

MIGRACIJE MORLAKA / VLAHA NA ZADARSKOM POGRANIČJU TIJEKOM 15. I 16. STOLJEĆA, S POSEBNIM OSVRTOM NA VRANSKO PODRUČJE TE POJAVU MORLAKA ISTRIJANA / VLAHA ISTRE*



MIGRATIONS OF THE MORLACHS / VLACHS ON THE ZADAR BORDER DURING THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES, WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE VRANA REGION AND THE APPEARANCE OF THE ISTRIAN MORLACHS / VLACHS OF ISTRIA*

Demografska povijest Dalmacije i njezina zaleđa u kasnom srednjem i ranom novom vijeku bitno je obilježena migracijama i privremenim ili trajnim doseljeljima većih skupina morlačkog (vlaškog) stanovništva. Vranski je prostor u tom pogledu, a isto se može reći i za čitavu zadarsku regiju, slabo istražen, posebice kada je riječ o 15. i 16. stoljeću. Ovim ćemo prilogom nastojati ispuniti barem dio te historiografske praznine, usredotočujući se na period od četrdesetih godina 15. stoljeća do početka Ciparskog rata 1570. godine. U prvom ćemo dijelu rasprave razmotriti arhivske vijesti o sezonskim migracijama morlačkih katuna, koji su često zimi iz svojih staništa u hrvatskom zaleđu dolazili na mletačke pašnjake u okolici Vrane. Potom ćemo

The demographic history of Dalmatia and its hinterland in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period is significantly marked by migrations and temporary or permanent migrations of larger groups of the Morlach (Vlach) population. In this respect, the Vrana area is poorly researched, and the same can be said for the entire Zadar region, especially when it comes to the 15th and 16th centuries. With this article, we will try to fill at least part of that historiographical gap, focusing on the period from the forties of the 15th century to the beginning of the Cyprus War in 1570. In the first part of the discussion, we will consider archival news about the seasonal migrations of Morlach clans, which often came from their habitats in the Croatian hinterland to the

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se posvetiti migracijskim procesima uzrokovanim osmanskim osvajanjima, pri čemu ćemo posebno pratiti tragove morlačke populacije poznate pod nazivom Vlasi Istre ili Morlaci Istrijani, koja je od 20-ih god. 16. st. davala demografski pečat pograničnom prostoru šireg zadarskog zaleđa, obremenjenog mletačko-osmanskim trvenjima i ratnim sukobima.

Ključne riječi: Morlaci / Vlasi, migracije, Vrana, Zadar, Istra, 15. i 16. stoljeće

Venetian pastures near Vrana in the winter. Then we will focus on migration processes caused by the Ottoman conquests, where we will especially follow the traces of the Morlach population known as the Vlachs of Istria or the Istrian Morlachs, which from the 1520s gave a demographic imprint to the border area of the wider Zadar hinterland, burdened by Venetian-Ottoman friction and war conflicts.

Keywords: Morlachs / Vlachs, migrations, Vrana, Zadar, Istria, 15th and 16th centuries

UVOD

U prapočetku ovog istraživačkog zahvata, koji se gradio oko triju ključnih pojmova – Vrana, Morlachi (Vlasi) i 15./16. stoljeće – stoji splet triju pokretačkih impulsa. Prvi je već naznačen pod zvjezdastim simbolom u podnožju ove stranice; u tijeku je, naime, druga, ujedno završna, godina interdisciplinarnog znanstveno-istraživačkog projekta MODRAVE, u čijem je fokusu prostor između Vranskog jezera i mora, koji je u srednjem vijeku pripadao vranskom distriktu. Drugi je vezan za nedavno istraženu nekropolu u neposrednoj blizini Vranskog jezera, uz ostatke crkve Sv. Marije na području srednjovjekovnog sela Zablaca, gdje su, po mišljenju arheologa, pokapani pripadnici poblize neodređene morlačke zajednice u 15. i/ili 16. stoljeću.¹ Treći je pak sadržan u činjenici da se morlačke migracije periodično, zapravo uvijek iznova pojavljuju na našem istraživačkom obzorju. U spoju svega toga oblikovalo se početno istraživačko pitanje: Je li se na vransko područje tijekom promatranog razdoblja privremeno ili trajno doselila koja kompaktna morlačka skupina ili više njih? Odgovor smo, naravno, iskali u arhivskim vrelima, otvarajući dodatna pitanja koja su nas povremeno vodila u nešto širi prostor od vranskog. Nužno je bilo sagledati i demografske procese i političko-gospodarske prilike u vranskom okruženju, koji su u određenim periodima i na određenim mikrolokacijama mogli otvoriti prostor spontanom ili organiziranom doseljavanju bilo većih skupina bilo većeg broja raznorodnih pojedinaca.

