also mentioned as communities, so it cannot be assumed that there is any confusion of notions. Seven years later, that is, in 1403, the senate of Venice had ordered to consider the possibility *of negotiating with the Jurassevichs and other Albanians (possendi tractare cum Jurassevich et aliis Albanensibus)*.¹⁶⁵ Meanwhile, in another document, dated 26 February 1461, Stefan Vukčić Kosača, a feudal lord from Bosnia, also known as Herceg Stefan, warns the Venetian authorities about Stefan Crnojević's Albanian customs (*et alhora avisi vostra serenita de li suoi costume albaneschi*).¹⁶⁶ The latter, according to written sources, had three sons, Ivan, Božidar and Andrea,¹⁶⁷ who was known among the people with the pseudonym the *brave Albanian*.¹⁶⁸ Contrary to other sources, for the Russian researcher of the nineteenth century, Pavel Apolonović Rovinski, Stefan's third son was called *Đorđe Arbanas*, while the name Andrea is not mentioned in the discussion.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, the appearance of the Albanian anthroponym Lesh

¹⁶⁴ Иван Божић, Немирно поморје XV века, Београд 1979, page 4; Иван Божић, Зета између турака и млећана. Доба Балшића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том II, Титоград 1970, page 64; Unlike Ivan Božić, the other researcher Vjekoslav Klaić, expresses himself in a more indirect way. In one of his papers from 1881, it is said that in 1391 Kotor had a hard time facing the violence of Zeta's feudal lords, while later he writes that the city was threatened by Albanians, Slavs, and Turks. Here it is clear that Klaić could not have considered the Turks as dynasts of Zeta, as well as the Hranić community, which due to their first habitat and political possessions, could not be identified as Zeta's nobility. For more information, see: Vjekoslav Klaić - Zemljopis zemalja u kojih obitavaju Hrvati. Zagreb 1881, page 255

¹⁶⁵ Pëllumb Xhufi, Brda apo Bardha?, Kosova, Instituti i historise Ali Hadri, nr.46, Prishtinë 2021, page 84

¹⁶⁶ Sime Ljubić, Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke Republike, Knjiga X, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, page 167; See also: Иван Божић, Владавида Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, p. 285

¹⁶⁷ Johan Georg von Hahn, Studime shqiptare, Instituti i dialogut dhe komunikimit, page 468

¹⁶⁸ Симеон Милутиновић, Историја Црне Горе од искона до новијег времена. Београд 1835, page 2. According to Simeon Milutinović, Stefan Crnojević had only two children, Ivan and Avram, whom the people called "*hrabri arvanit*". (ibid., p.2); "*Iza Stefana ostanu tri sina: Ivan, Božidar i Andrija, koji se zva o Arvanit hrabri*". (Вук Караџић. Црна Гора и Црногорци. Обод, Цетиње 1975, page 31)

¹⁶⁹ „Иванбег 1481 године, међутим, од Турака отима Жабљак. Сљедеће године Турци поново опсиједају Жабљак, али се он добро држао. Иванбег се обраћа Венецијанима за помоћ, али му они одговарају да не желе да нарушавају трговачки уговор који су склопили са Бајазитом II. Тада Иванбег напушта Жабљак, спаливши га претходно, залази дубоко у брда и утврђује се у уској долини Ободске ријеке. Затим је пошао у Италију да тражи помоћ, оставивши свога брата Ђорђа Арванита, који је одбијао Турке до Ивановог

(Lješ) to one of the leaders of this dynasty,¹⁷⁰ is an additional, albeit indirect, clue in this context.

In the first part of the 20th century, the Serbian ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, during his works on Montenegrin ethnography, had recorded a tradition in the Catholic Albanian village of Bekaj in Trieš, who believed that their male line went back to the feudal lord Ivan Crnojević.¹⁷¹ In almost the same period of time, Pavel Apolonović Rovinski spoke about the existence of a memory rooted in the collective Albanian-Montenegro memory, according to which the population of the village of Bushat in the south of Shkodra could be the bloodline descendants of the Crnojević dynasty.¹⁷² A similar story was also transmitted by Dom Gaspër Gurakuqi in the first part of the twentieth century, in his work on the tribes and dioceses of the north, a story which he himself believes.¹⁷³ However, this tradition does not seem to have been formed recently, as it also appears in the works of the Serbian ethnographer Vuk Karadzić as of 1837,¹⁷⁴ that is, at the time when the power of the Bushatliu dynasty had just expired. Although claims of this type should be viewed with great reservations,¹⁷⁵ because they may have been built by the logic of inter-tribal competition and the dynasties of the time, the important thing

повратка. Ђорђе Арванит ускоро умире, не оставивши мушког наслѣдника.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Црна Гора у прошлости и садашњости. Том 1, Географска-историја, Централна Народна Библиотека „Ђорђе Црнојевић“ – Цетинје, Издавачки Центар Цетинје, Издавачка Књижарница Зорана Станојевића Ср. Карловци, Нови Сад 1993, page 317)

¹⁷⁰ Božidar Šekularac, Crnojevići u izvornoj gradji. Radovi sa skupa “Crnojevići – značaj za crnogorsku državu i kulturu”. Matica Crnogorska. Cetinje-Podgorica 2016, page 33; Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба. Друга књига, Културна Историја, Београд 1952, page 391

¹⁷¹ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери, Народна библиотека Радослав Љумовић, Подгорица 1997, page 122

¹⁷² „Породица Бушатлија, који и сада живе у Бушатима код Скадра, а од којих једна породица шиви у Улцињу, врло одређено чува предање да води поријекло од Станише. Ослањајући се на то, и страшни Кара Махмут (крајем прошлог вијека) показао је своје претензије на Црну Гору“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Црна Гора у прошлости и садашњости. Том 1, Географска-историја, Централна Народна Библиотека „Ђорђе Црнојевић“ – Цетинје, Издавачки Центар Цетинје, Издавачка Књижарница Зорана Станојевића Ср. Карловци, Нови Сад 1993, page 360)

¹⁷³ Dom Gasper Gurakuqi, Fiset e veriut dhe Dioqezat. Pakti, Tiranë 2019, pages 31-33

¹⁷⁴ Вук Караџић. Црна Гора и Црногорци. Обод, Цетинје 1975, page 39

¹⁷⁵ The Albanian researcher Stavri Naçi opposes this theory. According to him, the Bushatliu dynasty was nothing less than one of the oldest families of Shkodra, therefore a feudal community of the pre-Ottoman era. (Stavri Naçi, Pashallëku i Shkodrës nën sundimin e Bushatllijve 1757-1796. Universiteti shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe Gjuhësisë. Tiranë 1964, p.60-65); Then, the narrative of the origin of the Bushatlis from the Crnojevićs, seems not to be the only theory preserved in the Albanian collective memory, since the linguist Çabej also speaks of another narrative, that the Bushatliu dynasty derives its origin from the region of Luma, to be more precise from Bushati of Bicaj. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes II, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p.393)

is that the Albanians, it seems, have not nurtured foreign feelings towards this feudal line. Whereas, if the above legend is taken for granted, then it constitutes a complementary argument towards the non-Slavic source of this dynasty, since, as in today's Bushat and in Triesh, at least in the last four centuries, no other type of people is known to have lived except for Albanians.¹⁷⁶ Beyond that, the fact that the Crnojević community originally came from a territory where Albanians appear consistently is a solid reason to review in more detail the option of their descent from non-Slavic societies of early Zeta. There are many possibilities that based on these data, Sima Ćirković aligns the aforementioned family in the group of feudal communities where the Albanian-Vlach component is distinguished.¹⁷⁷ Although, this is not the first opinion in science in this context. About two centuries ago, Jacob Philipp Falmerayer (1790-1861), a very authoritative German researcher, aligns the ethnic source of the Crnojevići dynasty with the Albanians.¹⁷⁸ While the British anthropologist, who had spent part of her life among the Montenegrin settlements, Edith Durham, wrote that they were, at least, partially, Albanians.¹⁷⁹

Regarding the ethnic core of the Crnojevići nobility, although quite indirectly, speaks a document dated 7 April 1556, where an heir of this feudal line addresses King Ferdinand, signing himself as *Mihailo Crnojević* from Macedonia.¹⁸⁰ Information is relevant here that the geographical notion that is mentioned on this occasion, at the end of the Middle Ages and in the first centuries of the new era, often appears as a parallel name for the Albanian

¹⁷⁶ Informant: Palokë Zefi Nicaj from the village of Arza in the region of Hoti. Born on 28.09.1953. Interview conducted on 02.09.2023, in Tuz, Republic of Montenegro.

¹⁷⁷ „Примери неких истакнутих родова, као што су били Балшићи, затим Калођурђовићи – Црнојевићи, Мазареки, Спани, показују да је пут друштвених успона био отворен и влашком и арбанашком елементу.“ (Сима Ћирковић, Срби у средњем веку. ИДЕА, Београд 1995, page 197)

¹⁷⁸ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Црна Гора у прошлости и садашњости. Том 1, Географска-историја, Централна Народна Библиотека „Ђурђе Црнојевић“ – Цетинје, Издавачки Центар Цетинје, Издавачка Књижевница Зорана Станојевића Ср. Карловци, Нови Сад 1993, page 525

¹⁷⁹ Edith Durham, *Per fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG. Tirane 2019, page 53

¹⁸⁰ Вук Винавер, Један потомак Црнојевића, Историјски Записи, 1953, Књига 1, Историјски Институт Университета Црне Горе, Подгорица, page 212; According to Vuk Vinaver, Mihailo Crnojević, in the second half of the 16th century, played an important role in the diplomatic life of Europe, especially in relation to Austria, Venice and the Ottoman Empire. He seems to be derived from an early branch from Zeta to Venice. During the years 1561-1563, he is mentioned as a close and important person of the Venetian ambassador in the Ottoman state, while before this period it is known that he was on duty in the Levant. (Ibid., page 211)

environment.¹⁸¹ Thus, in a document drawn up in Rome, in the second half of the 15th century, the territory populated by Albanians is described as *Macedoniam sive Albaniam*.¹⁸² About half a century later, in the work of Marin Barleti, published in Venice in 1504,¹⁸³ in which the Ottoman siege of Shkodra is dealt with, it is clarified that the appellative Macedonia in the language of the people was used as a synonym for Albania (Arbëria) because the inhabitants communicated to a dominant degree in Albanian language.¹⁸⁴ According to the Albanian priest, its territory stretched from Risan above Kotor, to some extent near today's Ioannina, whereas on the eastern side it was closed by the regions of Thessalia, Magnesia and Pelagonia,¹⁸⁵ more or less within an area where the presence of Albanians is also documented by medieval written sources. For example, in the Ottoman register of 1445, out of 66 inhabited localities within the district of Kostur (*Greek: Kastoria*), in 38 of them anthroponyms appear in Albanian; whereas in the defter of 1468, out of 143 villages of Manastir (*Slavic: Bitola*), in 96 of them the presence of Albanians is distinguished through personal names or ethnonyms,¹⁸⁶ always without including biblical names, the use of which cannot be limited to a Balkan ethnicity. Therefore, Barleti, with the description of the linguistic area of Albanian language, always referring to the circumstances of his time, does not seem to provide wrong information, although in some remote parts of his Macedonia, the issue of the dominance of Albanian language should be taken with caution. However, about half a century later, on 12 April 1552, in *Podole*, Poland, a bloodline called *Dukadzinowicze* (Dukagjini) appears, consisting of four brothers named *Lucas*,

¹⁸¹ Injac Zamputi, *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë (1623-1653)*. Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica. St.Gallen-Prishtinë 2015, page 547; Павел Аполоновић Ровински, *Црна Гора у прошлости и садашњости*. Том 1, Географска-историја, Централна Народна Библиотека „Ђурђе Црнојевић“ – Цетинје, Издавачки Центар Цетинје, Издавачка Књижарница Зорана Станојевића Ср. Карловци, Нови Сад 1993, page 360.

¹⁸² Јован Радонић, *Ђурађ Кастриот Скендербег и Арбанија у XV веку*. Српска Краљевска Академија. Споменик ХCV, Београд 1942, page 129

¹⁸³ Marin Barleti, *Rrethimi i Shkodrës*. Rilindja, Redaksia e botimeve, Prishtinë 1989, p.6

¹⁸⁴ Marin Barleti, *Rrethimi i Shkodrës*. Rilindja, Redaksia e botimeve, Prishtinë 1989, p.32

¹⁸⁵ Marin Barleti, *Rrethimi i Shkodrës*. Rilindja, Redaksia e botimeve, Prishtinë 1989, p.32; In this case, it should not be understood that in each region within this territory, Albanian was dominant.

¹⁸⁶ Методија Соколоски, *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*. Опширни пописни дефтери од XV век. Архив на Македонија. Скопје 1973, p. 71-122, 141-269; Within these villages, in most of them, the personal names in Albanian do not constitute the majority, but they still express an extension of the Albanians there, while due to the religious names, the question of the proportion between the ethnic groups remains open.

Petrus, Georgius and *Joanes*, who are described as *Macedones de terries Greciae*.¹⁸⁷ Due to the fact that within this record, the aforementioned community is listed as orthodox (*religionis et ritus Graeci*),¹⁸⁸ it is possible that the notion *Macedones* may have been used as an ethnonym, while *terries Greciae* as a definition for the orthodox environment. Then, in the first part of the 17th century, in the report of the cleric Mark Skura, addressed to the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* on the visit made among several dioceses, Durrës is described as a fortress on the seashore, inside Macedonia.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, in 1638, a group of clerics and secular priests, during a testimony on the parishes of Mirdita, described the village of Lis near Burrel as a settlement in Lower Macedonia.¹⁹⁰ Meanwhile, the Ragusan nobleman, also a monk of Saint Benedict, called Tuberone Cerva (1458-1527), in his summary in Latin on the origin of the Turks, describes the Albanians and the old Macedonians as one people.¹⁹¹ In this context, the selection of this rather complex notion for identification by Mihailo Crnojević, before other clearer notions which coexisted in parallel, constitutes a rather tangled knot regarding the origin of the dynasty under discussion.

Written materials that indirectly or directly contain information on the presence of pre-Slavic human elements in some of the present-day Montenegrin regions were also found in later periods of time. Initially, it is a document from the year 1611, which talks about *gli Albanesi di Montenegro*,¹⁹² respectively about Albanians in a narrow territory, which in Balkan literature is known as the old Montenegrin core (*Stara Crna Gora*). A few years later, in *Father*

¹⁸⁷ Гжегож Јавор, Балкански имигранти у Пољској XVI века. Случај браће Дукађиновића, власника града Уланова на Подољу. Историјски Часопис, Књига LXVI, Историјски Институт, Београд 2017, p.265.

¹⁸⁸ "*Quia nobilis Lucas, Petrus. Georgius, Joannes Dukadzinoëicze, Macedonis de terries Greciae, religionis et ritus Graeci Christiani, Turcum immanissemum Christiane nominis hostes fugiens Tirrani Denique eius exosi*". (Гжегож Јавор, Балкански имигранти у Пољској XVI века. Случај браће Дукађиновића, власника града Уланова на Подољу. Историјски Часопис, Књига LXVI, Историјски Институт, Београд 2017, p.265)

¹⁸⁹ Injac Zamputti, *Dokumente dhe Relacione për Historinë e Shqipërisë 1610-1650*, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, St. Gallen – Prishtinë 2018, page 598

¹⁹⁰ Injac Zamputti, *Dokumente dhe Relacione për Historinë e Shqipërisë 1610-1650*, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, St. Gallen – Prishtinë 2018, page 119; Contrary to this note, the German geographer Philippus Cluverius describes the territory of Upper Albania, which the Ottomans called by the appellative Arnaut, as part of Western Macedonia: "*Albania, Turciis Arnaut, distingvitur in Superiorem, quae Macedoniae Pars occidentali*". (Injac Zamputti, *Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë. Vëllimi II, 1593-1602*. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Instituti i historisë. Tiranë, 1990, p.259)

¹⁹¹ Injac Zamputti, *Dokumente dhe Relacione për Historinë e Shqipërisë 1610-1650*, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, St. Gallen – Prishtinë 2018, page 365

¹⁹² Pëllumb Xhufi, *Brda apo Bardha?*, Kosova, Instituti i historise Ali Hadri, nr.46, Prishtinë 2021, page 85

Giacinto Sospello's report, a summary drawn up in 1652, it is said that the Bjelopavlići, Piperi, Bratonožići and Kuči tribes, due to their special fighting skills, seem to have Albanian blood, and they were even treated as such by the surrounding Albanians.¹⁹³ However, according to him, because they applied the Orthodox Christian rite and spoke in Slavic, they were more Slavs than Albanians.¹⁹⁴ This document is undoubtedly one of the first written materials, where the non-Serbian origin of the communities mentioned above is assumed, while as for the record on their communication in the Slavic language, this most likely stands, but it seems like an incomplete information. Because, based on the existing data that will be presented later, a part of the listed tribal societies, most likely, had a bilingual and bi-confessional character in the corresponding century. In addition, due to the fact that the record of the cleric Sospello does not correspond to the time of the structuring of society on a national basis, consecutively to the establishment of modern nations, the part where the point of view on other Albanians in the vicinity is clarified, constitutes a vital argument on the origin of the tribes Bjelopavlići, Piperi, Bratonožići and Kuči in Montenegrin ethnohistory studies.

2. STARA CRNA GORA (OLD MONTENEGRO)

2.1 Katunska Nahija¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ *"Qui taccio il trattare della Zeta contigua a Sestano, qual'è parte del Montenero del rito serviano a lingua illirica, per non esser annoverata tra la nazione Albanese. Ma favellando delle quatro popolationi de Piperi, Brattonessi, Bielopaulovicchi e Cuchi, li quali per il koro gran valore nell' armi danno segno d'esser del sangue Albanesi e per tali dalli Albanesi sono tenuti".* (Pëllumb Xhufi, *Brda apo Bardha?*, Kosova, Instituti i historise Ali Hadri, nr.46, Prishtinë 2021, page 85-86).

¹⁹⁴ *Idem*, p.86

¹⁹⁵ Katunska Nahija is the main part of the geographic unit Stara Crna Gora, with the largest number of territory and surface area. It is bordered by the districts of Bjelopavlići, Lešanska Nahija and Riječka Nahija, as well as the Bay of Kotor, Grahovo and the plain of Nikšić (Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore, K-Per, Vijesti, Podgorica 2006, page 760). Its territory is mainly stony, rough, and rugged where the heights of Lovćen, Pusti Lisac, Garac and Bijela Gora stand out. It consists of nine tribes which are: Cetinje, Njeguši, Čeklići, Bjelice, Cuce, Ozrinići, Plješivci, Zagarac and Komani (Вук Стефанов Караџић, *Црна Гора и Бока Которска*. Српска Књижевна Задруга. Коло XXIV, Бр. 161, Београд 1922, p.16); According to the description of the extraordinary proveditor of Kotor, Nikolo Erizzos, written on 1 March 1692, this region had 5565 people, of which 1037 were men of war (Injac Zamputi & Selami Pulaha - *Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë*. Vëllimi IV. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë-Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1990, p.403)

Despite the fact that the Slovenian researcher Franc Miklosich looks for the source of the notion *katun* in the Latin word *cantone*, most contemporary linguists reject this assumption, widely supporting the explanation of Norbert Jokl, in whose opinion, this name derives from the word *katund* of the Albanian language lexicon.¹⁹⁶ The aforementioned researcher bases his hypothesis on the possibility of connecting the words *kë* and *tund*, immediately producing an expression which means a temporary, non-static locality, therefore a residence in constant motion.¹⁹⁷ This hypothesis of the Austrian albanologist, although it has been rivalled by opinions that align the etymology of this notion with the Avar, Armenian, Ottoman, Iranian, proto-Bulgarian and Slavic societies,¹⁹⁸ seems to contain a more stable phonetic explanation in determining the origin. However, this scientific debate has not produced an explicit bipolar situation, since it has involved researchers who have taken a more restrained position, such as Maximilian Lambertzi and Carlo Tagliavini, although in the end they lean towards Jokl's explanation, but with reservations.¹⁹⁹ The community of Albanian linguists, to a dominant degree, treats the notion of *katun* outside of borrowings, moreover, they assume its origin from the old Albanian language lexicon. One of the representatives of this line, academician Idriz Ajeti, writes that the origin of the word *katund* is easily explained by means of the historical phonetics of Albanian language, but on the other hand it also fits with the logic of nomadic and pastoral way of life of the old Albanians.²⁰⁰ His interpretation, indirectly, seems to be supported by documentary sources, where a document from 1308 is a concrete example, in which a part of the Albanians was described as a collective organized into tribes, who lived in tents and were on the move from one place to another,²⁰¹ which also coincides with Jokl's explanation.

In parallel with linguistics, in the scientific debate on the ethnic origin of the word *katun*, other auxiliary disciplines in science have been included. The Bosnian ethnologist Branislav Đurdev, in a paper from 1984, states that this notion must be a linguistic remnant of the old Balkan communities and a word of the pre-Slavic culture, which may have penetrated the

¹⁹⁶ Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi Crnogoraca*, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 25; Ivan Popović, *Elemente vendase në fjalorin e gjuhës shqipe*. Përparimi – Revistë kulturore, Nr 2, Prishtinë, 1956, p.80.

¹⁹⁷ Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije albanskog jezika*. Akademija nauka i umetnosti Kosova. Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti. Posebna izdanja. Knjiga 4. Prishtinë 1982, p.131, 151)

¹⁹⁸ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, V, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 62-63

¹⁹⁹ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, V, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 63

²⁰⁰ Idriz Ajeti, *Për historinë e marrëdhënjëve të hershme gjuhësore shqiptare-sllave*. Gjurmime albanologjike, Seria e shkencave filologjike, II-1972, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, pages 37-38.

²⁰¹ Selami Pulaha, *Kontribut për studimin e ngulitjës së katuneve dhe krijimin e fiseve në Shqipërinë e Veriut në shekujt XV-XVI*. Akademia e Shkencave e RPSH. Instituti i historisë. Nr 1, 1975, p. 75-76

Montenegrin population during the Middle Ages as a loan from the Albanians or Vlachs.²⁰² It seems that this opinion is nothing more than a reaffirmation of what Jovan Cvijić had written at the beginning of the twentieth century. According to the latter, the aforementioned word could not be part of the Slavic lexicon, thus suggesting its Illyrian origin.²⁰³ Meanwhile, Špiro Kulišić, who is known among other things as the founder and promoter of the thought on Montenegrin autochthony, treats the word *katun* mainly within the framework of the Illyrian-Thracian lexicon, which, along with words such as *vatra* (hearth), *čuka* (high peaks) or *balega* (dung), has found use in some Slavic groups. also with the mediation of the Albanians.²⁰⁴ As a supplement and in support of the hypothesis, the ethnographer Kulišić calls for help the Venetian records of the 15th and 16th centuries, in which the settlements of the Albanians even in the far south of Morea are described through the notion of *katun*.²⁰⁵ Based on these documents, but also pursuant to other later documents, a comprehensive spreading of the word is understood, that is, its use among all the communities that had Albanian as their first language became clear.²⁰⁶ However, in addition to the scientific authorities listed above, other Balkan and foreign researchers such as Petar Skok,²⁰⁷ Ivan Božić,²⁰⁸ Ami Boue²⁰⁹ and others have been positioned in support of the hypothesis which considers the notion of *katun* as a remnant of the Albanians.

²⁰² Бранислав Ђурђев, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 201

²⁰³ Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije*. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, pages 266-267

²⁰⁴ Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi Crnogoraca*, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 92; Albanian linguists Eqrem Çabej and Idriz Ajeti have supported the Albanian origin of the words “*balega, vatra*” through linguistic arguments. See: Idriz Ajeti, *Për historinë e marrëdhënjëve të hershme gjuhësore shqiptare-sllave. Gjurmime albanologjike*, Seria e shkencave filologjike, II-1972, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, pages 36-38.

²⁰⁵ “Називом катун, још у XV и XVI вијеку, у Мореји се означавају групе Арбанаса, које ступају у венецијанску војничку службу-„ (Шпиро Кулишић, *Трагови архаичне родовске организације и питање Балканско-Словенске симбиозе*. Библиотека Етнолошког друштва Југославије, 5. Београд 1963. Page 77)

²⁰⁶ The word *Katund* appears in 1703 in the documents of the Assembly of Arbën, held in Merqi, Lezha district. (*Kuvendi i Arberit 1703, Botim i veçantë me rastin e 300 vjetorit të Kuvendit të Arbërit*. Drejtues Monsinor Zef Gashi – Kryepeshkv i Tivarit. Botues: Konferenca ipeshkvore Shqiptare – Tiranë 2003, Prishtinë 2003, page, 140, 208, 209); This notion was also used in the colony of the Arbëresh of Zara (Aleksandar Stipčević, *Kultura tradicionale e Arbëreshëve të Zarës*. Instituti albanologjik i Prishtinës. Prishtinë 2012, page 422); The word *Katund* was also recorded in 1774 in the speech of southern Albanians by Johann Thunmann (Johann Thunmann, *Historia dhe gjuha e shqiptarëve dhe vllahëve. Perkthyer nga origjinali Albert Gjoka dhe Frida Vokopola*. Gent Grafik. Tiranë 2018, page 81)

²⁰⁷ “*Balkanska riječ, najverovatnije arbanaskog podrijetla iz oblasti terminologije naselja*” (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga druga, K-Poni. Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb, 1972, p. 64.

²⁰⁸ Ivan Božić sees the linguistic source of the word *Katun* in Albanians or Vlachs (Иван Божић, *Немирно поморје XV века*, Српска Књижевна Задруга, Београд 1979, page 159)

The first data based on which the presence of the Albanian element in Katunska Nahija can be suspected, appeared at the end of the 13th century, initially in a document from the year 1278, when a man is mentioned as *Bardogna de Cocoa de Genta*.²¹⁰ While in the scientific circles the Albanian source of this anthroponym was never contested, the most complicated discussions were produced on the level of the location of the village from which this man was said to have been. Initially, Konstantin Jireček thought it was a locality in the Budva district, but after examining the notarial books of the Kotor court, he corrected his theory, accepting for granted the assumption of researchers Stojan Novaković and Ljubo Jovanović, according to whom the notion of *Cocoa* meant the village of Kčevo²¹¹ in Katunska nahija. However, about fifty years later, the name *Bardogna* appears again within the region, but this time in another settlement called Bostur, whose population, according to Špiro Kulišić, is thought to be of old Balkan origin.²¹² It is about a document drawn up by the chancellery of Kotor, on 7 January 1331, in which two people are mentioned, *Demetri* and *Gostisia*, who are described as children of Bardogne (*Demetrius et Gostisia fratres, filii Bardogne de Bastur*).²¹³

In addition to the examples given so far, proper names in Albanian, or Christian but handled by Albanian language, continue for the entire 14th century within this old Montenegrin unit. Thus, in the documents of 1332, a *Mlados Jonovich Pelesce* appears from the *Čeklići*²¹⁴ tribal community, and a year later *Baroe filius de Gin Clachovich*,²¹⁵ who is thought to have been from the Lovćen²¹⁶ tribe. According to the ethnologist Erdeljanović, this toponym, despite its proximity to the Slavic word *lov*, is more likely to be a linguistic remnant from the old population, as the presence of the Roman and Albanian communities in this territory is

²⁰⁹ "Thus Montenegro, Slavized, was only a settlement of Albanian shepherds, as the name Katounska Naia proves." (Ami Boue, *Shqipëria në Turqinë europiane*. Plejad, Tiranë 2011, page 26)

²¹⁰ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek*. Knjiga I. Istorijiski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 217; Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi Crnogoraca*, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 22

²¹¹ *Ibid*, 217

²¹² Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi Crnogoraca*, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 22

²¹³ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek*. Knjiga I. Istorijiski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 124

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, page 195. *The surname *Peleši* is not uncommon among Albanians in the north of the Republic of Albania.

²¹⁵ Antun Mayer, *Kotorski spomenici*. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337. Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, page 106

²¹⁶ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek*. Knjiga I. Istorijiski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, pages 124-125

sufficiently documented.²¹⁷ Three years later, in 1335, *Gin Grupsich de Strator* from the village of Žanji Do is mentioned, who in the original form within the document is written as *Čagnodol*,²¹⁸ while on 18 December 1398, in the records of the notary of the city of Kotor, a *Gion Medoyevich* from the village of Lopate (*Gion Medoyevich de Lopate*)²¹⁹ is distinguished. However, the anthroponyms listed so far are not the only data in this context, since similar circumstances appear a century later. Thus, on 24 January 1431, again in the village of Čeklići, a person named *Dabisivus Ginovich*²²⁰ appears, until on 9 June 1444, a man named *Lesius Radmanović*, who is described as a resident of the village of Cetinje (*Lesius Radmanovic de Zetine*) is found recorded in the official documents of Kotor.²²¹

With the compilation of population and property registers by the administration of the Ottoman Empire, there is an increased volume of arguments. Thus, in the register of 1521, in *Gornji Komani*, in addition to residents who bear mainly Slavic names, there are also people like *Petar Zogo* and *Nikola Borina*.²²² In the first case, the surname Zogo is in Albanian,²²³ whereas regarding the surname Borina there are two possible interpretations, since its meaning can be derived both from the Albanian language lexicon and from the Slavic language.²²⁴ The ethnic character of this village begins to become clearer, when a *Radosav Srb*²²⁵ appears among those registered, whose surname is understood as an indication that the other residents may not have

²¹⁷ „Нико од стручњака није покушао објаснити име Ловћен. Ма да се талијански каже Monte Sella и ма да је врло привлачно доводити га у везу са српским речима лов и ловити, ипак се чини диста вероватним, да је име Ловћен староседелачко. Овако велика и висока планина, по којој и око које су били многобројни влашки и арбанасшки пастири, могла је лако сачувати своје старо име.“ (Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве, Београд 1978, page 240)

²¹⁸ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek. Knjiga I. Istorijски institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, pages 109-111

²¹⁹ Ibid, 170; Mitar Pesikan considers the name Gjon as an Albanian name. (Митар Пешикан, Зетско-Хумско-Рашка имена. Ономатолошки Прилози III, Београд, 1982, Mitar Pešikan, Zetsko-Humsko-Raska imena. Onomatološki prilozi III, Beograd 1982, page 86)

²²⁰ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek. Knjiga I. Istorijски institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, 196

²²¹ Ibid, 150

²²² Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 22-23.

²²³ Albanian word with Indo-European origin. It appears since 1380 in Bar and Ulcinj as a family name, whereas in Drisht between 1399-1404 in the form Çogho. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes VII, S-ZH, Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 2006, p.300)

²²⁴ The Slavic lexicon provides the word bor as a possibility, while the Albanian expression borë.

²²⁵ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p.23

been Serbs, due to its definition through the aforementioned ethnonym. However, in the same register, in the village of Cuce, among others, the following people were registered: *Latko Don*, *Radelja Don* and *Đujko Don*.²²⁶ To be more clear, Don is a Christian name taken from Albanian, whose version in the Slavic language culture appears in the form Jovan or Ivan.²²⁷

About a century later, in the 1614 report authored by Mariano Bolica, a nobleman from the distinguished class in the city of Kotor, additional information appears which can be indirectly related to the Albanians. Regarding the village of Grahovo, he writes that there are 90 houses of which 20 are Turkish, while the others are Christians from the Serbian ritual (*de christiano di rito servi*). According to researcher Špiro Kulišić, here Bolizza with *rito servi* describes a form of Christian faith, but not necessarily Serbian ethnicity.²²⁸ There are many examples of this phenomenon among documentary sources, when individuals but also tribal groups are described as belonging to the Serbian or Greek faith, and it immediately seems clear that such an expression cannot mean an ethnic definition. Meanwhile, in 1614, the aforementioned official in his letters refers to the population of Kuči as Albanians of the Roman rite and here a comparison is necessary. Since the population of Grahovo is defined according to the religious affiliation *christiano di rito servi*, while in Kuči the description is ethnic *albanessi del rito romano*, it seems that Mariano Bolizza may have had the ethnicity of the first ones unclear. There are many possibilities that the cause is the coexistence of three ethnic elements in that unit, Albanians, Vlachs and Slavic groups, and the easiest definition could have been their common faith. In this context also speaks a record by the Russian researcher Pavel Apolonović Rovinski who describes the old population of Grahovo as quite heterogeneous, that is, a mixture between pre-Slavic societies, communities coming from Herzegovina and a fairly large colony from the region of Kuči.²²⁹

Toponymy is another scientific field where distinguishing signs of the former presence of Albanians in this region appeared. In the settlements populated by the Komani tribal community,

²²⁶ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2. Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 36

²²⁷ Šaban Demiraj –Epiri, Ilirët dhe Shqiptarët. Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, Infbotues, Tiranë 2008, p. 82; Митар Пешикан, Зетско-Хумско-Рашка имена. Ономатолошки Прилози III, Београд, 1982, Mitar Pešikan, Zetsko-Humsko-Raska imena. Onomatološki prilozi III, Beograd 1982, page 86

²²⁸ Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 26. * Špiro Kulišić here writes: “Dakle tek na početku XVII vijeka Bolica označava vjeroispovijest kao srpski obred, što ne znači ujedno i srpsku narodnost.

²²⁹ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, Podgorica 1998, page 39

existing names such as *Gruna*, *Seneza*, *Firza*, *Škale*, *Ćafa*, *Škam*, *Đeđeza* and *Baloči*²³⁰ speak in this context. Moreover, on its southern side also appears the hydronym *Mareza*,²³¹ which, like the base word and the suffix, are part of the Albanian language lexicon. From this place, according to a folk memory collected by Franc Baron Nopcza, comes the Albanian tribe of Koman, which lies below the river Drin,²³² who have preserved the story of their arrival from the Montenegrin territory. By this it is implied that a good part of the old population stratum within Koman in Katunska Nahija, may have moved south to another habitat, which means that most of the current population is hardly related to the first population of the area. This interpretation also corresponds with the Montenegrin collective memory which tells about the dissolution of the old bloodlines and the subsequent repopulation of Koman, from two other bloodlines, Radulovići and Bezdanovići,²³³ which today constitute the dominant majority of the human structure.

In the tribal community of Cetinje, the circumstances on the ground speak more. In the village of Donji Kraj there are the toponyms *Progon Počeka*²³⁴ and *Delje*,²³⁵ where the first was created based on the Albanian name Progon, while Delje is the correct word in Albanian. The settlement Bajice has somewhat more names of this type. *Manino Ždrijelo*, *Krusja Glavica*, *Krusji Dol* and *Ujkov Kabao* appear here. Their alignment with Albanian linguistics was made about a hundred years ago by Jovan Erdeljanović, who writes that *Manino Ždrijelo* may be a source of the name Man that occurs among Albanians, Vlachs and Dalmatian Romans,²³⁶ an interpretation that is also based on the documentary sources. For example, in the Ottoman

²³⁰ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 64; For the word “*Firza*”, the linguist Idriz Ajeti writes that it is definitely an Albanian word and refers to a herb called fern, which in Serbo-Croatian is translated as “*paprat*”. (Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije Albanskog jezika*, Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova, Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti, Knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, page 112); *Đeđeza* is also considered an Albanian toponym by Vasa Ćubrilović (Васа Чубриловић, *Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века*. Београд, 1974, page 63); The words *Grunë*, *Fierza*, *Shkam*, *Qafa*, *Gjegjeza* and *Balloçi* are correct Albanian words. For the latter, see: Abdullah Zymberi, *Leksiku bujqësor e blegtoral i të folmëve shqipe të Malit të Zi*, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1996, page 23; Regarding the notion *Seneza*, it may have been formed according to the word *sendëza*, where in the northern dialect the letter d is usually assimilated. However, these are not the only geographical notions in Koman, which may have been formed according to Albanian. Some other examples are given below, more precisely in the closing part of the discussion on toponymy.

²³¹ Милован П. Пејовић, *Племи Комани – Бандићи, Бездановићи, Радуловићи*. Цетиње 1976, page 31

²³² Franc Nopcza, *Fiset e Malësisë së Shqipërisë Veriore dhe e drejta zakone e tyre*. Eneas. Tiranë 2013, page 228

²³³ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, p. 164

²³⁴ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, p. 241.

²³⁵ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, p.242. **Delje* in the Serbian language would be *Овса*.

²³⁶ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 261. * *Man* until the last thirty years was a name in wide use among the northern Albanians, whereas in the form *Mane*,

demographic materials of the 15th century, this anthroponym appears extensively in the Albanian environment, such as in the village of *Geg të Hotit (Gjini son of Mani)*; in Blanda of Petrišpan (*Nikola son of Mani*); in Buvarza of Skadar (*Gjergj Manesi, Lazar Mane*), in Liqen of Kelmendi (*Petri son of Mane*) and other similar examples.²³⁷ Regarding the other microtoponyms listed above, the Serbian ethnologist states that *Ujkov Kabao* is a memory from an Albanian named Ujk,²³⁸ while for *Krusja Glavica* and *Krusja Dolovi* he gives a broader explanation. According to him, it seems that these two toponyms are from the same source as the village of Kruse or Krusi in Lešanska Nahija, which Konstantin Jireček believes derives from the Albanianized form of the Latin word *crux*.²³⁹ In this case, Erdeljanović, in the form of an argument, draws a parallel between this toponym and the village of Kruse in the north of Ulcinj,²⁴⁰ whose population still speaks Albanian. As for the name of the village of Bajice itself, an interpretation by the researcher Pavel Apolonović is quite important, regarding the name and the old residents who lived there. For him, this toponym does not belong in Slavic linguistics while he alludes to a common etymological source with the name of the settlement Bajze in the east of Shkodra, thus stating that the origin of the first inhabitants of this Montenegrin village is quite doubtful.²⁴¹ The fact that based on collective memory, the Catholic societies from the Albanian region of Šestan, Pekić, Nikđonović and Vukić, are said to have had the village of Bajice as their first habitat may be relevant here.²⁴²

²³⁷ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 126, 150, 393, 431

²³⁸ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, p.263. * Here Erdeljanovic writes: "Придев Ујков ће бити успомена на неког Арбанаса с личним именом од арб. речи ујк (вук)." *Among the Albanians even today there are names of people Ujk and Ujkan*, formed on the basis of the word wolf. According to Eqrem Çabej, this expression is one of the lexical-phonetic arguments for the Illyrian filiation of Albanian, as it also appears in Illyrian onomastics, such as Olcinium in southern Illyria, Ulcianum in Dardania, Ulcirus mons in Dalmatia, etc. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes VII, S-ZH, Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 2006*, p.196-197); In Bajice, the signs of Albanian ethnic culture have not been erased until recently. Here at the end of the nineteenth century appears a man named Prela Stijerov Martinović (Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, pages 249-250) where his anthroponym in Albanian Prelë may have been an inherited element from an older time and generation.

²³⁹ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 263

²⁴⁰ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, p.263. It is about the village of Krythë or Kruçe where the locals are all Albanians.

²⁴¹ „Треба примјетити да и назив Бајице тешко да је српски или уопште славенски, док у Албанији, источно од Скадра, и данас постоји село с тим називом. Зато нам је сумњиво поријекло првих становника овога села.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, *Етнографија Црне Горе*, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 30)

²⁴² Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, p.256

Meanwhile, further south, within the inhabited locality of Bjeloši, the microtoponyms *Gropeza*, *Šura* and *Žurim* are clearly not in Slavic. Regarding the first given case, the linguist Gustav Meyer thinks that the notion *gropa*, which constitutes the essence of this name, is an ancient Albanian word, which later entered as a loan in the Romanian lexicon,²⁴³ a clarification accepted without reservation by Marco la Piana and Eqrem Çabej.²⁴⁴ As for the second microtoponymy (*Šura*), the Croatian albanologist Henrik Barić sees in this notion an old Albanian word, thus excluding the option of borrowing.²⁴⁵ Whereas, regarding the last listed name, it is thought to derive from the word *zhur*, which in Albanian means a fine rock layer in the form of sand.²⁴⁶ According to the linguist Idriz Ajeti, the source of this notion is from Latin, moreover from the word *sabur*, which, through the phonetic rules of Albanian, then turned into *zhur*.²⁴⁷ This means that in order to take the current form, it would necessarily require the mediation of Albanians. However, *Arbanaški Do* and *Škambe* are two other names of places that occur in the villages of *Vrela* and *Ugnji*,²⁴⁸ whereas Andrija Jovičević in his records about Riječka Nahija mentions a *Dinova njiva* in Cetinje as a digression.²⁴⁹

In the settlements and the vast territory of the Cuce tribal community, toponyms of the type *Dinova Strana*, *Dos*, *Šaleza*, *Dinov Do*, *Štek*, *Pretin Do*, *Mušterski Do*, *Pretinska Prisoja*, *Pretiska Ljut*, *Pretinska Prla*, *Lačev Do*, and *Pretinska Lastva*,²⁵⁰ are either entirely, or partially

²⁴³ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, IV, DH-J, Akademia e Shkencave të Republikës së Shqipërisë, Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë, Tiranë 1996, page 292

²⁴⁴ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, IV, DH-J, Akademia e Shkencave të Republikës së Shqipërisë, Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë, Tiranë 1996, page 292-293

²⁴⁵ Henrik Barić, *Нумје në historin e gjuhës shqipe. Shtëpija botuese "Mustafa Bakija", Prishtinë, 1955, p.78*

²⁴⁶ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 275; Today, in the west of Prizren, there is a settlement with this name, entirely inhabited by Albanians, whose relief from the eastern side is fine stone. The researcher Skender Gashi deals with this toponym in the context of Albanian names. (Skender Gashi, *Prania e etnosit shqiptar ne Kosovë gjatë shekujve XIII – XIV në dritën e burimeve kishtarë serbe. Onomastika e Kosovës – Simpozium i mbajtur më 25-27 shkurt 1977. Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës. Prishtinë 1979, p.82*)

²⁴⁷ Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije Albanskog jezika, Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova, Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti, Knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, page 113*

²⁴⁸ Павле Радусиновић, *Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, pages 102 and 317*

²⁴⁹ Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија у Црној Гори, ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 159*

²⁵⁰ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, pages 605-669. Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek. Knjiga I. Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 198.*

in Albanian. For the first five names there is no ambiguity,²⁵¹ while for the others additional explanations are required. Thus, regarding the notion *Pretin*, Erdeljanović writes that the correct form is *Prentin*, making the connection with the names *Prentash*, *Prend* and *Premta*, which according to him are non-Slavic anthroponyms, which are still used today among Albanians.²⁵² In this context, of great importance may be the information that in *Prentin Do*, at least until 1985, alongside other family communities, the *Roganovići* and *Bigovići*²⁵³ bloodlines lived, surnames that resemble the words *rogë* and *bigë* in Albanian. As for the microtoponym *Mušterski Do*, the aforementioned researcher adds that he has not found it as a word anywhere, so nothing Serbian can be related to it.²⁵⁴ On the other hand, in the etymological dictionary of the researcher *Eqrem Çabej*, there is an approximate notion and that is the word *mëshjtjerrë*, which in the dialectal variant, as it appears in the notes of the italo-albanian poet *Giulio Variboba* (1725-1788), often comes out as *mushtjerrë*,²⁵⁵ which is a form even closer to the discussed microtoponym. Considering the difficult geographical configuration of this area, where only livestock had the conditions to develop normally, then such an option has the possibility to hold truth. Whereas, for the toponym *Lačev Do*, although there are authors who have tried to derive its meaning from the anthroponyms *Lakac* or *Vladac*,²⁵⁶ the Albanian word *llaç* seems closer as a source. However, a deeper linguistic study, bearing in mind the phonetic rules that dictate the transition of a word from the Slavic lexicon to Albanian or vice versa, can provide a more detailed explanation regarding the etymological source of the last two microtoponyms.

In addition to the findings that were mentioned above, in *Katunska Nahija* there are other toponyms created based on words very close to Albanian language. Thus, in the village of *Dugi Do*, of the *Njeguši* tribal community, there is the toponym *Kunj*, which has no Slavic origin,²⁵⁷ moreover, according to the Albanian language lexicon, this word has the correct linguistic

²⁵¹ Šaljeza (alb. *Shalëza*, srb. *sedla*), *Dos* (alb. *dosë*, srb. *krmaca*), *Đinova strana* and *Đinov do* from the Albanian name *Gjin*, *Štek* (alb. *Shtek* or *Shteg*, srb. *put*); Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, p. 666-667.

²⁵³ Павле Радусиновић, *Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92*, Београд 1985, page 260

²⁵⁴ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 668

²⁵⁵ *Eqrem Çabej*, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V*. K-M. *Botime Çabej*, Tiranë 2014, page 340

²⁵⁶ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 669

²⁵⁷ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, pages 362 and 400

form.²⁵⁸ Then, in the territory of the Čeklići tribe, in the villages of Vuči Do and Dragomi Do, place names such as *Bunova Jame*, *Brine* and *Ljek appear*.²⁵⁹ The word Bun, although there is a possibility of interpretation through other Balkan languages, among the Albanians of the north means piles of huts or lodges, which create a predominantly pastoral inhabited unit. Brine is from Bri or Brinjë, these standard Albanian words, the use of which is encountered both within Toskeria and in the speech of the northern Gheg Albanians.²⁶⁰ Whereas, as for the third example listed, it most likely derives from the anthroponym Leka, a very widespread human name among Albanians throughout each historical period, which according to the linguistics researcher Shaban Demiraj, is likely to be an abbreviation of the old anthroponym Alexander.²⁶¹

Although the notion of Zagarač, which names a territory within the "region of katuns", in relation to the etymological source is a confusing matter,²⁶² the toponyms and microtoponyms encountered in this unit create a suitable scientific circumstance to assume an early presence of Albanians within it. First is the village of Malenza, named in this way according to the Albanian word for mountain,²⁶³ within which also appears the toponym *Šćepur*,²⁶⁴ with the same linguistic origin.²⁶⁵ Adjacent to it, in the village of Povrhpoljina, a place is called *Škamac*,²⁶⁶ most likely according to the dialectal treatment of the word *Shkamb*, while in the village of Jabuke, the

²⁵⁸ Kunj (alb. kunj, sr. kolac). For the Albanian origin of the toponym "Kunj" see: Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije Albanskog jezika*, Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova, Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti, Knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, page 11.

²⁵⁹ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, pages 497-498 and 536-537

²⁶⁰ Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije Albanskog jezika*, Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova, Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti, Knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, page 110; The most widespread use of this microtoponym is recorded in Zym, within the Albanian region of Has, the following examples are: "Brija e Ars, Brija e Grozhs, Brija e Koneshyrit, Brija e Kronit, Brija e Kronit Gjinit, Brija e Kungës, Brija e Likenit, Brija e Lisit të Gatë, Brija e Shpeshë, Brija e Vorreve, Brija e Neshtit Palit and Brija Zdritë. (Nikollë Kërhanaj, *Toponimia e Zymit dhe Karashëngjergjit të Hasit*, Gjuha Shqipe 3/2018, Instituti Albanologjik, Prishtinë 2008, page 109).

²⁶¹ Shaban Demiraj – Epiri, Ilirët dhe Shqiptarët. Akademia e Shkencave të Shqipërisë, Infbotues, Tiranë 2008, p. 80

²⁶² It seems to have been formed after the word zagar, the source of which is the subject of discussion in science. There are different opinions, but it seems that two theories are dominant: the first that speaks of a Turkish origin, while the second of its Byzantine roots. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes VII, S-ZH*, Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 2006, p.283-284)

²⁶³ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, page 58

²⁶⁴ Павле Радусиновић, *Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 377*

²⁶⁵ Most likely from the word Shqer.

²⁶⁶ Павле Радусиновић, *Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 392*

onym Sukeza²⁶⁷ appears, which the Albanian linguist Idriz Ajeti describes as a notion within the linguistic fund of Albanian language.²⁶⁸ In Zagarač, there is another example of this nature and it is about the microtoponym *Ćeret*, which in the same form (*Qeret*) appears quite densely in the current Albanian environment, specifically in the area of Puka, Koman, Durrës and Gjakova.²⁶⁹ The toponym *Vajski Krš* under the village of Musterovići seems to be a symbiosis (*alb. vajzë, srb. krš*), *Bardetići* and *Đinčevica* are Albanian anthroponyms with a Slavic suffix, while *Pajteza* and *Gropa* appear in pure linguistic form. Other microtoponyms within Katunska Nahija, the source of which can be connected with Albanian language are also the following: *Breškov Do* in Velestovo, *Donov Laz* in Dide, *Koljevo* in Ubli, *Čuka*, *Grošeza* and *Lješeva rupa* in Mokanje and *Bujkin uba* in Župa.²⁷⁰

In addition to onomastics, valuable data on the Albanian component within Katunska Nahija are also provided by the folk memories inherited, collected and recorded by Balkan researchers mainly during the 19th century. Thus, according to oral tradition, the Humci bloodline, which populates a peripheral part of the urban settlement of Cetinje, is believed to originate from Hum i Hotit, the first of whom Bjeladin is mentioned as a farmer of the Cetinje Monastery, with the permission of Ivan Crnojević.²⁷¹ Descendants of this line say that he was

²⁶⁷ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 370

²⁶⁸ Idriz Ajeti, Studime leksikore shqiptare-sllave, Gjurmime Albanologjike 2, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1969, page 39

²⁶⁹ Regarding the Albanian source of the word *Qeret*, see: Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, p. 624.

²⁷⁰ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, p. 114, 312; Svetlana Sekulic, Mikrotoponimija Bandića. Matica Crnogorska, Godina XXI, br 84, zima, 2020, pages 395, 405, 406. (References are given only to clarify where the microtoponyms were found. Assumptions about their source from Albanian are not opinions of researchers Radusinović and Sekulic); Most likely from words or anthroponyms in Albanian: *breška*, *Don*, *Kolë*, *Leš*, *grošeza*, *čuka* and *bujk*; Croatian linguist Henrik Barić defines the word *groš* as a notion originating from Albanian. (Henrik Barić, Hymje në historin e gjuhës shqipe. Shtëpia botuese “Mustafa Bakija”. Prishtinë, 1955, page 78); As far as the microtoponymy *Breškov do* is concerned, it is most likely an Albanian-Slavic symbiosis, to be precise, it was formed according to the connection between the word *breshka* (*turtle*) in Albanian and *do* from the Slavic lexicon. From the etymological point of view, Stier's opinion is widely accepted in science, which supports its Romanian source, more precisely from the word *broaska*, but without excluding the possibility of a loan from old Greek. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes II, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p.314-315); However, despite the foreign source, to come from the form *broaska* to *breška*, it seems that there was a mediation of Albanians.

²⁷¹ Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве, Београд 1978, p. 302-303

Catholic by faith and had three brothers, who later founded the bloodlines Đonovići in the village of Tomići, Omerčevići in Žabljak and Pajevići in Donje Selce. The folk memory described is disputed only by the Đonović group, who claim that the founder of his bloodline was called Đon and was a Catholic who emigrated from Kruja.²⁷² However, Erdeljanović, who had collected these data from the four bloodlines, after careful examination and comparison, explicitly supports the origin of the four communities from Hoti, not excluding the possibility that all the bloodlines mentioned above were once Albanians who were then Serbianized. (*..да су можда били посрбљени арбанаси*).²⁷³

According to data from the collective memory, collected early by Petar Šobajić, there are human communities originating from the tribal regions continuously populated by Albanians also in the upper part of the region being discussion. According to these records, in the territory where the Pješivci tribe is located, a part of the bloodlines such as Mijušković, Kontić and Nikčević are said to be of Gruda origin.²⁷⁴ These three communities, always according to the researcher Šobajić, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century, were held as blood relatives with a colony of Islamicized Albanians, also from the Gruda tribe, who for the needs of the Ottoman Empire were put in military and administrative duties in the city of Nikšić. Moreover, in 1814, Montenegrin folk tales speak of military cooperation between them, dictated by the belief in common ancestors.²⁷⁵ However, unlike Šobajić, the Russian ethnologist Pavel Rovinski describes this group as the largest community in number. According to him, a large part of the Pješivci tribal community, such as the villages of Povija, Bogetići, Drenovštica and Cerovo, until the end of the 19th century were originally from Gruda, who had moved from there after the Ottoman conquest of Podgorica.²⁷⁶

In addition to folk memories, the way of speaking in the population of this region provides other complementary data. Thus, in the vocabulary and daily communication in Katunska Nahija, words unrelated to Slavic linguistics were encountered. Based on a compilation

²⁷² Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве, Београд 1978, р. 302

²⁷³ Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве, Београд 1978, р. 302-303

²⁷⁴ Петар Шобајић, Никшић-Оногошт. Посебна издања Географског Друштва. Свеска 22, Београд 1938, р.66; Gruda is an old Albanian tribe located south of Podgorica.

²⁷⁵ „Кад је Султан 1814 године поставио за пашу у Никшићу Алију Мараша Груду, нису га хтели примити и признати остала турска братства. Због тога се изродила борба између њих и Груда, па су тада на позив Али Пашин, Пјешивци с Мркојем сердарем Мијушковићем дошли у помоћ Грудама као својим рођацима. (Петар Шобајић, Никшић-Оногошт. Посебна издања Географског Друштва. Свеска 22, Београд 1938, р. 67)

²⁷⁶ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, р. 63

by the author Adnan Čirgić on the speech of Njeguš, some of them such as: arnoš, čuka, besa, štriga, pik, špenza, šenj, ćava, strunga, džupa or škrapa,²⁷⁷ seem to be part of the Albanian language lexicon. It is of importance the information that *besa* (*pledge of honour*), one of the most unique and oldest features within the Albanian culture, which is not found among other peoples,²⁷⁸ existed there until recently, where Čirgić gives this sentence as an example of usage: *nemogu dobiti besu nikako da pođem u Cetinju*.²⁷⁹ Meanwhile, since in the Balkan literature the upper part of *Katunska Nahija* is often considered as part of southern Herzegovina, then a research by the researcher Jefto Dedijer may also be important. According to him, in the pastoral terminology of the latter, there are many words in Albanian, such as: *balë, qen, mish, rrush, vajzë, bukë, keq* (bale, dog, meat, grape, girl, bread, bad) etc.²⁸⁰ Finally, historical sources say that in an older time, *Katunska Nahija* was populated by several other non-Slavic communities, such as Malonšići in the east and Mataruga in the north, which will be treated in a separate chapter within this paper.

2.2 Riječka Nahija²⁸¹

According to old documentary sources, the first record that speaks of proto-Albanians within this territorial unit seems to come from the chancellery of the medieval Serbian despot

²⁷⁷ Adnan Čirgić, *Riječnik Njeguškoga govora*, Matica Crnogorska, Cetinje-Podgorica 2009, page 17-220. * arnoš (srb: živelj, alb: rrnofsh), čuka (srb: glavica, alb: çuka), qava (srb: prijevoj, alb: qafa), besa (srb: obećanje, alb: besa), džupa (from alb: xhup, xhupleta), štriga (srb: vještica, alb: shtriga), škrapa (srb: ostri krš, alb: shkrep), etc.; The Albanian source of the word strunga will be discussed in the chapter on the region of Kuči; According to Idriz Ajeti, štriga is an Albanian adaptation of the word striga in Latin. (Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije albanskog jezika*. Akademija nauka i umetnosti Kosova. Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti. Posebna izdanja, knjiga 4. Pristina 1982, p.102)

²⁷⁸ Марко Миљанов, *Сабрана дјела 2, Живот и обичаји Арбанаса & Српски хајдуци*. Графички Завод, Титоград 1967, page 49.

²⁷⁹ Adnan Čirgić, *Riječnik Njeguškoga govora*, Matica Crnogorska, Cetinje-Podgorica 2009, page 24

²⁸⁰ Владимир Ћоровић, *Напомене о албанским траговима у Херцеговини*. Архив за арбанаску старину, језик и етнологију. Књига I, Св. 1-2, Београд, 1923, p.202

²⁸¹ Riječka Nahija is the second part of the unit "Stara Crna Gora" whose name comes from a small inhabited locality, Rijeka, which is also its center. It stretches between Crmnička, Lješanska and Katunska Nahija, today's Zeta, while on the southern side it touches the waters of Lake Shkodra (Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија*. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 10). It consists of five tribes: Ceklin, Kosijeri, Dobrsko Selo, Ljubotinj and Građani (Вук Стефанов Караџић, *Црна Гора и Бока Которска*. Српска Књижевна Задруга, Коло XXIV, бр. 161, Београд 1922, page 16), which populate thirty-five villages (Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија*. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 13). Before it was known as Riječka Nahija, this region, as read in Mariano Bolizza's report, was called Ljubotinj. At the end of the 17th century, there were 2135 inhabitants, of which 475 were men of arms (Injac Zamputi & Selami Pulaha, *Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë*. Vëllimi IV. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë- Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1990, p.402-403).

Stefan Milutin, who, through a document dated 1296, announces the existence of a settlement called Arbanasi in the Montenegrin land (*...i jeste pridah ot Crne Gore ot Arbanas Vasilja sa decom da jest takozde rabotnik Svetomu Nikole*).²⁸² Balkan scientific personalities have identified this settlement with a part of the village of Jankovići, which lies in the northern part of present-day Rijeka.²⁸³ In the opinion of the researcher Risto Kovijanić, this is a very old locality, which, based on the data from the toponymy, is correctly understood that it was once populated by Albanians, perhaps by the Špuri tribal community, as a part of this village is also called.²⁸⁴ About a century and a half later, in 1459, a man from this settlement, *Radossavi Zogovich* (*Caterina quondam Radossavi Zogovich de villa Arbania de Genta*),²⁸⁵ is mentioned in the notary documents of Kotor, whose surname creates a precondition for assuming that the toponym and the population belonged to the same ethnic nature. In 1490, the village of Arbanasi appeared in the charters of Ivan Crnojević,²⁸⁶ while it also appears in the Ottoman register of 1521,²⁸⁷ as well as in Mariano Bolizza's report in 1614, in which twenty inhabited houses are registered.²⁸⁸

In addition to the case highlighted above where the patronymic *Zogovich* appeared, in the old documents that refer to this territory there are also other anthroponymic data, based on which it can be assumed an early and significant presence of Albanians within the region. Thus in 1496, in the materials of the notarial office of Kotor, a *Braian Ginovich* from Kosieri (*ad instantiam*

²⁸² Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, p.121

²⁸³ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, p.121. Also in Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 34. * Among this medieval charter, there is also the first record where the notion "Crna Gora" is mentioned (*i jeste pridah ot Crne Gore, ot Arbanas, Vasilija sa decom da jest takozde rabotnik svetome Nikole, jakoze vise pisani*)

²⁸⁴ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 120; In the part called Špuri, until 1985, there were remains of old cemeteries, on the slabs of which there were carvings of human portraits (Павле Радусиновић, *Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92*, Београд 1985, page 293)

²⁸⁵ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 121

²⁸⁶ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 121

²⁸⁷ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2*. Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 53-54

²⁸⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија*. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 206

Braiani Ginovich de Cosieri) is mentioned.²⁸⁹ Twenty-five years later, in the Ottoman defter of 1521, in the locality of *Brajići Poljičani*, today Brajičko Ždrijelo, a head of the family was called *Lazar Don*, while an arable garden appeared as the property of a man named *Leš*.²⁹⁰ Within this register,²⁹¹ in the villages of *Ceklin*, *Radijevići*, *Dodoši*, *Cukovići* and *Gradani*, all of these in Riječka Nahija, apart from the men recorded under Slavic names, there are also residents such as *Raško Leš*, *Đuro Leš*, *Ilija Leš*, *Bratan Don*, *Marko Don*, *Leš Bojko*, *Radenko Don*, *Ilija Leš*, *Leš Stoja* and *Leš Bogdan*,²⁹² whose names or patronyms are related to Albanian language.

According to Ottoman administration sources, the Albanian anthroponymic element within the region also appears in later records, including the 1523 population and property defter. Thus, in the village of *Smokovci*, the imperial clerks, along with other residents, had also registered men named *Nikola Lule*, *Don Lješ*, *Nikola Don* and *Lješ Nikola*.²⁹³ In the *Vignjevići* locality, *Don Božidar* and *Vuleta Don Medo*²⁹⁴ are mentioned, while in the *Začir* settlement, *Lješ Bojin*, *Nikola Lješ* and a clergyman called *pop Maraš*,²⁹⁵ whose name belongs to the Albanian culture, appear. Although today there is no place with such a name, in the register of 1523, within the region of Rijeka, the village of *Guša* was also recorded, where one of the residents is named *Lješ*.²⁹⁶ According to the linguist Petar Skok, the name of this settlement is not Slavic, but a word with Illyrian-Thracian roots that appears among all the Balkan peoples²⁹⁷ Within the aforementioned material, names or patronyms in Albanian also appear in the village of *Drušići*,

²⁸⁹ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 116

²⁹⁰ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića*. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 55-56

²⁹¹ In the Ottoman register of 1521.

²⁹² Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića*. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 48-60; Radijevici is part of Kosijeri village.

²⁹³ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića*. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 128; Lul is an old name in Albanian. One of the Albanian rebels of 1911 was called Dedë Gjon Luli.

²⁹⁴ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića*. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 127-128

²⁹⁵ Idem, p. 127

²⁹⁶ Idem, p. 129

²⁹⁷ Petar Skok, *Etimologijski riječnik hrvatskoga ili srpkoga jezika*. Knjiga prva. A-J. Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb 1971, pages 637-638

where two residents are listed as *Lješ Stjepo* and *Nikola Zijaš*,²⁹⁸ in which case the latter's surname may have been derived from the word *zi* (*black, dark*), to express his dark nature. Information that in the same century, in Venice, two wool merchants, described as Albanians, named *Andrea* and *Piero Drussi*, whose surname is quite similar to the name of the village Drušići may be relevant.²⁹⁹

In terms of toponymy, the data speak more. Andrija Jovičević, in his studies of Riječka Nahija, writes that within the region there are geographical notions that have no roots in the Serbian language, which prove that other peoples lived there as well. According to him, traces of this non-Slavic ethnic element have been preserved, especially of Albanians and Vlachs.³⁰⁰ Considering the findings in this field, researcher Risto Kovijanić says that names of this type reflect the existence of a process that resulted in the mixing of Serbian newcomers with the old population, as well as the ethnic merging of Albanian communities.³⁰¹ The balkanologist Konstantin Jireček who in his work on the history of the Serbs treats this phenomenon as granted seems to have been involved in the discussions on the presence of toponyms with a root from the Albanian language lexicon within the aforementioned region.³⁰² However, the scientific authorities mentioned so far, understandably have not summarized every valid toponym within this territory, so the work of other later researchers was needed to complete the data even further.

Toponymic studies in the region of Rijeka, as far as done to now, seem to have always had as a starting point the area of the tribal community known under the notion of Ceklin,³⁰³ which according to the Balkan researcher Mitar Pešikan is named after the Albanian words

²⁹⁸ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića*. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2. Sarajevo 1973, Sarajevo 1973, p. 133.

²⁹⁹ Lucia Nadin, *Mërgim e Integrim 1479-1552, Shtëpia botuese 55, Tiranë 2008*, page 132-133

³⁰⁰ Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија*. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 148

³⁰¹ Risto Kovijanić – *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, p.121. * Risto Kovijanić here writes “U selu Đinovićima, u susjednim Kosijerima, koje svojim imenom ukazuje na nekadašnje romansko stanovništvo (iliro-arbanasko) nalaze se Zogove lazine. Ime Radosava Zogovića, koji je ovdje živio sredinom XV vijeka, ukazuje na miješanje srpskih doseljenika sa starosjediocima i na pretapanje arbanaskog življa. (ibid., p. 121).

³⁰² Константин Јиречек, *Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна Књига, Београд, 1952*, p. 34

³⁰³ Ceklin is called a community of villages within Riječka Nahija, whose connection seems to have been made on a tribal basis. For the first time in written documents it is mentioned in 1489 under the name Cjetlin. It consists of the following villages: Ceklin, Strugari, Ulići, Bokovo, Jankovići, Meterizi, Češljari, Đalci, Zagora, Rvaši, Drušići, Bobija, Dodoši, Žabljak, Vranjina, Prevlaka, Dujeva and Varoš Rijeka Crnojevića. (Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore. A-Crn, Vijesti, 2006, page 192)

cektinë or *ceklinë*.³⁰⁴ In the scientific works of the linguist Eqrem Çabej, who is known for his mainly objective approach to etymological studies, the word *ceklinë* is treated within the framework of the old and unaffected lexicon of Albanian language.³⁰⁵ According to his explanations, this notion is a development from the word *cekë*, which means a place where the water level is not deep. Moreover, Çabej writes that this somewhere expression has been extended with the suffix *-inë*, producing the notion that is being discussed as a toponym, and somewhere else it has remained in its first form.³⁰⁶ However, it seems that other microtoponyms in the depth of the Albanian territory were built on this linguistic basis, such as *Ceka e Shllakut*, *Ceka e Monit Begut*, *Maja e Cekës* and similar other ones, as well as a line of surnames based on this notion.³⁰⁷ However, in the territory of the Ceklin tribal community, there are also a number of microtoponyms, whose etymology seems to be in Albanian language. In the village of Rvaši, a place is called *Škam*,³⁰⁸ a name related to the word *Shkamb* from the Albanian language lexicon; in the settlement of Meteriz, there are microtoponyms *Lalino Ždrijelo* and *Lokanj*;³⁰⁹ in Žabljak a hilltop is named Buza,³¹⁰ while in Dujëvo are located *Đinovo*, *Burge*, *Mađeza* and *Đinova njiva*.³¹¹ In the territory of this community there is also the village of Dodoši, which in *Mariano*

³⁰⁴ Митар Пешикан, Зетско-Хумско-Рашка имена. Ономатолошки Прилози III, Београд, 1982, page 61.

³⁰⁵ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes, III, C-D, Akademia e shkencave e Shqiperisë, Tiranë 2016, page 17

³⁰⁶ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes, III, C-D, Akademia e shkencave e Shqiperisë, Tiranë 2016, p.17

³⁰⁷ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes, III, C-D, Akademia e shkencave e Shqiperisë, Tiranë 2016, page 17

³⁰⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 117; Within this village, Pavle Radusinović has registered two toponyms of the same type: “pod škam” and “na škam”. Pavle Radusinović, Naselja Stare Crne Gore, posebni dio. Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti. Narodna Knjiga. Posebna izdanja – Knjiga DLXII. Odeljenje društvenih nauka, Knjiga 92, Beograd 1985, page 282.

³⁰⁹ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 21; Lokanj has many possible origins from Lokaj, which even today exists as a surname among northern Albanians; In the village of Meterizi there is also the toponym Vlahinja (ibid. page 216), which may be an indication that within the old population of the village there may have been Romanized elements.

³¹⁰ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 350

³¹¹ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, pages 153-155; Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 148; Burg (prison) is a widespread word among Albanians. In written form, it appears as early as 1555 in Gjon Buzuku, then also in the work of Pjetër Budi. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes II, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p.380)

Bolizza's report appears as Dodeza,³¹² a name apparently formed from the anthroponym Dodë in Albanian, combined with the suffix *-za*, which is a linguistic characteristic of Albanians.³¹³ Here a place is called *Cukalj*, whose etymological source Andrija Jovičević tries to derive from the word *cilj* in Serbian,³¹⁴ although with phonetic rules it seems a very remote possibility. Meanwhile, the Albanian language fund provides the word *Cukëlj*, which according to linguist Eqrem Çabej is a local word, meaning a small part or small group.³¹⁵ Among other things, this notion in the form of a toponym also appears in the depths continuously populated by Albanians, such as *Cukalje* near *Dajči* in the southwest of *Skadar*,³¹⁶ or *Mali i Cukaljit* in the north of *Šllak*. Then, in *Ceklin*, microtoponyms in Albanian also appear in the village of *Đalci*, which Mariano Bolizza describes with 36 inhabited houses.³¹⁷ A part of this village is called *Arbanaški Do*, where, according to oral tradition, *Đeka Arbanas* once lived, and where the toponym *Đekino Kućiste* still exists today.³¹⁸ Judging by the scientific interpretation of academician Idriz Ajeti, the name *Đalac* is of Albanian origin.³¹⁹

Jankovići is another settlement within *Ceklin* and is divided into two separate parts: in *Ljumovići* and *Arbanasi*, which, as mentioned above, appear since 1297.³²⁰ While passing through this village, *Andrija Jovičević* gives this record: "*Ljumovići and Arbanasi are located immediately after the top of Pus in Vali which stretches from Konstadin and Trzikeć, while getting lower near Šindon*" (*Ljumovići i Arbanasi se nalaze odmah iza vrha Pusa u Vali, koje se*

³¹² Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë Veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin VII, vëllimi I, 1610-1634*, Universiteti shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i historisë dhe gjuhësisë. Tiranë 1963, p.249

³¹³ Aleksandër Xhuvani & Eqrem Çabej, *Prapashtesat e gjuhës shqipe*. Universiteti shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe Gjuhësisë. Tiranë, 1962, p.108-110; The suffix *-za* also appears in the Arbëresh colony that emigrated to Southern Italy, in concrete cases such as *hënza*, *dorza*, *grerza*, *đufëza*, etc. (Eqrem Çabej, *Në botën e arbëreshëve të Italisë*. Shtëpia botuese 8 Nëntori, Tiranë, 1987, p.37)

³¹⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 158. * The etymological interpretation according to which the toponym *Cukalj* derives from the Serbian word "*cilj*" is given by Andrija Jovičević (ibid. page 158); The word "*cukëlj*" according to Eqrem Çabej is in Albanian and has the meaning of a small group or a small part. (Eqrem Çabej *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes III, C-D*, Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë, Tiranë 2016, p.61)

³¹⁵ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes III, C-D*, Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë, Tiranë 2016, p.61.

³¹⁶ Dom Gaspër Gurakuqi, *Fiset e veriut dhe Dioqezat, Pakti*, Tiranë 2019, page 49

³¹⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 166

³¹⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 166

³¹⁹ Idriz Ajeti, *Studime per gjuhen shqipe*, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 584

³²⁰ One of the earliest mentions of the settlement of *Ljumovići* is recorded in the Ottoman defter of 1570. (Aladin Husić, *Crna Gora u defteru Dukadinskig sandzaka iz 1570 godine*. Državni Arhiv Crne Gore & Universitet u Sarajevo – Orientalni Institut, Posebna izdanja LI, Cetinje-Sarajevo 2017, page 162)

pruža od Kostadina i Trzikeća, pa se spušta više Šindjona).³²¹ Thus, within one sentence, six non-Slavic notions such as *Pus*, *Ljumovići*, *Arbanasi*, *Šindon*, *Terzikeć* and *Kostadin* emerge. There can be no doubt that the first four names are formed from the words *pus*, *lum*, saint *Đon* and *arbanasi*, which have a clear meaning in Albanian³²² and moreover cannot be interpreted according to any other linguistics. The microtoponym *Terzikeć*, although it seems to be a deformed word, because it basically has the word *bad*, may be close to Albanian, since in the Slavic lexicon it does not have any approximate meaning, while *Kostadin* is derived from the anthroponym *Konstantin*, a name used very little by Serbs compared with other peoples throughout the past. In addition to the given examples, the names *Arbanaške Rupe* and *Arbanaški Potok* have also been identified in the village of *Jankovići*.³²³ Notions that express place names, the source of which may be from Albanian, are also found in the village of *Drušići*, a settlement that is also listed in the inhabited units of the *Ceklin* tribe. In addition to the Slavic ones, the microtoponyms *Tapaljak*, *Malezine zgrade* and *Gropeza* also appear here,³²⁴ which are very close to the Albanian words *Topolak*, *Malësi* and *Gropëza*.

In the *Kosijeri* tribal community, which in terms of territory and settlements is the smallest tribe in *Riječka Nahija*, lies the village of *Đinovići*, whose name seems to come from some big bloodline with the same name.³²⁵ Here an area is called *Zalište*, while the

³²¹ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 115

³²² About *Šindon*, Pavle Radusinović writes like this: “Судећи по самом називу села (који на албанском значи Св. Јован), може се претпоставити да његови замеци потичу из средњег вијека. Када су заједно са Зечанима и Арбанаси овуда изгнали стоку- Овима је припадало, без сумње и село Шпури које се спустило до више данашњег Шинђона- У Шпурима се налази старински убао...Ту је и једна клачна кућа, од које су зидине добро чуване.” (Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 291); Albanian academic and linguist Idriz Ajeti wrote about the Albanian affiliation of the name *Šindon*. (Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 49); Similarly, Savo Orović treats the toponym *Šindon* with an Albanian source. (Саво Оровић, Граничне етничке групе између Црне Горе и Албаније. Сојуз на здруженијата на фолклористите на Југославија. Зборник од XIX конгрес на Сојузот на здруженијата на фолклористите на Југославија. Крушево 1972, Скопје 1977, page 138); Also Pavel Rovinski, who writes: “До њих су, највероватније, као и свуда, били Албанци, о чему говоре и називи Арбанаси, друго Шинђон – Св. Јован.” (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 52)

³²³ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 182

³²⁴ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, p.137

³²⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 159

microtoponyms³²⁶ *Kulembrija*, *Baljev Uba*, and *Zogove Lazine*³²⁷ also appear, the meaning of which can be related to the words *zallë*, *kulumbri*, *bala* and *zog* in Albanian.³²⁸ In his publication on Kosijer, the researcher Nikola Rajković also lists some names of places that derive from the language of the pre-Slavic population, such as *Burge*, *Vušaza*, *Mendra* and *Kucumecelj*.³²⁹ While the first two examples seem to be built based on the words *Burg* and *Vashëza* in Albanian, in relation to the last notions the matter seems more complicated. *Mendra*, in Albanian, denotes a type of plant, *mentha piperita*,³³⁰ but there are also analogous examples such as *Mandra*, which is used by Albanians and Romanians, although its source, according to the Swiss philologist Wilhelm Meyer-Lubke, is from Latin.³³¹ As for the last microtoponym, although it does not seem to belong in the Slavic lexicon, it is difficult to find something similar in Albanian.³³² However, further north, on the road to the village of Mikulići, a field is called *Dardaza*,³³³ which seems to be a name formed based on the word *dardha* (eng.pear), completed with the suffix *za*, which is used by Albanians to express a small thing. In addition to it, the microtoponyms *Šalaza* and

³²⁶ The old inhabitants of Zalište place are said to have moved because of poverty to Leškopolje, Vrraka and Vasojevići. In Vasojević, they are in the village of Krajl and are still called Ѓinovici today. (Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 212)

³²⁷ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, pages 154 & 193

³²⁸ The word *kulumbri* in Albanian means a type of small fruit (*prunus spinosa*). On the other hand, this notion is not found in the etymological dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian language of the linguist Petar Skok, nor in the Serbo-Croatian-Albanian dictionary of the Albanian Institute of Prishtina; In science, it is considered a word with a disputed etymology. It is thought to be a borrowing from the Latin *columbus*. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V. K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, Page 166). This means that in order to come to the current form of *Kulumbri*, an intervention from Albanian would be needed; The word *zallë* also has a full meaning in Albanian. According to Henrik Barić, it is an old Albanian word. Meyer and Miklosich are of the opinion that it entered the Slavic lexicon as a loan from Albanian. Among the Albanians, it appears as early as 1343 as a toponym near Kruja. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes VII, S-ZH, Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë, Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2006, page 284)

³²⁹ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, pages 115-116; Microtoponyms that are not in Slavic also appear between the villages of Kosijeri and Orašani. It is about Sakurkut and Drtegljat. (Никола П. Рајковић. Плење Косијери 1439-1945, Цетиње, 1968, page 14).

³³⁰ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, p.318)

³³¹ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V. K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 80.

³³² The only similarity is recorded in the village of Falkonara in Southern Italy, where a colony of Arbëresh people lives, who are believed to have emigrated in the first centuries of the Ottoman occupation of Albania. According to researcher Vinçenc Malaj, the inhabitants of this settlement use the word “Kukumelja” to express something beautiful. (Vinçenc Malaj, Folklor arbëresh nga Falkonara, Koha, Viti II, Janar-Shkurt, 1979, Titograd, page 98).

³³³ Никола П. Рајковић. Плење Косијери 1439-1945, Цетиње, 1968, page 15

*Rasatore*³³⁴ also appear in the same territory, for which the Albanian language lexicon has quite precise explanations.³³⁵ As a digression: throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, the settlements of Kosijeri, together with the villages of Ulići and Arbanasi of Ceklin, had paid four ducats in the form of a joint obligation to the Ottoman administration, for a pasture field,³³⁶ which speaks of a relationship and close connection between the population of the three villages.

In the territory populated by the Lubotinj tribe, more precisely in the village of Smokovci, there is a place called *Markoči*, an unusual name for the Serbian linguistic culture.³³⁷ Without tending to allude to a connection between them and more to clarify that this notion must have been part of the folk mentality to get a surname, among today's Albanians there are many bloodlines called the same, Markoči. In the other settlement within this tribal community, in Dubovo, a place is called *Šoćeva Gllavica*,³³⁸ the form of which seems to be a symbiosis between the Albanian word *shoq* and the Slavic *glavica*. Apart from the cases mentioned above, other microtoponyms within Riječka Nahija, which in one way or another are related to Albanian language, are: *Škurta*, *Mareza*, *Đinezi*, *Ćeta*, *Bazaguri*, *Raseza*, *Kunj*, *Fana*, *Arbanaško Ždrijelo*, *Burgački potok*, *Kotlina Đinovička*, *Buronjski Do*, *Mađeza*, *Kavajina glavica* and *Zaštek*.³³⁹

In addition to onomastics, collective memory is another discipline that provides valuable data; inherited stories that say that a part of the Montenegrin society in the region of Rijeka, a few centuries ago, may have had a different ethnic feeling. Montenegrin ethnologist Andrija Jovičević has extensively studied the oral tradition, collecting and processing the memories preserved in the people. One of them is the story of the origin of the tribe of Ceklin, where the

³³⁴ Никола П. Рајковић. Племe Косијери 1439-1945, Цетиње, 1968, page 15

³³⁵ Šalëza and Rasatore from the place of slabs.

³³⁶ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Турска власт у Црној Гори у XVI и XVII веку. Свјетлост, Сарајево, 1953, p. 42

³³⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 162. * Andrija Jovičević describes it as a strange name.

³³⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, p.187

³³⁹ Toponyms Škurta, Mareza, Ćeta, Bazaguri, Raseza, Fana, Arbanaško Zdrjelo, Burgački potok, Kotlina Đinovička, Buronjski Do, Mađeza, Kilibarda and Arbanaška Rupa, were collected by Andrija Jovičević (Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, pages 25-81) and are next to the Albanian words Shkurta, Marëza, Buza, Qeta, Pasguri, Buron, Rrasëza, Thana, Magje, Burg and the anthroponym Gjini; According to Franc Miklošić, the word Magje is originally from the Italian word Madie (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes V. K-M. Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 269), but since it appears in Albanian form and accompanied by the suffix za, it is listed as remnants of Albanians; The toponyms Zaštek, Kavajina glavica, Kunj and Đinezi were recorded by Pavle Radusinović (Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, pages 128, 274, 327 and 343); Zaštek may have been formed according to the Albanian-Slavic symbiosis (srp.iza dhe alb.shtek), Đinezi derives from the anthroponym Gjini in Albanian, while Kavajina glavica may be a remnant of a colony that came from Kavaja in central Albania.

two main bloodlines Gornjaci and Donjaci, in the first part of the 20th century, constituted up to 83% of its population.³⁴⁰ According to the narrator, the first or founder of the Gornjaks was Leka, who came from Kelmendi, who had previously stopped for a while in Piper, where he married a local widow.³⁴¹ From this marriage he had a son named Krstić, while he adopted the son that his wife had from the first marriage, whose name was Vukosav.³⁴² After a while, the whole family moved to Ceklin, where Leka, who was on the brink of old age, divided the sons, giving the biological son the upper part of the field under Ceklinštak and to the other, adopted son, the lower part. From the descendants of the first, the line called Gornjaci was created, while from the heirs of the second, the Donjaci group.³⁴³ As a supplement: Krstić had two sons named Lješ and Vulin,³⁴⁴ while from Vukosav is mentioned a grandson of his named in Albanian, Prela.³⁴⁵

The oral tradition in Ceklin deals with the origin of Leka through two different oral traditions, but within the framework of one family foundation. According to the first version, he was one of the five male children of a man from Kelmendi named Amat, while based on the second oral tradition, Leka is considered the son of Gjon, while Gjon is the son of Amat.³⁴⁶ This folk memory took on a double importance when Andrija Jovičević, during his studies on the mountainous areas of Kelmendi, recorded a story in accordance with what he heard in Ceklin. The story of the Albanian highlanders acknowledged Leka's migration to Piper, but further said that he had left a male child named Vrat in Kelmend, whose heirs later founded a bloodline of their own.³⁴⁷ The family tree collected in this case by the Montenegrin author follows this way:

³⁴⁰ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 224

³⁴¹ Idem, page 224

³⁴² Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 224. * The biological father of Vukosav, according to the researcher Jovan Erdeljanović, was from the Leševići bloodline from the village of Stijena in Piperi. (Јован Ердељановић, Кучи-Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 491)

³⁴³ Блажо А. Стругар, Стругари братство у Цеклину 1450-1980. Цетинје 1983, page 9; Also in: Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 224

³⁴⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 224

³⁴⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 225. * Prela is a noun in Albanian. and among Vukosav's descendants it appears even later. For example, from the Strugari bloodline, Prela Sćepanov and Prela Ivanov were mentioned as distinguished men of war. The first at the beginning of the 18th century, while the second at the beginning of the 19th century. (Блажо А. Стругар, Стругари братство у Цеклину 1450-1980. Цетинје 1983, pages 77 and 117). In addition to them, the name Prele is encountered several more times in the genealogy of the Strugari bloodline, given as an appendix at the end of this work by the author Blažo A. Strugar.

³⁴⁶ Andrija Jovičević, Malesija, Dielli, Beograd 2019, page 50-51

³⁴⁷ Andrija Jovičević, Malesija. Dielli, Beograd 2019, page 53

Loshku-Leka-Marashi-Peci-Nika-Keqani-Alija-Suji-Ferizi-Useni-Vrati-Leka-Gjoni-Amati-Kelmeni.³⁴⁸ So, both in Ceklin and in Kelmend, the collective memory on the story of Leka tells the same. Since these two tribal communities did not live next to each other and did not have neighbourly relations, then it cannot be assumed that one side imposed the customs on the other.

In addition to the story told above, folk memories in Ceklin also speak on a narrower level, as each family community has its own inherited story about its origin. Thus, the bloodlines Dajković, Šofranci, Ražnatović, Đurašković, Janković, Jovičević, Krstić and Pejović,³⁴⁹ who populate the villages of Bobija, Drušići, Dujeva, Gornji Ulići, Jankovići, Mihalevići, Riječki grad, Rvaši, Vranina and Žabljak, all in Ceklin, are held to come from Kelmendi.³⁵⁰ These bloodlines consider themselves descendants of Leka, with the exception of the Dajković line, which has a different history. According to the oral tradition, the founder of the latter was not Leka, but his uncle, who had joined his nephew in Ceklin a little later.³⁵¹ However, the listed bloodlines are not only within the villages of Ceklin, but are also found in Češlari, Dodoši, Dubova, Prevlaka, Šindjon, etc.³⁵²

Despite subjective interpretations, such as the case of the Serbian researcher Jovan Tomić, who without any evidence calls the population of Kelmendi an Albanianized Serbian community,³⁵³ whose hypothesis Noel Malcolm treats as a flagrant example of classification for political purposes,³⁵⁴ all of the data show that Kelmendi was an Albanian environment in every period of time. In the Ottoman register of 1497, out of seven inhabited units of this region, six of them bear Albanian names, although in some cases accompanied by a Slavic suffix, such as: Gjonović, Içpaja, Kolemadi, Muriq, Liqeni and Leshoviq, while anthroponymy appears to a

³⁴⁸ Andrija Jovičević, *Malesija*. Dielli, Beograd 2019, page 53

³⁴⁹ It is about the Pejović - Ceklinjani bloodline

³⁵⁰ Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија*. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, pages 399-406

³⁵¹ Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија*. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 230

³⁵² Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија*. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, pages 399-406. *According to Andrija Jovičević, the complete list of villages where the aforementioned bloodlines are encountered are: Bobija, Češlari, Dodoši, Drušići, Dubova, Dujeva, Gornji Ulići, Jankovići, Jovanov Brijeg, Mihalevići, Mracelji, Očevići, Prevlaka, Riječki grad, Rvaši, Šindjon, Vranina and Žabljak; Judging by the length of his life and the relatively high number of siblings, it is quite doubtful that it can be spoken of a bloodline. It is more likely to refer to a more heterogeneous collective, which resembles a life organized territorially by Leka and his people, than it is thought to be a formation from a single family cell.

³⁵³ Јован Томић, *О Арнаутима у Старој Србији и Санџаку*. ISBN-13: 978-1547283385. Middletown DE, 14 January 2019, page 63.

³⁵⁴ Injac Zamputi, *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë 1623-1653*, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, Saint Gallen-Prishtinë 2015, page 193

dominant degree in Albanian.³⁵⁵ Then, in Frang Bardhi's report, material drawn up in June 1638, it is said that Kelmendi was populated by Albanians, who speak the same language (... *sono di nazione albanese, parlano in albanese et sono chiusi nei confine dell'Albania...*).³⁵⁶ Moreover, about three decades later, the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi defines the members of this community as Arnauts, a well-known Ottoman ethnonym for Albanians.³⁵⁷ Therefore, the colony which gravitated from the rocky region of Kelmend towards Ceklin, could not have had another origin, which also appears in the genealogical tree of Vrat, as a child of Leka left in Kelmend, which does not contain any Slavic names.

In Riječka Nahija, there are even more valuable data from the sphere of people's memories. Thus, the Šoć bloodline that populates the villages of Dubovo and Donja Sela is believed to be descended from the tribe of Shoshi, a place deep in the early Pult.³⁵⁸ The first of them, after having killed someone near Shkodra about three hundred years ago, due to fear of blood vengeance, emigrates to the north and settles in the locality of *Šoćeva Glavica*,³⁵⁹ from where his heirs, after growing in numbers, spread to other settlements. From Donja Sela, there is also the Lumbarda bloodline, who at the same time populated the village of Vignjevići,³⁶⁰ whose surname was most likely formed through the connection of the two Albanian words lum and bardhë. Then, in the Rijeka Crnojevića settlement, there is a bloodline called Kallmeta where, according to inherited memories, they came from Shkodra.³⁶¹ Since in the north of the city of Lezha, there are two villages called *Kallmet i madh* and *Kallmet i vogël*, then there is a good chance that the legend has a real basis.³⁶² From Rijeka Crnojevića is also the Džanjevići community, which according to oral tradition derives from Gruda,³⁶³ a territory that is still

³⁵⁵ Selami Pulaha, Deferi i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485. Adakemia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë, Instituti i historisë. Tiranë 1974, pages 431-434.

³⁵⁶ Injac Zamputti, Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë 1623-1653. Albanisches Institut Faik Konica. St. Gallen – Prishtinë, 2015, p.193

³⁵⁷ Evlia Celebi, Putopis – odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama. Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1967, page 433

³⁵⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 268

³⁵⁹ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 268. * *Šoćeva glavica* is located in the village of Dubovo.

³⁶⁰ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 128; Andrija Jovičević – Riječka Nahija u Crnoj Gori, Cid Podgorica, 1999, pages 258 and 269

³⁶¹ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 284

³⁶² A village named Kallmet is also located on the outskirts of Tirana, in central Albania.

³⁶³ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 283

populated by Albanians, while their name, according to the Russian researcher Pavel Rovinski, derives from the Albanian language lexicon.³⁶⁴

Based on the notes collected from folk memories, Andrija Jovičević in 1913, came to the conclusion that in Riječka Nahija there were 18 bloodlines with 430 houses coming from the territory of today's Albania. This according to him comprises 23% of the total population and appears as the largest grouping in the region, followed by Piperi with 19.50%, Katunska Nahija 9%, and so on.³⁶⁵ This means without counting here the old proto-Albanian communities, ethnically merged in earlier stages of time,³⁶⁶ which are mentioned starting from the 13th century, for which there are no folk memories of their origin from any other territory. Moreover, it is without including the groups that have gravitated towards Rijeka from the neighbouring Montenegrin regions, which have something from Albanians in their core. For example, according to Pavel Rovinski, the Peakovići and Drecuni bloodlines within the Ljubotinj tribe, are family communities coming from the Pastrovići region, whose surname is undoubtedly in Albanian.³⁶⁷

2.3 Crmnička Nahija³⁶⁸

In a medieval charter of 1242, by which despot Vladislav granted the right of the monastery of Saint Nicholas in Vranina to administer with the villages of Godinje, Komarno, Kruševica and Medveđa Glava, it is said that apart from people appointed by the clergy, neither

³⁶⁴ Pavel Apolonović Rovinski – Etnografija Crne Gore, Tom 1, CID, Podgorica 1998, page 55

³⁶⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 407

³⁶⁶ About the ethnic merging of the old proto-Albanian element in Riječka Nahija, Pavel Apolonović Rovinski writes: “У Црмници и Ријечној Нахији трагови албанског елемента могу се срести само у географским називима који су се задржали из давних времена, па је извјестан дио тога елемента могуће сачуван и у самом становништву.” (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 23)

³⁶⁷ “Не може се потпуно ослонити на казивања самих становника, јер су нека презимена несумњиво албанског поријекла као Пеаковићи, Дрецуни, Џанјевићи.” (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 55)

³⁶⁸ Crmnička Nahija is the fourth and last part of the Stara Crna Gora unit and lies to its south. It borders Riječka Nahija, Krajina (alb. Kraja), Paštrovići, Brajići and Spič (Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore, A-Crn, Vijesti, Podgorica 2006, page 206). It also includes a small island called Grmožur, while the center of this region is the large village of Vir Pazar. Crminčka Nahija is divided into seven tribes and these are: Podgor, Berčeli, Limljani, Sotonići, Boljevići, Gluhi Do and Dupilo (Вук Стефанов Караџић, Црна Гора и Бока Которска. Српска Књижевна Задруга, Коло XXIV, бр.161, Београд 1922., page 16). At the end of the 17th century, this region had 1,905 inhabitants and 335 men under arms (Injac Zamputi & Selami Pulaha, Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë. Vëllimi IV. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë- Instituti i Historisë. Tiiranë 1990. p.402).

his clerks nor the Albanians could spend the winter on the church lands.³⁶⁹ Apparently this ordinance was revised a few years later by Queen Jelena, because there is a decision from her administration, based on which the permanent settlement of certain people was allowed on the lands of the monastery mentioned above. According to their names and patronyms, such as *Gena, Voglić, Bardonja, Bakso, Salkuta, Maršen*³⁷⁰ and others, it is understood that a part of those listed could be Albanians. In the form of a surname, the notion *Voglić* also appears in the charter of the Serbian king *Stefan Uroš III*, from the year 1322, which was based on a deed of donation, where it became known that the village of Orahovo in Crmnica was also transferred to ownership of the monastery of Saint Nicholas.³⁷¹ According to the Croatian researcher Milan Shufflay, the linguistic root of this patronym belongs to the Albanian language lexicon, more precisely from the notions of *vogli* (small).³⁷² The three documents given above are among the first and earliest evidence that talk about the presence of Albanian society within the borders of this Montenegrin geographical unit, so most likely, based on them and any other eventual document, Konstantin Jireček writes that Albanian anthroponyms are distinct in the Crmnica valley as early as the thirteenth century.³⁷³

With the Ottoman penetration into the Montenegrin depths and the stabilization of the local authorities, there seems to be an increased volume of data, in which Albanian names and patronyms appear. Thus, in the statistical summaries of 1521 and 1523 for population and property, in the village of Sotonići, which at that time had fifty houses and twenty gardens, *Leš Dabiživ, Vuksan Leka, Andrija Leš* and *Leka Nikola*³⁷⁴ are mentioned among the inhabitants. Within these same materials, the village mentioned above, Orahovo, is also registered, with the

³⁶⁹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 52

³⁷⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 52; Иван С. Јастребов. Подаци за историју српске цркве и народа. Службени Гласник, 2020, page 218

³⁷¹ Edith Durham, *Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG, Tiranë 2019, page 58

³⁷² Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët, Rilindja, Prishtinë* 1968, page 53

³⁷³ Константин Јиречек, *Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна Књига, Београд*, 1952, page 34; Jireček here gives as an example the names Voglići and Bardonja. According to him, the word Voglići derives from the Albanian word Vogël.

³⁷⁴ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića (Druga sveska)*, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga IX/2. Sarajevo 1973, p. 64, 137.

names of some of the residents being *Olivera Leš*, *Nikola Leš*, *Don Nikola* and *Ivina Leš*.³⁷⁵ as well as the settlement Boljevići where a man was called *Leka Ratko*.³⁷⁶ A century later, in the report of Mariano Bolizza from 1614, *Deda Sucha* is mentioned as the commander of the village of Krnjice, while Gioan Cruta in Seoce,³⁷⁷ whose confessional affiliation, based on this description, is said to be Catholic. Regarding the names of these two individuals, the Montenegrin researcher Andrija Jovičević says that they were Albanian in nature and type.³⁷⁸

Valuable data that speak about an early life of Albanians in the region of Crmnica, are also found in the scientific discipline of toponymy. First is the village of Limljani, for the name of which in science dominates the opinion on its non-Slavic source.³⁷⁹ According to the researcher Vukmanović, this toponym is a remnant of the old Albanian-Vlach culture and has a geographical meaning (*ima geografsko značenje*).³⁸⁰ In this case, the Montenegrin ethnologist refers to the linguist Petar Skok, who derives the notion of *lim*, which is also the essence of the name of the village, from the Albanian word *lum*,³⁸¹ a conclusion that is also read in the notes of the Russian researcher Pavel Rovinski at the end of the 19th century.³⁸² However, if the hypothesis on the source of the toponym Limljani from Albanian is taken for granted, then this is directly translated as an argument on the presence of Albanians in Crmnica, much earlier than the year 1296, when this settlement appears written for the first time in historical materials.³⁸³ Firstly, because the time of the first mention almost never corresponds to the exact year of

³⁷⁵ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića* (Druga sveska), Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga IX/2. Sarajevo 1973, p. 62, 137

³⁷⁶ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića* (Druga sveska), Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga IX/2. Sarajevo 1973, p. 66

³⁷⁷ Injac Zamputi - *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin XVII. Vëllimi I* (1610-1634). Universiteti shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe Gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1963, pages 256-257. *Krnjice and Seoce, although conditionally considered part of Crmnica, are therefore treated in this chapter.

³⁷⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, *Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње* 2004, page 70

³⁷⁹ *"Postoji mišljenje da je naziv sela Limljani albanskog porijekla."* (Savo Lekić, *Najstariji pomeni crmničkih naselja*. Matica, broj 44, godina XI, zima 2010, Cetinje-Podgorica, page 193)

³⁸⁰ Јован Вукмановић, *Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнoлошка испитивања*, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 51

³⁸¹ Јован Вукмановић, *Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнoлошка испитивања*, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p. 126

³⁸² Павел Аполоновић Ровински, *Етнографија Црне Горе*, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 48; The Lim hydronym will also be discussed in the section on the Vasojevići region below.

³⁸³ Јован Вукмановић, *Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнoлошка испитивања*, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 56

establishment of a settlement, while secondly, it cannot have been named in Albanian by any Slavic community. However, the name of the village is not the only toponym of this nature and type. Here, a geographical area is called *Žgarba*,³⁸⁴ the meaning of which can be found in the Albanian word *shkarpa*, as well as a parcel called *Ćafa*.³⁸⁵ Other names of the same origin within this settlement are *Leka*, *Fišta*, *Limštica*, *Doči*, *Zana*, *Ligati*, *Ćafa*, *Lešet njiva*, *Đurma*, *Bješkaža*, and *Kuljbull*.³⁸⁶ The latter may be a deviation of the word *Kumbulla*, while *Fišta*, in addition to its full meaning in Albanian, as a toponym also appears in other areas in the territory populated by Albanians, such as the case of a settlement north of Lezha.

Boljevići is another village where remnants of non-Slavic culture can be seen. Here, a mountainous part is called *Pepići* and it is suspected that it comes from a bloodline, with the same name, that in the olden times is said to have lived somewhere nearby. They are remembered as Catholics, although some of them had accepted Islam during the Ottoman rule.³⁸⁷ There is a good chance that their name basically had the anthroponym *Pepë*, which appears quite widespread among the Albanians of the north. On their ethnicity, Jovan Erdeljanović, in addition to other options, also examines the possibility of an Albanian origin, but who were later Serbified.³⁸⁸ A similar interpretation can also be applied to the microtoponymy *Nikukića voda*,³⁸⁹ which could easily be a memory of an individual or family named the same. However, the toponyms *Kumbula* and *Fljuca*,³⁹⁰ words found in the Albanian language lexicon, are also encountered in this village. Jovan Vukmanović, in his work on the region of Crmnica, writes

³⁸⁴ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 199

³⁸⁵ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 199

³⁸⁶ Јован Вукмановић, *Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања*, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, pages 367-368; Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, *Toponimija opštine Bar*. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.186-190; The toponym *Ligati* derives from the Albanian word *ligatë*, for the meaning of which see the etymological dictionary of the linguist Kolec Topalli. (Kolec Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017*, p.890); *Gjurmë* is a widespread Albanian word, that is, it has a very wide use. G. Meyer thinks it derives from the Romance languages *it.orma*, *rum.urma*. (Kolec Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017*, p.604); This means that in order to take the current form, *gjurma* would have to pass through Albanian speakers. It is not used in Slavic speech. It is missing from Petar Skok's etymological dictionary.

³⁸⁷ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 77

³⁸⁸ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 77

³⁸⁹ This toponym has been recorded by Pavle Radusinović (Павле Радусиновић, *Насеља Старе Црне Горе*. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 13);

³⁹⁰ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 77

about another toponym within this inhabited unit. It is about the place called *Maričina voda*, which according to him has a second name, *Maraj voda*. For researchers who have scientifically treated the Slavic peoples and the Albanians, it is clear that here we are talking about surnames of two ethnic forms. To simplify: if the word or anthroponym *Mara* would serve as a linguistic source to create a surname or microtoponym, the Serbian form would be *Marić*, while the Albanian form would be *Maraj*. The parallel existence of both is an indication that: either it is an Albanian population that has merged and with the change of language has given a Slavic form to the toponym *Maraj*; or two ethnic groups lived within the village, each using their own lexicon. However, in addition to the names listed so far, in the village of Boljevići there are also other examples such as *Ambulina*, *Trupica*, *Ćelovina*, *Baljasta litica*, *Rogata rupa*, *Ćelavica*, *Mijela*, *Prelev Brijeg*, *Kaljević*, *Grošaza*, *Besac*, *Škornja* and *Drekovica*,³⁹¹ which may have been formed according to the Albanian words *ambël*, *trup*, *balë*, *rogë*, *shkore*, *qel*, *besa*, *groshëz*, *kalë* and *miell*, as well as with the anthroponyms *Prelë* and *Ndreka*.³⁹²

Remnants of the pre-Slavic culture expressed in the field of toponymy, also appear in the village of Gluhi Do, which is found written for the first time in 1371.³⁹³ There are several place names around this settlement, which most likely originate from the Albanian language. It is about the toponyms *Brišta*, *Kamteza*, *Muriz*, *Relji Burge*, *Bješkeza*, *Lješov Krš*, *Fijerne*, *Ljuca*, *Pjak Marija*, *Ćava* and *Tersuke*,³⁹⁴ the correct form of which in today's Albanian would be

³⁹¹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, pages 370-371; Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlovic, Toponimija opštine Bar. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.146-151; *For the Besac microtoponym, the Montenegrin researcher Borislav Stojović writes: "Besac – Uzvišenje kod Virpazara, na kojem je od 16.v. utvrđenje za odbranu od neprijatelja i obezbeđenje trgovine od hajdučije. Naziv potiče od albanske riječi besa, što znači: vjera, zadata riječ, sigurnost."* (Borislav Stojović, Toponimi u Barskoj opštini. Matica, Godina XII, Broj 45, Proljeće 2011, Cetinje – Podgorica 2011, page 112)

³⁹² A form of the word *shkurre* or *shkorre* (bush or shrub) that appears in certain Albanian regions. There is also a forest in the Fandi valley of Mirdita named *Shkore*. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes VII, S-ZH, Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 2006, p.62)

³⁹³ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 56

³⁹⁴ These toponyms have been collected by: Jovan Vukmanović (Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 365), Božidar Šekularac and Cvetko Pavlović (Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, Toponimija opštine Bar. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p. 170-173) and Pavle Radusinović (Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, pages 35-37). In Gluhi Do there are also some toponyms

Brishta, Kamtheza, Murriz, Burg, Bjeshkëza, Lesh, Fier, Luca, Plakë Marija, Čafa and Ndërsukë.³⁹⁵ One hundred years ago, the Serbian ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, within this same village, had encountered the toponym *Maraševa Glavica*,³⁹⁶ the root of which seems to be from the Albanian anthroponym Maraš.³⁹⁷ From there and further north, but always within the boundaries of Crmnica, in the settlement of Utrg, a small water source is called Burovina.³⁹⁸ Since it is about a hydronym, the closest etymological possibility seems to be the Albanian word buron, because it expresses exactly the reason and type of place. In addition, in Utrg, there are other names of a similar nature, such as *Lereza*, *Barine*, *Burge*, *Dušak*, *Čoke*, *Šterbina* and *Prekočeva Glavica*,³⁹⁹ for which the Albanian language lexicon provides the words Lareza, Barinë, Burg, Dushk, Çukë, Shterpina and the anthroponym Preka as a possibility of origin. While in the village next to it, in Optičići, the toponyms *Brišta*, *Tanušica*, *Barina*, *Pleta*, *Bardolina* and *Škoze*⁴⁰⁰ are also microtoponyms formed according to Albanian language.⁴⁰¹

On the eastern side of the region of Cermnica, above the waters of Lake Skadar, there is a small island called *Grmožur*. This Slavic word means storm, but it is Johan Georg von Hahn's

such as Kaldoči and Kikove rupe (Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 37), which in the form as they are given, do not have a precise meaning in Albanian, but at the same time it is difficult to consider them of Slavic origin.

³⁹⁵ Luca is a very common surname among Albanians. It appears both in Albania and Kosovo; Doči, Kika and Relja are Albanian surnames, where the latter also appears in the albanian colony of Zara. (Jahja Drançolli, Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku, Zagreb 2019, p.179); Murriz is an auspicious Albanian word, which also appears in the toponymy within today's Albanian area, such as Murrizet in Ulqin, Murrizi i madh in Pukë, Çuka e Murrizit in Gramsh and Skrapar, Qafa e Murrizit in Kolonjë and Tepelenë and Murriz - Kozarë in Lushnje. (Kolec Topalli, Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p.1018-1019)

³⁹⁶ Јован Ердeљановић, Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве, Београд 1978, page 194;

³⁹⁷ In the village of Gluhi do, until 1973, lived four houses of the Dreševići bloodline. (Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 33). This last name in the form Dreshej and Dreshevići is encountered even today among Albanians, first in the region of Hoti, and then in the western part of Kosovo.

³⁹⁸ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p.333

³⁹⁹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p.333-335

⁴⁰⁰ Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, Toponimija opštine Bar. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.191-194; Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 337

⁴⁰¹ From Albanian Brishta, Tanush, Barina, Bleta, Bardh and Shkozë.

records from 1854 that open the way for an additional interpretation. The aforementioned Austrian researcher knows the island under the name Gurmešur.⁴⁰² Now, in case there is no confusion on his part, there is a possibility that the origin of this toponym is from the Albanian sentence *gur me zhur*, as is the composition of the land of this island,⁴⁰³ although it cannot be excluded the option for its Slavic source. A little above, in the northernmost part of the region, lies the village of Trnovo, which hides place names of pre-Slavic culture such as *Bardine kuće*, *Mijela*, *Brina*, *Doči*, *Bardi* and *Maroševina*,⁴⁰⁴ some of which are probably remnants of the early proto-Albanian communities.⁴⁰⁵ However, a similar nature of toponyms can be seen in Brčeli, an old settlement that is mentioned as early as 1326.⁴⁰⁶ Here a piece of land is called *Grošta*,⁴⁰⁷ while around the village there are several plots called *Ćošice*, *Baline*, *Tušin do*, *Barine* and *Ljuteza*,⁴⁰⁸ the origin of which coincides with the Albanian language.⁴⁰⁹ The meaning of the latter can also be derived from the Slavic language (*ljuto*), but because the toponym has the suffix *za*, the closest possibility seems to be the word *luteza*, which in Albanian means a small place of prayer.

The register of toponyms which have a partial or total source from the Albanian language lexicon in Crmnička Nahija does not end with the examples given above. In the village of

⁴⁰² Johan Georg von Hahn – Studime Shqiptare, IDK, Tirane, page 162

⁴⁰³ Zhur is an Albanian word for a fine stone layer, similar to gravel.

⁴⁰⁴ Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, Toponimija opštine Bar. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.208; ; Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнoлошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, pages 351-352

⁴⁰⁵ Bardine Kuće, Brine and Mijela probably derive from Bardh, brinje and miell in Albanian. The latter will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on the tribal region of Piper. Doči appears as a frequent surname even today among Albanians, while on the toponym Maroševina, the etymology is uncertain, since both ethnic cultures, such as Albanians and Serbs, have explanations for it.

⁴⁰⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнoлошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 56

⁴⁰⁷ Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве, Београд 1978, page 193; Most likely from the Albanian word *groshë* - bean, lentil. It was originally thought to be a Slavic loanword from *grah* or *grasha*, until Norbert Jokl's interpretation. According to him, it is completely impossible, for phonetic and formal reasons, that the Albanian word *groshë* has the source of the Slavic words given as optional. Therefore, in his opinion, it was a local expression of the Albanian language, with an Indo-European source, a hypothesis later supported by Henrik Barić and Eqrem Çabej. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes IV. DH-J, Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 1996, p.294)

⁴⁰⁸ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнoлошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p. 342-343

⁴⁰⁹ Alb. Grushta, Balli, Qosh, Barinë and Tush (anthroponymy)

Sotonići, which for the first time appears in historical materials in the fifteenth century,⁴¹⁰ a cave is known under the name *Ujkova pećina*,⁴¹¹ an Albanian-Slavic linguistic symbiosis. (*alb. ujk, srb. pećina*). Then, according to the ethnologist Mirko Barjaktarović, even the very name of the village has a foreign nature, that is, non-Serbian and may be a remnant inherited from the old Albanian-Vlach communities,⁴¹² an opinion later accepted by researchers Jovan Vukmanović,⁴¹³ Cvetko Pavlović,⁴¹⁴ Savo Lekić,⁴¹⁵ Tatomir Vukanović,⁴¹⁶ etc. From there towards the north, in the village of Dupilo, which is defined as a mostly rocky environment, a place is called Prinje,⁴¹⁷ a name that seems to be a deviation of the Albanian word *brinjë*. There is also an inhabited part here called Relja, apparently according to some old bloodline which may have extended to Gluhi Do, where a microtoponym similar to Reljići also appears. For the researcher Aladin Husić, it is very possible that one of these two localities was once a village in itself, since in the register of the Sanjak of Dukagjin, from 1570, there is a village with almost the same name.⁴¹⁸ In the discussion on the ethnic type that the aforementioned community may have belonged, the information that one of the surnames of the albanian people of Zadar, who emigrated from this area, is Reljići or Relja is quite relevant.⁴¹⁹ However, within the region of Crmnica there are

⁴¹⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p. 56

⁴¹¹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p. 360

⁴¹² Mirko Barjaktarović, *Novija dinarska plemena*. Glasnik etnografskog instituta 35. Srpska akademja nauka i umetnosti. Etnografski Institut. Beograd 1986, p. 74;

⁴¹³ According to the researcher Jovan Vukmanović, this settlement does not bear a Slavic name, moreover, it is a name inherited from an old Illyrian-Roman folk stratum, whose descendants, according to his conviction, are the Albanians and Vlachs. (Jovan Vukmanović, *Crmnica – Antropogeografska i Etnološka ispitivanja*, Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti, Posebna izdanja, Odeljenje društvenih nauka, Odbor za filozofiju i drustvenu teoriju, Knjiga 1, Beograd 1988, p. 51)

⁴¹⁴ Cvetko Pavlovic, *Pomeni Vlaha na područje opštine Bar*, Matica, Godina XII, broj 46/47, Ljeto/Jesen 2011, Cetinje-Podgorica 2011, p. 275

⁴¹⁵ Savo Lekić, *Najstariji pomeni crmničkih naselja*. Matica, broj 44, godina XI, zima 2010, Cetinje-Podgorica, p. 192;

⁴¹⁶ Tatomir Vukanović, *Terminologija plemenskog društva u Crnoj Gori*. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.207

⁴¹⁷ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, p. 191

⁴¹⁸ Aladin Husić, *Crna Gora u defteru Dukadinskog sandzaka iz 1570 godine*. Državni Arhiv Crne Gore & Universitet u Sarajevu – Orientalni Institut, Posebna izdanja LI, Cetinje-Sarajevo 2017, page 171; The village registered in the defter (register) is called Hreljići (ibid., page 171)

⁴¹⁹ It is about the Relja branch of the Vladovići kinship. According to Jahja Drançolli, they are genuine Arbëreshes and live in the village of Dračevac-Malpaga in Zara. (Jahja Drançolli, *Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore*. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku, Zagreb 2019, page 179); Relja and Reljići as anthroponyms and patronyms also appear in the medieval charters of the monastery of Deçan. According to Serbian researcher Milica Grković,

other non-Slavic microtoponyms, for the etymology of which it is necessary to examine the Albanian linguistic fund. It is about *Burgeze*, *Ćeskot*, *Ronkalje* and *Liproš* in the village of *Braćeni*; *Škarpa* and *Releza* in the village of Tomići, etc.⁴²⁰

Collective memory is another field from which detailed data can be collected regarding the presence of the Albanian element along the historical journey of the current Montenegrin population within the region. Pursuant to inherited family stories, the Đonović bloodline, whose habitat is the village of Tomići, is said to be a colony that came from the depths of the current Albanian territory. According to the informants of the Russian researcher Pavel Apolonović Rovinski, this community is said to have an early origin from the region of Mirdita,⁴²¹ but this narrative is contested by two other different theories. For the ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, a Catholic from Hoti is mentioned as the founder of this kinship,⁴²² while Toma Orahovac, another Montenegrin personality, writes that the *Donović* community, based on their own memories, must have originated from Kruja.⁴²³ According to him, the aforementioned group had initially stopped in the Zeta plain, where a part of them headed towards Žabljak, (they were *integrated by changing their name to Omerčević*), while the other part finally migrated to the village of Tomići in the region of Crmnica.⁴²⁴ However, this is not the only community within this village that is said to be of origin from the current Albanian territory. Pursuant to the stories collected by Vukmanović, it is also the Ćetković and Lješević bloodlines who share a similar history, and it is said that their ancestors had left the ancestral city of Lezha, to take the road to the north. In the new environment, that is, in Tomići, over time, these two groups marked a tremendous economic

they are not names of Serbian culture. (Милица Грковић, Имена у Дечанским хрисовулама. Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду. Институт за јужнословенске језике. Нови Сад. 1983, page 211)

⁴²⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p.340-357; *Shkarpa* is an Albanian word with an ancient Greek origin. It means thin, dry branches or twigs to light the fire. (Kolec Topalli, Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p.1391)

⁴²¹ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 48

⁴²² According to the researcher Erdeljanović, the Đonović bloodline in the village of Tomići in Crmnica, together with the communities Pajović in Donja Sela, Omerčević in Žabljak and Humci in Cetinje have the same origin. This is discussed in more detail in the Katunska Nahija chapter within this paper. For more, see: Јован Ердeљановић, Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве, Београд 1978, pages 302-303.

⁴²³ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 91

⁴²⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 91

rise, immediately managing to take possession of large areas of land as far as Dupilo and Smokovijenac.⁴²⁵ Both bloodlines mentioned above have never intermarried and for a long time have shared the same area to bury their fallen and dead.⁴²⁶ Meanwhile, with origin from *Arbanija* is held to be the community of Ratknići or Raknići, who were previously called Fuga, a surname that still lives among Albanians today,⁴²⁷ but there is a deficit of data to assume a blood relationship between them. A branch of this bloodline, for the motive of revenge, is said to have moved towards the settlement of Kurilo in Zeta and today they are known under the name Matovići.⁴²⁸ Moreover, from the current Albanian depths, more precisely from Shkodra, is also considered the Popovići bloodline, which populates the Gornji Brčeli settlement,⁴²⁹ which, like Tomići, are villages of a tribal community.⁴³⁰

The data from the Montenegrin collective memory say that in the village of Sotonići, most of the families derive from one bloodline, until the first of them is remembered as *Mihailo Dukađinac*. There is little information about his life. Pursuant to the inherited memories, it is known that his emigration happened sometime in the 15th century, due to the Ottoman attacks towards the Albanian north. Since he is said to have been sheltered by Ivan Crnojević, where he was employed as his servant,⁴³¹ this man cannot have met the high ranks of the northern Albanian nobility. According to people's memories, he finally settled in this village after marrying a girl from the kinship of the aforementioned Zeta feudal lord,⁴³² with whom he had

⁴²⁵ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988. page 90

⁴²⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988. page 90

⁴²⁷ This example is given more to clarify the nature of the adjective than to allude to a connection between them.

⁴²⁸ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 91

⁴²⁹ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 48; In addition to Rovinski, Toma Oraovac also recorded this narrative from the people (Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 86)

⁴³⁰ The villages of Tomići, Gornji Brčeli, Donji Brčeli and Brijegje are settlements of the Brčeli tribe of Crmnica.

⁴³¹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p. 108

⁴³² Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p. 108

four male children.⁴³³ From the reproduction and increase in number of this community, sixteen bloodlines arose with different names such as: Vukosavović, Stojanović, Rasalić, Stanković, Popović, Kojičić, Savičević, Damjanović, Marković, Igumnović, Mirosaljić, Belojević, Turčinović, Bošković, Živanović and Markišić.⁴³⁴ Outside of this line, the Ulama bloodline also appears in Sotonići, a name that does not belong in the Slavic culture, whose origin is said to be from Kuči,⁴³⁵ a territory where the Albanian component is very strong. As for the Dobrković bloodline, it is said that they are a colony that came sometime in the first part of the 17th century from Šestan,⁴³⁶ an environment where there are still settlements where Albanian is spoken. In this context, Savo Orović, in a scientific paper on Albanian-Montenegrin ethnographic similarities, published in 1967, expressed himself in the form of a statement about the influence of Albanian blood in the history of this village.⁴³⁷

In the publications of the British researcher Edith Durham on the Balkan peoples, there is a record where it is said that the Plamenac bloodline in the village of Boljevići acknowledged their Albanian origin,⁴³⁸ although this is contradicted by the Montenegrin historiography, which sends their roots to Herzegovina. Within this settlement there are also two other kinships, named Lekovići and Jovalekovići, in which the Albanian element is detectable in their surnames, since they seem to be formed based on the name Lekë in Albanian. According to oral tradition, the distant origin of these two groups is thought to be the city of Budva, from where they are said to have settled temporarily in Spič and then moved towards the region of Crmnica.⁴³⁹ In the case of the Jovaleković community, another Albanian cultural element is also distinct in relation to their

⁴³³ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988. р.107-108

⁴³⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988. р.107-108

⁴³⁵ "Презиме Улама може бити и туђег поријекла." (Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р. 109

⁴³⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р. 110

⁴³⁷ Саво Оровић, Сличност фолклора код Арбанаса и Црногораца, Рад XIV конгреса Савеза фолклориста Југославије у Призрену 1967, Београд 1974, page 480

⁴³⁸ Edith Durham – Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve. Argeta-LMG, Tiranë 2019, page 58

⁴³⁹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.139

name. The connection of two anthroponyms in marking and forming a surname is a very common phenomenon among the highlanders of Gegëria, as the word Ljebibaj, Ndređoni, Deromemaj, Đonbaljaj, Nikpreljaj, Đekmarkaj, Pjeternikaj, Dedivanaj etc. Based on this cultural logic, which does not appear widespread among Serbs, the surname Jovaleković seems to have been formed, producing the same linguistic example as the Albanian surname Đomarkaj, but in both cases a letter has been removed from the first name.⁴⁴⁰ However, the bloodlines mentioned above are not the only family communities, in the anatomy of which appears the Albanian nuance. According to the inherited memories, in the village of Boljevići there is also another bloodline called Marovići, who are believed to be of origin from the Albanian region of Hoti, from where the first of them is said to have first moved to Zeta, to then move towards Crmnica.⁴⁴¹

Memories preserved and passed on with fanaticism by the people, which tell about the past of the Montenegrin families within the region and their relationship with the Albanians, also appear in the village of Godinje where a bloodline called Jovovici appears, whose founder is considered Đon Kola, an emigrant from Tuzi due to the danger of blood vengeance.⁴⁴² As he settled into this new environment, he was succeeded by a male child whom he gives the orthodox name Jovan,⁴⁴³ and his descendants immediately increase in number and are named after him. The Nikač family community is another community, whose ancestors are said to have migrated to Godinje from the tribal region of Kelmendi, more precisely from the village of Nikč.⁴⁴⁴ They are remembered as Catholics, while folk narratives treat this movement as a development during the 16th century.⁴⁴⁵ In addition to them, the elders of the Perazići bloodline are also thought to have had the same origin, a rather branched group that appears not only within this settlement

⁴⁴⁰ Jovan Leković became Jovaleković, while Đon Markaj became Đomarkaj.

⁴⁴¹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р. 141

⁴⁴² A settlement near Podgorica populated, in consistency, to a predominant degree by Albanians.

⁴⁴³ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.139

⁴⁴⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.142

⁴⁴⁵ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.142

but also in other parts of present-day Montenegro.⁴⁴⁶ However, the examples given above are not the only finds within the village of Godinje that speak in this context. Thus, the kinship group Leković, which at the beginning of the 20th century numbered forty-five houses, making up over 50% of the entire village,⁴⁴⁷ has its early origins from Dinoša of Gruda,⁴⁴⁸ a settlement continuously inhabited by Albanians. The first of them was called in Albanian, *Leka Geli*, who after a feud in the country of origin moves towards the village of Godinje, while one of his brothers stops in Podgorica, where he founds the Lekići family line.⁴⁴⁹ The Velović community is also believed to be of distant origin from Gruda, but they had lived in Krajina (alb. Kraja) for years. Andrija Jovičević, after research in the field, had come to the conclusion that the aforementioned bloodline is of the same blood as the Paljajs of Gruda,⁴⁵⁰ giving additional importance to the inherited story.

In the inhabited units of the Podgor tribe, which are four villages,⁴⁵¹ some of the bloodlines that had been there for a long time are also held as groups coming from the old Albanian territories. For example, in the settlement of Utrg, according to Pavel Rovinski, the Hajduković bloodline was said to originate from the tribal region of Hoti.⁴⁵² The Montenegrin publicist Toma Oraovac, in the first part of the 20th century, in addition to accepting the record of the Russian researcher as granted, adds that the community in question still had relatives in

⁴⁴⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.143; According to Vukmanović, there are branches of the Perazići bloodline in the village of Vukovci, Mikulići, in the Paštrović region as well as in Podgorica, but the latter are known by the surname Bibezić. Ibid., page 143.

⁴⁴⁷ Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве, Београд 1978, page 204

⁴⁴⁸ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р. 143

⁴⁴⁹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р. 143; According to the oral tradition, the brother who remained in Podgorica had a son named Lekë, (probably named after the brother who moved to Godinje). The Lekići bloodline of Podgorica was founded by him. (ibid., p. 143)

⁴⁵⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.142-143

⁴⁵¹ Utrg, Optičići, Miković, Orahovo

⁴⁵² Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 48

the first place of origin.⁴⁵³ The Strahinja and Jovetići groups have the same origin, sharing this same bloodline.⁴⁵⁴ Meanwhile, the Vujačić, Stjepčević and Janjević bloodline in the village of Optičići are also held to be with roots from Hoti, the first of which is said to have come to the region of Crmnica in the first phase of the Ottoman invasion.⁴⁵⁵ Not far from there, in Mikovići, in addition to finding traces of the pre-Slavic tribe of the Macuri,⁴⁵⁶ a very old bloodline, called Đalci, also appears in parallel.⁴⁵⁷ Here, about half a century before, the researcher Vukmanović had recorded an oral tradition from the people, according to which this community was named by its leader, a man called *Đak*,⁴⁵⁸ undoubtedly a nickname, for the meaning of which one should consult, among other things, the Albanian language fund.⁴⁵⁹ Moreover, the toponym Mikovići itself may be from the word mik, an Albanian form of the Latin *amicus*. However, in addition to the communities listed above, folk memories here also speak of several bloodlines which are considered dead or departed, some of which bear Albanian surnames such as Doči, Prentašević, Koči, etc.⁴⁶⁰

Folk stories that tell about the Albanians and other pre-Slavic elements in the region of Crmnica, live also in the settlements that have been populated for a long time by the Dupilo tribal community.⁴⁶¹ In the central village named after the tribe itself, the Dajković bloodline

⁴⁵³ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р. 74

⁴⁵⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р. 74

⁴⁵⁵ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.78-79; According to oral tradition, a branch of them was established early in Grahovo of Katunska Nahija. (ibid.).

⁴⁵⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.73

⁴⁵⁷ According to linguist Idriz Ajeti, the word Đalac, Đalci comes from Albanian. See for more: Idriz Ajeti, Studime për gjuhën shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 584

⁴⁵⁸ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р. 81

⁴⁵⁹ Alb. Gjak, srb. Krv, eng. Blood.

⁴⁶⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.72

⁴⁶¹ Dupilo tribe consists of four villages: Dupilo, Trnovo, Komarno and Papratnica.

keeps the memory of coming from the upper Ceklin, but of distant origin from Kelmendi,⁴⁶² just like the Mašanović and Vukoslavčević kinship in the village of Papratnica.⁴⁶³ While in the village of Komarno, still within the Dupilo tribe, a part of the inhabitants belong to the *Lekići* bloodline, named after their ancestor called Leka in Albanian. The Church of St. George (*Srb. Sveti Đorđe*), which is located inside this settlement, was first their church, before it was renovated by the Vujović family in 1877, when it became a religious object for common use.⁴⁶⁴

Estimated from the fund of inherited memories, the approximate circumstance also appears in the extreme southern part of the region that is populated by the Limljani tribal community. Here, according to Montenegrin narratives, there are several human communities that are held to have come from the depths of the current Albanian environment. Thus, in the Srednje selo settlement, the Klisići bloodline attracts attention, for whose origin there are several theories, where one of them (*collected from the people at the end of the 19th century by Ilija Hajduković*), says that it is a colony from Këlcyra.⁴⁶⁵ In addition to them, there is another bloodline within this village, called Darčevići, which is held to have early origins from Albania.⁴⁶⁶ And in the village of Donje Selo, also within the Limljani tribe, a kinship community is called *Cakovići* and they are remembered as quite powerful people in the past.⁴⁶⁷ There is no information about their origin from any Albanian environment, but the name of the bloodline, including the founder called Caka, corresponds to the dialects of many today's Albanian

⁴⁶² Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.99; They are a branch of the Djakovići bloodline in Ceklin; In Dupilo there is also a community called Vučinić, who are said to be from the old population, although they themselves do not say anything about their origin. (ibid., p. 98)

⁴⁶³ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.100-101

⁴⁶⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.103

⁴⁶⁵ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, р.130; Kelcyra - Settlement in the south of today's Albania.

⁴⁶⁶ "У свом раду о Црмници, Илија Хајдуковић наводи да су они старином из Арбаније." (Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 130)

⁴⁶⁷ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна изданја, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 133

communities, from the north and the south, such as *Cakaj*, *Cakuli*, *Cako*, *Cakani*, *Cake*, *Cakolli*, *Cakrani*, etc. In connection with what is discussed in this unit, the information may be relevant that in the territory of the Limljani tribe there is a settlement (*zaseok*) called Karuč, ⁴⁶⁸ a non-Slavic notion ⁴⁶⁹ that appears in the form of a surname even among the albanians people of Zadar. ⁴⁷⁰ Although this colony is said to have migrated to the Croatian coastal city from neighbouring regions such as Krajina and Šestan, the presence of the surnames Reljić and Karuč among them, surnames which correspond to the names of two old settlements within Crmnica, creates room to suspect that some of them may have moved from this region as well. Their declaration as albanians in Zadar, is an argument that says that these communities had the same feeling in their country of origin, because it cannot be thought that they had been Albanianized in the Croatian territory.

Although in the strict sense the villages of Seoce and Krnjice do not meet within the borders of Crmnica, given the geographical position and the close connections of these two settlements with the rest of the region, some researchers conditionally treat them within it. ⁴⁷¹ With a mainly rocky relief and positioned on the western side of Lake Shkodra, these two villages, like most of the neighbouring settlements, have something from Albanians at their core. In addition to the records of Mariano Bolizza, where *Deda Sucha* and *Gioan Kruta* are mentioned as their commanders, which were discussed above, there are also the inherited memories that speak in this context. Thus, in the village of Seoca, still according to the collective memory, the Orlandić bloodline is held to be with early origins from the tribal region of Kelmendi. ⁴⁷² Oral tradition seems reliable since until the beginning of the 20th century, there

⁴⁶⁸ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, р.53; In the Ottoman register of 1523, among the inhabitants of the village of Karuč there is also a Nikola Đon (Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića, Druga sveska, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, p. 135), whose patronym is in Albanian.

⁴⁶⁹ Savo Lekić, Najstariji pomeni crmničkih naselja. Matica, broj 44, godina XI, zima 2010, Cetinje-Podgorica, p.192

⁴⁷⁰ Jahja Drançolli, Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku, Zagreb 2019, p.179

⁴⁷¹ Митар Пешикан, Зетско-Хумско-Рашка имена. Ономатолошки Прилози III, Београд 1982, р. 85; Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, р.50; “*Crmnici su privremeno pripadala i sela Seoca i Krnjice. Od 1878 godine ta sela ponovo su pripojena Krajini. Međutim, stanovnici tih sela srodniiji su s Crmničanima nego s Krajinjanim, pa su ušli u sastav Crmnice.*” (Savo Lekić, Najstariji pomeni crmničkih naselja. Matica, broj 44, godina XI, zima 2010, Cetinje-Podgorica, p.190)

⁴⁷² Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, р.106

was a close relationship between them and the Albanian residents of Selca.⁴⁷³ Both sides were invited to festive family occasions, they met being aware of closeness to each other.⁴⁷⁴ From this line must also have been Vuko Orlandić, a very distinguished captain during the 17th century who also appears in the documents of his time as *Vuco Cernizza Albanese*.⁴⁷⁵ Since this description is in accordance with the collective memory, according to which the Orlandići bloodline is believed to be descended from the aforementioned Albanian tribe, then its description as *albanese* cannot be presented as a confusion due to Venetian Albanians, as read in some Balkan papers. However, other Slavized communities, within this village, who keep memories of their origin from Kelmendi, are the Dabanovići, Popovići and Perovići kinships.⁴⁷⁶

About a hundred years ago, the Montenegrin ethnologist Andrija Jovičević, inside the village of Seoce, had recorded other stories, which tell that some of the bloodlines there could essentially have been non-Slavic communities in the beginning. According to the records collected by him, the *Lekić* line was said to have the same blood as a part of the Albanians of Šestan. The first of them was called Zef, while his distant origin is believed to be from Shkreli, a mountainous region north of Shkodra.⁴⁷⁷ One of his six children was called Lekë,⁴⁷⁸ and it is said that the whole community got its name from him. According to the research of the researcher Jovičević, there was also another community in Seoce, called *Pajovići*, who were considered to be descendants of Gjergj Kastrioti.⁴⁷⁹ Although claims of this kind in science are rightly treated with a lot of reserve, the importance of this narrative lies in the fact that the aforementioned bloodline would have to have something from the Albanians, such as the language or the clothes, so that their oral tradition could be reliable as of other tribes, especially as of their neighbours of Šestan and Krajina, who are described as Albanians in all time intervals, because a completely Slavic anatomy in them would make their claim easily refutable.

⁴⁷³ Selca is a large village in Kelmend of current Albania. The inhabitants are all, without exception, Albanians.

⁴⁷⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 106

⁴⁷⁵ “Somario s’attestati e ducali di servitii prestati alla Serenissima Republica dal governor Vuco Cernizza, Albanese con carichi oltre quelli di soldato” (Blažo Orlandić, Monografija Gornjih Seoca – Crmnica, Bar, 2004, p.82); According to the researcher Savo Lekić, captain Vuko Orlandić was one of the candidates to be appointed as the leader of Montenegro. (Savo Lekić, Najstariji pomeni Crmničkih naselja. Matica, Broj 44, Godina XI, Zima 2010, Cetinje-Podgorica 2010, page 197)

⁴⁷⁶ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 106

⁴⁷⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 105

⁴⁷⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 105

⁴⁷⁹ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 107

The village of Krnjice is another environment where pre-Slavic nuances were revealed. In addition to a large number of microtoponyms, whose linguistic origin is in Albanian,⁴⁸⁰ it is also the collective memory that speaks in this context. Thus, according to the inherited narratives, the Đonković bloodline is related by bloodline to the Karanikaj kinship of Šestan. Both communities share the same ancestor, named Ndreka,⁴⁸¹ an Albanian version of the name Andrea. Ethnologist Jovičević, who is known as the author of a monograph on the Montenegrin coastal area, where, among other things, he also addressed the village of Krnjice, writes that until the middle of the 19th century, the population of this settlement spoke Albanian.⁴⁸² According to him, this was a consequence of mixed marriages,⁴⁸³ a rather dubious interpretation, because it was Šestan that was then subjected to a severe risk of assimilation, which influenced the abandonment of their villages. In this context, it is clear that the inertia of ethnic alienation worked in favour of the opposite side, a phenomenon recognized a century ago by the Serbian scholar Jovan Cvijić. According to him, in the time interval between the 18th and 19th centuries, a large number of Albanians may have been serbized in Crmnica, Kuč and in the southeast of Boka of Kotor.⁴⁸⁴ Rovinski seems to have been involved in the discussions on the merging process or the transformation of Albanians into Slavs, since in some cases within his ethnographic works on the Montenegrin territory, he mentions a phenomenon like this likely to have occurred in the region of Crmnica.⁴⁸⁵

Data from the collective memory on the territory of the region that is discussed in this unit of the paper, in addition to speaking about the nature and cultural specifics of the arriving communities, also create a rough overview of the migration of many old groups. It seems that their departure is likely to have happened due to the deficit of combat power, which has made it

⁴⁸⁰ The microtoponyms in the village of Krnjice which appear purely in Albanian or in symbiotic form are the following: Čafa, Kroneza, Suka, Četa, Petale, Gropeza, Brinja, Fietmale, Kok, Ljumbica, Muriz, Premovići, Rapaze, Crna Kodra, Fijereze, Kodr gurs, Močale, Krš Špenkut and Kaljundreć. These toponyms were recorded by Božidar Šekularac and Cvetko Pavlović. (Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, *Toponimija opštine Bar*. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.182-184 and 218-219)

⁴⁸¹ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 111

⁴⁸² Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 121

⁴⁸³ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 112

⁴⁸⁴ Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije*. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 248. Here Cvijić writes: "*u toku posledna dva veka posrbljeno dosta arbanasa u jugo-istočnoj Crnoj Gori (Crmnica i Kuči), kao i jugoistočno od Boke Kotorske*"

⁴⁸⁵ „Албанци који су овдје живјели дијелом су се повукли у планине, а дијелом су се стопили са придошлицама.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински – Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 48)

impossible to compete with the newly arrived communities in the region. According to the researcher Vukmanović, the oral tradition tells about serious moments of war between the two sides, especially in the villages of Gluhi Do, Sotonići and Dupilo, which ended with the breaking up of the old bloodlines. It is said that a part of them took shelter in the neighbouring Paštrovići region, from which the communities of Kalađurđevići, Kanjoši, Furlani, Bečići, Glavoči, etc. were formed.⁴⁸⁶ Their ethnic origin is difficult to be defined exactly, but based on the data that speak of a heterogeneous nature of the region in terms of origin, as well as the fact that some of these groups do not bear Serb names, the possibility of their a non-Slavic source cannot be left out of the discourse.

The findings listed so far, on the onomastic plane and collective memory, were also supported by the linguistic data, which speak about the existence of some Albanian features in the daily language of the region. According to Idriz Ajeti,⁴⁸⁷ the softness of the "k" sound in the dialect of Crmnica is the same as the way of pronunciation in Brisk and Šestan, thus this phenomenon is not encountered in any other Montenegrin region.⁴⁸⁸ According to him, the presence of a thick sound in speech is a linguistic characteristic of Albanian language and appears both before palatal and labial vowels.⁴⁸⁹ The other feature in the daily speech of the region that is discussed, is the way of constructing some sentences through the grammatical elements of Albanian language, where the researcher Branko Miletić, brings to the surface relevant data. According to him, in Sotonići, Godinje and Seoce, the conjunction *elle* is distinguished in daily communication,⁴⁹⁰ an element that does not belong in Slavic linguistics. In this context, there are many possibilities that its origin is from the Albanian conjunction *edhe*, which not only in the abovementioned villages, but also in a part of the current Albanian

⁴⁸⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p.57-58

⁴⁸⁷ One of the greatest and most prepared linguists among Albanians.

⁴⁸⁸ Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime të veçanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, pages 115-116; Brisk of Krajina and the region of Šestan, although abandoned now, were inhabited by Albanians until a few decades ago.

⁴⁸⁹ Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime të veçanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, pages 115-116

⁴⁹⁰ Бранко Милетић, Црмнички говор. Српски Диалектолошки Зборник, Књига IX, Српска Краљевска Академија. Београд 1940, page 447

population, including the colony of Albanian people of Zadar,⁴⁹¹ has taken the same form (*elle*). However, it seems that over time, within Crmnica, this linguistic element may have acquired other additional meanings.⁴⁹² Still, according to the data read in the paper of the researcher Miletić, it seems that this is not the only conjunction, whose linguistic source can be from the Albanian language lexicon. The vernacular language of the villages of Vir Pazar and Papratnice, according to him, also recognizes the use of the conjunction *ja*, which judging by the examples given (*ja ti ja ona, ja tako ja ovako*),⁴⁹³ seems to be again consisting of Albanian words (*alb. ja ti ja unë, ja ashtu ja kështu*). In conclusion, these can hardly be defined as borrowings that easily pass from one ethnic community to another, because they are not words that express objects, gender or actions, but they are important elements in the linguistic structure of a people.

2.4 Lješanska Nahija⁴⁹⁴

Almost every study created in the scientific circles that has to do with the territory discussed in this unit, as a starting point has had the breakdown of the appellative through which the aforementioned region is known in the people and the historical literature. Despite the fact that so far many different hypotheses have been raised, it seems that most of the famous and influential researchers have positioned themselves alongside two theories that are fundamentally different from each other. According to the first version that originates from the Montenegrin collective memory, Lješanska Nahija is a name given to a colony that arrived sometime between

⁴⁹¹ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike ne fushë të shqipes IV*, DH-J, Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i Gjuhësisë dhe Letërsisë, Tiranë 1996. page 62; Çabej also recorded the use of the conjunction “edhe” in the form “elle” in the region of Hoti. (ibid., page 62)

⁴⁹² It replaced the Slavic conjunction “jer”.

⁴⁹³ Бранко Милетић, *Црмнички говор*. Српски Диалектолошки Зборник, Књига IX, Српска Краљевска Академија. Београд 1940, page 448; The hypothesis of the researcher Branko Miletić, according to which this conjunction derives from the Turkish word “ja” which means “rarely” does not match the way of use, so it does not stand. (ibid., page 448)

⁴⁹⁴ Lješanska Nahija is the smallest part in terms of area in the old Montenegrin territory and lies on its eastern part. Unlike the first two parts, its geographical position consisting of lowlands and valleys means it has more suitable living conditions (Миливоје С. Ђуришић, *Љешанска Нахија*. Подгорица 2003, page 19). It is located between Riječka and Katunska Nahija, while on the eastern side it borders the region called Lješkopolje. According to the Serbian researcher Jovan Erdeljanović, unlike other parts, here there were only administrative divisions and the population is not organized into tribal communities. With its full name Lješanska Nahija is mentioned for the first time in the report of Nikolo Erizzo in 1692, while earlier its settlements were registered within the Leškopolje region (*Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore*, K-Per, Vijesti, Podgorica 2006, page 839-840).

the 16th and 17th centuries, from the coastal centre of Lezha.⁴⁹⁵ Although here there is a conflict with the documentary sources since the notion of *Lješnjani* is first mentioned in 1494 in the charter of Đurađ Crnojević and then in the documents of the chancelleries of Kotor in 1526,⁴⁹⁶ nevertheless the documents listed above do not seem to remove it from the discourse, but only correct the narrative of the people in the time dimension. The Montenegrin researcher Nikola Vukčević has offered a solution on this basis, at the same time he has made an approximation of the oral tradition and the written materials, keeping the idea of the arrival of a colony from Lezha, but moving the years of migration a little earlier, in accordance with archived resources.⁴⁹⁷ While the second version regarding the name of the region is given by the Serbian researcher Jovan Erdeljanović, who writes that it is possible that the notion Lješanska is based on the masculine anthroponym Leš,⁴⁹⁸ which appears quite widespread in Zeta during the Middle Ages, both among the aristocracy and among the general stratum of people. However, in the context of the topic, this does not make much of a difference, because just like the colony from Lezha, as well as the proper name Leš, they are related in one form or another to the Albanian ethnic body.

The scientific discipline that provides the most valuable data on the presence of old non-Slavic communities in Lješanska Nahija is thought to be toponymy, where a dense number of notions can be interpreted according to Albanian language. Based on this, the historian and Slavist Konstantin Jireček, in his volume on the history of the Serbs, in the form of a digression mentions the villages of Goljemade and Progonovići as names of Albanians within the region.⁴⁹⁹ According to collective memory, the latter locality is said to have taken its name from Progon Dukagjini,⁵⁰⁰ one of whose descendants is believed to have settled there at the turn of the 15th century.⁵⁰¹ Although the documentary basis of this narrative is poor, the basic importance lies in the fact that the aforementioned village is named after the anthroponym Progon in Albanian language, one of the most widespread names and beyond the provincial character among Albanians, based on which a large number of toponyms and microtoponyms have arisen, not

⁴⁹⁵ Јован Ердeљановић, *Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, р.106; Миливоје С. Ђуришић, *Љешанска Нахија*. Подгорица 2003, р.17

⁴⁹⁶ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, *Љешанска Нахија*. Подгорица 2003, page 16

⁴⁹⁷ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, *Љешанска Нахија*. Подгорица 2003, page 17

⁴⁹⁸ Јован Ердeљановић, *Стара Црна Гора- Слово Љубве*, Београд 1978, page 107

⁴⁹⁹ Константин Јиречек, *Историја Срба. Друга књига, Културна историја*, Београд 1952, page 34

⁵⁰⁰ Симо Радуновић, *Прогоновићи*. Титоград 1972, page 7

⁵⁰¹ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, *Љешанска Нахија*. Подгорица 2003, page 148

only in Lješanska Nahija but also beyond it. Thus, in the tribal region of Trijeshi⁵⁰² there is a rocky place near the Cem river which is known through the notion of Progon;⁵⁰³ in the north of Gjirokastra, a village is called Progonat; east of Vlora, a mountain is called Progonica, etc. While Goljemade, a locality mentioned in historical sources as early as 1451,⁵⁰⁴ may have taken shape as a toponym through the combination of the words *gojë* (*mouth*) and *madh* (*big*).⁵⁰⁵ The Albanian linguist Idriz Ajeti seems quite convinced about the Albanian source of this notion,⁵⁰⁶ like Vasa Ćubrilović⁵⁰⁷ and Savo Orović,⁵⁰⁸ for whom the name of the village Goljemade belongs to the Albanian linguistic fund. In addition, the microtoponym Šakular also appears within this locality,⁵⁰⁹ the source of which, as will be explained in a later chapter, is considered a linguistic remnant from the ancestors of today's Albanians.

Unlike the two cases given above, a more complex circumstance appears regarding the affiliation of the notion Buronji, which names another village within the region. As a toponym, it has a lot of presence in the area of Vlora and Delvina, but it also appears in other areas, such as north of Mostar in Bosnia. As far as the origin is concerned, there is a chance that it is a legacy from non-Slavic societies, therefore from the fathers of Albanians, since *buronjë* is an exact word of the Albanian linguistic fund and means a kind of snake, perhaps with mythological attributes, that wraps itself around a person or an animal.⁵¹⁰ Then, the notion that constitutes the essence of this toponym has other analogous examples in the Albanian language, such as *buron* (water springs) or *mburojë* (shield), where the latter seems like a very competitive option. Because a translation into Slavic would produce the expression *štit* (shield), which corresponds to the name

⁵⁰² Trijeshi (srb.Zatrijebač) The tribal region in the current Montenegrin territory, continuously populated by Albanians.

⁵⁰³ Skender Gashi, *Toponimia e regjionit të Trieshit I, Koha, Viti III, Tetor-Nëntor, Titograd, 1980, page 534*

⁵⁰⁴ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, *Љешанска Нахија. Подгорица 2003, page 185*

⁵⁰⁵ Константин Јиречек, *Историја Срба. Друга књига, Културна историја, Београд 1952, page 34*

⁵⁰⁶ Idriz Ajeti, *Studime për gjuhën shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime të veçanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 49*

⁵⁰⁷ Васа Ћубриловић, *Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд 1974, page 63*

⁵⁰⁸ Саво Оровић, *Граничне етничке групе између Црне Горе и Албаније. Сојуз на здруженијата на фолклористите на Југославија. Зборник од XIX конгрес на Сојузот на здруженијата на фолклористите на Југославија. Крушево 1972, Скопје 1977, page 138*

⁵⁰⁹ Павле Радусиновић, *Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 448*

⁵¹⁰ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes II, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p.387*

of the village Štitari that lies nearby. In this case, it would be implied that both toponyms could have been created from one substrate, but because of the affiliation of the inhabitants, one has taken a Slavic form and the other an Albanian one. However, not far from there lies the village of Parci, which, according to the findings from the archaeological site, is thought to have been a very old locality.⁵¹¹ Some of the microtoponyms that appeared in this locality, such as *Gojan*, *Fijerska glavica*, *Ćafa*, *Rašeza*, *Ćukovi*, *Fijer*, *Klimenta*, *Fijerska Laka* and *Škopanova prodo*,⁵¹² serve to establish an early presence of communities that had the Albanian as their language.⁵¹³ Meanwhile, in the eastern part of the aforementioned region, near the Sitnica river, there is a not very dense settlement, known under the name of Šteke. According to representatives of Albanian linguistics, this toponym is in Albanian,⁵¹⁴ most likely derived from the word *shteg*, which means a passage, a path or a narrow road.⁵¹⁵

In the eastern side or part of Lješanska Nahija, another inhabited unit is the village of Krusi, the notion which names the locality and in the opinion of the researcher Jireček has a Latin nature.⁵¹⁶ Pursuant to the documentary sources, it is understood that it was an old settlement since it was mentioned as early as the fifteenth century, more precisely in a document from Venice dated 3 December 1451.⁵¹⁷ However, in the matter of the etymology of the toponym, in addition to Jireček's theory other interpretations also appear. For the ethnographer Pavel Apolonović Rovinski as well as the researcher Vasa Ćubrilović, the notion of Krusi belongs to the Albanian language linguistic fund,⁵¹⁸ a finding that is also supported by the

⁵¹¹ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Парци и њихови житељи Ђуришићи и Раичковићи. Културно-просвјетна заједница. Подгорица 1996, pages 16-17

⁵¹² Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Парци и њихови житељи Ђуришићи и Раичковићи. Културно-просвјетна заједница. Подгорица 1996., pages 16-43; Most likely they derive from words in Albanian such as: *goja*, *shkop*, *fier*, *qafa*, *rraseza* or *rrafsheza*, *çuka* and *Kelmendi*; Regarding the word *shkop* (stick), Çabej writes that it is an Albanian borrowing from old Greek, respectively from *skapos*. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes VII*, S-ZH. Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2006, p.62)

⁵¹³ The population of the village of Parci has until recently used, albeit to a small extent, also the anthroponyms such as *Prentaş* and *Prele* (Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Парци и њихови житељи Ђуришићи и Раичковићи. Културно-просвјетна заједница. Подгорица 1996, page 23 and the first appendix after page 326, chart 1)

⁵¹⁴ Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije Albanskog jezika*, Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova, Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti, Knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, page 111

⁵¹⁵ For researcher Ivan Popović, *šteg* (path) is an old Albanian word. (Ivan Popović, *Elemente vendase në fjalorin e gjuhës shqipe*. Përparimi – Revistë kulturore, Nr 2, Prishtinë, 1956, p.80)

⁵¹⁶ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Љешанска Нахија. Подгорица 2003, page 190

⁵¹⁷ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o jednošajih izmedju Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Knjiga IX, Zagreb 1890, page 408. * In this document it is mentioned by the name *Crussi*.

⁵¹⁸ „Има и досељеника из Кроје, сједишта славне албанске куће Кастриота. Они живе у селу Круси, чији је назив албанског поријекла и казује о истом поријеклу његових становника.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински,

Montenegrin collective memory. According to a story transmitted by the people, a few centuries ago a family community from Kruja settled in this territory, from which today most of the village derives, more precisely the bloodlines Ćetkovići, Perovići, Bojanovići, Račkovići and Raičevići.⁵¹⁹ In honour of the place of origin, it is said that the village was called similarly, Krusi,⁵²⁰ although as a possibility it seems doubtful, since in such a circumstance, the settlement would take the form Krutani. Therefore, the most likely theory in this case is that the colony, which according to collective memory is believed to have come from Kruja, named the village from another linguistic base, still without excluding the possibility that this toponym is earlier than their settlement in the area. Whatever the reason, it seems clear that this name has nothing to do with the Serbian language, but the meaning is sought between Albanian and Latin. Moreover, the territory of this village also knows some microtoponyms which are most likely in Albanian. It is about Rape and Bukurovac, examples collected and published by Pavle Radusinović,⁵²¹ which may have been formed from the Albanian expressions Rrap and Bukur.⁵²² Immediately to the right, there is another inhabited locality, the name of which does not coincide with the Slavic lexicon. This is the village of Beri, which, according to Idriz Ajeti, may have been called in this way according to the notion of *berr*, which in Albanian is used to denote a type of cattle.⁵²³ In a historical overview of Albanians and Serbs, about a century ago, the Croatian researcher Milan Shufflay included the name of this village in the list of toponyms built based on the Albanian language as well.⁵²⁴ Among other things, within the boundaries of the

Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, pages 57-58); Васа Ћубриловић, Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд 1974, page 63

⁵¹⁹ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Љешанска Нахија. Подгорица 2003, page 191

⁵²⁰ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, pages 57-58; Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Љешанска Нахија. Подгорица 2003, page 191

⁵²¹ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 484.

⁵²² For the Albanian source of the word *bukur* (beautiful), see: Хенрик Барић. Етимолошки и граматични прилози. Архив за арбанаску старину, језик и етнологију. Књига II, 1924, Београд 1925, p.79

⁵²³ "In the great ethnographic work *Stara Crna Gora*, the well-known Serbian ethnographer Jovan Erdeljanović records *Beri* and this name is also held by the population of the mentioned village. It seems to us that the source of this name should be looked for in the Albanian language, in which lives the word so common in pastoral life in general use: *berr* (ram or sheep, he-goat or she-goat)." (Idriz Ajeti, *Studime leksikore shqiptare-sllave*, *Gjurmime Albanologjike* 2, *Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtines*, Prishtinë 1969, page 39)

⁵²⁴ Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët*, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968, page 48

aforementioned settlement, there are also three places called *Kecan*, *Raseza* and *Fireza*,⁵²⁵ the root of which coincides with the words *kec*, *rrasëza* and *fierza* in Albanian.⁵²⁶

The toponym Bigor, which signifies a village name within the region discussed in this unit, is another matter of discussion as to the root of the word. In this context, the linguistic fund of Albanian as a possibility offers the notion of *biga*, an old term⁵²⁷ that is mainly used to describe peaks, surfaces and other rocky features.⁵²⁸ In the tribal region of Trijeshi, which continues to be the habitat of Albanians, there are a large number of microtoponyms that basically have this notion, such as *Biga e Dethtorit*, *Biga e Baturiqit*, *Biga e Rrogathit*, *Biga e Klyshit*, *Biga e Ruqerbullit* and *Biga e Robve*,⁵²⁹ while in Hot there is a place called Biga e Gjokës.⁵³⁰ All these are expressions that name rocks, caves or crevices between stones. In this context, since the current Montenegrin village lies in an area with a relatively dry and stony relief, it is very likely that the name of the settlement was created on this basis, so the word *bigë* can be an option that should be included in the discussion. Moreover, microtoponyms that essentially have the aforementioned word are also distinguished in other territorial parts owned by Albanians, such as in Shkrel, Rrjoll, Šalja and Shosh, but also in Opojë, Bar, Mavrovo and Grbalj where Albanians at different historical times appear intertwined with a Slavic-speaking population.⁵³¹ Then, in the discussion on the nature of this toponym, in an indirect form, a record within the Ottoman administrative materials of 1485 may be important, where the village of Bgur Tuz above Shkodra is mentioned, a locality inhabited by Albanians, judging by the

⁵²⁵ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 444

⁵²⁶ The toponyms Fierza or Fier also appear in the depths of the Albanian territory, such as the village of Fierza below the course of the Drin, Fieri city in Southern Albania, etc.

⁵²⁷ „ Мислим да не ће бити сувише смеоно, ако се покуша објаснити порекло арб. *bigë* из самоф арбанашког језика. То ми се чини оправдано и због тога што у арб. *bigë* није изолована реч.“ (Хенрик Барић. Етимолошки и граматични прилози. Архив за арбанаску старину, језик и етнологију. Књига I, Београд 1923, p.141)

⁵²⁸ In addition to the given explanation, the word Bigë also has other meanings in Albanian. In the village of Vuthaj, it means a kind of hook where the cattle feeders are hung, while in Koja near Triješi, it means a hole. (Abdullah Zymberi, Leksiku bujqësor e blegtoral i të folmëve shqipe të Malit të Zi, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1996, page 26); According to the researcher Eqrem Çabej, the idea of branching into two prevails in the word bigë, both in trees, rivers, and mountains. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes II, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p.227)

⁵²⁹ Skender Gashi, Toponimia e regjionit të Trieshit I, Koha, Viti III, Tetor-Nëntor, Titograd, 1980, page 515

⁵³⁰ Informant: Palokë Zef Nicaj, from the village of Arza e Traboini of Hoti. 70 years old.

⁵³¹ Biga e Gimajt (Shkrel), Maja biga e Shalës (Shalë), Maja e bigës (Shosh), Bigor (Dragash), Bigor (south of Gostivar), Bigova (Grbalj), Bigovica (Bar) and Bigëçore (Rrjoll).

anthroponymic data.⁵³² Although it is about two different settlements, it is obvious that the notions Bigor and Bgur correspond to each other, so they may have emerged as names from one linguistic substrate. However, according to the Croatian linguist Petar Skok, the word bigor with its close forms is a pre-Slavic notion, moreover, he defines it as a linguistic remnant from the Illyrian-Thracian communities, while in relation to its meaning it is stated that it means a stony place,⁵³³ with very much probability referring to the word bigë in Albanian language.

In addition to the cases listed above, there are other localities within the region, the names of which seem to reflect an early presence of Albanians, and one of them is thought to be the village of Brijë. As a toponym, most likely, it was formed based on the word breg, in fact the latter is considered as an expression of the Indo-European stem⁵³⁴ and as such is found in both the Slavic and the Albanian language lexicon. However, due to the very fact that the aforementioned name does not appear in the forms *bregovi* or *bregovine* in Slavic, it means that the toponym was formed according to the linguistic rules of Albanian language since when the word breg (hill) becomes plural among Albanians, it becomes brigje (hills), just like in cases where the plural of the word shteg (path) takes the form shtigje (paths), or the expression treg (market) changes to tregje (markets), etc. As an additional argument in this context, the fact that this term is encountered quite densely in the current Albanian depths, more precisely in Pogradec (*Maja e brigjeve*), in the region of Hoti (*Brigje*), in the district of Vlora (*Brigjet e qarrit*, *Brigjet e Matokogos*, *Brigjet e forta*), in Orikum (*Brigjet e Pasha Limanit*), west of Peja (*Brigje*), etc. Meanwhile, Mitar Pešikan, a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, known for his studies in the field of linguistics, also defines the name of the village of Brijë in Lješanska Nahija as a notion that belongs to the linguistic fund of Albanian language.⁵³⁵

Releza, which is a small village almost on the boundaries with the inhabited units of the district of Rijeka, is also thought to belong to the community of non-Slavic toponyms that have a presence in the region. As a notion, it also appears in the Paštrovići region, where Jovan

⁵³² Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 153

⁵³³ Petar Skok, *Etmologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga prva, A-J, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb 1971, page 147

⁵³⁴ Ivan Popović, *Elemente vendase në fjalorin e gjuhës shqipe*. Përparimi – Revistë kulturore, Nr 2, Prishtinë, 1956, p.77

⁵³⁵ *O konzervativnosti onomastike u ovom predelu svedoče npr. očuvana albanska imena kao Brijë (alb. brigje, bregovi, brda, obale)*”. (Mitar Pešikan, *Moguće onomastičke paralele imena putnih stanica na rimskom kontinentalnom putu kroz Crnu Goru*. Onomastica Jugoslavica. Vol 9. Poseban otisak. Zagreb 1982. page 95)

Vukmanović lists it in the framework of microtoponyms from Albanian language,⁵³⁶ clarifying its meaning as a poor water flow. According to this interpretation, it seems that today's Releza is a deviation of the word *rrallëza* in Albanian, a notion constructed through the combination of the word *rrallë* (rare) and the suffix *-za* as a linguistic characteristic of Albanians to express a small thing. Meanwhile, the last village within the region, whose name does not belong in Serbian linguistics is *Lekići*, a toponym formed based on the anthroponym *Lekë* in Albanian. According to Idriz Ajeti, both this name and the patronym *Lekići*, which appeared quite often in the Montenegrin territories, have roots in the linguistic culture of the Albanians.⁵³⁷ In this environment, several place names such as *Res* and *Špela* appear,⁵³⁸ which most likely have the same origin. As for the first given microtoponym, it can be assumed that it was formed based on the word *rreth* (eng. *circle*), since examples of this rotation are also distinguished in Kuči such as: *res od gropa*, *res od Dodoša*, *res Pjetrov*, (alb. *rrethi i gropës*, *rrethi i Dodoshit*, *rrethi i Pjetrit*), etc.⁵³⁹ While in the case of the second microtoponym, although the source word is Latin from *speleo*, the fact that it took the Albanian form *shpella* and not *spilja* in Slavic, is an indication that there was an Albanian-speaking population that treated the Roman borrowing linguistically. Other toponyms in this region which are related to the ethnic culture of the Albanians are: *Ćete*, *Gojan*, *Varin Vrh* and *Đerinac* (alb. *qetë*, *goja*, *varr*, *djerrina* – eng. *quiet*, *mouth*, *grave*, *wasteland*).⁵⁴⁰

The anthroponymic data originating from population registers and old documents also speak about a possible presence of proto-Albanian communities among the settlements of this Montenegrin geographical unit. Thus, within the village of Kornet, in the Ottoman defter of 1523, these individuals also appeared as part of the population: *Raško Leta*, *Borić Leš*, *Pavle*

⁵³⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 63

⁵³⁷ Idriz Ajeti, *Studime per gjuhen shqipe*, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 63

⁵³⁸ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 487

⁵³⁹ Јован Erdeljanović, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, p. 86-87

⁵⁴⁰ Regarding the word *Đerinac*, the Serbian linguist Mitar Pešikan writes that it may be of Albanian origin, namely from the word *Djerrinë*. (Mitar Pešikan, *Moguće onomastičke paralele imena putnih stanica na rimskom kontinentalnom putu kroz Crnu Goru*, *Onomastica Jugoslavica* Vol 9, Poseban otisak, Zagreb 1982, page 95)

Leta and *Dragša Leka*,⁵⁴¹ where a kind of symbiosis between Slavic names and patronyms in Albanian is seen. In the same material, in the village of *Goljemadi*, there is a mention of a family head named *Vuksan Leka* and a garden registered as the property of an orthodox clergyman, Pop Duka,⁵⁴² whose name appears quite widespread among Albanians.⁵⁴³ While in *the village of Šteke*, despite the fact that in 1523 the Slavic and Christian anthroponymy prevails, there is still a rare one in Albanian, such as the name *Leka (Stepan veled-i Leko)*.⁵⁴⁴ Moreover, the Ottoman administration had recorded examples of this type even within the settlements of *Parci* and *Kruse*, in which the use of names such as *Leš* and *Kole* had been recorded.⁵⁴⁵

Collective memory is another scientific discipline, which in relation to the region under discussion provides detailed records on its past. Thus, according to the inherited memories, a major part of the bloodline in Lješanska Nahija is considered to be of origin from the ethnic Albanian centre of Lezha, a phenomenon that was indirectly discussed at the beginning of the chapter. One of these communities is the Burzanović line in the village of Draževina, which, according to the records of the Montenegrin researcher Milivoje Đurisić, was once called Burzani.⁵⁴⁶ Due to the form of the adjective, the assumption that this notion is likely to have been formed by combining two Albanian words, *burrë* (man) and *za* (voice), can be thrown into discussion. The lack of characteristic Slavic suffixes in their first appellative, as well as their acquisition in later stages, can be understood as a reflection on the transition from one ethnic group to another. Meanwhile, the village of Draževina, still referring to the collective memory, is also populated by two other lines of distant origin from Lezha: Uskokovići and Vukčevići.⁵⁴⁷ The last mentioned community is thought to be the largest bloodline in the region, which, due to the rapid demographic growth, penetrates into other surrounding villages, such as Brijde,

⁵⁴¹ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović – Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića, Druga sveska, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, p. 98-99

⁵⁴² Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović – Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića, Druga sveska, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, p.93

⁵⁴³ In this village in the register of 1523, there is also a name which Branislav Đurđev and Lamija Hadžiosmanović read with uncertainty as Kolac. It has a form very similar to the anthroponym Kola.

⁵⁴⁴ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović – Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića, Druga sveska, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, p. 101

⁵⁴⁵ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović – Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića, Druga sveska, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, p. 97 and 102.

⁵⁴⁶ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Љешанска Нахија. Подгорица 2003, page 180

⁵⁴⁷ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Љешанска Нахија. Подгорица 2003, p.178-179

Liješnje, Goljemadi, Begova Glavica, Farmaci, Lekići, etc.⁵⁴⁸ From this line is also mentioned a man named *Mihailo*, but who was known among the people as *Murgeza*, who, for unknown reasons, gravitates from Draževina to the village of Bigor,⁵⁴⁹ whereas later his descendants founded the Vukčevići branch in the new environment. In relation to belonging to the community under discussion, the fact that his nickname seems to be formed on the Albanian word *murg* (monk) and the distinctive Albanian suffix *za* may be relevant. Then, part of the colony that came from Lezha is also said to be the Radunovići bloodline,⁵⁵⁰ whose main habitat in the region is the village mentioned above, Progonovići.⁵⁵¹ According to folk memories, the first of them, Raduni, with his brother Janji, is said to have settled in this village around 1660,⁵⁵² at a time when Lezha, with the exception of any commercial community or any Ottoman political administrative cell, is described as an Albanian environment.

3. MOUNTAIN TRIBES - BRDA

3.1 Bjelopavlići⁵⁵³

The Bjelopavlići tribal community appears for the first time in historical sources at the beginning of the 15th century, more precisely in a document from 1411, in which it is stated

⁵⁴⁸ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Љешанска Нахија. Подгорица 2003, p.175-203

⁵⁴⁹ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, p. 448

⁵⁵⁰ Radunovići is a rather branched bloodline and its members, until recently, were located among other settlements in the Montenegrin depths, such as in Cetinje, Bobija, Releze, Podgorica, Rvaši, etc. (Симо Радуновић, Прогоновићи. Титоград 1972, pages 32-34)

⁵⁵¹ Миливоје С. Ђуришић, Љешанска Нахија. Подгорица 2003, page 150

⁵⁵² Симо Радуновић, Прогоновићи. Титоград 1972, page 26

⁵⁵³ The territory that is included within the tribal region or area of Bjelopavlići, according to the descriptions of Petar Šobajić, includes sixty-six villages and is bordered on the north by Župa of Nikšić, on the east by Rovca and Piperi, on the south by the Zagarač tribe and on the west by the Pješivci tribal community. (Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, p.7-8 and 13)

that some armed men from this community, assisted by the Ozrinići, Maznići and Malonšići tribes, had forcibly robbed a merchant caravan from the Republic of Dubrovnik. It was about a complaint, through which the injured party demanded monetary compensation for damages from Jelena Balsha, since the communities that had stolen their goods were ruled by her feudal line.⁵⁵⁴ About three decades later, this appellative appears again in written materials, for reasons similar to the first case. Precisely in 1444, when a man named *Brajan Prodanić* complains to the judicial authorities in Dubrovnik, that six robbers, two of them from the Bjelopavlić tribe, had robbed and then killed his brother.⁵⁵⁵ The aforementioned community is mentioned in the capacity of a structured society only a little later, in the framework of the agreement of 1455 between the nobility of Zeta and the state authorities of Venice. In this case, it is defined under the notion of *companie over comuni*, while five years later (1460), alongside the Lužani, Malonšići and Pješivci groups, as *compagnie et cathoni*.⁵⁵⁶ According to all this, it is understood that the Bjelopavlići tribal community, already in the first part of the fifteenth century, had taken shape and gained political importance in the interior of the present Montenegrin territory.

The Ottoman statistical summary on the population of the Sanjak of Herzegovina, drawn up in 1477, is the first written material within which old cultural remnants from the Albanians can be distinguished. Among the inhabited units of the region, since then, anthroponyms or patronyms that do not belong in the Slavic lexicon appear which moreover are considered as names in Albanian. Typical examples are: *Vukdrag* son of *Đin*, *Mića* son of *Progon*, *Gvozdeni* of *Đin*, *Vukosav* son of *Leš*, *Leko* son of *Bjelak* etc.⁵⁵⁷ Although the names in Albanian appear here in combination with the Slavic anthroponymic type, their appearance is understood as evidence of the presence of an Albanian cultural and linguistic element within the region. About eight years later (1485), in the Ottoman register of Sanjak of Shkodra, although Slavic names predominate, heads of families named in Albanian such as *Kola*, *Leš* and *Doda* appear among

⁵⁵⁴ DAD, Litterae et Commissiones Levantis, Ser.27. Br.1. God: 1395-1423. Fol.82v. *See also Медо Пуцић, Споменици Српски од 1395 до 1423. Београд 1858, p.103-104.

⁵⁵⁵ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, p.18

⁵⁵⁶ Sime Ljubić, Listine X, Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, page 151

⁵⁵⁷ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развјат брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 76-77

those registered. Among other things, within this same material, there are also some nicknames or surnames of Albanians such as *Burmar*, *Rugaç*, *Gropko* and *Bytosh*.⁵⁵⁸

The discipline of toponymy is another scientific plane, which provides complementary data in the discussion on the Albanian component within this grouping. Thus, in the village of Kosići, place names such as *Kolja*, *Dedejan*, *Paljevine* and *Ujin brijeg* are met.⁵⁵⁹ The etymology of the first three is related to anthroponyms such as Kolë, Dedë and Pal, while the latter name in the essence has the word water, moreover, it looks like a direct translation from *bregu i ujit* (water bank) in Albanian language. Further north, in the Jelenak settlement, the microtoponyms *Prijeka njiva*, *Dečevina* and *Ranj* appear.⁵⁶⁰ Apparently, in this case, the first two names were created according to the proper names Preka and Gjeç, while *Ranj* is likely to be from *rranjë* (root), a word from the Albanian linguistic background. Podglavice is another inhabited unit within the region, around which there are place names such as *Podćafa* and *Podmaljat*, created according to the Albanian-Slavic linguistic symbiosis,⁵⁶¹ as well as the microtoponyms *Pod suk*, *Lješevići* and *Šogovina*, in the village of Novoselo.⁵⁶² However, the cases listed so far are not the only findings. In Crnci settlement there is a place called *Ljumovići*; in Spuž the names *Mareši* and *Zotovina* are distinguished, while in Grbe a locality is called *Mareza*.⁵⁶³ Other microtoponyms, which do not have a precise meaning in Slavic linguistics, but which meet or coincide with the Albanian language, in this tribal region are also the following: *Prentina Glavica*, *Dardamezi*, *Suk*, *Katunina*, *Đinovići*, *Taraš*, *Ćafa*, *Merat*, *Maljat*, *Bazagur*,

⁵⁵⁸ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*. Vellimi I, Instituti i historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 123-125. * The names *Burmar*, *Rugaç*, *Gropko*, *Bytoš* and *Gojak* are close to the Albanian words *Burrë* i *marrë*, *Rugaç*, *Gropa*, *Bythosh* and *Goja*. In the Slavic lexicon, it is difficult to find something more convincing than the explanation of Albanian.

⁵⁵⁹ Бранко Бабић, *Спуж и његова околина*. Цетиње 2007, page 43

⁵⁶⁰ Бранко Бабић, *Спуж и његова околина*. Цетиње 2007, page 44

⁵⁶¹ The information about the existence of these two toponyms was obtained from Branko Babić in his work on Spuž. (Бранко Бабић, *Спуж и његова околина*. Цетиње 2007, page 44). *The words *Podćafa* and *Podmaljat* are most likely a combination of the Albanian words *qafa* and *malet*, with the Slavic word “pod”.

⁵⁶² These toponyms were recorded by Branko Babić. (Бранко Бабић, *Спуж и његова околина*. Цетиње 2007, page 42); Most likely from the words *shok* (*srb. drug, en.friend*) and *sukë* (*srb.brežuljak, en.hill*), as well as the Albanian anthroponym *Lesh* or *Llesh*.

⁵⁶³ Бранко Бабић, *Спуж и његова околина*. Цетиње 2007, pages 34-45; *Ljumovići* from the word *Lum*, *Mareš* and *Mareza* from the anthroponym *Marë*, while *Zotovina* from the notion *Zot* (God). All these are in daily use among Albanians.

Višljepur, etc.⁵⁶⁴ Regarding the history or the way of establishment, due to the fact that a part of today's territory of the region was once populated by the early Malonšići tribal society (who will be discussed later), it is easily possible that some of the microtoponyms in Albanian may be their heritage.

According to the memories preserved in the people, that is, pursuant to the collective memory, the name Bjelopavlići derives from a man, who according to the Albanians was called Pali i Bardhë, while according to the Serbian theory *Bijeli Pavle*.⁵⁶⁵ In both cases the meaning is the same, only the linguistic form differs. Oral tradition describes this man, whose people increased in number and founded the main bloodlines of the tribe, as a man originally from the nobility of the region of Dukagjin.⁵⁶⁶ Regarding the time of his arrival, there are several assumptions. *Petar Šobajić* is of the opinion that this happened around the year 1300, since the genealogical data found among the people suggest such a time.⁵⁶⁷ Milenko Filipović writes that this development took place after 1314,⁵⁶⁸ while the hypotheses raised by other authors that his settlement to this area took place during the 15th century,⁵⁶⁹ contradict the written sources, in which the notion of Bjelopavlići appears as early as 1411. Apart from the Russian researcher Pavel Apolonović Rovinski, who tries to connect the name of the tribe with the 9th-century zhupan Pavlimir, almost all other influential authors⁵⁷⁰ who have dealt with the past of this

⁵⁶⁴ Бранко Бабић, Служ и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, pages 35-37; Бранислав Ђурђев, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 47; Милорад Медаковић, Живот и овичаји црногораца. Нови Сад 1860, page 143; Momčilo M. Šaletić, Bjelopavlići između istorije i legende, Matica Crnogorska, Cetinje 1996, page 75; Regarding the toponyms Ćafa, Merat, Bazagur, Maljat and Vishlepur, researcher Petar Šobajić writes that they can be treated as Albanian linguistic elements (Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, page 53).

⁵⁶⁵ For the first time this story was collected and published by Vuk Karadžić. (Momčilo M. Saletić, Bjelopavlići između istorije i legende, Matica Crnogorska, Cetinje 1996, page 33)

⁵⁶⁶ Иван Божић, Владавина Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, page 357. *Here it is said like this: „ Сва усмена казивања се слажу да је био странац и угледног поријекла, родом из области којом су господарили Дукађини.“

⁵⁶⁷ Миленко Филиповић, Бијели Павле. II. Историски Записи, Књига 1, свеска 5-6, 1948, page 257. * Petar Šobajić in the second half of the 20th century, had recorded genealogies with 19 circles, from the interviewees up to Bijeli Pavle. (ibid.).

⁵⁶⁸ Миленко Филиповић, Бијели Павле. I. Историски Записи, Књига 1, свеска 3-4, 1948, page 173

⁵⁶⁹ Although Branislav Đurđev does not rule out the possibility of his arrival in the 14th century, the period between 1454-1455 seems more likely. (Бранислав Ђурђев, Нови подаци о најстаријој историји брдских племена. Историски Записи, Година XIII, Књига XVII, свеска I, Титоград 1960, page 18.)

⁵⁷⁰ Spiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 41. * Regarding Rovinski's opinion, researcher Kulišić writes that it is a theory without any scientific basis (ibid.). While Milenko Filipović writes: “

community, are of the opinion that the name was given to the area by the new arrivals from Dukagjin. In science there are opinions that until that time, this territory was called differently.⁵⁷¹

Folk Montenegrin memories say that Pali i Bardhë was the son of Leka, a captain from Dukagjin,⁵⁷² a harsh mountainous region in the north of today's Albania.⁵⁷³ Deciphering this oral tradition has led to two different positions. Branislav Đurđev is of the opinion that it is about Leka Zaharia,⁵⁷⁴ while according to the other view, it is about Leka Dukagjini III. Comparing this folk story with the written sources leads to inconsistencies, thus they contradict each other. Initially, the Zaharia feudal family was not present in Dukagjin,⁵⁷⁵ thus we are dealing with two different communities, and in this context, Leka Kapetani from Dukagjin, as described by the oral tradition, cannot be Leka Zaharia. In the second case, the allusion to Leka Dukagjini III, a contemporary of Skanderbeg, has chronological problems, since the first mention of the Bjelopavlići society corresponds to the year of Leka III's birth. However, despite this, the community of Balkan historians and ethnographers does not take it with disbelief, on the contrary, it treats the history of the arrival of this man from the current Albanian territory as granted. The researcher Filipović, who has done a detailed research on this issue, writes that Pali i Bardhë must have been a powerful person in the service of the Dukagjini family, or part of

Павле Ровински први је изнео претпоставку да је име Бјелопавлића могло најпре остати од тога историјског Бијелога Павла или Павлимира. Претпоставка П.Ровинског је заснована само на делимичној сличности имена Бело Павлимир и Бијели Павле, која се може бити сасвим случајна, те та сличност није довољан разлог за идентификацију. (Миленко Филиповић, Бијели Павле. II. Историјски Записи, Књига 1, свеска 5-6, 1948, р. 261.

⁵⁷¹ Миленко Филиповић, Бијели Павле. I. Историјски Записи, Књига 1, свеска 3-4, 1948, page 171

⁵⁷² Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek, knjiga II*, Istorijски Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, strana 121.

⁵⁷³ „Бијелома Павлу приписују као оца Леку, а ђеда Дуку, па је њихово поријекло из Дукађина у Албанији.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, *„Bjelome Pavlu pripisuju kao oca Leku, a djeda Duku, pa je njihovo porijeklo iz Dukadjina u Albaniji.“* page 63); Thus, it is about the mountainous region of Dukagjin in Albania and not the Dukagjini Plain in Kosovo, which is a later notion.

⁵⁷⁴ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развјатак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 80

⁵⁷⁵ Zaharia feudal society ruled in Zadrina and the city of Danjo. (Marin Barleti, *Historia e Skenderbeut*, Rilindja – Redaksia e Botimeve, Prishtinë 1989, p.93); Danjo is mentioned as the property of the Zaharia feudal house, also in the works of Skanderbeg's contemporaries, Dhimitër Frangu (Dhimitër Frangu, *Veprat e lavdishme të Skenderbeut*. Arbëria, Tiranë 2005, p.84), as well as Ђон Музакa (Gjon Muzaka, *Memorie*. Botimet Toena, Tiranë 1996, p.49)

the family, but of a more distant line.⁵⁷⁶ Accordingly, his father may have borne the Albanian name Leka, but based on the current data fund, nothing more can be said about him.

The collective memory of the area narrates that Pali i Bardhë had Gashi as his brother, from whom the Albanian tribe of Gashi was later named. This Montenegrin story matches the stories preserved among the Albanians of the north. Thus, in many parts of western Kosovo, it is said that Gash and Pal had the same blood, but were separated after the latter left Dukagjin to settle in the current Montenegrin territory. Milenko Filipović writes that the name of the village Palabardh (*srb. Paljabarda*) in the north of Gjakova (*srb. Đakovica*) can be connected with his name.⁵⁷⁷ In addition, the population of the two tribes seems to have carried the memory of a closeness of blood between them until recently. Thus, according to Tafil Boletini's records, the Montenegrin general Blažo Bošković, who was also the head of the Bjelopavlići tribe, whenever he met with the Albanian military man Isa Boletini, asked to speak with his soldiers who belonged to the Gashi tribe, whom he considered relatives.⁵⁷⁸ But there are also examples like this from the opposite side. In a scientific paper, Petar Šobajić writes that in the first Balkan war, on the occasion of the penetration of an armed unit into the territory of present-day Albania, the unit composed of soldiers from Bjelopavlići was welcomed and honoured by the population of Gashi.⁵⁷⁹

The structure of the population within the region, always based on the inherited narratives, is divided into three main branches: the old stratum, the arrivals from the heights of Dukagjin, and the new colonies. According to Petar Šobajić, most of this society is believed to be the successor of Pali i Bardhë, who is said to have had two male children, named Mitri and Buba,⁵⁸⁰ whose heirs later founded 45 new branches.⁵⁸¹ Although the majority of the

⁵⁷⁶ Миленко Филиповић, Бијели Павле. II. Историски Записи, Књига 1, свеска 5-6, 1948, page 260

⁵⁷⁷ Миленко Филиповић, Бијели Павле. I. Историски Записи, Књига 1, свеска 3-4, 1948, page 174. *Here Filipović writes "Među arbanasima u Metohiji mnogo se priča o Biјelom Pavlu или, како га они зову на арбанаском, о Паљи Барди. С њим се доводи у везу и име села северно од Ђаковице које се зове Паљибарда."

⁵⁷⁸ Tafil Boletini, Kujtime. Botimpex. Tirane 2003, page 99. * Here Tafil Boletini writes "General Blažo Bošković, the first of the Bjelopavlići tribe that lies on both sides of the Zeta valley from Podgorica to Danilovgrad, commander in Nikolići, whenever he came to visit to uncle Isa used to say: "gdje su moji Gašjani" (where are my Gašians) and he met the Gashjans who were with us, and you enjoy talking with them." (ibid.)

⁵⁷⁹ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, p. 98

⁵⁸⁰ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, p.32

population adheres to this story, there is another version circulating among the people which says that Buba was not the son of Bijeli Pavle, but a man originating from Humi i Hotit (*Hotski Hum*). It is also remembered that he belonged to the latin faith, while his father's name was Đon.⁵⁸² Branislav Đurđev, who seems to support this oral tradition, is of the opinion that his arrival from Hoti to Bjelopavlići happened sometime after 1455,⁵⁸³ which means after Pali i Bardhë. However, even if the second story is taken for granted, the ethnic anatomy of this line can hardly be defined as Slavic in origin. The Catholic religious affiliation at the end of the Middle Ages, the name of his father Đon, and the origin from a territory consistently populated by Albanians who are also catholic, are data that speak in this context.⁵⁸⁴ In fact, there is a part from the total of folk memories that clearly tells about his Albanian origin,⁵⁸⁵ a phenomenon about which the ethnologist Mirko Barjaktarović, among others, wrote in the second half of the twentieth century.⁵⁸⁶

In the lands where the Bjelopavlići tribal organization would later be established, the new colony from the Dukagjin highlands seems to have found another human stratum, which is thought to have belonged to the Spani, Malonšići and Lužani societies. Within scientific literature, the first two are described as pre-Slavic communities and are treated within the framework of the earliest population of the area, while there are opinions about the Lužanis

⁵⁸¹ Today's bloodlines that consider themselves descendants of Mitri are: *Pavkovići, Jovanovići, Pavičevići, Matijaševići, Đurovići, Tomaševići, Kalezići, Brajovići, Erakovići, Filipovići, Vukanović, Prašqevići, Petrušinovići, Radonjići, Kaluđerovići, Boškovići, Radulovići, Vukovići, Vujovići, Sekulići, Lekovići, Saranovići, Pavličići, Pelevići, Staljenovići, Lalevići, Grupkovići, Lakići, Razići dhe Bogičevići. Ndërsa si pasardhës të Bubës mbahën këto vëllazëri: Vukšići, Dragojevići, Stojovići, Radonjići, Muratovići, Janjevići, Erakovići-Saveljići, Damjanovići, Milanovići, Stanišići, Vujadinovići, Mandići, Matunovići and Miljevići.* (Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, pages 32-46)

⁵⁸² Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, page 42

⁵⁸³ Бранислав Ђурђев, Нови подаци о најстаријој историји брдских племена. Историски Записи, Година XIII, Књига XVII, свеска I, Титоград 1960, pages 17-18

⁵⁸⁴ There are no records of other catholic ethnic communities living in the region of Hoti. Even less at the end of the Middle Ages when Buba is thought to have come to Bjelopavlići.

⁵⁸⁵ „По другом преданју, поменути далеки предак Мартинића – Буба био је неки племић албанског поријекла из околине Скадра.“ (Вуко М. Радовић, Мартинићи у Бјелопавлићима. Издавачка кућа Комови, Андријевица 2000, page 15)

⁵⁸⁶ “На пример Бубићи у Бјелопавлићима, временом су се стопили са потомцима племенског родоначелника па сада тврде да и они потичу од сина Бјелог Павла, и да су, према томе, и они прави Бјелопавлићи. Међутим, њихови суседи тврде да је њихов предак Буба био Арбанас, католик, и да се из Хота доселио неколико генерација после Бјелог Павла.” (Мирко Барјактаровић, Још о неким народним предањима код нас. Гласник етнографског института. Српска академија наука и уметности. Етнографски институт, књига 34, Београд 1985, page 80)

that they were Serbs,⁵⁸⁷ who after the migration throughout the region, apparently, influenced the serbization of the old society, especially the Spanis.⁵⁸⁸ However, this circumstance is thought to have changed immediately after the arrival of the line from Dukagjin, a development that consequently had a major demographic transformation in favour of the latter, so much that the descendants of the Lužanis in the 20th century constituted a very small part of the tribe.⁵⁸⁹

In old documents, the appellative Bjelopavlići also appears in the Albanian form Palabardi. The Montenegrin ethnologist Špiro Kulišić, as an example, mentions a document of the 17th century, drawn up in Venice, but without providing more information on the content.⁵⁹⁰ Around this time interval, the Albanian bishop Pjetër Bogdani, in a report addressed to the Vatican on 24 March 1685, when he describes the population of the abandoned bishopric of Meduni, besides Kelmendi, Gruda, Piperi and Kuči, also counts the tribal organization Bjelopavlići, but refers to it through the name in Albanian. (*...la Zenta superiore e i valorosissimi popoli de` Climenti, Gruda, Piperi, Palabardi e Cuci*).⁵⁹¹ For the scientific community, a document dated 8 September 1614, where the name of this community is written Bilopagli (*...Piperi, Klimenti, Kuci, Versevo e Bilopagli..*), may be relevant here,⁵⁹² where the absence of the Slavic suffix, as well as the use of the Albanian name Pal instead of the Slavic form, Pavle, draws attention. After the examples given so far, the society that is discussed in this unit appears under the non-Serbian form in another document, which is believed to have been drawn up at the time of the Morea war, that is, during the Venetian-Ottoman military clashes between 1684-1699 (*..la dispensa tra Cuzzi, Bratonosi, Palebardi e Piperi tutti del rito*

⁵⁸⁷ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, p.54

⁵⁸⁸ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, p.54

⁵⁸⁹ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1996, p.55

⁵⁹⁰ Špiro Kulišić, O ethnogenezi Crnogoraca, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 41; Kulisić writes: "I u jednom Mletačkom izvoru iz XVII vijeka spominju se Bjelopavlići pod imenom Palabardi" (ibid.p.41)

⁵⁹¹ "Il vescovato Modunense: Questo vescovado e deserto e senza pastore, da che fu il paese del Turcho soggetto: principia dal vescovado di Cattaro, e tenendo verso l'oriente pel fiume Zenta abbraccia la Zenta superiore e i valorosissimi popoli de` Climenti, Gruda, Piperi, Palabardi e Cuci." (Augustino Theiner, Vetera Monumenta, Slavorum Meridionalium, Tomus Secundus, Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium. Zagrebiae 1875, page 218.);

⁵⁹² Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, Подгорица 1998, page 72

Greco..).⁵⁹³ Meanwhile, in 1688, in the atlas of the Italian cartographer Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, the territory owned by the Bjelopavlići community is defined again in Albanian, this time through the notion of *Bucagini*,⁵⁹⁴ (*deviant form of the word Dukagjini*), which gives importance to the oral tradition on Pali i Bardhë. While, in 1767, the vice consul of Venice in Shkodra, Andrea Doda, in his letter addressed to the Extraordinary Administrator of Kotor, Pasquale Cicogna, in addition to other tribes organized in the current Montenegrin territory, also lists the *Pala Barsi society*.⁵⁹⁵ Moreover, in the early creations in Albanian folklore, the phenomenon noted by Pavel Rovinski in the second half of the 19th century, this collective is also mentioned as *Balabardi*.⁵⁹⁶ In summary: the findings listed above speak that in the collective consciousness alongside the Slavic name there was also a parallel name in Albanian which refers to this same tribal community.

The Balkan researcher Vladimir Ćorović, in a paper dealing with Serbian history, writes that in 1633 in the territory populated by the Bjelopavlići community, there were about two hundred catholic houses.⁵⁹⁷ According to this, it is clear enough, as Momcilo Šaletić and Radoslav Rotković also write, that in an earlier time this number must have been even greater.⁵⁹⁸ Indirectly, this can be considered as a valid argument, that is, it strengthens the story about the arrival of the colony from the depths of Dukagjin, which, at least from the end of the medieval period, meant an environment dominated by Catholic society. Perhaps a description of the Venetian writer Lazaro Soranzo in 1590, where he says that among the tribes such as

⁵⁹³ Јован Томић, Црна Гора за Морејског Рата. Српска Краљевска Академија. Друго издање. Београд 1907, p.32

⁵⁹⁴ Momcilo Šaletić, Bjelopavlići na starim geografskim картама (XVII-XIX vijek). Историски записи. Година LXXIX, бр 1-4/2006, p.287

⁵⁹⁵ Pëllumb Xhufi, Brda apo Bardha?, Kosova, Instituti i historise Ali Hadri, nr.46, Prishtinë 2021, page 89

⁵⁹⁶ “U arbanaskoj narodnoj pjesmi koja oplakuje pogibiju Mahmut Paše Bušatlije 1796 godine na Krusima, posto je prethodno u borbi kod Martinića u Bjelopavlićima, u julu iste godine, bio ranjen, Bjelopavlići se nazivaju Balabarde.” (Momcilo M. Šaletić, Bjelopavlići između istorije i legende, Matica Crnogorska, Cetinje 1996, page 53)

⁵⁹⁷ „Међу Бјелопавлићима било је 1633 године свега још 200 католичких кућа, а 1635 године међу Зетом и Морачом број католичких душа није прелазео много преко хиљаде. Пипери, који су још 1610 године сматрани скоро сви католици, постали су исто већим делом православци.” (Владимир Ћоровић, Историја Срба. 7 издање, Зограф, Ниш 2004, pages 437-438)

⁵⁹⁸ Momcilo M. Šaletić, Bjelopavlići između istorije i legende, Matica Crnogorska, Cetinje 1996, page 55; “Za Vladimira Ćorovića zaista se ne može reći da bi izmišljao katolike u Zeti, a on je u Istoriji Srba napisao da postoje podaci da je među Bjelopavlićima 1633 bilo svega još 200 katoličkih kuća, što znači da ih je ranije bilo mnogo više.” (Radoslav Rotković, Etnička i društvena struktura Zete pod Nemanjićima. Crnogorski Anali, Godina 1, broj 3, Cetinje, June 2013, page 66)

Kelmendi, Kuči, Piperi and Bjelopavlići, there are many Albanians of the Roman faith,⁵⁹⁹ can be an additional clue in the discussion about their ethnic source.

Finally, there are cases that the Albanian component in this region can be assumed from the type of names of some family communities that derive from it. Thus, in the village of *Velika*, near Andrijeva, lives the Buziçi bloodline, which, according to researcher Radoslav Jagoš Vešević, is with origin from the Bjelopavlići tribal region.⁶⁰⁰ The linguistic origin of this surname may have been formed from the word *buzë (lip)* in Albanian.

3.2 Piperi ⁶⁰¹

In the register of cadastre and concessions for the district of Shkodra, a statistical material compiled in the period between 1416-1417, among the registered inhabitants of the villages of *Trompsi Grandi* and *Doxani* appear *Andrea*, *Calozorzi* and *Jon Piperi*.⁶⁰² This record is one of the earliest sources where the word that names the aforementioned collective appears, but most likely as an adjective created based on descent,⁶⁰³ which means that Piperi at this time existed, if not as a tribal community, then for sure as a habitable territorial concept. A few years later, in an agreement between Stefan Crnojević and the heads of Venice, dated 6 September 1455, Piperi is recorded as *compagnie over comuni*.⁶⁰⁴ and this means the first mention in the collective sense. However, because villages such as Rogame, Bušat and Mrke appear autonomously within this

⁵⁹⁹ Noel Malcolm – Rebelët, besimtarët, të mbijetuarit. Botime Artini, Prishtinë 2020, page 80

⁶⁰⁰ Радослав Радослав Јагош, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 242

⁶⁰¹ Piperi is the tribal region in the northern part of Podgorica. It is bordered by the Kuci, Bratonožići, Rovca, Morača, Bjelopavlići tribes and Župa of Nikšić. Tribal society is divided into three branches: Crnci, Stijena and Đurovići. It consists of 14 villages: Rogami, Đurovići, Petrovići, Radeća, Stijena, Crnci, Kopilje, Radovce, Seoca, Ožezi, Brizna, Sviba, Rijeka and Mrke. (Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore, Per-Z. Vijesti, Podgorica 2006, page 1020-1021)

⁶⁰² Sime Ljubić – Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, pages 44 and 52. *Trompsi grande is today the Trushi i madh in the district of Shkodra. (Injac Zamputti, Regjistri i kadastrës dhe i koncensioneve për rrethin e Shkodrës. 1416-1417. Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës Popullore Socialiste të Shqipërisë. Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1977, page 124)

⁶⁰³ Among Albanians, a significant part of surnames are built on the basis of geographical origin. For example, in Kosovo there are surnames such as: Dibra, Gusia, Korça, Shkodra, Kavaja, Ulqini, Mirdita, Vuthaj, Spaçi, etc. In the Republic of Albania there are surnames such as: Tivari, Manastirliu, Ulqini, Vokshi, Kosova, Gostivari, Kraja, Zhuri, etc. Thus, Andrea, Jon and Kalozorzi Piperi may be residents who moved from the region of Piperi to the district of Skadar.

⁶⁰⁴ Sime Ljubić, Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike, Knjiga X, Zagreb 1891, page 68

document, it can be assumed that the process of territorialisation was not completed until that time, so there is no complete shaping of this community.⁶⁰⁵

According to researcher Jovan Erdeljanović, whose work is still one of the main references on the history of this tribal grouping, the name Piper does not derive from the Serbian language,⁶⁰⁶ raising the possibility that the name of the region is a linguistic remnant from the Roman or Albanian communities. Although he is very doubtful about the latter option,⁶⁰⁷ his finding that the toponymic nomenclature of the Piper region has linguistic remnants that are related to Albanian language,⁶⁰⁸ brings this possibility back into discussion. However, in addition to this theory, Montenegrin historiography has another explanation, according to which this appellative may have been constructed based on a male name, unusual for the Slavic ethnic group, Pipo.⁶⁰⁹ In this case, a rather dubious folk narrative is taken as documentary evidence, starting with the history of a man, for whom there is no agreement on the time of birth.⁶¹⁰ Nothing is known exactly about his origin, although according to the Austrian researcher Johan Georg von Hahn, this man may have had Albanian as his first language.⁶¹¹ According to the Montenegrin collective memory, he was called Keč, while the narratives inherited among the northern Albanian communities remember it under the surname Keq Preka.⁶¹² Unlike the Serbian language culture, which does not have any words similar to this anthroponym, Albanian language provides a precise explanation for both options.⁶¹³ There were six male children, five of

⁶⁰⁵ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, pages 52-53

⁶⁰⁶ Јован Ердџановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 437

⁶⁰⁷ Јован Ердџановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 437

⁶⁰⁸ Јован Ердџановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, p. 504-505

⁶⁰⁹ *Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore*, Per-Zh, Vijesti, Podgorica 2006, p.1020.

⁶¹⁰ Franc Baron Nopca writes that he was born in the 16th century. (Franc Nopča, *Fiset e malësisë së Shqipërisë veriore dhe e drejta zakone e tyre*, Eneas, Tirane 2003. F195). Branslav Đurđev is of the opinion that his time must have been before 1330. (Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 100). Robert Elsie writes that he lived around 1520. (Robert Elsie, *Fiset Shqiptare*, Botime Artini, Prishtinë 2017, page 88).

⁶¹¹ Johan Georg von Hahn, *Studime shqiptare*, Instituti i dialogut dhe komunikimit, p.253

⁶¹² Robert Elsie, *Fiset shqiptare*, Botime Artini, Prishtinë 2017, p.88

⁶¹³ According to the dictionary of the Albanian language, these are the explanations: 1. Keç – Kec (kid goat or goats). 2. Keq – bad, not good or no good. (Fjalor i Gjuhës Shqipe, Instituti i Shkencave - Seksioni i gjuhës e i letërsisë, Ribotim i dyte, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1976, p.208). While Preka is an anthroponym in Albanian.

whom did not bear Slavic names.⁶¹⁴ According to the folk narrative, it was these people who then founded the Hoti, Trieshi, Krasniqi, Piperi, OZRINIĆI and Vasojevići tribes, of which today three are Montenegrin and three Albanian. Pipa was one of them and the name of this community is related to his name.

Despite the fact that this narrative, for many reasons, resembles a figment, the hypothesis according to which the notion Piperi may have been formed based on an anthroponym still stands. In this context, Jovan Erdeljanović writes that there are two possible origins, that it was a name that comes from old Balkan societies, or it was a Slavic anthroponym.⁶¹⁵ For him, the second option is more acceptable since, according to him, there is no personal or geographical name among Albanians on this basis. (*код арбанаса, као што смо рекли, нема никаквих, ни личних ни географских имена те основе*)⁶¹⁶ However, the old registers say the complete opposite, so this assumption of the Serbian ethnographer seems to be dubious. According to the Ottoman statistical summary of 1571 for Sanjak of Prizren, in the village of Seroš in the *nahije* (district) of Hoča, an Albanian environment in terms of the type of names, a *Pipa Lika* appears among the registered residents.⁶¹⁷ In the Popovac settlement, where the Slavic anthroponymic element is missing, one of the men is called *Lapa Pipa*.⁶¹⁸ Within Prizren itself, in the Pantelia neighbourhood, which is also dominated by names in Albanian, there are people recorded as *Pipa Gika* and *Kola Pipa*.⁶¹⁹ Analogous examples also appear in the villages of *Vranjak* and *Zojić*, within the same written material,⁶²⁰ while in the form of a surname, Pipa is found in Shkodra even now.⁶²¹ Moreover, among the documentary sources of the 15th and 16th centuries, in Albanian environments, approximate forms of this anthroponym (*Pepa*, *Biba*) have been

⁶¹⁴ Hyacinthe Hecquard, *Historia dhe pershkrimi i Shqipërisë së epërme dhe i Gegërisë*. Plejad 2008. page 171. * According to Hecquard, the names of Keçi's sons were: Lazar, Ban, Merkot, Piper, Vasa and Kastro.

⁶¹⁵ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, p.443

Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, p.443

⁶¹⁷ Татјана Катић, *Опширни попис Призренског Санџака из 1571 године*. Историјски Институт, Посебна Издања, Књига 58, Београд 2010, p.217.

⁶¹⁸ Татјана Катић, *Опширни попис Призренског Санџака из 1571 године*. Историјски Институт, Посебна Издања, Књига 58, Београд 2010, p.220

⁶¹⁹ Татјана Катић, *Опширни попис Призренског Санџака из 1571 године*. Историјски Институт, Посебна Издања, Књига 58, Београд 2010, p.60

⁶²⁰ Татјана Катић, *Опширни попис Призренског Санџака из 1571 године*. Историјски Институт, Посебна Издања, Књига 58, Београд 2010, pages 216 and 219

⁶²¹ In Shkodra, a bloodline is called Pipa. Among them was Arshi Pipa, a philosopher and literary critic of the 20th century; In documentary sources

recorded,⁶²² which can be included in the discussion as names that may have been formed according to an approximate cultural and linguistic logic.

The Ottoman register of 1485 for Sanjak of Shkodra is the first summary that provides more complete data on the population of Piper. In Rogam, a village with eleven houses, among the heads of families listed, there were also people with names in Albanian such as Tanush, Progon, Nokaç, Blin and Progonaç.⁶²³ In the settlement of Goštiçi, which, although it is not found with this name now, but since it is registered together with the village of *Mrke*, it is thought that it was located in Piper,⁶²⁴ Pepa, Tanush, Dresh, Progon, Lalec and Kolaç are recorded.⁶²⁵ In Mišuka, today a unit within the village of Petrovići,⁶²⁶ the names in Albanian that appear are Preç and Nikeza.⁶²⁷ The anthroponyms Leka and Marash are found in the village of Brestica,⁶²⁸ while in Dobrovida, a settlement registered within the Piperi district, but today nothing is known about it,⁶²⁹ alongside the Slavic names there are also people's names such as Marash and Lekaç.⁶³⁰

⁶²² It is about the names Pepa and Biba; In the Ottoman defter (register) of Sanjak of Shkodra, drawn up in 1485, in the villages of Peronja, Smolica, Morina, Goraniça, Lunik in the district of Gjakova appear Pepa Franika, Pepa son of Gjini, Pepa son of Nikola, Pepa son of Bardo, Pepa son of Kushi, etc. (Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 164-192); In the Ottoman register of 1571, for the nahija of Rudina, which today is located in a part of Has, in the villages of Bozhga, Brajković, Helmshan, Shgjeç, Mjekerbard, Bardonja, Prush, Popovça, Vagova, Radagosht and Visoç, these inhabitants appear, Biba Nina, Biba Koka, Biba Andrea, Biba Tola, Biba Doçi, Biba Kola, Biba Noja, Biba Tusha, Biba Gjini, Biba Mazaraku, Biba Gjoni, etc. (Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shek. XV-XVI. Akademia e shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë – Instituti i Historisë. Shtëpia botuese 8 Nëntori*, pages 173-191)

⁶²³ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 133

⁶²⁴ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 46. * Here Branislav Đurđević reads the name of this village as Gostić as opposed to Goštiq as given by Selami Pulaha. According to him, this village must have been in Piperi since it is also registered under the name Brestica and includes a part called Mrke. (Ibid.)

⁶²⁵ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 133. *Kolaç from the name Kola, an Albanian treatment of the name Nicolo.

⁶²⁶ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 45.

⁶²⁷ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 130

⁶²⁸ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 129

⁶²⁹ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 45

⁶³⁰ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 129

In the other statistical summary of the Ottoman administration, drawn up in 1497, Piperi is again registered as part of the Sanjak of Shkodra. Compared to the register of twelve years ago, the number of households is much larger,⁶³¹ which means a demographic increase in the area, as well as changes in the name of the settlements. The data in this volume also speak in favour of the life of Albanians in the depths of the region. Thus, within the six inhabited units, which are not named but are registered within the village of Drezka, as part of the population there were men named Leka, Pal, Gjonka, Preç, Mar, Lekaç, Kuç, Gjergj and Ulkash.⁶³² Some of them are found in a repeated form, for example, the name Leka is borne by eight family heads.⁶³³ Whereas in the village of Riječica,⁶³⁴ there are anthroponyms in Albanian language such as Jak, Kol, Lekaç, Span and Dedaç,⁶³⁵ which create the impression that the society in this environment may have been heterogeneous in relation to the ethnic feeling. A village also appears in the register, which, in terms of the number of houses and inhabitants, is defined as the largest inhabited locality in Pipër. The Ottoman administration registered it under the name *Istrahalić*, which is not found today, but the data suggest that it may have been a settlement very close to the village of Rogam.⁶³⁶ There are two reasons for such a possibility. First, Rogam is mentioned for the first time in 1455, then in 1485, again in 1844, while it still exists as a village today. The period when it is temporarily lost from the records begins precisely in 1497, when the village of Istrahalic appears for the first time, where there is a doubt that the population and properties of Rogam may have been included within this village in the register. Second, today in the vicinity of Rogam, there is an area called *Stralić*,⁶³⁷ most likely a memory of this village, which after the 16th century no longer appears. Jovan Erdeljanović writes that one of the theories of the origin of

⁶³¹ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 51

⁶³² Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 419-423.

⁶³³ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 419-423.

⁶³⁴ According to Branislav Đurđević, this village is today's Rijeka in Piperi. (Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 27)

⁶³⁵ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 424-425

⁶³⁶ According to academician Idriz Ajeti, the toponym Rogam derives from the Albanian word “rogë” and the formant “amë”. Reference: Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 673

⁶³⁷ In Ottoman records, there are many cases where the letter “l” is placed before the correct form of toponym. Thus, in the 1485 notebook, “Izlatçisha” was written instead of “Zlatcišta”, “Izlatar” instead of “Zlatar”, “Içpaja” instead of “Shpaja” and so on. Then the Turkish name for Peja is Ipek, for Zgërdhesh is Izgurdesh, etc.

this name is from the Albanian word *stralli*.⁶³⁸ However, within this settlement, in 1497, the Albanian anthroponyms encountered are: Tanush, Lumç, Progon, Lala, Palush, Marash, Kola, Blush, Gjon, Lulsh, Nikza, Mlysh, etc.⁶³⁹ A material from the year 1626 is also relevant here, more precisely a list of sailors and officers recruited by Venice who are mentioned as *albanesi*, among whom appears a Đeč (Giez) Andrea Rogami,⁶⁴⁰ whose name belongs to the old culture language of Albanians.⁶⁴¹

In the aforementioned Ottoman material, Bushat village, consisting of 35 houses, is also recorded. In addition to Slavic and biblical names, Albanian anthroponyms such as Span, Mlysh, Tanush and Progon, which are mainly borne by two or more people, appeared in this inhabited unit.⁶⁴² The connection of this settlement with the pre-Slavic culture is also visible in the earlier materials, when in the charter of the monastery of Deçan in 1330, in an Albanian village (*arbanaški katun*) in Zeta, a bloodline is called Bushat.⁶⁴³ Then, between the years 1416-1417, the notion Bushat appears in fourteen settlements of the Shkodra district in the form of a surname.⁶⁴⁴ The fact that all of them have Christian and Albanian names, such as Giergi, Tanus, Pali, Nicolo, Petro, etc., says that in essence this line did not have Slavic anatomy. Whereas regarding the extensive presence, that is the appearance of this notion within many residential units, the most likely explanation is that it was a fairly branched community, as a result of population movements. Bushat is not an anthroponym,⁶⁴⁵ and thus cannot have served as a basis

⁶³⁸ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 450-451

⁶³⁹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 425-427.

⁶⁴⁰ Глигор Станојевић, Један платни списак морнара и официра Млетачких наоружаних барки из 1626 године. Историјски Записи, година XX, књига XXIV, св.2, Титоград 1967, page 367

⁶⁴¹ Muhamet Ternava, Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XIV-XVI, Instituti albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1995, page 132

⁶⁴² Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 429

⁶⁴³ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 98

⁶⁴⁴ Residents registered with this surname are: Bencho Bussati, Giergi Bussati, (village: Sancto Auracio), Pali Bussati, (village: Capenico), Petro Bussati (village: Podgora), Giergi Bussati (Grisa), Nicolo Bussati (Vladami), Giergi Bussati (Gostoli e Misgoy), Nicola Bussati (Sakoli), Stefano Bussati (Somesi), Helia Bussati, Martin Bushati, (Pastropati), Petro Bussati (san Stefano di Barbarossi), Giergi Bussati (Mensabardhi), Alessio Bussati (San Serzi), Tanus Bussati (Charochi), Giergi Bussati (Seregli ala Uilipoia). (Sime Ljubić – Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, page, 33-51)

⁶⁴⁵ In old documents there are cases where individuals named “Petri son of Bushati or Nikolla son of Bushati” appear (Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 194), but since it almost never appears as a first name, then it was hardly an anthroponym.

for the creation of surnames autonomously, therefore it previously means an appellative that refers to a certain collective. The Albanian researcher of linguistics Idriz Ajeti sees the etymology of this word in the Albanian language lexicon, where he makes a connection with the notion of village and draws a comparative parallel with toponyms, which appear within the current Albanian territory with the same or approximate form, such as Bushat in Zadrima and Nënshat south of Vau i Dejës.⁶⁴⁶

Signs of the presence of Albanians in the territory of the Piper tribal community also appear in the field of toponymy. In the village of Mrke, which is regarded as one of the oldest settlements in the region of Piper, whose inhabitants are considered local and old,⁶⁴⁷ there is the toponym *Luka Mijeli*.⁶⁴⁸ According to the Croatian linguist Petar Skok, the name *Luka* is a male biblical name,⁶⁴⁹ while there is another explanation for the notion of *mijeli* in science. Serbian literature treats it as a remnant from the old population of the place, as a surname of some bloodline that may have lived in that part, while regarding the origin there are opinions that it may be an Albanian word.⁶⁵⁰ Examining its form, this assumption does not encounter problems since the linguistic culture of the Albanians provides the word *miell* as a fairly close option. The latter, according to the linguist Kolec Topalli, is one of the oldest words in Albanian, the source of which is thought to belong to the fund of Indo-European expressions,⁶⁵¹ while it was originally written in Albanian in the first part of the 17th century.⁶⁵²

Despite having a Slavic name, the village of Crnce, which after Stijena is the largest settlement in Piper, hides some microtoponyms that may have been constructed according to

⁶⁴⁶ Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 640

⁶⁴⁷ Павел Аполоновић Ровински. Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 82; Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 463

⁶⁴⁸ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 466

⁶⁴⁹ Petar Skok, Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika. Knjiga druga, K-poni. Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972. page 328

⁶⁵⁰ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 466. Erdeljanović here writes: „Лука Мијели крај Мораче зове се именом које по целом облику не може бити српског поријекла. Оно по свему подсећа на арбанашка имена и презимена данашња и стари са завшетком –ли. Према томе ће име Мијели бити без сумње остало од староседелаца као успомена на презиме негдашњег братства које је у тој луци становало“ (Ibid.)

⁶⁵¹ Kolec Topalli, Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p.988

⁶⁵² Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V. K-M. Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 343

Albanian language. It is about *Kuće Gegića* and *Ljumovići*,⁶⁵³ which in the essence seem to have the expressions *gegë* and *lum*. In the Ottoman register of 1570, a village named *Ljumovići* was registered in Piper,⁶⁵⁴ so it is very likely that it is about an old and widely present community in Piper. Not far from there, in the village of Sviba, two place names are called *Palova Stijena* and *Palov Brod*. There are opinions among Serbian researchers that the source of both toponyms is the Albanian anthroponym Pal.⁶⁵⁵ According to them, its appearance should be understood as a legacy from an old population which, being in contact with Serbian communities, produced a linguistic intertwining, since the words *stijena* and *brod* are part of the Slavic lexicon.⁶⁵⁶ Linguistic identification of the toponyms that were given above is a much simpler operation compared to the cases where place names that have meaning in both languages appear. Thus, in Petrovići there is a territory that the inhabitants call *trap*,⁶⁵⁷ a word that is very difficult to clearly relate to one or the other ethnic group. Judging from the existing language dictionaries, both in Albanian and in Serbian, this notion has a clear meaning.⁶⁵⁸

In the village of Rogam, in addition to the toponym *Stralić* discussed above, there are also two other names of non-Slavic nature: *Suka* and *Lepurov Do*. There are opinions that the source of the last notion may be from the name or nickname *Lepur*, encountered among the old population.⁶⁵⁹ In fact, the essence of this name is the Latin word *lepus*, but the form *lepur* (rabbit) is found only among Albanians and Vlach, so as a toponym it must have been given by one of these communities. In addition to the mentioned microtoponyms, the name of the village Rogam itself has a controversial linguistic origin. Erdeljanović writes that this notion does not derive

⁶⁵³ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 398

⁶⁵⁴ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 47

⁶⁵⁵ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 476

⁶⁵⁶ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 476

⁶⁵⁷ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 479

⁶⁵⁸ In the Albanian language, the word “trap” has the following meanings: 1. ditch, 2. raised place on the side of the ditch that serves to cross and 3. a type of raft with boards that serves to cross rivers. (Fjalor i Gjuhës Shqipe, Instituti i Shkencave - Sekcioni i gjuhës e i letërsisë, Ribotim i dyte, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1976, page 571). In the Serbian language, the word “trap” has the following meanings: 1. hole, 2. garden and 3. vineyard. (Fjalor serbokroatisht shqip, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1974, page 879)

⁶⁵⁹ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 450-451

from the Slavic language and as such is not found anywhere else in the areas populated by the Balkan Slavs, except in the Montenegrin and Albanian mountains.⁶⁶⁰ Although the way it is written does not have any clear meaning in Albanian, the frequent appearance of this toponym in the areas inhabited by Albanians suggests the possibility that it could be an anthroponym or an old Albanian word. In the register of 1485 for the Sanjak of Shkodra, there is a village Rogam in the district of Gjakova,⁶⁶¹ which, judging by the names of the recorded residents, is a completely Albanian environment and without any Slavic name. Within this register, Andrija son of Rogam and Gjoni son of Rogam appeared in the villages of Mavriq and Dobrosh, whose population mainly bears Albanian or biblical names.⁶⁶² Nowadays, a village east of Shkodra, located between the old medieval centres of Drishti and Danjo, is called Rragam. This toponym also appears between Theth and Valbona, then north of Koplik as well as in Trieshi, but in the latter under the form Rrogath.⁶⁶³ Whereas the researcher Georg Von Hahn, in his descriptions, mentions an Albanian village in the region of Luma called Rogoman, which according to him was located on the road from Prizren to Dibër.⁶⁶⁴ Regarding the population of Rogam of Piper, the Russian ethnographer Pavel Apolonović Rovinski writes that, with the exception of two family communities that came from Zagarač (*an old place of the Albanian Malonšićis, which will be discussed below*), all the others are held to belong to descendants of old communities.⁶⁶⁵ Apparently, due to the dynamics and political circumstances, the same residents, a few years later, refused to talk about their origins to the researcher Erdeljanović,⁶⁶⁶ perhaps to hide their non-Serbian origin.

Rijeka is another settlement in Piper where old microtoponyms appear. The first is Dromira, a plot below the village of Raslovica near the Morača river, which in Balkan literature

⁶⁶⁰ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 448

⁶⁶¹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 196

⁶⁶² Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 149 and 189. * Mavriq village, judged first by the name and then also by the order of the villages registered in the Defter (register), should be today's Nenmavriqi in Shosh. While Dobroshi, registered as a dependency of Kaza of Peja, still exists today as a village west of Gjakova.

⁶⁶³ Skender Gashi, Toponimia e regjionit të Trieshit I. Koha, Viti III, October-November, Titograd, 1980, page 536.

⁶⁶⁴ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 449

⁶⁶⁵ Павел Аполоновић Ровински. Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 82

⁶⁶⁶ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 453

is sometimes treated as a remnant from a previous population and whose name can be explained through the Albanian words *dru* (wood) and *mirë* (good).⁶⁶⁷ Another example of this type is Mertasnj, which consists of a territory on the western side of the Milunovići unit within the same village. According to the researcher Erdeljanović, this name may have been developed from the name *Mert*, which resembles the Albanian anthroponym Merten or the Merturi tribal community.⁶⁶⁸ Other microtoponyms that appear in the territory of Piper and that have a chance to be aligned with Albanians are also *Zebokur*, *Kopilje*⁶⁶⁹ and *Otska Gora*. The latter, located in the village of *Ožezi*, is said to be the remains of a colony that came from Hoti, which may once have lived there.⁶⁷⁰

A connection between the tribal community of Piper and the Albanian ethnic element is also found in the old writings of church dignitaries. In a report from 1630, which the bishop of Lezha Benedetto Orsini addresses to the congregation, in which the Albanian places that were not subjected to Ottoman rule are listed (*tabella riassuntiva delle localita albanesi non saggete al dominio turco*), alongside Fandi, Mirdita, Shkreli, Hoti, Puka, Kelmendi, Lezha and other regions, in the same document, the regions of Kuči and Piperi which are considered as Catholic communities, are also listed.⁶⁷¹ Their description as Western oriented Christians is consistent with an even older document. The document is the report of 1610, which the archbishop of Bar, Marino Bizzi, addressed to Pope Paul V. In this church material, Piperi is described as a Catholic

⁶⁶⁷ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 471

⁶⁶⁸ „Свакако је и име Мртањи, за земљиште на северној страни Милуновића, такође неко братствено презиме несрпског поријекла. Могло је оно првобитно гласити и мало друкчије, па се после изменити у данашњи облик. Можда је ту био корен Мерт? (да подсетимо на арбанашко мушко име Мертен , Мартин, даље на име арбанашког племена Мертури.“ (Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 47); Merturi is an Albanian tribe that extends south of Valbona.

⁶⁶⁹ According to linguists Karol Ostir and Norbert Jokl, *kopil* is a word of the Albanian lexicon, then spread later throughout the Balkan territory. (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga druga, K-poni. Jugoslovenska akademija nauka i umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972, page 147); About its etymology, the Croatian researcher Petar Skok writes *“Ishodiste bi bila ilirotračka riječ ie. podrijetla, koja se očuvala u originalnom obliku u arbanaskom. Odatle je prenesena u doba rumunjsko-arbanaskog nomadiziranja po katunima u balkanskim planinama u ostale balkanske jezike.”* (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga druga, K-poni. Jugoslovenska akademija nauka i umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972, pages 147-148)

⁶⁷⁰ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 382 and 530. * Zebokur is most likely from the connection of the Albanian words *Za+bukur* (eng.pretty sound, *srh.lijep glas*)

⁶⁷¹ Injac Zamputi - *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin XVII. Vëllimi I* (1610-1634). Universiteti shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe Gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1963, page 404-405

community, although in the linguistic sense they are classified as Dalmatian.⁶⁷² Four years later, in 1614, from Mariano Bolizza comes another report about this tribal community, where they are recorded as belonging to the Orthodox rite.⁶⁷³ In summary, Piperi was described within twenty years in three different ways: in 1610 as a Catholic but Dalmatian place, in 1614 as an Orthodox population, and in 1630 as a Catholic Albanian place. This mess leads to an assumption that in this period, a process of alienation may have started that as a result created a heterogeneous structure in the religious and linguistic sense, so Bizzi, Bolizza and Orsini created an impression on Piper, depending on the affiliation of the informant. In unravelling the knot on the ethnic type of the Catholic communities in Piper, perhaps can indirectly serve a record of Lazaro Soranzo, an educated man from Venice, who in 1590, describing the uprising of the Kuči, Piperi, Kelmendi and Bratonožići tribes, writes that among them there are many Albanians of the Roman faith.⁶⁷⁴

However, while the issue of the ethnic composition of the population in the 17th century within the region remained controversial, on the religious level things seem a little simpler. Here, apart from a small Orthodox group that may have caught the eye of Bolizza, most of the inhabitants seem to have been Catholic. In support of this assumption is the argument that in the entire territory of Piper, there are only three Orthodox churches, which are said to be old. The first church is located in the village of Stijena and is said to date from the time of Stefan Nemanja.⁶⁷⁵ Now, given the fact that the Serbian king himself, born only a few kilometres from Piper, was baptized as a Catholic in the absence of Orthodox priests, it is unlikely that this church was originally from the eastern part. Jovan Erdeljanović writes that this religious object was damaged by the army of Mahmut Pasha Bushatli in 1796 during his attack on this village, but it was restored again in 1838 without being able to return the iconography and the old writings.⁶⁷⁶ The second church, which is said to be old, is located in the Bjeloglav settlement. It is said that the first building was demolished by the population of the area and a larger church

⁶⁷² Injac Zamputi - Relazione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin XVII. Vëllimi I (1610-1634). Universiteti shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe Gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1963, page 199.

⁶⁷³ Injac Zamputi - Relazione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin XVII. Vëllimi I (1610-1634). Universiteti shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe Gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1963, page 271

⁶⁷⁴ Noel Malcolm, *Rebelët besimtarët të mbijetuarit*. Botime Artini, Prishtinë 2020, page 80

⁶⁷⁵ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, p. 432

⁶⁷⁶ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, p. 432

was built on its foundations, while later this too was demolished and replaced by a completely new one.⁶⁷⁷ In such circumstances, after a repeated process of demolitions and reconstructions, it is difficult to say anything more about its nature and the time of the first construction. As much as it may be an old orthodox one, it is just as likely to be a catholic one was later reshaped. Whereas, for the third church, which is located in the village of Blizna, the issue is clearer, since the approximate time of construction is known. According to the records, it was constructed somewhere three centuries from now.

Based on the examples listed above, it seems that the Orthodox material culture in the territory of the region of Piper is new and does not go deep back in time. The British Edith Durham, who spent time in the Albanian-Montenegrin mountainous areas in her work on the tribes, laws, and customs of the Balkans, writes that the Piperi until the eighteenth century spoke Albanian and were Catholic.⁶⁷⁸ This hypothesis is partly supported by material sources. For example, in the villages of Rogam, Đurkovići, Mrke, Rijeka, Sviba and Štedim, there are signs of church buildings and toponyms such as *crkvina*, which are said to be remnants of an old population. Their damage, being left in oblivion, and the lack of will for reconstruction can be attributed to the process of breaking away from the Catholic heritage and converting to Slavic Orthodoxy. As for the record on the use of the Albanian language, it is difficult to assume a distortion of facts on her part, because somewhere a field reference will have been taken. Serbian researcher Vladimir Ćorović also wrote about Piperi's Catholic confessional affiliation, who sees their conversion to Orthodoxy as a phenomenon of the 17th century.⁶⁷⁹

In the territory of Piper, the Albanian component is also recognizable in the surnames of some of the bloodlines of the area. Thus, within the village of Stijena, the Lješevići group can be found, whose origin is connected with a voivode called Lesh,⁶⁸⁰ in Albanian. He is said to be the

⁶⁷⁷ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, р.432-433

⁶⁷⁸ Edith Durham – *Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG, Tiranë 2019, page 58

⁶⁷⁹ „Пипери који су још 1610 године, сматрани скоро сви као католици, постали су исто већим делом православни.“ (Владимир Ћоровић, Историја Срба. 7 издање, Зограф, Ниш 2004, р.438); *“Dalje Ćorović kaze: Piperi, koji su jos 1610 godine smatrani gotovo svi kao katolici, postali su isto većim delom pravoslavni.”* (Radoslav Rotković, Etnička i društvena struktura Zete pod Nemanjićima. Crnogorski Anali, Godina 1, broj 3, Cetinje, June 2013, page 66)

⁶⁸⁰ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 408

adopted son of Leka, from whom it is thought that the Donjaci branch in Ceklin was formed.⁶⁸¹ In the village of Đurkovići, lives the Dedanovići bloodline, the first of whom is very likely to have been called Deda, a very common male name among Albanians.⁶⁸²

3.3 Kuči⁶⁸³

In the published scientific materials that focus on ethnohistorical developments within the current Montenegrin territory, one of the most discussed issues seems to have been the linguistic source of the notion that names the aforementioned tribal community. Although so far there is a diversity of opinions, the dominant part of authoritative researchers agree on a non-Slavic affiliation of this appellation,⁶⁸⁴ seriously considering the possibility that the name Kuči was created based on the Albanian language.⁶⁸⁵ In this context, Ljubomir Kovačević, who is considered one of the greatest reformers of the Serbian historical school, more than a century ago presented sufficient evidence about the non-Serbian nature of this name, where, in addition to other clarifications, he also provides possible etymological options, one of which is the hypothesis that this notion is from the word kuq (red) in Albanian.⁶⁸⁶ Despite the fact that among the Balkan authors, one can find a personality who doubted his opinion,⁶⁸⁷ the hypothesis of the researcher Kovačević seems more substantive than any other explanation. First, because the linguistic fund of the Albanian language provides clear explanations for both forms discussed (kuç-pot, kuq-blood colour);⁶⁸⁸ while the second reason has to do with the fact that this notion is frequently encountered as a toponym in the districts of Shkodra, Vlora, Korça, Berat and more

⁶⁸¹ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 491

⁶⁸² Serbian linguist Mitar Peshikan lists it as a name in Albanian. (Mitar Пешикан, Зетско-Хумско-Рашка имена. Ономатолошки Прилози III, Београд, 1982, page 29)

⁶⁸³ Kuči is the tribal region within the Montenegrin territory. It lies east of Podgorica, near the administrative line with the Republic of Albania. It is bordered by the Bratonožići, Piperi, Vasojevići, Hoti, Gruda, Kelmendi tribes as well as the Zeta region.

⁶⁸⁴ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 70

⁶⁸⁵ Растислав В. Петровић, Плење Кучи 1684-1796, Народна Књига, Београд, page 20.

⁶⁸⁶ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 70

⁶⁸⁷ With suspicion sees it Jovan Erdeljanović (Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 70)

⁶⁸⁸ Fjalor i gjuhës shqipe, Instituti i shkencavet, seksioni i gjuhës e i letërsisë Tiranë 1954, Rribotim i dyte nga Rilindja, Prishtinë 1976. Pages 245 and 251

widely,⁶⁸⁹ thus it is obvious that its use must have been a widespread phenomenon within the ethnic culture of Albanians.

For the first time in written sources, Kuči appears in the third decade of the 14th century, more precisely in a church document drawn up in 1330 in the monastery of Deçan. It is about a man named Petar Kuč, who, based on the content of this document, is said to have lived in a village of Albanians.⁶⁹⁰ According to ethnologist Branislav Đurđev, although the locality of this inhabited place is difficult to be precise, the data found so far suggest that it may have been located around the present-day tribal region of Hoti.⁶⁹¹ Approximately one hundred years later, in the Venetian register of 1416, the notion of Kuči (*Cuzzi*) appears again, but this time as a settlement in the south of Shkodra. Pursuant to the anthroponymy, it is clear that it is about a completely Albanian environment, where the inhabitants appear with names like *Giergi*, *Pali*, *Jon*, *Gin*,⁶⁹² etc. However, this is not the only case recorded within this material, since this appellative, although in the form of a surname, is registered quite densely in many settlements that are part of the register. For example, in the villages of *Sancto Avraccio*, *Egressi*, *Sordani*, *Ibardi*, *Bolsa*, *Rapisti*, *Sacholi* and *Villa de Andrea Schiavo*, among the residents recorded appear *Alessio Cucci*, *Masi Cucci*, *Petro Cucci*, *Voyn Cucci*, *Jon Cucci*, *Giergi Cucci*, *Andrea Cucci*, *Vigeci Cucci*, *Menchesi Cucci*, *Pali Cucci* and *Nicola Cucci*.⁶⁹³ The fact that only one of them (*Voyn*) has a Slavic nature, while all the others have Albanian or Biblical names, is an additional indication of the ethnic feeling of this line. To this case can serve as an argument also the information that in the settlements listed above, at that same time, the anthroponyms of other residents who are related to Kuči, are almost entirely in Albanian, even where the name of the village creates another impression. For example, the name *Villa de Andrea Schiavo* gives the feeling that you could be talking about a Slavic environment, but since the residents bear names

⁶⁸⁹ Kuç (Shkoder), Kuç i zi (Berat), Kuç (Kurvelesh-Vlorë), Kuçovë (Berat), Kuç (Bilisht), Kodra e Kuçit and Maja e Kuçit (Reç-Shkodër), Ura e Kuçit (between Lushnja and Berat), Kuqani (Elbasan), Guri i kuq (Permet), Gurakuq (Tirane), etc.

⁶⁹⁰ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, pages 99 and 175

⁶⁹¹ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 99

⁶⁹² Sime Ljubić, *Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416*. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, page 38.

⁶⁹³ Sime Ljubić, *Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416*. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, pages 33-44. * Alessio Cucci and Masi Cucci (*Sancto Avraccio*), Petro Cucci (*Egressi*), Voyn Cucci, Petro Cucci, Jon Cucci, Giergi Cucci (*Sordani*), Andra Cucci, Giergi Cucci, Petro Cucci, (*Ibardi*), Vigeci Cucci (*Bolsa*), Menchesi Cucci (*Rapisti*), Pali Cucci (*Sacholi*), Nicola Cucci (*Villa de Andrea Schiavo*),

like *Giergi Strelli, Bencho Bussati, Petro Drussi, Jon Cathossi, Tanus Dranci*, etc.,⁶⁹⁴ such a conclusion becomes unacceptable. Then, the very fact that Andrea is called by the surname *Schiavo* is an indication that he has distinguished himself from the inhabitants and is in a foreign environment. In this context, as long as Nicola Cuci of this village does not bear a similar surname (*Schiavo*), it speaks enough that he shared the same ethnicity with the population of the area. However, almost three decades later, in 1443, the appellative *Kuči* also appears in the materials written by the chancelleries of the Republic of Dubrovnik, where a *Bogdanus Cuçai* is mentioned,⁶⁹⁵ where the characteristic suffix of Albanian surnames draws attention.

Unlike the above data which speak indirectly, the Ottoman administrative summary of 1485 is the first written material that provides detailed and direct records from the settlements of the region. There are a total of eight villages in which the sultan's officials had registered the population and property, thus producing a quite valuable volume from which one can form an impression of the then ethnic nature of the *Kuči* population. In the largest village in terms of the number of houses (110 in total), called *Pantalesh*, the inhabitants who called themselves or whose fathers were called in Albanian are in a deep predominance. It is about names like *Leka, Petrit, Deda, Kola, Nila, Marza, Pal, Margjin, Lesh, Bardi, Marash, Gjon, Doda, Manush, Kal, Gega, Nikla, Noja, Gjergj, Ulkash, Lika, Prekça, Barlec, Lula, Zhul and Bushak*, many of which were repeatedly encounter with two or more people.⁶⁹⁶ Within this settlement there are also Slavic names, but in many cases they appear intertwined with anthroponyms in Albanian, such as *Vukiq* son of *Gjon*, *Zhivko* son of *Leka* or *Vukaçi* son of *Lula*.⁶⁹⁷ Taking into account the dominance of Albanian names within the village and also the other findings that will be discussed later, it is very likely that this intertwining is a product of the unilateral use of Slavic names by Albanians and not the fruit of a symbiosis between the two ethnic groups.

The other inhabited unit that appears within this register is the village of *Bardani*, which seems to have been named after the Albanian word for white, and this can serve as an argument

⁶⁹⁴ Sime Ljubić – *Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416*. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, pages 43-44

⁶⁹⁵ DAD, Lamenda de Foris, Fond 21, Ser 2, Vol 16, God 1442-1443, fol 163v; The identification of *Bogdanus Cuccai* as a resident of *Kuči* was also done by Gavro Skrivanić (Гавро Шкриванић, Именик географских назива средњовековне Зете. Историски Институт НР Црне Горе. Тигорад 1959, page 29)

⁶⁹⁶ Selami Pulaha, *Deferi i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës*, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 119-120

⁶⁹⁷ Selami Pulaha, *Deferi i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës*, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page

to create an initial idea about the ethnic type of the population. Here things became clearer, especially when considering the anthroponyms found there which are mostly in Albanian such as: Lum, Gjon, Progon, Margjin, Pal, Marash, Mirbonesh, Gjergj, Deda or Nok. In order to complete the description, it is necessary to say that some of the given names, here too, were encountered repeatedly, that is, they were borne by more than one person.⁶⁹⁸ The same situation occurs in the village of Brokina, a smaller settlement, with only twelve listed houses, where the residents used Albanian names such as Tanush, Deda, Gjergj, Kola, Gjon or Christian ones of the type as Todor, Marina and Andrija. There is only one exception, where a registered man has a Slavic name (*Zhivko*), but he is also recorded as a child of Gjergji and a grandson of Kola.⁶⁹⁹ The other village called Lazorci, which at the time of the drafting of the Ottoman defter had only five houses, seems to have had the same ethnic physiognomy, and this assumption is supported by the anthroponyms Kolë and Bardo found in the register.⁷⁰⁰ While in the Radona and Stani localities, despite the predominance of Slavic anthroponymy, people named Gjonac, Margjesh, Pjak, Lekaç, Gjergj, Nok and Vesh were encountered again,⁷⁰¹ thus highlighting the Albanian component.

More than a hundred years after the drafting of the Ottoman register, to be more precise in the first part of the 17th century, other written documents were created, based on which we can understand something more about the demography of the region. Thus, in 1614, it is Mariano Bolizza from the upper class of Kotor who gives the first explicit information on the ethnic composition of the population, and the tribal community of Kuči is described as a community of Albanians of the Roman faith (*Chuzzi Albanesi del rito romano*).⁷⁰² Two other reports are also relevant on the ethnic character of the region; the first drafted in 1628 by Don Vicenti who at that time was acting as the secretary of the bishop of Lezha, while the second in 1630 by the bishop Benedetto Orsini himself. In the first material, Kuči is listed alongside communities such as Kelmendi, Hoti, Shkreli, Kastrati, Dushmani, Drishti and Gjamarati, which are said to be part of

⁶⁹⁸ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 121

⁶⁹⁹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 121.

⁷⁰⁰ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 123

⁷⁰¹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 121-123

⁷⁰² Константин Лиречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна Књига, Београд, 1952, p.48

the region of *Arbania*.⁷⁰³ In this case, considering the presence of these tribal communities and the year when the document was written, their definition under the notion *d'arbania* must have had an ethnic and not a political character. Unlike Don Vicenti, the other cleric Orsini seems more direct, and in his report Kuči is listed among the Albanian places that had not subjugated to the Ottoman rule.⁷⁰⁴ An identical finding like this also appears in the letter that knight Francesco Bolizza addressed to the congregation on 17 December 1649, where the population of the region of Kuči is defined as a community of Christian Albanians. (*Nell`estendersi essi Padri Riformati daltra parte et avanzarsi a Cuzzi, Clementi, et piu oltre apresso quelli numerosi Popoli Christiani Albanesi...*).⁷⁰⁵

However, while the reports or relations speak more clearly about the ethnic character of the region, on the confessional level there is a more complicated situation. Marino Bizzi, archbishop of Bar, in an informative material addressed to Pope Paul V in 1610, wrote that half of Kuči were schismatics, while the rest were Catholic.⁷⁰⁶ These statistics are completely opposite to what Bolizza transmitted in 1614, where according to him the region had a Latin physiognomy in terms of faith. Although he may have had the same references or informants as his brother Mariano, Kuči's Catholic orientation is also confirmed by Francesco Bolizza in 1649, although in this interval it is mentioned that a conversion initiative had been started by the cleric Rufim Boljević. It seems that the administrator of Kotor, Antonio Zeno, was influenced by this development, who on 26 August 1685 described the population of Kuči as orthodox in the religious sense,⁷⁰⁷ a claim which was questioned seven years later (1692) by Nicolo Erizzo, according to who the region still had a Roman character (*..ne monti dell`Albania Inferiore habitano i Cuzzi di rito romano..*).⁷⁰⁸ To make the things even more confusing, in the first part

⁷⁰³ Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë Veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin VII, vëllimi I*, Tirane 1963, p383

⁷⁰⁴ Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë Veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin VII, vëllimi I*, Tiranë 1963, p405

⁷⁰⁵ Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë Veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin VII, vëllimi II*, Tiranë 1965, 381

⁷⁰⁶ Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë Veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin VII, vëllimi I*, Tirane 1963, p199

⁷⁰⁷ Јован Томић, Извјештај которског провидура Николе Ерица о Млетачком заузећу у Млетачкој Арбанији, Црној Гори, Брдима и у Херцеговини, са пописом тамошњег људства и стоке, из год. 1692. Споменик LII, Српска Краљевска Академија. Државна штампарија краљевине Србије. У Београду 1914, page 75

⁷⁰⁸ Јован Томић, Извјештај которског провидура Николе Ерица о Млетачком заузећу у Млетачкој Арбанији, Црној Гори, Брдима и у Херцеговини, са пописом тамошњег људства и стоке, из год. 1692. Споменик LII, Српска Краљевска Академија. Државна штампарија краљевине Србије. У Београду 1914, page 75

of the 19th century, a record by the Serbian linguist Vuk Karadžić appears, who writes that there are several thousand Catholic Albanians in Kuči.⁷⁰⁹ In this context, the process of conversion to Orthodoxy apparently started after the third decade of the 17th century, but most likely it was not completed until later.

According to the scientific discipline of toponymy, the tribal region of Kuči seems to be the territory with the largest number of names, the meaning of which is either Albanian-Slavic symbiosis or entirely in Albanian, as compared to other Montenegrin areas. Thus, within the village of Orahovo, there is a large number of microtoponyms of this nature, among others: *Fush Bardha, Bregu i Nulit, Gropa e Blets, Rudina Pleçe, Grop Šarovit, Guri i Djat, Kodra Thanina, Dr Lokve, Nfušat Podgradit, Gur Kusovit, Lug Dborin, Gura, Gropa ujit, Dr Kiše, Thane and Krung*.⁷¹⁰ In addition, this village also owns a mountain massif called *Gradjen*, which was once used by the population for pastoral purposes, where the names of places such as *Vathne* and *Šaleza* appear,⁷¹¹ also from the Albanian language lexicon.⁷¹² From here to the east lies the Dučići locality, an old settlement that seems to lead in terms of the number of microtoponyms of the type described above. In this environment, during the first part of the 20th century, the Serbian researcher *Jovan Erdeljanović* collected and recorded the following examples: *Dušak, Zakodre, Rah Perucin, Rah Vujin, Gropa Pirova, Dolina Arušina, Kodra Macina, Gropa Ujina, Ras Pjetrov, Kodra Šeova, Brinja, Rase Barla, Brijeg Darlin (dards), Kiš Zeza, Brijeg Fierin, Brijeg Balin, Dolina Koljina, Trolišta, Fuše Llokva, Dr Lokva, Ćete, Gropa Skenderova, Zakišzeza, Marine, Kodra, Drize, Gropa Fiersova, Pod Fiersov, Res od Dodoša, Gropa Mala,*

⁷⁰⁹ Radoslav Rotković, *Etnička i društvena struktura Zete pod Nemanjićima*. Crnogorski Anali, Godina 1, broj 3, Cetinje, June 2013, page 66

⁷¹⁰ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 78-79; From the Albanian words, Ndër, Fushë, Bardhë, Gropa, Bleta, Pleq, Gur, Thanë, Gjatë, Deborë, Gurra, Uji, Kisha and Krung. The latter, according to residents interviewed by Erdeljanovic, is a word used by Albanians. (ibid. p. 78); Researcher Vanja Stanisić derives the microtoponym *krung* from the old Serbian word *krogu*, which means district or circuit. In relation to this interpretation, the linguist Idriz Ajeti says that even if Stanisić was right, the transformation from *Krogu* to *Krung* implies an Albanian reflection, which means that in order to get the current form, the mediation of Albanian would be needed. (Idriz Ajeti, *Vepra 3, Akademia e shkencave dhe e arteve të Kosovës. Botime të veçanta XXXII, Seksioni i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë, Libri 16, Prishtinë 1998. p.295-297.*)

⁷¹¹ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 79

⁷¹² *Vathne* seems to have been formed according to the Albanian word *vathë*, which when it becomes plural, in the northern dialectal form, becomes *vathne*, like the microtoponym being discussed. The word *vathë*, according to Kolec Topalli, is an old Albanian word, the source of which is sought in the fund i.e. (Kolec Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p.1550*)

*Čafa od Dodesa, Koljat Marašev, Fuš Barla, Rah Seknin, Gropa Šeova, Gropa Ljuceva, Gropa Memova, Ljug Dosin, Grm Prentašev, Brinja Lakova, Grope, Res od grope, Škala od Gropa, Dolina Puseva, Kodre, Brijeg Paljev, Dr Lise and Fuše.*⁷¹³ For these two villages Erdeljanović writes that the Albanian language was so common that they even spoke it among themselves,⁷¹⁴ while the Russian researcher Pavel Rovinski, in one of his works on Montenegrin ethnography, adds that the inhabitants of Orahovo, until their union with the Montenegrin state, did not even know Serbian language.⁷¹⁵ In this context, a record by the Italian researcher Antonio Baldacci, who was known as a promoter of Montenegrin rights, is also relevant, according to whom the villages of *Dučići, Orahovo* and Medun, until the first part of the 19th century, spoke Albanian, although by faith they were Greco-Oriental.⁷¹⁶ The descriptions listed above seem to have support from the discipline of collective memory, since according to the memories that are still transmitted by the elderly people of the area, in some villages of Kuči, the population is said to have been bilingual until a hundred years ago,⁷¹⁷ a phenomenon which will be addressed again at the conclusion of the discussion on the region.

The Albanian toponymy is also visible in the village of Sjenice, an inhabited place that, according to Jovan Erdeljanović, was once called Bardanji, because of a bloodline with the same name that is supposed to have come from the Kelmendi tribal community sometime in the 18th

⁷¹³ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 86-87. *From the Albanian words Dushk, Kodra, Rrah, Gropa, Arusha, Maca, Uji, Rreth, Sheu, Brinja, Rrasë, Bardha, Dardhë, Kishë, Zeza, Fier, Ballë, Trollishtë, Fushë, Qetë, Drizë, Čafa, Dosë, Shkalla, Pus and Lis. Or from the anthroponyms Kolë, Prentash, Mar, Luc, Mema, Pal and Marash. The belonging of the name Mar to the toponym Marine is also confirmed by Erdeljanovic in the cited work; Drizë is an old Albanian word. It appears throughout the Albanian territory, but also in the Arbëresh colonies of Italy or the region of Attica in Greece. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes III, C-D, Akademia e shkencave e Shqiperise. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2016, p.325-326); Fier is an auspicious word in the Albanian language. The opinion of the linguists Barić, Treimer and Schuchard, who see fern as a place word, but of Indo-European origin, is also supported by Eqrem Çabej. ((Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes IV, DH-J, Akademia e shkencave e Shqiperise. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 1996, p.184-185); Rrah is an auspicious Albanian word which is thought to be an internal formation. (Kolec Topalli, Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p. 1259)

⁷¹⁴ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 94-95

⁷¹⁵ „Тако у Фундини, сваки становник осим српског језика, обавезно зна и арнаутски, а становници Орахова, све до њиховог припајања Црној Гори, нијесу знали српски.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, 1998, page 76)

⁷¹⁶ Antonio Baldacci – Shqipëria e Madhe, Shtëpia botuese Uegen, Tiranë 2006, page 33

⁷¹⁷ Informant: Aleksandar Leko Cekovic, born on 13.03.1951, from the village of Dučić in Kuc. According to Mr. Cekovic, in addition to Slavic, his grandfather also spoke Albanian in an excellent way.

century.⁷¹⁸ In this case there seems to be a mistake by the researcher Erdeljanović since in the Ottoman defter of 1485 one of the central settlements of the then region of Kuči was called the same (*Bardani*),⁷¹⁹ so most likely it is being talked about the same village. However, there are many names here that speak in Albanian, where *Troline*, *Kodra od Ćelija*, *Kodra*, *Vorćalin*, *Brinje*, *Kale*, *Bare*, *Dar Kruo*, *Fuša* and *Ćafa stand out*.⁷²⁰ Another locality where non-Slavic words were encountered in the toponymy is the old village of Lazorci, which appears in documentary sources since the 15th century.⁷²¹ The assumptions are quite real that this place was named based on the anthroponym Lazor, which according to the Russian historian Ivan Stepanović Jastrebov is an Albanian form of the Hebrew name Lazarus,⁷²² an opinion which is also read in some other Serbian scientific works.⁷²³ Beyond this, two other names such as *Bregu i Mols* and *Šteg Orahovski* appear here,⁷²⁴ which basically have the Albanian words apple and path. Not far from there lies the village of Vrbica, where remnants of the Albanian language can also be distinguished, and concrete examples are *Kiša*, *Brinje*, *Kodra*, *Skamci* and *Gur Djoši*.⁷²⁵ Several microtoponyms in the Podskalica district such as *Vathi*, *Dušak*, *Ljuk Larin*, *Drecina*, *Bar Kalji*, *Buza*, *Rupe Peline* and *Gropa Pels* appear to be of this origin,⁷²⁶ as well as *Suka*, *Grop*

⁷¹⁸ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 81

⁷¹⁹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 121

⁷²⁰ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 81. * From Albanian: Trollina, Kodra, Brinje, Kall, Bar, Nder krua, Fusha, Ćafa and Vorcalin, where for the latter Jovan Erdeljanović writes that it is, in Serbian “*grob djetetov*” (ibid., p. 81). According to this it is clear that Vorcalin is Vorr djali (grave of boy); Trolline has a chance to be from the word truall (plot), which in northern dialects is also used as troll. According to Ćabej, truall is a local Albanian word. (Eqrem Ćabej, Studime gjuhesore IV, Botim i dyte. Rilindja, Prishtinë 1987, p. 299); Kall is thought to be an old Albanian word sourced from the fund i.e. For more information, see: Kolec Topalli, Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p.699

⁷²¹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 123

⁷²² Иван С. Јастребов, Стара Србија и Албанија. Службени Гласник, 2020, p.63

⁷²³ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997. * Erdeljanović writes that the reason for the influence of the Albanians was a rotation between the letter “o” and “a” within this name. (Ibid.)

⁷²⁴ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 79; The microtoponym “Bregu i mols” (apple hill) appears correctly in Albanian, while in Slavic it should be “brijeg od jabuke”, while “steg orahovski” is symbiosis where, the word shteg (path) is in Albanian, while “orahovski” (of walnut) has a Slavic suffix that it may have taken after linguistic alienation.

⁷²⁵ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 81

⁷²⁶ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 82

Suka or *Strana Pepina* in the village of Pokrajnice.⁷²⁷ The latter is said to derive from the Albanian anthroponym *Pepa*,⁷²⁸ while in the case of the first two the linguistic origin from Albanian is quite clear.

In the present-day centre of the region, that is, in the village of Medun, which is supposed to be the old Illyrian *Medeon*,⁷²⁹ the microtoponyms *Strunga*, *Guri Mehmed*, *Bokeč* and *Tartalov Do* do not belong to the Slavic linguistic fund.⁷³⁰ For the first listed finding, namely the notion of *strunga*, Albanian linguists *Eqrem Çabej* and *Idriz Ajeti* have provided sufficient arguments to treat it as an Albanian word, reflecting it as a postverbal of the verb *shtroj* with the suffix *ungë*.⁷³¹ In addition to them, the hypothesis that assumes an Albanian source is also supported by *Franz Miclosich*,⁷³² *Jovan Erdeljanović*,⁷³³ and *Ivan Popović*.⁷³⁴ Meanwhile, approximate examples have also been recorded in the village of *Zlatica*,⁷³⁵ around and within which there are several units called *Kunj Zlatički*, *Šteg Mali*, *Špela*, *Ćeta* and *Šumeze*.⁷³⁶ According to the ethnologist *Erdeljanović*, the last microtoponym may have been created through the connection of the Slavic notion *šuma* with the suffix *za*, which he recognizes as a linguistic characteristic among Albanians.⁷³⁷ As for the name *špela* (cave), although it seems to be a word with Greek

⁷²⁷ *Jovan Erdeljanović*, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 82; *Dushak* is very likely to be from *Dushk* in Albanian. For the Albanian source of this word, see: *Eqrem Çabej*, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes III*, C-D, Akademia e shkencave e Shqiperise. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2016, p. 363-365.

⁷²⁸ *Jovan Erdeljanović*, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 82

⁷²⁹ *Milan Shufflay*, *Histori e shqiptarëve të veriut*. Studim sociologjik. Nositi, Prishtinë 2009, p.15

⁷³⁰ *Jovan Erdeljanović*, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 85; All four examples given are qualified as Albanian toponyms by *Jovan Erdeljanović*. (ibid., page 85)

⁷³¹ *Idriz Ajeti* – *Për historinë e marrëdhënieve të hershme gjuhësore shqiptare-sllave*. Gjurmime Albanologjike. Seria e shkencave filologjike II -1972, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1974, pages 38-39

⁷³² *Хенрик Барић*, *Henrik Barić*, *Етимолошки и граматични прилози*. Архив за арбанаску старину, језик и етнологију. Књига I, Београд 1923, p.155

⁷³³ *Jovan Erdeljanović*, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 85

⁷³⁴ *Ivan Popović*, *Elemente te gjuhes shqipe ne gjuhet e hueja*, *Përparimi*, 1957, 1-2, Prishtinë, page 28-29

⁷³⁵ The toponym *Zlatica* is undoubtedly in Slavic, but it must be a later name since it does not appear in the Ottoman administrative summary of 1485. For more information, see: *Selami Pulaha*, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 119-123.

⁷³⁶ *Jovan Erdeljanović*, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 83

⁷³⁷ *Jovan Erdeljanović*, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 83

etymology, in its present form it is used only by Albanians.⁷³⁸ As for the other microtoponyms, the issue is simpler, since kunj (stick, pin), shteg (path), mali (mountain) and qeta (step rock) are words from the Albanian language lexicon, the use of which has never stopped. In addition, within this village there is also a place called *Vlahinja*,⁷³⁹ apparently remnants of some Romanized element that may have been part of the village's population as well.

In the territory populated by the Kuči tribal organization, there are even more microtoponyms which were most likely formed according to the words or phonetic rules of Albanian language. Thus, in the village of Ubli, a land area is called *Kodra*, while another area is called *Zgrada Dedina*,⁷⁴⁰ where the latter seems to have been created from the anthroponym Dedë. In Kržanje, a place is called *Gaš Vrh*, while in Stravče settlement a water spring is called *Kastrat čezma*,⁷⁴¹ and it is possible that these are memories of some pastor, fighting unit, or family community originating from the Albanian tribes of Gashi and Kastrat. Microtoponyms of this nature are also distinguished in the village of Širokare, where concrete examples are *Ćafa od bara*, *Đebeza*, *Kunj od Širokara* and *Rupa Arušina*, created mainly based on a linguistic intertwining. In the other inhabited locality known as Bezjovo, in addition to the Slavic names, *Prečkova Dolina* and *Martinika* were also encountered,⁷⁴² and while the etymology of the first one is evidently related to the Albanian anthroponym Preç, in the case of the second notion, a more extensive discussion is needed. An interpretation of the researcher Jovan Erdeljanović, who provides two possible origins as a solution, can serve here. According to the first option, this place name derives from an earlier Catholic church built as a dedication to St. Martin, on the ruins of which the inhabitants after conversion have constructed the new Orthodox church. However, based on the second version given, this small hill may have been named in honour of a Catholic man named Martin.⁷⁴³ It seems that the second hypothesis is more acceptable, since the

⁷³⁸ Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga treća. Poni-Z, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb 1973. page 311.

⁷³⁹ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 83

⁷⁴⁰ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 88

⁷⁴¹ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 89-90

⁷⁴² Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 83

⁷⁴³ „У гробљу је била некад и стара црквина с остацима сухозидине. На нјеном је месту подигнута садашња нова црква. Предање ништа не зна о тој старој црквици. Али необично име самог брда Мартиника, можда

form of the toponym itself resembles a union between the names Martin and Nika, anthroponyms that are quite often encountered among today's Albanians of the Roman faith. Other toponyms that seem to be derived from Albanian or in some other form related to ethnic Albanian culture, in the region of Kuči are also the following: *Komovi Vuka Djonova, Ćafe Medunske, etc.*⁷⁴⁴

Collective memory is another scientific discipline which necessarily enriches the narrative on the ethnohistory of the tribal community discussed in this unit. The folk tales here seem quite preserved and are often in sync with other records, which adds to their importance in science. According to the data from this fund, it seems that the oldest human society of the region was identified through the Bukumirs and Mataguzhs, two non-Slavic tribal communities which over time may have completely moved away from their first habitat, to make way for two major branches known through the notions Mrnjavčevići and Drekalovići. The scientific works which deal with the demography of this Montenegrin part, suggest that the second mentioned branch, that is, Drekalovići, constitutes the core of the tribal community of Kuči, being in number approximately three times more than the other grouping. The Montenegrin researcher Stevan Dučić, who between 1904-1912 had collected important ethnographic records on the region, writes that due to the supremacy in people, this line for several centuries managed to appoint their own people to the duties of the voivodeship of Kuči.⁷⁴⁵

Judging by the data coming from the collective memory plane, the Mrnjavčevići line seems to be the first community that came to the region from outside, that is, from another territory. Inherited narratives say that their ancestors, in an older time, populated an area located southeast of Kuči, most likely within the medieval Pult, and they are remembered as people of the Catholic faith who spoke Albanian.⁷⁴⁶ When emigrating, this colony first settled in the village of Bardhaj, and then, with their increase in numbers, they spread throughout the region. However, this is not the only memory that speaks about the genesis of this community, as there is another story that considers this line as the successor of Gojko, the brother of the Serbian king Vukašin Mrnjavčević, but it is rightly opposed by Jovan Erdeljanović, who says that there is no

би се могло узети као доказ, да је сама црквица била посвећена Св. Мартину, и према томе католичка. Ако то није био случај, онда је брдо познато по неком Мартину, а то је име могло доћи само из католичког извора, јер је у православних Срба непознато". Јован Ердѣљановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 46)

⁷⁴⁴ Марко Миљанов, Сабрана дјела 3, Графички Завод, Титоград 1967, pages 13-15;

⁷⁴⁵ Стеван Дућић, Плење Кучи – Живот и обичаји. ЦИД, Подгорица 2004, page 4

⁷⁴⁶ Јован Ердѣљановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 143

written record that can confirm such an assumption.⁷⁴⁷ Apparently, this story was created to rival the other newcomers of the Drekalovići line, who held themselves as heirs of the Kastriot nobility, and perhaps according to this creation, the appellative Mrnjavčevići itself may have been constructed later. However, except for the latter, other folk memories do not match the data. For example, the story that talks about their arrival as Catholics in Kuči is in accordance with the descriptions of the bishops of the 17th century, but also corresponds to the large number of remains from the old Catholic churches within the region. Next, the memory according to which the Mrnjavčevići community came to Bardhaj of Kuči as a collective that spoke in Albanian, is in accordance with the Albanian anthroponymy found within this same village in the Ottoman registers, as well as the current toponymy.

Although the data listed so far strengthen the hypothesis of an ethnic Albanian anatomy of this branch, it still seems that some other narratives from the collective memory are relevant. Thus, in today's urban centre of Kolašin, there is a bloodline called Preljević that based on their collective memory are fugitives from Kuči and belong to the Mrnjavčevići branch.⁷⁴⁸ In this case, their surname seems quite clear to have been formed based on the Albanian anthroponym Prelë, which continues to live in the environments populated by Albanians. The family community Maljevići in the region of Plav is also said to be from this branch.⁷⁴⁹ that, just like in the previous example, their surname has a non-Slavic form, moreover, it may have been formed from the notion of mountain (*alb. mal, slv. šuma*). However, these are not the only cases within the Mrnjavčević line where surnames formed in this way are distinguished, the linguistic source of which has no reason to be sought in Serbian expressions. In this context, the Dedić, Paljević and Lačević bloodlines in the village of Berovo can be taken as concrete examples;⁷⁵⁰ Prentić and Zonjić, otherwise known as Krivodoljani,⁷⁵¹ who seem to have been named according to the

⁷⁴⁷ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 108

⁷⁴⁸ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 112

⁷⁴⁹ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 112

⁷⁵⁰ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 112

⁷⁵¹ Jovan Erdeljanović – Kuci Bratonožići Piperi, Narodna Biblioteka Radoslav Ljumović, Podgorica 1997, page 113

anthroponyms Dedë, Pal, Prend, or the words *llaç* (mud) and *zonjë* (lady) in Albanian.⁷⁵² Meanwhile, within the Mrnjavčevići branch, the phenomenon of the use of names that were formed within the Albanian environment, does not appear only in the old written materials or in the abovementioned surnames, but is also recognizable in the genealogical trees fanatically preserved in the people. Thus, in the family tree of the previously mentioned bloodline, Dedići, this chain appears: *Gavro-Đoko-Puniša-Deda-Prentaš-Božo-Prentaš-Deda-Maraš-Stanko-Dreca-Deda-Petar-Pant*.⁷⁵³ That is, within this community, in a line of 14 genealogical circles, or in the entire period between 1600-1900,⁷⁵⁴ there were three Slavic names (*Božo, Stanko and Puniša*); seven Albanian names (Marash, Ndreca, Prentash, Dedë); two of Greek or Jewish origin of the type Gavro and Peter and the name Đoka, whose affiliation is claimed by both Albanians and Serbs. A similar situation also appears within the Đurđevići bloodline in Podgrad, where the line of ancestors follows this way: *Novica-Radovan-Vata-Nikaš-Djuro-Miro-Lulo-Nika-Maraš-Milija-Vujoš-Marale-Radonja-Vuka-Đuro-Panta*.⁷⁵⁵ Although here the names of the Slavic nature appeared more in volume, again the presence of anthroponyms in Albanian such as Maral, Vata, Lul, Marash, but also Nikash based on the suffix of the name, speaks about an obvious Albanian anatomy in consistency within this community.

According to the narratives collected from the collective memory fund, the other branch known by the appellative Drekalovići and which demographically dominates the region, preserves a more specific memory about the way of establishment. The history of this bloodline begins with a Catholic man named Drekal⁷⁵⁶ who, according to the Montenegrin researcher Špiro Kulišić, should have been ethnically Albanian.⁷⁵⁷ In relation to the past, there are several preserved stories, although the story most transmitted by his successors is the one that treats this man as an illegitimate child of Gjon Kastriot the second, although due to chronological problems

⁷⁵² "Zonjqi is made up of the oldest form of the Albanian *zonjë* that in the Gege dialects of the border areas with mixed population, today appears to us in an assimilated form *zojë*." (Idriz Ajeti, *Studime leksikore shqiptare-sllave*, Gjurmime Albanologjike 2, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1969, page 40)

⁷⁵³ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 107

⁷⁵⁴ The records for this genealogical tree were collected by Jovan Erdeljanović in the first part of the 20th century. Since then, the inhabitants have counted 14 circles or generations until their first. This is approximately 350 years. Based on this calculation, the period 1600-1900 is given as optional.

⁷⁵⁵ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 107

⁷⁵⁶ An old form of the Albanian name Ndreka.

⁷⁵⁷ Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi Crnogoraca*, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 70

and the deficit of sources that prove it as a claim, it is impossible to define it as an exact theory.⁷⁵⁸ The Montenegrin military man *Marko Miljanov* writes that this story was also written down, moreover as a document it existed until recently in the Duga Monastery, but later it is supposed to have been lost.⁷⁵⁹ Apparently, the story of the descent of the Drekalovići line from the feudal family of the Kastriots had been so rooted in their tradition that, as the Albanian ethnographer Mark Krasniqi writes, in the homes of the Montenegrin families who settled as colonists in Kosovo after the first world war, the portrait of Skanderbeg was kept alongside the photographs of the saints or their family members.⁷⁶⁰ Meanwhile, the other competing story, which appears much poorer and is taken very little into consideration within the region, puts Drekal as the male child of Nikeza Marini, a man of the Mrnjavčevići line from the village of Bezjovo.⁷⁶¹ As for the female line, the people have inherited two different stories. According to the first, his mother was the daughter of Martin Đoni from the village of Selcë of Kelmendi, while the second story suggests her descent from the tribe of Kastrati.⁷⁶² Among the two theories given, the ethnologist Erdeljanović supports the second version, accompanying his explanation with the argument that his mother's origin may have been a fundamental reason why Drekal's son, named Lala, had chosen for his wife a girl from Kastrati.⁷⁶³

Unlike the first branch, in which there is poorer data about their founders, in relation to the history of Drekal there is a greater volume of information. According to what is known about him, it seems that he was well formed and because of the qualities expressed, he gradually turns into a rather authoritative personality in the region. This is understood from the decision of the then head of Kuçi, a man from the Mrnjavčevići line with the name and patronym in Albanian,

⁷⁵⁸ Pavel Apolonović Rovinski writes that after the death of his father, Đon was 12 years old and thus it was impossible to conceive children. (Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 118.); However, Jovan Erdeljanović does not rule out the possibility that Drekal was a descendant of one of the noble families related by blood to the Kastriots, either from the female or male line. (ibid., page 118); Milan Shufflay treats it as a creation of the Drekalovics to elevate their origin compared to the rest of the region. (Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët*, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968, page 42)

⁷⁵⁹ Mark Krasniqi, *Gjeneza Kastriote e disa fiseve shqiptare dhe malazeze sipas traditës popullore*, Separat nga “Simpoziumi per Skenderbeun” 9-12 Maj 1968, Prishtinë 1969, page 269

⁷⁶⁰ Mark Krasniqi, *Gjeneza Kastriote e disa fiseve shqiptare dhe malazeze sipas traditës popullore*, Separat nga “Simpoziumi per Skenderbeun” 9-12 Maj 1968, Prishtinë 1969, page 269

⁷⁶¹ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 117

⁷⁶² Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 117-119

⁷⁶³ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 119

Ndreca Deda, (*srb. Dreca Dedin*), who had proposed to the tribal council that Drekali should be named in his place as voivode of the entire region, which was approved.⁷⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the latter had married again, this time to a girl from the village of Kosor,⁷⁶⁵ from which marriage he had two male children, named Nikola and Lala.⁷⁶⁶ It is said that the first child, Nikolla, had a short life, while the second son inherited the title of voivode from his father, a duty he exercised mainly in the first part of the 17th century.⁷⁶⁷ This memory is in accordance with the written documents, since Lala Drekali together with another person named Niko Raičkov, are mentioned as commanders of the Albanians of Kuči in Mariano Bolizza's report addressed to Mikele Maffio in 1614. (*Chuzzi Albanesi commandata da Lale Drekalou et Neco Raizkou*)⁷⁶⁸

Although the two main branches that were discussed above make up the main part of the population, however, according to the collective memory, it seems that within the region of Kuči there are other elements that are not of the same blood either with one side or the other. Thus, in the village of Kosor, the Bracovići family community is said to be descended from Selca of Kelmendi, whose ancestors had arrived in Kuči as Catholics. It is said that in an older time they were *called* Đerđelović,⁷⁶⁹ a surname built from the anthroponym Gjergj, which is originally a Greek name (Georgios), but in this form it is found only among Albanians. Besides them, the bloodlines of another origin Nikići and Pajovići from the village of Orahovo are also mentioned. According to folk memory, the first of them was Pal Nika, a man of early origin from Kastrati, who had taken refuge in Kuči due to a blood feud.⁷⁷⁰ There were three male children, two of them stayed in Orahovo founding the aforementioned bloodlines, while the third left for the village of Koçi, to later form the Nuculaj kinship,⁷⁷¹ who are still Albanians today.

In the total of preserved folk memories, in addition to those listed above, there were also stories that speak of a closeness or blood intertwining between the Kuči and other Albanian

⁷⁶⁴ Растислав В. Петровић, *Плење Кучи 1684-1796*, Народна Књига, Београд, page 33.

⁷⁶⁵ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 118

⁷⁶⁶ Растислав В. Петровић, *Плење Кучи 1684-1796*, Народна Књига, Београд, page 22

⁷⁶⁷ Растислав В. Петровић, *Плење Кучи 1684-1796*, Народна Књига, Београд, page 22

⁷⁶⁸ Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë Veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin VII, vëllimi I*, Tiranë 1963, pages 272-273.

⁷⁶⁹ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 114

⁷⁷⁰ Andrija Jovičević – Malesija, Dielli, Beograd 2019, page 55-56

⁷⁷¹ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 127

tribes of the north. The well-known Montenegrin voivode Marko Miljanov, in his records about the past of the region, in the first part of the twentieth century, writes that one of the largest Albanian tribes, Berisha, is descended from the old inhabitants of Kuči. The Hungarian geologist Franz Baron Nopcza also talks about the closeness between these two communities, but unlike voivode Miljanov, he says that it was a reverse process. Pursuant to the genealogical data, he had come to the conclusion that Berisha is the oldest tribal community in the area of the northern Albanians, giving as a possible date of formation the year 1300, so according to him it is the tribe of Kuči that derives from Berisha⁷⁷² and not the opposite. Here perhaps the folk memory recorded by Erdeljanović is relevant, where it is said that the first of the Mrnjavčevići line came from the southeast direction, which corresponds to the territorial core of Berisha. However, it seems that this is not the only story of this type, as there are also those recorded within the region that speak of a closeness of blood between Kuči and the tribes of Shala and Kastrati.⁷⁷³

In support of the hypothesis which says that the population of the region in an older time had a different ethnic physiognomy, the data collected and examined from the early refugees who gravitated towards other territories can also be taken. Thus, according to oral tradition, all the inhabitants of the village of Vrba in today's municipality of Tutin are descended from Kuči. They do not remember which branch they belong to, but in their memories, which were published by academician Alija Džogović, it is said that their ancestors spoke Albanian and were Catholic.⁷⁷⁴ This story becomes even more reliable when considering the existing toponyms within Vrba, which are mostly in Albanian such as: *Bukove rupe*, *Ras*, *Gropa*, *Kaluša*, *Kran bukmoni*, *Kran hajdukut*, *Muratova gropa*, *Fanina gropa* and *Škala*.⁷⁷⁵ However, this is not the only case that speaks in this context. In the village of *Čmanjke* near *Ribarići*, which, like Vrba, today are areas where there are no more Albanians, according to inherited memories, people say that they are descended from Kuči. The Russian linguist but of German origin, Alexander

⁷⁷² Franc Nopča, *Fiset e Malësisë së Shqipërisë Veriore dhe e drejta zakonore e tyre*. Eneas. Tiranë 2013, page 222

⁷⁷³ Марко Миљанов, *Сабрана дела. Графички Завод, Титоград 1967*, , page 23

⁷⁷⁴ Алија Џоговић, *Средње Поибарје. Стари Колашин, Рожаје и Штавица. Службени Гласник & САНУ*, 2020, pages 493 and 498. *Here Džogović writes “далеки преци су им били пореклом Кучи албанске националности и католици по вјери.” (ibid. page 493); Vrba today has no Albanians and the inhabitants have assimilated into Bosniaks.

⁷⁷⁵ Алија Џоговић, *Средње Поибарје. Стари Колашин, Рожаје и Штавица. Службени Гласник* 2020, pages 493-497. *Alija Džogović for the toponym “kran bukmoni” says that it was a source in the south of the village, giving sufficient clarification to identify it with the Albanian word “kron”. Other words most likely have this meaning: Fanina gropa - Gropa e Fanës (Albanian name), Ras-Rrathë, Kran hajdukut – Kroni i hajdukut, Škala – Shkalla, Kaluša from kallë, Bukove rupe - Birat e Bukes and Muratova Gropa – Murat’s Pit.

Hilferding, in the middle of the 19th century, wrote that they had managed to feed themselves in this village, only because his companion spoke Albanian and was able to communicate with the inhabitants.⁷⁷⁶ Very close from there is the settlement of Orlje, where today's Zukorlići bloodline lies. According to the Bosniak historian Ejup Mušović, who has conducted valuable research on the Pešter plateau and in other surrounding settlements, the first of them is said to have been Zuk Orlja, who is described by his heirs as an Albanian from Kuči.⁷⁷⁷ The bloodlines Drekočić, Nenezić, Luca, Preljević, Dedić and Dedeić, who live in the district of Novi Pazar,⁷⁷⁸ as well as the Prenkić and Prelević communities in Bihor,⁷⁷⁹ whose surnames seem to be formed according to the Albanian anthroponyms *Ndrekë*, *Neneza*, *Luca*, *Dedë*, *Prenk* and *Prelë*.

However, while in the cases discussed above, the Albanian element is encountered only in the memories of the origin and on the onomastic level, since Albanian is no longer spoken in Vrba, Orlje, Čmanjke, Novi Pazar, and Bihor, a different situation appears in Kosovo. Here, the communities originating from the Kuči tribal region are all Albanians and do not remember that they belong to any other ethnic community linguistically and culturally. There are cases when a good part of them refused to settle within the existing villages by forming settlements from the beginning, which influenced the preservation of many features from the place of origin. For example, in the village of Prekaz,⁷⁸⁰ almost all bloodlines are held to be descendants of a man named Prekë, who according to oral tradition came from Kuči,⁷⁸¹ so the village itself is named after him. This must have happened sometime in the 16th century, since in the Ottoman defter of the years 1566-1574, this village is mentioned for the first time under the name *Kučuk Prekas*,

⁷⁷⁶ Ejup Mušović, *Етнички процеси и етничка структура становништва Новог Пазара*. Етнографски Институт Српске Академије Наука и Уметности. Београд 1979, р.151

⁷⁷⁷ Ejup Mušović, *Етнички процеси и етничка структура становништва Новог Пазара*. Етнографски Институт Српске Академије Наука и Уметности. Београд 1979, р. 277

⁷⁷⁸ Ejup Mušović, *Етнички процеси и етничка структура становништва Новог Пазара*. Етнографски Институт Српске Академије Наука и Уметности. Београд 1979, р. 156-237; Ejup Mušović, *Демографске карактеристике приградских и других села у околини Новог Пазара*. Зборник радова етнографског института. Књ.14-16, Етнографски Институт Српске Академије Наука и Уметности. Београд 1984, р.487

⁷⁷⁹ Милисав Лутовац, *Бихор и Корита – Антропогеографска испитивања*. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Српски етнографски зборник – Књига LXXXI. Одељење друштвених наука. Насеља и порекло становништва – Књига 40, Београд 1967, р.82 and 116-117

⁷⁸⁰ Village in the region of Drenica, in the central part of Kosovo.

⁷⁸¹ This record is taken from the interview I conducted with Bali Bejta, on 24 June 2021, in Skenderaj, Republic of Kosovo. The interview was done in the presence of his grandson Safet Bejta and cousin Ekrem Bislimi. The interviewee, Bali Bejta, was born in 1925 and was 96 years old at the time of the interview. The Serbian ethnologist Tatomir Vukanović also wrote in the second half of the 20th century about the affiliation of the majority of Prekazi bloodlines from Kuči. (Татомир Вукановић, *Дреница*. Службени Гласник, САНУ, Београд 2017, page 121)

while it does not appear in the defter of 1455.⁷⁸² His descendants tell that he had been Catholic, which is also understood by today's toponyms around the village, such as *ara e kishës* (church field), *kodra e kishës* (church hill), etc.⁷⁸³ The fact that this village was formed by a family community from Kuçi and within it, with some rare exceptions, all other microtoponyms are in Albanian, speaks about the ethnic character of their place of origin. The villages of Mikushnicë, Abri, Galicë and Tërnavc are also of origin from Kuçi, which in addition to being very close to Prekaz, at the same time are held to be related by blood and do not intermarry.⁷⁸⁴

Meanwhile, in addition to the cases given above, according to folk memory, it seems that around Kosovo there are other settlements where there are many Albanians who hold to be of distant descent from Kuçi and it is about the villages of Vasilevë, Vuçak, Klinë e epërme, Korroticë, Domanek, Tërdevc, Dubovc and Lutogllavë.⁷⁸⁵ However, unlike the places just mentioned, whose population has preserved the story of the first origin, in the territory populated by North-Eastern Albanians, there are also many family communities which have not inherited any memory of their origin, but for the very fact that their surname is Kuçi, then their early habitat can be assumed. According to data from the state statistics agency, today there are 4109 people with this surname living in the Republic of Kosovo and of them 4028 are Albanians, 66 Bosniaks, 5 Turks and 10 have refused to declare themselves.⁷⁸⁶ However, the appearance of the surname Kuçi in Kosovo is not a late phenomenon, since such cases are also found during the 16th century. For example, in the Ottoman register of 1521, for the district (*nahye*) of Rudina,⁷⁸⁷ in the village of Lunizh, Andre Kuçi and Mark Kuçi appear listed,⁷⁸⁸ while in the defter of 1571, in the village of Kojush of Pashtrik, a man is called Gjeç Kuçi.⁷⁸⁹ Based on the data that can be

⁷⁸² Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XV-XVI*, Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë, Shtëpia botuese 8 Nëntori, page 708.

⁷⁸³ Excerpted from the interview with Bali Bejta, conducted on 24 June 2021, in Skenderaj.

⁷⁸⁴ Excerpted from the interview with Bali Bejta, conducted on 24 June 2021, in Skenderaj. *In addition, the existence of bloodlines originating from Kuçi in the villages of Mikushnicë, Abri e epërme, Galicë and Tërnavc is also confirmed by Tatomir Vukanović in his work on the region of Drenica. (Татомир Вукановић, Дреница. Службени Гласник, САНУ, Београд 2017, page 120-392)

⁷⁸⁵ Татомир Вукановић, Дреница. Службени Гласник, САНУ, Београд 2017, page 115-306; Interview with Bali Bejta, conducted on 24 June 2021 in Skenderaj;

⁷⁸⁶ These records are from the Kosovo Agency of Statistics. The report was made on 18 October 2021, just for this paper and will appear as an appendix at the end.

⁷⁸⁷ Today, territory in Has, west of Prizren.

⁷⁸⁸ Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XV-XVI*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë, page 186

⁷⁸⁹ Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XV-XVI*, Instituti i Historisë, Shtëpia botuese "8 Nëntori", page 243. * Pashtriku is a mountain west of Prizren.

read within the cited summary, both of these villages appear as environments where the Albanian anthroponymic element is in great dominance.

On the former ethnic character of the region, apart from the cases given so far, something can also be understood from some communities, which have left Kuči to gravitate towards other territories that were not dealt with until now. Thus, in the village of Kir, which is located in the harsh mountainous area behind the Maranaj massif, where there is no other community besides the Albanians, a significant part of the inhabitants is said to have come from Kuči.⁷⁹⁰ Here there is a match with the written sources, since in the Ottoman register of 1485, two men appear among the inhabitants of Kir; Pali and Andrea, who are described as Kuča's children. Then, in the village of Rakića Kuća near the river Cem, the bloodlines Preljević and Mirašujković are also originally from the Kuči tribal region, as well as *Dedići* in the settlement Zabjelo.⁷⁹¹ Although they speak in Slavic, their surnames built based on anthroponyms in Albanian such as Prelë, Mirash, Dedë and Ujk, pave the way for the assumption that in an earlier time they may have had a different ethnic feeling compared to now, bearing in mind that in the case of the Mirašujković community, their surname seems to have been formed according to the connection of two names, a phenomenon that appears as a cultural specificity among Albanians and is hardly encountered among Slavs. However, from there and towards the east, in the western basin of Lake Shkodra, there are two villages of Kraja, called Qyrjan and Bobosht. In these two places, the Montenegrin researcher Andrija Jovičević, more than a century ago, had identified several bloodlines who emigrated from Kuči, who according to him spoke Albanian.⁷⁹² Similar cases also appear in Spuž, for example Maksim Šobajić, at the end of the 19th century, in the list of Islamized communities that had affected the titles of agallars, counts the Đečevići line for whom he says that they came from the region of Kuči.⁷⁹³ As in some cases given above, their surname corresponds to the characteristic anthroponyms of Albanians; in this case with the name Gjeç, which appears quite densely in all areas where Albanian is spoken.

Although the data from the onomastic plane, the collective memory, and the total of the written documents constitute the main material based on which it can be concluded that Kuči in an older time did not belong to the Slavic ethnicity, there is also another scientific field that

⁷⁹⁰ Franc Nopca, *Fiset e Malësisë së Shqipërisë Veriore dhe e drejta zakonore e tyre*. Eneas. Tiranë 2013, p. 217

⁷⁹¹ Андрија Јовичевић, *Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро*. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 131

⁷⁹² Андрија Јовичевић, *Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро*. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 122

⁷⁹³ Maksim Šobajić, *Starine u Zeti*. JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, Podgorica 2014, page 74

provides records relevant in this context. It is about linguistics, more specifically about the presence of Albanian words in the daily communication of the region, a phenomenon about which the researcher Jovičević mentioned above had also written. According to him, while in the Zeta plain appear Turkish language elements, in the territory of Kuči there are many words in Albanian.⁷⁹⁴ However, unlike the words that came with the Ottoman rule, these are most likely expressions that remained in the people from the first language of the region, which after the ethnic alienation was replaced by Slavic. Thus, it is not about notions that can be considered within the framework of borrowing or border exchanges because there is enough information that Albanian did not sporadically penetrate Kuči, but was in use in a complete form until a century ago, as it is also read in the writings of Baldacci or Rovinski, but also in the late publications of the British researcher *Noel Malcolm*.⁷⁹⁵ Moreover, its use appears as a phenomenon among the voivodes of the region, where one of the examples is Marko Miljanov, who in a meeting with the leaders of Krasniqi,⁷⁹⁶ according to the Albanian military man Tafil Boletini, spoke Albanian without difficulty, while his mother understood Slavic rather poorly.⁷⁹⁷ This can also be seen in the materials of 1880, where during a visit to the religious centre of Ulcinj, the aforementioned Montenegrin voivode told the Albanians there that even his family at home communicates in the Albanian language.⁷⁹⁸ However, his example cannot be marginalized as an unusual phenomenon, since even the voivodes of three centuries ago, such as Dreka Dedin and Lala, most likely had Albanian as their first language. In these circumstances, it is difficult to think that Albanian had a disconnection of use during the 17th and 18th centuries, despite their transition to orthodoxy, since it appears as a language known both by the first voivodes and by the last, Miljanov, and this is an indication that the chain may never have been broken.

⁷⁹⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка нахија. ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 335

⁷⁹⁵ *"Based on some histories of the Slavic-speaking tribes of Montenegro, it was declared that they had common ancestors with the Albanian tribes, and the case of Kuči is known, which for a long period of time was transformed from an Albanian-speaking place into a Slavic-speaking one."* (Noel Malcolm – Rebelët, besimtarët, të mbijetuarit. Botime Artini, Prishtinë 2020, p. 79)

⁷⁹⁶ One of the largest Albanian tribes of the north.

⁷⁹⁷ Tafil Boletini- Kujtime. Botimpex. Tirane 2003, page 99

⁷⁹⁸ *"Prilikom posjete Ulcinju poslije 1880. godine, Marko Miljanov je razgovarao sa Ulcinjanima na albanskom jeziku i objasnio im da se i u njegovoj kući porodica sporazumijeva na albanskom jeziku."* (Veselin Konjević, Iseljavanje muslimana Crne Gore. Matica, Godina XIX. Broj 74, Ljeto 2018, Cetinje-Podgorica 2018, page 390)

In order to express more clearly the phenomenon of the use of Albanian by the fathers of the current residents within the region, some records by the linguist Idriz Ajeti are also relevant, who, in addition to notions or expressions in Albanian, in Kuči also records the diphthong *uo*, one of the most archaic *forms* that until today has been recorded in Albanian dialects.⁷⁹⁹ The reason that this feature of the linguistic structure has been preserved only in Shestan and in the speech of the Toska Arbëresh colony who emigrated several centuries ago to the Italic peninsula,⁸⁰⁰ while it does not appear in the Albanian tribes surrounding Kuči, is an additional indicator that in the Albanian dialect of Kuči, some old specifics have been preserved that other nearby communities may have reduced over time. Therefore, pursuant to this example and all the findings listed in this unit of the work, the assumptions according to which Albanian notions penetrated the region as a result of the late influence of the Albanian neighbours, do not seem to hold. In the meantime, to complete the discussion on language, it must be said that at least from the 18th century, a part of Kuči became a bilingual community,⁸⁰¹ speaking Slavic as well as Albanian. Meanwhile, with the inclusion of the region in the modern Montenegrin state, its society is transformed again, where the Slavic language becomes dominant, removing Albanian from daily use.

In the debate about the ethnic affiliation of the former society of the region, it seems that researchers and special personalities, both Balkan and foreign ones, are involved. Milan Shufflay, in one of his volumes where he talks about the relations between Albanians and Serbs in different historical periods, says that until the 17th century the inhabitants of Kuči were Albanians, but over time they ethnically merged into Serbs.⁸⁰² Jovan Cvijić also wrote about the serbization of the Albanians in Kuči, where he defines this process as a phenomenon of the 17th and 18th centuries.⁸⁰³ Meanwhile, Edith Durham, after having studied and compared well the

⁷⁹⁹ Idriz Ajeti, *Studime per gjuhen shqipe*. Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 105

⁸⁰⁰ Idriz Ajeti, *Studime per gjuhen shqipe*. Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 106-107

⁸⁰¹ The researcher Adnan Čirgić also wrote about the phenomenon of bilingualism in the region of Kuči. For more see: Adnan Čirgić, *Dialectology of the Montenegrin language*. Lexington books, 2020, p.70;

⁸⁰² Milan Shufflay, *Serbet dhe Shqiptarët*. Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968, page 29

⁸⁰³ *"Isto je tako u toku posledna dva veka posrbljeno dosta arbanasa u jugo-istocnoj Crnoj Gori (Crmnica i Kuči), kao i jugoistočno od Boke Kotorske."* (Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje*. Osnove antropogeografije. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski štampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 248)

Balkan tribes, laws, and customs, writes that at another time the region of Kuči had an entirely Albanian character.⁸⁰⁴

3.4 Bratonožići⁸⁰⁵

For the first time in the written sources a notion close to the word Bratonožići appears in the second decade of the 15th century, therefore within a statistical material where the right of ownership over arable plots around the territory of Shkodra was reviewed. In addition to other records of fundamental importance regarding the demography of the area, in the village of *Cupelnico*⁸⁰⁶ there appear two people bearing the surname *Bratonese*, which according to researcher Branislav Đurđev, this may be the first mention, albeit indirect, of this tribal community.⁸⁰⁷ A few years later, in 1455, in the document of the agreement between the leaders of Zeta and the representatives from the Republic of Saint Mark, in the part where most of the tribes within the present-day Montenegrin territory are listed, the appellative Bratonožići does not appear among them. Despite the fact that within this material there is a tribal organization called *Branovich*⁸⁰⁸ the great linguistic difference between the two notions does not create a safe ground for equating them.⁸⁰⁹ However, thirty years later, in the Ottoman defter of population and property, things seem clearer, as the villages that today are meant to be part of the Bratonožići community appear to be registered, albeit within the Piperi district.

In the entirety of the documentary sources, the pre-Slavic component within the tribal region that is being discussed becomes distinct from the aforementioned material, that is, it appears in the register of the Ottoman authorities of 1485, where emerge anthroponyms and patronyms characteristic of Albanian language. Thus, in the villages of Klopod, Potkrish and Polepestra, in addition to names of the Slavic and biblical type, there are also encountered

⁸⁰⁴ Edith Durham, *Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG, Tiranë 2019, page 68

⁸⁰⁵ Bratonožići is a tribal community whose territory lies in the northeast of Podgorica. It is bordered by Kuči, Piperi, Vasojevići and Rovca.

⁸⁰⁶ Today, the town of Koplik in the northern direction of Shkodra.

⁸⁰⁷ Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi Crnogoraca, Pobjeda, Titograd 1980*, page 72, Both individuals are called Marco.

⁸⁰⁸ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, Knjiga X, Zagreb 1891, page 68

⁸⁰⁹ This similarity is made by Jovan Erdeljanović, and he sees the appellative Branovich that appears in 1455 as a deviation of the word Bratonožići, which according to him was written or printed incorrectly. (Jovan Erdeljanović, *Kuči Bratonožići Piperi*. Narodna Biblioteka „Radoslav Ljumić“, Podgorica 1997, pages 306-307)

household heads identified through names such as *Marash, Dresh, Buzash, Spana* and *Bukmir*,⁸¹⁰ while in the villages of *Lutova* and *Seosnica*, appear *Leka, Miron, Progon, Lalesh* and *Marash*.⁸¹¹ Similar examples can be seen in the subsequent defter of 1497, in which the seasonal settlements and permanent settlements of the Bratonožići region were once again subjected to the registration process. In these records, the village of Moračica, which in 1485 was described as an abandoned locality, appears populated again and among the inhabitants there are names in Albanian such as *Doda, Progon* and *Tanush*.⁸¹² The katun (village) of Drenovica is also recorded here, which today is not found with such a name, but Branislav Đurđev alludes that it may have been near the current village of Bolesestra, since a church area (meteh) there, even at this time, is called Drenova.⁸¹³ However, within this locality, in addition to other names, there are also some in Albanian such as *Kola, Gjergj, Jak, Pal, Gjiniq, Tanush, Kal, Lumiq* and *Margjesh*, moreover, some of them appear in repeated form in two or more individuals.⁸¹⁴

The intertwining of the Albanian element in the core of the Bratonožići tribal community can also be seen in the later reports of the Catholic clergy on the religious circumstances in the mountainous depths on the eastern side of the Adriatic. Thus, in a report of the bishop of Zadrima, Frang Bardhi, drawn up in 1636, which in essence looks like a military project-proposal for an armed campaign against the Ottoman forces, tribal communities such as Bratonožići, Kastrati, Shala, Krasniqi, Shkreli, Kelmendi and Bjelopavlići, are defined as Catholic peoples of Pult, who, it is said, dwelt in the mountains of Epirus or Albania.⁸¹⁵ Although it cannot be ascertained definitively, but there is a basis for assuming, the expression people of Pult may have been a synonym of the cleric Bardhi for the Catholic Albanians of the north. First, because geographically, the medieval region of Pult, described as the habitat of

⁸¹⁰ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, vëllimi I, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 131-133. * Today the settlements Klopot, Potkrš and Bolesestra.

⁸¹¹ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, vëllimi I, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 128-132. * Today the village of Seoštica.

⁸¹² Selami Pulaha, *Record book of the Sanjak of Shkodra from 1485*, volume I, Institute of History, Tirana 1974, page 427

⁸¹³ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 28; In the registry of Selami Pulaha, it is recorded as Dirnovica (Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, vëllimi I, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 430.)

⁸¹⁴ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, vëllimi I, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 430.

⁸¹⁵ "Li popoli pulati ch'habitano ne'monti d'Albania sono divisi in due classi, La prima a di quelli che stanno sopra Scutari et habitano nelli seguenti, cioe Clementi, Bielopavlich, Castrati, Cherigli, Scala, Pulati, Crastenicchie e Bratonesi." (Injac Zamputi, *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë 1623-1653*, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, Saint Gallen-Prishtinë 2015, page 143)

Albanians by Stefan Nemanja in 1198, does not seem to have included the region of Bratonožići, much less the territory owned by the Bjelopavlići tribal organization;⁸¹⁶ while secondly, there is no information that the bishopric of Pult had these two under ecclesiastical administration. In this context, removing the geographical and confessional option as common points, as another reason based on which the Bratonožići community was summarized within the peoples of Pult, it could have been the same ethnic affiliation with the other Albanian tribes mentioned.

The scientific discipline of toponymy is another level where cultural remains from the early life of the proto-Albanian communities within the region are distinguished. Thus, in the village of Pelev Brijeg, a piece of land is called *Močali*,⁸¹⁷ a word that has meaning in the Albanian language and is in daily use.⁸¹⁸ Even if this notion was an early borrowing from Slavic; from *močaline*, as Eqrem Çabej claims,⁸¹⁹ although this interpretation is not found in Petar Skok's etymological dictionary,⁸²⁰ it still seems to have passed through the filter of another linguistic community to come to this form. On the other hand, the very toponym that names the aforementioned village seems to hide an influence of pre-Slavic societies, moreover, Peljev Brijeg is very likely to be a later Slavic adaptation of the Albanian expression *bregu i pelës* (mare's hill), a hypothesis originally raised by the Albanian researcher Pëllumb Xhufi.⁸²¹ Since the village is in a geographical position where livestock was necessarily the main economy of the population, then this interpretation gains additional importance, especially when it is taken into account that in the Slavic language the notion of pelje has no meaning.⁸²² The opinion encountered in Serbian literature, that this toponym derives from a voivode named Pejo,⁸²³ about whom not much is known, is not convincing enough to put it as a parallel option. However, in

⁸¹⁶ Гавро Шкриванић, Област средњовековног Пилота у XIV ст. Историски Часопис, Српска Академија Наука, Књига VII, Београд 1957, р.323-332

⁸¹⁷ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 317

⁸¹⁸ Fjalor i gjuhës shqipe, Instituti i shkencavet, seksioni i gjuhës e i letërsisë Tiranë 1954, Rribotim i dyte nga Rilindja, Prishtinë 1976. Page 320.

⁸¹⁹ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V. K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 360

⁸²⁰ Petar Skok, Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika. Knjiga druga. K-Poni. Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972. pages 446-447

⁸²¹ Pëllumb Xhufi, Brda apo Bardha?, Kosova, Instituti i historise Ali Hadri, nr.46, Prishtinë 2021, p. 86-87

⁸²² The word pelje is not found in the Serbo-Croatian-Albanian dictionary of the Albanological Institute of Prishtina. (Fjalor Serbokroatisht Shqip, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1974, page 525); It is not even found in Peter Skok's etymological dictionary (Petar Skok, Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika. Knjiga druga. K-Poni. Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972. pages 446-447)

⁸²³ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 317

the same locality, the microtoponym *Lumečevica* also appears, whose linguistic source, according to Jovan Erdeljanović, may be the Albanian word Lum (river),⁸²⁴ as well as the name *Trimov do*, from where it is said that he was originally the founder of some of the bloodlines in the village of Krnjice in the region of Crmnica.⁸²⁵

The village of Klopod is another inhabited locality that holds microtoponyms of this nature, in which case one of the concrete examples is the notion of *Trimojevići*, which according to collective memory defines an early but later ruined village. For the ethnologist Erdeljanović, this name is quite likely to have been developed from the Albanian word trim (brave man),⁸²⁶ which at the same time remains the only rational explanation in relation to the given microtoponymy. Inside this settlement there is also a water well called *Bušat Uba*,⁸²⁷ which is listed under the remnants of the non-Slavic population, a notion that was discussed in the chapter on Piperi. Erdeljanović also deals with the toponyms with possible roots in Albanian, *Lečinstrana* and *Firunjača* in the village of Lutovo, as well as *Barzin Do* in the settlement of Kiselica. According to him, the first name derives from the anthroponym Lekë, the second from the word firë, while for the last toponym he writes that it is a remnant of the old *Barzić bloodline*, named after one of their ancestors with the name Bardh.⁸²⁸ Names of places that do not belong to the Slavic linguistic culture also appear in the village of Potkrš, such as *Ljuc* and *Suka*, for which Albanian provides a clear explanation.⁸²⁹

The aforementioned tribal society, in an older time, is said to have shared a part of the pastures with the Kuči, which implies a common and equal form of use. However, over time, due to the supremacy, initially demographic and then military of the latter, the shepherds of the

⁸²⁴ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 317.

⁸²⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод, Цетиње 2004, page 110

⁸²⁶ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, pages 314-315

⁸²⁷ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 315

⁸²⁸ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 317

⁸²⁹ Most likely from the word *lucë* in Albanian with the meaning of mud or silt, or even the personal name Luca. According to Gustav Meyer, the notion *lucë* is an Albanian adaptation of the Latin word *luteum* or *lutum*, an opinion also accepted by Meyer-Lubke. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, p. 247-248*); *“U toponimiju, bez svake sumnje, arbanaskog porekla spada i Suka”* (Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije Albanskog jezika, Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova, Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti, Knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, p. 112*)

Bratonožići tribe are excluded from the right over the main mountains *Momonjevo* and *Bljuštura*, which are seized by the leaders of Kuči, thereby damaging by this seriously their well-being.⁸³⁰ In the case of the second oronym, it seems it is about an old Albanian expression, *Blushtëra*, a word from the northern gheg dialect, which denotes a terrible mythological beast.⁸³¹ Moreover, in addition to the meaning given above, this geographical notion has analogies with other words within the Albanian language lexicon, which adds to the arguments for an Albanian source of oronym.⁸³²

In the region owned by the tribal organization Bratonožići, the Albanian component emerges, thus it is also visible in the memories of the people. According to this tradition, the man who gave the name to the community was called Brato, whose descendants created four bloodlines within the tribe. He had two male children, named Pavle and Nika. The Čaćenovići bloodline was founded by the first, who today populate part of the village of Brskut, while the second had two children, Ljum, who created the Seoštičani community, and Lazo, who had an heir named Vučeta. Two children were born to the latter, *Progon* and *Balo*, whose descendants established the Progonovići bloodlines in the village of Klopot and Baljevići who were spread in most of the villages in the region.⁸³³ In this context, the appearance of names in Albanian such as *Ljum*, *Progon* and *Balo* creates the impression of a significant participation of Albanian culture in the history of this line. Especially when taken into account the fact that in 1757, Jovan Stefanov Baljević, author of a description in Russian on Montenegrin history and geography, calls himself Albanian-Montenegrin from Bratonožići (*albano-crnogorac iz Bratonožića*).⁸³⁴

There are more valuable data emerging from Montenegrin folk memories. The small Ljajkovići bloodline, which at the beginning of the twentieth century had a presence in the

⁸³⁰ Павле С. Радусиновић, Становништво Црне Горе до 1945 године, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна Издања, књ. DXV, Одељење друштвених наука књ.80, Београд 1978, page 52

⁸³¹ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes II, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p. 272

⁸³² Analogous examples are: *Blushtë* - things that are not needed, *Bluzhdë* – crush to small pieces, *bushtë* - figure of popular beliefs, etc. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes II, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p.272)

⁸³³ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 338

⁸³⁴ „Из Братоножића је било исељавања чак и у Русију. Тако је неки Јован Баљевић саставио кратак опис Црне Горе и потписао се са: албано-црногорцем из Братоножића.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 80); Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 310; Миомир Дашић, Феудални односи и етничка кретања у Горњем Полимљу у XVIII и првој половини XIX вијека. Историски Записи, година 33, 1980/3, p. 11.

village of Pavličići, was said to have arrived around 1650 from Shkodra.⁸³⁵ Judging only from this data, a firm conclusion cannot be drawn on their cultural and linguistic affiliation, since urban areas usually had other ethnic groups as well. However, in this discussion can serve as a supplementary argument the type of their surname which is very close to the Albanian words *laj* (wash) and *lajkë* (flatter),⁸³⁶ while in the Slavic fond of the language it does not have any convincing meaning.⁸³⁷ While, in the village of Jablan, the Ljaljovići (some also *Lalovići*) bloodline is held as a descendant of the old Bukumiri tribe, a very old proto-Albanian community that will be discussed in detail in another chapter. However, signs of the pre-Slavic culture within the Bratonožići tribal community can also be seen in the genealogical records that are part of the oral tradition as well, where in many of them, anthroponyms appear in Albanian. Thus, in the Dimitrovići bloodline, within the seventeen genealogical circles, in addition to Christian and Slavic names, there are also Albanian names such as *Balja*, *Deka* and *Premo*.⁸³⁸ However, this phenomenon does not appear only in the line mentioned above, but also among other communities within the region. Thus, in the family tree of the Grujići kinship there were individuals named *Prentaš* and *Progon*, while within the history of the Stankovići line, the anthroponyms *Ljum* and *Lala* were identified,⁸³⁹ whose affiliation has already been explained.

In terms of lifestyle features and ethnographic characteristics, according to the Serbian researcher quoted several times so far, Jovan Erdeljanović, the human element in Bratonožić has not differed a lot from Kuči⁸⁴⁰ and this implies a cultural closeness to other Albanian communities as well. Although the scientific works based on the ethno-historical point of view for the region are deficient in nature, still based on what has been published so far, something valuable and relevant can be excerpted. For example, according to the existing records, the old

⁸³⁵ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 346

⁸³⁶ Fjalor i gjuhes shqipe, Instituti i shkencavet, sekcioni i gjuhës e i letërsisë Tiranë 1954, Rribotim i dyte nga Rilindja, Prishtinë 1976. Page 256

⁸³⁷ In the Serbo-Croatian-Albanian dictionary of the Albanological Institute of Prishtina, the notions of *laj* and *lajkë* are not mentioned. (Fjalor Serbokroatisht Shqip, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1974, page 347); In the scientific work of the linguist Petar Skok, which deals with Slavic notions on the etymological level, “*ljaj*” appears only as a suffix and not as a word. (Petar Skok, Etmologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika. Knjiga druga. K-Poni. Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972. page 336)

⁸³⁸ Марко Миљанов, Сабрана дјела 1. Графички Завод, Титоград 1967, page 133

⁸³⁹ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 333

⁸⁴⁰ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 295

female dress in the region is remembered to have been the jubleta (*arbanaška džupeleta*),⁸⁴¹ which is considered one of the main specifics of the folk costumes of Albanians.

The data from any scientific discipline listed above, are tangible arguments based on which an initial idea can be created about the historical journey of this tribal society and the inclusion of Albanians to its core. Perhaps some of them have been consulted by other authors, who have come to more explicit conclusions. Thus, the Italian researcher Giuseppe Valentini, in one of his works, defines the Bratonožići community, as well as the Piperi and Bjelopavlići tribal communities, as large groups of Albanians, which in later periods of time are thought to have been Serbized.⁸⁴²

3.5 Vasojevići⁸⁴³

In the entirety of the documentary sources, the notion Vasojevići appears for the first time in October 1444, as a name for a group of people near Meduni,⁸⁴⁴ who at the time of drafting this document seem not to have reached the necessary size to be treated as a tribal community. According to Montenegrin historiography, since their name disappears for a while and did not even appear in the 1455 agreement between the nobility of Zeta represented by Stefan Crnojević and the Venetian authorities,⁸⁴⁵ it is assumed that in the middle of this interval they moved to another territory,⁸⁴⁶ gravitating towards of the east. The area in which the abovementioned community then created the basic settlements, is Lijeva Rijeka and this is understood from the early Ottoman sources which will be explained later. But with the transition to a new habitat, it seems that their demography did not mark any great improvement, at least not until the first decade of the 17th century, since in the report of Mariano Bolizza in 1610, the Vasojevići grouping is still mentioned as a *village*, with 85 houses (*Vassoevichio vilaggio di 85*

⁸⁴¹ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 358

⁸⁴² Бранислав Ђурђев, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 201

⁸⁴³ The region of the Vasojevići tribe lies in the eastern Montenegrin part. It borders the Bihor, Potarje, Plav, Rugova, Kolašin regions, as well as the Kuči, Bratonožići, Rovca, Morača and Kelmendi tribes.

⁸⁴⁴ DAD. Lamenta de foris, Fond 21, Ser 2, Vol 18, God 1444-1445, fol 124; Константин Лиречек, Историја Срба, Прва књига до 1537 године – Политичка Историја. Народна Књига, Београд 1952, page 77

⁸⁴⁵ Sime Ljubić, Listine o odnošajih izmedju Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike, Knjiga X, Zagreb 1891, page 68

⁸⁴⁶ Иван Божић, Владавина Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, page 367

case) and with a force of 280 men under arms.⁸⁴⁷ However, forty years later there is another circumstance, when they appear as a wider, more organized community and it is at this time that their expansion towards the river Lim is supposed to have started, gradually turning into the largest tribal community in the Montenegrin territory.⁸⁴⁸ The pre-Slavic communities that they found in the new territories, such as the Macurs, the Bukumirs, the Spans⁸⁴⁹ and some other groups, seem to have gradually merged within them, so the prevailing opinion in science is that this community is very complex in terms of origin.⁸⁵⁰

Opinions on the presence of the Albanian component in the anatomy of this tribal community begin with their first place of origin, the area around Medun, which referring to the materials discussed in the previous chapter, can be considered as Albanian territory judged from the early point of demographic view. However, due to the very fact that territorial belonging does not in every case translate as a sure foundation based on which the ethnicity of a community can be definitively assumed, in order to come to a more stable conclusion about their pre-Slavic source, it seems necessary to consult, firstly, the written materials and then the data from the auxiliary disciplines of history. Although compared to other tribes the statistical summary of the Ottoman administration of 1485 provides poorer data and this is understandable since at the time of the defter, this community is not sure that it populated more than a village with a few houses, again the Albanian element is also visible there. Thus, in the settlement of Rečica, (*also registered under the parallel name Vasović*), which is said to be today's Lijeva Reka, despite the predominance of Slavic names, remnants from other folk cultures also appear. It is about a piece of land recorded as the abandoned property of a man named in Albanian Prekal Gurizi,⁸⁵¹ whose appearance, for the Montenegrin historian Miomir Dašić, is a clear

⁸⁴⁷ Миомир Дашић, Васојевићи од помена до 1860, Матица српска – Друштво чланова у Црној Гори – Одељење за историју. Посебна издања. Књига 1, Никшић 2011, р. 168

⁸⁴⁸ Миомир Дашић, Васојевићи од помена до 1860, Матица српска – Друштво чланова у Црној Гори – Одељење за историју. Посебна издања. Књига 1, Никшић 2011, р.143

⁸⁴⁹ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 457; Pavel Rovinski also wrote about the early presence of the Macurs in the region dominated by the Vasojevići community. (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, р.96)

⁸⁵⁰ Миомир Дашић, Васојевићи од помена до 1860, Матица српска – Друштво чланова у Црној Гори – Одељење за историју. Посебна издања. Књига 1, Никшић 2011, р.143

⁸⁵¹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit te sanxhakut te Shkodres i vitit 1485, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, p.371-372

indication that there was once an Albanian element within the region, but it was suppressed afterwards.⁸⁵²

In terms of toponymy, in the areas populated or used for livestock needs by the *Vasojevići* community, there are a number of places which were most likely named based on anthroponyms or words from the Albanian language lexicon. First is the village of Veruša, which in the opinion of the researcher Radoslav Jagoš Vešević was named this way based on a female name, the source of which, according to him, is not Serbian.⁸⁵³ Although it may be a discussed source, the information is relevant that among Albanians the notion of *vera* (*summer*) means a season of the year, but at the same time it has served and continues to be used as a women's name. However, within this locality there are also microtoponyms that speak of the presence of an early non-Slavic cultural element in the territories of this community such as *Đebesa*, *Kordina*, *Paljevi* and *Zezina Plan*. For the latter, the researcher *Vešević* writes that it is in Albanian, approximating its source to the word *zeza* (black),⁸⁵⁴ while the other three were most likely created according to the words *besa* (pledge of honour) and *kodrina* (small hill), respectively from the masculine name Pal. Around this village there are also two place names, *Askov laz* and *Cucojeviće*, which are said to be inherited from an older time. Still according to the abovementioned author, these two microtoponyms may be memories from Vlach or Albanian pastoral communities.⁸⁵⁵

On the opposite side from Veruša, more precisely diagonally to the east, lies the village of Gračanica, where some parts of the village bear names such as *Murov*, *Laz*, *Plasa*, *Geluša*, *Prijekin Laz*, *Ucin Brijeg*, *Margiljev Laz*, *Dedin Laz*, *Arbanaško Guvno* and *Arbanaška Čezma*.⁸⁵⁶ In this case, it seems clear enough that some of the listed microtoponyms are based on Albanian male names such as Prekë, Uc, Gila, Murr and Dedë, while the rest are based on the words *plasa*, *gjelusha*, and the ethnonym *arbanas*.⁸⁵⁷ If within this village the microtoponyms *Arbanaško Guvno* and *Arbanaška Čezma* would appear alone, then there would be grounds to

⁸⁵² Миомир Дашић, Васојевићи од помена до 1860, Матица српска – Друштво чланова у Црној Гори – Одељење за историју. Посебна издања. Књига 1, Никшић 2011, page 147

⁸⁵³ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, p. 126

⁸⁵⁴ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, p. 127-128

⁸⁵⁵ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, p. 128

⁸⁵⁶ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, p. 149

⁸⁵⁷ *Gelusha* may have been built on the same linguistic basis as current Albanian surnames such as *Gelaj*, *Gjeloshi*, *Gilaj*, *Gjelaj*, etc.

assume that they are remnants of some close family line. However, due to the very fact that these appear accompanied by other names of the same nature, it seems that this was a settlement more densely populated by Albanians. A rather similar situation also appears in the village of Mašnica, which today speaks Slavic but whose microtoponyms speak of a different ethnic reality in an earlier time. It is about some place names like *Ronza*, *Rušin Laz*, *Baništa* and *Lekina Čezma*,⁸⁵⁸ which seem to be formed according to the words *Rranza*, *Rrush* and *Tbanishte* in Albanian,⁸⁵⁹ as well as the anthroponym *Lekë*.⁸⁶⁰ Besides them, in Mašnica there is also a plain called *Pret Markova njiva*, which Radoslav Vešević writes is named after a Catholic man from Kelmendi called Pret Marku.⁸⁶¹ In his opinion, the name of the village Murino can also be a memory from the old Vlach or Albanian communities,⁸⁶² a toponym which from the etymological point of view can be broken down in two ways, either it derives from the Latin word *murus* which in Albanian has taken the form *mur*,⁸⁶³ or from the fund of anthroponyms that appeared early in the collective memory of Albanians, as can be seen in the founder of the Berisha tribe, Murr Deti.⁸⁶⁴

However, in the rugged mountainous area along the road from Andrijevisa to Mateševo, there is a village called Kralje, which is thought to have been populated quite early. Although the Slavic linguistic source of this toponym cannot be doubted, the absence of characteristic Serbian suffixes seems unusual, since this name would normally take the form *Kraljevo*, *Kraljevina*, *Kraljevići*, or similar. In relation to the first population, the data suggest that this settlement, in

⁸⁵⁸ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 149

⁸⁵⁹ Tbanishtë, Tebanishtë, from the word Tban that appears in the area of the Gegë. According to the researcher Kolec Topalli, it was about a formation within Albanian. (Kolec Topalli, Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p.1464)

⁸⁶⁰ According to Eqrem Çabej, rranzë is a local Albanian word. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes VI, N-RR. Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2002, p. 328-330). His opinion is also supported by Idriz Ajeti (Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, p. 92); Rush is one of the oldest words in Albanian. For more information, see: Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes VI, N-RR. Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2002, p. 335-336.

⁸⁶¹ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 149

⁸⁶² Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 147

⁸⁶³ The theory, according to which the Albanian word *mur* (wall) derives from the Latin word *muro* or *murare*, is also supported by the Albanian linguist Eqrem Çabej. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes, V, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 382)

⁸⁶⁴ Robert Elsie, Fiset Shqiptare, Botime Artini, Prishtinë 2017, page 275; The anthroponym Murr, accompanied by the patronym Dedi, also appears in the genealogical narratives of the region of Merturi, which is considered a faction of Berisha. History collected by the Albanian ethnographer Rrok Zojzi (1910-1995) in the village of Shërngjergj. Archived manuscript. AQSH. Fund 1027, File 330, fol. 23 and 23v.

an older time, was the habitat of the Macuri tribal community, supplemented by other *Latins*. The microtoponyms around the village, such as *Macurska kućista*, *Macurski put*, and *Latinski put*,⁸⁶⁵ which have survived until this time also speak in favour of this narrative. However, in addition to the examples listed above, in Kralje there are also two place names such as Čuke and *Tokov laz*, the meaning of which is directly or indirectly related to Albanian language.⁸⁶⁶ Another record may be relevant here, which can be taken as an additional argument in the assumption that the former society within the village may have had a different physiognomy, from what it has today. It is a story inherited from the Labovići bloodline in the village of Budimlje, who are believed to come from Kralje, while the first of them is remembered as *Đeloš Frangu*.⁸⁶⁷ Pursuant to the name and patronym,⁸⁶⁸ it is quite likely that it is talked about an Albanian in genesis, the memory of whom has been kept alive through the microtoponym *Đelošev Krš*, which expresses a rocky massif under the Grace-Stenice line.⁸⁶⁹

The temporary pastoral katuns (villages) positioned between Lijeva Reka and Andrijevisa constitute another environment where Albanian also intervenes in the onomastic plane. Thus, in a rugged and mountainous area called *Ljuban*, there appear two seasonal settlements or piles of *tëbanës* (huts), registered under the notions *katun Lekića* and *katun Đekića* which seem to have been named after two bloodlines that basically have names in Albanian Lekë and Gjeka.⁸⁷⁰ Both localities are part of the very rough mountainous complex which from the current Montenegrin population are called Komovi. The Serbian ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović treats the notion of Kom as a non-Serbian word and derives it from the Albanian language lexicon. According to him, this toponym is a shortened version of the word *škompi*, which means a large stone mass, which is also the most accurate description of the nature of the komes.⁸⁷¹ Erdeljanović, on this occasion, uses the oronym *Škompi Sokolit* in Korita e Hoti, as an equivalent argument to support

⁸⁶⁵ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 135-136

⁸⁶⁶ Tokov Laz may be a combination of the Albanian word *tokë* and the Slavic word *laz*.

⁸⁶⁷ Јован Делевић, Будимља и Будимљани кроз историју. Иванград 1986, page 16

⁸⁶⁸ Gjeloš is encountered as a name even now among northern Albanians, while Frang is an Albanian form of the name Francesco.

⁸⁶⁹ Јован Делевић, Будимља и Будимљани кроз историју. Иванград 1986, page 16

⁸⁷⁰ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 48

⁸⁷¹ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 92. * With the word *shkompi*, Erdeljanovic thinks of the Albanian word *Shkambi*.

his assumption on the Albanian origin of the notion of Kom.⁸⁷² The presence of similar forms (*Komolj*, *Komić*, *Komina*) that appear in Neretva district⁸⁷³ and south of Udbina in Bosnia somewhat creates confusion in the debate, but cannot remove the hypothesis of the Serbian researcher from the scientific discourse, especially when a part of them is thought to be inherited from the proto-Albanian community Burmazi.⁸⁷⁴

In the eastern part of the territory populated by the Vasojevići tribal community, flows a torrential river, the name of which does not belong in the Slavic linguistic culture. The people refer to this water bed with the name Lim (alb. *Lim*), a hydronym which is mentioned in the charter of the monastery of Dečan since the 13th century. As for the linguistic source of the word, researcher Franc Miklosich writes that the aforementioned notion belongs to the Albanian language lexicon, moreover, he considers that its first form must have been *lum* (river),⁸⁷⁵ an opinion widely accepted by the scientific community,⁸⁷⁶ including Croatian linguist Petar Skok.⁸⁷⁷ However, the above interpretation seems to have been contested by two equally influential researchers who took a more different position. In this debate, Eqrem Çabej, as the most acceptable option, mentions the word *lym* (silt) in Albanian,⁸⁷⁸ while for the albanologist Norbert Jokl, this hydronym is an Albanian reflection of the Indo-European word *lei*.⁸⁷⁹ Meanwhile, the Bosniak researcher Alija Džogović, who is mainly into onomastic studies, writes that for many scientific reasons, the etymological analysis done by Miklosich should be accepted, thus maintaining his line.⁸⁸⁰ On the other hand, it is the members of the Vasojevići tribal community themselves who, as reported by Radoslav Jagos Vešević, say that this

⁸⁷² Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 92

⁸⁷³ Михаило Динић, Српске земље у средњем веку. Београд, 1978, page 230;

⁸⁷⁴ Dragomir Vujicic, Mikrotoponimija Hercegovačkih Burmaza. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Radovi XXXVIII, Odeljenje društvenih nauka – Knjiga 13, Sarajevo 1970, page 221

⁸⁷⁵ Радослав Јагош Вешевећ, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 145

⁸⁷⁶ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 48

⁸⁷⁷ Petar Skok, Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika, Knjiga druga, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972, page 303

⁸⁷⁸ Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 675; An acceptable assumption since the process of rotation where the vowel “y” of the Albanians changes to “i” in the Slavic language is quite proven.

⁸⁷⁹ Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 675

⁸⁸⁰ Alija Džogović, Onomastika plavsko-gusinjske dijalekatske oblasti, Almanah, Podgorica 2009, page 10;

hydronym was created according to the word river from the language of the Albanians.⁸⁸¹ So on this issue, it seems that linguistics and collective memory meet at a single point, excluding from the discourse the possibility that this notion has something Slavic in its source.

Although a little less often compared to the localities mentioned so far, microtoponyms built based on Albanian also appear in the village of Trepča above Andrijevica. Here, two land units are called *Kuštrimova pećina* and *Kuštrimov krš*, for which the people in the region have a story about how they were formed. According to the memories collected by Tomaš Katanić, in the 18th century, a Christian man named Ivan Miomanović, but nicknamed *Kuštrim*, was married to a Muslim girl named Fata Šemović. This relationship caused the intervention of the Ottoman authorities and the couple was forced to flee to the mountains,⁸⁸² where their sheltering in some hidden places produced these two toponyms. In the Montenegrin folk community, the above story has gradually turned into a folklore work and is known under the title *Pesma o Kuštrimu Vasojeviću*. For science, the authenticity of such a story may be debatable, but the Albanian affiliation of the Kuštrim surname that appears in the two toponyms mentioned remains a matter beyond debate. In the linguistic fund of Albanian language, the word *kushtrim* has a clear meaning, it continues to be used, while in later periods it also appears as a human name. The researcher Katanić, as the reason why Ivan Miomanović is called this way by the people, gives his bravery during a robbery in Pejë, where for the bravery shown he was called by the Albanians *kuš trim*, a nickname that is translated in the incomplete form through the expression *ko je junak (who is the hero)*.⁸⁸³ However, it seems that Katanić did not know Albanian enough, since the word *kushtrim* is a call to war⁸⁸⁴ and not a descriptive notion of a human personality, even less when it comes to a question form. In these circumstances, this motive is very difficult to take for granted, so we must see the possibility that the nickname has a different history, but still related to Albanians.

Microtoponyms which are defined within the framework of cultural remains from old pre-Slavic societies, also appear in the village of Zaostro, which lies in the extreme eastern part

⁸⁸¹ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 145

⁸⁸² Томаш Катанић, Песма о Куштриму Васојевићу, Гласник етнографског музеја, књига XV, Београд 1940, page 147-148

⁸⁸³ Томаш Катанић, Песма о Куштриму Васојевићу, Гласник етнографског музеја, књига XV, Београд 1940, p. 148; The Slavic expression “ko je junak” is equivalent to the Albanian expression “kush është trim” (who is brave), so it has an incomplete translation.

⁸⁸⁴ Idriz Ajeti, Studije iz istorije albanskog jezika. Akademija nauka i umetnosti Kosova. Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti. Posebna izdanja, knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, p.61.

of the region. Some place names such as *Kunjak* (from alb. *kunj*), *Latinska kosa*, *Latinsko groblje* and *Latinska džada*,⁸⁸⁵ are the first arguments that show that the population of this village, at one time, may have been at least heterogeneous in terms of ethnic feeling. An interpretation of the ethnologist Mirko Barjaktarović may be relevant here, who defines the microtoponyms associated with the Latins in this territory as remnants of Albanians.⁸⁸⁶ In this case, the abovementioned researcher singles out the high rate of similarity regarding the way of work, between the old cemeteries in the depths of northern Albania, with the Latin graves that lie along the course of the Lim.⁸⁸⁷ However, in the possession of Zaostro, there is also mention of the Kojenovac mountain, for which a Montenegrin author named Branislav Vuković has a narrative of how it was named. According to him, in the older times, the people were organized on a voluntary basis to scare away, through loud calls, the wild animals that endangered the cattle of the temporary pastoral katuns (villages). In this case, the expressions used by the villagers turn out to have been in Albanian (*o pus more, a ku je more, etc.*),⁸⁸⁸ so based on one of them, Vuković adds that the people created the oronym. Although this etymological explanation is hardly convincing, the importance lies in the memory of the use of these expressions, so on this basis it can be assumed that the population of the village, at the time when the toponym was born, may have used Albanian language. Especially when taking into account the microtoponyms located near the Kojenovac massif such as *Bardov do*, *Paljevine*, *Bardova Kosa*, *Preleviçi* and *Čuka*, which seem to have been formed according to the linguistic culture of the Albanians.

In the territory populated by the Vasojevići tribal community, the microtoponyms given above are only a part of the totality of findings that belong to this scientific discipline. Thus, in the village of Đulići there is a place called *Donce* based on the Albanian name Gjon, as well as another called *Maleš* for which the inhabitants have no explanation,⁸⁸⁹ but which seems close to

⁸⁸⁵ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 165

⁸⁸⁶ Мирко Бајрактаровић, О гробљима и гробовима у Горњем Полимљу. Гласник етнографског музеја. Књига 22-23, Београд 1960, p.219

⁸⁸⁷ Мирко Бајрактаровић, О гробљима и гробовима у Горњем Полимљу. Гласник етнографског музеја. Књига 22-23, Београд 1960, p.219

⁸⁸⁸ Бранислав М. Вуковић, Заостро – У простору и времену. Етнолошко историјско разматрање. Беране 2020, p.49 and 51

⁸⁸⁹ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 139

the words *mal* (mountain) or *mall* (longing) in Albanian.⁸⁹⁰ In this settlement there are also the graves of the Latins (*latinsko groblje*),⁸⁹¹ which tell of a Catholic culture of the old inhabitants, while the microtoponym *Škale* also appears, an Albanian adaptation of the Latin borrowing *scala*. Then, above Komovi in the village of Vranještica a place is called *Curanova kosa*,⁸⁹² a name that according to the researcher Vešović may have been created based on the male name Curan, about which nothing is known.⁸⁹³ However, while in the Slavic culture this word seems to have no use⁸⁹⁴ and is not even recognized as a human name, in the Albanian environment a completely different situation appears. Based on the opinion of the linguist Eqrem Çabej, the notion *curan* means a sharp-eyed person and is the form of the word *curr* that appears in almost every region populated by Albanians, often as a name of people.⁸⁹⁵ Moreover, based on the word *curr*, it seems that a large number of names or surnames have been formed among Albanians⁸⁹⁶ and this phenomenon has been proven since 1416, when in the Venetian administrative materials, within the village of Samarisi, a Prozano Surri is mentioned,⁸⁹⁷ whose patronym has the same source.⁸⁹⁸ Other microtoponyms that are found in a pure form or close to Albanian, within the region, are the following: *Zotino Brdo*, *Ćafa*, *Lekine rupe*, *Gropa*, *Maraševa Brda*, *Čuke*, *Lekino Brdo*, *Duške*, *Pepin Krš*, *Griški Brijeg*, *Murgaš*, *Kodre*, *Puljevac*, *Ulotina*, *Gornja Čuka*, *Malje*, *Donja Čuka*, *Drekina Kosa*, *Lumbraja*, *Palj*, *Drekin Vrh*, etc.⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁰ As for the word *mall*, according to linguists Weigand, Cabej, Pedersen and Meyer, it is the Albanian form of the Latin word *Malum*. The notion *mall* appears in the first Albanian writings, including Gjon Buzuku's *Mesher* (Missal) in 1555. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V*, K-M. Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 277)

⁸⁹¹ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевих. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 139

⁸⁹² Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевих. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 132

⁸⁹³ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевих. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 132

⁸⁹⁴ The term *Curan* is not found in Petar Skok's Croatian or Serbian etymological dictionary. (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga prva. A-J, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zagreb 1971, page 281); *Curan* is not even found in the Serbo-Croatian-Albanian dictionary, published by the Albanian Institute of Prishtina in 1974 (*Fjalor serbokroatisht-shqip*, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1974, page 81)

⁸⁹⁵ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes III*, C-D, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2016, pages 68-69;

⁸⁹⁶ In the village of Višnjevo of Plav, there is an Albanian Catholic bloodline called *Curanaj*; In Kastrat a neighborhood is called *Curanaj*, while in Shkodër the notion *Curani* appears as a surname (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes III*, C-D, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2016, pages 68-69); As for microtoponyms based on the word *curr*, in the territory populated by Albanians there are a large number of villages, such as: *Currat e bardhë* in Apripë, *Curri i Bulirit* in Dush të epërm, *Currajt e epërm*, *Curri i Delisë* in Postribë, etc. (ibid., page 69)

⁸⁹⁷ Sime Ljubić, *Skadarski Zemljišnik od god. 1416*. Starine. Knjiga XIV, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zagreb 1882, page 48

⁸⁹⁸ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes III*, C-D, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2016, page 69;

⁸⁹⁹ For the microtoponym *Lumbraja*, located in the village of Kuti near Cecuni, Radoslav Vešević writes that it is in Albanian. (Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевих. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 140). Since it is talked

The Albanian component in the territory populated by the Vasojevići tribal organization is also recognizable in the surnames of some family communities, which clearly seem to be built based on anthroponyms or words in Albanian. In the villages around Andrijevisa, two bloodlines from the Kovačevići branch are called Đinovići and Dedovići, which, according to Radoslav Vešević, are most likely formed based on the Albanian names Gjini and Dedë.⁹⁰⁰ From the first line was *Leka Đinović*,⁹⁰¹ a military leader and robber of the 18th century, with first and last name in Albanian, who clashed several times with the Ottoman armed forces during his life.⁹⁰² In almost the same area, the Kastratović group appeared as one of the largest kinships within the region, which populates several villages near the upper course of the Lim. Apparently the high rate of their natural increase produced a need for a closer identification, so part of this line changed its surname, producing new branches.⁹⁰³ In retrospect, their ancestor is said to be a man named Lako Kastrat,⁹⁰⁴ whose surname, according to the researcher Vešević, either originates from the Latin notion *castrum*, or was formed according to some relationship with the Albanian tribe of Kastrat.⁹⁰⁵ A similar situation also appears in the village of Ulotina, where in the first part of the twentieth century, there were seventy houses of the Šoškiqi bloodline, whose name is reminiscent of Shosh, a fairly authentic tribal organization located in one of the deepest and most mountainous areas of the current northern Albania.⁹⁰⁶ Then, in the village of Budimlje above Beran, the Maljević line is encountered, which is likely to have been formed based on the word

about a hydronim, while the word *lum* (river) among Albanians means water flow, then there is a logical agreement in its finding; Ulotina is quite close to the Albanian word *kullotë* (pasture), on the basis of which the forms *kullosa*, *kullotun*, *kulloin*, etc. are constructed. For more about the notion of *kullotë*, see Eqrem Cabej's etymological dictionary. (Eqrem Cabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes*, V, K-M, Botime Cabej, Tiranë 2014, page 165); Grishki brijeg is most likely a microtoponym formed on the basis of the old Albanian feminine name Grishë; Murgash seems to have developed from the word *murg* (monk), as does its feminine extension *murgeshë* (nun). It is thought that the word *murg* (monk) is an Albanian form of the Latin word *monachus*. (Kolec Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017*, p.1017)

⁹⁰⁰ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 212. *Vešević here writes: „ Ова су презимена изгледа давнашња, или су можда постала по арбанаским надимцима Деда и Ђин. (ibid.)

⁹⁰¹ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 214. * Leka Đinović is also known as Leka Mali Đinović in Slavic literature.

⁹⁰² Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 214

⁹⁰³ It is about the Vojvodić group in the village of Konjuši and Micovići in the settlements of Bare and Peovac. (Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 207)

⁹⁰⁴ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 207

⁹⁰⁵ „ Презиме је можда дошао по неком старијем имену илирскога или романскога поријекла. Потсјећа на лат. ријечи *castro* или *castrum*. А можда је постало по некој вези предака с арбанаским племеном Кастратима. (Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 207)

⁹⁰⁶ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 56-57

mal (mountain),⁹⁰⁷ which also appears as a masculine name among Albanians. This village is also populated by the Deleviћи bloodline, the first of which is said to have been a man from the settlement of Buče, named Nika Dele, who according to genealogical data may have lived sometime in the first part of the 18th century.⁹⁰⁸ Not much is known about him, but it is certain that the type of his name and surname does not match with the Serbian culture, and on the other hand, there is quite a closeness between surname Dele and the notion of sheep in Albanian. In this discussion, the information that the earliest population of the village of Budimlje is described as Catholic as to the faith may be important.⁹⁰⁹ However, in the Vasojevići tribal region, there are other communities whose names may have been formed according to the Albanian linguistic fund, where the Zonjići and Cemovići kinships appear as concrete cases. While for the etymology of the first the Albanian language provides the word zonjë (lady) as a possibility, the second surname seems to derive from the hydronym Cem, a river that originates in Kelmend, passes to Gruda and joins the course of Morača. The fact that this bloodline is not named according to the Slavic name of this water massif, which is Cijevna, but based on the Albanian form Cem,⁹¹⁰ opens another path for discussion.

In addition to the examples listed above, an Albanian influence on the ethno-historical journey of the Vasojevići tribal organization can also be seen in the names of the communities that emigrated to other territories. Thus, in the village of Mojstir of Tutin live two bloodlines, Đinović and Čukić, who are believed to come from Kraljsko Bare, as well as the Marašević line, who claim to be descended from Polimlje,⁹¹¹ a defining notion for localities inhabited upstream Lim. Although all three of these bloodlines are considered Serbian and Orthodox,⁹¹² their surnames formed according to the anthroponyms Gjin and Marash, as well as the notion of čuka (high peak) in Albanian create another circumstance in the debate on their origin.

Collective memory is another scientific plane which, in addition to onomastics, provides complementary and relevant records in the discussion on the ethnohistory of this part of the

⁹⁰⁷ Mal (mountain, hill, forest) in the Slavic language is translated as gora or suma.

⁹⁰⁸ Јован Делевић, Будимља и Будимљани кроз историју. Иванград 1986, page 15

⁹⁰⁹ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 174

⁹¹⁰ For the Albanian source of the hydronym Cem, see: Eqrem Çabej, Studime gjuhesore IV, Botim i dyte. Rilindja, Prishtinë 1987, p. 202.

⁹¹¹ Алија Џоговић, Средње Поибарје. Стари Колашин, Рожаје и Штавица. Службени Гласник & САНУ, 2020. page 525

⁹¹² Алија Џоговић, Средње Поибарје. Стари Колашин, Рожаје и Штавица. Службени Гласник & САНУ, 2020. page 525. page 525

Montenegrin people. According to preserved and inherited narratives, in the village of Velika, ten bloodlines are held as arrivals from the Albanian tribe of Shala.⁹¹³ These are the Jokić, Gojković, Simonović, Bošković, Golubović, Knežević, Radulović, Mikić, Brković and Kasumović lines, which make up the majority of the population within the village.⁹¹⁴ The first of them is said to have been a Catholic blacksmith named Çelë or Çer,⁹¹⁵ who arrived in Velika in the second half of the 18th century.⁹¹⁶ According to the people, this man also had two brothers with him who refused to stop there and continued their journey, where one settled in Isniq of Deçan, while the other settled in the vicinity of Mitrovica.⁹¹⁷ However, unlike those who settled in Velika, who were then subjected to a process of Slavization, the descendants of the two brothers who settled in Kosovo still speak Albanian and kept the same origin from Shala.⁹¹⁸ The fanatically preserved memories say that their ancestors came from the village of Pecaj,⁹¹⁹ settlement in the gorge of the old Shala, in the northernmost corner of present-day Albania. Since this development does not belong to a very early period but is within the time period where collective memory is best preserved, as well as due to the agreement between the Albanian-Montenegrin narratives, then Çela must have been from the village of Pecaj, as one of three brothers of this group.

In spite of the political tensions in the Balkan territory, it is said that the elders of the village of Velika, until recently, did not deny their origin from the Albanian environment. Thus, at the time of the anti-Ottoman movements of the twentieth century, an armed group led by Isa Boletini had stayed in this village for two days, receiving a great welcome and respect from the population of the place. This story was transmitted years later in the memories of Tafil Boletini, a family member who had accompanied Isa all the time. According to him, despite the fact that Albanian was no longer spoken and people had become orthodox by declaring themselves Montenegrins, the old people did not alienate their origin, essentially accepting not only their

⁹¹³ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевих. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 239

⁹¹⁴ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевих. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, pages 239-240;

⁹¹⁵ Поп Богдан Лалевић & Иван Протић, Васојевих у турској граници. Насеља српских земаља, књига III. Српски етнографски зборник, књига шеста. Српска Краљевска Академија. Београд 1905, page 704

⁹¹⁶ Марко Кнежевић, Велика и Новшиће. Подгорица 2014, page 169

⁹¹⁷ Марко Кнежевић, Велика и Новшиће. Подгорица 2014, page 169

⁹¹⁸ Tafil Boletini, Kujtime, Botimpex, Tiranë, 2003, page 21

⁹¹⁹ Tafil Boletini, Kujtime, Botimpex, Tiranë, 2003, page 24

tribal affiliation from Shala but also their Albanianism.⁹²⁰ However, in Velika, the people who came from Pecaj are not the only community that comes from territories continuously populated by Albanians. The Vušović bloodline is another bloodline which believes that it is a colony that came from Shkodra⁹²¹ and is closely related to the Albanian tribe of Berisha.⁹²² Moreover, the appearance of the microtoponymy *Hotsko groblje*⁹²³ in the vicinity of this settlement, which according to researcher Radoslav Vešević actually refers to a cemetery where the remains of some people from the tribe of Hoti are buried,⁹²⁴ is an indication that some other Albanian group may have lived here, although it is not known whether they later fled or merged into other larger communities. However, in the village of Velika there is also a small bloodline in terms of the number of family members called Đinovici, the etymology of which surname has been discussed several times so far. Then, according to the notes of researchers Bogdan Lalević and Ivan Protić, within this settlement there was once also a kinship line, called Tutulani, which over time is said to have dissolved within the Gojkovići bloodline.⁹²⁵ Their origin is not known, but there may be relevant information that in Berat of central Albania, this surname, apart from being old, still lives today.⁹²⁶ To conclude the discussion on Velika, it is important to say that as remnants of the aforementioned communities, some microtoponyms in Albanian appear around the village such as Kunj, Kodra, etc.⁹²⁷

Within the boundaries of the region dominated by the Vasojevići tribal society, there is also a high mountainous region, known as Šekular,⁹²⁸ where remnants that do not belong to the

⁹²⁰ Tafil Boletini, Kujtime, Botimpex, Tiranë, 2003, page 98

⁹²¹ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 242

⁹²² According to Miomir Dašić, Albanian tribe Berishas is said to have protected the Vušović bloodline at every given opportunity, who are considered cousins. „Исто тако се држе за једно плење Берише с Вушовићима, албански фис, штитио је, када је то било могуће своје рођаке Вушовиће који су се из Скадра доселили у Велику по свему судећи, крајем 18 или почетком 19 вијека“. (Миомир Дашић. Шекулар и Шекуларци од помена до 1941 године. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања – Књига 49. Одељење друштвених наука – Књига 14, Подгорица 2006, page 131)

⁹²³ Марко Кнежевић, Велика и Новшиће. Подгорица 2014, page 165

⁹²⁴ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 149

⁹²⁵ Поп Богдан Лалевић & Иван Протић, Васојевићи у турској граници. Насеља српских земаља, књига III. Српски етнографски зборник, књига шеста. Српска Краљевска Академија. Београд 1905. page 705

⁹²⁶ Some important personalities in the history of Albania are known from the Tutulani bloodline in Berat, such as Margarita Tutulani, Dhimitër Tutulani, Kristaq Tutulani, etc.

⁹²⁷ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 150

⁹²⁸ Šekular is an autonomous region in the sense of descent, i.e. separated from the rigid line of the Vasojevići tribe. However, due to the close historical ties between them, as well as the fact that it is located within the borders of the region, it is treated in this chapter; Miomir Dašić writes that there was a tribal union between the

Serbian folk culture appear. First, the very notion that names this large village, divided into several inhabited units, speaks in this context. In his in-depth scientific studies on linguistics, academician Idriz Ajeti writes that the toponym Šekular may have been formed based on the phonetic rules of Albanian,⁹²⁹ thus supporting the opinion of the Austrian albanologist Johann Georg von Hahn. According to the latter, the word *Saeculum* is taken as the etymological source of this notion, but it alludes that in order to arrive at the current form (alb. Shekull, eng. century), the mediation of the Albanians would be needed.⁹³⁰ Nothing different can be read in the works of the Croatian researcher Milan Shufflay, for whom the toponym Šekular is a legacy from an early collective Albanian life in the depths of the current Montenegrin territory,⁹³¹ this opinion also accepted by Ivan Božić.⁹³² Meanwhile, about the possibility of an Albanian source of the notion being discussed, there are also some field data, which may be relevant. It is about the appearance of this name both in current Albanian environments and among those villages where Albanian was once spoken, but which have merged ethnically with time. One of the first examples is the microtoponym Šekular (*also used in the form Šakular*), near the village of Goljemadi,⁹³³ an environment where Albanians are thought to have lived once, where a circumstance is created to assume that both notions may have an origin from the same ethnic substrate. In the report of the priest Gjergj Bardhi, which describes his visit between the years 1629-1631 in the depths of present-day Albania, the village of Shakull is mentioned as a Catholic community with 338 souls

Vasojevićis, Šekulare, Velika, Gornja Sela and smaller communities of other origin who populated the upper course of the Lim river. (Миомир Дашић, Васојевићи од помена до 1860, Матица српска – Друштво чланова у Црној Гори – Одељење за историју. Посебна издања. Књига 1, Никшић 2011. page 217)

⁹²⁹ Idriz Ajeti, *Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 49*

⁹³⁰ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 151; The notion shekulli (century) also appears in the first book written in Albanian, in Gjon Buzuku's Meshari 1555. (Eqrem Çabej -Meshari i Gjon Buzukut 1555, Rilindja, Redaksia e botimeve, Prishtine 1987, page 112)

⁹³¹ Shufflay here is talking about the toponym Shekullar in Lješanska Nahija, but since it is the same notion that also names the village Šekular in Vasojevići, then it can be understood as an equivalent example. For more information, see: Мирко Барјактаровић, Шекулар – Етнолошка студија. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, књига 113. Одељење хуманистичких наука, књига 6. Подгорица 2014, page 31; „Топоними Шин Ђон и Шекуларе, Прогоновичи и Гољемаде, поменути већ 1444 године, говоре да су ту некада били присутни Арбанаси.“ (Иван Божић, Албанија и Арбанаси у XIII, XIV и XV веку. Глас CCCXXXVIII. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Београд 1983, page 18)

⁹³² Иван Божић, Албанија и Арбанаси у XIII, XIV и XV веку. Глас CCCXXXVIII. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Београд 1983, page.18.

⁹³³ Миомир Дашић. Шекулар и Шекуларци од помена до 1941 године. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања – Књига 49. Одељење друштвених наука – Књига 14, Подгорица 2006, pages 60-61

and a religious building called the Church of Lekë.⁹³⁴ Beyond that, in the Albanian language the word shakull has a full meaning and is an expression of the livestock lexicon. However, within the Balkan literature there are also interpretations which see this notion within the Vlach language. Milisav Lutovac is one of them, while Špiro Kulišić, who sees this notion as Romano-Slavic symbiosis, also writes something similar. In the community of researchers who support a Vlach source of the word is also Miomir Dašić, who gives as an argument the presence of some microtoponyms such as *Vlašić, Kučulati, Drosor, Drakulin Brijeg or Bukur livada*,⁹³⁵ but does not give an explanation for those of the Albanian language such as *Gropa, Ćafa, Guri Daš, Ćelije, Maraševa Gora, Palj, Pleće, Balj*, etc., which were recorded by researcher Draško Došljak within Šekular.⁹³⁶ However, even in the case of the toponym *Bukur livada*, the researcher Dašić is not right, since the place is not initially called according to the Vlach anthroponym Bukor, and secondly, even if it had been named in this way, in Slavic it would have taken the form Bukorova or Bukorska Livada. Therefore, most likely, the correct form of this microtoponym should have been *livad i bukur* in Albanian, which through the process of rotation ended up in the current form.⁹³⁷

According to the Montenegrin collective memory, the Šekular and the northern tribe of Gashi⁹³⁸ are said to have had blood ties, believing in a common ancestor and apparently getting along well with each other.⁹³⁹ This narrative, which has been preserved until recently even among Albanians,⁹⁴⁰ has had a fundamental role in the relations between the two communities, moreover, it has produced a mutual care even in the face of political tensions. For example, in the military clashes between the Vasojevići tribal organization and the Ottoman forces in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Albanians of Gashi, recruited by the Sultanate

⁹³⁴ Injac Zamputti, *Dokumente dhe Relacione për Historinë e Shqipërisë 1610-1650*, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, St. Gallen – Prishtinë 2018, page 340

⁹³⁵ Миомир Дашић. Шекулар и Шекуларци од помена до 1941 године. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања – Књига 49. Одељење друштвених наука – Књига 14, Подгорица 2006, page 64

⁹³⁶ Draško Došljak, *Mikrotoponimija Šekulara*, *Lingua Montenegrina*, god XIII/1, br 25, Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost, Cetinje 2020, p.29, 32, 33

⁹³⁷ According to the Croatian linguist Petar Skok, the words “livada, livadi, ljevada, ljuvadh” which occur in Balkan languages and have the same meaning, are borrowings from Greek. Accordingly, they are formed from the Greek word “livadi”. (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika*, Knjiga druga, Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972, page 310)

⁹³⁸ Gashi is one of the largest Albanian tribes of the north

⁹³⁹ Миомир Дашић. Шекулар и Шекуларци од помена до 1941 године. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања – Књига 49. Одељење друштвених наука – Књига 14, Подгорица 2006, page 130

⁹⁴⁰ Tafil Boletini- Kujtime. Botimpex. Tirane 2003, page 99

authorities, had spared Šekular from violence and punishment.⁹⁴¹ Whereas, in 1862, despite being part of Husein Avdi Pasha's armed units, they refused to burn the houses and other assets of the population of this village.⁹⁴² Although the narratives of the two-tribe-from-one-womb type in science are quite controversial, yet something in common must have existed between them, otherwise it would not appear as a narrative. The presence of bloodlines such as *Lekić*, *Dašić*, *Deletić* and *Balević*, in Šekular,⁹⁴³ which with some eventual exception, may have been formed according to anthroponyms or words in Albanian such as *Lekë*, *Dash*, *Dele* and *Ballë*, speak in this context. Without leaving aside some old communities that have merged or moved to other territories such as *Đošović*, *Kukaljaj*, *Lelčanin*, *Brunčević*, *Kekić* and *Đopapaj*,⁹⁴⁴ whose names correspond to the surnames Gjoshi, Kukalaj, Lelçaj, Brunçaj, Keka and Gjonpapaj that appear today in the Albanian environment.

However, while Šekular's relationship with Gashi, or Velika with Shala, constitutes a closer phenomenon, the belief in a closeness of blood between the Vasojevići community and the Krasniqi Albanian tribe appears as one of the basic characteristics within the region. Apparently, this feeling between the two aforementioned organizations existed, at least until the last quarter of the 20th century,⁹⁴⁵ moreover, it was manifested with not infrequent contacts between them. According to the Russian ethnographer Pavel Rovinski, a member of the Krasniqi community enjoyed much more hospitality and respect from the Vasojevići, than the orthodox Serbs, who were treated with ridicule and contempt, both on holidays and on ordinary days.⁹⁴⁶ This

⁹⁴¹ Миомир Дашић. Шекулар и Шекуларци од помена до 1941 године. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања – Књига 49. Одељење друштвених наука – Књига 14, Подгорица 2006, page 130

⁹⁴² Ibid, page 130

⁹⁴³ Draško Došljak. O prezimenima Šekulara. Matica, godina XXII, broj 87, jesen 2021, Cetinje – Podgorica 2021, p. 391; Lekići in 1966 had 15 houses in Šekular, being one of the biggest lines of the village. (Радоје Кастратовић, Шекулар и Шекуларци у народној причи и традицији. Обод, Цетинје 1966, page 89)

⁹⁴⁴ Draško Došljak. O prezimenima Šekulara. Matica, godina XXII, broj 87, jesen 2021, Cetinje – Podgorica 2021, page 391-392; The Brunčević bloodline is known to have moved from Šekular to Budimlje. (Јован Делевић, Будимља и Будимљани кроз историју. Иванград 1986, page 15); The surname Kukaljaj does not appear within the village today, but there is a bloodline called Kukalj, which may be the same bloodline; For the surname Đošović, Draško Došljak writes that they moved towards the Dukagjini Plain. (Draško Došljak. O prezimenima Šekulara. Matica, godina XXII, broj 87, jesen 2021, Cetinje – Podgorica 2021, page 386)

⁹⁴⁵ In the Krasniqi tribal region, the story of a connection or closeness with the Vasojevići tribe lives on even at this time. Informant: Bajram Mulosmani, born on 24 May 1941 in Bujan, Tropoja. Interview conducted on 05.12.2021, at his home.

⁹⁴⁶ „Васојевић је увијек лијепо дочекан у албанском племену Крастенићи, гдје је и заштићен од Арнаута, најљућих непријатеља Црне Горе. Исто тако и Крастенић ужива највеће гостопримство и поштовање код Васојевића. А ови исти Васојевићи сасвим се друкчије односе према православним Србима, такозваним Србијанцима са којима заједно живе, а који су доселили из разних крајева Црне Горе. Још у Турско доба ако

relationship, most likely, may have been dictated by the collective memory, consequently by the narrative which describes their ancestors as children of Keç Preka, a story that is dealt with in more detail in the chapter on Piperi. In addition, an additional role in this case must have been played by the fact that both communities shared some similar cultural characteristics (*clothing, folklore, way of life, maybe somewhere even language*) which may have facilitated mutual communication. For example, the songs of Skanderbeg which were published by *Andrija Kačić Miošić* in 1801, the researcher Pavel Rovinski had also heard in the Montenegrin territory, and by chance one of them, in a much more extended form, had been recorded within the Vasojevići region.⁹⁴⁷

In conclusion, foreign and Balkan authors who during their stay in these units have closely seen the nature and characteristics of the population have also written on the presence of the Albanian element in the core of this community. The British Edith Durham says rigidly that until the eighteenth century the Vasojevićs also spoke Albanian.⁹⁴⁸ The Bosniak Branislav Đurđev writes about this tribal community that it can have either mixed origins, or complete descent from Albanians,⁹⁴⁹ etc.

3.6 Morača⁹⁵⁰

In the Ottoman statistical summary of the Sanjak of Herzegovina, the material drawn up in 1477, the territory populated by the Morača tribal community appears recorded through two inhabited units. According to this material, its upper part, known in Montenegrin literature as Gornja Morača, was populated by 52 houses, while the lower area, called Donja Morača,

би Србљак дошао Васојевићу на крсно име, када је кућа најгостољубивије отворна за свакога, он би био исмијан, па и испован. „ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, подгорица 1998, page 111); With the notion of “Orthodox Serbs” Rovinski may have also referred to those bloodlines coming from Kuci, Shala, Kastrati, etc., which were serbized in the new environment.

⁹⁴⁷ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Црна Гора у прошлости и садашњости. Том 1, Географска-историја, Централна Народна Библиотека „Ђурђе Црнојевић“ – Цетинје, Издавачки Центар Цетинје, Издавачка Књижарница Зорана Станојевића Ср. Карловци, Нови Сад 1993, page 513

⁹⁴⁸ Edith Durham – *Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG, Tiranë 2019, page 58

⁹⁴⁹ Бранислав Ђурђев, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 101-102

⁹⁵⁰ The region of Morača lies in the central part of the Montenegrin territory. It is bordered by the Kolašin, Polja, Nikšić regions, as well as the Rovca, Drobnjak and Vasojevići tribes.

appeared with a total of 69 fires (hearths).⁹⁵¹ Although the oldest stratum of the population among the canyons and heights of the aforementioned region is thought to have been a pre-Slavic society, consisting of two large groups such as the Macurs and the Kričis,⁹⁵² the fundamental influence on the shaping of Morača as a tribal community seems to have had there a later colony, coming from the Albanian tribe of Hoti.⁹⁵³ Judging from the data gathered from the collective memory, the founder of about half of the present bloodlines is said to have been a noble named Bogić, who with his four male children, after a conflict with the neighbouring people of Gruda, moved to the region.⁹⁵⁴ Folk tales say that apart from the family of the close circle, he was accompanied by other relatives, and a man named Bako is mentioned, who is considered the first of the current Bakići bloodline.⁹⁵⁵ The latter had five children, four of whom left for the east, while only one, named Leka, remained with him.⁹⁵⁶ Oronym *Hotska Gora* may be one of the influences that this colony had exerted on the occasion of their empowerment within the region.⁹⁵⁷

According to the data collected from the Montenegrin collective memory, the heads of the community who came from Hoti, in the first years, were forced into armed clashes with the population found in the new territories. First, voivode Bogić with his men seems to have defeated the Macurs, who were led by their noble Štiko, and then the inherited narratives speak of another triumph, over the armed detachments of Kelmendi.⁹⁵⁸ As a result of the mentioned

⁹⁵¹ Istorijски Leksikon Crne Gore, K-Per, Vijesti, Podgorica 2006, page 891

⁹⁵² „Постоје гробља и са врло тешким надгробним камењем, али без вјерских ознака и орнаментa. Тимов бријег испод Зацркаља класичан је пример за то. Сви су гробови окренути на исток. Народ једноставно зове маџурским та стара гробља, иако по њима налази црквене са олтаром на исток.“ (Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 41)

⁹⁵³ Саво Оровић, Сличност фолклора код Арбанаса и Црногораца, Рад XIV конгреса Савеза фолклориста Југославије у Призрену 1967, Београд 1974, р. 480

⁹⁵⁴ „И већи дио Морачана води порекло од арбанаског племена Хоти. Наиме Богић Морачанин је био војвода Хотски, па пошто се завадио с Грудима и њиховим војводом око планине Хотског Хума, преселио се у Морачу и за успомену на стару постојбину назвао је једну дотичну планину Хотска Гора која се и сад назива.“ (Саво Оровић, Сличност фолклора код Арбанаса и Црногораца, Рад XIV конгреса Савеза фолклориста Југославије у Призрену 1967, Београд 1974, р. 480); Андрија Јовичевић, Историја Мораче до 1820 године. Унирекс и Светигора. Подгорица 2006, page 8

⁹⁵⁵ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, pages 57-58

⁹⁵⁶ Рајко Раосављевић, Морача Ровца Колашин. Стручна Књига, Београд 1990, page 181

⁹⁵⁷ Саво Оровић, Сличност фолклора код Арбанаса и Црногораца, Рад XIV конгреса Савеза фолклориста Југославије у Призрену 1967, Београд 1974, page 480

⁹⁵⁸ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 23

conflicts, Bogić's circle is said to have been depleted in numbers, especially after the fall of his two sons on the battlefield, leaving no heirs. However, the family did not die out, on the contrary, it was recovered and increased in number by the descendants of the two remaining sons, of whom today are a large part of the population of Morača, including bloodlines such as Rakočevići, Radovići, Medenica, Vujišić, Lakičević, Dožić, Rašović, Dobričani and Perović.⁹⁵⁹ In relation to their numerical growth, Pavel Rovinski writes that over time, this line took the size of a tribal community, while the other lines, coming from Kuči, Vasojevići, Pješivci and Nikšići, had a rather poor development.⁹⁶⁰

With the penetration and then with the establishment of permanent settlements, the descendants of the Bogić family line seem to have kept alive some nuances from the Albanian ethnic culture, which is manifested by the further use of Albanian names for their children. From the genealogical trees it is understood that even after his death, names such as Leka, Prentaš, Lala, Đeka, Zuka were repeated and inherited,⁹⁶¹ but anthroponyms such as Buljan, Radul, Sekul, Mina, which are Vlach in nature, also stand out. Meanwhile, in their central village, in Prekobrdje, where voivode Bogić is said to have lived and died, several inhabited units (*zaseljaci*) are called *Smira*, *Kos*, *Meljaca* and *Uljara*.⁹⁶² For the first three, Albanian provides the words *Smira*, *Kos* and *Mel* as options of origin, while for the surname additional research is needed on the linguistic level.

The Montenegrin collective memory, in addition to the history of the branching from Hoti, also knows stories about other family communities of arrivals who are remembered for their origin from the current Albanian depths. The Ćirovići bloodline is mentioned as one of them, whose houses lie in the lower part of the region. Oral tradition says that their ancestors were from the area of Shkodra, but as early as the thirteenth century, due to difficult living conditions, they moved to Morača.⁹⁶³ Although this does not definitively define their ethnic nature, since Shkodra as an important centre may have had other cultural and linguistic groups in

⁹⁵⁹ Андрија Јовичевић, Историја Мораче до 1820 године. Унирекс и Светигора. Подгорица 2006, page 11; Рајко Раосављевић, Морача Ровца Колашин. Стручна Књига, Београд 1990, page 18;

⁹⁶⁰ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 83

⁹⁶¹ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, pages 51-55; Рајко Раосављевић, Морача Ровца Колашин. Стручна Књига, Београд 1990, page 141;

⁹⁶² Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 20

⁹⁶³ Рајко Раосављевић, Морача Ровца Колашин. Стручна Књига, Београд 1990, page 140

the Middle Ages, however, due to the great dominance of the Albanian element, also recorded in the cadastral register, and the concessions of 1416, it can be said that their origin is from an environment dominated by Albanians in continuity. However, this does not seem to be the only oral tradition that speaks about the origin of the aforementioned bloodline. In his works on Montenegrin ethnography, Pavel Rovinski spoke that the members of this bloodline were pejoratively called Macuri,⁹⁶⁴ a non-Slavic community that will be discussed later, by the rest of the population of the region. However, alongside them in Morača, it is thought that once there lived a society that came through Kuči, called *Beriši*, which, according to ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, is also referred to by the toponym *Beriška Luka*.⁹⁶⁵ Their surname corresponds to the name of one of the largest Albanian tribal communities, especially when we take into account the existing folk stories about a blood relationship between the tribes of Kuči and Berisha.

In terms of toponymy, in addition to the examples given above as a supplement, in the tribal region of Morača, although less than in other Montenegrin geographical units, notions that may have their source from the Albanian linguistic background appear. The researcher Sekula Dobričanin had recorded the hydronym *Paljevska Rijeka*,⁹⁶⁶ which is most likely formed based on the anthroponym Pal, which comes as the Albanian form of the Latin name Paolo. In the village of Bare, a piece of land is called *Varin potok*, for which name, both Slavic and Albanian provide etymological possibilities,⁹⁶⁷ while near the monastery of Morača, a cave is called *Nerin*,⁹⁶⁸ a name that can hardly have a Slavic origin.⁹⁶⁹ It seems that there are remnants of the Albanians in Starče, this village in the upper part of the region, where is recognizable the microtoponym Kunj which marks a flat plot of land.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁴ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица 1998, page 83

⁹⁶⁵ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“, Подгорица 1997, page 97

⁹⁶⁶ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 14

⁹⁶⁷ Pursuant to existing dictionaries, the word “var” in Serbian means heat. (Fjalor Serbokroatisht-Shqip, Instituti albanologjik i Prishtinës. Prishtinë 1974. page 940) While the Albanian language provides the word “varr” (grave) as an etymological possibility against this toponym.

⁹⁶⁸ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 11

⁹⁶⁹ It is not found in Petar Skok's etymological dictionary, nor in the Serbo-Croatian-Albanian dictionary, published in 1974 by the Albanian Institute of Prishtina.

⁹⁷⁰ Милован Мушо Шћепановић, О земљишним посједима манастира Мораче. Историски Записи. Година XXXIX, 1986/1-2, page 129

In the territory of this tribal society, the influence of the old Albanian communities is also manifested in the ethnographic plane, especially in the old folk costumes of the male element. According to Sekula Dobričanin, this garment had a woolen pants and *xhamadan* (jacket), just like in Vasojevići region.⁹⁷¹ Since in the latter, as will be seen in another extended chapter later, the men's costume was almost identical to that of the Albanians, then this description is quite important in this context. However, in order to avoid a wrong reading of his record, the researcher Dobričanin writes that these elements are only encountered in a part within the region of Morača and not as a whole.⁹⁷²

3.7 Rovca⁹⁷³

For the first time in written sources, the notion Rovca appears in 1477, in the Ottoman register of the Sanjak of Herzegovina, as the name of a village with fifty-one houses. Although the dominant part of the human element within this material bears Slavic or Christian names, the occurrence of the patronym Vlach (*tur.iflah*) and the anthroponym Bratul,⁹⁷⁴ open a possibility to assume that a pre-Slavic component may have been included in the core of this tribal organization. The Montenegrin researcher Mirko Barjaktarović, in a monograph published in 1984, writes that within the aforementioned register, the population of Rovca is explicitly mentioned as Vlachs, to whom the Ottoman authorities had recognized some special rights.⁹⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the ethnologist Branislav Đurđev reads the defter records on this region a little differently, moreover, he deviates from the ethnic treatment, describing them only within a pastoral grouping (*pravi stočari*).⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁷¹ "Неки Морачани носе вунене чакшире и џамадане с рукавицама као Васојевићи." (Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 115)

⁹⁷² Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 115

⁹⁷³ The region of Rovca lies between the Bjelopavlići, Morača, Piperi, Vasojevići and Bratonožići tribes.

⁹⁷⁴ Бранислав Ђурђев, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, pages 73-74

⁹⁷⁵ „У попису из 1477 Ровчани се изричито помињу као Власи (то јест сточари), којима и нове турске власти остављају одређене привилегије.“ (Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 33)

⁹⁷⁶ Бранислав Ђурђев, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 75

The data from the Montenegrin collective memory say that the dominant majority of the bloodlines of the Rovca tribal organization derive from four brothers, named Bulat, Vlaho, Sćepan and Srezoje,⁹⁷⁷ three of which are certainly not Slavic names. The inherited folk narrative says that they were male children of Gojak, while the latter had Nikša as his father, the founder of the Nikšići tribal community. In determining their ethnic nature, it is necessary to call for help a document dated 6 August 1399, in which the Dubrovnik authorities communicate with Jelena, the wife of Gjergj Balsha. Within the lines of this document, members of this tribe are defined as Vlachs (*vlasī Nikšiki*).⁹⁷⁸ According to the records of the researcher Petar Šobajić, it seems that in the second half of the 14th century, after a clash between their forces and the nobleman Ban Ugren who ruled Nikšići's zhupa, Nikša's eldest son Gojak was forced to abandon the rest of the kinship and finally settle in the region of Rovca.⁹⁷⁹ From his four sons, mentioned above, four powerful bloodlines arose: *Bulatovići, Vlahovići, Srezojevići and Sćepanovići*, which now make up the majority of the population.⁹⁸⁰ So far, the data that speak about their Vlach origin are not out of tune with each other, moreover they are in agreement. For example, the names of Gojak's two children as Bulat and Vlach on the one hand, as well as his descent from the Nikšići tribal society on the other hand, create a foundation for assuming a non-Serbian collective in origin. Especially when the data from the Ottoman register of 1477 are attached to this, where, although rarely, the Vlach element is still visible. These may have pushed the researcher Stevan Popović to look for the etymology of the name Rovca in the context of the Vlach lexicon,⁹⁸¹ although as an opinion it seems disputed.⁹⁸²

⁹⁷⁷ Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 7-8.

⁹⁷⁸ “Поченои госпоги Иелени од владустаго града Дубровника, кнеза и од все опкине много почтено поздрављјение. Догосе овамо власи Никшики, а туже на Богчина Копеникја је рим забавља и хokie да им узме царину на Лиутој око хоте у Дубровник или да погиу у Котор и този чуваше много се почудисмо, јер то нује било преко нигда да буду у царине.” (Петар Шобајић, Никшић-Оногошт. Посебна издања Географског Друштва. Свеска 22, Београд 1938, page 31)

⁹⁷⁹ Петар Шобајић, Никшић-Оногошт. Посебна издања Географског Друштва. Свеска 22, Београд 1938, p.33-34

⁹⁸⁰ Петар Шобајић, Никшић-Оногошт. Посебна издања Географског Друштва. Свеска 22, Београд 1938, page 31

⁹⁸¹ Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, pages 7-8.

⁹⁸² According to Mirko Barjaktarović, the name Rovca is part of the Slavic lexicon. (Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 19)

The intertwining of the Albanian component in the ethno-historic journey of this tribal community, although much poorer compared to many other geographical units, is still visible. The data that speak on this level are findings collected from various scientific disciplines such as linguistics, ethnography, onomastics, etc. On their basis, it can be assumed that the presence of Albanians in Rovca constitutes a stratified phenomenon, which is not localized in a short period of time, but appears more widely. In this context, Albanian cultural and linguistic remnants seem to have two primary sources in the matter of origin. The first set of data is likely to be a legacy from early tribes such as the Macurs and the Kričis, whose Albanian affiliation in science is treated as one of the most possible options.⁹⁸³ Nikša's Vlach descendants are said to have found these two old communities when they settled in the region, but over time they seem to have become ethnically alienated. In addition, there are folk narratives that a line of the Macurs merged within the Bulatovići bloodline.⁹⁸⁴ As for the second group of resources, it is very likely that they are cultural remains from an Albanian element that arrived later and was then included within the tribal organization. For example, according to folk narratives, the Pizurice bloodline is a branch of the Drekalovići group of Kuči,⁹⁸⁵ for whom there is enough data to be treated within the Albanian ethnic group in terms of origin. The collective memory says that the time of their arrival in Rovca is the 17th century,⁹⁸⁶ exactly when in ecclesiastical reports the population of Kuči was described as Albanians of the Roman rite. In addition to them, the inherited narratives say that in the village of Liješnje, part of the population is considered to be of distant origin from Lezha, and the Jankovići, Perišići, Jokovići, Bukilići, Jovovići and Vukovići bloodlines belong here.⁹⁸⁷ Meanwhile, appellatives such as Murićani and Šokci, through which the population of

⁹⁸³ „Мацуре, Матаруге, Кричи и други били су само становници другачијег порекла, који су овамо долазили, боравили или делом и стално живели негде у каснијим столећима средњег века, рецимо у 13 и 14. а можда чак и у 15 столећу. То треба да су биле сточарске групе, покретне, вероватно арбанаског порекла. Делом можда и романизоване.“ (Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 20); „Оно сто се Роваца тиче, тамо су као и у Морачи живјеле Мацуре, изгледа једна већа арбанаска група.“ (Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 32)

⁹⁸⁴ Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 245.

⁹⁸⁵ Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 245.

⁹⁸⁶ Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 245

⁹⁸⁷ Ibid, 245

the region pejoratively calls the members of the Petričići bloodline,⁹⁸⁸ constitute an additional reason for deeper research into the issue of the origin of this bloodline. Especially when it is taken into account that the notion of Muriqi, among Albanians, appears as a toponym quite early and later also as a bloodline name,⁹⁸⁹ while surname Šokci is quite likely to have developed from the word *shok* (friend) in Albanian.

The Albanian component in the population of the aforementioned region also appears in the field of linguistics, where the use of some words and expressions that belong in the Albanian language lexicon is immediately visible. The researcher Mirko Barjaktarović recorded the following examples: *ćafa, balja, bardoka, zođ, keć and ćeno*.⁹⁹⁰ Since they are notions related to pastoral life, it is very possible that Gojak and his people found these among the Macurs or Kričis, as old groups of Rovca, and then put them to use. Ethnologist Barjaktarović is of the opinion that this is the first possibility, although he also puts forward another option, according to which these expressions may have penetrated the region through bloodlines that arrived later.⁹⁹¹ Meanwhile, Stevan Popović has a more extended list of words, which he qualifies as originating in Albanian, and which are a daily part of communication between the settlements of this geographical unit. They are again expressions of the pastoral lexicon such as: *balja, baljuša, baljov, brnja, brnjaš, galja, ketiti, keć, ljuk, molika, natra, strunga, ćeno, urda, čuka, čuljav, šiljeg and štilja*.⁹⁹²

⁹⁸⁸ „И у Ровцима је, као и другде по Црној Гори и Брдима, било погрдних надимака томе становништву. Петричиће су називали и Муричанима а понекад и Шокцима.“ (Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 43)

⁹⁸⁹ Katund Muriq is mentioned since 1497 in the Defter (register) of the Sanjak of Shkodra, as a unit inhabited in the region of Kelmendi and judging by the anthroponymic composition, it is an Albanian environment. (Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485. Akademia e Shkencave të RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 433)

⁹⁹⁰ Нађе се понека реч и арбанашког порекла (Ћафа, баља, бардока, зођ, кећ, ћено – ма, када се води пас). Ове су могле да буду прихваћене од затченог сточарског становништва или оног које је и касније, макар само лети са стоком овамо залазило. Када се каже од затченог ту се већ може се мислити на оне који су се називали Маџурима.“ (Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 78)

⁹⁹¹ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 78

⁹⁹² Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 438; Judging from the linguistic fund of Albanian and the explanations of researcher Popović, the correct form in Albanian for some of the given words would be: *Balë, Balusha, Balonja, Brinja, Brinjash, Gala, Keq, Lok, Molika, Strunga, Qen, Urda and Çuka*. As for the notions *Ketiti, Shileg, Natra and Shtilja*, a more detailed study is needed.

The phenomenon of the use of words from the Albanian language lexicon in the tribal region of Rovca, is manifested, although rarely, also in the field of toponymy. In the upper part of the region lies a massif of water called *Manito Jezero*, a hydronym that may have been created based on the name Man, which, according to ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, was found not only among Albanians, but also among Vlachs and Dalmatian Romans.⁹⁹³ There is a possibility that the microtoponymy *Maničevo* to the east of the village Vlahovići has the same linguistic source. Other remnants of the pre-Slavic culture, in terms of toponymy, most likely, are: *Maganik*, *Pino Selo*, *Romanova Jama*, *Katunište*, *Nerin*, *Macurevine*, where with some of them the Latin source is clearly visible. Other data that can be related to the Albanians in the Rovca tribal region have not been found.

4. ZETA AND LJEŠKOPOLJE

4.1 Zeta

Although as a state unit or an organized political concept it ceases to exist at the end of the Middle Ages, Zeta as a notion, unlike the appellative *Duklja*, never got completely extinct. However, according to old documentary sources and historical literature, it seems that after the Ottoman invasion and the rise of the imperial administration, this name was later reduced to mean only a narrow region lying on the eastern side of lake Shkodra. According to the Montenegrin ethnographer Andrija Jovičević, it was a flat territory,⁹⁹⁴ which is mainly surrounded by Montenegrin mountains (*brda*) and mountain ranges owned by Albanian highlanders.⁹⁹⁵ Just like seven centuries ago, the current Zeta is divided into two units, in its lower part and in the upper Zeta, within which lie a total of twenty-seven inhabited localities.⁹⁹⁶ Despite its narrow extent, this territory has had political importance almost throughout each time

⁹⁹³ Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формиранје црногорских племена. Слово Лубље, Београд, 1978, page 261; The name Man continues to be used by Albanians.

⁹⁹⁴ In Montenegrin literature, this geographical unit is also known as "Zetsko polje" (Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 13)

⁹⁹⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 11

⁹⁹⁶ The lower Zeta includes the villages of Vranj, Kodrobdan, Mataguži, Vladnje, Burgovi, Gostilj, Balabanji, Golubovci, Mojanovići, Mahala, Goričani, Berislavci, Bijelo Polje, Bistrice, Kurilo, Vukovci and Ponari. While in the upper Zeta, Srpska, Lajkovići, Mitrovići, Rakića Kuće, Botun, Dajbabe, Šćepovića Kuće, Zabjelo, as well as the current Montenegrin capital Podgorica. (Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, pages 12-13.)

interval, especially due to its enviable strategic position and commercial activity. Furthermore, in the historical context it appears as a junction where many roads of essential character for the region passed through it and this circumstance seems to have dictated the demographic dynamics, since the region appears as a continuously inhabited environment from the earliest periods about which also speak the archaeological excavations of the area.⁹⁹⁷

According to documentary sources, the presence of Albanians in the Zeta area is an early phenomenon which is concretely proven through the appearance of Albanian anthroponyms to the human element located within the region. However, their correct reading is considered to be a more complicated matter compared to the documents that refer to other regions, because *Zeta* until the 16th century had a larger territory than what it encompassed later. Thus, in a document drawn up by the administration of Kotor in 1332, a *Jon filius Deminco de Genta* is mentioned,⁹⁹⁸ based on the given description it is impossible to ascertain whether his habitat was inside or outside the present Zeta. Moreover, a similar phenomenon was also encountered in the documents produced by the chancelleries of Ragusa, when in 1389 a *Georgij de Gente Albanensi* appear,⁹⁹⁹ bringing to the surface again the same confusion. However, beyond this phenomenon, in the archived funds there are also documents that speak in a more precise form, in which case their interpretation is a much simpler task. Thus, in a document from 1430, a tailor and tanner named *Bojko Dinović* is mentioned in the city of Kotor, who is said to have come from Podgorica.¹⁰⁰⁰ According to the researcher Bogumil Hrabak, based on his surname, he is very likely to be an ethnic Albanian,¹⁰⁰¹ and this does not imply an unusual phenomenon, since Podgorica is described in the documentary sources of 1443 as a centre within Albania (*et hoc fuit in Albania in loco dict Podgoriza*).¹⁰⁰²

⁹⁹⁷ Максим Шобајић, *Старине у Зети. ЈУ музеји и галерије Подгорице*. Подгорица 2014, page 49

⁹⁹⁸ Antun Mayer, *Kotorski spomenici. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337*. Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, page 52

⁹⁹⁹ DAD, *Diversa Noteriae*, Ser 26, Br.10, God-1387-1391, fol 42

¹⁰⁰⁰ Богумил Храбак, *Подгоричани трговци XV, XVI i XVII вијека. Историјски Записи. Година 26. Књига XXX. Бр. 3-4*. Титоград 1973, page 259

¹⁰⁰¹ Богумил Храбак, *Подгоричани трговци XV, XVI i XVII вијека. Историјски Записи. Година 26. Књига XXX. Бр. 3-4*. Титоград 1973. Page 261

¹⁰⁰² DAD, *Lamenta de Foris*, Fond 21, Ser.2, Vol 16, God. 1442-1443, fol 215v; A conclusion like this is also read in the works of the researcher Mihailo Dinić who, among other things, writes: „Па и Дубровчани смештали Подгорицу у Албанији.“ (Михаило Динић, *Српске земље у средњем веку*. Београд, 1978, page 203)

In contrast to the materials listed above, the Ottoman defter for the population and property in the Sanjak of Shkodra, a statistical material compiled by the Ottoman administration in 1485, contains more concrete data regarding the presence of old Albanians in the inhabited units within the Zeta plain. For example, in the village of Dajbabe, which at the given time had nine houses and depended on Žabljak, some of the residents bear names in Albanian such as *Leka*, *Kola*, maybe even *Nikaç*, but at the same time, anthroponyms such as *Erdrona*, *Tela*, *Shirgja*, *Gropça* also appear¹⁰⁰³ which, in the form as they are given today, are not used by Albanians, but they do not seem to be Slavic names either. As for the names Marin, Vlash and Mihal, which appear within this same village, it is difficult to relate them to any particular ethnicity because their use has been evidenced with many peoples at the same time, including the Albanians. At this time, the Ottoman administration had also registered the village of Vranj, which still exists under this name, where, in addition to the Slavic and biblical names, there are also some in Albanian such as Gega, Nikeza and Gjon.¹⁰⁰⁴ In addition, in the westernmost part of the region, in the village of Kurilo, within the written sources of 1485, some of the men there were called Pepa, Kuq, Nikeza, Lala, Gjon and Mal, where a scientific circumstance is created to assume the presence of old Albanians within this inhabited unit.¹⁰⁰⁵ Not even forty years later, in 1523, Nikola and Radić Guša are mentioned as residents in the same locality,¹⁰⁰⁶ whose surname, according to the linguist Petar Skok, is a notion derived from the Illyrian-Thracian linguistic fund.¹⁰⁰⁷ Meanwhile, the village of Brisalic also appears in the Ottoman material of 1485, the location of which remains a controversial issue, but since it appears as a dependency of Žabljak, it may have been located in the Zeta plain. Here, in addition to names in Albanian such as *Lula*, *Kola*, *Lekza* and *Prenç*, another category appears such as *Dukça*, *Stakaç*, *Papas*, *Mlosa*, *Krift*,

¹⁰⁰³ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485, vëllimi I, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 366

¹⁰⁰⁴ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485, vëllimi I, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 373; The village of Vranj is still an environment where Albanians live, although their number constitutes a third of the total population.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485, vëllimi I, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, pages 134-135

¹⁰⁰⁶ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović – Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića, Druga sveska, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2. Sarajevo 1973, p.146

¹⁰⁰⁷ Petar Skok, Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika. Knjiga prva, A-J, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zagreb 1971, pages 637-638

Preza, Olana, Pogon and Vojgo,¹⁰⁰⁸ which in the given form can hardly be identified ethnically, although some of them have similarities with Duka, Prift, Prekza and Progon in Albanian.

In relation to science, the data listed above take on additional importance, especially when they correspond or combine with the arguments derived from other auxiliary disciplines of history, one of which is toponymy. Thus, in the village of Balabani, Montenegrin literature confirms the presence of several microtoponyms such as *Boromade, Gomnječi, Daljevac, Bišćan, Đečevića livade, Marmulje, Mati and Štremeno*,¹⁰⁰⁹ which can hardly be classified as Slavic expressions, while Albanian, for most of them, as a possible source provides the notions *burrmadh, dal, bishë, mat, shterminë* as well as the masculine anthroponym *Gjeç*. In this context, the information that similar forms appear even within the current Albanian depths, such as *Bishqem, Bishan, Mat, Shtermen, etc.*,¹⁰¹⁰ may be relevant. Moreover, very close to the aforementioned village, there are some old tombs, which the Montenegrin ethnographer Andrija Jovičević describes as the remains of an old people, most likely the Illyrians, since according to him, their descendants, the Albanians, still choose the hills today to raise the graves. One of them is called *Arbanaška glavica*.¹⁰¹¹

Microtoponyms which seem to have been created according to Albanian notions also appear in Grbavci, a village that lies on the left side of the lower course of the River Morača. As concrete cases, the notions *Brnjezeza, Grope, Lješava, Grate, Mali lepur, Res, Sotnice, Stari ćen, Ujkoviće, Fundine and Fuše* can be listed,¹⁰¹² which although sometimes mixed with suffixes or Slavic words, can be seen that they were built according to the expressions in Albanian *brinjezeza, grope, lesh, gratë, mali lepur, rreth, sot, qen, ujk, fundinë and fushë*.¹⁰¹³ Something similar also appears in the village of *Berislavci*, where some parts of the land are known through

¹⁰⁰⁸ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485, vëllimi I*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, page 385; Within the register of 1485, the presence of anthroponyms in Albanian can also be seen in the village of Goriçani, although in a single case. It is mentioned the name Doda. (ibid., page 376)

¹⁰⁰⁹ Раде Стаматовић, *Ономастика Зете*. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, page 25-26

¹⁰¹⁰ Bishqem – west of Elbasan; Bishan in the district of Fier; Shtermen - below Cerrik, Mat - the region east of Kruja.

¹⁰¹¹ Андрија Јовичевић, *Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро*. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 40. „Највише су се гомиле оджале на истоку до Голубоваца и Балабања. Ту су велике земљане гомиле: Арбанаска, Лушка и Аговића главица. Оне су дело неког старог народа, можда старих илира, чије потомство, Арбанаси, и данас воли да подиже гробља на хумцима и брежуљцима.“ (ibid., page 40).

¹⁰¹² Toponyms collected by Rade Stamatović. (Раде Стаматовић, *Ономастика Зете*. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, page 110-111)

¹⁰¹³ About the microtoponymy Fundina Eqrem Çabej writes that it is an Albanian treatment of the Latin word fundus. For more information, see: Eqrem Çabej, *Studime gjuhësore IV, botim i dytë*, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1987, p.202.

the notions of *Valeza*, *Gornje Špate*, *Raneze*, and *Ispod Gureze*,¹⁰¹⁴ microtoponyms that basically have the words *valeza*, *shpat*, *ranëza*, and *gureza* from the Albanian language fund. Almost attached to the last village lies another inhabited locality, called *Bijelo Polje*, where, as in the cases given above, Albanian notions such as *Gureške livade*, *Vija*, *Donje Špate*, *Prekače* and *Bušat* are distinguished,¹⁰¹⁵ which seem to have been formed based on the words *gur*, *vija*, *shpat* and the anthroponym *Prekë*. As for the last microtoponym, it is very likely to be a remnant of an old human line, also called *Bushat*, who are mentioned in the charter of the monastery of *Dečan* in 1330, as part of an Albanian *katun* (village).¹⁰¹⁶

Although the data presented above appear in the volume, today's territory of Zeta also hides other microtoponyms which say that until a few centuries ago, the structure of people may have had different nuances compared to now. Thus, in the village of *Golubovci*, there are several pieces of land called *Gegin grob*, *Donovo polje*, *Zezelja*, *Kiljan Pepića*, *Lekića brijeg*, *Ćosov Brijeg* and *Rog livade*,¹⁰¹⁷ through which an early Albanian presence in the aforementioned locality can be assumed. Regarding the source, it seems clear that the mentioned microtoponyms are based on the anthroponyms *Gega*, *Gjon*, *Pepa*, *Lekë* as well as the words *zeza*, *qos* and *rogë* in Albanian. Then, in the territory where the villages of *Ponari*, *Bistrica* and *Kurilo* lie in a vertical line, there are also a number of places whose names speak in this context. It is about the notions *Ljuteza*, *Amul*, *Ran*, *Šalazi*, *Gureza*, *Lumanovića* and *Gureške ledine*,¹⁰¹⁸ the root of which coincides with the words *luteza*, *amull*, *rana*, *shala*, *gureza* and *lum*, from the linguistic culture of the Albanians.¹⁰¹⁹ Other microtoponyms which are entirely in Albanian, or in

¹⁰¹⁴ Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, page 30-31

¹⁰¹⁵ Toponyms collected by Rade Stamatović. (Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, pages 35-36)

¹⁰¹⁶ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развика брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 98

¹⁰¹⁷ Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, page 57-58

¹⁰¹⁸ Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, pages 38, 39, 74, 100, 101; The surname *Lumanović* corresponds to the surname *Lumani*, which is still found among Albanians today.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Amull* is an Albanian word that means a pool of stagnant water that does not flow. It is considered as a word formed within Albanian. (Kolec Topalli, Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p.98)

symbiosis with Slavic, are the following: *Baljin potok* and *Pasmale* in Dajbabe village; *Grope*, *Maraševina*, *Ćeta*, *Cukalj*, *Šaleza* and *Sukmara* in the Vukovci settlement, etc.¹⁰²⁰

However, unlike the onomastic information that was discussed above, based on which the early presence of Albanians in the territory of Zeta can be ascertained, the data that come from the collective memory are fundamental to point out a non-Serbian component within the current structure of people. A century ago, the aforementioned Montenegrin researcher Andrija Jovičević had recorded a number of inherited memories that speak volumes in the context of the topic. Thus, according to the information collected from the people by him, the Dobrovići bloodline, which is found in the villages of Bistrica and Ponari, is said to be of early origin from Albania, but without knowing from which region exactly.¹⁰²¹ The bloodlines Kaluđerović, Mirković, Mijatović, Lešperović and Galijati, who inhabit the villages of Mataguži, Šušunja and Golubovci, also have a similar story.¹⁰²² The collective Montenegrin memory tells that the five mentioned lines were formed by a single ancestor, who from the tribal region of Kelmendi had early gravitated towards Zeta.¹⁰²³ Whereas, the Vujacići and Krstovići relatives, who populate the villages of Gošiće, Mahala, Mojanovići and Golubovići, are originally from Vuksanlekaj of Hoti,¹⁰²⁴ where the latter are still Albanians today.

According to Montenegrin narratives, preserved and fanatically transmitted from one generation to another, one of the largest human communities in the Zeta plain, called Maraši, which has as its habitat the villages of Mataguži, Bijelo Polje, Mitrovići, Kurilo, Mahala and Vukovci,¹⁰²⁵ is also held to be of old origin from Hoti.¹⁰²⁶ Their displacement from the Albanian

¹⁰²⁰ Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, page, 46-48, 115; From the words, expressions or anthroponyms: balë, pasmali, gropë, Marash, qeta, cukel, shalëza and sukë mara.

¹⁰²¹ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 126; Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, p. 98

¹⁰²² Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, p.126. According to Andrija Jovičević, the Kaluđerovici bloodline extended to the villages of Mataguži and Šušanj, while the other bloodlines Mirkovići, Mijatovići, Lešperovići and Galijati are from the village of Golubovci. (ibid., p. 126)

¹⁰²³ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 126; A branch of the Kaluđerovici bloodline can also be found in the village of Berislavci, who also keep the memory that they came from Kelmendi. „По предању, досељени веома давно из Климента у Албанији. Кажу да су род са истоименом породицом у Љуботињу, као оним у осталим зетским селима.“ (Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, p. 29)

¹⁰²⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 127. The Vujačići bloodline is spread over the villages of Golubovići, Mahala and Gošići, while the Krstovići bloodline populates the settlements of Mojanovići and Golubovići. (ibid., p. 127)

¹⁰²⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, p.127

territory is thought to be likely within the time interval between the 16th and 17th centuries, to first settle in the village of Mitrovići,¹⁰²⁷ while later they gravitate towards the other settlements mentioned above. This narrative also corresponds with the collective memory of the northern Albanians, according to whom the current Montenegrin Maraš bloodline originates from the village of Bardhaj of Hoti, while they are considered a separate branch of the Dedvukaj bloodline.¹⁰²⁸ However, the first detailed records of the aforementioned line seem to have been provided by Andrija Jovičević, who, about a century earlier, described the Marashi kinship as a large community that owned 95 houses, a relatively large number for that time.¹⁰²⁹ The positive trend of their reproduction gradually created another social situation; the need for closer identification, which then produced new branches which formed secondary surnames. Thus, the Bakić, Niković, Blagović, Lalić, Babić, Čabović, and Marović family communities, which lie in the villages of the lower Zeta, are considered part of the Maraši community.¹⁰³⁰ In relation to their cultural and linguistic affiliation, it may be relevant that the appellative of this community is built based on the Albanian name Marash.

Gostile village is another inhabited unit where the collective memory speaks in favour of the presence of the ethnic Albanian element during the historical journey of its population. There are three bloodlines, named Prenkić, Skobaljević and Markipović, who, judging by their inherited memories, have come from the depths of present-day Albania.¹⁰³¹ In the same environment, it is said that another community once lived, called Ujković, which is believed to have been extinct (*izumrla bratstva*).¹⁰³² Judging from the etymological aspect, it seems that the four groups are not named according to the Slavic linguistic tradition, in fact two of them derive

¹⁰²⁶ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, p.127

¹⁰²⁷ Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, p.34

¹⁰²⁸ Informant: Palokë Zefi Nicaj from Hoti.

¹⁰²⁹ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 96

¹⁰³⁰ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 127; Раде Стаматовић, Ономастика Зете. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, pages 33-34; Вукота Миљанић & Аким Миљанић, Презимена у Црној Гори. Београдска Књига. Београд 2002, p.24, 27-470

¹⁰³¹ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 147; Andrija Jovičević writes that these communities are held for arrivals in Zeta from Hoti, but adds that their most distant origin is from the village of Ulići in Riječka Nahija. (ibid. p. 147). Although this additional information has shortcomings because it is not remembered that any colony from Riječka Nahija lived in Hoti, even if it is taken for granted, the fact that the village of Ulici lies in the Ceklin-Đinovici-Arbanasi triangle, an environment where the presence of Albanians has been evidenced in the documentary sources of the 13th century. Not including the large number of microtoponyms in Albanian in that area. For more, consult the chapter on Riječka Nahija.

¹⁰³² Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 95

from the anthroponyms Prenk and Ujk,¹⁰³³ while for the notion Skobalj, the Croatian linguist Petar Skok is of the opinion that it is part of the fund of pre-Slavic expressions.¹⁰³⁴ Meanwhile, with the passage of time and perhaps due to their numerical growth, a part of the Skobaljević and Markipović communities split off, creating new surnames, such as Martinović and Ulić but without cutting off the relationship with the rest.¹⁰³⁵ In addition, in the Zeta plain, according to Montenegrin traditions, there are also communities originating from the Albanian tribe of Gruda, such as the *Ivezići line* in Dajbabe¹⁰³⁶ and the Radičevići bloodline in the village of Goričani.¹⁰³⁷

The data from the common folk memory presented above, which talk about the past of the current Montenegrin lines and their origin from the Albanian territory or tribal societies, are not the only findings in this context. Thus, in the village of Balabani, the Kukuličić family is considered to have come from Albania, while the time of their arrival in the current environment is thought to be around the 16th century.¹⁰³⁸ Later, a part of the tribal society of Kelmendi seems to have gravitated towards the Zeta plain, whose descendants, although ethnically merged, have preserved the memory of their fathers' origins. This includes the Mirkovići, Mijatovići, Lešterovići, Galijaši and Rakovići kinships in the village of Golubovci,¹⁰³⁹ the Kaluđerovići bloodline in the villages of Mataguži and Šušunja,¹⁰⁴⁰ as well as the Perezīci community in the Vukovci settlement.¹⁰⁴¹

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Montenegrin researcher Andrija Jovičević, among other valuable records, also presents a statistical overview of the origin of the population within the region under discussion. According to him, within the villages of the Zeta plain (*not counting the town of Podgorica*), a century ago there were 456 houses that were held as those of

¹⁰³³ Ujk (wolf) in Albanian means a wild animal (Alb.Ujk – Srb.Vuk). However, it is also used as a human name in the forms Ujk, Ujkan, Ukë, etc.

¹⁰³⁴ Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga treća, Poni- Ž, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zagreb 1973, page 262)

¹⁰³⁵ Rade Stamatović, *Onomastika Zete*. Filip Visnjic-Sabor Zete, Beograd-Golubovci 1994, p.70-72

¹⁰³⁶ Андрија Јовичевић, *Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро*. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 128

¹⁰³⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, *Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро*. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 128; The Ljulić bloodline also lives in the village of Goričani, who came in the middle of the 20th century from Dračevica of Shestan. (Раде Стаматовић, *Ономастика Зете*. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994, page 63)

¹⁰³⁸ Раде Стаматовић, *Ономастика Зете*. Филип Вишњић & Сабор Зете. Београд – Голубовци 1994,, page 18

¹⁰³⁹ Андрија Јовичевић, *Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро*. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 126

¹⁰⁴⁰ Андрија Јовичевић, *Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро*. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 126

¹⁰⁴¹ Андрија Јовичевић, *Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро*. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 150

the arrivals from Albania, a figure that translated into 26.5% of the total population.¹⁰⁴² However, this is only a partial calculation, since the given figure does not include the Albanian element that may have moved there from other geographical units, which at that time were not described within the borders of Albania. For example, Jovičević writes that 11.5% of the population of Zeta was formed by the arrivals from Lješanska Nahija,¹⁰⁴³ which, judging by the collective memory, consisted to a dominant degree of the descendants of a colony that came from Lezha. Beyond that, the Montenegrin ethnologist mentioned above counts about 9.05% of the total population of Zeta as people coming from Kuči,¹⁰⁴⁴ without taking into consideration that precisely in Kuči the Albanian component is more distinct than in any other Montenegrin region. Furthermore, the old local Albanian element, which is encountered not infrequently in written sources during the last centuries of the Middle Ages, is not summarized in its statistical overview. Judging from this perspective, the number of people whose origin can be connected in one way or another with the Albanians, in the Zeta area must be greater than the figure given by the researcher Jovičević. However, in the current region of Zeta, there was once an old tribal community, called Mataguži, which will be discussed in another following special chapter.

4.2 Lješkopolje

Although in a broad sense this geographical unit is considered part of Zeta, the reason that in different time periods it also appears as a separate administrative territory, in the form of a captaincy, Balkan literature in most cases treats it separately.¹⁰⁴⁵ As a region, it encompasses a rather narrow area, consisting of nine settlements,¹⁰⁴⁶ which the course of the River Morača sharply separates from the Zeta plain. In the report of Mariano Bolizza, from the year 1614, the region of Lješkopolje appears recorded with 387 hearths of houses,¹⁰⁴⁷ a demographic situation which seems not to have changed in the following centuries. In this context narrate the studies of

¹⁰⁴² Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 154

¹⁰⁴³ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 154

¹⁰⁴⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 154

¹⁰⁴⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999. p. 11

¹⁰⁴⁶ The settlements are: Momišići, Vranići, Lužani, Tološi, Gornja i Donja Gorica, Donji Kokoti, Lekići and Grbovci. (Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999. p.13)

¹⁰⁴⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999. p. 101

Montenegrin ethnographer Andrija Jovičević, who in the first half of the 20th century described the aforementioned region as a populated area of 407 houses, with an average of 51 buildings per village.¹⁰⁴⁸

The Ottoman statistical summaries of the 16th century, which tell a lot about the demographic character of the area, also provide some information on the presence of an Albanian element within the aforementioned region, which are assessed pursuant to the anthroponyms that appear. Thus, in the 1523 register, in the part called *Piranići* of Grbovci village, among the 23 houses, one of them appears as the property of *Marin Ćin*.¹⁰⁴⁹ Although Slavic names seem to dominate, within this village there are also registered males such as *Duka Mihalj*, *Vučin Kole*, *Borko Duka*, *Vučeta Lješ* and *Vita*,¹⁰⁵⁰ whose names or patronyms are scientifically interpreted outside Serbian ethnic boundaries. While linguistic research says that Kolë and Lesh are of Albanian origin and Vita from Latin, in the case of the surname Duka, an additional interpretation is needed. First, the form expressed without the characteristic Serbian suffixes and secondly the absence of this anthroponym among other Slavic peoples, are arguments that may have relevance. On the other hand, although in the historical materials the word Duka also means a type of Latin title that names a socio-political position, the dense and continuous presence of this notion among Albanians as a human name, raises the need for a more detailed examination if the title and anthroponyms have the same source, or are we talking about autonomous creations and coincidence phenomenon. However, the researcher Muhamet Tërnavë includes the anthroponym Duka in the community of unique names among Albanians,¹⁰⁵¹ a conclusion that seems to have a slight support in documentary sources. Thus, in the Ottoman register of 1485, the name Duka appears in Pobrezhan in Hoti as the son of Gjergji, in Shosh¹⁰⁵² as the father of Gjon, in the village of Içpaja in Kelmendi as the son of Petri, in the settlement of Grizha in Shkodra a Deda Duka, in Sredna Cerna Gonja of Peja as the son of Gjini, in Bukmirë of

¹⁰⁴⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999. p. 100

¹⁰⁴⁹ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović – Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića, Druga sveska, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, p. 90; Павле Радушиновић, Становништво и насеља зетске равнице од најстаријег до новог доба. Књига друга, НИП „Универзитетска Рипеч“, Никшић 1991, p. 46,

¹⁰⁵⁰ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender Bega Crnojevića, Druga sveska, Akademija Nauke i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna Izdanja, Knjiga IX/2.Sarajevo 1973, p. 89-90

¹⁰⁵¹ Muhamet Ternava, Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XIV-XVI, Instituti albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1995, page 132

¹⁰⁵² The small tribal region, lying in the southern direction of Shala in the north of present-day Albania.

Petrishpan a Gjergj Duka,¹⁰⁵³ these environments are almost entirely Albanian in terms of anthroponymy. However, despite this, the possibility that this notion originally meant a term of aristocracy, but that over time was adapted by humanity as a human name, cannot be explicitly excluded from the discourse, although approximate examples are difficult to find. This is because Slavic and Ottoman political titles have usually not turned into people's names among Albanians, where, even if the name Duka was created according to the title, due to the reason that this phenomenon was not manifested among the peoples whose first language is Slavic, it can be understood as an Albanian name formed later according to a borrowed notion.

Meanwhile, in addition to anthroponymy, the other scientific discipline that provides other relevant data on the presence of the old Albanians within the boundaries of the region is toponymy. Thus, in the village of Donji Kokoti, in addition to other names, the following also appear, *Đalačka*, *Kamakeć*, *Čungor* and *Tulje*,¹⁰⁵⁴ which have an exact or quite approximate meaning in Albanian,¹⁰⁵⁵ while it is difficult to find something concurrent in Slavic. An approximate example also appears in the locality mentioned above, in Grbovci, within which there is an area called Fuše, which in relation to the linguistic affiliation can hardly be contested as a source in Albanian, moreover as a word it continues to be in use by Albanians even at this time.¹⁰⁵⁶

The data listed up to here take on an additional meaning, especially when taking into account the narratives that come from the plane of collective memory from the Montenegrin society itself. Thus, according to inherited memories, one of the largest communities of the

¹⁰⁵³ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*. Akademia e shkencave e R.P. të Shqipërisë, Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1974, pages 127, 151, 190, 432, 403 and 404.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Павле Радушиновић, *Становништво и насеља зетске равнице од најстаријег до новог доба*. Књига друга, НИП „Универзитетска Ријеч“, Никшић 1991, p.43-44.

¹⁰⁵⁵ The word *çung* appears in the writings of Pjeter Budi and Frang Bardhi. In addition to the entire Albanian territory, it also appears among the Arbëresh people in Calabria. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*. C-D. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë, Tiranë 2016, page 66); *Kamakeć* seems to be a cross between the northern form of the word *këmbë* (*kamë*) (leg) associated with the expression *keq* (bad) in Albanian; *Đalacka* is next to the Albanian words *Gjallë* or *Djall*, while for the notion *Tulje*, Albanian provides as a possibility the word *tul*, which means a soft inner part. According to Kolec Topalli, the latter is an auspicious word of the Albanian language, most likely inherited from the fund i.e. (Kolec Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe*. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p. 1498)

¹⁰⁵⁶ Idriz Ajeti wrote about the Albanian origin of the word *Fusha* in one of his scientific publications. (Idriz Ajeti, *Prolog proučavanju međusobnih sptarsko-srpskih Jezičkih odnosa*, *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, Fakulteti filozofik i Prishtinës, Katedra Albanologjike, Numër 2, Prishtinë 1965, page 54); The word “*fusha*” (field) is also mentioned in Gjon Buzuku in 1555 (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes*, IV, DH-J, Akademia e Shkencave të Republikës së Shqipërisë, Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë, Tiranë 1996, page 229)

Lješkopolje region named Mugoša may have had an early origin from the depths of the Albanian territory, derivatively from the Kastrati region according to the ethnographer Pavel Rovinski.¹⁰⁵⁷ Moreover, this folk story was later recorded by Andrija Jovičević, who wrote that the aforementioned community, in his time, constituted a fairly large community, with 74 inhabited houses, most of which were located in the villages of Donja Gorica, with small branches in Tološi, Zabjelo and Vukovci of Zeta.¹⁰⁵⁸ According to the narrated history, the founder of this bloodline, apart from originating from Kastrati, is also said to have been related by blood to the Kastrioti Albanian feudal family. He is believed to have had three male children, two of whom later founded the Mugoša and Popovići bloodlines, while the third one founded the Omerčehaići community, who after 1878 emigrated somewhere in the depths of present-day Albania.¹⁰⁵⁹ To give more importance to this story is the fact that until recently the aforementioned bloodlines have not married among themselves, due to the belief that they share common ancestors or belong to the same bloodline.¹⁰⁶⁰ However, the records collected by Rovinski and Jovičević seem not to have been read equally in science, since additional and different interpretations appear. In one of his works that touches on the Montenegrin past, Milan Shufflay, unlike the ethnologist Jovičević, derives the Mugoša bloodline from Vlach roots.¹⁰⁶¹ About half a century later, Pavle Radusinović writes that in addition to the story about the descent from Lezha as a line of the Kastrioti family, there are also three folk stories about the origin of this community. According to him, one says that Mugoša is a colony that came from the Kopilje region in Piper, the second

¹⁰⁵⁷ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, подгорица 1998, page 58

¹⁰⁵⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 121

¹⁰⁵⁹ „Мугоше у Доњој Горици, Толошима, Забјелу и Вуковцима један су род и воде заједничко порекло из Кастрата. По уверавању претставника овог братства, њихов је родоначелник био ближни род Ђорђу Кастриоти и отуда је побегао због убиства и населио се Доњу Горицу. Имао је три сина. Један се потурчио и населио у Жабљаку, и од онога су Омерчехаићи, жабљачко братство, које је по ослобођењу Жабљака 1878 г. напустио овај крај и одселило се у Арбанију. Од другог су сина Поповићи у Љешкопољу, а од трећег Мугоши. Сродство са Поповићима потврђује се и тиме, што се Мугоши и Поповићи и данас не жене међусобно.“ (Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 121)

¹⁰⁶⁰ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 122; There are two other stories about the origins of the Popovići bloodline. According to one, this community came from Čevo, while the other from Žabljak. Andrija Jovičević, after examining the materials, rejects both, siding with the theory of common origin with the Mugoša. (Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 122). Popovići branch was originally located in the upper part of the village of Momisici, but later increased in number and spread in all directions. Among them are the Šestići, Stijovići and Popovići families in Podgorica, while there are also in Morača, Rijeka and Ulcinj. (ibid., page 122)

¹⁰⁶¹ Milan Shufflay, Serbet dhe Shqiptarët. Rilindja, Prishtine 1968, page 168

from Wallachia and the third puts the territory of Kosovo as a possibility of origin.¹⁰⁶² Now, from all the options given, it is understood that this community can hardly be related to any Serbian environment, so the research should focus on Albanian and Wallachian theories of origin.

Pursuant to the common folk memory, it seems that the cases given above are not the only ones within the region that talk about a different affiliation of the residents, first in terms of geography and then perhaps also according to the ethnic point of view, compared to the current feeling they have. According to Rovinski, the population in Gornji Kokoti is said to be of Albanian origin,¹⁰⁶³ while in the village of Momišići, the Đekići line considers itself as a community originating from Orahovo of Kuči,¹⁰⁶⁴ a village which is thought to have been Serbized quite late. The first of them was called *Đeka Ljakov*,¹⁰⁶⁵ for which the fact that this anthroponym appears only in the Montenegrin regions where the Albanian component is quite powerful may be relevant; it does not appear widely in the Slavic world, while in Albanian tribal communities it continues to be used even today. Meanwhile, in the fund of data from the collective memory, there is also a story, according to which the Boljevići community that populates the villages of Gornja Gorica and Momisići, but also in Balabanji, Srpska and Golubovci in the lower Zeta, came from the coastal centre of Lezha.¹⁰⁶⁶ Apart from them, the Milići lines in Donja Gorica and Vukčevići in Lješanska nahija also appear in the depths of the region, which are considered as branches of a substrate with the Boljevići community, that is, they share the same core and this means that their ancestors also gravitated from Lezha towards the present Montenegrin territory.¹⁰⁶⁷

¹⁰⁶² Павле Радушиновић, Становништво и насеља зетске равнице од најстаријег до новог доба. Књига друга, НИП „Универзитетска Ријеч“, Никшић 1991, page 31; According to the linguist Petar Skok, the word “kopil” is a Balkan linguistic relic, the source of which must be sought in Illyrian-Thracian, moreover, it has been preserved in its most original form among Albanians (Idriz Ajeti, Studime per gjuhen shqipe, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve e Kosovës, Botime te vecanta CLXI, Sesioni i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë, Libri 57, Prishtinë 2017, page 570)

¹⁰⁶³ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1, ЦИД, подгорица 1998, page 58

¹⁰⁶⁴ Павле Радушиновић, Становништво и насеља зетске равнице од најстаријег до новог доба. Књига друга, НИП „Универзитетска Ријеч“, Никшић 1991, page 19

¹⁰⁶⁵ Павле Радушиновић, Становништво и насеља зетске равнице од најстаријег до новог доба. Књига друга, НИП „Универзитетска Ријеч“, Никшић 1991, page 19

¹⁰⁶⁶ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, pages 125-126; Павле Радушиновић, Становништво и насеља зетске равнице од најстаријег до новог доба. Књига друга, НИП „Универзитетска Ријеч“, Никшић 1991, page 22

¹⁰⁶⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 25

5. COAST - PRIMORJE

5.1 Kotor

In the legal provisions summarized in four volumes, known as the medieval charters of Kotor, for which there are opinions in science that they were created starting from the fourteenth century, in addition to the rules that were based on the determination of the social order within the city walls, there appeared also data that speak indirectly about the ethnic composition of the area. It is about an excerpt where it is said that the Kotor order forces can use violence against Albanians, Slavs and Vlachs, in case the latter commit crimes and the witnesses cannot provide evidence to prove the accusation.¹⁰⁶⁸ In another provision within this same legal material, Albanians and Slavs are mentioned again, where their beating by citizens of Kotor was forbidden without having any evidence on the mistakes or injustices committed.¹⁰⁶⁹ According to this, it is understood that the Albanians who in the 14th century lived very close to it and there was felt the need to describe their rights in relation to the population and the authorities within the city walls. Since, within this volume (*which was continuously complemented until 1425 and was printed until the 18th century*)¹⁰⁷⁰ the Albanians never deviated from the legal norms, then it can be understood that their presence in the district of Kotor had a consistency until later.

However, it seems that the Kotor charters are not the earliest materials in which the Albanian cultural and linguistic element appears. The Croatian researcher Milan Shufflay writes in his works that the presence of Albanians was noticed even a century before in the settlements along the sea line up to the vicinity of Dubrovnik, including the area around Kotor.¹⁰⁷¹ There is a good chance that, among others, he had used two documents, the one dated 14 July 1284, in which the Albanians appeared as part of a judicial dispute in the village of Belen, as well as records from the year 1297 that talk about the presence of the Burmazi bloodline, more or less in

¹⁰⁶⁸ Стојан Новаковић, Законски споменици српских држава средњег века. Српска Краљевска Академија. Београд 1912, page 3. "*Et si aliquis forensis seu Arbanensis, Sclavus vel Vlachus interfecerit aliquem civem Catharensem et testibus non potuerit probari, "comes et iudices" habentes Deum pre oculis possunt ipsum, Arbanensem, Sclavum vel Vlachum poni facere ad tormentum.....ut veritas cognoscatur". (Ibid., p.3)*

¹⁰⁶⁹ Стојан Новаковић, Законски споменици српских држава средњег века. Српска Краљевска Академија. Београд 1912, page 3

¹⁰⁷⁰ Стојан Новаковић, Законски споменици српских држава средњег века. Српска Краљевска Академија. Београд 1912. page 16

¹⁰⁷¹ Milan Shufflay, Serbet dhe Shqiptarët. Rilindja, Prishtine 1968, page 169

the same territory. Based on the documents listed so far, as well as other materials that will be discussed below, it is likely that the theories of the researchers Konstantin Jireček and Ivan Božić, who in their works on the area wrote about the presence of Albanians since the 13th-14th centuries around the region of Kotor, were also developed.¹⁰⁷²

In the descriptions of the French monk Guilelm Adae, published in 1332 in Latin under the title *Directorium ad passagium faciendum ultra mare*,¹⁰⁷³ something more is understood about the demography of the area. It is about a written piece where, among other things, it is said, "Latins have six cities. The first is Bar, the city of the archdiocese, then Kotor, Ulcinj, Shas (Svač), Shkodra and Drisht. These are populated only by Latins, but outside their walls, in the entire diocese, the population is Albanian." (*Latini habent sex civitates cum suis episcopis: prima Antibarum, archiepisc: opalem; deinde Catarensem, Dulcedinensem, Suacinensem, Scutarenssem et Drivascensem, quas quidem soli Latini inhabitant, populus vero earum sunt Albanenses in tota ipsarum diocesi extra muros*).¹⁰⁷⁴ Although this record seems to be flawed, since cities and regions are explicitly treated as mono-ethnic environments, the document cannot be stripped of its importance. Adae may have overlooked the mention of Slavic or Vlach communities in the surroundings of Kotor and Bar, but he cannot have invented the presence of Albanians in any of them. Therefore, this material is an added value which argues the population of the territories around Kotor by Albanians, alongside other ethnic groups.

The presence of Albanians and their participation in the social and political life of Kotor during the 14th century is also distinct from another point of view. Thus, in 1361, as part of the city's legal hierarchy, a judicial body called *comites Sclavorum* appeared, which, in addition to other administrative tasks, had the task of distributing justice to the Slavs, Vlachs and Albanians

¹⁰⁷² Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна књига, Београд, 1952, page 34; „ Арбанаски сељаци налазе се у XIII и XIV веку не само око зетских градова и Котора већ и у околини Дубровника.” (Иван Божић, Албанија и Арбанаси у XIII, XIV и XV веку. Глас CCCXXXVIII. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Београд 1983, page 18)

¹⁰⁷³ Petar Matković, Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku za srednjega veka. Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Knjiga XLII. Zagreb 1878, p.158; The researcher Marković refers to the author of this work under the name Brochard, who for a while was considered to be its author. However, after finding the original work in Latin, this information was corrected by the scientific community, it was determined that the author of this work was the monk Guilelmus Adae, most likely born in France. For more information: Milan Shufflay, Izabrani eseji, prikazi i članci. Izabrali i pripremili za tisak: Darko Sagrak i Musa Ahmeti. Nakladnik: Darko Sagrak, Zagreb 1999, page 84.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Monumenta Montenegrina, Knjiga XI, Istorijski Institut Crne Gore, Podgorica 2006, page 251

(*arbanenses*).¹⁰⁷⁵ The emergence of the need for a judicial body to describe the work of judging Albanians shows that the latter were a large community that had forced the authorities to deal with them legally. Moreover, if Albanians had a minor presence in this environment, most likely the cases of violations would be few in number, so they would hardly be dealt with in the legal summaries, much less described as an obligation of a legislative body.

In the written historical materials of the 15th century, the Albanians in the collective context appeared again. It was the year 1409, when the high council of the city had ordered the uprooting of the vineyards in the region of Grbalj, a flat territory between Budva and Kotor, which was said to be populated by Albanians and Slavs.¹⁰⁷⁶ In the war of Konavlje (1430-1432), between the medieval feudal lord Radoslav Pavlović and the Republic of Dubrovnik, Albanians from Luštica (*albanensis de Liustica*),¹⁰⁷⁷ a small peninsula near Kotor, are also mentioned as part of the forces recruited by the latter. About two decades later, in 1451, the Albanians appeared again, with a large number of them, who were also considered as "traitors of the Lordship", had put the population inside the walls of Kotor in difficulty.¹⁰⁷⁸ Pursuant to these letters it is understood that it was impossible for anyone who left the city not to be robbed, captured, or killed by them. It seems that this situation changed only with the intervention of the military troops of Herceg Stefan, who defeated them in battle, while the captured prisoners were sentenced to hanging in front of the city walls.¹⁰⁷⁹ According to Montenegrin historiography, the rebels were Albanians from the villages of Grbalj,¹⁰⁸⁰ a flat region between Kotor and Budva. In this case, it was hardly a matter of confusion of notions, since within this territory the Albanians also appeared in previous documents.

In addition to the data listed so far, findings from the scientific discipline of anthroponymy speak in favour of presence and life of Albanians in the territory of Kotor. Thus,

¹⁰⁷⁵ Константин Лиречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна књига, Београд, 1952, р. 87

¹⁰⁷⁶ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, p.208

¹⁰⁷⁷ DAD, Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 173; Jahja Drançolli, Prania e shqiptarëve në Raguzë gjatë shekujve XIII-XV, Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e shkencave historike, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1987, page 51

¹⁰⁷⁸ Иван Божић, Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, page 224

¹⁰⁷⁹ Иван Божић, Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, page 224

¹⁰⁸⁰ Иван Божић, Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, page 224

on the second day of November, year 1335, in separate agreements two blood brothers are mentioned, apparently, named *Guinneç* and *Ion Scoromirich* (*alb. Gjinec and Gjon*), who are described as men from the region of Gerbal.¹⁰⁸¹ Four years later, on 25 January 1337, a Marin Gjoni (*Marini Gonni de Cataro*) is mentioned, who according to the patronym may have been Albanian in the ethnic sense.¹⁰⁸² There are cases of this type in the following century, where one of the concrete examples is dated 15 July 1431. It is about a lease agreement for several plots of land in Levanj near the village of Škaljari, in which *Đin Petkovic* is mentioned as a contracting party.¹⁰⁸³ Around the same time, that is, in a document of the 15th century, a *Gurcho Urda* appears in Kotor, whose surname Milan Shufflay says derives from Albanian or Wallachian.¹⁰⁸⁴ The Albanian linguist Idriz Ajeti dealt more extensively with this notion, moreover he listed it within the linguistic fund of the Albanian language,¹⁰⁸⁵ although it also appears in the late Romanian. However, this is not the only case of patronyms of this type that Shufflay focused on, always regarding the area around Kotor. Furthermore, the Croatian albanologist also mentions a *Pantho de Briza*, where he writes that a similar surname also appears in the registry of the cadastre and concessions of Shkodra in 1416, alluding to a connection between them.¹⁰⁸⁶ In the form of a supplement, the upper settlements of the deep mountainous region of Merturi are called Briza,¹⁰⁸⁷ without neglecting the exact meaning that this word has in current Albanian.¹⁰⁸⁸ However, a century later, in 1593, a Nikola Arbanas (*Arbanassin da Parzagna*) is also

¹⁰⁸¹ Antun Mayer, *Kotorski spomenici. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337*. Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, page 323

¹⁰⁸² "25.1.1337. Die XXV mensis ianuarii. Ego Gradišlauus, filius Marini Gonni de Cataro, confiteor me debere dare Rambaldo Bono de Venetis perperos quadringentos Venetos de presenti viagio usque ad IIII menses proxime venturos sub pena de quinque in sex per annum super me et omnia bona mea." (Antun Mayer, *Kotorski spomenici. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337*. Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, page 364)

¹⁰⁸³ Risto Kovijanić - Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek. Knjiga I. Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 27

¹⁰⁸⁴ Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968*, page 169

¹⁰⁸⁵ Idriz Ajeti, *Për historinë e marrëdhënjëve të hershme gjuhësore shqiptare-sllave*. Gjurmime albanologjike, Seria e shkencave filologjike, II-1972, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, page 39

¹⁰⁸⁶ Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968*, page 169

¹⁰⁸⁷ Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968*, page 169

¹⁰⁸⁸ Most likely built from the word bri and the characteristic Albanian suffix -za; The Croatian linguist Henrik Barić, in his studies on the Albanian language, deals with a similar word, brinza, which he says is in Albanian, but which later entered the Romanian lexicon. (Хенрик Барић, Етимолошки и граматични прилози. Архив за арбанаску старину, језик и етнологију. Књига I, Београд 1923, p.143-144)

mentioned, for whom it is known that he had his own house in Kotor,¹⁰⁸⁹ although according to the description it seems that his first habitat was the village of Prcanj.

At the level of collective memory, the data are in a larger volume, and the Albanian component in the current population of Kotor became more visible. One of the biggest contributors to their preservation is Sava Nakićenović, an Orthodox priest born in 1882 in Bosnia, who, although trained as a theologian, collected valuable records in the field, especially in the field of history and ethnology. Pursuant to the folk memories collected, Nakićenović writes that in the district of Kotor there is a large part of the population, which is considered to have come from the area that today is included within the Albanian state. For example, in the small region of Krtolj, which is located between Luštica and Grbalj, and which consists of six villages,¹⁰⁹⁰ almost the entire current population, except for families with the surname Kostići and some other minor cases, is originally from Albania.¹⁰⁹¹ According to the collective memory, their ancestors are said to have settled in that part of the bay sometime around the 16th century.¹⁰⁹² Later, pursuant to the memories collected by Nakićenović, this community experiences a demographic growth, where twenty-five following bloodlines are founded, Antonović, Barbić, Brinić, Bujanović, Đinović, Đurić, Đurišić, Ivošević, Jokić, Kikanović, Klakor, Mijočević, Milešković, Milošević, Milović, Perićić, Perović, Radinović, Rusović, Starčević, Stegić, Šćepančić, Šotković, Vulović and Vuković.¹⁰⁹³

In addition to the settlements in the Krtolj region, oral tradition also speaks of other communities, which are also believed to have come from the depths of the Albanian territory. For example, in the village of Klinci in the region of Luštica, where even in the 13th-14th centuries the written sources speak of the presence of Albanians, the Kršanci bloodline considers itself to have come from Albania.¹⁰⁹⁴ As for their name, there is an etymological confusion,

¹⁰⁸⁹ Risto Kovijanić - Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek. Knjiga I. Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 164

¹⁰⁹⁰ The region of Krtolj has the following villages: Gošić, Radović, Bogišić, Đurasević, Milović and Niković (Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 190)

¹⁰⁹¹ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 191

¹⁰⁹² Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 197-199

¹⁰⁹³ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, pages 195-213

¹⁰⁹⁴ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 96

whether it derives from the Albanian word *gërshanë* (scissors), or the Slavic expression *krš* (karst, rocky). Very close from there, in the village of Babunci, the Rusovići and Palandačić bloodlines are also believed to come from the current Albanian linguistic area.¹⁰⁹⁵ As in the case of the other examples listed above, neither these two communities have any knowledge from which Albanian area or region their ancestors emigrated to the area of Kotor. Perhaps the fact that the notion Babun appears several times within the Albanian territory can be taken into consideration as a starting point to follow their origin, (*if they had a role in the naming of the village*), whereas the same appears as a toponym in the 15th century, in central Albania.¹⁰⁹⁶ However, it is again about an uncertain terrain, because heretical communities were meant with this notion in the area of the southwestern Balkans,¹⁰⁹⁷ and as a toponym it may have been formed autonomously in many places without being related to each other. Nevertheless, the Janović bloodline, which inhabits the village of Mrkovi, also in the territory of Luštica, is also believed to be of Albanian origin.¹⁰⁹⁸

The data from the collective memory also speak of other areas in the territory of Kotor, in which the Albanian component appears within the population. Nakićenović writes that in Stoliv, a residential unit opposite Perast, the Mihović and Dabčević bloodlines are considered to have emigrated from the depths of Albania.¹⁰⁹⁹ In the village of Glavatičić in lower Grbalj, the Dabuško community is said to have come from Shkodra as early as the 15th century.¹¹⁰⁰ From here and further north, lies the Lešević settlement, where the Štilet, Giljace, Marović and Gobović bloodlines hold the memory of their origin from the current Albanian territory.¹¹⁰¹ While in the village of Glavati, which lies in the lower part of Grbalj, one of the communities

¹⁰⁹⁵ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 97

¹⁰⁹⁶ Dhimitër Shuteriqi, *Shënim mbi herezinë mesjetare në Shqipëri*. Studime historike, 1980, nr 2. Akademia e shkencave të RPSSH, Instituti i Historisë, p.206; The notion Babun, in the form of a toponym or microtoponym, appears in the districts of Shkodra, Vlora, Gramsh, Tetovo, Çamëri and Lushnje, where the latter appears since 1431. (ibid., p.206)

¹⁰⁹⁷ Dhimitër Shuteriqi, *Shënim mbi herezinë mesjetare në Shqipëri*. Studime historike, 1980, nr 2. Akademia e shkencave të RPSSH, Instituti i Historisë, p.206

¹⁰⁹⁸ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 96

¹⁰⁹⁹ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 218-219

¹¹⁰⁰ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 362

¹¹⁰¹ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 382

treated within the framework of the old and local population, is the Kruta bloodline.¹¹⁰² In the Albanian language lexicon, this name has a full and correct meaning, while as a notion it is found in many places populated by Albanians, in the form of a toponym, tribe, and surname. For example, a Françesk Kruta in the 17th century held the position of bishop of Shkodra, a little later Lazar Kruta was appointed head of the diocese of Lezha, Doda Kruta was mentioned as a soldier in the service of Venice, while Jan Kruta (1695-1777) held the title of the Dragoman of the English Consulate in Cyprus.¹¹⁰³ In the documents of the 18th century, Pjetër Kruta and Antoi Kruta, who had moved to Poland and put themselves at the service of the country's authorities, are also mentioned. They were held for Albanians, while the latter served for a time the Polish monarchy, more precisely King Stanislaw August Poniatowski, as a translator of eastern languages including the Albanian language.¹¹⁰⁴

However, the data from the collective memory do not end there, moreover, they also narrate the history of some of the communities within the walls of medieval Kotor. There are the Stefanović, Netović and Vučinić bloodlines whose inherited memories speak of descent from Shkodra.¹¹⁰⁵ In addition to them, the Radovani and Bočević families are said to be from the depths of the current Albanian territory, who, as artisans of leather processing, settled late in Kotor.¹¹⁰⁶ The notion that names the last mentioned community appears in the form of an adjective (*Boçi*) even among current Albanians, with a fairly wide presence, however, without additional evidence, it is not possible to talk explicitly about a connection between them. The groups listed above may be those communities which in the works of Slavic researchers are singled out as newly arrived Albanian families in Kotor, which together with other Montenegrin and Italic groups had filled the human deficit within the city.¹¹⁰⁷ Although geographical

¹¹⁰² Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 370

¹¹⁰³ Jan Rejhman, Shqiptarët në Poloninë e vjetër, Konferenca e parë e studimeve albanologjike, Instituti i historisë dhe gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1965, page 519.

¹¹⁰⁴ Jan Rejhman, Shqiptarët në Poloninë e vjetër, Konferenca e parë e studimeve albanologjike, Instituti i historisë dhe gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1965, pages 519-520.

¹¹⁰⁵ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 231

¹¹⁰⁶ Милош И. Милошевић, Прилози за историју заната у Котору. Историјски Записи. Година IX, књига XII, св. 1-2, Цетиње 1956. page 93

¹¹⁰⁷ "О данашњем становништва Котора каже Вуловић ово: У вароши Котору нема данас ни десет старих породица, јер су или изумрле или се раселиле. Данашње которско становништво се састоји делом из талијанских досељеника, који су се настанили као занатлије и трговчици, делом од неких арбанашких и црногорских породица, са којима је придошао не мали број сељана из саме Боке, већином као трговци и

affiliation does not determine ethnicity in every case, moreover, it may seem like a subjective approach in the event that every person who fled from the Albanian territory is also considered as such ethnically, however, it should be considered as the first possibility, until the data does not prove it otherwise. Especially when in the case of the communities listed up to here, the additional data are in favour of Albanian ethnicity affiliation at the beginning. For example, Sava Nakićenović, in his work on the Bay of Kotor, writes that in the folk dress of Luštica and Krtolj, there are Albanian ethnographic nuances, while in daily life the population has other customs.¹¹⁰⁸ In this case, the Albanian cultural remnants are an additional argument in the discussion of whether the arrivals were Albanian or of some other ethnic type. However, a very complicated point in deciphering the origin of today's family lines in Kotor remains the process of changing surnames, a phenomenon noted by the researcher Miloš Milošević, in a scientific paper on the area.¹¹⁰⁹

There are records on the presence of Albanians in the Bay of Kotor also during the second part of the 18th century, but only within close communities and not as a widespread society. For example, in 1773, in a document drawn up on the occasion of a legal dispute in Herceg Novi, a large family of masons, called *mistri goghe* from Risani and Žvinja, appears. Here their main craftsman, Mitar Goga, who had led the works in a church in Bijela, was described as Albanian (*il proto Mitar Goga Albanese, mistro muratore*).¹¹¹⁰ It is thought that some of their descendants, although ethnically merged, still live in the Bay of Kotor. It is talked about several families known by the nickname Goga, whose ancestors, according to the collective memory, were masons who came from Albania.¹¹¹¹ However, despite these data, there is quite a possibility that this community belonged to an Albanianized Vlach line, since the notion of Goga is synonymous with Romanized Balkan communities. According to the linguist

занатлије.” (Јован Ердељановић, Етничко сродство Бокеља и Црногораца. Глас Српске Краљевске Академије. ХСВ. Сарајево 1920, page 44)

¹¹⁰⁸ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 171

¹¹⁰⁹ “*Teškoće su i u mijenjanju prezimena pojedinih porodica. Poznat je slučaj istaknutog peraškog pomorca Marka Martinovića, čija je porodica, izvorno Stjepković, još dvaput mijenjala prezime. Posebno je nedovoljno istražena migracija iz Albanije.*” (Miloš Milošević - Boka Kotorska, Bar i Ulcinj od XV do XVIII vijeka. CID, Podgorica 2008, page 25)

¹¹¹⁰ Петар Д. Шеровић. Одакле су били поријеклом „Mistri Goghe”. Историски Записи. Година VIII, књига XI, св. 1-2. Цетиње 1955, pages 409-410

¹¹¹¹ Петар Д. Шеровић. Одакле су били поријеклом „Mistri Goghe”. Историски Записи. Година VIII, књига XI, св. 1-2. Цетиње 1955, page 410

Peter Skok, this appellative has a chance to be an onomatopoeic expression formed in the Albanian environment,¹¹¹² which if accepted as an assumption, then not only the family of masons that was discussed above, but also individuals like Petar Goga who appears in the documents of Kotor on 10 May 1334,¹¹¹³ may have had as their earliest habitat the current Albanian area,¹¹¹⁴ within which they have gotten such a name. Then, from the Montenegrin scientific literature, it is understood that in Kotor there were also other arrivals from Albania, who landed there to learn the craft of gold processing,¹¹¹⁵ but also with military services against payment as stradiots, always accompanied by their families.¹¹¹⁶

Although rarer compared to some current Montenegrin regions, the Albanian component in the area around Kotor also appears in the field of toponymy. In the southeast of the village of Žanjic in Luštica, a place is called *Arza*,¹¹¹⁷ a name that most likely originates from the Albanian words *arë* or *arrë* and from the suffix *za*, which is a linguistic characteristic of Albanian. In this case, *arza* in Albanian would have the meaning of a small plot of arable land or of a small nut, while as a notion it also appears in the current Albanian environment, where one of the concrete examples is the village of Arza in the region of Hoti.¹¹¹⁸ The hydronym Škurda is another microtoponym, the origin of which can be sought in three languages at the same time. The Albanian language lexicon provides the word *shkurta* (*eng.short, slv.kratko*) which seems to be a

¹¹¹² Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Jezika*. Knjiga prva, A-J, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb, 1971, p. 585

¹¹¹³ “*Ad hec presentibus et consentientibus Petro Goge, hereditario ex parte sue uxoris, et Theodoro Gige hereditario. De hoc autem duo sunt publica et symilia instrumenta*”. (Antun Mayer, *Kotorski spomenici*. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337. Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, page 210)

¹¹¹⁴ In the territories populated by Albanians, the presence of the notion of Goga is a documented phenomenon. It is distinguished in microtoponymy, but also as an appellative that names a community or collective of people. So in the village of Zym of Hasi, there is a place that the people know as Zabeli i Gogëve. (Nikollë Kërhanaj, *Toponimia e Zymit dhe Karashëngjergjit të Hasit*, Gjuha Shqipe 3/2018, Instituti Albanologjik, Prishtinë 2008, page 125); Voskopoja in the south-eastern part of Albania is also known as the land of the Goges (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Jezika*. Knjiga prva, A-J, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb, 1971, p.585); In Ferizaj and Peja there are bloodlines with this surname; In the Ottoman defter (register) of 1485 for the Sanjak of Shkodra, the name Goga appears in Lunik as well as in the village of Sredna Cerna Gonja, Albanian-Latin environments as far as the anthroponymy is concerned. (Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, p.164, 190)

¹¹¹⁵ Павле Мијовић, *Сликаство и примијењена умјетност*. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга. Том 1. Титоград 1970, page 282

¹¹¹⁶ Miloš Milošević - Boka Kotorska, Bar i Ulcinj od XV do XVIII vijeka. CID, Podgorica 2008, pages 51-52

¹¹¹⁷ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 25;

¹¹¹⁸ Informant: Palokë Zefi Nicaj from the village of Arza in the region of Hoti. Born on 28.09.1953. Part of the interview conducted on 02.09.2023 in Tuz, Republic of Montenegro.

possible option, due to the very fact that as a name it is distinguished even within today's Albania,¹¹¹⁹ but it still competes with the words *scurdi* in Italian and *škurde* in Croatian. Meanwhile, there is another complementary argument that favours the first option, which is the fact that the course of this river is very short, which in this case matches the meaning of the notion in Albanian.¹¹²⁰ Then, according to the researcher Predrag Kovačević, one of the microtoponyms in the Grbalj district, which has nothing to do with the Slavic language, is also *Krimalj*, a word that according to him may have survived from the Illyrian society.¹¹²¹ In terms of form, this microtoponym seems quite close to the name of the old Illyrian centre Dimal (*Dimallium*), near Berat. Since linguists who support the theory of Illyrian-Albanian continuity see its source in the expression *dymale* (*due montagne, two mountains, dva brda*),¹¹²² judged by the same standard, the microtoponym *Krimalj* can probably be aligned with Albanian. Meanwhile, the presence of the toponym *Arbanasovici* in the village of Dobrota, which names an area inhabited by the Vulovići bloodline,¹¹²³ expresses a former presence of Albanians within the locality mentioned above. Other microtoponyms that may have been formed according to the Albanian language are the following: *Bujkov do* in Lastva (alb.bujk, eng.farmer) and *Gropeša* (alb.gropë, eng.pit).¹¹²⁴

Based on the data listed so far, it seems that in the settlements around the Bay of Kotor, there was a stratification of Albanians, where two main strata are distinguished. The first consists of the old population which is mentioned in the documents of the 13th century onwards, while the second of the communities, which according to the collective memory are said to have come from present-day Albania, sometime in the 16th century. There is quite a possibility that a minor fraction of them then moved towards Novi (*today Herceg Novi*), since the Ottoman traveller and

¹¹¹⁹ The toponym *Shkurte* exists in Dajç, southwest of Shkodra. (Dom Gaspër Gurakuqi, *Fiset e veriut dhe Dioqezat, Pakti*, Tiranë 2019, page 56); It also appears south of Bar Among Albanians, apart from being a toponym, it is also widely encountered in the form of a surname.

¹¹²⁰ Savo Marković derives the microtoponym *Škurta* in Bar, which constitutes an equivalent example to the one in Kotor, from the Latin word *excurtare*. (Domagoj Vidović, *Pogled u toponimiju Kotorskoga zaljiva*. *Studia lexicographica* 13, 2019, page 117, fus. 98). Although it seems like a remote possibility, in case this assumption is taken as a theory for granted, in order to end up in the current form (*shkurta*), the mediation of Albanians would still be needed.

¹¹²¹ Предраг В. Ковачевић, *Грбаљ – Нјегова прошлост и будућност*. Котор 1964, page 14

¹¹²² Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V*, K-M. Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 275

¹¹²³ Domagoj Vidović, *Pogled u toponimiju Kotorskoga zaljiva*. *Studia lexicographica* 13, 2019, page 116

¹¹²⁴ Domagoj Vidović, *Pogled u Tivatsku toponimiju*. *Studia lexicographica* 14, 2020, page 80; Domagoj Vidović, *Pogled u toponimiju Kotorskoga zaljiva*. *Studia lexicographica* 13, 2019, page 116; The references given are only to show where microtoponyms are found. Assumptions about their source in Albanian are not the opinions of the researcher Vidović.

writer Evliya Çelebi, in the second part of the 17th century, described this city as inhabited mainly by Albanians, Bosniaks and Croats.¹¹²⁵ Regarding the continuity, there are indications that this entire community merged ethnically, since Albanian is no longer spoken around Kotor. Something similar can also be read in the records of the Serbian ethnographer Jovan Cvijić, according to whose opinion, in the region of Boka, the Albanians had undergone the process of assimilation or ethnic merging.¹¹²⁶

5.2 Paštrovići

Until now, most of the influential researchers who have studied Montenegrin history and cultural features share the same opinion that the notion Paštrovići does not belong to the Slavic lexicon.¹¹²⁷ However, in the most in-depth discussions regarding etymology, this community has put forward quite diverse hypotheses, although the two most debated premises are those that assume an Albanian or Latin source of the word. The Serbian researcher Ivan Božić is of the opinion that the source of this appellative is the Latin expression *pastores*,¹¹²⁸ while on the other hand Tatomir Vukanović, Savo Orović and Jovan Vukmanović assume that the name of the region reflects an Albanian influence,¹¹²⁹ moreover the latter as a concrete possibility mentions the notion *pastër* (clean) in Albanian.¹¹³⁰ Apparently, the above theories were raised on the

¹¹²⁵ Evliya Celebi, *Putopis – odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama*. Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1967, p.429

¹¹²⁶ „U Boki su se u turska vremena i docnije u takvoj masi naselili Hercegovci i Crnogorci da su potpuno asimilovali staro zetsko Stanovništvo, mnoge Arbanase i, istina retko, mletačko stanovništvo po gradovima.” (Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije*. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 228); „Isto je tako u toku posledna dva veka posrbljeno dosta arbanasa u jugo-istočnoj Crnoj Gori (Crmnica i Kuči), kao i jugoistočno od Boke Kotorske”. (Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije*. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, p.248);

¹¹²⁷ The old tribal region near the sea line between Bar and Budva. According to Ivan Božić, it extends from Zavala in the east of Budva, to “Cmilove ulice” and Dubovica in the northeast of Spič. (Иван Божић, *Средњовековни Паштровићи*. Историски Часопис. Књига IX-X. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1960, page 151)

¹¹²⁸ Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi Crnogoraca*. Pobjeda. Titograd 1980, page 39

¹¹²⁹ „Утицај арбанаске крви код црногорских племена показују и имена као што су: Матагуџи код данашњег Титограда, Маине уз Приморје, Малоншићи у долини реке Зете, Матаруге, Сотонићи у Црмници и Паштровићи поред мора.” (Саво Оровић, *Сличност фолклора код Арбанаса и Црногораца*, Рад XIV конгреса Савеза фолклориста Југославије у Призрену 1967, Београд 1974, page 480); Tatomir Vukanović, *Terminologija plemenskog društva u Crnoj Gori*. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.207.

¹¹³⁰ „Из наведених података се види да у овој области постојало породично или братственичко име Пастровић, које се могло бити изведено од личног имена Пастро. Ово име и данас постоји код Арбанаса, а постало је од ријечи пастр, што на арбанашком значи чист.” (Јован Вукмановић, *Паштровићи*. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 10)

foundations of the hypothesis of the researcher Jovan Erdeljanović, who was among the first to express himself about the non-Serbian source of the notion, treating it as a linguistic remnant from the old local, Vlach or Albanian tribes.¹¹³¹ Meanwhile, in addition to the option given by Vukmanović, the Albanian linguistic fund also provides the expression *pashtrak* from livestock terminology, the form of which is close to the appellative of the region. According to the Hungarian researcher Franz Baron Nopcza, this word in the depths of Mirdita meant a common pasture, while in Kelmend it meant a monetary obligation to use the pastures.¹¹³² Although it is thought that its root is the Latin word *pastoraticum*, to get the current form (*pashtrak*), it seems to have been subjected to the phonetic rules of Albanian, which can be an equivalent case with the name Paštrovići, that is if the assumption about a Roman source is accepted. Moreover, the existence of the Pashtrik oronym that expresses a mountain massif on the western side of Prizren, around which there are a dozen villages continuously populated by Albanians,¹¹³³ speaks in this context. However, in science there are also opinions that the region of Paštrovići may have been named after a ruling family community whose antiquity for the researcher Božić is difficult to be determined precisely.¹¹³⁴

According to documentary sources, the abovementioned tribal community appeared for the first time in 1355, when a Nikolica Pastrovic, together with some clergy, was placed under the service of the Balkan feudal lord Stefan Dušan.¹¹³⁵ From the content of this document, it is understood that this group of people was ordered by his servants, first to take a treasure to

¹¹³¹ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 9

¹¹³² Franc Nopcza, Fiset e Malesisë së Shqipërisë veriore dhe e drejta zakone e tyre, Qendra e studimeve albanologjike – Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 2013, page 361; The researcher Eqrem Çabej has also recorded its use in Mat, with the meaning “tax for weighing grain” and “tax for sold cattle”. Although it is thought to originate from the word *pastiraticum*, to get the present form *pashtrak*, it would have to pass through

¹¹³³ In the register of 1571, the nahija of Pashtrik appears as an entirely Albanian environment, judging by the anthroponyms that the population of the area bears. (Selami Pulaha, Popullsia e Kosovës gjatë shek. XV-XVI, 8 Nëntori, Tiranë, p.219-246); In 1633, the cleric Pjetër Mazrreku, in a report addressed to the Holy Congregation, wrote that the region of Hasi, which surrounds Mount Pashtrik, is populated by an unlimited number of Albanians “..*queste habitato da infinito numero d’Albanesi*”. (Injac Zamputti, Dokumente dhe Relacione për Historinë e Shqipërisë 1610-1650, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, St. Gallen – Prishtinë 2018, p.362); In regard to the ethnic composition, Hasi is still populated by Albanians.

¹¹³⁴ Иван Божић, Средњовековни Паштровићи. Историски Часопис. Књига IX-X. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1960, p.151

¹¹³⁵ DAD, Diversa Cancellariae, Ser.25, Br.18, God. 1354-1356, fol.54v; Иван Божић, Средњовековни Паштровићи. Историски Часопис. Књига IX-X. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1960, p.151; Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 27;

Dubrovnik, then to take it to the distant city of Jerusalem.¹¹³⁶ Somewhat later, in 1371, the name of this tribal organization appears again, more precisely when the heads of the Balsha family authorized Andrea Paštrović as their diplomatic representative in talks with the Dubrovnik authorities.¹¹³⁷ From this community, a man with an Albanian name, Progon Pastrovic, appears in the entirety of the old materials, although the document is quite unclear and the subject of scientific discussions. This record, according to a group of Montenegrin authors, is said to have been created in a time interval between 1261-1282,¹¹³⁸ which is most likely an incorrect interpretation. In the volume *Acta Albaniae* of researchers Shufflay, Thalloczy, and Jireček, the document in question is listed as material from the year 1295, but it is the authors themselves who express doubts about the given time. According to them, this document is most likely the work of a 16th century forger, but the personalities mentioned in the document had really lived in the middle of the 15th century.¹¹³⁹ So apparently Progon Pastrovic is not a fictitious name, but the time given in this document is incorrect. Something similar was encountered by the Romanian researcher Nikolae Jorga, who dates the record in question to 1462, but he also adds that it was found in a fund of the 16th century.¹¹⁴⁰

In addition to the cases given so far, based on which an initial idea of the early ethnic character of the region can be created, anthroponymic elements that are related to Albanian also appeared in other documentary sources. Thus in 1413, in the diploma of the medieval feudal lord Balsha III that was dedicated to the church of Saint Nicholas in Praskvica, as witnesses, among others, Vukašin Bečić and his son called Leš in Albanian are also mentioned,¹¹⁴¹ who assuming from the type of the surnames must have lived in one of the villages in the area. About two centuries later, on 9 July 1605, in the documents known as *Paštrovske Isprave*, a man named

¹¹³⁶ Иван Божић, Средњовековни Паштровићи. Историски Часопис. Књига IX-X. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1960, р.151; Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба. Прва књига до 1537 године. Политичка Историја. Народна Књига, Београд 1952, page 77

¹¹³⁷ Josip Jelčić, *Zeta i Dinastija Balšića*, Matica crnogorska, Cetinje - Podgorica, 2010, page 95; Monumenta Montenegrina. Knjiga 5, Tom2. Istorijski institut Crne Gore. Podgorica 2008, page 247

¹¹³⁸ Monumenta Montenegrina. Knjiga 5, Tom2. Istorijski institut Crne Gore. Podgorica 2008. page 402

¹¹³⁹ Ludovicus de Thalloczy, Constatinus Jireček & Emilianus de Sufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis*, Volumen 1, Vindobonae MCMXIII. Drejtoria e përgjithshme e arkivave & Revista Ekskluzive, Tiranë-Prishtinë 2002

¹¹⁴⁰ Nicolae Jorga, *Notes et Extraits pour servir a L'Histoire des Croisades au XV siècle*, Quatrieme serie 1453-1476, Bucarest 1915, page 198.

¹¹⁴¹ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 75; Константин Јиречек, Споменици српски. Српска Краљевска Академија. Споменик XI. Београд 1892. page 68; Иван Божић, Средњовековни Паштровићи. Историски Часопис. Књига IX-X. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1960, page 170

Nika Junkov Hekure appears in a property dispute. Within this material, this surname is also written in the forms *Hekura* and *Hekuri*,¹¹⁴² so it most likely derives from the Albanian fund, more precisely from the word *Hekur* (iron).¹¹⁴³ Meanwhile, the archbishop of Bar, Monsignor Marino Bizzi, in his 1610 report to Pope Paul V, in the chapter where he describes the village of Maine, mentions a *Nicolai Pastra* (*christina filia Nicolai Pastra*),¹¹⁴⁴ whose surname does not appear accompanied by typical Slavic suffixes.

However, while the old materials presented above speak somewhat more narrowly, in the entirety of primary sources, the highest relevance seems to have the documents where Albanians are mentioned on a collective level. Thus, in the fund of documents of the state administration of the Republic of Ragusa, which refer to the developments during the Konavljë war, there is a record compiled on 15 June 1430, which talks about the Albanians of the Paštrovići region (*albanensi Pastrovici*).¹¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the Serbian researcher Vladimir Ćorović in a paper from 1923, as well as Jahja Drançolli in 1987, confirm the existence of another more concrete document, from the same time period, in which it became known that the Ragusa authorities had recruited two hundred Albanian soldiers from this coastal area (*eex Albanensibus de loco Pastrouichi et Veleresouich*).¹¹⁴⁶ In this case, there is a good chance that the correct form of the second notion was *villa resouich*, which would mean the current village of Katun Reževića. In the course of this military activity, documentary sources also mention an authoritative military man named *Gec Albanensis*,¹¹⁴⁷ but his territorial affiliation is unclear, respectively whether it was someone from the Paštrovići region or possibly an Albanian recruit from a more distant

¹¹⁴² Божидар Шекуларац, Паштровске Исправе. Књига III. Петровац на мору, 1999, page 54

¹¹⁴³ Universal word of the language which appears in the publications of the earliest Albanian authors. According to Norbert Jokl, an opinion also supported by Çabej, the notion *Hekur* (iron) derives from the Greek word “Ankyra”. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike ne fushe te shqipes IV*, DH-J, Akademia e Shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i Gjuhësisë dhe Letërsisë. Tiranë 1996, p.363); Gustav Meyer thinks it is an Indo-European word, an opinion also accepted by Kolec Topalli. (Kolec Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017*, p.626); Despite the fact that its etymology seems controversial, it is more clear that in order to come to the current form, it would need a treatment from Albanian, so the surname *Hekuri* or *Hekura*, surely expresses an Albanian surname.

¹¹⁴⁴ Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin XVII. Vëllimi I (1610-1634)*. Universiteti shtetëror i Tiranës, Instituti i Historisë dhe Gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1963, page 231

¹¹⁴⁵ DAD, Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 179

¹¹⁴⁶ Владимир Ћоровић, Напомене о албанским траговима у Херцеговини. Архив за арбанаску старину, језик и етнологију. Књига I, Св. 1-2, Београд, 1923, p.203; Jahja Drançolli, *Prania e shqiptarëve në Raguzë gjatë shekujve XIII-XV*, Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e shkencave historike, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1987, p. 51

¹¹⁴⁷ DAD, Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 198v

origin. However, forty years later from the battle of Konavlje, a member of Count Gaudenz von Kircheberg's circle named Friderich Steigerwalder, in 1470 wrote that ten miles from Kotor there was a castle called Budva, from where the mountain range country and the language of Albania began.¹¹⁴⁸ This record also corresponds with the earlier description of the monk Adae, who defines the areas around Kotor and Bar, a segment where the Paštrovići region also lies, as territories populated, among others, by Albanians.¹¹⁴⁹ In this context, it seems that the legal provisions of the Budva charter are also very important, which, in addition to the rights of the population within the city walls, also determine the socio-political position of two other groups, Albanians and Slavs.¹¹⁵⁰ The need to treat them through special norms is an additional indication that it was not about individuals but about a large community that lived and had influence in the said area.

The documents revealed up to this point take on a more complete meaning when combined with the findings from the scientific discipline of toponymy, within which the Albanian element in the present-day Montenegrin region is quite distinct. Thus, in the village of Đenaši, in addition to names in the Slavic language, there were also names of the type where Albanian is mixed. These are *Burina njiva*, *Bardina ulica*, *Palje brdo*, *Škaljeza* and *Đonaš njiva*,¹¹⁵¹ which basically have the anthroponyms Bardh, Pal and Gjon, or words from the Albanian language lexicon such as *burrë* (man) and *shkallëza* (ladder). In addition, the researcher Jovan Vukmanović is of the opinion that the name Đenaš was built based on the Albanian anthroponym Gjin.¹¹⁵² Microtoponyms that do not seem to have been formed according to the Slavic linguistic fund are also found in the Tudorovići settlement, around which appear *Lješina njiva*, *Štuljeza*, *Doči*, *Mikova njiva*, *Prentaš* and *Đenašina njiva*.¹¹⁵³ Although a part of them is encountered in combination with Slavic words or suffixes, the examples just given seem to be formed according to the anthroponyms Lesh, Prentash and Gjin, resulting from the notions

¹¹⁴⁸ "Ain schloss, genandt Buda. Unnd hobt sich daselbs An daz land, gepurg unnd sprach Allwania" (Noel Malcolm, *Rebelët, besimtarët, të mbijetuarit*. Botime Artini, Prishtinë 2020, pages 33-34 and 687)

¹¹⁴⁹ *Monumenta Montenegrina*, Knjiga XI, Istorijски Institut Crne Gore, Podgorica 2006, page 251

¹¹⁵⁰ Стојан Новаковић, , Законски споменици српских држава средњег века. Пета књига, Српска Краљевска Академија. Београд 1912, р.47, 60, 61, 71,

¹¹⁵¹ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, р.418

¹¹⁵² Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, р.62

¹¹⁵³ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 421. For the toponyms *Lješeva njiva* and *Mikova njiva*, Jovan Vukmanović thinks that they derive from Albanian respectively from the name *Lješ* and the word *Mik*... (носе арбанаска имена, изведена од Љеш и Мик), while for *štuljeza* he thinks that it is either from Vlach or from Albanian. (Ibid., page 62)

of *shtyllë* (pillar) and *mik* (friend). The latter, according to Eqrem Çabej, is an adaptation of the Latin word *amicus*,¹¹⁵⁴ which means that in order to come to its current form, it would need a treatment from the Albanians. As for the microtoponym Doçi, there is a chance that it was built based on the appellative of some family community, since this notion as a surname appears quite densely and continuously among Albanians.

Additional data from the discipline of toponymy that speak about a distinctive presence of proto-Albanian communities in the region of Paštrovići, in addition to the settlements discussed above, also appear in the village of Bečići where the names Kunjak and Bukina glavica are singled out.¹¹⁵⁵ While the first name is clearly derived from the Albanian word *kunj* (pin, stake),¹¹⁵⁶ regarding the second microtoponymy, the matter is somewhat more confusing, since it also appears as a name among other peoples. However, the possibility that it was created according to a linguistic symbiosis, specifically through the connection of the word *bukë* (bread) in Albanian and *glavica* (small head) in Slavic, cannot be excluded from the scientific debate. Especially when it is known that the notion of Bečić as a surname is encountered both in the district of Shkodra and within Crmnica,¹¹⁵⁷ as early as the fifteenth century, that is, in territories early populated by Albanians. In this context, it can be seen that behind the Bečići surname there was once a bloodline, originating from an ethnic substrate, which over time may have branched into several districts in parallel. Moreover, it is thought that the humanist Marin Beçikemi, an Albanian professor of rhetoric in Padua, was from this community, who according to the British Noel Malcolm was an ethnic Albanian, married to a girl from the old Dabri family from Ulcinj.¹¹⁵⁸

¹¹⁵⁴ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes V*, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 344

¹¹⁵⁵ These two toponyms are given in the summary of the researcher Jovan Vukmanović (Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 405)

¹¹⁵⁶ Albanian adaptation of the Latin word *cuneus*. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V*, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 174).

¹¹⁵⁷ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропологеографска и етнолошка испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, page 77; According to researcher Jovan Vukmanović, the village of Bečići was formed by a rather old bloodline, with the same name, which gravitated there from Crmnica. However, not all of today's population of this settlement are descendants of this line. (ibid., p75-77)

¹¹⁵⁸ Noel Malcolm, *Agjentë Perandorakë*. Botimet Dudaj. Tiranë 2016, page 396

In the territory populated by the Dabkovići community, which is listed as one of the twelve tribal organizations that populate the region,¹¹⁵⁹ in addition to Slavic microtoponyms, there are also some place names such as *Beriška voda*, *Beriška kuća* and *Beriška Dubrava*,¹¹⁶⁰ which in terms of form seem to be the product of an ethnic symbiosis. It is thought that they are linguistic remnants from the old Berishani community, which are regularly mentioned in documentary sources between the 16th and 18th centuries.¹¹⁶¹ The researcher Vukmanović treats this community in the context of distant pastoral groups, most likely Albanians who came from the north of present-day Albania and a branch of the Berisha tribe.¹¹⁶² However, in addition to the toponyms given above, in the villages dominated by the Dabkovići community, the microtoponym *Krekaza* also appears, which is thought to be from the Albanian word *Krekeze*, which means a type of foliage.¹¹⁶³ This notion also appears within the Albanian territory, where one of the recorded cases is in the district of Berat.

The coastal village of Buljarica is another inhabited unit where there are place names that cannot be defined within the Slavic lexicon, namely the microtoponyms *Buzat*, *Muriz*, *Deljenica*, *Kordine* and *Relaza*.¹¹⁶⁴ The first given notion seems to have been formed based on the word *buzë* (lip), for which the Croatian linguist Henrik Barić states that it belongs to the community of the oldest words of Albanian, but which has penetrated, in the form of borrowing, also into the Romanian lexicon, taking the form *budza*.¹¹⁶⁵ Besides him, other philologists such as Gustav Meyer, Norbert Jokl, Karl Treimer, Ovid Densusianu, Ivan Popović and Carlo Tagliavini have expressed themselves in favour of the Albanian source of this notion.¹¹⁶⁶ Then, regarding the last microtoponym listed, in the Montenegrin scientific community, there are opinions that it derives from Albanian, implying a rather poor source.¹¹⁶⁷ Pursuant to this interpretation, it is understood

¹¹⁵⁹ The region of Paštrovići in 1440 was divided into 12 tribes, while today there are 11 tribal communities. Dabković is one of them. (Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, pages 75, and 405).

¹¹⁶⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, pages 87 and 407.

¹¹⁶¹ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 87

¹¹⁶² Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 87

¹¹⁶³ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 63. "На подручју села Дабковића један пашњак носи име Креказа, које је могло бити изведено од арбанаске ријечи крекезе, што значи кленовина." (ibid., p.63)

¹¹⁶⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 434

¹¹⁶⁵ Henrik Barić, Hymje në historinë e gjuhës shqipe. Shtëpia botuese "Mustafa Bakija". Prishtinë, 1955, p.66

¹¹⁶⁶ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes II, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p.400

¹¹⁶⁷ „У Буљарици један мали пашњак има назив Релаза, што на арбанаском језику значи слаби извор.“ (Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 63)

that its first and correct form, most likely, must have been *rralleza*, while the other examples given are close to the words *murriz* (hawthorn), *dele* (sheep) and *kodrina* (small hill) in Albanian.¹¹⁶⁸ However, a little further north, in the Katun settlement which is populated by the Reževići tribe, two places are called Tanusje and Gace,¹¹⁶⁹ which seem to have been created according to the Albanian anthroponym Tanush and the word *gacë* (ember).¹¹⁷⁰ Here there is also a mountainous part called *Strimija*, for which researcher Jovan Vukmanović is of the opinion that it derives from Albanian and has the meaning of a flat hill.¹¹⁷¹

The Albanian cultural nuance in terms of toponymy is also visible within another inhabited area within the region of Paštrovići. There is talk of the village of Drobnići, where some parts of the land bear names such as *Miekovnica*, *Ćeta*, *Mikova njiva* and *Ćetov laz*.¹¹⁷² In relation to their affiliation, the Albanian linguistic fund provides as etymological possibilities the words *mjek* (doctor), *qeta* (rock peak) and *mik* (friend), which are very close to the given toponyms.¹¹⁷³ From here to the southeast lies the village of Novoselje where a plot of land is called *Bušatova njiva*,¹¹⁷⁴ a name created through the Albanian-Slavic linguistic mix. Something similar can also be seen in the Kaluđerac settlement, where the microtoponym *Bušatovina* appears,¹¹⁷⁵ which apparently means a pasture (*pašnjak*) for the common needs of the population. Since the documents of 1691 mention a Niko Bušat as a resident of the region, it seems that these toponyms may be the product of a bloodline with the same name, whose traces have been lost over time.¹¹⁷⁶ The Bušat notion, in addition to Paštrovići, also appears north of Ulcinj, then south of Shkodra and Bratonožići, all within the borders of early Zeta, so a connection between them

¹¹⁶⁸ According to linguists Schuchard, Puscariu, Cihacu, Jokl, Treimer, etc. *murriz* (hawthorn) is a local word of Albania. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes V*, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, p.384)

¹¹⁶⁹ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 426

¹¹⁷⁰ According to Norbert Jokl, *gacë* (ember) is an Albanian word but of Indo-European origin. Opinion also accepted by Walde-Hofman, Pokorny, and indirectly by Çabej. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes IV*, DH-J, Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 1996, p.235)

¹¹⁷¹ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 63; *Strimija* - based on the explanation of the researcher Vukmanović, it can be from *shtrimje*, *shtrimijë* (presence, extension, spread).

¹¹⁷² Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 423

¹¹⁷³ „Изнад села Дробница је оштро брдо Ћета што на арбанаском значи стијена.“ (Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 63); On the etymological level, the word *mjek* (doctor) is thought to derive from *medicus* in Latin, but in the form that appears in microtoponymy, it is found only among Albanians. For its source see: Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V*, K-M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, pages 355-356

¹¹⁷⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 430

¹¹⁷⁵ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 432

¹¹⁷⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 115

may be possible, if not by bloodline then at least from the same linguistic culture based on which the name may have been created.

In addition to the examples listed above, there are even more microtoponyms which most likely derive from the way of communication of pre-Slavic communities within the region. Thus, in Paštrovska Gora a place is called Burgare and this notion, according to the researcher Jovan Vukmanović, cited several times above, is part of the Albanian language lexicon, where he exactly thinks to have been created based on the word *burg* (prison).¹¹⁷⁷ The presence of this microtoponym can be translated as an argument that says that the population that created it, was hardly seasonal pastoral, since the creation of prisons is usually the phenomenon of a permanent population. The microtoponym *Spatina njiva in the village of Čelobrd* seems to have been formed through a linguistic intertwining, precisely from the combination of the word *shpatë* (sword) in Albanian¹¹⁷⁸ and *njiva* in Slavic. While in the village of Vrba, some parts of the land such as *Bardina ulica* and *Paljev zalaz*¹¹⁷⁹ are more obviously created based on the anthroponyms *Bardh* and *Pal*, old Albanian names that continue to be used even at this time. Other microtoponyms in the Paštrovići region, whose linguistic source is related to Albanian, are also the following: *Bukemir* from *Buke e mirë*, *Škrap* from *Shkrep*, *Kunjaše* from *Kunj*, etc.

Collective memory is another scientific discipline which provides additional data related to the presence of Albanians and their ancestors within the territory of Paštrovići region. Based on inherited Montenegrin narratives, the Kruta bloodline, which is one of the three groups within the Ljubiša tribe,¹¹⁸⁰ is held as a community coming from the Shkodra district, whose ancestors are remembered as Catholics as far as confessional devotion is concerned.¹¹⁸¹ This narrative has an indirect connection with the written sources, since in the register of cadastre and concessions for the region of Shkodra in 1416-1417, within a village there were six family heads with this surname.¹¹⁸² Beyond that, since the very notion of Kruta, judged according to the linguistic background of Albanian language, but also according to some Montenegrin researchers, has its

¹¹⁷⁷ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 62

¹¹⁷⁸ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 63

¹¹⁷⁹ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 420; It can be from the word *shpat* (slope) but also from *shpatë* (sword). The latter is a Latin loan to Albanians. For the etymology of both words, their scope and use, for more information, see: Kolec Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017*, p.1408.

¹¹⁸⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 100

¹¹⁸¹ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 100

¹¹⁸² Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 100

source in Albanian,¹¹⁸³ then the opinion that It is about a grouping of Albanians in essence becomes more acceptable. Because the appellative of this community is on a line with their geographical origin, indirectly also their religious one, so there is a triangle where the data correspond with each other. As for the branch that took place in the Paštrovići region, it seems that it is not a late migration, since the records speak of them from the beginning of the 16th century. For example, in the notary documents of Kotor, in 1516 a priest named Petar Kruta is mentioned, while in 1590 the military man Vuko Kruta (*capitano Vuko Krutta*) is mentioned.¹¹⁸⁴

*Perazići*¹¹⁸⁵ community is another bloodline, that according to inherited memories, is said to be with origin from the tribal region of Kelmendi. Narratives collected later from their descendants say that this group, together with the Perazići bloodline in Crmnička nahija and Bibezići from Podgorica, were formed in one environment and within one family community, that is, they share common ancestors.¹¹⁸⁶ However, this grouping is not considered as the only line, which from the depths of the Cem may have gravitated in the direction of this coastal area. According to the Montenegrin ethnographer Andrija Jovičević, sometime around 1650, a colony of Albanians from the region of Kelmendi, due to poverty, is said to have settled in the Budva district, whose descendants had preserved the Albanian language until the first part of the twentieth century.¹¹⁸⁷ In connection with this, researcher Sreten Vukosavljević writes that this community, until recently, had not even severed relations with their first place of origin, continuing to own the mountains and other pastoral areas in Kelmend, which had belonged to them before emigration. Although it is uncertain whether this colony was located in Paštrovići or some other village above Budva, it still has relevance in the scientific treatment of the ethnohistory of the area. Meanwhile, the researcher Milenko Filipović, who refers to the Montenegrin collective memory, writes that within the region there are also several houses,

¹¹⁸³ Jovan Vukmanovic writes that the name Kruta may be of Albanian origin. „Име Крута може бити и арбанаског поријекла.“ (Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 101).

¹¹⁸⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 101

¹¹⁸⁵ According to the researcher Vukmanović, the Perazići bloodline is located in the villages of Katun Reževića, Gornje Selo and Petrovac. (Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 106)

¹¹⁸⁶ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод. Цетиње 2004, page 86; Members of the Perazići community also appear in the village of Mikulići, south of Tivar, who have the same origin. (ibid., p. 86); The researcher from the region of Kotor, Miloš Milošević, also wrote about the presence of communities from Kelmendi to Paštrović (Miloš Milošević, Boka Kotorska, Bar i Ulcinj od XV do XVIII vijeka. CID, Podgorica 2008, page 24)

¹¹⁸⁷ Andrija Jovičević, Malesija. Dielli, Beograd 2019, page 55

which claim to be descended from the Dukagjini feudal line and are held for the descendants of Miraš Leka.¹¹⁸⁸

In addition to the data listed above, several other records also speak about the Albanian component within this Montenegrin part, albeit indirectly. Thus, in eighteenth-century Poland, two men named Stefan and Miroslav Zano­vić appear in public discourse. Both had managed to get close to the aristocratic circle as well as the high military officials there, pursuant to their appearance as heirs of Skanderbeg.¹¹⁸⁹ According to researcher Jan Rejhman, these were Montenegrin adventurers from Paštrovići, who did not deserve special attention.¹¹⁹⁰ However, despite this explanation, their identification with Skanderbeg must have been made on some basis, on some similar cultural or linguistic feature with the Albanian feudal lord, to push forward or make their theory more credible, especially within a high and educated circle of that time.

5.3 Bar (Tivar)

In a document of the notary chancellery of Kotor, in February 1337, a man named Ion Mathie, who is said to be from Bar (*Ion Mathie de Antivari*), is mentioned as a craftsman in iron processing.¹¹⁹¹ Although in Montenegrin scientific works, his surname is read as Matiev, there is also a parallel possibility that this surname is from the Albanian language lexicon, always judged by the form given in the original version.¹¹⁹² However, his name Jon is another indication that this man may have belonged to a family community whose first language was Albanian. However, this is not the first case where anthroponyms of this type appear in the district of Bar. In a document dated 19 May 1330, a *Junius* from the Spani tribal community (*Junius de*

¹¹⁸⁸ Миленко Филиповић, Бијели Павле. I. Историски Записи, Књига 1, свеска 3-4, 1948, pages 171-172

¹¹⁸⁹ Jan Rejhman, *Shqiptarët në Poloninë e vjetër*, Konferenca e parë e studimeve albanologjike, Instituti i historisë dhe gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1965

¹¹⁹⁰ Jan Rejhman, *Shqiptarët në Poloninë e vjetër*, Konferenca e parë e studimeve albanologjike, Instituti i historisë dhe gjuhësisë, Tiranë 1965, page 519

¹¹⁹¹ "15.II.1337. *Die predicta. Ego Ion Mathie de Antibaro loco me cum magistro Nycola ferrario ad seruiendum sibi fideliter usque ad VII annos proxime venturos in arte predicta tali conditione, quod michi tribuat victum et vestitum condecen­te*" (Antun Mayer, *Kotorski spomenici. Druga knjiga kotorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337*. Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, p. 370)

¹¹⁹² Perhaps from the word *mathi*, a form of this northern dialect of the word *madhi* (slv.veliki, eng.big)

Span)¹¹⁹³ is mentioned, while three years later, in 1333, *Bardogna Rigic* (*Bardogna Rigic homo sancte Marie de Rotec*) was appointed as the supervisor of the lands owned by the monastery of Rotec.¹¹⁹⁴ Konstantin Jireček had written early on the Albanian nature of this anthroponym, making the connection with the Albanian word white,¹¹⁹⁵ while as a personal name it continues to live even at this time, among the Albanians.

The data listed above are only a minor part of the total of documents in which names or patronyms appear in Albanian inside or around the walls of the city of Bar. Consistent research by Balkan and foreign researchers, among archival funds, has resulted in the finding of a non-inferior number of documents that contain valuable data on the anthroponymic plane. Thus, on the twenty-seventh day of September, year 1334, in a document produced by the chancelleries of Kotor, a *Radoan Preche de Antibaro* is mentioned,¹¹⁹⁶ where the name has a Slavic form, while the patronym Prekë is in Albanian.¹¹⁹⁷ A similar situation appeared two years later, in 1336, when a man from Bar named *Marco Tanusii*, was involved in a legal dispute.¹¹⁹⁸ Meanwhile, in the second half of the 14th century, always referring to the documents found so far, the names in Albanian appear again. On 18 December 1364, a *Bochdanus filius Gini* appears in notarial records,¹¹⁹⁹ while on 10 October 1372, *Andreas Trimovich de Antibaro*.¹²⁰⁰ Only six years later, in November 1376, *Laçarus Malliocus* or *Maliotus* is mentioned as a canon of Bar, for whom in the Balkan literature there are opinions that he could be Albanian,¹²⁰¹ perhaps because of his

¹¹⁹³ Ристо Ковијанић, Бар и Барани у Которским споменицима XIV вијека. Историјски Записи. Година 26. Књига XXX, бр.3-4, Титоград 1973, page 226

¹¹⁹⁴ "27.VI.1333. Die XXVII. Mensis junii. Ego Bardogna Rigiç, homo ecclesie sancta marie de Reteç, Confiteor michi integre fore satisfactum a Nyculla, homine condam Pauli Thome, de dotibus, quas sibi dedi cum nepte mea." (Antun Mayer, Katorski spomenici. Druga knjiga katorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337. Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, p.97-98)

¹¹⁹⁵ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u katorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek. Knjiga I. Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 125

¹¹⁹⁶ Antun Mayer, Katorski spomenici. Druga knjiga katorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337. Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, page 148

¹¹⁹⁷ Prekë and Preç are old and quite widespread masculine names among northern Albanians.

¹¹⁹⁸ Antun Mayer, Katorski spomenici. Druga knjiga katorskih notara god 1329, 1332-1337. Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti & Crnogorska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. Zagreb 1981, page 434; The name in full form is written as "Marco Tanusii Danusii de Antibaro" (Idem, page 434)

¹¹⁹⁹ Ludovicus de Thalloczy & Constantinus Jireček & Emilianus de Sufflay, Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis. Volumen II, Annos 1344-1406 continens, Vindobonae MCMXVIII, Drejtoria e pergjithshme e Arkivave & Revista Ekskluzive, Tiranë-Prishtinë 2002. Page 48

¹²⁰⁰ Ludovicus de Thalloczy & Constantinus Jireček & Emilianus de Sufflay, Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis. Volumen II, Annos 1344-1406 continens, Vindobonae MCMXVIII, Drejtoria e pergjithshme e Arkivave & Revista Ekskluzive, Tiranë-Prishtinë 2002. Page 90

¹²⁰¹ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 542

surname.¹²⁰² Based on the type of patronym, using the same standard, with Albanian affiliation could also be a merchant from the year 1396 from Bar, called *Dinka Duma Zogotic*,¹²⁰³ since the notion based on which the surname seems to have been formed belongs to the Albanian language lexicon.

The Albanian component in the anthroponymic plane, in and around Bar, continues to be equally visible, even throughout the fifteenth century. In the written materials of 1439, a *Michoe Barda* is mentioned,¹²⁰⁴ while on 2 December 1446, *Stanka Aleksa Tanusovic*.¹²⁰⁵ Four years later, in 1450, as "*abitante de Antivari*" *Petro Petani* is mentioned, whose surname, as the researcher Savo Marković notes, in the forms Petan, Petani or Petha also appears in 1417 in Shkodra.¹²⁰⁶ Although it is difficult to trace a blood connection between them, the surname Petha is also found in the Arbëresh colony in the region of Sicily, more precisely in *Piana degli Albanesi*,¹²⁰⁷ while the first form Petani has a presence even now among the Balkan Albanians, including the Arbëresh people of the colony of Zara in Croatia.¹²⁰⁸ Meanwhile, at the end of the 15th century, a merchant with an Albanian patronym, *Marinko Lekov*, is mentioned as a person who drowned from a Ragusan ship,¹²⁰⁹ while about three decades later, in 1536, is mentioned *Nikola Murtha*, an ethnic Albanian emigrated from Bar.¹²¹⁰ Data of this type appear even later, consistently about those inhabited units, in which the Albanian element no longer extends. So, in 1626, as a member of the naval armed forces, recruited by the Republic of Venice, a *Pero Susana* is singled out, who according to the surname may have originated from the present village of Šušanj, who is said to have been the son of Gjon (*Gion*).¹²¹¹

¹²⁰² Even today, the surnames Maloku and Malota appear widely among Albanians. It is probably an adjective that expresses a geographical origin from the deep areas, the mountains.

¹²⁰³ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednjovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 542; The interpretation about the possibility of the Albanian origin of the merchant Zogotić is not the opinion of the researcher Savo Marković. The reference is marked only to specify the paper where this data was found.

¹²⁰⁴ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednjovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 555

¹²⁰⁵ Ристо Ковијанић, Бар и Барани у Которским споменицима XIV вијека. Историјски Записи. Година 26. Књига XXX, бр.3-4, Титоград 1973, Br.1-2, p.137

¹²⁰⁶ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednjovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 558

¹²⁰⁷ Paolo Petta, Despotë të Epirit dhe Princër të Maqedonisë. Botimet IDK, Tiranë 2000, page 5; Eqrem Çabej, Në botën e arbëreshëve të Italisë. Shtëpia botuese 8 Nëntori, Tiranë, 1987, p.19

¹²⁰⁸ Tullio Erber, Albanska kolonija Arbanasa pored Zadra. Zadar, 2015, p.23; Jahja Drancolli, Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku, Zagreb 2019, page 179; Petani is a widespread surname even in today's Albania.

¹²⁰⁹ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednjovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 563

¹²¹⁰ Lovorka Čoralić, Albanska obitelj Ginii u povijesti Dalmacije i Istre XVI-XVII st. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/18754>, p.274

¹²¹¹ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednjovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 703

According to documentary sources, branches of the Albanian aristocracy also appeared in the coastal region of Bar in the late Middle Ages. First is the Suma (*Summa*) family, members of which were mentioned in the aforesaid Montenegrin centre since the second half of the 15th century. Most likely, this line was established in Bar from the mountainous depths in the northwest of present-day Albania,¹²¹² but there are no exact data on the time of emigration, although in science there are opinions that their movement may be likely in the first phase of Ottoman incursions.¹²¹³ However, their presence in Bar appears since 1477, when *Andonius Summa Antibaro* is mentioned in a document drawn up by S.Maria Formosa in Venice.¹²¹⁴ Based on the documents found so far, it is understood that this branch was integrated into the socio-political affairs of the region, also creating economic capital, which is noted in a testament dated 18 June 1543, drawn up by Ivan Pal Suma (*Zuanne fo de Polo Summa d'Antivari*).¹²¹⁵ According to this document, it is understood that the latter had possessions in the villages of Tomba and Prievoj, while for the Croatian researcher Lovorka Čoralić, it is very possible that the toponym Sumina, near the village of Zaljevo, is related to the heritage of this community.¹²¹⁶ Although a part of them is known to have emigrated from Bar to the Republic of Saint Mark,¹²¹⁷ it remains an open question whether this movement, respectively displacement, later included the remaining members of this community, or whether they gradually underwent the process of religious conversion and ethnic merging. However, what is known for sure is that people with this surname appear in Bar at least until 1630, such as *Marchiola Suma* and *Marino Suma*. Nevertheless, the community that has been discussed so far, seems not to be the only community

¹²¹² Since members of this community appeared widely in the villages of Shkodra at the beginning of the 15th century, then their territorial core could not have been far from there. For example, in the 1416-1417 Venetian cadastral and concessions register, a Nicola Suma was registered in the village of Grisa; Giergi Somma appears in the settlement of Bulsari, Andrea Suma is mentioned in Pastropat, in the village of Mensabardi one of the registered people is called Palli Suma; in Baladrini a Nicola Summa, in Samarisi a Giergi Summa, in the Reglati settlement Jon Soma is mentioned, in Renise Nicola Soma is encountered, in Dayci a Bitri Somma, in Trompsi Grandi Giergi Soma appears, etc. (Sime Ljubić – Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, pages 39-52); The Croatian researcher Lovorka Čoralić suggests the Sapa district as their first place (Lovorka Čoralić, Barani u Mlecima. Dom i svijet, Zagreb 2006, p.128-130)

¹²¹³ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 703

¹²¹⁴ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 703

¹²¹⁵ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 704

¹²¹⁶ "Vrijedno je, naposljetku, napomenuti da se na mjestu koje odgovara opisu Summinih posjeda i danas nalazi lokalitet zvan Sumina, smješten iznad mjesta Zaljevo. Možemo pretpostaviti kako je upravo riječ o lokalitetu koji je ime dobio po negdašnjim zemljišnim posjedima te ugledne albanske plemićke obitelji Summa." (Lovorka Čoralić, Barani u Mlecima. Dom i svijet, Zagreb 2006, p.128-130)

¹²¹⁷ Lovorka Čoralić, Barani u Mlecima. Dom i svijet, Zagreb 2006, p.128-130

that emigrated from the depths of Albania towards Bar, since in 1498, members of the Mazrreku (*Mazarachi*)¹²¹⁸ line are also mentioned within the general population of the region.¹²¹⁹ In the documents produced in the first half of the 16th century, there are also members of the Gjini (*Ginni*) family, an Albanian community, whose presence has been recorded in several centres of the eastern side of the Adriatic, whereas in Bar, *Nikola Ginni* is mentioned from this line.¹²²⁰

Documentary sources that deal directly or indirectly with the history of Montenegrin coastal settlements, also speak of high-ranking and powerful people who exercised important military, administrative, and religious duties within the city in question, whose first language was Albanian. For example, in a letter that the Venetian representative in Naples addressed to the Council of Ten on 21 November 1606, he mentions a *Nicolo Stanissa*, a former ensign in a cavalry company, who is said to be Albanian.¹²²¹ The fact that there is no confusion of notions is also seen in a letter of Captain Marko Gjini, dated 3 February 1607, addressed to the bishop of Stefania, where Nikolo Stanissa is described as his cousin. (*L`apportator della presente mia sara il capitan Nicolo Stanissa de Antivari, mio amice et parente*).¹²²² Important personalities who, judging by the anthroponyms, are assumed to be Albanians also appeared in the leadership structure of the confessional affairs within Bar. Thus in 1290, a Petar Tanušev is mentioned within the hierarchy of the Catholic clergy, whose patronym has already been explained.¹²²³ In a similar role, in 1444, Pop Đinko from the region of Mrkojevići appears, then Anton Tanushev in 1596, while between 1647 and 1649 there are Gjergj Jubani and Gjergj Suma, who are mentioned in high positions of the clergy.¹²²⁴ Pjeter Mazrreku, Gjergj Bardhi, Marko II, and Pjeter Bogdani also appeared in leading positions of the Catholic church organization in the city

¹²¹⁸ Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 704

¹²¹⁹ Savo Marković, , Stanovništvo srednovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 705

¹²²⁰ "Tijekom dužeg vremenskog razdoblja, točnije sve do tridesetih godina XVI stoljeća, u dosadašnjim spoznajama historiografije i proučenim arhivskim vrelima ne bilježimo spomen članova albanske obitelji Ginni. Tek 1536 godine, u oporuci Nikole Murthe, barskog iseljenika (albanske etničke pripadnosti) nastanjenog u Mlecima, kao jedan od izvršitelja oporučiteljeve posljednje volje spomenut je Baranin Stjepan pokojnog Nikole Ginni iz Bara." (Lovorka Čoralić, Albanska obitelj Ginni u povijesti Dalmacije i Istre XVI-XVII st. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/18754>, page 274)

¹²²¹ Injac Zamputi - Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë. Vëllimi III. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë- Instituti i Historisë. Tiiranë 1989. Page 81

¹²²² Injac Zamputi - Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë. Vëllimi III. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë- Instituti i Historisë. Tiiranë 1989, page 103

¹²²³ Ivan Jovović, Iz prošlosti Dukljansko-Barske nadbiskupije. Nadbiskupski Ordinarijat – Bar. Bar 2004, p. 228

¹²²⁴ Ivan Jovović, Iz prošlosti Dukljansko-Barske nadbiskupije. Nadbiskupski Ordinarijat – Bar. Bar 2004, p. 230-231

of Bar during the 17th century,¹²²⁵ for whom there is no contradiction in science in the matter of their origin. Although the presence of Albanian clerics cannot be used as an explicit argument, there is a possibility that in addition to other things, the fact that their ethnicity corresponded with the ethnicity of a part of the population, which made it easier for them to be accepted and perform their duty, may have had a slight influence in their appointment.

In contrast to the documents from which data can be collected that speak individually, the records where the Albanians are treated as a collective give a broader overview of the demography of the area. Their presence as an important community around Bar has been documented since 1332 by the monk Guilelm Adae,¹²²⁶ whose record is given in detail in the chapter on Kotor. Then there are the documents from Ragusa on the Konavljë war, specifically the decisions of the council of the Rogats to recruit for the battle about three hundred Albanians from Bar and the depths of Albania,¹²²⁷ which means that the Albanians in this district constituted a good strata of people from which they could gather soldiers.¹²²⁸ Meanwhile, a colony of Albanians from Bar is also mentioned in the Republic of Venice, during the 15th and 16th centuries, who, according to Lovorka Čoralić, had close ties with the *Scuola degli Albanesi*, a society dedicated to *Saint Maurice*.¹²²⁹ There are data of this nature in the following centuries as well. So in 1553, the Genoese Francisco Giustiniani described the population of the region of Bar as heterogeneous in terms of language. According to him, outside the walls, that is, in the surrounding villages, both languages, Albanian and Slavic, were used.¹²³⁰ Half a century later, in a letter dated 22 May 1607, it is said that on the outskirts of the city there was a Varosh with 600 houses, where all the inhabitants are Albanians.¹²³¹ Although this description seems to have shortcomings, especially in the numbers given, perhaps even in the mono-ethnic treatment of the settlement, the importance lies in the mention of Albanians as a broad community. A year later,

¹²²⁵ Сима Ћирковић, Богумил Храбак, Никола Дамјановић, Ђуро Вујовић & Љубо Живковић, Бар – Град под Румијом. Избор. Бар 1984, page 63; Istorijски leksikon Crne Gore. A-Crn, Vijesti 2006, page 101.

¹²²⁶ Monumenta Montenegrina, Knjiga XI, Istorijски Institut Crne Gore, Podgorica 2006, page 251

¹²²⁷ Jahja Drançolli, Prania e shqiptarëve në Raguzë gjatë shekujve XIII-XV. Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e shkencave historike, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1987, page 51

¹²²⁸ According to the researcher Savo Marković, the first formations of stratiots in the region of Dalmatia consisted of Albanians and Greeks. (Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednjovekovnog Bara. NIF “Gospa od Skrpjela” Perast, Perast 2014, page 226)

¹²²⁹ Lovorka Čoralić, Barani u Mlecima. Dom i svijet, Zagreb 2006, p.112

¹²³⁰ Noel Malcolm, Agjentë Perandorakë. Botimet Dudaj. Tiranë 2016, page 29;

¹²³¹ Injac Zamputi, Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë. Vëllimi III. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë- Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1989. Page 164

on 25 May 1608, the proveditor of Kotor informed the Signoria (Lordship) through a letter that an Ottoman military unit headed by Sanjakbey of Shkodra had set fire to three houses of Albanians in Bar, for reasons of punishment.¹²³²

The Albanian component in the territory of Bar, apart from the sources listed above, is also visible at the level of toponymy, where a number of places named according to the Albanian language lexicon appear. In the second part of the 19th century, in 1858, the Austrian consul Hyacinthe Hecquard talked about a steep rock near the point of Volujica,¹²³³ with the name *Gour Vaissa*,¹²³⁴ a toponym created based on the words *gur* (stone) and *vajzë* (girl) in Albanian.¹²³⁵ In the same area, there are other data of this type such as microtoponym *ćafe*,¹²³⁶ whose linguistic affiliation has been discussed several times so far. About half a century later, Andrija Jovičević, in the village of Poda, had found a place called *Kroneza*, where he rightly wrote that it derives from the Albanian word *Kron* (water spring).¹²³⁷ Unlike some cases where the old names have not reached the present day, the latter still lives today, exactly in the place where it was located by the Montenegrin ethnologist. However, the reason remains unclear on why the researcher Jovičević, in his detailed study on the settlements of the Bar district, did not register in Poda other microtoponyms such as *Kodra*, *Špateza*, *Rap*, *Lekin Do*, *Ljuđeze*, *Paljoica*, *Rap od Kodre* and *Ćeta Dibrina*, which in 2012 were documented by Božidar Šekularac and Cvetko Pavlović.¹²³⁸ However, further south, or to be more precise on the northeast side from the old town of Bar, lies the village of Turčini, around which a number of microtoponyms appear that do not seem to be in Slavic. Some of them, such as *Bješkeza*, *Bual*, *Fić*, *Ćafa*, *Ljumetići*, *Škampot*,

¹²³² Јован Томић, Грађа за историју покрета на Балкану против турака крајем XVI и почетком XVII века. Српска Краљевска Академија. Зборник за историју, језик и књижевност српског народа. Друго одељење. Књига VI, Београд 1933, p. 505-506; Inјас Zamputi - Dokumente të shekujve XVI-XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë. Vëllimi III. Akademia e Shkencave e RPS të Shqipërisë- Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë 1989. Page 201

¹²³³ Today Volujica south of Bar

¹²³⁴ Hyacinthe Hecquard, Historia dhe përshkrimi i Shqipërisë së epërme ose i Gegërisë. Plejad, 2008, page 57

¹²³⁵ The French traveller and writer Guillaume Lejean also wrote about this toponym in 1858 (Guillaume Lejean, Udhëtime në Ballkan 1857-1870, Shtëpia botuese Dituria, Tiranë 2017, page 128)

¹²³⁶ Сима Ћирковић, Богумил Храбак, Никола Дамјановић, Ђуро Вујовић & Љубо Живковић, Бар – Град под Румијом. Избор. Бар 1984, page 63; Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore. A-Crn, Vijesti 2006, map given on pages 163-164

¹²³⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод. Цетиње 2004, page 72. Jovičević here writes „Ту је извор Кронеца, чије име долази од арбанаске ријечи крони.“ (ibid.)

¹²³⁸ Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, Toponimija opštine Bar. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.95-98; From the Albanian words Kodra, Shpateza, Rrap, Lugje, Qeta and from the anthroponyms Leka and Pal. While the microtoponym “Ćeta dibrina” may have been named after a family community that came from Dibra.

Kuljumbrija, Čok, Lehtija, Molaca, Prenčino guno and Trolj,¹²³⁹ have their source in Albanian. Immediately to the east, in the village of Mikulići, there are names that belong to the same linguistic type, such as *Pljakeza, Čafa, Šeš, Kaljoč, Četa, Donkove, Čafica and Baltina*.¹²⁴⁰ If their presence is subject to an objective interpretation, then their formation can hardly be attributed to another process, apart from the life of Albanians among the mentioned villages.

Another place name that is not part of the Serbian language is *Kufin* and it is located in the most extreme part of the territory of Bar, from where the region of Paštrovići begins. It is derived from the word *confine* of the Latin lexicon, but in its current form it is widely encountered among Albanians and less among Slavs. At a short distance from there, to be more precise to the north of the village of Tuđemili, which in the report of Mariano Bizzi (1610) is described as a Catholic settlement,¹²⁴¹ several places such as *Kunora, Dinov Kamen, Čuk, Derinac, Čelija, and Toskina voda*,¹²⁴² are based on Albanian. The last microtoponym is very likely to have been formed by some community of Tosks, which means the population of the southern part of the Albanians. Then, in the current village Đendinovići, which in old documents is also recorded as *Ginginovich*,¹²⁴³ and which has a chance to have been named based on the

¹²³⁹Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, *Toponimija opštine Bar*. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.114-117; From the Albanian words Bjeshkëza, Buall, Fiq, Qafa, Lum, Shkambet, Kulumbri, Çukë, Lehtë, Molla, Troll and from the anthroponym Prenç or Preç; In addition to being near Bar, the notion of Kulumri is also encountered in the depths of the current Albanian territory. A specific case is a village with the same name (*Kulumri*), in the northeast of Fushë Arrëz in today's Albania. It is an Albanian environment. It is mentioned as early as 1529, as a locality with 11 houses. (Kolë Luka, *Shqipëria mesjetare në toponomastikë dhe onomastikë*. Akademia e studimeve Albanologjike – Qendra e botimeve enciklopedike. 2019, p.563)

¹²⁴⁰Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, *Toponimija opštine Bar*. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.98-101; The toponym baltina is a form of the word Balta. According to the linguist Petar Skok, the notion Balta appears among Albanians, Romanians and Greeks, so it is most likely an Illyrian-Thracian word. "Na balkanu nalazimo na rum. balta = arb. baltë = ngr. balton u istom značenju. Ne može se raditi o posuđenici iz južno slav. jer nema likvidne metateze. Nema druge nego uzeti da je u ilirotračkom postojao oblik balta s istim značenjem". (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga prva, A-J, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb 1971, page 169);

¹²⁴¹Injac Zamputi, *Relacione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin XVII, vëllimi I*, Tiranë 1963, pages 81-83; Marian Bolica writes that with the exception of a few villages, most of the inhabitants from the Paštrovići region to Mrkovići are of the Catholic faith. (Андреја Јовичевић, *Црногорско приморје и Крајина*. Обод. Цетиње 2004, page 70)

¹²⁴²These toponyms were collected by Božidar Šekularac and Cvetko Pavlović. (Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, *Toponimija opštine Bar*. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.109-113); Kunora is an auspicious word in Albanian, but it is thought to be an ancient Latin loanword, from corona. (Kolec Topalli, *Fjalor etimologjik i gjuhës shqipe*. Qendra e studimeve albanologjike. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë. Tiranë 2017, p.845)

¹²⁴³AQSH. Fondi 135 - Arqipeshvia e Shkodrës. Dosja 15, viti 1865, fol.1

Albanian anthroponym Gjini,¹²⁴⁴ the existing microtoponyms such as *Škopelji* and *Progon*¹²⁴⁵ can be broken down as remnants of the early life of the Albanians there.¹²⁴⁶ A similar situation can be seen in the village Šušanj, around which there are names of the same nature, concrete examples being *Arbanas pjaca*, *Drekovići* and *Kodrza*.¹²⁴⁷ Moreover, this locality, along with other bloodlines, is also populated by relatives Đokmarković, Vukmarković and Marvučić,¹²⁴⁸ whose surnames are formed through the connection of two male names, a characteristic feature among Albanians. However, other toponyms in Bar and its surroundings, in the structure of which the Albanian influence can be seen, are also the following: *Gropa*, *Trupica*, *Fundin brijeg*, *Gruda*, *Lješe kuk*,¹²⁴⁹ *Bušat*, *Ujtin Breg*,¹²⁵⁰ etc. In closing the discussion on the toponymic findings, a record by the Croatian researcher Milan Shufflay is relevant, according to which in 1422 in Bar, a territory called *Campo a Pual* is mentioned, the source of which he sees through the Italian-Albanian symbiosis.¹²⁵¹

Although more sparsely preserved compared to the tribal communities in the depths of the present Montenegrin territory, the data from the collective memory add to the volume of arguments and appear important in the context of the topic. At the beginning of the 19th century, Andrija Jovičević in his works on the population of the Montenegrin coastline wrote that in the

¹²⁴⁴ More precisely, the toponym Đinđinovic is most likely a Slavized form of the sentence *Gjini son of Gjini*, which means that the father's name has been passed on to the son. An equivalent example appears as early as 1485, in the village of Vagova in Peja, where one of the inhabitants is recorded in the same way, Gjini son of Gjini. (Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1*, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, p.191). This means that the phenomenon of name inheritance in the first generation was not something unusual for Albanians.

¹²⁴⁵ Toponyms collected by Božidar Šekularac and Cvetko Pavlović. Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, *Toponimija opštine Bar*. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.126-128; From shkop (stick) and the name Progon.

¹²⁴⁶ Most likely from the Albanian word Shkop and the personal name Progon.

¹²⁴⁷ Božidar Šekularac & Cvetko Pavlović, *Toponimija opštine Bar*. Dukljanska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti, Podgorica 2012, p.135-143

¹²⁴⁸ Idem, p. 135-143

¹²⁴⁹ Idem, p. 50-134

¹²⁵⁰ "Bušat – Albanski naziv za lokalitet pri moru, koji se i sada upotrebljava u katastarskim knjigama, Ime potiče od malisorskog plemena Bušati, koje su Mrkojevići prognali s ovog područja, a naziv je ostao." (Borislav Stojović, *Toponimi u Barskoj opštini*. Matica, Godina XII, Broj 45, Proljeće 2011, Cetinje – Podgorica 2011, page 116); *Ujtin Potok - Sliva se s Lisinja u more. Nazvan tako po albanskoj riječi (h)ut = çuk, sova, buljina.*" (Idem, page 117); Despite this interpretation of the researcher Borislav Stojović, Ujtin Potok is more likely to be a symbiosis between the words "ujë" (water) in Albanian and "potok" (tream) in Slavic, that is, flow of water; The toponym Bušat is quite widespread in the territories populated by Albanians. In the northern area, it appears in Toplan, in the region of Luma, in Nikaj and Mertur, in Mat, in Pukë and in the south of Shkodra. (Dom Gasper Gurakuqi, *Fiset e veriut dhe Dioqezat*. Pakti, Tiranë 2019, page 31-33)

¹²⁵¹ Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët*, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968, page 47; According to him, "Pual" is "pyll" (forest) in Albanian (ibid., p.47). In this case the full meaning would be field in the forest.

Mikulići settlement east of Bar, the Marljukići bloodline are with origins from an Albanian environment, from the village of Brisk of Kraja. According to the memories collected by him, the first of them had come to Mikulići around 1850 as a Catholic, while later he converted, accepting the Eastern version of Christianity, Orthodoxy.¹²⁵² The Ujkaševići bloodline once lived in this same village,¹²⁵³ whose name seems to have been built based on the name *ujk* (wolf) in Albanian. Meanwhile, researcher Jovan Vukmanović in his monograph on Crmnica writes that the Marovići bloodline, members of which populate several villages of the Mrkojevići tribal society, are held to be of distant origin from the region of Hoti.¹²⁵⁴

To avoid a wrong reading of what has been discussed so far, it is useful to clarify that the examples listed above are only given to document the life of Albanians in the territory of Bar, but their presence cannot be reduced only to given cases, since not every person becomes a legal subject and is mentioned in the documents of the time. Especially among the villages where the relationship of the inhabitants with the authorities was poorer compared to the urban centres, a circumstance which has necessarily reduced the volume of the appearance of Albanians in the documents of the time. Always taking into account the fact that their greatest presence is thought to have been outside the city walls and especially in the mountainous inhabited units. However, unlike other geographical units of the Montenegrin coastline, the presence of Albanians in Bar does not recognize discontinuation,¹²⁵⁵ but compared to the general population today they constitute a rather small number. Judging from everything that was said above, their number at another time must have been significantly greater.

¹²⁵² Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод. Цетиње 2004,, page 72

¹²⁵³ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод. Цетиње 2004, page 85

¹²⁵⁴ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнологска испитивања, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна издања, Одељење друштвених наука, Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију, Књига 1, Београд 1988, p. 141

¹²⁵⁵ In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the British researcher Edith Durham writes: "*Antivari is marked on the map, but ones first impression of it is that there is now no such place, so scattered are the houses and so scanty the population. Yet it speaks three languages Turkish, Servian and Albanian.*" (Edith Durham, Through the lands of the Serb. Botime Artini. Prishtinë, 2021, p.76)

6. OTHER NON-SLAVIC COMMUNITIES

6.1 Spanis

Pursuant to the written and found materials so far, for the first time the medieval Spani society appears in the third decade of the 14th century. It is about a document from 1322, drawn up in Dubrovnik, which talks about a merchant from Shkodra, known as *Andrea Span*,¹²⁵⁶ who, according to his surname, is very likely to have belonged to the tribal group discussed in this unit. Although very little is known about him,¹²⁵⁷ respectively supplementary information is scarce, the first appearance of the distinguishing appellation of this community is important, which from then on is regularly read among documentary sources. Thus, eight years later, on 19 May 1330, in the documents of the medieval chancellery of Kotor, a man named *Junius de Span* is mentioned on the region of Bar.¹²⁵⁸ Then, in 1416, in the statistical summary drawn up by the administration of the Republic of Venice for the properties and concessions of the Shkodra region, this notion appears more densely, specifically in the villages of *Bardi, Dobrea, Beltomi, Mensabardi, Bistiriola and Carochi*.¹²⁵⁹ which speaks of their presence also in the settlements of the plain part between Drisht and Hoti. Meanwhile, on 19 January 1423, by the decision of Pope Martin V, a clergyman named Pjetër Spani¹²⁶⁰ was appointed to the office of bishop of Bar, who most likely served in the region of lower Pulti, before his appointment. This is understood from an agreement document drawn up in Ragusa on 22 May 1411, in which it is stated that a man

¹²⁵⁶ Иван Божић, Спани - Шпање. Глас, Glas, CCCXX, Одељење Историјских Наука и Уметности. Књига 2. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1980, page 39

¹²⁵⁷ The only additional information is that he was a rich merchant who may have settled later in Ragusa. (Jahja Drançolli, Prania e shqiptarëve në Raguzë gjatë shekujve XIII-XV, Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e shkencave historike, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1987, page 48)

¹²⁵⁸ Ристо Ковијанић, Бар и Барани у Которским споменицима XIV вијека. Историјски Записи. Година 26. Књига XXX, бр.3-4, Титоград 1973, page 226; Savo Marković, Stanovništvo srednjovekovnog Bara. NIF "Gospa od Skrpjela" Perast, Perast 2014, page 527

¹²⁵⁹ Sime Ljubić, Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, pages 33-50; In the villages of Dobrea, Beltomi, Charochi and Bistiriola, the Spanis are mentioned as owners, while in the villages

¹²⁶⁰ Ivan Marković, Dukljansko-barska metropolija. Zagreb 1902, Tri studije o Dukljansko Barskoj nadbiskupiji, Matica Crnogorska ogranak Bar & Nadbiskupski ordinarijat Bar. Bar 2014, page 231

with the same name, Dom Pjetër Spani, had entered into a contract with two masons for the construction of a church in Drisht, against a monthly payment of five perpera.¹²⁶¹

In addition to the data listed above, in old documentary sources the appellation of this community appears in the form of a surname in some other specific cases. For example, between the years 1439-1443, a surgeon with the surname Spani appears in the medical service of the coastal city of Kotor,¹²⁶² who is mentioned in documents of the time as *Georgium de Alexio medicum in Cataro*.¹²⁶³ As it can be seen from the description, this man may have been born in Lezha¹²⁶⁴ and only later, after training in medicine, is likely to have settled in Kotor. However, he stayed here briefly, as documentary sources say that *Georgius Spanus Medicus*, in 1444, was recruited by the Dubrovnik authorities as a surgeon and internist, where he was obliged to treat the sick not only within the city, but in the whole republic.¹²⁶⁵ In short intervals, he is thought to have served in the courts of Balkan feudal lords such as Stefan Vukčić, Petar Vojislajić and within the Crnojević dynasty of Zeta.¹²⁶⁶ Then, in a document drawn up on 12 March 1468 in the chancelleries of Venice, we find *Alexium Spanum ex Albania*,¹²⁶⁷ a personality with influence in the political affairs of the time. Meanwhile, quite powerful individuals also appear in the eastern part, such as Lesh (*Lessa*) Spani,¹²⁶⁸ an emigrant from the Drisht region, who held the office of voivode within the medieval city of Novobrd. Moreover, about a hundred years later, in 1560, another *Georgio Spani* was distinguished as a scientific cadre, whom the leadership of

¹²⁶¹ Injac Zamputi & Përparime Huta, *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë të shekullit XV, Vëllimi III (1411-1415)*, Akademia e studimeve albanologjike – Instituti i Historisë, pages 517-518

¹²⁶² Реља Катић, Хирурги црногорских приморја у времену од 1326 до 1754 године. Историјски Записи. Година XIII, Књига XVII, св.2, Титоград, 1960, page 294

¹²⁶³ Jahja Drançolli, *Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore*. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku, Zagreb 2019, page 447

¹²⁶⁴ Risto Kovičanić and Ivo Stjepčević have also commented on his origin from Lezha. (Ристо Ковијанић & Иво Стјепчевић, Културни живот старог Котора XIV-XVIII вијек. Књига II. Историјски Институт НР Црне Горе. Одељење за проучавање црногорског приморја. Цетиње 1957, page 23)

¹²⁶⁵ Ристо Ковијанић & Иво Стјепчевић, Културни живот старог Котора XIV-XVIII вијек. Књига II. Историјски Институт НР Црне Горе. Одељење за проучавање црногорског приморја. Цетиње 1957, page 24

¹²⁶⁶ Ристо Ковијанић & Иво Стјепчевић, Културни живот старог Котора XIV-XVIII вијек. Књига II. Историјски Институт НР Црне Горе. Одељење за проучавање црногорског приморја. Цетиње 1957, page 24; About two years after his emigration to Dubrovnik, to be more precise on the last day of 1446, Gjergj Spani got engaged to Tomazina, the daughter of one Radoslav Utišenović. The records say that he traveled to Padua in 1447, but did not stay long. In 1453, when the Dubrovnik authorities decided to reduce his annual payment, he decided to leave the service. He returned to Kotor, where he died in 1458, leaving behind four children. (ibid. page 24)

¹²⁶⁷ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, Knjiga X, Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti. page 406

¹²⁶⁸ Константин Лиречек, *Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна књига, Београд, 1952, p.390*

Dubrovnik had sent to Paris to study medicine.¹²⁶⁹ But in order to make impossible a wrong reading of the above records, where the appellative Spani appears even in remote centres, it is mandatory to define the territorial core of their basic presence. After that, the mentions in Kotor, Bar, Dubrovnik and Novobrd¹²⁷⁰ will be easily understood in the context of the emigration process and in no way as arguments to assume as permanent, such a wide presence of this community.

Based on the existing materials, the epicentre of medieval Spani society, most likely started from the end of the Maranaj¹²⁷¹ mountain massif including Drisht,¹²⁷² with a deep extension towards the north and the northeast side. In science there are some data that enable an interpretation like this. First, since in the 15th century the mountains of Spani (*monti delli Spani*) were said to meet with the possessions of the Dukagjinis (*monti delli Dukagjini*),¹²⁷³ then their extension towards the south must have been limited. In favour of this hypothesis speaks the fact that there is a great poverty of onomastic examples formed according to their appellative, below the flow of river Kiri.¹²⁷⁴ Beyond this, from the eastern part, in the present area of Temal, it is certain that the old Dushmani community,¹²⁷⁵ a tribal organization which has survived until

¹²⁶⁹ Реља Катић, Хирурги црногорских приморја у времену од 1326 до 1754 године. Историјски Записи. Година XIII, Књига XVII, св.2, Титоград, 1960, page 294; Ристо Ковијанић & Иво Стјепчевић, Културни живот старог Котора XIV-XVIII вијек. Књига II. Историјски Институт НР Црне Горе. Одељење за проучавање црногорског приморја. Цетиње 1957, page 25; According to the data originating from the records on the origin and genealogy of the citizens of Dubrovnik, it is understood that Stefano, Matteo and Pasquale Ispani also lived within this city, in an older time. (DAD. Descrizione delli origini e Genealogia dei Cittadini di Ragusa, Kut 2, fol 373v dhe 377v).

¹²⁷⁰ Individuals from this community are also mentioned in Venice, Korčula, Lezha and Šibenik. (Jahja Drançolli, Prania e shqiptarëve në Raguzë gjatë shekujve XIII-XV, Gjurmime Albanologjike, Seria e shkencave historike, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1987, page 48); Afterwards, the surname Spani was also recorded among Arbëresh residents who emigrated to Italy. (Eqrem Çabej, Në botën e arbëreshëve të Italisë. Shtëpia botuese 8 Nëntori, Tiranë, 1987, p.19)

¹²⁷¹ Among these mountains was a valuable property owned by the Spanis, the castle called "Chiro", located in the upper course of the river Kir. (Oliver Jens Schmitt, Arbëria Venedike 1392-1479. Fjala Publishing, Tiranë 2014, page 184)

¹²⁷² Joseph Von Hammer, Historija turskog-osmanskog carstva, I, Nerkez-Smailagic, Zagreb 1979, page 142.

¹²⁷³ Константин Лиречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна Књига, Београд, 1952, page 390; Milan Shufflay, Serbët dhe Shqiptarët, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968, page 43; In addition to their proximity in the territorial sense, the Spanis and the Dukagjinis also had marital relations with each other. Thus, within a volume dealing with the genealogies of the families of the city of Dubrovnik, it is said that Andrea Spani had the daughter of Gjergj Dukagjini as his wife. (DAD, Descrizione delli origini e Genealogia dei Cittadini di Ragusa, Kut 2, fol 156)

¹²⁷⁴ Apart from a toponym in Shllak, no other example is known.

¹²⁷⁵ In 1404, the Dushmani family is mentioned as *dominus polatis minoris* (Oliver Jens Schmitt, Arbëria Venedike 1392-1479, Fjala Publishing, Tiranë 2014, page 49). The Shkodra priest Marin Barleti, since the beginning of the 16th century, talks about the territories of the Dushmanis in the vicinity of Drishti. (Marin Barleti, Historia e

recently, was present. However, the latter do not seem to have completely closed the penetration of the Spanis on the right part, since the remnants of the latter appear also beyond the Valbona canyon. This is understood in a report by the bishop of Sapa, Frang Bardhi, addressed to the congregation, where a *kulla* (stone house resembling a castle) of Pjeter Spani's son is mentioned in the tribal region of Gashi.¹²⁷⁶

However, while the presence of this tribal community in the directions discussed so far is clearer, things appear more complex towards the north. The review of old materials and documents, including the scientific opinions of Balkan researchers, somehow imposes the opinion that this human collective may have extended even in the present Montenegrin depths. In addition, there are also the evidence or data from the field, therefore there are the findings from the field of toponymy, which support such a conclusion. Thus, in the locality or the old centre of Spuž above Podgorica, within a narrow perimeter from there, names appear which are related to the notion of the aforementioned tribal community. As concrete examples are the microtoponyms *Spansko groblje* and *Spanska glavica*,¹²⁷⁷ while the city walls themselves were built on the place that in earlier times was called *Spanska gradina*.¹²⁷⁸ People say that Spuž itself was once ruled by a man named Labrov, as evidenced by the toponym *Labrove Zgrade*, who is remembered as the last survivor of the Spanis in this territory.¹²⁷⁹ Not far from there, in the mountains of the Vražegrmci tribal branch, a place is called *Spansko katunište*,¹²⁸⁰ and this toponym is not the fruit of any military development nor the product of any political administrative cell, but the remnants of a people stratum that, among other things, also conducted pastoral activity. Then, based on a statement drawn up in Ragusa on 4 August 1402, the presence of the Spanis is also confirmed in Fundinë of Kuči, where their immovable property within the

Skenderbeut. Rilindja- Redaksia e botimeve, Prishtinë 1989, p.94). The British researcher Edith Durham, at the beginning of the 20th century, recorded an oral tradition, according to which the notion of the current Dushmani tribe was connected with the name of Pal Dushmani, who was remembered by the people as a feudal lord of the fifteenth century (Edith Durham, Shqipëria e epërme. Botimet IDK, Tiranë, page 179).

¹²⁷⁶ Injac Zamputti, Relazione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë Veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin XVII, vëllimi II, Tiranë 1965, p.151

¹²⁷⁷ Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 64

¹²⁷⁸ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijски Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, page 44; Максим Шобајић, Старине у Зети. ЈУ музеји и галерије Подгорице. Подгорица 2014, page 67

¹²⁷⁹ Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 64

¹²⁸⁰ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek, knjiga II, Istorijски Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 44

village is also mentioned.¹²⁸¹ Since the notarial deed deals with the gift of property, from mother to son, this documents the presence of the Spanis in the Montenegrin depths, at least since the 14th century.

The tribal region of Piperi is another territory where, based on the onomastic findings, we can talk about an early extension of them. For example, in the village of Crnci, a strip of land is called *Grobovlje od Spanja*,¹²⁸² which apparently refers to old cemeteries of this population. However, not only names of this character can be associated with this community. In Piperi, there are many onomastic records that speak of a presence of Albanians throughout history, so the possibility that a part of them comes from the Spanis themselves cannot be ruled out. Indirectly, here is useful a record by the researcher Petar Šobajić who writes that in the current Montenegrin territory, the Spanis were gradually alienated, turning completely into Serbs,¹²⁸³ that is, into something they had not been before.

Data on the life of the Spanis within the Montenegrin lands also appeared on the level of collective memory. The people say that the Spanovici bloodline once lived in the Građani village of Riječka Nahija,¹²⁸⁴ who later abandoned the village, so they are treated as part of extinct family communities. The microtoponymy *Spani potok* encountered within this settlement seems to increase the importance of the aforementioned folk memory.¹²⁸⁵ Then, in the region of Crmnica, the Montenegrin ethnographer Andrija Jovičević spoke of the remnants of the Spans in the village of Sotonići.¹²⁸⁶ Apparently, it is talked about the Bajkovići bloodline, which was once known under the Spanjevi surname.¹²⁸⁷ Meanwhile, Maksim Šobajić wrote that the founder of

¹²⁸¹ Иван Божић, Спани - Шпање. Глас, Glas, CCCXX, Одељење Историјских Наука и Уметности. Књига 2. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1980, р40; According to the researcher Božić, the property in Fundia belonged to Nikola Spani from Drisht, who had Vlasna, the daughter of Andrea Schepudar, as his wife. The latter, after the death of her husband, through a notarial declaration drawn up in 1404 in Ragusa, transfers the properties in Fundia to her son Pjeter Spani, as a reward for taking care of his sisters, for whom, after the death of his father, he had taken care of their welfare. (ibid., p. 40)

¹²⁸² Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 64

¹²⁸³ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица 1996, page 173

¹²⁸⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија у Црној Гори, ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 215

¹²⁸⁵ Павле Радусиновић, Pavle Radusinović, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 176

¹²⁸⁶ Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија у Црној Гори, ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 215

¹²⁸⁷ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Посебна издања. Одељење друштвених наука. Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију. Књига 1. Београд 1988, p. 110; Vukmanović writes that the Bajkovići community is remembered as coming from the

the Martinići bloodline, the largest human group in the Bjelopavlići tribal region, is from this community.¹²⁸⁸ In the territory populated by the latter, there lived until recently also an old line of Spanis, called Demuni, but who, somewhere around the 18th century, are thought to have disappeared.¹²⁸⁹

The data listed above that originate from the collective memory seem to be not the only findings, as memories of the old pre-Slavic societies appear in other Montenegrin depths as well. According to folk stories collected about a century ago by ethnographer Jovan Erdeljanović in the territory where the Cuce tribal organization later appears, it is said that early groups, known under the terms Matuzoli, Spani and Grci, once existed.¹²⁹⁰ In the opinion of the Serbian ethnographer, these communities were not Slavic, but most likely proto-Balkan and pre-Christian.¹²⁹¹ Similar stories can be discerned in the tribal region of Pješivci, where there is still a bloodline called Antovići, about whom the collective memory says to be from the Spanis.¹²⁹² Meanwhile, the researcher Petar Šobajić, after consulting the inherited folk narratives, writes that the aforementioned community may have had a presence in the plain part of Nikšić up to the heights of the Banjani society.¹²⁹³

Before discussing the ethnicity of the aforementioned community, on the scientific level, it seems necessary to re-examine the narrative on the structure of this society, whether it is a tribal organization or a bloodline in the form of a broad kinship. According to researcher Ivan Božić, the medieval Spani community meant a branched bloodline, which in the 15th century had come to have an important role in the political life of the area.¹²⁹⁴ In this case, Božić opposes

village of Gradjani and that they maintained a separate line of the Spanovići bloodline (ibid., p.110). According to this, it seems that the Spanovići bloodline from Građani was not extinct.

¹²⁸⁸ Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 64; This opinion of the researcher Šobajić is contested by other theories on the origin of the Martini line, which consider the founder of this bloodline to be descended from Dukagjini, respectively from Hoti. For more information, see the chapter dealing with the Bjelopavlići tribal organization.

¹²⁸⁹ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 52

¹²⁹⁰ Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље, Београд, 1978, page 705

¹²⁹¹ Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље, Београд, 197, page 705

¹²⁹² Павле Радусиновић, Pavle Radusinović, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 362; This line populates the village of Do Pješivački. (ibid., page 362)

¹²⁹³ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, pages 52-53

¹²⁹⁴ Иван Божић, Спани - Шпање. Глас, Glas, CCCXX, Одељење Историјских Наука и Уметности. Књига 2. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1980, p54

the historian Karl Hopf, who sees the aforementioned community as a minor feudal family,¹²⁹⁵ but at the same time does not agree with the definition of the Spanis as a tribal community. In relation to the last hypothesis, the Serbian researcher adds that it is not rational to conclude that the Dukagjini family had been the ruling dynasty, while the Spanis represented a broad stratum of people, when both communities appear powerful at the same time.¹²⁹⁶ However, despite the fact that the contribution of researcher Božić on the clarification and correct interpretation of many historical facts related to Albanians cannot be questioned, the comparison given in this case seems irrelevant. Because the structure of a community cannot be defined explicitly through the anatomy of another community, especially in the medieval period where due to the geographical configuration, poor communication and rigid lifestyle, the human element had developed more autonomous specifics in relation to each other.

As far as the form of the Spanish medieval society is concerned, the data from the total of primary sources, collective memory, and the discipline of toponymy, sometimes directly and in other cases indirectly, speak of a community that crosses the borders of bloodline. Initially, their appearance in many volumes in the medieval written materials and in many localities parallel and at a distance, is one of the first arguments that speaks of a major collective. For example, in the Ottoman population and property register of 1485, the term Spani appears in a very wide area, thus in the simple peasantry,¹²⁹⁷ sometimes as a surname and in other cases as an anthroponym formed based on collective feeling. To be more precise, it is talked about twenty-five villages,¹²⁹⁸ in different regions, which, evaluated in the context of time, could hardly have covered a single bloodline, no matter how branched it was. Moreover, in all the recorded cases, none of them are defined as arrivals, which means their presence in those units is a much earlier phenomenon than the time when the register was drawn up. Then, unlike the ruling dynasties

¹²⁹⁵ Иван Божић, Спани - Шпање. Глас, Glas, CCCXX, Одељење Историјских Наука и Уметности. Књига 2. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1980, р54

¹²⁹⁶ „ Како су Шпани и Дукађини делали отприлике у исто време, нема никакве потребе да се Дукађинска брда везу за арбанашки властелински род, а Спанска брда за неко врло старо становништва.“ (Иван Божић, Спани - Шпање. Глас, Glas, CCCXX, Одељење Историјских Наука и Уметности. Књига 2. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1980, р59-60)

¹²⁹⁷ Kolë Luka, Shqipëria mesjetare në toponomastikë dhe onomastikë. Akademia e studimeve albanologjike. Qendra e botimeve enciklopedike. Tiranë, 2019, p. 476

¹²⁹⁸ The villages are: Vagova, Dujk, Bonosuci in the district of Gjakova; Gornja Luka, Kursevica, Rakosh, Jasanica, Zupa, Slojan, Borale, Boboluca, Milgjan, Rasuha, Pomino Polje, Lugjani and Dranovica in Peja; Lushta, Gornja Voronica, Kakaric and Prela in Shkodër; Belça and Hrasnica in Piperi, Miladinovic in Suhogro, Shënkoll in Ulcinj and Bogova in Trgovishte. (Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485, vëllimi 1, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, p.131-422)

based on which administrative or political names are mainly established, the term Spani appears many times as a microtoponym that expresses a lifestyle beyond the aristocratic nature. Thus, in the present-day Montenegrin depths, based on the appellative of this community, names of contemporary pastoral villages (*Spansko katunište*), old cemeteries in rugged mountainous parts (*Spansko groblje*), pastures, and mountain units (*Spanska glavica*) which show a more extended, more archaic lifestyle, and away from political dynamics had been established. Moreover, the current population in the Bjelopavlići region considers the foundations of old houses, including other ruined buildings, as remnants of the aforementioned society.¹²⁹⁹ Then, researchers of Balkan ethnography, within the Montenegrin territory, had recorded a number of stories from the collective memory, which speak of an early presence of the Spanis in many villages, which could hardly be owned by a single bloodline, at the same time. Moreover, in the first part of the 19th century, the Serbian researcher Vuk Karadžić wrote that in the Montenegrin society at that time, the Spanis were remembered as a very old people and as the greatest force that once ruled the Zeta plain.¹³⁰⁰ In this case, the collective memory is in agreement with the written sources, thus also with the document that talks about their possessions in *Fundinë*, as well as with the data from the field of toponymy. However, to complete the discussion, information is relevant that remnants from the Spanis, which belong to the pastoral lexicon, also appear in the current Albanian territory, and one of the concrete examples is the *Lama e Shpanëve (Lama of Spanis)* in Kryemadh of Shllaku.¹³⁰¹ Now, based on the above data, one can hardly speak of a society based on bloodline, consequently their structure seems closer to the form of a major collective. In this context, the house of Peter Spani, from the 15th century, may have been the last ruling house of an old tribal community, which had reached its end, to be replaced later by newer tribes, which formally live even at this time.

In the discussion about the ethnicity of the Spanis, in science prevails the opinion that this collective does not come from the Slavs, while there are two central hypotheses in a narrower sense. According to the first theory, the Spani society was a Greek colony, which had gravitated to the part of Shkodra, sometime in the first part of the 14th century,¹³⁰² although the

¹²⁹⁹ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 52

¹³⁰⁰ Максим Шобајић, Старине у Зети. ЈУ музеји и галерије Подгорице. Подгорица 2014, page 67

¹³⁰¹ Kolë Luka, Shqipëria mesjetare në toponomastikë dhe onomastikë. Akademia e studimeve Albanologjike – Qendra e botimeve enciklopedike. 2019, page 479

¹³⁰² Milan Shufflay, Serbët dhe Shqiptarët, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968, page 42; Иван Божић, Спани - Шпање. Глас, Glas, СССР, Одељење Историјских Наука и Уметности. Књига 2. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1980, p60

documentary basis for this finding seems quite poor. The only proof served in the scientific field in defence of this hypothesis is the treatment as a Greek notion of the appellative of the community, without taking into consideration the pejorative character of the word which would hardly be acceptable for collective identification.¹³⁰³ Moreover, the aforementioned community in documentary sources is also called *Hispanos*,¹³⁰⁴ so if it is assessed according to the same standard, the Iberian origin would also be connected in their genesis. Then, even if the claim about the Greek source of the appellative were to be accepted as correct, this cannot serve as explicit evidence to establish that the members of this community basically had the same ethnic feeling, since there is a deficit of complementary arguments through which it could be defended as a theory. Something similar can also be read in the records of the Montenegrin ethnologist Špiro Kulišić, according to whom there is a chance that the early Greek colonies on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, referred with this notion to some Illyrian society, whose territory may have been bare relief, giving as an equivalent example the Slavic word *golobrdani*.¹³⁰⁵ However, this hypothesis is also rivalled by the Montenegrin collective memory, according to which the oldest human stratum of the region, known today through the appellative Cuce, once consisted of three major groups, Matuzols, Greeks, and Spanis.¹³⁰⁶ The identical situation also appears in the Bjelopavlići tribal society, while the inherited folk narratives underline an ethnic difference between the aforementioned communities.¹³⁰⁷ In this context, there seems to have been a fairly clear cultural difference between the Greeks and the Spanis, which is why they are not defined through an appellative.

Contrary to the first premise, the second theory defines the aforementioned society as a local collective, therefore as a very old proto-Albanian community. One of the first interpretations in this line is read in the works of the Slavist Konstantin Jireček, who considers

¹³⁰³ „Грци и Срби потсмевали су се и презирали ћосаве људе, називајући их спанима (спанос), који налице на жене.“ (Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба. Друга књига – Културна историја. Народна Књига. Београд 1952, page 241)

¹³⁰⁴ DAD, Descrizione delli origini e Genealogia dei Cittadini di Ragusa, Kut 2, fol 156

¹³⁰⁵ „Prema svemu tome, u jednom ranijem radu izložio sam misljenje da se u imenu Pješivci očuvalo značenje imena starih Spana, od starogrčkog spanios u značenju – rijedak, go, suprotno od gust, kojim su Grci iz jadranskih emporija mogli označavati ilirske stanovnike golih, karsnih brda – golobrdane“ (Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi crnogoraca. Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 62)

¹³⁰⁶ Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље, Београд, 1978, page 705;

¹³⁰⁷ According to the collective memory, the oldest folk stratum of the Bjelopavlići region is said to have been divided into three categories: Spanis, Romans and Greeks. (Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 52)

the Spani dynasty as an Albanian feudal family from the region of Drisht.¹³⁰⁸ Somewhat later, Serbian university professor Vladimir Ćorović writes that despite the fact that the name of this community resembles ancient notions from the Mediterranean such as Spanius to the Etruscans or Hispania, the opinion is still closer to the truth that it was a collective of Albanians, who appear at the beginning of the 14th century around Shkodra.¹³⁰⁹ An identical opinion with the researchers mentioned above is also read in the works of the ethnologist Đurđica Petrović,¹³¹⁰ while Risto Kovijanić with Spani means an autochthonous community derived from semi-Romanized Illyrians.¹³¹¹

Meanwhile, unlike the hypothesis recommended from a Greek source, the assumption about the Albanian affiliation of the Spanis does not face a deficit of documentary sources. Thus, in a report drawn up in August 1628, by Don Vicenti who was acting as secretary to the bishop of Lezha, it is said that at the time of the Serbian kingdoms, it was the Spanis who owned the mountainous region of Pult.¹³¹² Five years later, on 14 February 1633, the Archbishop of Bar, Monsignor Pjetër Mazrreku (*Pietro Masserecco*) expressed the same opinion,¹³¹³ while the dominance of the Spanis in the medieval Pulti is also treated in the report of Frang Bardhi, drawn up in June 1638.¹³¹⁴ In this context, taking into consideration the letter of the despot Stefan Nemanja in 1198, and then of Saint Sava, where it is said that the region of Pulti was taken over into possession by the Albanians (*od arbanas pilot*), it cannot be excluded from the scientific discourse that a part of the aforementioned region was grabbed by the Spanis. The fact that in documentary sources the appellation of this community appears in the interval between 1322-

¹³⁰⁸ Константин Лиречек, Историја Срба, Прва књига до 1537 године – Политичка Историја. Народна Књига, Београд 1952, р. 426

¹³⁰⁹ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, page 44; „ Примери неких истакнутих родова, као што су били Балшићи, затим Калођурђевићи – Црнојевићи, Мазареки, Спани показују да пут друштвеног успона био отворен и влашком и арбанашком елементу.“ (Сима Ћирковић, Срби у средњем веку. ИДЕА, Београд 1995, page 197)

¹³¹⁰ “Карактеристично је да су такозвани стари народи у предањима у динарској области добрим делом били албанског порекла: Шпање, Лужани, Букумири, Матагужи, итд.“ (Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, page 106)

¹³¹¹ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni Crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim Spomenicima. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore. Titograd, 1974, page 43

¹³¹² Injac Zamputi, Relazione dhe dokumente per historinë e Shqipërisë (1610-1650). Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica. St Gallen-Prishtinë 2018, page 318

¹³¹³ Injac Zamputi, Relazione dhe dokumente per historinë e Shqipërisë (1610-1650). Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica. St Gallen-Prishtinë 2018, page 364

¹³¹⁴ Injac Zamputi - Relazione mbi gjendjen e Shqipërisë Veriore dhe të mesme në shekullin VII, vëllimi II, Tiranë 1965, p151

1330, in several cities at the same time, means that the aforementioned community, at this time, was not a minor cell, but a wider society. In these circumstances, it cannot be thought that Spanis were formed in the 14th century but earlier, at a time quite close to Nemanja's letter. Therefore, the letter of the latter is probably the first document that talks about their ethnicity, simultaneously challenging the Greek hypothesis.

The definition of the Spani tribal society as a proto-Albanian collective is also read in other old materials, where a document from 1441 is taken as a concrete case, in which, their leader Pjeter Spani, is described through the ethnonym *Albanensis*.¹³¹⁵ In almost the same time interval, the doctor mentioned above, *Georgius Span*, also appears in documentary sources as *Magister phisicus Georgius Albanensis*.¹³¹⁶ In addition to these documents, there is another record. In the historical summary on the life and deeds of Skanderbeg, the Shkodra priest Marin Barleti briefly recounts the merits and characteristics of Marin Spani, whom he describes as an Epiriot,¹³¹⁷ one of the identifying notions of Albanians in the Middle Ages. As far as their ethnic character is concerned, it seems that the Ottoman data in 1485 are also relevant, through which we understand the presence of anthroponyms in Albanian, sometimes in dominance and sometimes being poorer, in the inhabited units within the area which is thought to have been owned by the Spanis. For example, in the village of Kir, where it is thought that it was a fortification of theirs, within the Ottoman materials of the 15th century, the inhabitants bear Albanian names without exception,¹³¹⁸ while the approximate situation also appears in *Pok, Blanda, Huan and Dugul settlements*,¹³¹⁹ to the rocky gorge of Morača. As a digression, within

¹³¹⁵ Константин Лиречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја. Народна Књига. Београд. 1952, page 390; Peter Spani's power over Drisht is first confirmed by a Venetian document dated 9 July 1415. Among other things, this document states that his forces could have clashed with the Ottoman armies at Pult, making it difficult or preventing their penetration into the possessions of Venice. (Injac Zamputi & Pëparime Huta, Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë të shekullit XV, Vëllimi III, 1411-1415, Akademia e studimeve albanologjike – Instituti i Historisë, pages 665-666);

¹³¹⁶ Jahja Drançolli, Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore. Unija albanaca u Republiku Hrvatsku, Zagreb 2019, page 447

¹³¹⁷ Marin Barleti, Historia e Skenderbeut, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1989, page 152

¹³¹⁸ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, p.151.

¹³¹⁹ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të Sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485, Instituti i Historisë, Tiranë 1974, p. 150-151

the territory of the Spanis, on 11 December 1368, a man named *Petrus Schepuder* appears,¹³²⁰ in whose surname science sees the first use of the Albanian ethnonym.

Despite the lack of data to understand it correctly as a development, due to the fact that the Spanis did not come as a tribal organization until late times, it can be assumed that they merged within the newly formed communities. However, while within the Albanian territory the change manifested itself only in notions without affecting the ethnic substance, in the upper Montenegrin branch there is a deep linguistic and cultural alienation.¹³²¹ The Serbian researcher Jovan Cvijić, in addition to the theory on their assimilation, also includes a possibility according to which they may have partly been driven out.¹³²²

6.2 Bukumirs

According to the data from the scientific discipline of onomastics, collective memory, documentary sources and Balkan studies, it seems that the tribal community known through the appellative Bukumiri means a very old human community, whose presence within the current Montenegrin territory, has been argued since the end of the Middle Ages. In scientific discussions on their extent, there is the opinion that the territorial core of this collective may have been the region where the Bratonožići organization later appeared,¹³²³ including several other land units in Kuči, as evidenced by the presence of the microtoponyms *Bukumirsko Jezero* and *Bukumirsko groblje* below the rocky complex of Kome. Although the village of Bukmira near Drishti is mentioned in Ottoman documents in 1485,¹³²⁴ this can hardly serve as an argument to move their first habitat further south, since at the same time a village with the same

¹³²⁰ Ludovicus de Thalloczy, Constantinus Jireček & Emilianus de Sufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, Volumen II, Annos 1344-1406 Continens, Vindobonae MCMXVIII. Botues: Drejtoria e pergjithshme e arivave & Revista Ekzkluzive, Tiranë-Prishtinë 2002, p. 58.

¹³²¹ Павле Радусиновић, Насеља Старе Црне Горе. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 362

¹³²² Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije*. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 216

¹³²³ Tatomir Vukanović, *Terminologija plemenskog društva u Crnoj Gori*. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.212; *Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore*, A-CRN, Vijesti 2006, page 179

¹³²⁴ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485*. Instituti i Historisë, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 1974, page 404.

name appears in Bratonožići.¹³²⁵ In addition, the Bukumirs in the Montenegrin depths are remembered as a tribal community, a definition that implies a more dispersed extent, territory, and richer demographics, compared to the village that appears in the Ottoman materials around Drisht. The fact that a similar circumstance appears in the case of Koman below the Drin, where a part of the population is believed to have come from the Koman region west of Spuž and not the other way around, may be relevant here. In this context, the appearance of an appellative in parallel in the Albanian-Montenegrin depths, cannot serve to establish in an ecliptic form an expansion of the proto-Albanians towards the north, but we can also speak of a reverse process.

For the first time in historical sources, the notion of *Bukumir* appears in 1413, specifically on the occasion of the foundation of the monastery of Praskvica, by the head of Zeta at that time, Balsha III. As learned from a later document of the notary chancellery of Kotor, Nika Bukumira and his son Gjon are mentioned as witnesses in the aforementioned ceremony. (*Nicha Buchumiera cum so fiuol Ion*).¹³²⁶ About four years later, within the Venetian cadastral register for the district of Shkodra, in the village of *Trompsi Grandi*, a resident was registered as *Giergi Buchamir*,¹³²⁷ while in the Ottoman statistical materials of the years 1485 and 1497, this notion appears much more densely. In the patronymic form it is distinguished in the villages of Martish, Prelat and Klir,¹³²⁸ while as a name of a locality, as stated above, it is mentioned in the district of the medieval centre of Drishti and in the region of Bratonožići, which at that time was included in the district of Piperi.¹³²⁹

In the course of discussions on the ethnicity of this tribal society, the scientific community has a consensus that it was not a Slavic collective. For the Serbian ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, the Bukumirs remained an old non-Serbian community of Illyrian origin,¹³³⁰ a line also followed by Risto Kovijanić, although the latter expands the debate even more by treating

¹³²⁵ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës*, i vitit 1485. Instituti i Historisë, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 1974, page 427

¹³²⁶ Константин Лиречек, *Споменици српски. Српска Краљевска Академија. Споменик XI*. Београд 1892, page 68

¹³²⁷ Sime Ljubić, *Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416*. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, page 52

¹³²⁸ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës*, i vitit 1485. Instituti i Historisë, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 1974, p 151 and 404; The village in the northeast of Shkodra.

¹³²⁹ Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës*, i vitit 1485. Instituti i Historisë, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 1974, page 427

¹³³⁰ Јован Ердeљановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 137

them as direct descendants of the Labeats but Romanized,¹³³¹ although the documentary basis for this remains poor. Unlike them, the researcher Đurđica Petrović has a narrower definition, and finds that based on the existing data, their Albanian origin is the most acceptable option.¹³³² Meanwhile, the consensus among researchers that the appellative of this society derives from the Albanian language lexicon, in one form or another, reinforces the foundations of the hypothesis on an Albanian source in the ethnic sense. According to the Serbian academic Ljubomir Kovačević, the notion Bukumiri comes as a combination of the words *bukë* (*bread*) and *mirë* (*good*) in Albanian, so it has nothing to do with the Serbian language.¹³³³ In principle, it seems that this interpretation was acceptable in science, since it is not known about any debate, which was based on the destruction of this hypothesis.¹³³⁴ In fact, it is difficult to find a more linguistically pure medieval toponym in Albanian than the name of this tribal community, so the explanation of the researcher Kovačević most likely has a correct foundation. Moreover, Vasa Čubrilović has a similar opinion, who sees the notion of Bukumiri as formed according to the phonetic rules of Albanian.¹³³⁵

Although the opinions of the researchers listed above can hardly be subject to any eventual contestation, in order to strengthen the hypothesis that speaks about an Albanian source of this community, it is naturally necessary to present some arguments that enrich the documentary base. Thus, according to the records of the Ottoman officials from 1497, within their core territory, in the town of Bukmir, which, as was said, was included within the administrative boundaries of Piperi, in addition to Slavic and biblical names, there are also anthroponyms in Albanian such as *Gjinash*, *Bardash*, *Lekaç*, *Gjetash*, *Pretash*, *Gjonko*, *Tolja* and *Buç*, where some of them are encountered more than once. In addition to them, a clergyman

¹³³¹ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni Crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima*, Knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 7

¹³³² Ђурђица Петровић, *Матаруге у касном средњем веку*. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, p. 106

¹³³³ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 96. See also: *Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore*, A-Crn, Vijesti, 2006, page 179,

¹³³⁴ The origin of the notion of Bukumir from Albanian is read as an acceptable theory in the compilation “*Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore*” with authors Šerbo Rastoder, Živko Andrijašević, Zvezdan Folić, Sait Šabotić, Slobodan Drobniak, Jadranka Selhanović, Želko Drinčić and Adnan Prekić. (*Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore*, A-CRN, Vijesti 2006, page 179)

¹³³⁵ Vasa Čubrilović, *Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века*. Београд, 1974, page 63

named fra (Friar) Nikaç¹³³⁶ also appears inside this inhabited unit, and his presence means that the residents had a Latin orientation in regards to the church. As for the very fact that the notion of *fra* is an abbreviation in Albanian of the Italic word *frate* which means a Franciscan order member,¹³³⁷ the use of which has not been recorded among Serbs, it is an additional data in the discussion on the ethnic type of the community. Beyond that, the entirely Albanian character of the village of Bukmira in Drishti, as far as the anthroponymy is concerned,¹³³⁸ is evidenced by the Ottoman defter of 1485, as well as the presence of names in Albanian from the first mentions of the appellation of this community (*Ion, Giergi*), which are arguments that speak in this context. Always without ruling out the possibility that any of the many microtoponyms in Albanian within Kuči, could have been remnants from the old Bukumirs.

However, while the historical sources confirm the presence of this community in the present-day Montenegrin depths, simultaneously enabling the creation of the idea of nature and ethnic type, in relation to continuity, the data are less available. Since they dropped out of public discourse four centuries ago, their tribal society is thought to have undergone demographic shrinkage, a development which means that part of the human element moves away from the core territory to distant areas, while the remaining part in the place undergoes a radical change, losing compactness and abandoning tribal specifics.¹³³⁹ Opinions according to which their members have killed each other and have become completely extinct,¹³⁴⁰ can hardly be accepted as stable in science. Meanwhile, the assumption that a part of them may have emigrated to other regions is also confirmed by the collective memory which provides concrete examples of such a development. Thus in the village of Budimlje, the Čantrići bloodline is held as their descendants,¹³⁴¹ as is the Durakovići bloodline in the village of Trpeza near Beran.¹³⁴² On the

¹³³⁶ Selami Pulaha, Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës, i vitit 1485. Instituti i Historisë, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 1974, p.428

¹³³⁷ According to Eqrem Çabej, friar derives from the Italian frate and means Franciscan orderly. (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes IV. DH-J. Akademia e shkencave e Republikës së Shqipërisë, Instituti i gjuhës dhe letërsisë, Tiranë 1996, page 214)

¹³³⁸ The given comparison applies if the village of Bukmira of Drisht is related to the Bukumiri tribe and it was not a question of any autonomous formation.

¹³³⁹ According to researcher Tatomir Vukanović, part of the medieval Bukumiri society may have merged into the later tribal organization, Bratonožići. For more information: Tatomir Vukanović, Tatomir Vukanović, Terminologija plemenskog Društva u Crnoj Gori. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.212

¹³⁴⁰ „За Букумире се прича да су сами себе истријебили, па сада само показују њихова гробља“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1. ЦИД. Подгорица 1998, page 24)

¹³⁴¹ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 60

other hand, the ethnologist Špiro Kulišić, in his work on Montenegrin ethnogenesis, writes that within the territory dominated by the Vasojevići community, in the village of Lušce, he found several families with the surname Bukumiri,¹³⁴³ about which Jovan Erdeljanović had also written before him.¹³⁴⁴ According to inherited memories, the latter are said to be from the powerful Ljaljovići (*somewhere Lalovići*) line¹³⁴⁵ which, despite the relocation of a part of it to the region of Vasojevići, still survived in Bratonožići. Their first habitat is said to have been the village of Pelev Brijeg, but after the conflict with the local Baljevići bloodline, they moved to the nearby village of Jablan, which is still populated by them.¹³⁴⁶ It is said that they had once owned some parts in Jezero and Momonjevo¹³⁴⁷ and this is one of the most concrete arguments that the Bukumirs as a community cannot be located only in the mountainous katund (pastoral village) that appears in 1497, but also in the permanent villages of the Bratonožići region. However, a line from the Bukumirs may also have passed to the opposite part, in the western area, as evidenced by the microtoponym *Bukemir Rijeka* in the Paštrovići region.¹³⁴⁸

6.3 Malonšići

For the first time in written historical materials, the notion of Malonšići appears at the beginning of the 15th century, in a report from 1411, where it is said that the merchant caravans of Dubrovnik were attacked and robbed by some armed men, some of whom are defined as members of this tribal community.¹³⁴⁹ A few decades later this appellative appears again, first in

¹³⁴² Istorijски Leksikon Crne Gore, A-CRN, Vijesti 2006, page 180; Милисав Лутовац, Бихор и Корита – Антропологеографска испитивања. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Српски етнографски зборник – Књига LXXXI. Одељење друштвених наука. Насеља и порекло становништва – Књига 40, Београд 1967, p.70

¹³⁴³ Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca. Pobjeda, Titograd 1980, page 74

¹³⁴⁴ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 320

¹³⁴⁵ The story that the Lalovici line is a descendant of the Bukumirs continues to live in the Montenegrin collective memory. Informant: Aleksandar Leko Seković, from Dučići village in Kuč, born on 13.03.1951.

¹³⁴⁶ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, p.319-321

¹³⁴⁷ Savo Brković, O postanku i razvoju Crnogorske Nacije, Grafički Zavod, Titograd, 1974. page 26

¹³⁴⁸ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица 2002, page 135

¹³⁴⁹ DAD, Litterae et Commissiones Levantis, Ser.27. Br.1. God: 1395-1423. Fol.82v.

1432 in a will drawn up in Kotor where a *Dapichus Maloncic* was involved,¹³⁵⁰ while three years later (1435) in the truce agreement between the Serbian feudal lord Đurađ Branković and the representatives of the Republic of Saint Mark. Within the last document, *Petar Malonci* appears, most likely a man of high rank, due to the very fact that he is mentioned as a signatory of the peace act,¹³⁵¹ but with a short life in the public sphere as he disappears completely from the later records. Meanwhile, in the old documents drawn up by the notary chancelleries of the Montenegrin provincial centres, the notion of Malonšići appears even in 1446, when a *Zivichus Bogonja de Malonsischis* seems to have been involved in a confusing legal matter.¹³⁵²

In the agreement of 1455, between the nobility of Zeta represented by Stefan Crnojević and the political authorities of the Republic of Venice, the Malonšići (*Malonzichii*) are defined as a society under the term *companie over comuni*.¹³⁵³ According to this letter, it is understood that it was a structured community, involved and integrated quite well in the political dynamics of the time. However, the documents mentioned above are not the only records of the 15th century, within which the aforementioned tribal community appears. Thus in 1475, a cleric named Nikola Malonsi exercised the office of the Catholic bishop in Lezha,¹³⁵⁴ while on 29 December 1494, the territory populated by this community was listed within the twenty-four regions of Zeta.¹³⁵⁵ A year later, in 1495, mention is made of *Scepan Malonsic*, a man trusted a lot by the Crnojević dynasty, who was given a real estate because of his loyalty and service.¹³⁵⁶

About the territorial extent of this grouping and their demography, something more is understood pursuant to the data originating from the Ottoman population and property register, drawn up in 1521. Here it seems that this community had acquired a slightly more extensive importance in political life, since it appears recorded as a separate administrative unit

¹³⁵⁰ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek*. Knjiga I. Istorijski institute Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 230; In the register of cadastre and concessions for the district of Shkodra, an administrative summary drawn up between 1416-1417, in the village of Carocci, in which the anthroponymy is entirely in Albanian, a Gusman Malonci is mentioned, but it is not certain whether he can be related to the community discussed in this unit. (Sime Ljubić, *Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416*. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, page 50)

¹³⁵¹ Risto Kovijanić - *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek*. Knjiga I. Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 229

¹³⁵² Risto Kovijanić - *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV- XVI vek*. Knjiga I. Istorijski institut Crne Gore, Cetinje 1963, page 230

¹³⁵³ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih izmedju Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, Knjiga X, Zagreb 1891, page 68

¹³⁵⁴ Иван Божић, *Владавина Црнојевића*. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, page 364

¹³⁵⁵ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Турска власт у Црној Гори у XVI и XVII веку*. Свјетлост, Сарајево, 1953, page 102

¹³⁵⁶ Иван Божић, *Владавина Црнојевића*. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, page 344

(*nahiye*).¹³⁵⁷ The records of this year say that the Malonšićs inhabited fourteen residential units, including today's town of Spuž north of Podgorica.¹³⁵⁸ While according to the following register of 1523, this community had 141 houses, a number not inferior compared to other surrounding groups.¹³⁵⁹ Almost the same situation appears in the Ottoman statistical summary for the year 1529, while in 1570, a slight demographic increase is noted, with 175 houses being recorded as their property.¹³⁶⁰ However, in spite of the positive trend of numerical expansion or reproduction, this community, at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, experienced a severe phase and was completely destroyed. For the ethnologist Branislav Đurđev, this process must have been between the years 1570-1592, since, according to him, they no longer appear in the documents of the time.¹³⁶¹ Something different writes Vasa Čubrilović, for whom their final limit cannot have touched the second decade of the 17th century,¹³⁶² an opinion that apparently was based on the non-mention of the appellation Malonšići in Mariano Bolizza's report of 1614.¹³⁶³

In discussions on their dissolution, a part of the Montenegrin scientific community deals with this phenomenon mainly in the context of collective emigration, driven by the high pressure of the Ottoman authorities.¹³⁶⁴ Apparently, the hypothesis favouring the relocation is based on two inherited narratives, according to which a part of the Malonšići society had moved towards Peja, while the rest towards the territories of the Bajice tribe.¹³⁶⁵ However, while the first possibility implies an emigration which cannot be traced, the circumstances appear differently around the second claim. The existence of the toponym *Malošin Do*, to the east of the village of

¹³⁵⁷ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-Bega Crnojevića*. Druga sveska. Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1973, p.29

¹³⁵⁸ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-Bega Crnojevića*. Druga sveska. Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1973, p.29-32. The settlements are: Kosić, Bjeločani, Spuž, Bogišići, Radonjići, Grlov Kuk, Pavlovići, Vladovići, Lješevići, Jednoši, Lužnica, Kalođerđevići, Zagreda and another one that the aforementioned authors find difficult to read. (Ibid.)

¹³⁵⁹ Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 106

¹³⁶⁰ Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 106

¹³⁶¹ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Турска власт у Црној Гори у XVI и XVII веку*. Свјетлост, Сарајево, 1953, p.57

¹³⁶² „Васа Чубриловић сматра да је у историјском сукобу племенског друштва и турске власти у Црној Гори XVI вијека изчезло и племе Малоншићи. Он закључује да су они као нахија и као племе изчезли између 1570 и 1614 год.“ (Павле Радусиновић, *Насеља Старе Црне Горе*. Посебни дио. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Народна Књига. Посебна Издања – Књига DLXII. Одељење друштвених наука. Књига 92, Београд 1985, page 359)

¹³⁶³ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 58

¹³⁶⁴ *Istorijski Leksikon Crne Gore*, K-Per, Vijesti, Podgorica 2006, page 851

¹³⁶⁵ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 59

Dide above Cetinje, seems to give additional importance to the oral tradition and makes more reliable the assumption that a branch could really be located in that area.¹³⁶⁶ Especially when the stories of some family communities, most likely early Slavized, who lived until recently in Bajice, but who considered themselves descendants of this group, are taken as a basis.¹³⁶⁷ However, the example given above, although it is indicative that a part of the Malonšići society may have indeed moved from their territorial core, this does not mean that the rest have shared the same fate. Here science is also divided into two, since the other part of the scientific community considers the process of their merging or absorption by some more organized community as the basic reason for the dissolution. For the researcher Branislav Đurđev, the aforementioned society was subordinated to the Bjelopavlići tribal organization, and a significant part of its human element was included within the latter.¹³⁶⁸ Therefore, according to him, in the current subregions such as Zagarač, Komani and Kosovi Ljug, family lines that are held as their descendants can still be found. The current Montenegrin bloodline Radonjići is one of the examples given.¹³⁶⁹

Regarding the linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Malonšići tribal community, discussions in science were first opened by Milan Shufflay, who in the first part of the twentieth century had gone over their Albanian source.¹³⁷⁰ A few decades later, the ethnologist mentioned above, Branislav Đurđev, in his work on the establishment and structure of Montenegrin tribal organizations, said that the community in question may have developed from an Albanian small village called *Malenza*¹³⁷¹ which most likely alludes to a village with the same name south of Danilovgrad. Although he avoids an explicit definition of their ethnic type, the Serbian researcher Vasa Čubrilović is of the opinion that the linguistic source of the appellation

¹³⁶⁶ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 58

¹³⁶⁷ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 58

¹³⁶⁸ Бранислав Ђурђев, О постанку црногорског народа. Историјски Записи. Година XXXIII. Књига LIII. Св. 2, Титоград 1980, page 119); Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 106; Istorija Crne Gore, Knjiga treća, Tom prvi, Titograd 1975, page 41.; According to Branislav Djurdjev, in the report of Mariano Bolizza, a part of Malonšići was registered under the tribe Bjelopavliqi, while another part under the region of Leshkopole. „Већи део нахије Малоншићи заузели су Бјелопавлићи. Нахија Жупа и остали део нахије Малоншићи припао је Љешкопољу.“ (Бранислав Ђурђев, Турска власт у Црној Гори у XVI и XVII веку. Светлост. Сарајево 1953, p.59)

¹³⁶⁹ Бранислав Ђурђев, Турска власт у Црној Гори у XVI и XVII веку. Светлост. Сарајево 1953, p.61

¹³⁷⁰ Milan Shufflay, Serbet dhe Shqiptarët. Rilindja, Prishtine 1968, pages 61-62

¹³⁷¹ Бранислав Ђурђев, Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 102

Malonšići is the Albanian language lexicon,¹³⁷² an opinion that is also read in the publications of the Montenegrin ethnographer *Petar Šobajić*.¹³⁷³ For the latter, the Malonšići medieval society, in its first form, did not belong to the Slavic core, but was an Illyrian group of ancient times who accepted into their bosom the Serbs who came, so they gradually merged, keeping only the name.¹³⁷⁴ It is very possible that his opinion was created, among other things, based also on stories from the Montenegrin collective memory, according to which the community discussed in this chapter meant a very old human stratum (stari svijet).¹³⁷⁵

In spite of the opinions of scientific personalities, who express themselves on the non-Slavic source of this tribal community and which were listed above, data supporting the hypothesis of their Albanian core were also found among documentary sources. It is talked about the Ottoman registers of the 16th century, where within the settlements registered as part of the Malonšići nahija, although the Slavic anthroponymy seems to prevail, there are still names in Albanian or of the supranational Christian type, which were often borne by the Albanians. Thus, in the register of 1521, people named *Lako Nika*, *Marko Duka*, *Nikola Nika* and *Đuro Duka* were registered in the village of Kosić,¹³⁷⁶ whose patronyms lack characteristic Slavic suffixes. Without excluding the possibility of their being borne by some other ethnic community, the information that *Nika* and *Duka*¹³⁷⁷ are quite widespread surnames among today's Albanians and beyond local boundaries is relevant. However, within this material also appears the village of *Vladovići*, another habitat of the Malonšić community, in which people with names such as *Stjepan Ljum*, *Ursal Ljum*, *Vito Ljum* and *Vuksan Ljum* are also recorded,¹³⁷⁸ whose surname seems to have been created based on the word *lum* (river) from the Albanian language

¹³⁷² Васа Чубриловић, Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд, 1974, page 63

¹³⁷³ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, pages 58-59

¹³⁷⁴ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 59

¹³⁷⁵ Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, page 57

¹³⁷⁶ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-Bega Crnojevića. Druga sveska. Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1973, page 28

¹³⁷⁷ One of the companions I had on the occasion of the visit to Kuç for the research of this paper was called Gjergj Duka, an Albanian from Trieshi.

¹³⁷⁸ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-Bega Crnojevića. Druga sveska. Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1973, page 30

lexicon.¹³⁷⁹ While in Lješevici, whose etymological source has been discussed in the previous units, in two cases the patronym *Kole* is read,¹³⁸⁰ quite close to the name *Kolë* in Albanian.

As for the onomastic data, the connection of the abovementioned tribal community with the Albanian ethnicity is also distinguished in terms of toponymy, but to avoid repetition, they will not be treated in this chapter. The data of this nature are listed and discussed at the beginning of the paper, especially within the Katunska Nahija unit, since Komani and Zagarač, where a part of the Malonšići tribe once extended, are an integral part of it. It is enough to say that they appear in considerable numbers, moreover, they cannot be treated within the framework of the deficit scale.

6.4 Mataruga

In the late Middle Ages, historical sources say that in the depths of the current Montenegrin territory, there was a rather scattered group of people, known by the appellation Mataruga. According to the Balkanologist Konstatin Jireček, who in this case refers to research in the state archive of Dubrovnik, the notion that names the aforementioned tribal community first appears in 1318 and is regularly mentioned until 1398.¹³⁸¹ Between the given period, or this interval, along with other documents of interest, there is also a legal act drawn up in 1365, the provisions of which include a man named *Progon Mataruzic*, whose surname reveals his belonging to the tribal group discussed in this unit. The Albanian anthroponym Progon, in this case, is an important argument that should be included in discussions on their linguistic and cultural affiliation in the beginning.

¹³⁷⁹ On the etymological level, G. Meyer and partly Weigand, assume that the word lum (river) has a Latin origin, from "flumen". For phonetic reasons, it is opposed by Jokl, Çabej and Vasmer, who support an Albanian source of it. Çabej writes that its original form may have been Lym (silt). It appears in the first Albanian writings between the 16th and 17th centuries: in Buzuku, Bardhi and Bogdani, also as "lym". (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes V*, K -M, Botime Çabej, Tiranë 2014, page 253); Petar Skok, also opposes the idea that the word river has a Latin origin, where he supports its Albanian origin (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, Knjiga druga, K-poni, Jugoslovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zagreb 1972, page 303);

¹³⁸⁰ Branislav Đurđev & Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-Bega Crnojevića*. Druga sveska. Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 1973, 31

¹³⁸¹ Константин Лиречек, *Историја Срба. Друга књига – Културна историја. Народна књига. Београд 1952*, p.46; In relation to the first mention, Jireček may have referred here to a document of 1418, drawn up by the administration of Dubrovnik, in which a man named Vladoe Mataruch appears. (DAD, *Diversa Notariae*, fond 9, ser 1, vol 3, god 1318-1320, fol 34)

In terms of geographical extent, the tribal community discussed in this chapter seems quite wide and scattered, always judging in the time context and compared to other groups. The part where they appeared most densely is the upper area of Katunska Nahija, namely the territories known today as Grahovo, Banjani, and Nikšićke Rudine.¹³⁸² According to the data derived from the collective memory, their central residence is said to have been the village of Petrovići.¹³⁸³ However, judging according to the Slavic literature, this community has also extended to other geographical units, that is, beyond the borders mentioned above. Thus, during his research work in the village of Stijena of Piperi, Jovan Erdeljanović had distinguished a toponym and human lineage that was identified through the notion of Mataruga, who according to him could be descendants of a non-Serbian people.¹³⁸⁴ Extended branches of this community also appear in the tribal regions of Morača, Rovca, Vasojevići,¹³⁸⁵ as well as in the coastal area, to which speaks the name of a village in the upper part of Dubrovnik, called Mataruga, which is encountered in written sources since in the 15th century.¹³⁸⁶ In the eastern direction, in 1477 a detached line of them is mentioned as part of the Ottoman kadiluk of Prijepolje, where it is said that they owned three villages with a total of 97 inhabited houses.¹³⁸⁷ Here there is still a village called Mataruga, which, along with others, also includes an inhabited unit, called Obarde,¹³⁸⁸ a toponym that is similar to the word Bardhë (white) in Albanian. Remnants of this group can also be seen in the district of Kralevo, where there is also the toponym Mataruga, which Ivan Popović deals with in the context of Albanian traces on Serbian land.¹³⁸⁹

¹³⁸² Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974*, page 166

¹³⁸³ Ђурђица Петровић, *Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997*, p. 109

¹³⁸⁴ Јован Ердeљановић, *Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997*, page 487

¹³⁸⁵ Božidar Šekularac, *Tragovi starih naroda u Crnoj Gori – Mataruge kod Pljevalja. Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje. Posebna Izdanja, knjiga 44. Cetinje 2000*, page 146

¹³⁸⁶ Ђурђица Петровић, *Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997*, p. 98

¹³⁸⁷ Ђурђица Петровић, *Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997*, p.112

¹³⁸⁸ Božidar Šekularac, *Tragovi starih naroda u Crnoj Gori – Mataruge kod Pljevalja. Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje. Posebna Izdanja, knjiga 44. Cetinje 2000*, page 145

¹³⁸⁹ „Иван Поповић је у својој историји српскохрватског језика топоним Матаруге код Краљева и још неке из тога краја (Гокчаница) истакао као трагове Албанаца на тлу Србије.“ (Александар Лома, *Матаруге као ономастички проблем. Оноματοлошки прилози XXV. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Београд 2018*, page 16)

Regarding the way of life and the characteristics of the members of this community, the only data are those that originate from oral tradition. Thus, according to the narratives in the Korjeníci region, the people of the Mataruga tribe are described as warriors and vine-growers, while from the Banjani group, as people with strong working qualities.¹³⁹⁰ The Montenegrin researcher Božidar Šekularac also mentions the salt trade as a feature, as well as the engagement against payment for guarding trade caravans during journeys.¹³⁹¹ As for the collective features, this community seems to have extended even among high mountainous areas, where their pastoral lifestyle was conducted. This is explained by two early documents from the archives of Dubrovnik, documents drawn up in 1379 and 1389, where it is talked about Mataruga pastoral villages.¹³⁹² In terms of military organization, there is not enough data to create a clear overview. It is only known that one of their leaders was called Sumor and is believed to have been killed in the war.¹³⁹³ Meanwhile, according to the memories inherited in Grahovo, this community had taken in shelter a widow with four orphaned sons of the Kastrioti family, who had served for a while within the tribe.¹³⁹⁴

Regarding the ethnic affiliation of the discussed tribal organization, there is a wide consensus in science that it was not a Slavic community at the source.¹³⁹⁵ According to the Croatian albanologist Milan Sufflay, the Matarugas were nothing but an early community of Albanians, a hypothesis supported by Konstantin Jireček and Bogumil Hrabak later.¹³⁹⁶ As far as the ethnic anatomy is concerned, Risto Kovijanić maintains a more reserved position, at the same time expressing his conviction that the medieval society in question must have been a Romanized Illyrian community, who were either displaced or ethnically merged by the later

¹³⁹⁰ Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, p. 123

¹³⁹¹ Božidar Šekularac, Tragovi starih naroda u Crnoj Gori – Mataruge kod Pljevalja. Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje. Posebna Izdanja, knjiga 44. Cetinje 2000, page 150

¹³⁹² Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, p. 123-124

¹³⁹³ Андрија Лубурић, Дробњац – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, page 17

¹³⁹⁴ Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, p.122

¹³⁹⁵ Tatomir Vukanović, Terminologija plemenskog Društva u Crnoj Gori. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.210; Јован Ердељановић, Кучи Братоножићи Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 487;

¹³⁹⁶ Мирко Барјактаровић, О именима, насеља Матаруга. САНУ. Гласник Етнографског Института. Књига XLII, Београд 1993, p.74

arrivals.¹³⁹⁷ Vladimir Ćorović seems a little more concrete, when in his work on Yugoslav history in 1933, apart from ascertaining their non-Slavic origin, he draws a parallel of connection between the Matarugas and the Albanian Matranga bloodline, which is mentioned in old documents as far back as the 13th century.¹³⁹⁸ Meanwhile, etymological studies of the notion that names this tribal community have also produced a bipolar situation. Jireček appears confused between the Latin word *matare* and the Albanian *mat*, while according to Petar Skok, this appellative may be a symbiosis between the Latin word *mataris*, which refers to short Celtic spears, as well as the Slavic suffix *uga*.¹³⁹⁹ Unlike him, Ćiro Truhelka has a different opinion, in fact he treats the notion of Mataruga as an Illyrian linguistic remnant, which means a long road,¹⁴⁰⁰ and apparently he raised this hypothesis based on the combination of the two Albanian words *madh* (*big*) and *rrugë* (*road*).¹⁴⁰¹ In addition, Truhelka writes that in the source this pre-Slavic community may have received the name for two reasons, the first because they were located near the great Roman roads or because they had an obligation to guard them. One of the arguments, based on which his assumption may have been based, is the existence of the old road Dubrovnik - Onogosht, precisely in the territories inhabited by this group.¹⁴⁰²

In the course of the debate on the affiliation or ethnic type of the Mataruga tribal community, the researcher Đurđica Petrović, writes that the logic of naming this community is the same as that which has named other Albanian groups such as Mataguzh, Matarango, Sloruch

¹³⁹⁷ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 163.*

¹³⁹⁸ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 166; „Владимир Ћоровић је индиректно повезао Матаруге са познатом албанском властеоском породицом Матаранго.“ (Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, page 100); The connection between the Matranga and Mataruga communities has also been supported by the Montenegrin researcher Božidar Šekularac. In one of his works he writes: “*Mataruge se prvi put pominju 1297 godine, uzgred prinabrajanju vlasteoskih porodica kao “Matarango”, što je bio povod da se Mataruge dovode u vezu sa arbanaškim porijeklom.* (Božidar Šekularac, *Tragovi starih naroda u Crnoj Gori – Mataruge kod Pljevalja. Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje. Posebna Izdanja, knjiga 44. Cetinje 2000, page 148*).*

¹³⁹⁹ Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, page 100

¹⁴⁰⁰ Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, p. 100; Božidar Šekularac, *Tragovi starih naroda u Crnoj Gori – Mataruge kod Pljevalja. Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje. Posebna Izdanja, knjiga 44. Cetinje 2000, page 146*

¹⁴⁰¹ Đurđica Petrović also made such an etymological interpretation of the word Mataruga. (Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, page 106)

¹⁴⁰² Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, p.109

and *Cataruc*.¹⁴⁰³ Moreover, he defines this group within the Albanian ethnic corpus, as well as other pre-Slavic tribes such as Spani or Bukumiri.¹⁴⁰⁴ In addition to other arguments, Petrović also relies on narratives from the Montenegrin collective memory from Grahovo and Krivošije, according to which the Matarugas did not speak Serbian and were not Orthodox.¹⁴⁰⁵ Mirko Barjaktarović also writes about a different origin compared to the Serbian population, who treats the Matarugas, just like the Macurs and the Kričis, as ethnically old groups, most likely Albanian in essence.¹⁴⁰⁶ It seems that the Montenegrin researcher Božidar Šekularac shares the same belief about the ethnic source of the aforementioned community, according to whom it was an old collective of Albanians or Vlachs, located in the current Montenegrin territory during the 13th century,¹⁴⁰⁷ although the documentary basis for their treatment as an society of arrivals is quite poor. In fact, according to the narratives inherited in the upper Montenegrin parts, the Mataruga tribal community is remembered to have had an exclusive approach to the groups that arrived later, and this, according to Petar Šobajić, speaks of a very old tradition of theirs in the territory they possessed.¹⁴⁰⁸ Whereas, the fact that in old documents, especially among the documents of the notary chancelleries of Kotor from 1397, members of this community also appear under Slavic names such as *Dobroslav Mattaruga* and *Radiza de Motoruge*, does not constitute any obstacle in treating them as non-Slavic groups. In this context, Risto Kovijanić, regarding the use

¹⁴⁰³ „На претпоставку о албанском пореклу Матаруга наводи пре свега њихово име, чији прва - мата и други део – руг, припадају кругу албанских имена *Mataguzh, Matarango, Sloruch, Kataruc*.” (Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, page 106); The *Catarucos* community is mentioned within the Albanian tribes since the first part of the 14th century, more precisely in an Anjou document from 1304. (Иван Божић, Албанија и Арбанаси у XIII, XIV и XV веку. Глас СССХХVIII. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Београд 1983, p.45)

¹⁴⁰⁴ „Карактеристично је да су такозвани стари народи у предањима у динарској области добрим делом били албанског порекла: Шпање, Лужани, Букумири, Матагужи итд.” (Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, p.106)
Ђурђица Петровић, Матаруге у касном средњем веку. Гласник Цетињских Музеја. Књига X, Цетиње 1997, p.106

¹⁴⁰⁶ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 20

¹⁴⁰⁷ „У почетку то је била групација стоčара арбанаског и влашког поријекла са родоначелником Матаругом, који је дошао на наше просторе крајем XIII вијека”. (Božidar Šekularac, Tragovi starih naroda u Crnoj Gori – Mataruge kod Pljevalja. Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje. Posebna Izdanja, knjiga 44. Cetinje 2000, page 151)

¹⁴⁰⁸ „Вредни су пажње из народних предања, да је некад Матарушкој цркви у Парезу долазило по седам седленика са сребнастим седлима, из чега се види да су Матаруге некад били врло имућни. И ово: Матаруге су гледали с висине на друга банјска братства, досељавања с разних страна, што указује на то да су Матаруге имале јаке традиције из прошлости.” (Петар Шобајић, Поводом двају најновијих прилога проучавању племена у старој Херцеговини. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Београд 1952, page 260)

of this type of anthroponyms, writes that their appearance may be a consequence of ethnic merging and early Slavization.¹⁴⁰⁹

The medieval Mataruga society, like many other old and non-Serbian communities, did not escape ethnic alienation and eventual expulsion by other groups that had recently arrived in their territories.¹⁴¹⁰ However, in the Montenegrin collective memory there are narratives of certain bloodlines which, although merged in the Slavs, were until recently considered direct descendants of the old Mataruga line. According to Andrija Luburić, the Pavičević bloodline within the Pješivci community is a kinship line formed by Rade Mataruga, who is mentioned since the time of the nobleman Ivan Crnojević.¹⁴¹¹ Still according to him, the Kokotovići and Miškovići family groups in the Banjani tribal region are considered to be the descendants of the medieval Matarugas,¹⁴¹² a theory also supported by another researcher Petar Šobajić.¹⁴¹³ Meanwhile, Risto Kovijanić is of the opinion that Serbianized Matarugas can also exist among the Montenegrin Riđani community as well as Korjenić in Herzegovina.¹⁴¹⁴

6.5 Kriči

The data from the Montenegrin collective memory say that in the northeastern part of today's Montenegrin territory, until the late medieval period, there was an old tribal community, known through the notion of Kriči. Although the boundaries of the area populated by them cannot be precisely defined, it seems that most of the settlements of this group were located near the mountain massif of Durmitor,¹⁴¹⁵ within the triangle Drobnjak - Morača - Potarje.¹⁴¹⁶ Beyond

¹⁴⁰⁹ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, page 167.

¹⁴¹⁰ Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije*. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski štampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 216

¹⁴¹¹ Božidar Šekularac, *Tragovi starih naroda u Crnoj Gori – Mataruge kod Pljevalja*. Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje. Posebna Izdanja, knjiga 44. Cetinje 2000, page 148

¹⁴¹² Андрија Лубурић, *Дробњац – Племя у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу)*. Београд 1930, page 19

¹⁴¹³ Božidar Šekularac, *Tragovi starih naroda u Crnoj Gori – Mataruge kod Pljevalja*. Centralna narodna biblioteka Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje. Posebna Izdanja, knjiga 44. Cetinje 2000, p.146

¹⁴¹⁴ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni Crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim Spomenicima*. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, p.149

¹⁴¹⁵ Jovan Cvijić, *Psihičke osobine južnih slovena*. ISBN-13: 978-1530011575, p.76-77

this land unit, according to the Serbian researcher Andrija Luburić, extended branches are said to have also been in Vranina, Kolašin, Jelec, as far as Foča,¹⁴¹⁷ to which the topographic notions left as a legacy of this grouping speak of. In addition, Nićifor Dučić, a Serbian historian and theologian, wrote that once the whole region of Kolašin was called Kričak, due to the type of people that populated the place.¹⁴¹⁸ The Kričis are described as a stratum of people that owned the pastoral life, used the pastures of Sinjavina, the Šaranci and Jezero foothills,¹⁴¹⁹ while from the eastern side, the water courses of Tara and Lim.

Balkan literature often treats this community as a separate line, or a kind of autonomous branch of the Mataruga tribal community,¹⁴²⁰ a hypothesis which has not been opposed by the scientific community that has focused on the Montenegrin past. The collective memory says that the Kričis were appropriated from the rest of the Matarugas, after the fall of their king Sumor in battle in front of the newly arrived Slavic armies in southern Herzegovina.¹⁴²¹ However, separation did not culminate in the creation of a secure environment, at least not for long, as their lands and other material goods were once again threatened, this time by a powerful tribal organization, called Drobnjak. In the conflicts between them, which from the collective memory are described as quite serious armed clashes, which resulted in bloodshed on both sides, the Kričis lost most of their territories.¹⁴²² Although the paucity of data makes it difficult to draw a conclusion on the general condition of this community after the losses in the north, it seems that

¹⁴¹⁶ For the extent of the Kričis in Morača, see: Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 43; For the Kričis in Drobnjak see: Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД. Подгорица 1996, p.54;

¹⁴¹⁷ Андрија Лубурић, Дробњаци – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, p.277

¹⁴¹⁸ Андрија Лубурић, Дробњаци – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, p.18

¹⁴¹⁹ Андрија Лубурић, Дробњаци – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, p.3

¹⁴²⁰ Tatomir Vukanović, Terminologija plemenskog Društva u Crnoj Gori. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.210; „Као што смо пре рекли Криче сматрају за део народа Матаруга.“ (Андрија Лубурић, Дробњаци – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, page 17); *“Zna se, u Drobnjacima je živjelo staro pleme Kriči, ogranak poromanjenog ilirskog plemena Mataruga, starosjedilaca ovoga kraja.”* (Risto Kovicanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, page 181); Петар Шобајић, Поводом двају најновијих прилога проучавању племена у старој Херцеговини. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Београд 1952. page 267

¹⁴²¹ Андрија Лубурић, Дробњаци – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, page 17

¹⁴²² Андрија Лубурић, Дробњаци – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, page 3.

a different circumstance prevailed in the southern part of its extension. Thus, since the Drobnjaks did not take possession of regions such as Morača and Kolašin after the triumph, then it is difficult to assume that the southern Kričis were affected by the abovementioned fighting. Data from folk memory say that the latter could have been hit in the meantime by the fighting forces of Bogić,¹⁴²³ who came from the region of Hoti, from which today it is said that a large part of Morača's bloodlines originate.

For the first time in written historical sources, the community of Kriči is mentioned in the charter of the Serbian king Stefan Uroš I, in 1260, on the occasion of defining the boundaries of the village of Prošćenje,¹⁴²⁴ a toponym that has survived and continues to be the name of a village in the northern part of the Montenegrin centre Mojkovac. Above this place, to the right of the course of the Tara river, there is even now a region called Kričak, which, according to the Serbian researcher Mihailo Dinić, may have been part of the oldest possessions of this tribal community.¹⁴²⁵ Later, there are documents from the notary of Kotor that contain valuable data, which, among other things, also talk about the involvement of some people of this tribe in the economic and social developments in the tribal settlements. Thus, on 12 May 1327, a *Cricco Vitomiri* appears in the written materials as the owner of a plot of land in Grbalj.¹⁴²⁶ Meanwhile, in the documents drawn up during the first part of the 14th century, a man named *Loro de Criçco* is also mentioned as the owner of a house in Kotor.¹⁴²⁷ The Balkan researcher Andrija Luburić writes that the appearance of the Kričis in documentary sources is also a phenomenon in later centuries, and he singles out three different examples. According to him, in 1492, in the village

¹⁴²³ The collective memory speaks of an armed clash between the forces of Bogići and the Macurs, where the leader of the latter, Shtiko, remains dead on the battlefield. Since next to the Macurs, the Kričis are also mentioned as another early society in Morača, then it is difficult to treat them separately in this development. Always bearing in mind that after this conflict the old human element is no longer mentioned within the active society in the region of Morača. So just like the Macurs and the Kričis, here too they may have been displaced or merged. For Bogići's war against the Macurs, see for more: Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 43.

¹⁴²⁴ Јован Свијић, *Psihičke osobine južnih slovena*. ISBN-13: 978-1530011575, pages 76-77; Павле С. Радусиновић. Становништво Црне Горе до 1945 године, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна Издања, књ. DXV, Одељење друштвених наука књ.80, Београд 1978, page 34; Božidar Šekularac, referring to Ljuba Stojanović, gives the first appearance of the Kriči community in the year 1264 (Božidar Šekularac, *Dukljansko-Crnogorski istorijski obzori*. Centralna narodna biblioteke Republike Crne Gore "Đurđe Crnojević" – Cetinje, Cetinje 2000, p.147)

¹⁴²⁵ Михаило Динић, *Српске земље у средњем веку*. Београд, 1978, page 257

¹⁴²⁶ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, p.183

¹⁴²⁷ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, page 183

of Poljice of Dalmatia, *David Kričković* is mentioned, in 1528 in Kruševica of Katunska Nahija, *Nikola Kričak* appears, while in a record of the monastery of Hilandari, which is believed to have been created in the time interval between the 16th and 17th centuries, the name *Filip Kričko* is read.¹⁴²⁸

Discussions on the ethnic anatomy of the Kriči tribal community have so far not gone into much depth, moreover, most of the Balkan researchers seem to be content with defining them as an old pre-Slavic community.¹⁴²⁹ However, there have been cases when scientific personalities have said something more concretely about their linguistic and cultural affiliation. The Serbian academic Vladimir Ćorović writes that the Kričis may have been named either based on the Thracian word *krisio* or the Albanian word *kryzi*, which would have meant dark haired or dark people,¹⁴³⁰ an assumption supported by Tatomir Vukanović later.¹⁴³¹ In this context, the fact that a rather large Albanian tribal group (*Kryeziu*) is also called with this notion, not to allude to a connection between them, but to tell that in the culture of the Albanians this appellative was acceptable to name a collective of people. Another possibility of origin is the Albanian word *kryqi* (cross),¹⁴³² which in a Slavic environment turns into *kriči*, acquiring a form very similar to the name of the community under discussion. In addition, a phenomenon like this also appears among Albanian dialects, for which Eqrem Çabej takes the example of southern Tosk and the old Albanian of the Arbëresh of Italy.¹⁴³³

The Montenegrin ethnologist Mirko Barjaktarović, in his work on the region of Rovca, writes that the Kričis, along with the Matarugas and Macurs, who are described as the first or old population, may have been temporary or permanent pastoral groups, of a different origin compared to the Slavs.¹⁴³⁴ According to him, it is most likely talked about Albanians, partially

¹⁴²⁸ Андрија Лубурић, Дробњаџи – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, page 18

¹⁴²⁹ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, page 181-182

¹⁴³⁰ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, page 182

¹⁴³¹ Петар Влаховић, Кричи и зачеци њиховог етничког раслојавања. Гласник Етнографског Друштва у Београду. Књига 33, Београд 1970, page 95

¹⁴³² Albanian word formed on the basis of the Latin "crucem" (Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike ne fushë të shqipes V. K-M. Botime Çabej. Tiranë 2014, page 149)

¹⁴³³ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike ne fushë të shqipes V. K-M. Botime Çabej. Tiranë 2014, page 149

¹⁴³⁴ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 20

Romanized, who appeared in the time interval between the 13th and 15th centuries.¹⁴³⁵ Regarding the topic of ethnic affiliation or type, Božidar Šekularac defines the Kričis as a pre-Slavic tribal community (*staro pastirsko pleme starosedeoca*),¹⁴³⁶ but without saying whether it is about Vlachs or Albanians. Unlike him, the Serbian researcher Ivan Božić is of the opinion that the Kričis could be Vlach pastoral societies, as well as the *Drobnjaci*, *Banjani*, *Nikšići*, and *Ridani* groups.¹⁴³⁷ However, due to the very fact that the aforementioned community is considered a separate branch of the Matarugas, an explicit exception to the hypothesis that speaks of their Albanian source can hardly be accepted. Among other things, according to the inherited narratives, one of the voivodes of Kričis was called Kaloka,¹⁴³⁸ an anthroponym very close to the name Paloka in Albanian. While the surnames of the communities in Nefertare, such as Kaljići and Micani, now Islamized but who hold to be descendants of the Kriči community,¹⁴³⁹ are other sparks that help define their ethnicity. The name of the first bloodline mentioned may have been formed based on the Albanian word kalë (horse), while in the case of the surname Micani there are two possible origins, from the Albanian anthroponym Mic, or possibly from Vlach where this word expresses something small.¹⁴⁴⁰

In the context of time, like many other pre-Slavic communities that appear in documents of the time and among inherited narratives, the Kriči tribal grouping, too, had not managed to preserve its compactness and features, including language and other cultural specifics. According to the Balkan historiography, a part of them may have found another habitat, clearly moving

¹⁴³⁵ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања, Књига 17, Титоград 1984, page 20

¹⁴³⁶ Božidar Šekularac, *Dukljansko-Crnogorski istorijski obzori*. Centralna narodna biblioteke Republike Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević” – Cetinje, Cetinje 2000, page 147

¹⁴³⁷ Иван Божић, Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, page 188)

¹⁴³⁸ Петар Шобајић, Поводом двају најновијих прилога проучавању племена у старој Херцеговини. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Београд 1952, page 267; Андрија Лубурић, Дробњаци – Племена у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу). Београд 1930, p.19.

¹⁴³⁹ Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна Књига, Београд, 1952, p.47

¹⁴⁴⁰ Among the Albanians there is the surname Kalaj, which may have been formed on the basis of the same linguistic logic and which appears to be quite extensive in terms of geography. As for the anthroponym Mic, its use is sufficiently documented in the north of Albania. For example, one of the Albanian leaders of the anti-Ottoman battles at the end of the 19th century was called *Mic Sokoli*. The anthroponym Mic also appears in Albanian environments in the register of the Sanjak of Prizren in 1571, such as Mic Gika in the village of Pirana, Mic Gjon in the village of Роровас, etc., (Татјана Катић, Опширни попис Призренског Санџака из 1571 године. Историјски Институт, Посебна Издања, Књига 58, Београд 2010, pp. 220 and 249); Among other things, in Albania and Kosovo, even now there are surnames Micaj and Mici, which are similar to the notion of Micani.

away from the territorial core, while the rest remaining in the Montenegrin depths, over time, are absorbed by more powerful groups and are ethnically alienated.¹⁴⁴¹ Thus, in addition to the groups in Nefertare, it is said that even in Drobnjak, until 1875, there was a Slavized family line that was held as their descendants.¹⁴⁴² Moreover, in the first part of the twentieth century, Andrija Jovičević had documented in Riječka Nahija a bloodline called Kričije, who were said to have come from Komani near Zagarač.¹⁴⁴³ Still according to the collective memory, this community is said to have been located in the village of Gaci, from where a small part then goes to Vranjina and today bears the surname Radanovići.¹⁴⁴⁴ Although the Montenegrin ethnologist Jovičević does not seem sure of a direct connection between them and the old Kričis, he still highlights the similarities between the two notions.¹⁴⁴⁵

6.6 Mataguži

According to documentary, material and Montenegrin collective memory, the Mataguži tribal community may be one of the earliest human groups recorded in the Zeta plain. There is not much data on the form of organization and the number of settlements, so it is irrational to speak precisely about the boundaries of the extension and their size in the demographic plane. However, due to the very fact that there is a village called Mataguži even today near the region of Hoti, it can be assumed that their epicentre must have been somewhere in that territory.¹⁴⁴⁶ Montenegrin stories say that this people once had its own ruler, whose buildings were located on the lower side of this village.¹⁴⁴⁷ According to ethnologist Andrija Jovičević, the remains of these

¹⁴⁴¹ *"Potpuno su asimilovani ili prognani ostaci nekih grupa, kao što su Mataruge, Macure, Mugoše, Kričkovi, i pravi vlasli, koji se često pominju kao imena bratstava i plemena."* (Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, p.216*); *Kriče, "staro pastirsko pleme, starosedeoca u predelu Jezera" potisnuli su Drobnjaci prije 1390 godine, dijelom asimilovali, a djelom istjerali na desnu obalu Tare."* (Božidar Šekularac, *Dukljansko-Crnogorski istorijski obzori. Centralna narodna biblioteke Republike Crne Gore "Đurđe Crnojević" – Cetinje, Cetinje 2000, p.147*); Андрија Лубурић, *Дробњаци – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу)*. Београд 1930, р. 3

¹⁴⁴² Андрија Лубурић, *Дробњаци – Плење у Херцеговини (Порекло, прошлост и етничка улога у нашем народу)*. Београд 1930, р.19

¹⁴⁴³ Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија у Црној Гори, ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 277*; To distinguish it from the Komani of Albania, the expression "Komani near Zagarač" is used.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија у Црној Гори, ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 277*

¹⁴⁴⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, *Ријечка Нахија у Црној Гори, ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 277*

¹⁴⁴⁶ Andrija Jovičević, *Malesija, Dielli*, Beograd 2019, page 17

¹⁴⁴⁷ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи–Братоножићи–Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 46*

palaces were seen even in his time, including a church which is thought to have been demolished by the Ottoman authorities during their rule.¹⁴⁴⁸ In connection with their history, there is another opinion in Slavic literature; that this community was originally located near the Bukumiris in Kuči, who then moved to the Shkodra lake shore.¹⁴⁴⁹ However, in the face of medieval written documents which define the Mataguži as a community in the Zeta plane, this narrative can hardly be taken for granted. Perhaps an interpretation of the researcher Božidar Šekularac has a chance to be correct, where it is said that the appearance in two different geographical units may have come as a result of the summer settlements (*tëbane, stane, mandra*) of their cattlemen in the high areas of Kuči.¹⁴⁵⁰

According to researcher Konstantin Jireček, the notion that names this tribal community appears for the first time in historical documents in 1330, in the territory near Podgorica.¹⁴⁵¹ Apparently, Jireček refers to the medieval charter of the Monastery of Dečan, in which it is said that in an Albanian small village of Zeta (*arbanaski katun*), one of the men was named *Matagouzh*.¹⁴⁵² Apart from this written material, there seems to be no other data during the 14th century, but the circumstances change a century later, where the appellative of this society appears much more densely, thus creating a more suitable scientific ground to trace their history. Consequently, in the Venetian administrative summary for the cadastre and concessions of the district of Shkodra (1416-1417), in the village of *Grisa*, an environment where names or patronyms in Albanian are dominant, a *Lazaro Matagulsi* appears.¹⁴⁵³ On the twelfth day of May, 1431, *Dimitrus de Miocho de Mathagusis* appears in the documents of the coastal city of Kotor, as a party to a legal dispute,¹⁴⁵⁴ while on 6 September 1455, Mataguži is mentioned as

¹⁴⁴⁸ Andrija Jovičević, Malesija, Dielli, Beograd 2019, page 17

¹⁴⁴⁹ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 138

¹⁴⁵⁰ “No, zabilježeno je i predanje da su Matagužani živjeli i u Kučima, kao stari narod. Vjeruje se da su u pitanju isti Matagužani (u Zeti i Kučima) a da je njihovo pojavljivanje na dva mjesta povezano sa pomjeranjem stoke na zimska i ljetnja pasišta.” (Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narrativni podaci o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica, Godina XII, broj 46/47, Ljeto/Jesen 2011, Cetinje-Podgorica 2011, page 267)

¹⁴⁵¹ Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна Књига, Београд, 1952, page 46

¹⁴⁵² Александар Лома, Матаруге као ономастички проблем. Ономатолошки прилози XXV. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Београд 2018, page 24

¹⁴⁵³ Sime Ljubić, Skadarski Zemljišnik od god.1416. Starine, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, knjiga XIV, Zagreb, 1882, page 39

¹⁴⁵⁴ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, strana 57

companie over communi.¹⁴⁵⁵ Pursuant to the last document, it is known that the society in question may have been quite structured and involved in the political developments of the time. Four decades later, precisely in 1460, another relevant document appears. According to the content, it is understood that six men of the Mataguži tribe donate a real property to the Monastery of Saint Nicholas in Vranina, where one of them bears the surname *Buza*.¹⁴⁵⁶ According to the linguist Idriz Ajeti, this word corresponds to Albanian and eventually Romanian linguistics, as long as it is not found present in the Slavic world.¹⁴⁵⁷

In the debate on the ethnicity of this tribal community, there is initially a consensus in science that it was an old non-Slavic society.¹⁴⁵⁸ Then, the interpretations became more specific, that is, they move to the level of concrete discussions about their ethnicity, where Konstantin Jireček first appears, for whom the Matagužis were a collective of Albanians.¹⁴⁵⁹ Apparently this definition dominates the scientific debate, due to the poor basis of other competing hypotheses.¹⁴⁶⁰ Milan Shufflay and Jovan Erdeljanović share the same point of view with the researcher Jireček regarding their origins,¹⁴⁶¹ as did Ivan Božić later.¹⁴⁶² Meanwhile, the Russian diplomat Ivan Jastrebov, although he avoids a definite conclusion on the ethnic type, writes that the notion that names the old Mataguži society belongs to the Albanian linguistic fund.¹⁴⁶³ It is very likely that his opinion was dictated by the fact, according to which the Slavic lexicon does not provide a more convincing word in the etymological context, unlike Albanian, which has an

¹⁴⁵⁵ Sime Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih izmedju Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, Knjiga X, Zagreb 1891, page 68

¹⁴⁵⁶ Божидар Шекуларац, *Дукљанско-Зетске повеље*. Историјски Институт СР Црне Горе. Титоград 1987, page 114

¹⁴⁵⁷ Idriz Ajeti, *Prolog proučavanju medjusobnih šiptarsko-srpskih Jezičkih odnosa*, Gjurmime Albanologjike, Fakulteti filozofik i Prishtinës, Katedra Albanaologjike, Numër 2, Prishtine 1965, page 39

¹⁴⁵⁸ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u Kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*, knjiga II, Istorijski Institut SR Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, page 55

¹⁴⁵⁹ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 96

¹⁴⁶⁰ One of the competing theories is that represented by the Serbian researcher Sima Ćirković, who considers the communities Mataguži, Banjani, Bačići, Bobani, Bogdašići, Drobnjaci, Zupci, Kresojevići, Nikšići, Liverovići, Riđani and Ugarci to be Vlach in the sense of origin. (Božidar Šekularac, *Vlasi na Crnogorskom primorju*. Matica, godina X, broj 40, zima 2009, Cetinje-Podgorica 2009, page 159)

¹⁴⁶¹ Milan Shufflay, *Serbet dhe Shqiptarët*. Rilindja, Prishtine 1968, pages 61-62; Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 138

¹⁴⁶² „Скадарски кнез није успио да привуче на млетачку страну ни арбанаске ратничке дружине Хота и Матагуџа, који су у доба Балшића повремено ступале у службу Републике.“ (Иван Божић, *Зета у деспотовини*. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, page 135.)

¹⁴⁶³ Иван С Јастребов, *Стара Србија и Албанија*. Службени Гласник, 2020, page 63

adequate interpretation. It seems that this was read in time by Erdeljanović, who, in the first part of the twentieth century, assumed that the appellative Mataguži had a chance to be created based on some human nickname, while he sought the meaning from the connection of the Albanian words *madh* (*big*) and *gushë* (*fat neck or goiter*).¹⁴⁶⁴ Then, in the scientific debate regarding the etymology of the notion, the Serbian researcher Vasa Čubrilović seems to have been involved, who accepts the Albanian source of the notion, but states that Mataguži must have been an early Slavized community.¹⁴⁶⁵ However, in relation to their ethnic definition, things became quite clear in a document drawn up by the authority of Dubrovnik in 1430, when the community in question is referred to as *Matagusij Albanensibus*.¹⁴⁶⁶

Beyond the above interpretations, the connection of this tribal society with the Albanian ethnicity is also visible in the data collected from the toponymy plane. Thus, around the current village of Mataguži, there are several place names such as *Fenšta*, *Šoćevica*, *Lekaculja*, *Gašova Ćola* and *Mljace*,¹⁴⁶⁷ which are very close to Albanian language. While the first four seem to be microtoponyms created on the words *Vneshta* (*vineyard*) and *Shoq* (*friend*), as well as from the anthroponym *Lekë* or the tribal appellative *Gashi*,¹⁴⁶⁸ in relation to the last notion the matter seems to be more complex. In the etymological dictionary of Eqrem Çabej, there are some notions that have been developed from the word *mel* (millet) in Albanian (*melace*, *melce*, *melak*)¹⁴⁶⁹ which have similarities with the given microtoponymy. Moreover, in the territory of the Dajç village of Shkodra, according to the records of Dom Gaspër Gurakuqi, there was once a place called *Melace*.¹⁴⁷⁰ In this context, taking as a basis the fact that this word does not seem

¹⁴⁶⁴ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 138

¹⁴⁶⁵ „За катуне са арбанаским именима као Малоншићи, Крусе, Ђеђези, Гољемаде, Матагуџи, Букумири, данас је врло тешко утврдити колико су стварно они били насељени Арбанасима и када се славенизирају. Међутим, судећи по називима места у областима где су ови катунци постојали и по сачуваним именима и презименима њихова становништва у XV веку, они су у то доба веч потпуно славизирани. Међутим, мада су били славизирани бивши власки и арбанаски катунци имали су у својој родовској организацији и њеној патриархалној култури много сличног и сродног са арбанашким братствима с којима се сусречу на границама данашње Црне Горе и Албаније у XIV и XV веку.“ (Васа Чубриловић. Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд, 1974, page 63)

¹⁴⁶⁶ DAD, Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 193

¹⁴⁶⁷ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, page 83

¹⁴⁶⁸ Gašova Ćola must be a later toponym.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Eqrem Çabej, Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipes V. K-M. Botime Çabej. Tiranë 2014, page 316

¹⁴⁷⁰ Dom Gasper Gurakuqi, Fiset e veriut dhe Dioqezat, Pakti, Tiranë 2019, page 53

widespread among the South Slavs,¹⁴⁷¹ then the assumption that this microtoponym is a cultural remnant from some early collective of Albanians cannot be ruled out. However, the toponyms listed so far are not the only examples. In the southern part of the village of Mataguži, a place is called Dreka^{vac},¹⁴⁷² which most likely developed from the anthroponym Ndrekë, an Albanianized form of the name Andrea.

Despite the fact that the toponym has survived for many centuries, based on the inherited narratives, it seems that most of the current members within the village of Mataguži are not descendants of the old population stratum.¹⁴⁷³ The collective memory speaks of their movement towards Prizren,¹⁴⁷⁴ but because this emigration cannot be traced, moreover, in Prizren there are no known descendants of the Matagužis, then their caravan may not have ended there. However, the abandonment of their villages is said to have been done for two sole reasons, the presence of strong winds which had a negative impact on the culture of crops, as well as the rise in the level of Lake Shkodra, which resulted in flooding of arable lands.¹⁴⁷⁵ According to the Montenegrin ethnologist Andrija Jovičević, with the exception of two lines that had passed through the nearby village of Golubovci, such as Korovići and Stankovići, for other old Matagužis there are no traces in the Zeta plain.¹⁴⁷⁶

6.7 Macurs

Pursuant to the materials from the scientific discipline of onomastics and collective memory, the Macurs represent an old community,¹⁴⁷⁷ therefore a rather branched and dispersed tribal community. According to the researcher Petar Vlahović, this is a group which in the

¹⁴⁷¹ The notion *mljace* does not appear in the etymological dictionary of the Croatian linguist Petar Skok. (Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*. Knjiga druga, K-Poni, Jugoslovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb 1972, pages 444-445); In the Serbo-Croatian-Albanian dictionary of the Albanian Institute of Prishtina, there is a word “*mljackati*” which means eating with noise or lip-smacking (Fjalor Serbokroatisht Shqip, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1974, page 374), but it does not seem like a notion to name a territory and real estate.

¹⁴⁷² Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, map given in the appendix.

¹⁴⁷³ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, p.69

¹⁴⁷⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, p.23

¹⁴⁷⁵ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, p.23

¹⁴⁷⁶ Андрија Јовичевић, Зета и Љешкопоље – Скадарско језеро. ЦИД, Подгорица, 1999, p.23

¹⁴⁷⁷ Savo Brković, *O postanku i razvoju Crnogorske Nacije*, Grafički Zavod, Titograd, 1974, p.26

context of time, along with the Spanis, Matarugas, Bukumiris or Kričis, belongs to the oldest stratum of people within the current Montenegrin territory.¹⁴⁷⁸ Since their cultural remnants appear mainly in deep mountainous areas of pastoral character, it is very likely that the aforementioned community, for a considerable time, developed a largely autonomous life. Based on the narratives preserved until recently, it is understood that on the confessional level they followed the Latin line of Christianity, at least until their departure or ethnic merging.¹⁴⁷⁹ There are not enough data, based on which it can be assumed about a nomadic population,¹⁴⁸⁰ moreover the microtoponyms that are connected with their name, speak of a regular life and permanent settlements within the regions where they appear.

In the course of discussions on the basic territory or presence, the Montenegrin ethnologist Mirko Barjaktarović, who seems to have traced a part of their past in detail, writes that this community may have populated a large number of villages, in several different parts within the Montenegrin territory.¹⁴⁸¹ However, beyond a generalization like this, the data speak of their denser extension in the central and eastern part, although minor branches appear up to the edge of the coastal area. The region that, at least in the last five centuries, had been owned by the Vasojevići tribal organization, is thought to be only a part of their habitat,¹⁴⁸² to which context the frequent microtoponyms constructed according to the appellative of this community speak. As an example, in the village of Kralje near Andrijevice, *Macurska kućišta* or *Macurski put*¹⁴⁸³ are names that argue about their extension to an older period of time. In addition, the Montenegrin researcher Radoslav Vešević, in his monograph, writes that there are cultural remnants that speak in favour of the presence of this tribal community in the village of Božići, specifically mentioning some old graves, which the population of the area defines as belonging

¹⁴⁷⁸ Петар Влаховић, Значај црногорског друштвеног развоја за проучавање етноса у етнологији и антропологији. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига 54-55, Београд 1991, р.274

¹⁴⁷⁹ The Serbian ethnographer Jovan Cvijić also wrote about their ethnic merging, eventually leaving their basic territories. (Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije. Knjiga prva*, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 216)

¹⁴⁸⁰ A definition of them as a mobile pastoral community is given by Mirko Barjaktarović, although the arguments for such a finding are insufficient. For more information: Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 20)

¹⁴⁸¹ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 20

¹⁴⁸² Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 20

¹⁴⁸³ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 135-136

to the Macurs.¹⁴⁸⁴ Deep in time, the aforementioned community is said to have been located on the side of Šekular, as evidenced by the collective memory of the area itself.¹⁴⁸⁵

The other territorial area within which data appear, based on which an early presence of this community can be assumed, is the region of Rovca. According to Mirko Barjaktarović, in the village of Trmanje there is a place called *Macurjama*; in Liješnje the microtoponym *Macurevine* appears, while a hill above *Kunak mountain* in the village of Cerovići is called *Macur Brijeg*.¹⁴⁸⁶ In addition, the preserved narratives of the people say that the eastern side of Maganik,¹⁴⁸⁷ in an older time, was populated by the *Pine* community, which is thought to have been only one line from the entirety of the Macurs. In support of the collective memory, in this case also speak the microtoponyms *Pine*, *Macur njiva*, *Pine lazine*, *Pina selo* and *Macursko stajište*,¹⁴⁸⁸ which are encountered in the same area. The microtoponyms listed above may have been formed according to the anthroponym Pines, an old men's name and widespread among the old Illyrian societies,¹⁴⁸⁹ which may have been preserved in this area. Moreover, on this same basis, but without alluding to the connection with the Macurs, there is a chance that the microtoponymy of Pinjesh was constructed above the coastal city of Ulcinj.¹⁴⁹⁰ Meanwhile, in the memories inherited within the region of Rovca, the community of Macurs is described as a collective quite damaged in conflicts among themselves, so in such circumstances it is impossible to preserve the territory, resources, and tribal compactness. Apparently, this situation turned into a suitable ground for a colony of Vlachs who from Nikšić gravitated towards their lands, a development that then destroyed any structure of the Macurs in today's territory of

¹⁴⁸⁴ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевић. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2005, page 141

¹⁴⁸⁵ Мирко Барјактаровић, О Шекулару – Најманјем црногорско-брђанском племену. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига 47, Београд 1983, page 54

¹⁴⁸⁶ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 19

¹⁴⁸⁷ A fairly wide mountainous area in the central part of Montenegro.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, pages 32-33

¹⁴⁸⁹ Aleksandar Stipcevic, Ilirët – Historia, jeta, kultura. Rilindja, Prishtinë, 1980, p.12-13, 54, 68-69; Petar Skok, Studije iz ilirske toponomastike. Архив за Арбанаску старину, језик и етнологију. Књига I, св. 1-2. Београд 1923, p.7-8.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Bahri Brisku, Disa shtresime gjuhësore në toponiminë e regjionit të Ulqinit, Onomastika e Kosovës – Simpozium i mbajtur më 25-27 shkurt 1977, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1979, p.191; Ruzhdi Ushaku, Ulqini dhe rrethina në dritën e disa makro dhe mikrotoponimeve. Onomastika e Kosovës – Simpozium i mbajtur më 25-27 shkurt 1977, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë 1979, p.20

Rovca. It is assumed that some of them underwent alienation, moreover being integrated within the bloodlines founded by the new arrivals.¹⁴⁹¹

The mostly rocky area, which during the last centuries had been owned by the tribal organization of Morača, is thought to be the third part of the territorial core of the Macurs.¹⁴⁹² In this geographical unit, their branching appears somewhat more organized, as evidenced by the armed clashes for dominance with the colony that came from Hoti. From this time interval, a military leader from the ranks of the Macurs, called Štiko,¹⁴⁹³ a non-Slavic name, but unusual even for Albanians, is mentioned, who is said to have been killed in battle. The old cemeteries in *Timov Brijeg*, built with very heavy stones, without inscriptions and ornaments, are known by the people as their cultural remnants.¹⁴⁹⁴ Meanwhile, the narratives originating from the collective memory speak of the presence of the Macurs in the Bratonožići region as well,¹⁴⁹⁵ while minor branches also appear in more distant areas, most likely as a result of emigration processes. Thus, in the village of Mikovići in Crmnica, there is said to have lived an old population, known under the name of Macurs, who were said to have been expelled by the later arrivals within the village.¹⁴⁹⁶

In relation to ethnicity, within the scientific community there is an opinion that it is essentially a non-Slavic community, while in a narrower approach, two basic hypotheses dominate. According to the ethnologist Barjaktarović, like the Kričis and the Matarugas, the Macurs must have had a different origin compared to the Serbs, most likely it is talked about

¹⁴⁹¹ A branch of the Macurs is said to have merged within the Bulatovici kinship. (Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 245.); In the region of Rovca, there are cases when in a pejorative form the inhabitants address each other with the expression “Бјежи ви сте од Мацура”, a minor argument that supports the assumption that a part of the Macurs might have merged. (Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 33)

¹⁴⁹² Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 20; Петар Шобајић, Бјелопавлићи и Пјешивци. ЦИД, Подгорица 1996, page 54

¹⁴⁹³ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 23

¹⁴⁹⁴ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 41

¹⁴⁹⁵ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи–Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997. page 499;

Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Посебна издања. Одељење друштвених наука. Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију. Књига 1. Београд 1988, page 73.

proto-Albanians, but partially romanized.¹⁴⁹⁷ Sometime later, Stevan Popović, in his monograph on the region of Rovca, defines the tribal community of the Macurs as a collective of Albanians.¹⁴⁹⁸ While the other competing theory relates the ethnic origin of this group to the Vlachs, whose presence is a well-known phenomenon in the Montenegrin depths. One of the researchers positioned in this line, Božidar Šekularac, as a complementary argument in this context, gives the possibility that their name itself was formed based on the word *mazzare* in Latin.¹⁴⁹⁹

7. CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND SIMILARITIES

7.1 Organization in tribal life

Although the Balkanologist Konstantin Jireček, in his work on the cultural history of the Serbs, writes that a light form of tribal organization during the late medieval period may have existed among other regions near the Adriatic,¹⁵⁰⁰ the data speak that the tribes, as a rigid social connection, constitute one of the fundamental features of the Albanian-Montenegro culture.¹⁵⁰¹ These communities appear with strict legal norms, structure, territory, and distinctive features compared to the population in other regions. The phenomenon of a collective organization with specifics of this type, according to Jireček, is not found in the lands of the first Serbs (*prvobitnih*

¹⁴⁹⁷ „Дакле, ово старије становништво (први или стари свијет) не смео буквално схватити као од Славена затечено становништво. Мацуре, Матаруге, Кричи и други били су само становници другачијег порекла, који су овамо долазили, боравили или делом стално живели негде у каснијим столећима средњег века, рецимо у 13 у 14 г. можда чак и у 15 столећу. То треба да су биле сточарске групе, покретне, вероватно арбанаског порекла. Делоом можда и романизоване.“ (Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 20).

¹⁴⁹⁸ “Оно што се у Роваца тиче, тамо су као и у Морачи живјеле Мацуре, изгледа једна већа арбанаска етничка група.” (Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 32)

¹⁴⁹⁹ Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narrativni podaci o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica, Godina XII, broj 46/47, Ljeto/Jesen 2011, Cetinje-Podgorica 2011, page 256

¹⁵⁰⁰ Константин Јиречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна Књига, Београд, 1952, pages 37-45

¹⁵⁰¹ “У литератури обично се име Власи повезује са *pastirima*, *katunima* и *plemenskim organizovanjem*, које је карактеристично само за *Crnu Goru* и *severnu Albaniju*, односно *простор stare crnogorske države Duklje*.” (Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narrativni podaci o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica, Godina XII, broj 46/47, Ljeto/Jesen 2011, Cetinje-Podgorica 2011, page 254)

srba)¹⁵⁰² and this may be an indication that the mentality of living in tribes has its roots in the early pre-Slavic Balkan societies. In this context, the Serbian researcher Jovan Cvijić, about a century ago, wrote that tribal organizations were not a general social characteristic among Serbs, where they appeared only among Albanians, Montenegrins and partially in some territories that today lie in the Bosnian state.¹⁵⁰³ Indirectly, they appear in a geographical area where elements of the old population have survived until recently.

On the occasion of the formation of tribal organizations, Branislav Đurđev is of the opinion that the basic role in their creation was played by the *katun* (village) organization of the old pastoral element, a stratum that could not have been Slavic.¹⁵⁰⁴ For him, this is the reason that in some of the current Montenegrin tribes there are stories that speak of a closeness of blood, or that they are of direct origin from Albanians.¹⁵⁰⁵ According to him, this includes communities such as Kuči, Vasojevići, Piperi and Bjelopavlići, the four main groups of the geographical notion *brda* (hills, highlands). Apparently, Đurđev here has indirectly accepted the views of the researcher Milan Shufflay, who in the first part of the twentieth century, writes that the Montenegrin tribal society, the basic part of the elements of the organization, received from the Albanians.¹⁵⁰⁶ However, science also recognizes another point of view, which essentially has several different nuances. In contrast to Đurđev, the Serbian researcher Vasa Čubrilović sees the establishment of tribal organizations as a phenomenon born from the union of permanent villages, so he does not treat it as a process that originates from the connection of mobile pastoral

¹⁵⁰² Константин Иречек, Историја Срба, Друга књига – Културна историја, Народна књига, Београд, 1952, р. 49

¹⁵⁰³ Franc Nopca, Fiset e malësisë së Shqipërisë Veriore dhe e drejta zakonore e tyre. Eneas. Tiranë 2013, p.179

¹⁵⁰⁴ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 85; Konstantin Jireček and Milan Shufflay have also written about the establishment of tribes from the connection of pastoral villages. (Mirko Barjaktarović, O balkanskim plemenima, Poseban otisak iz časopisa Albanološka Istraživanja, Knjiga III. za godinu 1965-1966, Priština, page 100)

¹⁵⁰⁵ „ Мора се истачи да код већине племена првог типа постоји предање о заједничком пореклу с арбанаским племенима или има података који показују арбанаско порекло тих племена. Од Брдских племена такви су Кучи и Пипери, које смо споменули, затим Васојевићи и Бјелопавлићи.“ (Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 85, page 101-102).; On the existence of folk stories that speak of a common origin see also: Mirko Barjaktarović, O balkanskim plemenima, Poseban otisak iz časopisa Albanološka Istraživanja, Knjiga III (za godinu 1965-1966), Prishtina, page 105)

¹⁵⁰⁶ “Из тога је Шуфлај извукао закључак да је црногорско племенско друштво новог века основне елементе свога уређења преузело добрим делом од Арбанаса. (Васа Чубриловић, Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд, 1974, page 53)

katuns (villages).¹⁵⁰⁷ Regarding the ethnic character of the Montenegrin tribes, Čubrilović writes that the influence of the Albanians is quite evident in their anatomy, an influence that is manifested in the material and spiritual culture.¹⁵⁰⁸ Here it is clear that Čubrilović aligns himself with the beliefs of the ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, who writes that the establishment and naming of these organizations is the result of a new stratum of people, which may have been created through the mixture or symbiosis of the old population and the Serbian element. In brief, he has a reservation that the pre-Slavic society had had a fundamental role in the creation of tribal communities, however, he does not exclude an influence, albeit a partial one by them. According to him, such examples are Kuči, Mataguži, Bukumiri and perhaps also Bratonožići, Sotonići, and Paštrovići.¹⁵⁰⁹ Here, the approach of the researcher Erdeljanović is of little importance, who indirectly tries to attribute the logic of the establishment of tribes more to Serbian communities, despite the fact that they had found it as a social specificity in the peninsula when they arrived. Of importance is the conclusion on the presence of the non-Slavic component, expressed among other things through the etymology of the name,¹⁵¹⁰ especially in the last three mentioned communities.

In terms of internal structuring, each large tribal organization that appears in the depths of the Montenegrin and Albanian territories was divided into smaller units, established based on the bloodline, which in the Slavic language are known as *bratstva* (bloodlines) or *trbuh* (belly),¹⁵¹¹ while in Albanian with the name *vëllazëri* (bloodline) or *bark* (belly). This stratum then branched into smaller cells, which in both societies were called houses (*srb.kuća*), a notion in the form of a synonym for close communities,¹⁵¹² where a family circle up to the second generation was gathered. In the environments where the people spoke Albanian, these were also known under

¹⁵⁰⁷ Čubrilović *ističe da su plemena u Skadarskom kraju nastajala od seoskih a ne katunskih organizacija*. (Mirko Barjaktarović, O balkanskim plemenima, Poseban otisak iz časopisa Albanološka Istraživanja, Knjiga III, za godinu 1965-1966, Prishtina, page 105)

¹⁵⁰⁸ Васа Чубриловић, Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд, 1974, pages 50 and 52

¹⁵⁰⁹ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 38

¹⁵¹⁰ Бранислав Ђурђевић, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, page 38

¹⁵¹¹ The use of the word "trbuh" (belly) is recorded by Pavel Apolonović Rovinski in Vasojevići region. According to him, it means a smaller cell within a bloodline. (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 115)

¹⁵¹² Павле Радусиновић, Становништво Црне Горе до 1945 године, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна Издања, књ. DXV, Одељење друштвених наука књ.80, Београд 1978, page 53

the name *oxhaqe* (hearths), while among the current Montenegrin tribes as *oganj* (hearth). However, despite such a stratification, their right appeared limited in front of the organizational norms and the central authority of the tribal community, of which they were a part. Houses and bellies were recognized the private property right,¹⁵¹³ but in the broad social aspect, they were obliged to obey the rules codified by the elders and the heads of the tribe. As for common notions, many linguists are of the opinion that they derive from the Albanian language lexicon, which then, with the change in demographic circumstances, were translated and adapted to the Slavic speech of some of the Montenegrin tribes. Thus, according to the linguist Ivan Popović, the word *trbuh* (belly) that appears in Bratonožići, Vasojevići and Kuči, is not a term formed in Slavic environments, but a notion that comes from a direct translation of the word belly in Albanian.¹⁵¹⁴ According to him, the fruit of such a phenomenon is the word *kuća* (house), which, as it was said, means a closer community than bloodline, making its connection with the Albanian expression big family.¹⁵¹⁵ In addition to the use of this notion in *brda* (hills, highlands), it is also recorded in the region of Crmnica, by Jovan Vukmanović,¹⁵¹⁶ which speaks about its wide extent.

Regarding the character of the large Albanian-Montenegro tribes, the data show that most of them are polyphyletic, that is, they were created from the unification of different elements and not from a single ancestor.¹⁵¹⁷ This process must have had as a basic motive first the protection

¹⁵¹³ Mirko Barjaktarović, O Balkanskim Plemenima. Poseban otisak iz časopisa Albanološka Istraživanja, Knj.III, Za godinu 1965-1966, Pristina, p.99

¹⁵¹⁴ Шпиро Кулишић, Трагови архаичне родовске организације и питање Балканско-Словенске симбиозе. Библиотека Етнолошког друштва Југославије, 5. Београд 1963, page 49; The opinion also supported by Tatomir Vukanović, whose interpretation is this: "*Trbušić– Kod Crnogoraca, uža bratstva su poznata pod imenom trbušić. Ova se pojava zapaža naročito kod plemena Vasojevića, Bratonožića i Kuća. Genezu ovom terminu nalazimo u arbanaškom plemenskom društvu u severnoj Arbaniji i južnoslovenskim predelima, gde bark ima značenje trbuh, rod, odnosno bratstvo.*" (Tatomir Vukanović, Terminologija plemenskog društva u Crnoj Gori. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.221); The use of the word *trbuh* (belly) in Vasojevići is also evidenced by Sreten Vukosavljević. (Сретен Вукосављевић, Организација динарских племена. Српска Академија Наука. Посебна Издања. Књига ССLXX, Етнографски Институт. Књига 7. Београд 1957, p.2)

¹⁵¹⁵ Шпиро Кулишић, Трагови архаичне родовске организације и питање Балканско-Словенске симбиозе. Библиотека Етнолошког друштва Југославије, 5. Београд 1963, page 50

¹⁵¹⁶ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропогеографска и етнолошка испитивања. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Посебна издања. Одељење друштвених наука. Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију. Књига 1. Београд 1988, p.38; Besides confirming the use of the word "*kuća*" in Crmnica with the meaning of a close family community, Jovan Vukmanović also gives some examples of usage such as "*ta kuća je imala uvijek valjanih ljudi*" and "*on je iz dobre kuće*" (ibid., p.38), expressions that exist even now among Albanians, for example: "*that house has always had good people*" and "*he is from a good house*".

¹⁵¹⁷ Selami Pulaha, Kontribut për studimin e ngulitjës së katuneve dhe krijimin e fiseve në Shqipërinë e Veriut në shekujt XV-XVI. Akademia e Shkencave e RPSH. Instituti i historisë. No. 1, 1975, p.76

and then the collective engagement against the biological, political, and economic needs. According to the Albanian researcher Selami Pulaha, tribal organizations, evaluated based on their structure, were economic and social unions, linked through interest and administered a certain territory.¹⁵¹⁸ However, in many cases a numerically stronger bloodline seems to have served as a tribal nucleus around which other groups gradually gathered. This is an opinion expressed about a hundred years ago by Jovan Cvijić, who attributes the method of creating tribes to agglomeration and not bloodline.¹⁵¹⁹ His opinion seems correct since, judging by field research, the data speak the same. Gruda consists of two different groups,¹⁵²⁰ Trieshi also,¹⁵²¹ Kuči is almost a bipolar community divided between two bloodlines, Drekalovići and Mrnjavčevići; Vasojevići is a very heterogeneous community,¹⁵²² etc.

One of the main specifics that stands out in the mentality of the Albanian-Montenegrin tribal organizations is the rigid and fanatical logic to common property, the preservation of which was considered a fundamental prerequisite for the very existence of the tribe. Judging from the historical materials, it is understood that their possessions or border properties have often turned into bitter battlefields and inter-tribal armed conflicts. Since, according to the ethnologist Cvijić, the aforementioned communities had the form of an army organized based on hierarchy,¹⁵²³ whose members recognized a central authority, the aforementioned conflicts, in most cases, acquired an all-encompassing character. There are cases when a pasture or a mountain had turned into a battlefield, which subsequently produced hereditary enmity, a phenomenon that, judging by the collective memory, seems to have severely affected the demographics of all parties involved. For example, Morača and Vasojević have clashed over boundary issues around the Tara river,¹⁵²⁴ Vasojević with Kelmendi over the Komi

¹⁵¹⁸ Idem. p.76

¹⁵¹⁹ Jovan Cvijić, *Psihičke osobine južnih slovena*. ISBN-13: 978-1530011575, p. 78;

¹⁵²⁰ Andrija Jovičević, *Malesija*. Dielli. Beograd 2018. p.42.

¹⁵²¹ Edith Durham, *Shqipëria e sipërme*, IDK, Tiranë, page 80. See also Johan Georg von Hahn – *Studime shqiptare*, IDK. Tirane. F255-256. *Durham, during her stay in northern Albania, recorded in the northern areas a story according to which the tribe of Trieshi is divided into two and one part is not related by blood to the other. The same thing was confirmed to me by Gjergj Duraj, a resident of Trieshi, in an interview conducted with him in 2020, in Tuz. According to him, one branch comes from Ban Keqi, while the other branch is the old population.

¹⁵²² *Istorijski leksikon Crne Gore*. Per-Zh. Vijesti 2006, p.1166

¹⁵²³ Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje*. Osnove antropogeografije. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 376

¹⁵²⁴ Секула Добричанин, *Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији*. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 10

mountains,¹⁵²⁵ Hoti with Kuči over pastures in the Korita of Hoti,¹⁵²⁶ Crmnica with Paštrović over boundary issues,¹⁵²⁷ Piperi with Morača over similar conflicts,¹⁵²⁸ etc. In these circumstances, for the heads and leading elders,¹⁵²⁹ the need for political accords or inter-tribal alliances was inevitable,¹⁵³⁰ with the aim of more effective protection. Thus, in a declared conflict with the population of the mountain town of Gusinje, the tribal community of Kelmendi calls for help from Kuči, a connection that sent it to military triumph and division of the spoils. As a result, two geographical units are amputated from the territory of Gusia; Vërmoshi, which passed into the possession of Kelmendi, and Velipolje, which was handed over to the heads of Kuči.¹⁵³¹

However, the phenomenon of cooperation for narrow interests was not the only distinguishing feature in the political and social life of tribal communities. The rise against external threats, especially against the recruiting or taxation system of the major ruling forces, is another joint enterprise, which is proven, in addition to the collective memory, also among documentary sources. In 1614, the patrician of Kotor Mariano Bolizza wrote that tribes such as Hoti, Kuči, Shkreli, Kelmendi and Kastrati, had reached a bond (*conclusero con giuramento*), in mutual defence against the Ottoman military forces.¹⁵³² The degree of impatience towards the sultanate government became more visible between 1633-1639, where there were reports of uprisings and armed clashes along the current Albanian-Montenegro administrative border,¹⁵³³ a territory that appears in Venetian written materials under the notions *monte superiori* and *monti*

¹⁵²⁵ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 24

¹⁵²⁶ Павле Радусиновић, Становништво Црне Горе до 1945 године, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна Издања, књ. DXV, Одељење друштвених наука књ.80, Београд 1978, page 52

¹⁵²⁷ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 70

¹⁵²⁸ Андрија Јовичевић, Историја Мораче до 1820 године. Унирекс и Светигора. Подгорица 2006, page 25

¹⁵²⁹ According to Mirko Barjaktarović, although the tribes had their leaders who in many cases were hereditary positions, he mentions the council of people as the main institution. (Mirko Barjaktarović, O balkanskim plemenima, Poseban otisak iz časopisa Albanološka Istraživanja, Knjiga III, 1965-1966, Prishtina, page 99)

¹⁵³⁰ „Васојевићи су иначе и у XVII и XVIII вијеку повремено улазили у племенске савезе с Кучима, Братоножићима, Пиперима, Морачанима, Ровчанима, Бјелопавлићима, а изузетно и с појединим сјеверноалбанским племенима, ради заједничке борбе против турске власти, у циљу одбране привилегија и унутрашње племенске самоуправе.“ (Миомир Дашић, Васојевићи од помена до 1860, Матица српска – Друштво чланова у Црној Гори – Одељење за историју. Посебна издања. Књига 1, Никшић 2011, page 217)

¹⁵³¹ Jovan Cvijić, Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije. Knjiga prva, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 264

¹⁵³² Milan Shufflay, Serbet dhe Shqiptarët. Rilindja, Prishtine 1968, page 71

¹⁵³³ Глигор Станојевић, Покрет Брдских и Албанских племена уочи Кандиског рата. Историјски Записи. Књига 3. Историјски Институт Университета Црне Горе. Подгорица 1960, page 522

d'Albania.¹⁵³⁴ In these circumstances, aware of the military deficit facing the eastern Empire, the tribal leaders turned to diplomacy, more specifically, finding distant allies. Thus, in 1639, representatives of the rebel forces from Kelmendi, Kastrati, Hoti and Bratonožići sent delegates to Kotor, in order to coordinate with the authorities of the Republic of Venice, telling that they had raised over 4500 of their men under arms.¹⁵³⁵ In the written sources, this rebellion is described as an uprising of "*il popoli Albanesi a Barda*", although the current Montenegrin tribes were also involved in this development.¹⁵³⁶

The phenomenon of inter-tribal cooperation against the Ottoman rule, according to preserved data, is also encountered during the second part of the 17th century. Thus, at the time of great tensions between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, the Albanian-Montenegro tribes were once again set in motion for military unification. Kuči and Kelmendi, after having reached a reconciliation agreement on the existing grievances, aligned other nearby tribal communities behind them, swearing loyalty to the Republic of Venice.¹⁵³⁷ Ivan Ilikov, one of the leaders of Kuči, on this occasion informed Giovanni Bolizza and Francesco Buccia, that accompanied by all the leaders of the tribal communities that are known under the *Brda* notion, he had deployed in Kelmend with the same purpose.¹⁵³⁸ According to Andrija Jovičević, these two tribal organizations exerted fundamental influence among other tribes.¹⁵³⁹ Meanwhile, in 1658, the governing bodies of the Republic of Venice, in order to ensure the support and services of the mountain tribes, had put the heads of Kuči, Kelmendi, Piperi, Hoti, Bratonožići, Gruda and Bjelopavlići on regular salaries.¹⁵⁴⁰

The data on political-military interaction listed above are not the only findings of this kind. Thus, in 1831, when the Montenegrin armed forces under the command of Vladika Petar II, had launched an attack to take control of Podgorica, the Albanians of Hoti and Gruda defeated two Ottoman battalions that had headed towards the heart of the war.¹⁵⁴¹ On the other hand, in

¹⁵³⁴ Растислав В. Петровић, *Племе Кучи 1684-1796*, Народна Књига, Београд, page 36

¹⁵³⁵ Глигор Станојевић, *Покрет Брдских и Албанских племена уочи Кандиског рата*. Историјски Записи. Књига 3. Историјски Институт Университета Црне Горе. Подгорица 1960, page 521

¹⁵³⁶ Глигор Станојевић, *Покрет Брдских и Албанских племена уочи Кандиског рата*. Историјски Записи. Књига 3. Историјски Институт Университета Црне Горе. Подгорица 1960, page 513.

¹⁵³⁷ Растислав В. Петровић, *Племе Кучи 1684-1796*, Народна Књига, Београд, page 47

¹⁵³⁸ Растислав В. Петровић, *Племе Кучи 1684-1796*, Народна Књига, Београд, page 47

¹⁵³⁹ Andrija Jovičević, *Malesija, Dielli*, Beograd 2019, page 54

¹⁵⁴⁰ Глигор Станојевић, *Црна Гора у XVI вијеку*. Историја Црне Горе. Књига 3, Том 1. Редакција за историју Црне Горе. Титоград 1975, page 141.

¹⁵⁴¹ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, *Етнографија Црне Горе*, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 71

support of the rebellions or uprisings of the northern Albanians, it is often said that the Montenegrin regions also rose up under arms.¹⁵⁴² In this context, it seems that between the two communities, at least until the first part of the 19th century, cultural differences may have been unimportant, moreover they are said to have shared positive beliefs towards each other.¹⁵⁴³ The inter-tribal conflicts described above, viewed from every possible angle, seem to have had only a local character, oriented based on the preservation of pastoral resources and not on the foundations of linguistic or cultural affiliation. In fact, the data show that in certain periods, the Montenegrin society had nurtured more hostility towards the Islamized Slavic-speaking community from Herzegovina than towards the Albanian tribal communities.¹⁵⁴⁴ Although this relation or these circumstances changed in the third quarter of the 19th century, the interpretations of the newly created enmity met at one point, both sides see the source of the problem in a third party. In the beginning, the old Montenegrin society considered the Albanian-Montenegrin clashes as instigated by Ottoman politics,¹⁵⁴⁵ while for the Albanian society the source of the problem was seen in the intervention of the Serbian nationalist trend and its expansion in the Balkan territory. Perhaps because the shared cultural features and collective memory made it difficult to treat it as a problem raised between them, specifically because of the belief that they have developed from an earlier ethnic substrate, or that they have been formed through symbiosis.¹⁵⁴⁶

Returning once again to the general topic of tribes, an additional issue may be relevant. Although in Montenegrin society there is no exact replacement word for the notion of *pleme* (tribe), a note by the researcher Petar Šobajić obliges a deeper research. Describing the demography and origin of the Islamic population of Nikšić, Šobajić writes that it was divided into four major branches, Gruda, Kuči, Piperi and Vezirovići, communities that the rest of the

¹⁵⁴² Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 275

¹⁵⁴³ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 275

¹⁵⁴⁴ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 275

¹⁵⁴⁵ „Непријатељство међу Црногорцима и Арнаутима вјештачки је побуђено интригантском политиком скадарских паша тек касније.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 71)

¹⁵⁴⁶ The belief that there was a greater closeness with Albanians and Montenegrins in the past, is also seen from the discussions held between some Albanian leaders and the Montenegrin kingdom, at the beginning of the twentieth century, history given by the researcher Bogumil Hrabak. According to him, the Albanian soldiers Hasan Ferri and Sylejman Batusha, during the meeting, said „Притом нас са Црногорцима везу многи народни обичаји, који доказују да смо били у старини блиски.“ (Богумил Храбак, Арбанаски првак Иса Бољетинац и Црна Гора 1910-1912 године. Историјски Записи. Година XXX. Књига XXXIX, 1977/1. page 183-184)

population calls by the notion of *fise* (tribes) instead of the Slavic word *plemena* (tribes) (*najveći deo stanovništva turskog Nikšića, činila su četiri fisa, kako kažu zaostali muslimani u Nikšiću*).¹⁵⁴⁷ However, it seems that the use of this notion was not only a characteristic of the Islamic population of Nikšić, but a widespread phenomenon in the Orthodox population as well. Thus, according to Serbian ethnologist Tatomir Vukanović, the word *fis* (tribe) appears as part of the old vocabulary, not only in regions like Vasojevići and Kuči, but also in other Montenegrin depths.¹⁵⁴⁸ Then, according to this term, the expression *fisan čovjek* appears to have been formed, which according to Pavel Rovinski, in the Montenegrin society of the 19th century, was used to express a good origin of a person, confirming the Albanian source of the word.¹⁵⁴⁹ It seems that it is talked about a direct translation from the Albanian expression *njeri fisnik* (noble man).

7.2 Laws and old legal rules

About a century ago, Italian geographer Antonio Baldacci wrote that from the point of view of customary law, Albanians and Montenegrin society were governed by the same legal code, in which there was nothing of the mentality and laws of the south Slavic peoples.¹⁵⁵⁰ Since it is talked about a researcher who knew both communities well enough, his description seems objective and in line with the then current scientific trend. Because in the same time interval, in the Balkan depths had penetrated ethnographers, Balkanologists and other authoritative scholars, some of whom shared almost the same opinion. For the British Edith Durham, the old laws applied and widespread in the Montenegrin territories had a similar anatomy to the Albanian legal rules and the only difference was recorded in the penal provisions.¹⁵⁵¹ However, the appearance of similarities in the old norms of justice is not a topic treated only by this scientific

¹⁵⁴⁷ Петар Шобајић, Никшић-Оногост. Посебна изданја Географског Друштва. Свеска 22, Београд 1938, page 66

¹⁵⁴⁸ „*Naporedno sa tim, termin fis se javlja tu i tamo i u crnogorskom plemenskom društvu kao oznaka plemena. Sa tom se pojavom srećemo kod Kuča i Vasojevića i u drugim istočnim predelima Crne Gore.*” (Tatomir Vukanović, Terminologija plemenskog Društva u Crnoj Gori. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.223)

¹⁵⁴⁹ „Када се нагласава поријекло, кажу сојевић (тур.сој-род) или фис, фисан човјек (од алб. Фис-такође човјек добре расе). (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 147); It is also confirmed by Tatomir Vukanović: „*Fisan čovek – Ovaj termin u crnogorskom plemenskom društvu označava plemenitog čoveka, koji je uz to pripadnik čuvena plemena ili bratstva, ili čoveka od soja. Ovaj je termin ponikao pod uticajem arbanaskog plemenskog društva, kod koga fis znači pleme.*” (Tatomir Vukanović, Terminologija plemenskog Društva u Crnoj Gori. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Pristina 1959-1960, p.226)

¹⁵⁵⁰ Antonio Baldacci, *Shqiperia e Madhe, Shtepia botuese Uegen*, Tirane 2006, page 280.

¹⁵⁵¹ Edith Durham, *Shqipëria e epërme*, IDK, Tiranë, page 37

group. The Serbian researcher Vasa Čubrilović also wrote about the common characteristics of Albanian customary law and Montenegrin society, according to whom this phenomenon is easily distinguished in the Brda and in the old Montenegrin tribes (*starocrnogorska plemena*), while it was exhausted in the depths of the tribal communities of Herzegovina.¹⁵⁵² In relation to the origin, most of these norms, the application of which is known to both ethnic groups, did not arise as a result of any reproduction of Roman law, but are rules created according to economic-social needs.¹⁵⁵³ The Austrian ethnologist Karl Steinmec had noticed the authentic nature of the legal provisions that were applied to the people also in the middle parts of the Albanian territory, in Lura and Mat, which he defined as very old nuances of social regulation, created before the appearance of military democracies.¹⁵⁵⁴

One of the most legally regulated phenomena in the old Montenegrin society is murder or injury with the motive of blood feud and forgiveness of blood. According to the ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, these norms in Kuči were completely the same as those of the Albanians.¹⁵⁵⁵ Moreover, some of them seem to contain notions or expressions, which are sure to be of Albanian origin. For example, Stevan Dučić writes that in the population of Kuči, the action based on revenge is called "*uzeti krv*"¹⁵⁵⁶ which is a direct translation of the sentence "*me marrë gjak*" (to take blood).¹⁵⁵⁷ In addition to it, there are two expressions of this type that originate from customary law, such as "*padao u krv*" and "*pod vjere*", which derive from the expressions "*me ra në gjak*" (get into blood feud) and "*n'besë*" (under pledge of honour).¹⁵⁵⁸ In a scientific paper discussing the entirety of Montenegrin tribal rules, Đurica Krstić also mentions another expression "*glava za glavu, krv za krv*" which also appears among Albanians as "*kokë për kokë* –

¹⁵⁵² Васа Чубриловић, Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд, 1974, page 67

¹⁵⁵³ Ђурица Крстић, Правни обичаји код Куча. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Балканолошки Институт. Посебна Издања. Књига 7. Београд 1979, page 74

¹⁵⁵⁴ Васа Чубриловић, Патријархална друштва и њихова обичајна права у Албанији и Црној Гори средњег века. Београд, 1974, page 50

¹⁵⁵⁵ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 185

¹⁵⁵⁶ Стебан Дучић, Плење Кучи – Живот и обичаји. ЦИД, Подгорица 2004, page 174

¹⁵⁵⁷ „И термини у вези са крвом осветом, као што су крв – *gjak*, у значењу убиства и освете, као што и сточарски термини планина, планинар, планинка, према *bjeshkë*, *bjeshkatar* – представљали би калкове начињене по арбанаским узорима.“ (Шпиро Кулишић, Трагови архаичне родовске организације и питање Балканско-Словенске симбиозе. Библиотека Етнолошког друштва Југославије, 5. Београд 1963, page 50)

¹⁵⁵⁸ Edith Durham, *Per fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG. Tirane 2019, page 356

gjaku për gjak”(head for head - blood for blood).¹⁵⁵⁹ The use of these expressions, except in the Montenegrin territory, is hardly encountered in other geographical units of the Slavic linguistic world, so there is a good chance that it is talked about features inherited from an older society. Referring to the regions of Paštrovići, Kuči and Crmnica, Pavel Rovinski writes that the revenge was deeply rooted and not only because of the neighbourhood with the Albanians, but also because of blood mixing.¹⁵⁶⁰ As a phenomenon it rivalled every state norm and until recently, as Milorad Medaković writes, there was no government power that could prevent its implementation.¹⁵⁶¹ For a Montenegrin man, there was nothing more noble than getting revenge, which made him happy and created a sense of rebirth, otherwise he felt humiliated and belittled in the social circle.¹⁵⁶² The same also among the Albanians, where, among other things, it was said that the soul of the dead could not have peace until revenge was taken.¹⁵⁶³

The processing of the data and the analysis of the published materials suggest that beyond the same notions, in the entirety of the rules on matters of revenge, the Albanian-Montenegrin societies have had many other points of agreement. One of them was *the payment of the wound*, which meant monetary compensation or some other form, in case of wounding.¹⁵⁶⁴ Edith Durham described another rule from the set of old laws, where according to them, both among Albanians and among Montenegrins, a person could not be killed while accompanied by others.¹⁵⁶⁵ The Serbian ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović said that in Kuči, but also among the surrounding Albanians, taking refuge under oath (*slv.davanje utoka*) was a custom that heavily obliged everyone. This meant cases where a persecuted person, friend or foe, sought protection

¹⁵⁵⁹ Ђурица Крстић, Правни обичаји код Куча. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Балканолошки Институт. Посебна Издања. Књига 7. Београд 1979, page 147; The expression “head for head” was also recorded among Albanians and Montenegrins by Valtazar Bogišić. (Валтазар Богишић, Правни обичаји у Црној Гори, Херцеговини и Албанији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 343-346)

¹⁵⁶⁰ “Освета је чвршће укоријењена и оштрије се манифестује код племена која живе уз источне границе у сусједство и блиске везе са Албанцима, као што су Кучи и Црмничани, а у приморје Паштровићи. Овдје може бити не утиче само сусједство и блиске везе него мијешасње крви. (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 26)

¹⁵⁶¹ Милорад Медаковић, Живот и обичаи Црногораца. Нови Сад 1860, page 115

¹⁵⁶² Милорад Медаковић, Живот и обичаи Црногораца. Нови Сад 1860, pages 114-115

¹⁵⁶³ Edith Durham – Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve. Argeta-LMG, Tiranë 2019, page 203

¹⁵⁶⁴ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи—Братоножићи—Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 185

¹⁵⁶⁵ Edith Durham – Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve, Argeta LMG, Tiranë 2019, p.98

against those from whom was in danger and the tribal community was obliged to undertake and provide for his safety.¹⁵⁶⁶

In Albanian-Montenegrin customary law, the female element had a much different treatment towards revenge. Regardless of the extent of the damage, women were excluded from taking blood revenge and were not killed in any way,¹⁵⁶⁷ not even when a woman shot a man to death. In a case like this, among the Montenegrins as well as among the Albanians, the injured party would kill her brother, husband or any other close male, but not her.¹⁵⁶⁸ However, if this rule was broken and a woman was killed, her blood revenge was not taken from the husband's people but from the woman's next of kin.¹⁵⁶⁹ According to the researcher Valtazar Bogišić, minors, even biological children of the enemy himself, enjoyed similar protection based on the laws of the mountains. However, for male children, this rule was valid until the age of 12-13 years of age, that is, until then, when they were considered capable and mature enough to carry a rifle on their side, at which point they were no longer granted amnesty.¹⁵⁷⁰

Other common provisions also appeared in the case of theft and kleptomaniac features, cases that were handled by tribal heads,¹⁵⁷¹ who constituted the last layer of the legal hierarchy. The offense that was most severely sanctioned than anything else was the theft of weapons, a punishment which not infrequently resulted in the death penalty,¹⁵⁷² but which could be avoided if the stolen object was voluntarily returned before the perpetrator was caught and brought to justice.¹⁵⁷³ Another punitive measure against thieves was the tribal boycott, which meant the exclusion of the robber from society and the prohibition of admission to the house, respectively the desocialization of the individual accused of robbing. Among Montenegrins this action was

¹⁵⁶⁶ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 186-187

¹⁵⁶⁷ Валтазар Богишић, Правни обичаји у Црној Гори, Херцеговини и Албанији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 342-343

¹⁵⁶⁸ Валтазар Богишић, Правни обичаји у Црној Гори, Херцеговини и Албанији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 343

¹⁵⁶⁹ Johan Georg von Hahn, Studime shqiptare. IDK. Tirane, page 245; Edith Durham – Per fiset, ligjet e zakonet e ballkanasve. Argeta-Lmg, Tiranë 2019, page 204

¹⁵⁷⁰ Валтазар Богишић, Правни обичаји у Црној Гори, Херцеговини и Албанији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, pages 342-343;

¹⁵⁷¹ Mirko Barjaktarović, O Balkanskim Plemenima. Poseban otisak iz časopisa Albanološka Istraživanja, Knj.III, Za godinu 1965-1966, Pristina, page 99

¹⁵⁷² Franc Nopça, Fiset e Malësisë së Shqipërisë veriore dhe e drejta zakone e tyre, Qendra e studimeve albanologjike – Instituti i historisë, Tiranë 2013, page 467

¹⁵⁷³ Franc Nopça, Fiset e Malësisë së Shqipërisë veriore dhe e drejta zakone e tyre, Qendra e studimeve albanologjike – Instituti i historisë, Tiranë 2013, page 468

called *ličenje* or *ličba*, while among Albanians it is called *leçije* or *leçitje* and means the same thing.¹⁵⁷⁴ The data show that these punishment measures were applied only in cases where someone harmed people from his own tribe, while when the injured party was a foreigner, then the perpetrator of the punishable offense was forced to pay material compensation for the damage. Only very poor people were excluded from this provision, and the obligation of compensation for the injured party passed to the entire collective or tribal community, in the form of solidarity.¹⁵⁷⁵ However, it seems that not every robbery was punishable by tribal rules, in fact if thieving and robbing were directed towards a hostile element, it turned into noble deed and value.¹⁵⁷⁶

The common use of natural goods is another level codified according to the Albanian-Montenegrin customary law. Thus in the villages of Zlatica and Fundina, there is a source of water that had been used regularly for the crops planted in small plots, which in times of drought had not had enough water for the needs of the inhabitants, or is said to have dried up completely. In such cases, according to the residents, an order of use had been established that is said to have been inherited from the oldest times, the origin of which the people relate to the canon (code) of the Albanian feudal lord Lekë Dukagjini.¹⁵⁷⁷ The same norms of customary law also appear in cases against the use of pastures and the erection of seasonal huts in the common mountains. According to the researcher Đurica Krstić, every family community in Kuči had free access to pastoral goods and the right to settle in the summer katuns (small villages), which were previously considered the property of the village or a certain bloodline.¹⁵⁷⁸ However, this did not mean the right to sell or alienate through donation,¹⁵⁷⁹ rules that were applied to an identical

¹⁵⁷⁴ Đurica Krstić gives two examples that he encountered in the second half of the 20th century in Kuči, where they were excluded from the right of association (*ličenje*). One was described as a kleptomaniac and the other a juvenile delinquent. (Ђурица Крстић, Правни обичаји код Куча. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Балканолошки Институт. Посебна Издања. Књига 7. Београд 1979); For the phenomenon of *Leçije* see for more in: Shtjefen Gjeçovi, Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit. Shtëpia botuese Kuvendi, August 2001, page 104.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Ђурица Крстић, Правни обичаји код Куча. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Балканолошки Институт. Посебна Издања. Књига 7. Београд 1979, page 80

¹⁵⁷⁶ “Једнако као код Црногораца и њима сусједних муслимана и Албанаца, пљачка је код ових народа допуштена и обичајем призната. Она се узима за витешко и мјерило је степена развитка одређене друштвене заједнице.” (Петар Ђ. Стојановић, Обичаји сјече главе и кидање носа у Црногорско-Турском ратовању. Историјски Записи. Година XXXII, Књига XXXIX, 1979/2, page 70-71)

¹⁵⁷⁷ Ђурица Крстић, Правни обичаји код Куча. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Балканолошки Институт. Посебна Издања. Књига 7. Београд 1979, page 69

¹⁵⁷⁸ Ђурица Крстић, Правни обичаји код Куча. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Балканолошки Институт. Посебна Издања. Књига 7. Београд 1979, page 44

¹⁵⁷⁹ Idem, page 44

degree also by the Albanians.¹⁵⁸⁰ Meanwhile, with the use of collective goods, the common obligation to protect them from the robberies of other bloodlines or foreign tribal communities had arisen in an immediate form.¹⁵⁸¹

The similarities listed so far seem to be only a small part of the totality of corresponding Montenegrin customary law norms and the Albanian ones. The researcher Valtazar Bogišić, during his research, had recorded 74 such provisions in the private law of the extended family, which with few exceptions are completely identical, or to a dominant degree similar between the two ethnic communities.¹⁵⁸² According to him, in addition to them, there are 58 others recorded as to the right of inheritance.¹⁵⁸³

7.3 Way of life

According to the records of the Russian consul Ivan Jastrebov, in an older time, in cases of death in Montenegrin families, the living scratched their faces and grew their beards out of grief.¹⁵⁸⁴ This form of expression of sorrow seems to have a general character, that is, a wide scope since Prince Danilo, in his legal code of 1865, explicitly prohibits such an action.¹⁵⁸⁵ However, despite this decision, the data show that in some Montenegrin regions this phenomenon survived until the first part of the twentieth century,¹⁵⁸⁶ as well as in the depths of the Albanians of the north, among whom these funeral actions were recorded five centuries ago. Christian cleric and humanist from Shkodra Marin Barleti, when talking about the fall of

¹⁵⁸⁰ Shtjefën Gjeçovi, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*. Shtëpia botuese Kuvendi, August 2001, page 36

¹⁵⁸¹ Mirko Barjaktarović, *O Balkanskim Plemenima*. Poseban otisak iz časopisa *Albanološka Istraživanja*, Knj.III, Za godinu 1965-1966, Prishtina, page 99

¹⁵⁸² Валтазар Богишић, *Правни обичаји у Црној Гори, Херцеговини и Албанији*. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, pages 21-38

¹⁵⁸³ Валтазар Богишић, *Правни обичаји у Црној Гори, Херцеговини и Албанији*. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, pages 104-115

¹⁵⁸⁴ Иван С. Јастребов, *Стара Србија и Албанија*. Службени Гласник. 2000, pages 382-383 and series 388; In Rovca, as an expression of grief for cases of death, men left their beards grow for 40 days. (Мирко Барјактаровић, *Ровца – Етнолошка монографија*. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 75)

¹⁵⁸⁵ Edith Durham, *Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG, Tiranë 2019, page 279

¹⁵⁸⁶ Milivoje S. Đurišić writes that in the village of Parci in Lešanska Nahija when a young man died, all the men in the village would grow their beards for 40 days. (Миливоје С. Ђуришић, *Парци и њихови житељи Ђуришићи и Раичковићи*. Културно-просвјетна заједница. Подгорица 1996, page 161); In the region of Kuči, the phenomenon of leaving the beard grow for 40 days and scratching the face lasted longer, respectively until a few years ago. Informant: Aleksandar Leko Ceković, from Dučići village, 72 years old.

Skanderbeg's eight senior officers, writes that the army had left their beards and hair grow as a sign of mourning.¹⁵⁸⁷ As for the phenomenon of scratching of faces among Albanians, it seems to have been written later, although as a way to express grief, it may be quite old.¹⁵⁸⁸ According to the researcher Jastrebov, this custom was quite apparent in the mountainous region of Dukagjini, moreover, he saw it closely himself, while as for the scratching of faces and leaving the hair grow, he says that these are superstitions that are also recorded among the ancient Dardanians.¹⁵⁸⁹ Somewhere at the beginning of the twentieth century, Franz Baron Nopcza writes about the presence of these phenomena even in the Malësia e Vogël (small highlands), and from all this it is understood that among Albanians this custom had been rooted in folk culture and belief.¹⁵⁹⁰

In the case of deaths, as a sign of mourning to express grief, in some Albanian territories a black headscarf was worn, among others. As a feature, it was recorded later in the northern region of Kastrati, also by Nopcza, who writes about its presence among the then Montenegrin tribes.¹⁵⁹¹ Similar funeral customs also appear in the weeping lamentation of the dead, a cultural specificity known in both ethnicities. The linguist Ivan Popović writes that this form of expression of sorrow, in the old Montenegrin society, was known as *đekati* and in his opinion, it was a linguistic loan from the Albanians.¹⁵⁹² Not many years later, Idriz Ajeti returns to the discussion the origin of this notion, giving a more complete explanation. According to him, the source of this Montenegrin expression is from the old Albanian word *gjëkim*, which has the meaning of weeping and lamentation.¹⁵⁹³ Thus, on its foundations, always based on the interpretation of the linguist Ajeti, the notion of the *đekalice* was created to describe the girls who lamented the dead.¹⁵⁹⁴ In relation to women's laments, there is another common element between the two ethnic societies. It is about the phenomenon of repeating the lament on a weekly

¹⁵⁸⁷ Marin Barleti, *Historia e Skenderbeut*, Rilindja, Prishtinë 1989, pages 451-452

¹⁵⁸⁸ Scratching of the face in cases of death among Albanians is also mentioned in the Code of Lekë Dukagjin. (Shtjefen Gjeçovi, *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*. Shtëpia botuese Kuvendi, August 2001, page 110)

¹⁵⁸⁹ Иван С. Јастребов, *Стара Србија и Албанија*. Службени Гласник. 2000, page 382-

¹⁵⁹⁰ Franc Nopça, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malësisë së Madhe*. Eneas, Tiranë 2012, page 179; Small Highlands is a mountainous territory consisting of Shoshi, Toplana and Nikaj.

¹⁵⁹¹ Franc Nopça, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malësisë së madhe*. Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, page 186

¹⁵⁹² Ivan Popović, *Elemente të gjuhës shqipe në gjuhët e hueja*, Përparimi, 1957, 1-2, Prishtinë, page 26-27

¹⁵⁹³ Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije Albanskog jezika*, Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova, Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti, Knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, page 113

¹⁵⁹⁴ Idriz Ajeti, *Studije iz istorije Albanskog jezika*, Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti Kosova, Odeljenje Jezičkih i književnih nauka i umetnosti, Knjiga 4, Prishtina 1982, page 114

basis, to express a death sorrow. To simplify it, sometime ago in Shkodra it was customary for a woman to return to lamenting, every week, on the day when her beloved one had died. This habit continued for a very long time and, apart from the Albanians, it appeared widely among the Montenegrin communities, but also among the coastal Dalmatians.¹⁵⁹⁵ However, in addition to lamenting, the same cultural specifics also appear in the burial methods. For example, in the northern Albanian depths, just like among the Montenegrin ones, straw and cattle hides were laid at the bottom of the grave, while the dead person was placed inside with all his clothes and the weapons he carried with him while alive.¹⁵⁹⁶

Another social and cultural phenomenon, which is mentioned as a frequent feature among Albanians and Montenegrins, is the transformation of a woman into a man and the vow of celibacy. These women carried weapons, wore male clothes, and assumed the role of a man in their maiden house.¹⁵⁹⁷ In Kuči they were called *tombelija*,¹⁵⁹⁸ they were respected by people and in many cases they also appeared in war.¹⁵⁹⁹ Edith Durham, during her research work in the Albanian North, had met some of them, especially among the settlements of the Malësia e Madhe (Great Highlands).¹⁶⁰⁰ According to her testimony, in the event that the house did not have a male, one of the girls would be declared a man and would be recognized the right to inherit the property until her death. Upon her passing away, all the property would get transferred to the nearest male blood heir.¹⁶⁰¹ The researcher Milorad Medaković had also encountered the phenomenon of girls' clothing and behaviour in a masculine way in Rovca, in the village of Duboko as early as 1855.¹⁶⁰² According to him, a woman from this tribal region had been left without brothers and had taken the vow of chastity by becoming a "son" for her father. As in the cases described among the Albanians, she dressed in male costumes, smoked

¹⁵⁹⁵ Franc Nopça, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malcisë së madhe*. Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, page 187

¹⁵⁹⁶ Franc Nopça, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malcisë së madhe*. Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, page 180

¹⁵⁹⁷ Ђурица Крстић, *Правни обичаји код Куча*. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Балканолошки Институт. Посебна Издања. Књига 7. Београд 1979, page 124

¹⁵⁹⁸ Informant: Aleksandar Leko Ceković from Dučići village. 72 years old. According to him, there were tombelijas in Kuči until recently, while he singles out a case in the Popovići bloodline of Meduni.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи—Братоножићи—Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 235

¹⁶⁰⁰ Edith Durham, *Per fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG. Tirane 2019; Edith Durham – *Shqipëria e Epërme*, IDK, Tiranë, page 91

¹⁶⁰¹ Edith Durham, *Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG. Tiranë 2019, page 243.

¹⁶⁰² Милорад Медаковић, *Живот и обичаи Црногораца*. Нови Сад 1860, page 23

tobacco and carried a rifle.¹⁶⁰³ While, as far as the seniority is concerned, the Balkan ethnologist Tatomir Vukanović is of the opinion that the vow of celibacy and the practice of masculine behaviour for the reasons stated above, is a phenomenon inherited from the Illyrian tribal communities, but it had been modified over time.¹⁶⁰⁴

Pursuant to the folk stories collected by Andrija Jovičević, it is understood that the old stratum of Kuči people (*stari Kuči*) had used *besa* (pledge of honour),¹⁶⁰⁵ a notion that with Albanians has two meanings, a solid and unbreakable promise, as well as a kind of guarantee on safety and life.¹⁶⁰⁶ In more detail, *besa* is a form of oath that the highlanders obeyed while alive and breaking it, according to Hyacinthe Hecquard, was considered a great shame, so they would chose death before.¹⁶⁰⁷ It has no limited presence and it is not a regional specificity, but it appears in every geographical unit populated by Albanians and constitutes one of the basic ethnic features. However, apart from Kuči, the institution of *besa* also appears in other Montenegrin territories, that is, its use seems to have had an over regional character. According to the ethnographer Pavel Apolonović Rovinski, after the death of King Petar I in 1830, in the entire Montenegrin society was given *vjera* (*pledge of honour*) to pay the last respects to the Vladika, as well as to elect a new leader.¹⁶⁰⁸ The widespread use of this word in Montenegrin society was also made known by Milorad Medaković, in a paper from 1850, who, describing Montenegrin life and customs, wrote that it is a cultural phenomenon, called *vjera*, and equivalent to a spiritual promise, which if broken means the greatest humiliation for the human character.¹⁶⁰⁹ This notion appears as a direct translation of the word *besa* in Albanian and since it is not a late borrowing, it is assumed to be a remnant from an old time, when Albanians and a significant part of the old Montenegrin society may have had one ethnic physiognomy. The use of the expression *ubili na vjeru*, throughout the Montenegrin territory according to Rovinski,¹⁶¹⁰ is another

¹⁶⁰³ Милорад Медаковић, Живот и обичаи Црногораца. Нови Сад 1860, page 23

¹⁶⁰⁴ Мирко Барјактаровић, Проблем Томбелија – вирџина на балканском полуострву. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига 28-29. Београд 1965-1966, page 280

¹⁶⁰⁵ Andrija Jovičević – Malesija, Dielli, Beograd 2019, page 44;

¹⁶⁰⁶ Hyacinthe Hecquard, Historia dhe përshkrimi i Shqipërisë së epërme ose i Gegërisë. Plejad 2008, page 305

¹⁶⁰⁷ Hyacinthe Hecquard, Historia dhe përshkrimi i Shqipërisë së epërme ose i Gegërisë. Plejad 2008, page 305

¹⁶⁰⁸ „Када је умро Петар I 1830 године, 18 октобра, дата је вјера по читавој Црној Гори, како би сви могли доћи и одати посљедњу почаст умрлом владики и да изабери новог. Тада су се договорили да вјеру држе до Ђурђевог дана (23 априла 1831.г.), а затим је успостављена нова влада...” (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 2, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 245)

¹⁶⁰⁹ Милорад Медаковић, Живот и обичаи Црногораца. Нови Сад 1860, page 107

¹⁶¹⁰ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 2, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, page 248

indicator in this context, which more clearly has the same meaning as the expression in Albanian “*i vrarë në besë*” (*killed under besa*). Now, taking into account that the notion of *besa* or *vjera* as translated words in the case of linguistic transformation, do not belong to the culture of the Slavic world, then its source is undoubtedly in the old Albanian society, where it appears in writing since 1555.¹⁶¹¹ Among other things, *besa* is not a simple word that may have passed from one society to another in the form of borrowing, but it is a spiritual feature that dictates a specific way of behaviour. Meanwhile, it may be useful for the scientific community that the word *vjera* did not completely replace the notion of *besa* in the Montenegrin folk community. Its use is recorded quite late in Njeguš by the linguist Adnan Čirgić, where one of the examples given is *nemogu nikako da dobijem besu da pođem u Cetinje*.¹⁶¹²

The Albanian-Montenegrin similarities are also noticeable in the folk mentality regarding the tradition of the house or the historical journey of the bloodline. Regarding this point of view, it is difficult to find any other Balkan area, where humanity has preserved in such a rigid way the memories of the origin, the past and the deeds of the family, of the bloodline, or of the tribe as a whole. A concrete example is the generation,¹⁶¹³ lineage, or genealogical tree, where both among Albanians and among Montenegrins, its recognition was obligatory from an early age. In Kuči, says Erdeljanović, each man had the ability to count the names of his ancestors, accurately and chronologically, until several centuries to the past.¹⁶¹⁴ This phenomenon, according to the Serbian ethnographer, was not only encountered among mature people, but also among children six or seven years old, who, not only counted the generations of their family, but also of other close families.¹⁶¹⁵ However, in addition to the Kuči region, the culture of knowing the genealogical tree has also been recorded in the north of the country, more precisely in Stara Crna

¹⁶¹¹ Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushë të shqipërisë II*, A-B. Akademia e shkencave e RP të Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 1976, p. 205

¹⁶¹² Adnan Čirgić, *Rječnik Njeguškoga govora*. Matica Crnogorska. Cetinje – Podgorica 2009, page 24

¹⁶¹³ According to the linguist Ivan Popović, in Herzegovina, the word “*pas*” through which the genealogical circles are meant, is a notion that entered the language of the people through the influence of the Albanians, more precisely it is a direct translation of the Albanian word *brezi*. (Шпиро Кулишић, Трагови архаичне родовске организације и питање Балканско-Словенске симбиозе. Библиотека Етнолошког друштва Југославије, 5. Београд 1963, p. 50)

¹⁶¹⁴ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи—Братоножићи—Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 97

¹⁶¹⁵ Јован Ердељановић, *Кучи—Братоножићи—Пипери*. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 97

Gora and Herzegovina.¹⁶¹⁶ In Montenegrin society, this phenomenon is known through the notions of *koljeno* or *pas*, which according to the ethnologist Tatomir Vukanović are expressions created in typical patriarchal environments, while their origin is from the Albanian tribal society¹⁶¹⁷ where counting the generations of the family, until recently, was a culturally important specific.¹⁶¹⁸ Meanwhile, the fanatical preservation of the memories of the ancestors of the bloodline is thought to have produced a situation where surnames formed according to patronyms have become rigid folk heritage, impoverishing the tendency to establish new surnames. In this context, in both current ethnic societies there are surnames whose history goes deep in time, while the way of their formation is argued through genealogical data. In the Montenegrin people, the aforementioned phenomenon was noticed a long time ago by Vuk Stefanov Karadžić, who writes that this tradition, until his time, was not known in Serbia, since in the latter the surnames were mainly formed on the manner, each according to the name that the father bears or according to the service and professional characteristics of any individual, adding at the same time the usual Slavic cultural suffixes.¹⁶¹⁹

In the villages of the Albanian highlanders in Hungary, a colony established between the 17th and 18th centuries after the Ottoman-Austrian clashes, foreign researchers have recorded marriage customs which, in addition to other Albanians, have also been recorded among the Montenegrin communities.¹⁶²⁰ According to the description, on the day of the wedding, the bride was forced to walk three times around the groom's house, then throw an apple on the roof and finally take a boy in her arms, as a sign of luck to give birth to male heirs.¹⁶²¹ The Montenegrin ethnologist Jovan L. Vukmanović, in a paper published in 1935, writes that a feature like this

¹⁶¹⁶ Tatomir Vukanović, Terminologija plemenskog društva u Crnoj Gori. Glasnik muzeja Kosova i Metohije, IV-V, Priština 1959-1960, p.222

¹⁶¹⁷ Idem, p. 222

¹⁶¹⁸ Franc Nopca, Fiset e Malesisë së Shqipërisë veriore dhe e drejta zakonore e tyre, Qendra e studimeve albanologjike, Istituti i Historisë. Tiranë 2013, page 180

¹⁶¹⁹ Вук Стефанов Караџић, Етнографски списи о Црној Цори. Просвета – Нолит, Београд, 1985, pages 83-84; Vuk Karadzic further writes: „Сад се тек од године 1804, почело у Србији особито код знатнијех људи, да се не пишу очиноме кртену имену, него оили као што су слушали да су им се стари звали или онако како им се отац звао и писао. (idem, p.84); and „Од овијех презимена ваља разликовати она која су постала од каке службе или од каквог особитога посла, по чему се оца или матер звали више нег крстенијем именом, н.п. Војводић, Кнежевић, Властелиновић, Писаровић, Лончаревић итд. По овоме и Марко син краља Вукашина није се звао Вукашиновић него краљевић.“ (idem, p.85)

¹⁶²⁰ Edith Durham, Shqipëria e Sipërme, IDK, Tiranë, page 98

¹⁶²¹ Edith Durham, Shqipëria e Sipërme, IDK, Tiranë, page 98

lived until recently even in the Montenegrin society of the region of Crmnica.¹⁶²² So it is about an early inherited phenomenon, which seems to have had a wide presence among both peoples in parallel. However, this cultural specificity is not the only commonality that appears among marriage customs. During his stay in the Balkans, Franc Baron Nopcza writes that among the Albanians, the groom was not allowed to spend the first night with the bride, a habit he had also noticed among the Montenegrins and the population of a part of Herzegovina.¹⁶²³ Then, in later times, on both sides, there seems to have been a rule, although not widely present, according to which marriages were made by written consent.¹⁶²⁴

Superstition is another field on which the old Albanian-Montenegrin societies seem to have had the same views. Telling the future by looking at the bone to know a person's fate is one of the features of this nature and the people expressed great faith in this ritual, especially in times of political tension and danger.¹⁶²⁵ Edith Durham tells that she saw a ceremony of this type in a Montenegrin military camp which was preparing for war, but also among the Albanians.¹⁶²⁶ However, Durham's records are not the first materials to document such an ancient phenomenon. In the report of Bishop Frang Bardhi on the visit made to the district of Puka, in June 1637, it is said that the inhabitants of this region were telling the fate of people from the bones of the shoulders of cattle, in which case he specifically mentions the village of Dushnjesh.¹⁶²⁷ Prediction through bone is also extensively described in the work on the religious views, mores, and customs of the northern Albanians by Franc Baron Nopcza.¹⁶²⁸ However, telling the fate from the limbs of non-human creatures is not the only common Albanian-Montenegrin feature in the field of folk superstitions. Thus, in both ethnic communities, the opinion that it is not good to travel on Tuesday has been widespread until recently.¹⁶²⁹ Belief in the evil eye is another superstition that has lived among both Albanians and Montenegrins. According to the people,

¹⁶²² Јован Вукмановић, Етнографија и фолклор – Вјерски и друштвени обичаји у Црмници. Записи – Гласник Цетињског Историјског Друштва. Година VIII. Књига XIV, Цетиње. Аугуст 1935, page 99.

¹⁶²³ Franc Nopça, *Fiset e Malësisë së Shqipërisë veriore dhe e drejta zakone e tyre*, Qendra e studimeve albanologjike – Instituti i historisë, Tiranë 2013, page 482

¹⁶²⁴ AQSH. Fondi: Arqipeshkvia e Shkodrës, Dosja 6, p.1.

¹⁶²⁵ Edith Durham, *Për fiset ligjet e zakonet e ballkanasve*, Argeta LMG, Tiranë 2019, p.347

¹⁶²⁶ Edith Durham, *Për fiset ligjet e zakonet e ballkanasve*, Argeta LMG, Tiranë 2019, p.347

¹⁶²⁷ Injac Zamputi, *Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë 1623-1653*, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, Saint Gallen-Prishtinë 2015, page 182

¹⁶²⁸ Franc Nopça, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malcisë së madhe*, Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, p.83-85

¹⁶²⁹ Franc Nopça, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malcisë së madhe*, Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, p.78

there are people who, without being aware, become a threat to children and dairy cattle.¹⁶³⁰ Although it is a belief that originates from the earliest forms of human belief and appears in the spiritual culture of many peoples, the importance lies in the fact that in the Albanian-Montenegrin communities are encountered almost identical points of view towards this superstition. The house snake is a cult that is also widespread on both sides, which Jovan Vukmanović describes as a remnant from the folklore of Illyrian communities, which manifests itself as carvings or drawings in many household ornaments.¹⁶³¹ According to Montenegrin folk traditions, it should not be killed in the home,¹⁶³² while among Albanians, killing the snake, which was considered as a house guard, was understood as an action that would precede a major evil within the family,¹⁶³³ therefore it would be thrown somewhere far away without being harmed. This cult, to the same extent, is also encountered in the colony of Albanians who emigrated to Zadar, Croatia.¹⁶³⁴

Folk medicine is another field where very similar customs and methods were displayed, although in the culture of both communities the phenomenon of seeking medical help was not very advanced, rather it was understood as a concern.¹⁶³⁵ However, this form of medicine had its masters who made medicines mainly from herbs, so they were called on this basis (*alb.bar*, *slv.trava*).¹⁶³⁶ However, apart from the plant world, medicines were also obtained through some strange mixtures which, both among Albanians and Montenegrins, were believed to have a healing effect. Thus, scorpion bite was cured by a compound of oil combined with the bodily fluids of a killed scorpion.¹⁶³⁷ Sprained joints were treated through pressed onions tied with

¹⁶³⁰ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Посебна изданја. Одељење друштвених наука. Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију. Књига 1. Београд 1988, р.271

¹⁶³¹ Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Посебна изданја. Одељење друштвених наука. Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију. Књига 1. Београд 1988, р.50

¹⁶³² Шпиро Кулишић, Етнолошка испитивања у Боки Которској. Споменик. CIII. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1953, р.210; Јован Вукмановић, Црмница – Антропоеографска и етнолошка испитивања. Српска Академија Наука и Уметности. Посебна изданја. Одељење друштвених наука. Одбор за филозофију и друштвену теорију. Књига 1. Београд 1988, р.50

¹⁶³³ Ukë Xhemaj, Relikte të kultit të gjarpërit në traditën popullore shqiptare. Gjurmime albanologjike, Folklor dhe etnologji. XIII – 1983, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës. Prishtinë 1984, p. 26

¹⁶³⁴ Aleksandar Stipčević, Kultura tradicional e Arbëreshëve të Zarës. p.294-295

¹⁶³⁵ Edith Durham, Për fiset ligjet e zakonet e ballkanasve, Argeta LMG, Tiranë 2019, p.237

¹⁶³⁶ Edith Durham, Për fiset ligjet e zakonet e ballkanasve, Argeta LMG, Tiranë 2019, p.331

¹⁶³⁷ Edith Durham, Për fiset ligjet e zakonet e ballkanasve, Argeta LMG, Tiranë 2019, p.318

cloth, etc.¹⁶³⁸ As for surgical interventions, Durham writes that in Montenegrin folk medicine, the same methods were distinguished as among self-taught Albanian doctors. One of them was called *šaronanje*, an operation that according to researcher Trojanović was not known in other Slavic countries.¹⁶³⁹ This is trepanation,¹⁶⁴⁰ a surgical intervention that means opening the skull, which Nopça considered the masterpiece of Albanian folk medicine.¹⁶⁴¹ This intervention was done by a steel pipe with teeth in the shape of a saw, with a length of 12 to 15 centimetres, as well as a width of 2 cm. The doctor did not assume any responsibility for the operation. As to the effect of the narcosis, the patient was forced to drink a litter of wine, his head was shaved and then his ears were forcibly closed. The surgeon, with the help of an attendant who kept the patient still, first cut the skin crosswise and at the moment the blood stopped, he started sawing.¹⁶⁴² Trojanović writes that the Serbs took the trepanation from the Albanians, so most likely the notion of *šaronanje*, as Nopca also notes,¹⁶⁴³ originated from the Albanian word *sharrë* (saw). No different than in other Montenegrin regions, this intervention, with the same name, was also practiced in the tribal territory of Morača,¹⁶⁴⁴ until the time when it was replaced by the methods of modern medicine. However, this is not the only case within folk medicine where the same terminology appears. In the lower part of the region which was mentioned above, a type of epidemic, which in older times was a permanent danger for children, was called *frust*,¹⁶⁴⁵ while among Albanians, this disease is known under the name *fruth* (measles). On the etymology of this word there is a confrontation in science between Albanian and Slavic linguists, a situation that has not produced any results of agreement until today. However, it is an explanation of the Albanian linguist Idriz Ajeti, which seems more objective. According to him, the genesis of this word should be sought in the Indo-European fund, which implies that it may have developed in

¹⁶³⁸ Edith Durham, *Për fiset ligjet e zakonet e ballkanasve*, Argeta LMG, Tiranë 2019, p.332

¹⁶³⁹ Edith Durham, *Për fiset ligjet e zakonet e ballkanasve*, Argeta LMG, Tiranë 2019, p.340

¹⁶⁴⁰ Trapanasion according to Baron Nopca may be a Hellenic remnant. (Franc Nopça, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malcisë së madhe*. Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, page 198)

¹⁶⁴¹ Franc Nopca, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malcisë së Madhe*, Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, page 101

¹⁶⁴² Franc Nopca, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malcisë së Madhe*, Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, page 101

¹⁶⁴³ Franc Nopca, *Pikëpamje fetare, doket dhe zakonet e Malcisë së Madhe*, Botimet Eneas, Tiranë 2012, page 101

¹⁶⁴⁴ „Ако боловима главе узрок били тешки ударци, глава се шароњала, тј. нарочитим иструментом пробијана је лобанја на болесном мјесту и тако се тражио лијек од болова.“ (Секула Добричанин, *Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији*. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 220)

¹⁶⁴⁵ Секула Добричанин, *Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији*. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 222

both languages in parallel.¹⁶⁴⁶ Whereas from which language line or community it has penetrated into the daily speech of Morača, it is still debatable.

The similarities listed up to this point are not the only common phenomena evident in both ethnic societies that are discussed. Regarding the war, Albanians and Montenegrins have shared almost identical views, in fact the social position of each man and his every moral value is determined according to the participation in the battlefield.¹⁶⁴⁷ Moreover, each enemy killed and head cut off was a measure of value for him and his contribution to the collective interest.¹⁶⁴⁸ Apparently, frequent conflicts and armed clashes, which were not always planned developments, had an impact on the physical appearance of the male element in both ethnic societies. About a century and a half ago, the French consul Hyacinthe Hecquard wrote that the Albanian highlander did not take a single step outside the house yard without a pistol and a rifle.¹⁶⁴⁹ Moreover, it was in his nature to possess expensive weapons, adorned with silver, even when the most essential things in the house might be lacking.¹⁶⁵⁰ Such a view was also distinguished in the early Montenegrin society,¹⁶⁵¹ where honour and pride constituted the basic pillar of a male personality. On this basis, respectively protection and risk, family planning was also done, which was intended to be numerically large, especially in regard to the male element. Researcher Pavle Radusinović writes that a Montenegrin man was always aware that half of his sons would be killed in war before marriage, while the rest would have the burden of survival.¹⁶⁵² This was also the reason why the birth of a male child to a home was translated into greatness and celebration, a mentality that was encountered to an identical degree until recently in Albanian society, in

¹⁶⁴⁶ Idriz Ajeti, *Vepra 4, Akademia e shkencave dhe arteve të Kosovës, Botime të veçanta XXXVIII, Seksioni i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë, libri 17, Prishtinë 2001, page 64-65.*

¹⁶⁴⁷ Петар Ђ. Стојановић, *Обичаји сјече главе и кидање носа у Црногорско-Турском ратовању. Историјски Записи. Година XXXII, Књига XXXIX, 1979/2, page 56*

¹⁶⁴⁸ „Сјеча главе и кидање носа, иако о њима нема помена у писаним прописима црногорске државе, уобичајени су у сталним пограничним сукобима између Црне Горе и Турске, и као правило ратног закона, уткани су дубоко у народно биће Црногораца. Тај обичај жив је и код сусједних Албанаца, гдје се ствари, због сродних друштвено-економских структура, мјере истим -херојским арсином- као и у Црној Гори. Број посјечених непријатељских глава, и код једних и код других, мјерило је вриједности појединца и његовог доприноса колективном интересу. Све морално-етичке вриједности Црногораца и Албанаца процјенују се са гледишта њиховог учешћа у рату и сјече глава непријатељских.” (Петар Ђ. Стојановић, *Обичаји сјече главе и кидање носа у Црногорско-Турском ратовању. Историјски Записи. Година XXXII, Књига XXXIX, 1979/2, page 56*)

¹⁶⁴⁹ Hyacinthe Hecquard, *Historia dhe përshkrimi i Shqipërisë së epërme ose i Gegërisë. Plejad 2008, page 268*

¹⁶⁵⁰ Hyacinthe Hecquard, *Historia dhe përshkrimi i Shqipërisë së epërme ose i Gegërisë. Plejad 2008, p.268-269*

¹⁶⁵¹ Милорад Медаковић, *Живот и обичаи Црногораца. Нови Сад 1860, page 176*

¹⁶⁵² Pavle S. Radusinović, *Становништво Црне Горе до 1945 године, Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Посебна Издања, књ. DXV, Одељење друштвених наука књ.80, Београд 1978, page 54*

almost all the geographical units where they extend. The expression of happiness in this case was manifested by shooting weapons, a phenomenon that the researcher Vukmanović had recorded in Montenegrin Crmnica,¹⁶⁵³ while Nopcza among the Albanian tribes of the north.¹⁶⁵⁴

The same view towards everyday issues and behaviours, as well as other cultural characteristics simultaneously expressed in both ethnic societies, seems to have been understood early on by the scientific community. Pavel Apolonović Rovinski, who in the last decades of the nineteenth century had studied Montenegrin ethnography in detail, speaks of having noticed many things in common in the way of life of Albanians and Montenegrin society.¹⁶⁵⁵ Around the same time, Serbian academic Jovan Cvijić found both ethnic groups to be quite similar in terms of moral norms, opinions, and manner of behaviour.¹⁶⁵⁶ A part of these features, especially in terms of domestic terminology, was also recorded by Jovan Erdeljanović, in whose opinion they were the same,¹⁶⁵⁷ while Franc Nopcza, referring to an ethnographic comparison of the researcher Franc Miklosich, had come to the conclusion that there was a great difference between the Montenegrin ceremonies and the analogous Slavic ones.¹⁶⁵⁸ Meanwhile, in the opinion of Andrija Jovičević, who is known as the first Montenegrin ethnologist, Albanians and Montenegrins in his time were very similar to each other, moreover, they were characterized by completely the same qualities.¹⁶⁵⁹ In this context, all the common features listed so far, which with a deeper research there is a chance to increase in their volume, speak that in an older time, both ethnic communities had a greater proximity to each other compared to the present time.

¹⁶⁵³ Јован Вукмановић, Етнографија и фолклор – Вјерски и друштвени обичаји у Црмници. Записи – Гласник Цетињског Историјског Друштва. Година VIII. Књига XIV, Цетиње. Аугуст 1935, page 92.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Franz Baron Nopsca, *Shqipëria katolike e veriut, Shtëpia botuese Faik Konica, Prishtinë 2009*, page 35

¹⁶⁵⁵ „На добре односе са Арнаутима указује и то што није било тако давно када су Црногорци, за неродних година, слободно одлазили на зимовик око Пећи и Призрена, гдје су их гостопримно дочекивали. Чак се и нека црногорска племена радо својатају са арбанаским, што смо већ видјели. Они имају доста заједничкога и у самом начину живота.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1. ЦИД. Посгорица 1998, page 276)

¹⁶⁵⁶ Jovan Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovenske zemlje. Osnove antropogeografije. Knjiga prva*, Hrvatski stampanski zavod D.D, Zagreb 1922, page 393

¹⁶⁵⁷ „У српским и арбанаским кућама покућство је у главном исто.“ (Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи–Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 210)

¹⁶⁵⁸ Franc Nopcza, *Fiset e Malësisë së Shqipërisë veriore dhe e drejta zakone e tyre, Qendra e studimeve albanologjike – Instituti i historisë, Tiranë 2013*, page 402

¹⁶⁵⁹ „Арбанаси и Црногорци на многеме личе једни на друге. Арбанаске особине, у многеме су својствене и Црногорцу.“ (Андрија Јовичевић, Ријечка Нахија у Црној Гори, ЦИД, Подгорица 1999, page 333)

7.4 Traditional clothing

In an older time, the male population in the region of Kuči wore a kind of cone-shaped hat, made of wool, which, for the Serbian ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović, was no different from that of the Albanians.¹⁶⁶⁰ According to its description, it seems to have been the qeleshe, a simple-shaped white cap whose antiquity continues to be debated in science. Although it cannot be ascertained in an explicit form, it is quite possible that the aforementioned hat was mentioned by the proveditor Leonardo Fasculo, in a document dated 5 February 1650, which explains the initiative of Doctor Michelangelo Salomone to infect the Ottoman camps in Crete., where the distribution of the virus would be done by people camouflaged with Albanian hats.¹⁶⁶¹ From this record it is understood that there was a clear difference in its form, with those that were in use by other Balkan peoples. Meanwhile, the use of the qeleshe does not appear as a phenomenon only in Kuči, but also in other tribal regions in the depths of the current Montenegrin territory. Thus, in a paper by the researcher Mitar Vlahović, published in 1933, it is said that in the territory owned by the Vasojevići organization, two types of hats were once used, which differed in shape and material. The first was a red fez with a black tail which was worn only by the upper class and was bought in Peja, Shkodra, as well as in the market of Gusinje,¹⁶⁶² while the other was a white hat, called *čulaf*, which is a parallel name for the qeleshe.¹⁶⁶³ The latter was worn in daily life by the general population and they were manufactured by the people themselves inside the houses,¹⁶⁶⁴ which means that its use was not a consequence of any industrial trend, but as a characteristic of folk crafts and this can indirectly serve as an argument on it being old.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Јован Ердeљановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, р.213-214

¹⁶⁶¹ *“Crederei pero, che essendo necessario qualche alettamento per inescar Turchi alla trappola, fusse bene in cio valersi di berette all’Albanese o di altro drappo piccolo e di poca spesa, solito usarsi da loro.”* (Injac Zamputi, Dokumente për historinë e Shqipërisë 1623-1653, Albanisches Institut & Faik Konica, Saint Gallen-Prishtinë 2015, page 352)

¹⁶⁶² Митар С. Влаховић, Мушка ношња у Вasoјевићима. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига осма. Београд 1933, page 73

¹⁶⁶³ The use of the white conical hat made of wool, in the district of Berani and Andrijeva, has also been confirmed by the researcher Ljiljana Đurišić. For more: Љиљана Ђуришић, Народне ношње сјеверо-источне Црне Горе. Етнолошке одлике Црне Горе. Том 1. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Подгорица 2013, page 158

¹⁶⁶⁴ Митар С. Влаховић, Мушка ношња у Вasoјевићима. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига осма. Београд 1933, page 73

In addition to the territories listed above, the presence of the *qeleshe* in Montenegrin folk costumes, assessed according to early ethnographic papers, seems to have been an old and widespread phenomenon. The Serbian researcher Jovan Erdeljanović, in the first part of the twentieth century, wrote that the new Montenegrin hat is a late import from the population of Boka of Kotor, while another one was used earlier, which according to him, was white in colour and quite similar in shape to those used by Albanians.¹⁶⁶⁵ Then, pursuant to the materials published in the first part of the twentieth century by Andrija Jovičević, it is understood that the Albanian *qeleshe* had a presence in the Mrkojevići region near Bar.¹⁶⁶⁶

According to the data provided by the researcher Stevan Dučić, in the tribal region of Kuči, it seems that the hat was not the only non-Serbian element in the male costumes of the region. Another characteristic is the use of *tirqi*, which were made of white wool and decorated with black cords, while to hold them on the body, a rope was used which was tied to the waist.¹⁶⁶⁷ Although their origin is considered quite old, moreover it is thought that they belong to the entirety of the most ancient Balkan elements,¹⁶⁶⁸ in some regions they are also known through two parallel notions, such as *çakshirë* and *xhedikë*, which are Turkish words in origin.¹⁶⁶⁹ In the opinion of researcher Andromaqi Gjergji, the last two names are inadequate and relatively new, compared to the object they name.¹⁶⁷⁰ However, a few years later, Radoslav Vešević, in his monograph on the Vasojevići tribe, spoke of the fact that the lower part of the men's costume, especially in the villages along the river Lim, also consisted of a white *çakshirë* with well-defined black belts.¹⁶⁷¹ Apparently, their wearing in this area is an old phenomenon, since in Šekular, the collective memory mentions them since the beginning of the 18th

¹⁶⁶⁵ „Ердељановић је написао да су црногорци садашњу капу примили од Бокеља у XIX стољећу, док су пре тога носили разне друге капе; од коже, цоје, беле (налик арбанаским), фесове.“ (Мирко Барјактаровић, *Порекло и време настајања црногорске ношње*. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига 43. Београд 1979, page 128)

¹⁶⁶⁶ Андрија Јовичевић, *Црногорско приморје и Крајина*. Обод. Цетиње 2004, page 166-167

¹⁶⁶⁷ Стеван Дучић, *Племи Кучи – Живот и обичаји*. ЦИД, Подгорица 2004, page 90

¹⁶⁶⁸ Mark Tirta, *Veshje Popullore ne rrethin e Mirdites. Veshje popullore shqiptare*, Vellimi 4, Akademia e shkencave e RSH. Instituti i antropologjisë kulturore dhe studimit të artit. Departamenti i Etnologjisë. Tiranë 2016, p.18

¹⁶⁶⁹ Andromaqi Gjergji, *Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim*. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p.124

¹⁶⁷⁰ Andromaqi Gjergji, *Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim*. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p.124

¹⁶⁷¹ Радослав Јагош Вешевић, *Племи Васојевићи*. ЦИД. Подгорица 2005, page 381

century.¹⁶⁷² However, pursuant to the ethnographic materials published so far, it is understood that the presence of *tirqi* was not a localized phenomenon only in the two aforementioned regions, but appears as a wider phenomenon. Thus, their intertwining in the old folk costumes was also recorded in Mrkojevići near Bar,¹⁶⁷³ in Piperi,¹⁶⁷⁴ as well as in the tribal region of Morača, where the researcher Sekula Dobričanin writes that in terms of form they had no difference with those worn in Vasojević.¹⁶⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the Montenegrin ethnologist Mirko Barjaktarović, through an impressive study of 1984, documented the wearing of *tirqis* in Rovca,¹⁶⁷⁶ at least until the end of the 19th century, when, according to him, the current Montenegrin clothing appeared.¹⁶⁷⁷

In the old folk Montenegrin costume, as far as the abdominal part is concerned, one of the most special elements is thought to have been the vest or jamadan, which in certain regions had the same shape as the one worn by the Albanians of the north. According to the illustrations and photographs that have been preserved until this time,¹⁶⁷⁸ it seems to have been widely used, especially in the territories that Balkan literature knows through the appellative *brda*. Thus, in Piperi's old outfit, the jamadan appears in combination with the *tirqis* and *struka*, thus taking on an almost identical shape to the Albanian folk costume.¹⁶⁷⁹ Then, the presence of the Albanian vest, in addition to the *tirqis*, had been widely recorded in Rovca,¹⁶⁸⁰ as well as in Morača,¹⁶⁸¹ Kući¹⁶⁸² and the Vasojevići tribal region.¹⁶⁸³ In these last two, according to the Russian

¹⁶⁷² Радоје Кастратовић, Шекулар и Шекуларци у народној причи и традицији. Обод. Цетиње 1966, page 21

¹⁶⁷³ Андрија Јовичевић, Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод. Цетиње 2004, page 166-167

¹⁶⁷⁴ Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 239; The illustration is called "*Seljak iz Piperi*" (*Peasant from Piperi*) and is given at the end.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 115

¹⁶⁷⁶ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 74

¹⁶⁷⁷ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 74

¹⁶⁷⁸ Some photos of the old Montenegrin clothing, which appears almost identical to the Albanian one, will be included in the appendix at the end of the paper.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007, page 239.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Мирко Барјактаровић, Ровца – Етнолошка монографија. Црногорска Наука и Умјетности. Посебна издања. Књига 17. Титоград 1984, page 74

¹⁶⁸¹ Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 115; The researcher Dobričanin writes that the jamadan in Morača's old clothing was identical to the one worn by Vasojevići. (*ibid.*, p. 115)

¹⁶⁸² Стеван Дучић, Плење Кучи – Живот и обичаји. ЦИД, Подгорица 2004, pages 89-90

ethnographer Pavel Rovinski, there was another type of *jamadan*, with short sleeves that did not go beyond the elbow, with a hat hanging from the back and decorated with embroidered squares. It was made of black wool mixed with red nuances and its main function was to protect the kidneys from wind blows. It was popularly known through the notion of *Durđinka*, in memory of the central figure in the history of the Albanians of the Middle Ages, Gjergj Kastrioti,¹⁶⁸⁴ the memory of which is also manifested in the musical creations in the field of folklore. According to Rovinski, the songs of the Croatian writer *Andrija Kačić-Miošić* (1704-1760) about Skanderbeg could be heard throughout the Montenegrin territory, including the Vasojevići region.¹⁶⁸⁵

From the entirety of old traditional costumes, both among Albanians and in the Montenegrin community, one of the oldest and most characteristic elements is the *tallagan*, which, depending on the region, is also known as *struka*.¹⁶⁸⁶ It is mainly a man's garment,¹⁶⁸⁷ a cloak made of wool, which, as the French geologist of the 19th century, Ami Boue, testifies, was worn in rainy weather and on cold days.¹⁶⁸⁸ According to the ethnologist Gjergji, similar forms of the *struka* and with the same function, apart from the Illyrians, have also been found among the Greeks and the Romans, while they were known through notions such as *chlamys*, *sagum*, *paenula*, *lacerna*, *birrus*, etc.¹⁶⁸⁹ However, based on early documents, it seems that the Illyrian communities of the 3rd century had modified this garment according to local specifics, and this is understood from a letter of the Roman emperor Claudius II, sent to the political-military leader

¹⁶⁸³ Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Восојевић. ЦИД. Подгорица 2005, р.381; Митар С. Влаховић, Мушка ношња у Восојевићима. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига осма. Београд 1933, page 73; A photo as an example will be given on the last pages of the paper.

¹⁶⁸⁴ „Кучи и Восојевићи, који живу у сусједству са Арнаутима, имају и ђурђинку. Она је нешто као јелек, само што има кратке рукаве који једва прелазе рамена, затим квадратне скутове, са задње стране има малу капуљачу која се по невремену подиже на главу.Ђурђинка не досеже ни до паса и на грудима је широко отворена. Њена је основна намјена да заштити плуча од вјетра са стране лопатица. Израђена је од црне вуне, изнутра има поставу најчешће од црвеног сукна и на боку џеп. По народном предању, названа је по Ђурђом Кастриоти, иначе Скендербегу, знаменитом албанском вођи и јунаку.“ (Павел Аполоновић Ровински. Етнографија Црне Горе. Том 1. ЦИД. Подгорица 1998, page 351-352)

¹⁶⁸⁵ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Црна Гора у прошлости и садашњости. Том 1, Географска-историја, Централна Народна Библиотека „Ђурђе Црнојевић“ – Цетинје, Издавачки Центар Цетинје, Издавачка Књижарница Зорана Станојевића Ср. Карловци, Нови Сад 1993, page 513

¹⁶⁸⁶ In the Montenegrin folk community, this garment is known mainly under the term *Struka*, while among the northern Albanians mainly under the term *Tallagan*; For the use of *struka* by Montenegrin society, see: Вук Караџић, Црна Гора и Црногорци. Обод, Цетинје 1975, page 167

¹⁶⁸⁷ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 217

¹⁶⁸⁸ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 214

¹⁶⁸⁹ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 217

of Illyria known as Regillian, where he was requesting for two local strukas.¹⁶⁹⁰ In addition, in ancient documents there are cases where *chlamydem dardanicam* and *paenulam illyricianam* are explicitly mentioned,¹⁶⁹¹ materials that testify to distinct artisanal specifics, compared to the strukas that were used in other territories. An interpretation of the archaeologist *Irma Čremošnik* is also relevant here, which states that although the struka, which is referred to as a cloak (*ogrtac*), has similarities with the Roman *sagum*, due to the very fact that it appears in every old illustration or engraving, where Illyrian men appear only in this outfit, it can hardly be thought of its non-native character.¹⁶⁹² Indirectly, this conclusion is also supported by the findings in the field, such as in Koplik, Apollonia, Priluka, Zenica, etc.,¹⁶⁹³ which speak about a use of struka or tallagan throughout the territory where Illyrian tribal communities are thought to have lived.

In the Montenegrin ethnic society, the struka seems to have been a very popular garment, the use of which was not limited to just one region, thus taking on a universal character. According to the ethnologist *Andrija Jovičević*, in the tribal region of *Mrkojevići*, in addition to *qeleshe* and *tirqis*, the population wore a long woolen cloak, the shape of which, at that time, was also found among the inhabitants of *Mirdita*, *Dibra* and other surrounding tribes.¹⁶⁹⁴ Then, in the territory owned by the *Vasojevići* community, the struka, which by the local population is called, as in Albanian, *tallagan*,¹⁶⁹⁵ is defined as one of the oldest garments of the region. Regarding its use, researcher *Mitar Vlahović* states that in *Lijeva Rijeka* even the oldest people could not remember a time when it was not worn.¹⁶⁹⁶ In addition, the data shows that the abovementioned

¹⁶⁹⁰ Andromaqi Gjergji, *Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 217-218*

¹⁶⁹¹ Andromaqi Gjergji, *Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 217*

¹⁶⁹² Irma Čremošnik, *Nošnja na rimskim spomenicima u Bosni i Hercegovini. Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja, 18, Sarajevo, 1963, p.103*

¹⁶⁹³ Irma Čremošnik, *Nošnja na rimskim spomenicima u Bosni i Hercegovini. Glasnik zamljeskog muzeja, 18, Sarajevo, 1963, page 106; Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 217*

¹⁶⁹⁴ Андрија Јовичевић, *Црногорско приморје и Крајина. Обод. Цетиње 2004, pages 166-167; According to the Albanian ethnologist Mark Tirta, in Mirdita, this form of tallagani was used until the middle of the 20th century. (Mark Tirta, *Veshje Popullore ne rrethin e Mirdites. Veshje popullore shqiptare, Vellimi 4, Akademia e shkencave e RSH. Instituti i antropologjisë kulturore dhe studimit të artit. Departamenti i Etnologjisë. Tiranë 2016, p.18)**

¹⁶⁹⁵ According to Gustav Meyer, the word *tallagan*, in Montenegrin society, has penetrated from Albanian, although its etymology is thought to be Turko-Tartar. (Eqrem Çabej, *Studime etimologjike në fushën e shqipes VII, S-ZH, Akademia e shkencave e republikës së Shqipërisë. Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe letërsisë. Tiranë 2006, p.93-94)*

¹⁶⁹⁶ “Талаган — капаран се носио зими преко џамадана или хаљине. Он је био од дебелог, белог сукна. Дохватао је до више колена, а рукави до лаката. На прсима се преклапао и закопчавао на „пуце“ од сукна и „свираде“, или на ваљкасто дрвено „пуце“. Иза врата је „капуља“ облика купе, којом се покривала глава, кад је хладно или кишовито време. Талаган је „освираћен свирадом“ по рубовима око врата и по првим полама. Он је рађен врло просто и без икаквих украса. Талаган је одомаћен у Лијевој Ријеци врло рано, јер

garment was also widespread in regions such as Piva, Krivošije, Katunska Nahija and Piperi, until it appears as part of the costumes worn by many Montenegrin cultural and political personalities, up to about a century before.¹⁶⁹⁷ Whereas, as far as the current Albanian territory is concerned, apart from Dibra and Mirdita that were mentioned above, the use of tallagan had been recorded until recently, also in Dukagjin, Postriba,¹⁶⁹⁸ Labëria¹⁶⁹⁹ and beyond. Therefore, according to the arguments given so far, struka, most likely, is an element that appears quite early in the Balkan territory, but due to the insufficiency of sources to connect it to a certain ethnicity, it should be considered as a polygenetic garment.¹⁷⁰⁰ However, as Tatomir Vukanović also states, the form that appeared until recently among Albanians, Montenegrins, and Aromanians, in substance is considered to be inherited directly from the Liburnian lacerna, that is, from a common source.¹⁷⁰¹

Meanwhile, to avoid any incorrect interpretation, it is relevant to inform that the elements discussed so far do not appear as isolated details in the old Montenegrin clothing, so it is irrelevant to consider them as borrowings due to any cultural exchange. In most cases, they appear combined with each other, producing, in this way, a form almost identical to the general appearance of the Albanian folk costumes. Moreover, by the Montenegrin ethnic community itself, the clothing consisting of the elements described above is understood as non-Slavic culture. Thus, in the Vasojevići tribal region, the old costume was identified through the notion of *arnautska*,¹⁷⁰² which means that in the collective memory there was no confusion about its ethnic source. For ethnologist Jasna Bjeladinović, an important part of their clothing reflects an early local and pre-Slavic cultural specificity.¹⁷⁰³ However, not only within the region, but also

ни најстарији луди не могу да докажу када није ношен.” (Митар С. Влаховић, Мушка ношња у Васојевићима. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига осма. Београд 1933, p.74)

¹⁶⁹⁷ Tatomir Vukanović, *Struka – petk i lashtë i popujvet të Ballkanit*. Përparimi, nr.3, Prishtinë, 1963. p. 185-195

¹⁶⁹⁸ Andromaqi Gjergji, *Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj*. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 213

¹⁶⁹⁹ Andromaqi Gjergji, *Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj*. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 217; In Labëria, the struka is known under the name Berruc, (ibid., p.217) a word quite close to Birrus that was used in antiquity.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Tatomir Vukanović, *Struka – Petk i lashtë i popujvet të Ballkanit*. Përparimi, nr.3. Prishtinë, 1963. p.199

¹⁷⁰¹ Tatomir Vukanović, *Struka – Petk i lashtë i popujvet të Ballkanit*. Përparimi, nr.3. Prishtinë, 1963. p. 198; The Liburnians – members of the Illyrian tribe Liburnia that was located in the upper part of the eastern Adriatic. (Aleksandar Stipcevic, *Ilirët – Historia, Jeta, Kultura*. Rilindja. Prishtinë, 1980. p.38)

¹⁷⁰² Миомир Дашић, *Васојевићи од помена до 1860, Матица српска – Друштво чланова у Црној Гори – Одељење за историју. Посебна издања. Књига 1, Никшић 2011, page 237*

¹⁷⁰³ Јасна Бјеладиновић, *Српска народна ношња у Ибарском Колашину, Штавици и околини Новог Пазара. Стари Колашин, Рожаје, Штавица. Службени гласник & САНУ, Београд 2020, pages 677-679*

in the Serbian environment, the old clothing of the *Vasojevići* community had been understood as a foreign heritage. According to the researcher Milisav Lutovac, one of the reasons why the pastoral groups, which had moved at the beginning of the 17th century from the district of Berani to Serbia, were called *arnauti*, was due to their clothing,¹⁷⁰⁴ which means that the human society in the new environment where they had settled, had no doubt in the definition of this costume in the context of Albanian ethnography. The late claims, which treat the use of the Albanian costume in the Vasojevići region as part of the camouflage for free movement between the Peja-Shkodra road,¹⁷⁰⁵ are incorrect. One of the basic reasons is that if the Albanian folk clothing would serve a special use due to the movement, it would not be included in the daily clothing, but would always have the meaning of the uniform. However, under the influence of the central state authorities, as Mitar S. Vlahović explains, starting from the middle of the 19th century, this clothing was replaced by the new Montenegrin form.¹⁷⁰⁶

In contrast to the territories discussed above, in the upper part of the coastal region as well as in the central area, the information is rarer, but still seems sufficient to assume the presence of non-Slavic costumes in that area. The cleric and ethnographer Sava Nakićenović, at the beginning of the 20th century, wrote that in the folk clothing of Luštica and Krtolj, Albanian ethnographic nuances are easily recognizable.¹⁷⁰⁷ Apparently, these are cultural remnants inherited from the old Albanians of Luštica, whose collective presence was known in the documents of 1430,¹⁷⁰⁸ as well as from the colony that is supposed to have migrated to Krtolj during the 16th century from the Albanian depths.¹⁷⁰⁹ In this context, this description can serve as an argument to assume that a good part of the details from the old Albanian costumes have

¹⁷⁰⁴ Милисав Лутовац, Иванградска-беранска котлина. Српска Академија Наука. Посебна Издања. Књига CCLXIX, Географски Институт. Књига 11. Београд 1957, page 78; According to the researcher Lutovac, the colony from Vasojević was located in the districts of the cities of Požarevac, Uzice, Smederevo, Kragujevac, etc. (ibid., page 78)

¹⁷⁰⁵ Радоје Кастратовић, Шекулар и Шекуларци у народној причи и традицији. Обод. Цетиње 1966, page 21

¹⁷⁰⁶ „Средином 19 века када је највећи дио Васојевића припојен Црној Гори, Васојевићи примају црногорску народну ношњу. Најпре су почели да примају ту ношњу Васојевићи Љеворечани, као најближи Црној Гори, а доцније и они у Најији.“ (Митар Ц Влаховић, Мушка ношња у Васојевићима. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига осма. Београд 1933, page 79); „Стара ношња је замијењена са сада под утицајем Црне Горе данашњим црногорским костимом.“ (Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Васојевићи. ЦИД. Подгорица 2005, page 381)

¹⁷⁰⁷ Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 171

¹⁷⁰⁸ DAD, Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 173

Сава Накићеновић, Бока. ЦИД & Јавна Установа и Градска библиотека и читаоница Херцег Нови. 2012, page 197-199

preserved their form, at least from the end of the Middle Ages, because, if they had undergone a change, the researcher Nakićenović, would not have known how to describe them as Albanian as to the source. Then, in relation to the old folk costumes that were used early in the Montenegrin territory, some documentary sources from Venice are also relevant. According to these documents, it is understood that the peasantry, but also the level of the aristocracy in medieval Zeta, wore a costume, which the administration of the Republic of Saint Mark defined as an Albanian costume.¹⁷¹⁰

As in the case of men's clothes, as well as in the old clothes of the Montenegrin women, the elements of Albanian culture seem to constitute the fundamental basis. According to the early descriptions, but also pursuant to the late exhibitions in museum institutions, it is understood that its main part was *the džupeleta*, a heavy bell-shaped dress, often decorated, which was held by two straps tied to the shoulders. Jovan Erdeljanović, in his records on the ethnographic features of the Bratonožići region, wrote that women in everyday life wore Albanian jubletas (*ženkinje su nosile prave arbanaške džupelete*).¹⁷¹¹ While, in Kuči, this dress was the uniform of young girls, who accompanied it with other additional details, very similar to the Albanian ones.¹⁷¹² Apparently, the jubleta was widely used, moreover, it dominated women's clothing in the settlements of the Morača tribal community¹⁷¹³ as well as in the Vasojevići region. In the latter, according to researchers Mitar S. Vlahović and Radoslav Vešević, its wearing started from the heights of Lijeva Reka and extended further towards the lower course of the Lim.¹⁷¹⁴

As for the age and source of the jubleta, in science it is treated as a garment created very early, most likely thousands of years ago, respectively from the Bronze Age.¹⁷¹⁵ According to

¹⁷¹⁰ „Сељаци су се одјевали онако како је изискивала вијековима баштињена традиција, а исто тако и истакнути феудалци, чију су ношњу Млечани називали арбанском.“ (Иван Божић, Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, page 239)

¹⁷¹¹ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи–Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 358

¹⁷¹² Стеван Дучић, Плење Кучи – Живот и обичаји. ЦИД. Подгорица 2004, page 93; Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи–Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, page 213; The use of jubleta in the region of Kuči is a well-known phenomenon for the Albanians of the surrounding tribes. Informant: Palokë Zef Nicaj, from the village of Arza of Traboini of Hoti. 70 years old.

¹⁷¹³ „Женско одијело било је сво у шарама, а џупелета нарочито.“ (Секула Добричанин, Донја Морача – Живот и обичаји народни по традицији. Црногорска Академија Наука и Умјетности. Титоград 1984, page 116)

¹⁷¹⁴ Митар С. Влаховић, Женска ношња у Вasoјевићима. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду. Књига девета. Београд 1934, page 71; Радослав Јагош Вешевих, Плење Вasoјевићи. ЦИД. Подгорица 2005, page 381

¹⁷¹⁵ Kahreman Ulqini, Veshje popullore në rrethin e Shkodrës. Veshje popullore shqiptare, Vëllimi 4, Akademia e shkencave e RSH. Instituti i antropologjisë kulturore dhe studimit të artit. Departamenti i Etnologjisë. Tiranë 2016, p.113

ethnologist Andromaqi Gjergji, it means a very ancient type, the origin of which is connected to the shores of the Mediterranean, but which has managed to survive only in the northern Albanian part.¹⁷¹⁶ This had been noticed quite early by Franz Nopca, who notes that from a costume point of view the jubleta corresponds to the clothing that appears in archaeological objects found in Serbia, Mycenae, and Crete.¹⁷¹⁷ Meanwhile, other researchers such as Haberlandt, Garašanin, Kovačević had also expressed their opinion on its origin from the Creto-Mycenaean civilization, while Rrok Zojzi, from the community of Albanian researchers, supports Nopca's opinion without reservation.¹⁷¹⁸ Then, as Gjergji notes, the jubleta represents a garment, which, despite the fact that it cannot be considered strictly Illyrian due to the analogies it has with some features of clothing of the Creto-Mycenaean civilization, there is still no doubt that it lived for centuries in the Illyrian civilization by being deeply integrated into it.¹⁷¹⁹ The figurine found in Kličevac, Serbia, which belongs to the Bronze Age, that is, to the second millennium before Christ, is concrete evidence in this context.¹⁷²⁰ Whereas, due to the very fact that jubleta came to nowadays only from Albanians,¹⁷²¹ its presence, until a few decades ago, in the Montenegrin tribal communities, seems like an additional argument, albeit indirect, in the discussion about their ethnic origin.

The use of the same or very similar folk costumes by Albanians and Montenegrins, is a topic addressed early by the community of Balkan and foreign researchers. In his work on the lands of European Turkey, the geologist Ami Boue makes known the similarity of the northern Albanian clothing with the Montenegrin one, emphasizing the fustanella, a men's skirt with many parts which was made of white fabric.¹⁷²² Apparently, this old garment among the Albanians had an early use, coexisting simultaneously with the *tirqis*, only that the latter are thought to have had

¹⁷¹⁶ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 135

¹⁷¹⁷ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 165-166

¹⁷¹⁸ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 166

¹⁷¹⁹ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 167

¹⁷²⁰ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, p. 166

¹⁷²¹ Andromaqi Gjergji, Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, page 167; This has influenced it to be known as the Albanian jubleta. In connection with this, ethnologist Zorica Mrvaljević writes: "*Za najstariji tip nošnje, koji se pouzdano vezuje za ilirski kulturni substrat, smatraju se albanske džublete, koje su denako bile u upotrebi kod muslimanki i katolikinja uglavnom seoskog i planinskog područja-malesije.*" (Zorica Mrvaljević, Etnički identitet Crnogoraca i drugih etničkih zajednica u Crnoj Gori. Etnološke odlike Crne Gore. Tom 1. Crnogorska Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti. Podgorica 2013, page 51)

¹⁷²² Ami Boue, Shqipëria në Turqinë europiane. Plejad, Tiranë 2011, page 30

a more limited extent.¹⁷²³ Then, in the summary on the tribes, legal norms, and customs of the Balkan peoples, the British Edith Durham writes that until a generation before her, women in the Vasojevići region used the clothing and ornaments of the great highlands, while many of the men still wore the Albanian costume.¹⁷²⁴ However, the elements discussed above, which express ancient pre-Slavic features, certainly did not penetrate Montenegrin society as a result of any industrial trend. Since among the Albanians they were understood a parts of the old folk costumes that were produced within the household economy, mostly made of simple fabrics, but cut and embroidered neatly by women,¹⁷²⁵ then it is clear that this was also characteristic of the Montenegrin tribal society. Thus, the very fact that within the family workshops, both on one side and on the other, no markedly autonomous specifics had developed in the case of their manufacturing, but they are encountered in an almost identical form, it means that they are products of the same cultural environment; manufactured works dictated by a common heritage.

8. THE PRESENCE OF ROMANIZED SOCIETY IN MONTENEGRIN TERRITORY

The penetration of Roman military units into the western Balkan terrain, together with the stabilization of state administration in the conquered lands and many years of their rule, seem to have produced a complex circumstance in which a considerable part of the old society went through a rough phase of transformation, in terms of socio-cultural aspect. In this context, it is assumed that the greater part of the pre-Roman population forgot the previous idioms and adopted Latin for everyday communication,¹⁷²⁶ while the remaining part, barricaded mainly in high areas and outside of political relevance, seems to have resisted Romanization. Although the Avar demolitions and Slavic incursions had a different impact on their life, demography, and cultural characteristics,¹⁷²⁷ these communities did not disappear, moreover, they are still present

¹⁷²³ Andromaqi Gjergji, *Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj*. Ribotim. Akademia e shkencave e Shqipërisë. Tiranë 2019, page 126

¹⁷²⁴ Edith Durham, *Për fiset, ligjet dhe zakonet e Ballkanasve*. Argeta-LMG, Tiranë 2019, page 58

¹⁷²⁵ Stefanaq Pollo, *Kultura popullore si shprehje e vecorive etnike dhe e formimit të kombit shqiptar*. Studime historike, 1976, Nr.3, Akademia e shkencave e RPSH. Instituti i Historisë. Tiranë, p. 39

¹⁷²⁶ Зеф Мирдита, Илири и етногенеза Албанаца. Из историје Албанаца. Друштво Историцара Србије. Београд, p.9; Noel Malcolm, *Kosova – Një histori e shkurtër*. Koha - Prishtinë & Shtëpia e librit - Tiranë, p.25

¹⁷²⁷ Зеф Мирдита, Илири и етногенеза Албанаца. Из историје Албанаца. Друштво Историцара Србије. Београд, p.9.

in the hinterland of the western Balkans. The first ones who had adopted a version of Latin for mutual communication, but retained some of the old ethnographic characteristics, had not managed to establish themselves territorially and historical literature recognizes them under the appellative Vlach. While the rest, who despite the Roman and Slavic influences in the lexicon had been able to preserve the substance of the language and cultural specifics, in parallel managing to maintain dominance within a compact territory, are known as the substrate from which the Albanians were later shaped.¹⁷²⁸

Regarding the Romanized societies, it is thought that in the second phase of the Middle Ages, some of them from the coastal regions, the lowlands, or the arable lands near the rivers, may have merged within the Slavic and Proto-Albanian societies, while the rest, due to pressure, seem to have moved to the mountains to later transform into typical pastoral communities.¹⁷²⁹ Moreover, based on existing sources, a considerable part of the Vlach community, especially in medieval times, is said to have developed a mobile way of life, where the climatic conditions dictated their place of residence. Understandably, being largely pastoral societies, their katuns (hamlets) moved from one region to the other, depending on the need for pastures, while they wintered in the nearest lowlands.¹⁷³⁰ However, pastoral life cannot be interpreted as the only characteristic of Romanized society, because there are cases when Vlach merchants, craftsmen, and soldiers are mentioned in old documents,¹⁷³¹ which means that over time this community had adapted to the social and political changes of the time. Nevertheless, on the other hand, with their inclusion in cosmopolitan life and the abandonment of pastoral life, it seems that the Vlach community loses much of its cultural autonomy and begins to absorb the characteristics of other peoples, subsequently merging ethnically. Therefore, in modern times there are very few

¹⁷²⁸ Johann Thunmann, On the history and language of the Albanians and Vlachs. Botime Artini. Prishtinë 2024, p.8; Константин Лиречек, Историја Срба. Друга Књига – Културна историја. Народна Књига. Београд 1952, p.33; Milan Shufflay, Serbët dhe Shqiptarët. Rilindja, Prishtinë, 1968, p.26; Зеф Мирдита, Илири и етногенеза Албанаца. Из историје Албанаца. Друштво Историчара Србије. Београд, p.28

¹⁷²⁹ Миленко С. Филиповић, Структура и организација средњовековног катуна. Симпозијум о средњовековном катуну. Научно друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине. Посебна Издања. Књига II. Сарајево 1963, p.51; Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД. Подгорица, 2002, p.57

¹⁷³⁰ Јован С. Трифуновски, Географске карактеристике средњовековних катуна. Симпозијум о средњовековном катуну. Научно друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине. Посебна Издања. Књига II. Сарајево 1963, p.20

¹⁷³¹ Миленко С. Филиповић, Структура и организација средњовековног катуна. Симпозијум о средњовековном катуну. Научно друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине. Посебна Издања. Књига II. Сарајево 1963, p.97; Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca. Pobjeda. Titograd. 1980. p.27

enclaves in the western Balkan terrain, where Romanized societies have been able to preserve their linguistic and ethnographic specifics.

Regarding the Montenegrin territory, the presence of the Vlach community is well documented in written sources, but relevant data is also provided by collective memory and especially by the field of toponymy. In this context, it is difficult to find any Montenegrin territorial part within which concrete elements of the culture of the Romanized society do not appear, though not in an equal form, since in some regions they seem to have had a greater presence compared to other areas. For example, in some northern parts of the current Montenegrin area, the presence of the Vlachs is more extensively documented than in other areas, moreover, in old documents they are specifically mentioned as extremely compact masses. Large societies such as Drobnjaci, Banjani, Nikšići, and Ridani, which appear in historical sources as early as the 14th century as communities with a rigid patriarchal organization, are thought to have a Vlach component at their core.¹⁷³² In the totality of documentary sources, there are many cases in which members of the aforementioned lineages appear, where, in addition to personal name and regional affiliation, notaries had also written about their ethnicity. Thus, within a document drafted by the Kotor administration in 1376, there are two people named Gojsan Banilović and Bogoslav Desimirić from the Drobnjaci tribal community, who, despite their Slavic anthroponyms or patronymics, are identified as *vlachi de chatone Dobrignazi*.¹⁷³³ Three years later, namely in 1379, in written sources, there is Pripko Radosalić who is described as *Vlachus de catono Drobnachy*,¹⁷³⁴ while on 12 August 1390, a Micien Clapcic, *Vlachus de Drobnach*, is mentioned.¹⁷³⁵

The Vlach character of the medieval Drobnjaci society is also evident in some materials from the 15th century, more precisely in some documents drawn up by the Dubrovnik state chancelleries. Thus, on 1 September 1423, in a legal process was mentioned Radivoe Voxich, who was accused of robbing the Italian merchant Francesco Crota.¹⁷³⁶ According to the

¹⁷³² Antun S. Dabinović, Kotor u drugom skadarskom ratu 1419-1423. Rad jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Knjiga 257. Zagreb. 1937, p.137-141; Иван Божић, Зета у деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград, 1970, p. 188

¹⁷³³ Петар Шобајић. Поводом двају најновијих прилога приучавању племена. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1952, p.271

¹⁷³⁴ Петар Шобајић. Поводом двају најновијих прилога приучавању племена. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1952, p.271

¹⁷³⁵ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, p.172

¹⁷³⁶ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, p.172

descriptions of the trial panel, the damage to the caravan occurred somewhere in the area between Prijepolje and Dubrovnik, whereas the convict was said to have been a member of the Drobnjaci community, while his Vlach affiliation was also made known.¹⁷³⁷ Somewhat later, in August 1433, a similar incident was reported in the locality of Jezero above Durmitor, in which a *Vlachus Drobnach* had stolen several heads of cattle from a Dalmatian shepherd.¹⁷³⁸ However, the documents revealed up to this point take on a fuller meaning when combined with the data accumulated by the scientific discipline of onomastics. For example, in the Ottoman defter (register) of 1477 for Herzegovina, where the inhabited localities of the Drobnjaci tribal society are also recorded, anthroponyms or patronymics characteristic of the Romanized lineages also appear. Although the names of the Slavic culture are dominant, the presence of names such as Radul, Petkun, Ursula, Tajoš, Dančul, Karan, Bratul, Vitas, Toholj, Bregun, Dumil, Mikol, Vitko, Bokčila, or Milj,¹⁷³⁹ seems to reinforce the hypothesis, which assumes that this tribal organization emerged from a Vlach substratum. Further, within this same material, also appears the pastoral katun Vardić,¹⁷⁴⁰ which is most likely related to the linguistic culture of the early Romanized Balkan lineages. Moreover, toponyms such as Durmitor, Bovan, Pirlitor, and Panos, which still exist now within or near the area where the tribal society in question was territorially established, are also considered to be of Roman origin.¹⁷⁴¹

Regarding the ethnic affiliation of the Drobnjaci tribal society, Croatian linguist Petar Skok writes that in an older time they must have been Vlachs,¹⁷⁴² an opinion also accepted by Serbian scholar Ivan Božić.¹⁷⁴³ Later, in favour of the hypothesis, which assumes that the aforementioned tribal community has roots in the Romanized Balkan society, Konstantin Jireček,¹⁷⁴⁴ as well as

¹⁷³⁷ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, p.172

¹⁷³⁸ Risto Kovijanić, *Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek*. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore. Titograd 1974, p.172

¹⁷³⁹ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, p.139-147

¹⁷⁴⁰ Бранислав Ђурђевић, *Постанак и развитак брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена*. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, p. 140

¹⁷⁴¹ Špiro Kulišić, *O etnogenezi Crnogoraca*. Pobjeda, Titograd, 1980, f.23; Konstantin Jireček, *Istorija Srba*. Druga knjiga - Kulturna istorija. Narodna knjiga, Beograd, 1952, p.35

¹⁷⁴² Петар Шобајић. Поводом двају најновијих прилога приучавању племена. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1952, p.270

¹⁷⁴³ Иван Божић, *Зета у деспотовини*. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, том други. Редакција за историју Црне Горе, Титоград 1970, p. 188

¹⁷⁴⁴ Петар Шобајић. Поводом двају најновијих прилога приучавању племена. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1952, p.270

Antun Dabinović,¹⁷⁴⁵ expressed themselves, while for Petar Šobajić, the Drobñjaci community represents a Vlach-Slavic symbiosis.¹⁷⁴⁶ On the other hand, there are also opinions about their Serbian origin, where Andrija Luburic is one of the representatives of this hypothesis,¹⁷⁴⁷ but this has limited support because it is contested by old historical sources, which interpret this tribal community within the framework of pre-Slavic peoples. However, to close the narrative regarding the community in question, it must be said that over time, its core may have also accepted some lineages from outside,¹⁷⁴⁸ therefore a distinction must be made between the initial Vlach stratum and the composition that this collective later gains after the penetration of other lineages.

Based on documentary sources but also on other historical materials, it seems that the Banjani tribal community that lies in the upper Montenegrin part, has a serious component of the old Romanized Balkan societies. Thus, within a document drawn up by the Dubrovnik state administration in 1422, *appears* a collective of Vlachs from the village of *Dragasce* that was owned by the aforementioned tribal organization (*Supra Vlachos de Dragasce de Bagnani*).¹⁷⁴⁹ A few years later, to be more precise in 1428, in the written sources is encountered *Vitus Danielis de generatione Morlacorum de Bagnani*, who is said to have served with the Archbishop of Dubrovnik,¹⁷⁵⁰ as well as a *Chiara Radouani Drasinouich Vlachum catonarium de Bagnani*.¹⁷⁵¹ The pre-Slavic component in the structure of this society is also evident in several other medieval written materials, where people or groups that are portrayed within the Vlach ethnicity appear. A concrete case can be taken from a document from 1430 which mentions a *Vlachos Bagnan voiuode* Radossaij,¹⁷⁵² but also another one from 1442 which treats

¹⁷⁴⁵ Antun S. Dabinović, Kotor u drugom skadarskom ratu 1419-1423. Rad jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Knjiga 257, Zagreb, 1937, p.141

¹⁷⁴⁶ Петар Шобајић. Поводом двају најновијих прилога приучавању племена. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1952, p.270

¹⁷⁴⁷ Петар Шобајић. Поводом двају најновијих прилога приучавању племена. Гласник Етнографског Института. САН. Српска Академија Наука. Београд 1952, p.270

¹⁷⁴⁸ Павел Аполоновић Ровински, Етнографија Црне Горе, Том 1, ЦИД, Подгорица, 1998, p. 89.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Десанка Ковачевић, Средњовековни катуни по Дубровачким изворима. Симпозијум о средњовековном катуњу- Научно Друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине. Посебна Издања. Књига II. Сарајево 1963, p.129

¹⁷⁵⁰ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, p.163

¹⁷⁵¹ Десанка Ковачевић, Средњовековни катуни по Дубровачким изворима. Симпозијум о средњовековном катуњу- Научно Друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине. Посебна Издања. Књига II. Сарајево 1963, p.129

¹⁷⁵² Гавро Шкриванић, Именик географских назива средњовековне Зете. Историски Институт НР Црне Горе. Тигорад 1959, p.27

this community as a Romanized collective “*In Murlachia in loco dicto Bagnani*”.¹⁷⁵³ In this context, the information that the tribal appellative itself is supposedly formed from the Latin word *balnea* is also relevant.¹⁷⁵⁴

Although considered as a disbanded community about three hundred years ago, more precisely in the middle of the 18th century, the Ridjani tribal organization, which according to Petar Šobajić once owned the area between Onogosht and Risan,¹⁷⁵⁵ seems to have had a Vlach physiognomy in the first phase of its existence.¹⁷⁵⁶ Documentary sources and collective memory are two terrains that provide concrete data in this context. Thus, within a document drawn up in 1423, the patriarchal community Riđani is treated as Vlach (*in verso lo monte chiamato che parte le dice Planine con li Vlachi Rigiani*).¹⁷⁵⁷ The hypothesis, according to which the aforementioned society may have emerged from a pre-Slavic substratum, is also supported by Ottoman historical documentation, especially the 1477 defter, which records three katuns whose inhabitants are described as Vlachs from the Riđani community.¹⁷⁵⁸ In this context, as a supplementary argument can be taken the fact that in Montenegrin folk literature and collective memory appears a Vuče Riđanin who is defined as a Vlach in the ethnic sense (*Vlašče Vuče Riđanine*).¹⁷⁵⁹ Then, a similar circumstance also holds for the Nikšići tribal community, who from the first mention, within a document dated 6 August 1399, are said to be Vlachs,¹⁷⁶⁰ as well as in the later Ottoman population and property defter of 1455, where the vilayet of Vlachs of Nikšić (Nišikler) appears.¹⁷⁶¹ According to the Montenegrin collective memory, it seems that a faction of them may have moved towards the region of Rovca, later increasing and dividing into

¹⁷⁵³ Гавро Шкриванић, Именик географских назива средњовековне Зете. Историски Институт НР Црне Горе. Тиград 1959, p.27

¹⁷⁵⁴ Risto Kovijanić, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, p.163

¹⁷⁵⁵ Risto Kovijanic, Pomeni crnogorskih plemena u kotorskim spomenicima XIV-XVI vijek. Knjiga II. Istorijski Institut Crne Gore, Titograd 1974, p.156

¹⁷⁵⁶ Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narativni podacima o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica. Godina XII, Broj 46-47, Ljeto/Jesen, Cetinje-Podgorica, 2011, p.259

¹⁷⁵⁷ Гавро Шкриванић, Именик географских назива средњовековне Зете. Историски Институт НР Црне Горе. Тиград 1959, p.27

¹⁷⁵⁸ Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca. Pobjeda, Titograd, 1980, f.31; Иван Божић, Владавина Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, p.367

¹⁷⁵⁹ Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narativni podacima o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica. Godina XII, Broj 46-47, Ljeto/Jesen, Cetinje-Podgorica, 2011, p.254

¹⁷⁶⁰ Antun S. Dabinović, Kotor u drugom skadarskom ratu 1419-1423. Rad jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Knjiga 257, Zagreb, 1937 f.137; Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca. Pobjeda, Titograd, 1980, p.142

¹⁷⁶¹ Гавро Шкриванић, Именик географских назива средњовековне Зете. Историски Институт НР Црне Горе. Тиград 1959, p.30

four large lineages, such as Bulatovići, Vlahovići, Srezojevići, and Scepanovići.¹⁷⁶² In this context, taking into account the fact that the first two names of the four mentioned lineages have a Vlach source, the folk memory gains additional importance. Especially when also in the Ottoman administrative materials, within the inhabited localities of Rovca, anthroponyms or patronymics characteristic of the old Romanized Balkan society were occasionally encountered, such as Bratul, Stanul, or Vlah.¹⁷⁶³ Specifically, in favour of the premise of a serious non-Slavic component in the core of the tribal society mentioned above, also speaks the defter of the sanjak of Herzegovina, compiled by imperial officials in 1477, as the Rovca nahija (region) appears with 51 households, the members of which are also recorded as Vlachs.¹⁷⁶⁴

Based on the Ottoman administrative materials of the 15th century, the presence of the Romanized society can also be ascertained in several other areas within the Montenegrin territory. Thus, in the Moraca region, imperial officials had already identified three Vlach villages; two in the lower part and one in the upper part of the region.¹⁷⁶⁵ Later, their presence was also emphasized around the centre of Mojkovac, where a colony spread across several villages seems to have survived until later. The basis for this argument are the cadastral records of the Dobrilovina Monastery, compiled in the 18th century, where in the localities of Bratojevići, Kulizići, Polja, and Stari Vlah, appears a large number of individuals who bear names common to the Vlach culture such as Margarit, Radul, Tihana, Joanu, Vitor, Manda, Jagita, Vilareta, Januš, Romanija, Vitoš and more.¹⁷⁶⁶ Later on, the existence of toponyms such as Vlaška Rudina, Vlaški Brod or Vlahinja in Kuči,¹⁷⁶⁷ or Banjestra, Mikulica, Vitani, Kaporov Brijeg, and Vlaška Draca in Piper,¹⁷⁶⁸ are serious indicators for the former presence of

¹⁷⁶² Петар Шобајић, Никшић-Оногошт. Посебна изданја Географског Друштва. Свеска 22, Београд 1938, page 31; Стеван Поповић, Ровца и Ровчани – У историји и традицији. Друго допуњено издање. ИТП Коло Никшић & ИТП Унирекс Подгорица. Никшић 1997, page 7.

¹⁷⁶³ Бранислав Ђурђев, Постанак и развитац брдских, црногорских и Херцеговачких племена. ЦАНУ, Титоград, 1984, p.73-74.

¹⁷⁶⁴ Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narativni podacima o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica. Godina XII, Broj 46-47, Ljeto/Jesen, Cetinje-Podgorica, 2011, p.256-257; Иван Божић, Владавина Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, p.367

¹⁷⁶⁵ Иван Божић, Владавина Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, p.368; Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca. Pobjeda, Titograd, 1980, p.31

¹⁷⁶⁶ Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narativni podacima o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica. Godina XII, Broj 46-47, Ljeto/Jesen, Cetinje-Podgorica, 2011, p. 262

¹⁷⁶⁷ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, p.47, 49, 83

¹⁷⁶⁸ Јован Ердељановић, Кучи–Братоножићи-Пипери. Народна Библиотека „Радослав Љумовић“ Подгорица, Подгорица 1997, p.479, 487, 488, 505

Romanized lineages even within the territory of these two tribal organizations. However, the presence of Romanized Balkan society, in addition to the regions discussed above, is also argued in the most peripheral parts of the Montenegrin terrain. For example, in Ottoman written materials of the 15th century, nine Vlach katuns are mentioned in the northern Piva region,¹⁷⁶⁹ while in 1570, the village of Dobrakovo, which lies in the upper part of Bihor, is said to have had a Vlach physiognomy in terms of demography.¹⁷⁷⁰

The presence of Romanized society in Montenegrin territory is also evident in the old materials of coastal centres, such as the charters of Kotor from the 14th century, within which it is stated that Vlachs, Albanians, and Slavs lived intermixed up to the city walls.¹⁷⁷¹ Furthermore, a legal body called *comites Sclavorum*, which was mandated to dispense justice exclusively for three ethnic groups such as Slavs, Vlachs, and Albanians, seems to have been functional in Kotor.¹⁷⁷² Additionally, of great relevance are some later documents that speak of the military engagement of Vlachs from the mountains above Kotor, especially in the armies of the feudal lords Nikola Altomanović and Stefan Crnojević.¹⁷⁷³ Based on the available historical sources, it seems that the latter, in February 1452, helped by many armed Vlachs from the Kotor area, had ravaged and burned the entire region of Grbalj.¹⁷⁷⁴ Meanwhile, a similar situation seems to have prevailed in the hinterland of Budva, where clear onomastic remains that can be linked to Romanized societies appear. For example, in the possessions of the Pastrovići tribal organization, which Jovan Vukmanović considers as an old Albanian-Vlach habitat,¹⁷⁷⁵ microtoponyms such as Botur, Tudorovići, Džardin, Butorovina, or Vlaške Lazine appear, which clearly seem to be reflections of Latinized groupings.¹⁷⁷⁶ Later on, within the documentary sources of the 13th-14th

¹⁷⁶⁹ Иван Божић, Владавина Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе, Књига друга, Том 2, Титоград, 1970, p.368

¹⁷⁷⁰ Татјана Катић, Опширни попис призренског санџака из 1571 године. Историјски Институт, Посебна издања, књига 58, Београд, 2010, p.537

¹⁷⁷¹ Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca. Pobjeda, Titograd, 1980, p.20

¹⁷⁷² Konstantin Jirecek – Istorija Srba, Druga knjiga, kulturna istorija, Naucna knjiga, Beograd 1952, page 87

¹⁷⁷³ “U primorskim izvorima Vlasi se spominju u planinama kod Kotora i Dubrovnika posebno u vojsci Nikole Altomanovića i Stevana Crnojevića”. (Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca. Pobjeda, Titograd, 1980, p.27); „Стефаница Црнојевић је за неколико дана у другој половини фебруара 1452 год. са нешто својих војника и са наоружаним Власима из которске околине опустошио Грбаљ.” (Иван Божић, Зета у Деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, Том други, Титоград, 1970, p.226)

¹⁷⁷⁴ Иван Божић, Зета у Деспотовини. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, Том други, Титоград, 1970, p.226

¹⁷⁷⁵ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2002, p.57

¹⁷⁷⁶ Иван Божић, Бранко Павичевић & Илија Синдик, Паштровске Исправе. Књига 1. Државни Архив Црне Горе. Историјска Грађа. Књига 1. Цетиње 1959, p.66; Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2002, p.62, 135; “Naziv sela Tudorovići je nastao po ličnom imenu Tudor, koje se vrlo često srijeće kod Vlaha”. (Božidar

centuries, in the aforementioned region, there are cases when anthroponyms or patronymics appear such as Urso, Drakul, Tudro, Negul, or Hekula¹⁷⁷⁷ which are names characteristic of the Vlachs of the western part of the Balkan terrain.

Regarding the core of the modern Montenegrin state, which in historical literature is known as Stara Crna Gora, the data available to the scientific community indicate that Romanized societies may have had a presence there, especially in the Katunska Nahija, which covers most of its territory. Thus, in a document dated 11 March 1430, the Bjelice tribal community is defined as a Vlach entity in regard to ethnic sentiment (*Vlachis de Zenta Bielizes*).¹⁷⁷⁸ The name of the old village Mikulići,¹⁷⁷⁹ formed from the word *mik*, which appears both among Albanians and Vlachs, also seems to correspond to this document. However, due to the fact that the suffix *ul* is characteristic of old Romanized Balkan societies, it would be more rational to consider this toponym as their cultural remnant. Nevertheless, this phenomenon is also encountered in the inhabited localities of the Pješivci tribal organization, where in the Ottoman defters of 1521 and 1523, in the villages of Sterovići, Milovići, Vrba, and Stanjevići, anthroponyms such as Dančul, Vitomir, Bogulin, Latinko, and Petroča appear,¹⁷⁸⁰ the source of which, in this case, should be sought in the Vlach culture. Then, in the Cuce tribal society, toponyms such as Antera, Stavor, Trojana, Antersko Prisoje, Kabasi, Mrkulja, Vlahinja, Anterske Doline, which appear in the settlements of Grab, Gradina, Ržani Do and Kućište, can be interpreted as remnants of Romanized societies in the area. Furthermore, the presence of the microtoponyms Srpski Vrh, Srpski Do, Srpska Jama, and Srpska Voda, in the village of Ržani Do, is an additional argument to assume that the locality in question had a non-Serbian physiognomy. In connection with this, Jovan Erdeljanović writes that since the Serbs did not need to give themselves these names, then they must have been established by old Vlach lineages.¹⁷⁸¹

Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narativni podaci o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica, Godina XII, broj 46-47, Ljeto-Jesen 2011, Cetinje-Podgorica 2011, p.263);

¹⁷⁷⁷ Јован Вукмановић, Паштровићи. ЦИД, Подгорица, 2002, p.63

¹⁷⁷⁸ Гавро Шкриванић, Именик географских назива средњовековне Зете. Историски Институт НР Црне Горе. Тигорад 1959, p.28

¹⁷⁷⁹ Mikulići is a village that lies within the territory populated by the Bjelice tribal organization.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Dva deftera iz Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-bega Crnojevića. Druga Sveska. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Posebna izdanja. Knjiga IX/2, Sarajevo, 1973, p. 22, 34, 42,

¹⁷⁸¹ „Мислим да се са Власима могу довести у везу и називи на з. од села: Српски Врх, Српски До, Српска Јама и Српска Вода. Пошто дакле Срби сами собом нису имали потребе да дају овакве топографске називе,

Cetinje tribal community is another folk community within the Katunska Nahija region, in whose territory microtoponyms reminiscent of Romanized pre-Slavic societies are found. As concrete cases can be listed the names Lagator, Romanovina, Lašor, Kasanov Kraj, and Srđev Brijeg which are considered as reflections or Vlach influences within the area, while in regard to the last two toponyms, Erdeljanović writes that they were formed on the basis of the names Casanus and Sergio,¹⁷⁸² of Latin culture. However, these are not the only findings within the territory populated by the aforementioned tribal organization, since in the village of Bjeloši several other geographical notions emerge, such as Radulova Glavica, Radulov Brijeg, Radulovi Dolovi, and Radulova Jama which seem to be from the same source. Within the scientific community there are opinions that these microtoponyms are related to a personality named Radul, who was put at the head of a large Vlach colony, which from the coastal areas had retreated towards the hinterland to establish livestock katuns later. Meanwhile, a similar circumstance prevails in the village of Očinići, where the names Alijerov Do and Alijerova Glavica have been identified, in which case the hypothesis on the Vlach influence on their formation remains highly competitive.¹⁷⁸³ Moreover, there are cases when material culture also speaks of the dense presence of Romanized societies within the territory occupied by this tribal community. Thus, in the urban centre of Cetinje, even at this time, there is a medieval Orthodox church, which the population of the area knows by the appellative *Vlaška Crkva* (*Eng. Church of the Vlachs*).¹⁷⁸⁴

Pre-Slavic micro-toponyms, the meaning of which must be sought within the culture of the Balkan societies that were Romanized over time, also appear within the Čeklići tribal community. For example, in the village of Miljevići there are place names such as Margariti and Sekulino Prisoje, while in the village of Ubao, the names of this nature are listed as Semelj Mali,

може се понајпре мислити да су их дали Власи.“ (Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље, Београд 1978, р.606)

¹⁷⁸² Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље, Београд 1978, р.272

¹⁷⁸³ „Свакако су облици Аливер и Алијер били већ у обичају код влашких пастира у динарским пределима, па су од њих прешли и у наш народ....Према томе је могућно, да је назив Алијеров До успомена на некога од Романских Влаха, али је исто тако могућно, да је добио име по некоме Србину с именом Алијер.“ (Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље, Београд 1978, р.285)

¹⁷⁸⁴ It is also mentioned in 15th century documents, specifically in the charters drawn up within the chancellery of the feudal lord Ivan Crnojević. (Јован Ердељановић, Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље, Београд 1978, р.222)

Semelj Veli, Orop Do, Oropska Glavica, Tatulov do and Tatulovo Ždrijelo.¹⁷⁸⁵ According to the researcher Erdeljanović, these should be considered as cultural remnants from the Vlachs, since analogous examples to the microtoponyms listed above are not found in the Slavic world.¹⁷⁸⁶ Later on, based on the collective memory of today's Montenegrin lineages, within the village of Petrov Do, in the oldest times lived two kinship communities known as Kamate and Baculi, who are said to have been Vlachs.¹⁷⁸⁷ However, onomastic remnants from Romanized groups were also encountered in the territories of the Njeguši tribal society, where the toponyms Bostur and Longova Rupa are highlighted as concrete cases,¹⁷⁸⁸ but most likely also the surnames Dančulović and Lukrecije in the village of Velji Zalaz.

According to written sources but also based on research in the field of toponymy, the Vlach community seems to have had a presence in other areas within what is identified as Stara Crna Gora, although to a lower extent compared to the region discussed above. Thus, in the Ottoman cadastral registers of 1521 and 1523, as residents of the villages of Stanisalići, Tomići and Dragosalići of the Rijecka Nahija, several people with anthroponyms or patronymics such as Bratul, Vrdul, Radulj and Bogul,¹⁷⁸⁹ which are typical of the Romanized Balkan community, are also mentioned. Moreover, the presence of the hydronym Vlajnja within this Montenegrin territorial unit¹⁷⁹⁰ is an additional argument in this context. Meanwhile, within the old Ottoman defters, there are cases when names of Vlach culture appear even in the region that Montenegrin society and literature know through the notion of Crmnička Nahija.¹⁷⁹¹ But in addition to anthroponymy, their presence within this region is also known in medieval charters, specifically in the chrysobull of Stefan Uroš, which in 1296, while talking about the village of Orahovo,

¹⁷⁸⁵ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље*, Београд 1978, р.522 & 528

¹⁷⁸⁶ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље*, Београд 1978, р.528

¹⁷⁸⁷ Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље*, Београд 1978, р.523-524

¹⁷⁸⁸ Иван Божић, *Владавина Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, Том други, Титоград, 1970, р.350*; Јован Ердељановић, *Стара Црна Гора, Етничка прошлост и формирање црногорских племена. Слово Лубље*, Београд 1978, р.405

¹⁷⁸⁹ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera iz Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-bega Crnojevića. Druga Sveska. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Posebna izdanja. Knjiga IX/2, Sarajevo, 1973, p. 22, 59, 121.*

¹⁷⁹⁰ Иван Божић, *Владавина Црнојевића. Историја Црне Горе. Књига друга, Том други, Титоград, 1970, р.350*

¹⁷⁹¹ Branislav Đurđev i Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Dva deftera iz Crne Gore iz vremena Skender-bega Crnojevića. Druga Sveska. Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Posebna izdanja. Knjiga IX/2, Sarajevo, 1973, p. 65 & 138,*

mentions Albanians, Serbs, and Vlachs,¹⁷⁹² which means that the aforementioned region had since then been familiar with the latter, who either lived within the region or simply somewhere around it. However, to end the discussion about Romanized communities, the opinion of the researcher Pavle Ilić may also be relevant, according to which in current Montenegrin speech the interference of Vlach and Albanian lexicon is evident.¹⁷⁹³

9. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADDITIONAL RESEARCH

The current Montenegrin territory, based on the data listed within the matter, seems to imply a very heterogeneous environment as far as the ethnic source of the population is concerned, where quite dynamic processes in relation to demography are therefore evident. According to the material and documentary sources, it is understood that this was an early populated area, first by an old Balkan community, the substrate from which the Albanians and partly the Vlachs are believed to have emerged, and then by the Slavic society, where the latter, from century to century give a different shape to the human structure of the area. Since the Romanized stratum is not part of this dissertation, as far as the presence of Albanians in the Montenegrin depths is concerned, there seem to be two distinct categories. The first is understood to be an old local population, for which there is no convincing data on another territorial affiliation, such as the communities of Mataruga, Bukumiri, Spani, Malonšići, Mataguži, eventually Macuri and Kriči, as well as another part which may have not been structured in tribal organizations. While the second category consists of a community, which according to the collective memory seems to have penetrated from the current Albanian depths towards the Montenegrin area. As concrete cases, we can count the colonies from Kelmendi, Shala, Lezha, Hoti, Dukagjini, Berisha or Kruja, whose descendants, although ethnically merged, have fanatically preserved the memories of their former, tribal, or geographical affiliation.

The presence of Albanians in the current Montenegrin territory is told by the large-scale presence of toponyms and microtoponyms, which according to etymological analysis seem to be in Albanian, or treated borrowings from Albanian. In most cases, they appear in a very archaic

¹⁷⁹² Božidar Šekularac, Dokumentarni i narativni podaci o Vlasima u Crnoj Gori. Matica, Godina XII, broj 46-47, Ljeto-Jesen 2011, Cetinje-Podgorica 2011, p.255-256

¹⁷⁹³ Špiro Kulišić, O etnogenezi Crnogoraca. Pobjeda, Titograd, 1980, p.81

form, a phenomenon that suggests that they were created quite early, by people who have continuously lived in that unit. Furthermore, there are many cases when names also appear, which, in their current form, do not belong in the lexicon of any known language, and this can be an object of study for linguistic researchers. Specifically, if it is talked about forgotten Albanian expressions, or notions which, over time, have been deformed by changing the first meaning.

Along with other auxiliary disciplines of history, ethnography is another level that provides relevant data, and many nuances which science recognizes as typical characteristics of Albanians, appear in an identical form within the Montenegrin culture. As concrete cases can be listed, the presence of the institution of *besa*, the phenomenon of girls sworn to celibacy or the codification of taking blood revenge. However, beyond the given examples, according to ethnographic studies, there is an identical degree of similarity between the Albanian and Montenegrin traditions, even in relation to primitive legal norms, the structuring of tribal organizations, up to old elements of superstition. Whereas, the use of Albanian folk costumes in some tribal regions such as Vasojevići, Piperi, Kuči, Mrkojevići, Bratonožići and others, is an additional indicator that a significant part of the Montenegrin society may have emerged from the same cultural substrate as the Albanians.

In the studies on the historical journey of the Montenegrin ethnicity are also very relevant the inherited narratives, that is the collective memory which in many respects fills the silence of other sources. Often, the inherited narratives serve to explain microtoponyms, expressions, and ethnographic features that do not match with the Slavic culture. For example, the folk story about the penetration of a colony of Albanians in the region of Bjelopavlići, gives an additional meaning to the presence of Albanian words in the microtoponymy of the area, as well as documents where the appellation of this social organization appears in Albanian. Later on, the narrative of an early settlement of a community from Hoti in Velika near Lim, may serve to clarify the microtoponym *Otsko groblje* in that same inhabited unit. Moreover, according to the collective memory, consequently, the genealogical trees preserved and conveyed for several centuries also include the consistent use of Albanian names in a good part of the Montenegrin tribal society. Nevertheless, not everything from the collective memory is correct, especially the narratives that were aimed at glorifying the bloodline due to competition with other tribes, or even intertribal claims about a common ancestor. However, even within them, something relevant can be read between the lines. Thus, although the story of the Drekalovići line from the

Kastriots, or the village of Progonovići from Progon Dukagjini is considered fabricated, the importance lies in the fact that this human structure would have needed to have a lot from Albanians, to make their claim credible.

Since these are the last lines of the dissertation and a short conclusion comes as an obligation, it must be said that based on the existing materials of each discipline, in the historical journey of shaping the Montenegrin ethnicity, the Albanians and Vlachs have had a major role, although due to the developments and the political dynamics of the time, they have gradually lost the old way of communication, transforming into another linguistic society. Therefore, with regard to autochthony, although as a term it is quite relative, the current Montenegrin society cannot be treated as a foreign one, but as a local society with some cultural features that have changed over time. The more we go back in time, the smaller the differences between Albanians and Montenegrins get and the greater the similarities appear. This was noticed early by Milan Shufflay, for whom Zeta and Albania once constituted a distinct biological feature, were connected to a resilient land, to an Illyrian blood, and to the same historical sufferings.¹⁷⁹⁴

However, despite the multidisciplinary evidence indicating that Montenegrins share many specific characteristics with Albanians, there remain certain features that Montenegrin community has chosen to emphasize in cultural sense, on the basis of which two distinct social identities were subsequently produced. This somewhat illustrates the hypothesis of sociologist Fredrik Barth, which suggests that ethnic boundaries between two communities are often not formed on the basis of objective differences, but rather according to certain more peripheral distinctions, which may be inferior in significance compared to the volume of shared characteristics they possess.¹⁷⁹⁵ However, upon closer examination, when these nuances are considered more significant for identity than the shared characteristics, they become determining factors in the process of ethnic consolidation.¹⁷⁹⁶ In this context, although Montenegrins and Albanians appear to have lived in similar ways until relatively recently, sharing almost identical characteristics on the ethnographic level and even possessing common narratives of origin, there nevertheless exist certain other differences (such as religious affiliation and particular features

¹⁷⁹⁴ Milan Shufflay, *Serbët dhe Shqiptarët*. Rilindja, Prishtinë 1968, p.141

¹⁷⁹⁵ Filip Putinja & Zoslin Stref-Fenar, *Teorije o etnicitetu*. Dodatak: Fredrik Barth, *Etnicke grupe i njihove granice*. Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd 1997, f.213-259

¹⁷⁹⁶ Filip Putinja & Zoslin Stref-Fenar, *Teorije o etnicitetu*. Dodatak: Fredrik Barth, *Etnicke grupe i njihove granice*. Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd 1997, f.213-259

that emerged over time as a consequence of political developments), that Montenegrin society has chosen to regard these as primary factors of its identity, a development that subsequently led to the formation of a distinct and autonomous identity vis-à-vis Albanians.

Meanwhile, in order to avoid any incorrect interpretation of the matter, it must be said that, despite the fact that the Albanian and Vlach components constitute, perhaps, the backbone of the Montenegrin ethnicity in the historical context, the presence of the Slavic element cannot be doubted, nor disputed. Although, due to the lack of adequate research, the classification of this category seems somewhat unclear, because until now, various hypotheses have been raised, whether it is talked about Serbs, about any other Slavic-speaking society, or a combination of the both. However, to end the conclusion, a recommendation naturally follows on future scientific papers related to this topic, where in addition to complementing or correcting this dissertation, they should also include in the discussion the cause of the dominance of the Slavic component over the Albanian-Vlach component in the shaping of the Montenegrin ethnic society.

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10. DOCUMENTS, MAPS, AND SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

10.1 Documents

[illegible][illegible]

Die. xij. octobris. - Erant duo comites Hen. rex, virale bonat & lucas fisti
 & Lucas & mar. duxi. curia & amon - conatu & iugum. Prop. pten - ad pueni
 omni pui sobita ab omni pueni. - & finit fuit ad placitum

[illegible]

De xiii. centis. Corom. Inc. Comite Jun. Indit. Gratiſſa de ragmana 7 virale bmoles.
 7 Gratiſſa de ragmana | miſſi p. om. bono ad prioreſſam abbatſſam quibz p. meliori. n. x. x.
 7 Damiſſi de ragmana | tatiſſima fuerit q. dicitur p. ſuſſa abbatſſa m. q. dicitur Gregorius
 dicitur et p. ad p. ſuſſa tatiſſima q. dicitur Gregorius n. x. x. tatiſſima q. dicitur Gregorius
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42

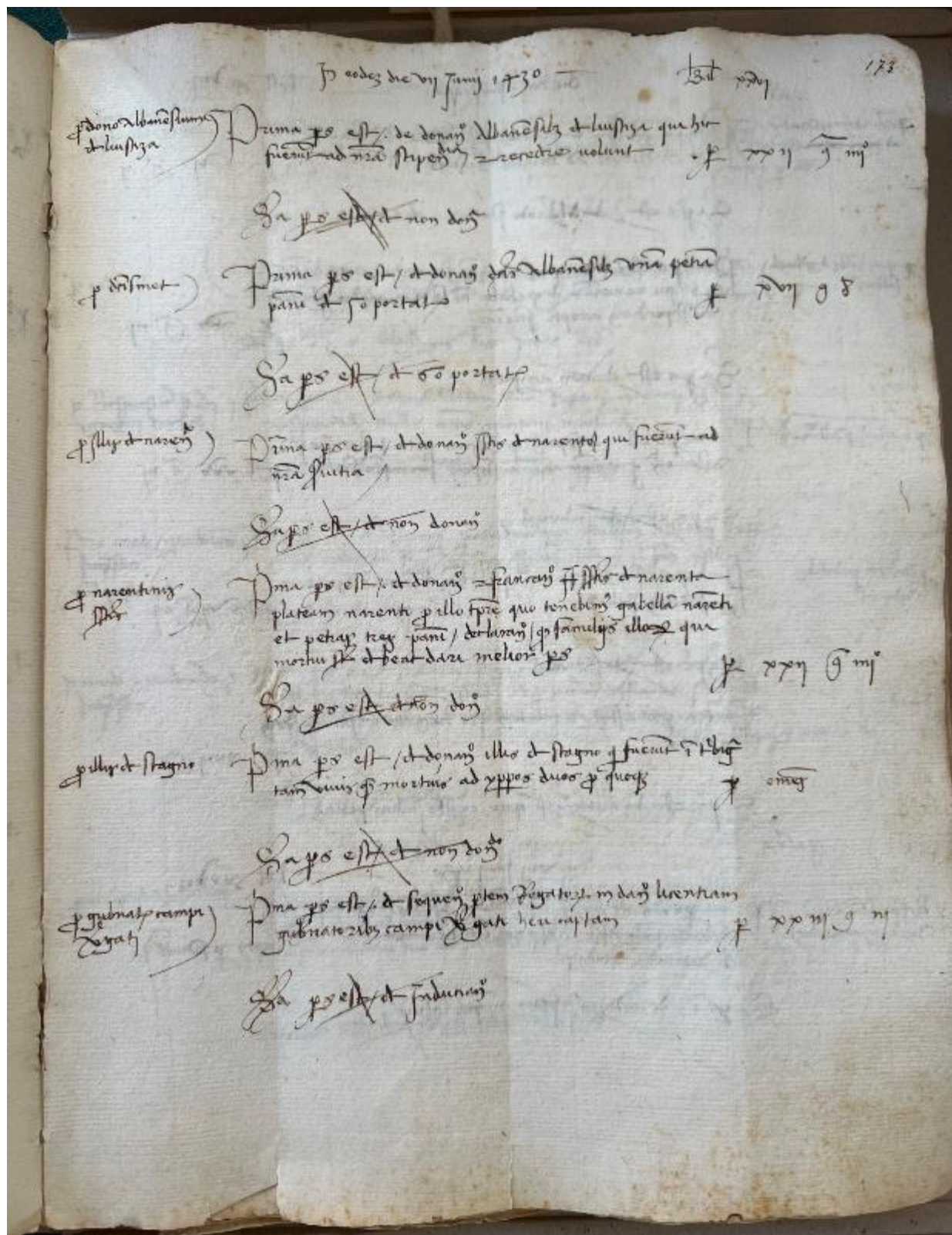
27 Dec 21

Ego domus marinus de glauco p[ro]fiteor q[uod] rector et abbas ecc[lesi]e
 sa blasij de p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]fiteor q[uod] de mea bona et gratuita uoluntate de
 cede et p[ro]cedo Breue d[omi]ni q[uod] p[ro]p[ri]am de u[er]a mansu[m] et p[ro]p[ri]am i[n] de
 ecc[lesi]a sa blasij p[ro]p[ri]a eius p[ro]p[ri]a reclusa no[n] exp[er]do p[er] alia loca
 ext[er]na cu[m] o[mn]i et alijs ad de[m] p[ro]p[ri]am p[ro]p[ri]am i[n] uita sua ita q[uod]
 eo possit p[ro]p[ri]a et imoray h[ab]ere et p[ro]p[ri]a ip[s]e p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]am alius
 q[uod] i[n] de loco p[ro]p[ri]am p[ro]p[ri]a et p[ro]p[ri]a de loco reclusa p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]am de loco p[ro]p[ri]am
 et Johanne p[ro]p[ri]am et in reclusa p[ro]p[ri]a p[ro]p[ri]am p[ro]p[ri]am

Ego Dobru filius georgii de gente albanensi pfectior q ego loco
me & meos quas militino pbeuich habuissim usq ad anno
duy ppo uent. pmutas sibi p sue familie puit & obediunt man
eius pando & reddid. et nos & sui tps saluare & custodire ut d' eis
puit n' puidem pde n' puit uolenti pstat et ego militu
pmutas de Dobru dare uictu & uesari pte. i pmo anno. In singulis
septa h' uo dare uictu & d'na uictum. i annis & i pmo
ut ppos duos p salario suo. p dno Dobru d' bingoli iudex
p petrus d' panicha testis

०७ दिनी ३०००

Nos lucas & lona et
maximus eius frater
manifestu qd de sacro rodny
fructe & lagon fructu
de lagon pones 7 qd nra certa sua/molito
nra & honore & glia gloriu et sua
arabius seu cotony/laurencia & nra
adlitis p magon 7 fructu. Rodny et daret.



Albanensibus de Lustiza 1430. (DAD. Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 173)

17107

Sapienter est qd eligi debet in pmo gilio

Ellectio duorum missios virtualium salicorum
 eorum in Zaplat

		Sanctus. in. d. fango	—	—	—	b. xxiij	xxij	xxij
		Michael & proculo	—	—	—	b. 000		
20		Dasquales & fango	—	—	—	b. xxiij	xxij	xxij
		Damianus & benessa	—	—	—	b. 000		
20		Micola. si. d. goze	—	—	—	b. xxiij	xxij	xxij
		Micolinus & bascio	—	—	—	b. 000		

Ellectio duorum offitiorum unius ad custodiam
 Molendinorum & altaris ad custodia omnia

		Micolinus & basilio	—	—	—	b. xxiij	xxij	xxij
		Micola. dlo. d. goze	—	—	—	b. 000		
ad molendina	20	Damianus & benessa	—	—	—	b. 000		
		Michael & d. d. d. mense	—	—	—	b. xxiij		
ad omnia	20	Micola. mat. d. fango	—	—	—	b. xxiij	xxij	xxij
		Sigismundus & fango	—	—	—	b. 000		

Die 20 Junij 1430

p donat. altarium
 p pastorem.

Prima po. e. & d. d. d. istis altarium
 p pastorem.

Secunda po. e. & non donand

tull. xxiij

xxij. xxij. xxij

Albanensi Pastrouichi. (DAD. Concilii Rogatorum Fond 3, Ser 1, Vol 4, God 1427-1431, fol 179)

Intra scripto die xij. July 1430

Bt xij

p. d. i. s. o. d. a. t. o. p. G. e. c.
 albanensem

Prima p. o. e. s. t. / d. i. n. d. u. r. a. n. s. u. s. q. u. e. d. i. e. m. l. u. n. e. p. r. o. x. i. m. u. m.
 s. u. p. d. i. s. o. p. r. o. s. e. c. u. t. i. o. p. p. o. s. i. t. a. p. G. e. c. a. l. b. a. n. e. n. s. e. m.

p. xij. s. m.

Sa p. o. e. s. t. / d. i. n. d. u. r. a. n. s. / d. o. n. e. t. p. l. u. r. i. e. r. i. t. d. n. o. p. e. t.
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p. r. o. s. e. c. u. t. i. o. n. e. h. a. b. e. a. d.
 G. r. e. g. o. r. i. u. m. n. i. c. o. l. o.

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p. xij. s. m.

Sa p. o. e. s. t. / d. o. r. d. i. n. a. n. s. e. a. m. i. p. n. t. g. i. l. i. o.

die illa

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 a. d. p. e. t. e. m. b. o. s. n. e. z. a. d. D. o. m. o. d. u. m. s. a. n. d. a. g.

p. o. m. e. s.

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die xij. July 1430

Bt xij

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p. r. o. s. e. c. u. t. i. o. n. e. d. t. r. i. b. u. g. n. a.
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 n. o. u. i. t. c. a. p. t. u. m.

p. xij. s. m.

Sa p. o. e. s. t. / d. d. i. l. a. n. d. o.

Die 7^{ma} Maij 1443

Venerabili Civitatem coram vobis Reuerendissimi Nostri
Mater de Giorgio forte Lamentum supra Suerum
Miloradonigh: dicens: qd ipse Suerus duxit Litones
supra ipm Vucottam, qui Litones p Vin arripuerunt
sibi Jpp quatuor i aribus Et dimidia libra Sere
rubee et nigre et piper et Saponem Et duo brachia
olei Et etiam Uberauerunt ipm Vucottam. Et hoc
fuit i Albania i loco dicto Podgoriza.

Radoslaus Raspassagh
Conatus Studanonigh de Canali de Poglizza

Die xxdo martij 1443.

Radoung pribnich p. vocem p. Nicole de ayze/ et Vlatchi
Bogdanovich quibz scriptis p. suas lras ut hoc cmo note
facere deberet. pnt dixit qdare p. lras sibi scriptas et qd
coram dno rectore p. Johanne de Velze fiat lram sup
Jacob Nicolich. dicens qd Jacob p. vny accepit sibi Radoung
vnyam ptem certe fesse argenti quam sibi assignavit. et dederat
Bogdanus Cucai modo defunctus eius Radoung debitor p
debito i quo sibi tenebat. ~~et dicit~~ qd debitum erat de
libro pny argenti. Anare cu hoc sit i sui magnu damnu
et pndicauz. pccyt de remedio opotuno sibi pndi.

Radoung Buloga
ayroe lram de nouante
Laurentius Lucetich
Radoung Cucai
Vncta Lram

fiat lincum: oculo. q. Radmus eius fideri fuit infectio
 nescit ad pmo a quibz et fuit sibi arrepti robra ad valore duator
 resideret reserat sibi ius. i. fuisse ad declarandz de pdeho cum
 fuit melius informat.

die xpx oct

Brannus pmo venit et dixit huius informatione a socio fuisse
 eius fide infecti. q. fuerunt sexaginta robatores qui miferunt
 ipm eius frem ad gmina armu despoti et Valuod de pte gmini
 me quos miferunt Radogin pueri et pnd osanno dntrouch
 ambo bilopaulichi qui sunt atore no nora ignorant et abste
 lerunt sibi castrosos. E. boato xdy et centu quaginta brachia
 pndit ad et pte Lox ddy et dnt equos et aliqua capra pmi
 et arma et alia ultra Valuod sup gmina ducator ecc.

die vii nouelvi

Brannus pmo venit itez et dixit q. isti fuerunt cu pto put
 fuit sibi dntm boato despoti nati piperi et Vasoeuichi qui
 sunt apud ayedonum ad vicagao.

die vii dntm

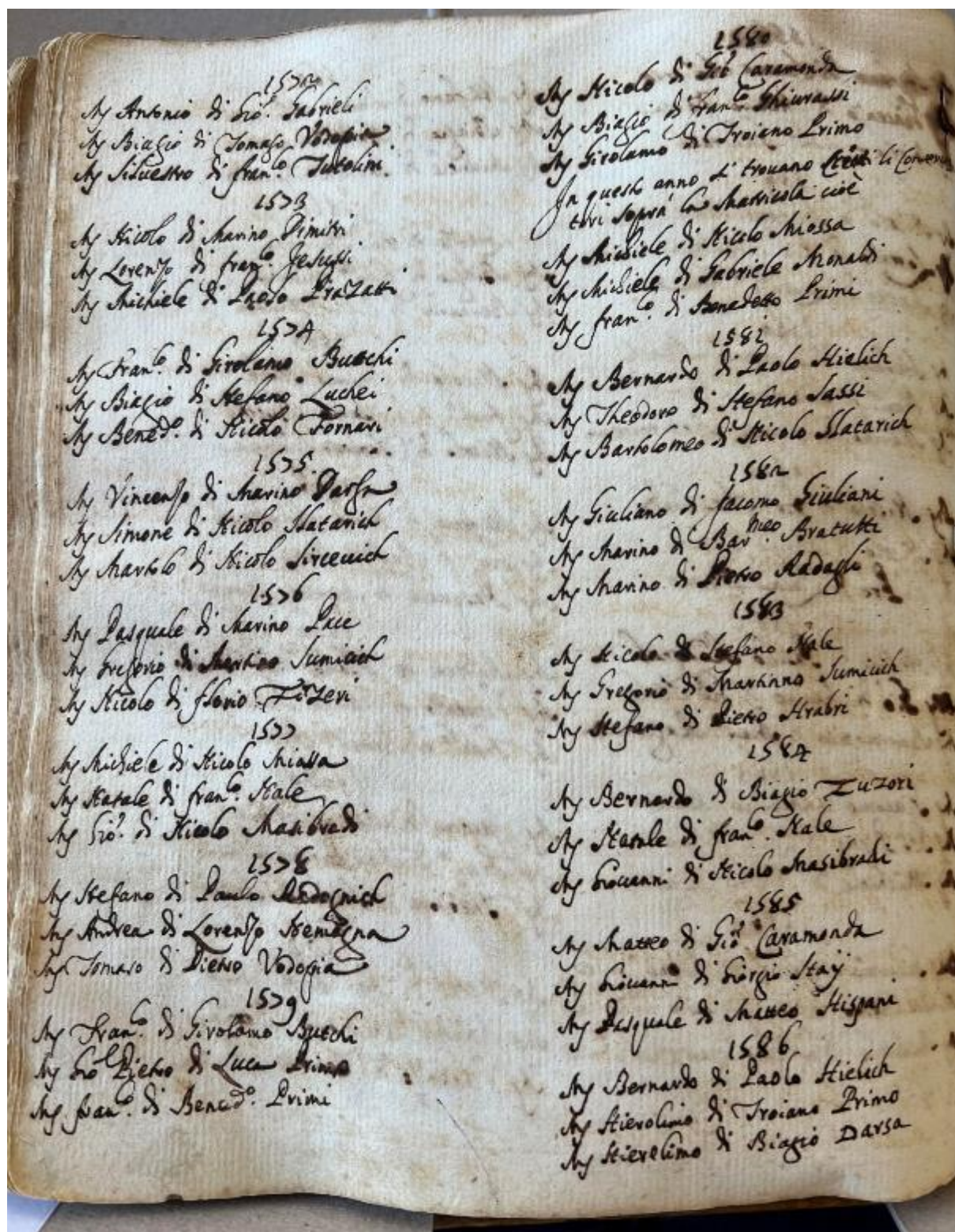
Brannus pmo venit itez et fuit lincum sup pndit
 pndit pndit de dntm q. dnt pndit fuit
 notia pndit sup quibz fuit lincum et dntm ipos ad
 fndit pndit homitatu et pndit homitatu dntm
 pndit pndit qo et pndit equi dntm et pndit pndit
 notia

Origine, e Genealogia della famiglia Ispani.

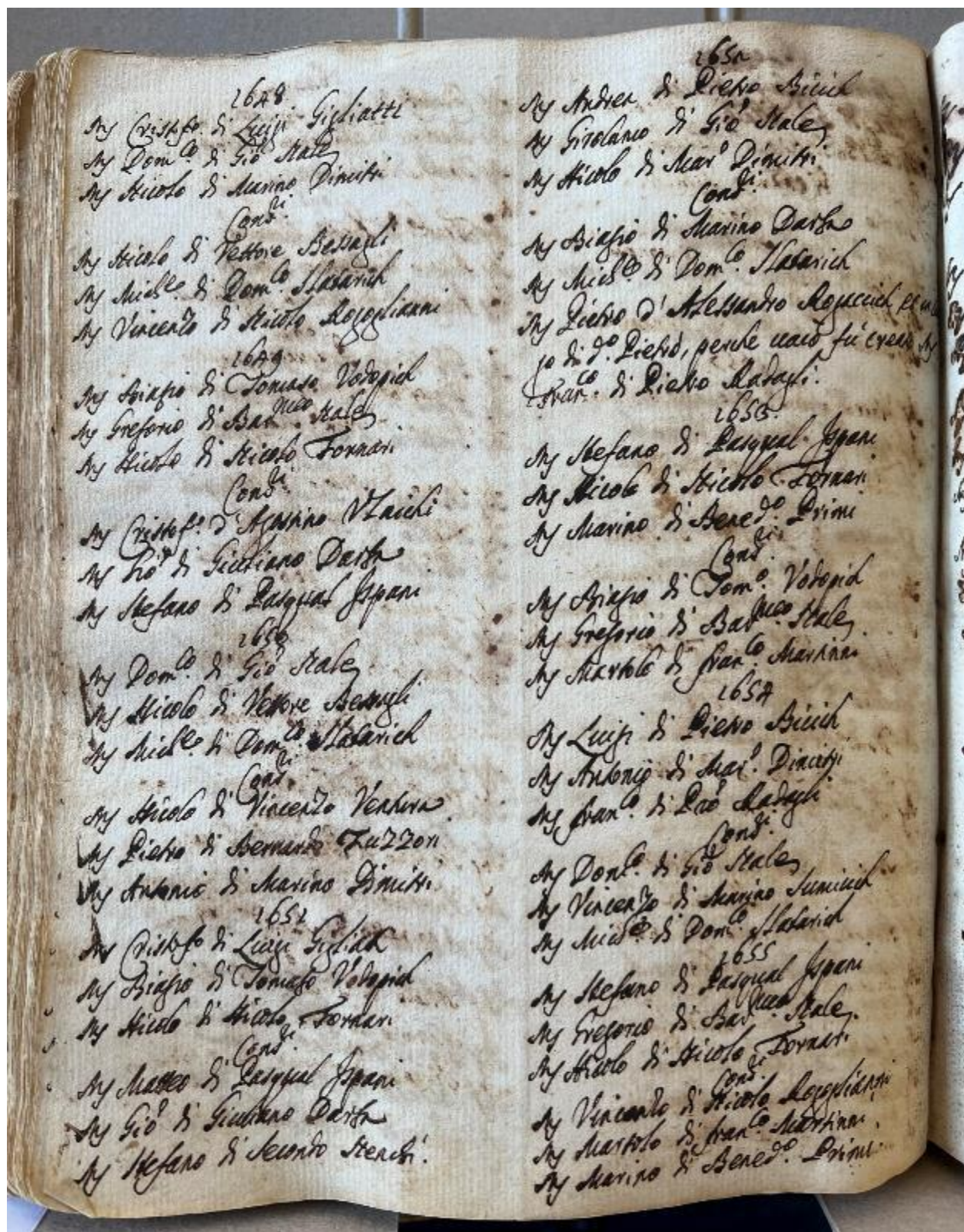
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La famiglia Ispani nell' antichissime, e nobilissime della Città di Scutari in Albania, lo attestano le infrascripte Carte Notali, e molte altre scritture pubbliche di Notaria, e Cancellaria di Scutari. Intorno l' anno 1380 in circa per le discordie, e guerre, civili che in quei tempi regnavano fra i Baroni, e Nobili della Città di Scutari, e per sottrarsi dalla persecuzione, e tirannia del Sig. Giovanni Castrioto divenuto Principe, assoluto di tutta l' Albania, toccò loro tutto nella libertà natura, con animo deliberato si portò a Scutari e Andrea Ispani Gentiluomo di Scutari, e Barone molto ricco assieme con la moglie, e figliuoli infrascripti, abbandonando la patria, parenti, e beni che di suo antico patrimonio in detto luogo possedevano. La Casa propria di questa Casa è stata Ispani, ma corrotta dalli suoi discendenti fu detta Ispani. Stello matricola della Confraternita di S. Antonio de' Cittadini Scutari si trova il primo di questa Casa.

Il 1. e Andrea Ispani Gentiluomo di Scutari ebbe per moglie, la Sig.
Angelina figlio del Sig. Giorgio Ducagini Gentiluomo di Scutari,
la qual condusse seco a Scutari, e con essa ebbe l' infrascripti
figliuoli.
Nicolo - ebbe moglie, e fli come e ————— Il 2.
Giorgio - non ebbe moglie
Doroteo - non ebbe marito



Pasquale di Mateo Hispani. (DAD. Descrizione delli origini e Genealogia dei Cittadini di Ragusa, Kut. 2, fol. 373v)



Stefano di Pasqual Ispani. (DAD. Descrizione dell'origini e Genealogia dei Cittadini di Ragusa, Kut 2, fol 377v)

in eodem 20. Julij 1430

Bat. 20. Julij

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q. Comite d'ateo

Prima p^r est / de acceptis 2. gradib^{us} / q. Comes
d'ateo et d'atus possit g^o d^ure sine g^o d^ure fuisse
ultra p^rmo mⁱ lapidat^{ur} / alio^r duos

Si p^r est / d^uo acceptis

p. 20. Julij 1430.

q. d'atus et d'atus
portas

Prima p^r est / de francis mⁱratore^s qui f^re nolent
in l^oso^ru^m in d'atus

Si p^r est / d^uo p^rut p^ratus

p. 20. Julij 1430.

Prima p^r est / de p^romiss^{is} Albanens^{ib} matagis^{is} qui
nou^{is} ueneret

p. 20. Julij 1430.

Si p^r est / d^uo p^romiss^{is}

q. d'atus et d'atus
Albanens^{ib}

Prima p^r est / d^uo p^romiss^{is} d^uo Albanens^{ib} de b^rachio
ad op^ro^ru^m mⁱu^m r^ou^m 2. virtualib^{us} p^r mⁱ d^uel^{is} / quo
re^uti possit domo

p. 20. Julij 1430.

Si p^r est / d^uo p^romiss^{is} d^uo b^rachio f^ru^m

q. d'atus et d'atus
p^ratus R. d'atus

Prima p^r est / de f^ru^m d^uo d'atus et d'atus 2. d'atus
T. f^ru^m d'atus 4. f^ru^m d'atus ad r^ou^m d'atus

p. 20. Julij 1430.

Si p^r est / q. p^rut b^rachio f^ru^m e^ll^or^um f^ru^m

Marinus de bona ex pte sua et facit tale pactu
 pntis babich. placit ex pte aliam et qcordu in con
 se de bonis bone que dicebat dñs Marinu sibi pntu
 et p dñm pntis q des erat est. q. m. videlicet
 quod si translatum est de cnpis pntis aures q
 Vlados matoruch. Veniat vñg hñc ad festu natalis d.
 pñt dñs et pntu ad pñt dñs euaghu. apñ pntis de
 tentu de dñs bone ipñ dñs Marinu pñt pntis
 teneat sibi dñs nōt apñ de mñr ad uñt dñs mñm p
 et dñs bone q illud q dñs nōt hñc dñs et si dñs
 nōt aures q pntis ab pntis dñm pntis q ipñ pñt
 ab pntis a pntis dñs mñm pñt bone et si dñs nōt
 pntis nōt dñs hñc ad festu natalis pñt
 dñs pntis de pntis. Matoruch pñt pntis de
 mñm mñm et pñt pñt pñt pñt pñt pñt
 p dñs pntis de pntis pñt pñt dñs bone dñt
 dñs Marinu pñt omñs pñt pñt pñt pñt pñt
 mñm mñm

Dñs Comes cum sua curia facit f. Nichole dñs babich
 advocato dñs pntis de pntis ad compmñd com
 et dñs mñm pñt dñs ad pntis q pntis dñs pntis
 dñs de pntis et pñt curia pñt dñs mñm
 amptis dñs et pñt dñs de bone

1

Поздравом Њашеј. Јона из с.в.ц.

Својо Николушк. млау јевујрџи
такој ругај доша. Тасује саспави
и бавесј узет јер Једо и моја
Штеп Милека. Тасује саспави
и Ми родуатери давајмој. ана
и родуатерски елал. и ојријатерисе
Елаисов Родуатера браке и
Сашара

Поздравом. Својо Николушк.
са Букра из Кура
21/5 1912 године

A marriage concluded in written between two families of Kuçi and Kelmendi. (AQSH. Fund: Archdiocese of Shkodra, File 6, p.1.)

10.2 Photos



*Селѝак из Пипера (Бранко Бабић, Спуж и његова околина. Цетиње 2007)



*Поп Максим Поповић – Лужац (Горан Киковић, Преци и потомци. Беране 2014)



*Петар Петровић Азанац 1880-1917 (Горан Киковић, Преци и потомци. Беране 2014)



*Митар Ц Влаховић, Мушка ношња у Васојевићима. Гласник Етнографског Музеја у Београду.
Књига осма. Београд 1933



Сл. 40. Филип Николин Вујошковић из Горње
Кржање (у арбанашком оделу).

*Јован Цвијић, Насеља српских земаља. Књига IV. Атлас. Српска Краљевска Академија. Српски Етнографски Зборник. Књига осма. Београд 1907



Сл. 14. Група пред глјодом Шћена Шутова Мијовића у Кому, под Сумором.

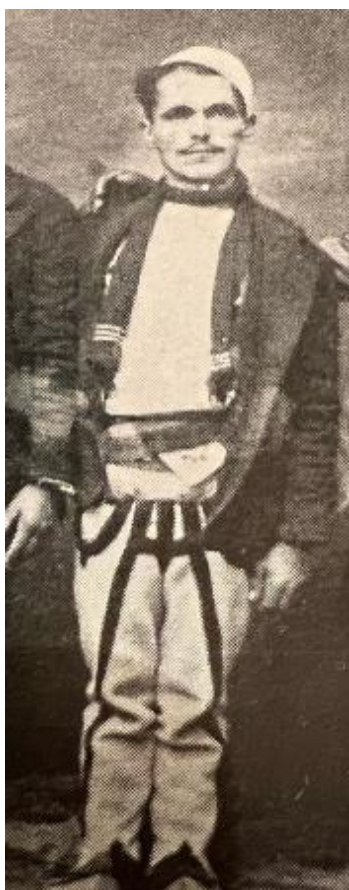
* Јован Цвијић, Насеља српских земаља. Књига IV. Атлас. Српска Краљевска Академија. Српски Етнографски Зборник. Књига осма. Београд 1907



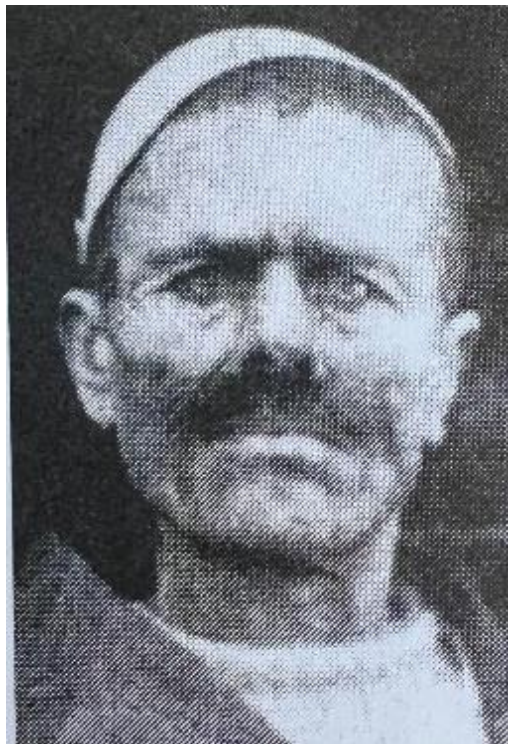
*Милош Мино Бабовић – Васојевићи (Горан Киковић, Преци и Потомци. Беране 2014)



*Novak Vujošević, Orthodox from the district of Gusia, but with origin from Kuči. Photo taken in 1950 in the city of Opatija, Croatia. (Halil Markišić, Gusinjska bratstva kroz stare foto albume. Priroda i baština, Rožaje 2016)



*These are photos of the Gutići bloodline in Plav, which is held with origin from Piperi. (Halil R.Markišić, Plavljeni iz starih foto-albuma. Priroda i bastina. Rožaje 2018)



*Members of the bloodlines Purišić, Jahdadić, Juljević, Koljenović and Kučević, According to the collective memory, their ancestors, around the 18th century, from Kuči settled in the region of Plav. They are Islamized lines, while they speak in Slavic. (Halil Markišić, Plavljeni iz starih foto-albuma. Priroda i baština, Rožaje 2018; Halil Markišić, Gusinjska bratstva kroz stare foto albume. Priroda i baština, Rožaje 2016)

c. Other supplementary documents

Komuna	Përkatësia etnike			Preferoj të mos pergjigje m
	Shqiptar	Turk	Boshnjak	
Deçani	560			1
Ferizaji	53			
Fushë Kosova	10			
Gjakova	109			
Gjilani	1		5	
Graçanicë	5		3	4
Hani i Elezit	9			
Istogu	79			
Junik	510			1
Kaçaniku	254		2	
Kamenica	1			
Klina	40			
Mitrovica	70		8	1
Peja	679		48	
Prishtina	167	5		
Prizreni	56			
Skënderaj	13			
Suhareka	1264			2
Vushtrria	148			1
Total	4028	5	66	10

*This document was produced for the needs of this study by the Kosovo Agency of Statistics, based on the population census in 2011. It is an overview that tells how many people with the surname Kuçi live in Kosovo and how they declare themselves ethnically.

11. NOTES ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Genc Prelvukaj was born on 16 July 1981 in Prishtina. He completed his elementary, primary and secondary education in his hometown, as well as advanced university studies up to the master's degree. In regard to the field of history, he has published papers in the scientific journal of the Albanological Institute of Prishtina, in parallel being several times a participant in conferences organized by this institution. In terms of study, his central focus is the late medieval period, including the beginning of the new era, while in terms of content, Albanian dynasties and feudal order, early tribal organizations, ethno-historical developments, and other related topics. In the interval between 2010-2014, he worked as a political advisor to the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, an institution that includes the cultural and historical heritage of Kosovo. Later on, he managed the association for collective administration of copyrights. He is married and has two children, Adea and Gjini. He lives in Prishtina.

Published papers:

- *Emrat e shqiptarëve përgjatë shekujve XIV-XVI. Gjurmime albanologjike. Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës (2021)*
- *Krahina mesjetare e Pultit. Gjurmime albanologjike. Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës (2022)*
- *Shqiptarët pranë arterieve rrugore Berskovo-Kotor. Konferenca shkencore Java e Albanologjisë, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës (2022)*
- *Provinca e Plavës mes viteve 1280-1620. Gjurmime Albanologjike. Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës (2023)*
- *Kontributi i studiuesve kroatë në fushën e albanologjisë. Konferenca shkencore „Java e Albanologjisë“, Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës (2023)*
- *Recension mbi veprën “Në kërkim të historisë mesjetare arbërore” nga Jahja Drançolli. Gjurmime Albanologjike. Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës (2022).*

I dedicate this paper to my family, my daughter Adea, my son Gjini and my wife Eni.