Čitatelj je već mogao primijetiti da u istim ili sličnim kontekstima rabimo sintagme *vranski distrikt* i *vransko područje*. Doista, pod jednom i drugom podrazumijevamo isti prostor, i to onaj kojim se protezao vranski distrikt od njegova pripojenja Mletačkoj Republici i podvrgavanja zadarsoj jurisdikciji 1409. do osmanskog osvajanja Vrane 1538. godine. Budući da je vranski distrikt 1538. *de facto* prestao postojati – veći je dio njegova teritorija ostao pod Mlečanima, dok je Vrana sa svojim neposrednim okruženjem priključena osmanskim posjedima – u kontekstu sljedećih godina i desetljeća sintagma *vransko područje* čini se

INTRODUCTION

In the very beginning of this research project, which was built around three key concepts - Vrana, Morlachs (Vlachs) and 15th/16th centuries - there is a combination of three driving impulses. The first is already indicated under the star symbol at the foot of this page; namely, the second and final year of the interdisciplinary scientific research project MODRAVE is underway, the focus of which is the area between Lake Vrana and the sea, which belonged to the Vrana district in the Middle Ages. The second is related to the recently explored necropolis in the immediate vicinity of Lake Vrana, next to the remains of the church of St. Maria in the area of the medieval village of Zablacé, where, according to archaeologists, members of an unspecified Morlach community were buried in the 15th and/or 16th centuries.¹ The third, on the other hand, is contained in the fact that Morlach migrations appear periodically; in fact, they appear repeatedly on our research horizon. The initial research question emerged from the combination of all the above: Did a homogeneous Morlach clan (hereinafter: *catun*) or several of them temporarily or permanently move to Vrana area during the observed period? Of course, we searched for the answer in archival sources, opening additional questions, which occasionally led us to a slightly wider space than Vrana itself. It was necessary to perceive demographic processes, as well as the political and economic conditions in Vrana environment, which in certain periods and in certain micro locations could open space for spontaneous or organized immigration of either larger groups or a larger number of heterogeneous individuals.

The reader could have already noticed that we use the phrases *Vrana district* and *Vrana area* in the same or similar contexts. Indeed, by one and the other we mean the same area, namely the one that covered Vrana district from its annexation to the Republic of Venice and subjection to Zadar's jurisdiction in 1409 until the Ottoman conquest of Vrana in 1538. Since the Vrana district *de facto* ceased to exist in 1538 – most of its territory remained under the Venetians, while Vrana and its immediate surroundings were annexed to Ottoman possessions – in the context of the following

¹ Šućur *et al.* 2020.

¹ Šućur *et al.* 2020.

ispravnijom. O seoskim zajednicama, zemljišnim posjedima i teritorijalnom opsegu kasnosrednjovjekovnog vranskog distrikta temeljito je pisala Ivna Anzulović, pa za dodatne vijesti u tom pogledu čitatelja upućujemo na njezin rad, gdje se nalazi i karta s prikazom razmještaja srednjovjekovnih sela.² Osim sâme Vrane i njezina podgrađa, vranskom su distriktu pripadala sela Stabanj, Blačane, Tinj i Hrašćane (danas Raštane) na sjeverozapadu, Škorobić i Retićane na jugoistoku, Kobiljane i Pristezi (danas Pristeg) na sjeveroistoku te Zablaće, Košević, Poškaljina, Pakošćane (danas Pakošćane), Kujina Luka i Plana (Modrave) na jugozapadu.

POVIJESNO-DEMOGRAFSKI OKVIR

Zadarska je komora državne posjede u vranskom distriktu, osim onih koje su zaslužni pojedinci uživali kao feude,³ davala u zakup na javnim dražbama, najčešće na rok od dvije, tri ili pet godina. Sudeći po sačuvanim dražbenim ispravama, vranska je utvrda sa svojim podgrađem do 1460. davana u zakup zajedno s drugim selima distrikta, a od tada se zasebno daju u zakup 1) Vrana sa Škorobićem i Kobiljanima te određenim brojem ždrijebova u Retićanima, Malinoj Vasi i Kolarini, 2) Blačane sa Stabnjem te posjedima izvan distrikta – u Bojišću i Dobrućem Selu, 3) Tinj i Hrašćane (od 1529. samo Hrašćane) i 4) Zablaće s Koševićem, Kujinom Lukom i Planom (Modravama) te zemljištem u Bučini. To su bile teritorijalno najveće i gospodarski najznačajnije dražbene cjeline, čije iznose zakupa u razdoblju 1460. – 1560., koji mogu biti posredan pokazatelj demografskih procesa i agrarnih aktivnosti u vranskom distriktu, prikazujemo na Grafikonu 1. Za uvid u cjelovitu posjedovnu odnosno naseobinsku topografiju vranskog distrikta nužno je navedenim cjelinama dodati još tri sela – Pristege, Pakošćane i Poškaljinu, koja se rijetko spominju u dražbenim ispravama jer su ih kao nasljedne feude tijekom većeg dijela promatranog razdoblja uživali privatnici.⁴

² Anzulović 2017.

³ O feudima na zadarskom i vranskom području: Beuc 1954, 572–573; Antoljak 1977.

⁴ Sve što stoji u gornjem odlomku temeljimo na podacima iz arhivskog fonda *Datia et incantus civitatis Iadrae et eius*

years and decades, the phrase *Vrana area* seems more correct. Ivna Anzulović has written comprehensively about village communities, land holdings and the territorial extent of the late medieval Vrana district, so for additional news in this regard, we refer the reader to her work that also includes a map showing the distribution of medieval villages.² In addition to Vrana itself and its suburbs, the Vrana district included the villages of Stabanj, Blačane, Tinj and Hrašćane (today Raštane) in the northwest; Škorobić and Retićane in the southeast; Kobiljane and Pristezi (today Pristeg) in the northeast, and Zablaće, Košević, Poškaljina, Pakošćane (today Pakošćane), Kujina Luka and Plana (Modrave) in the southwest.

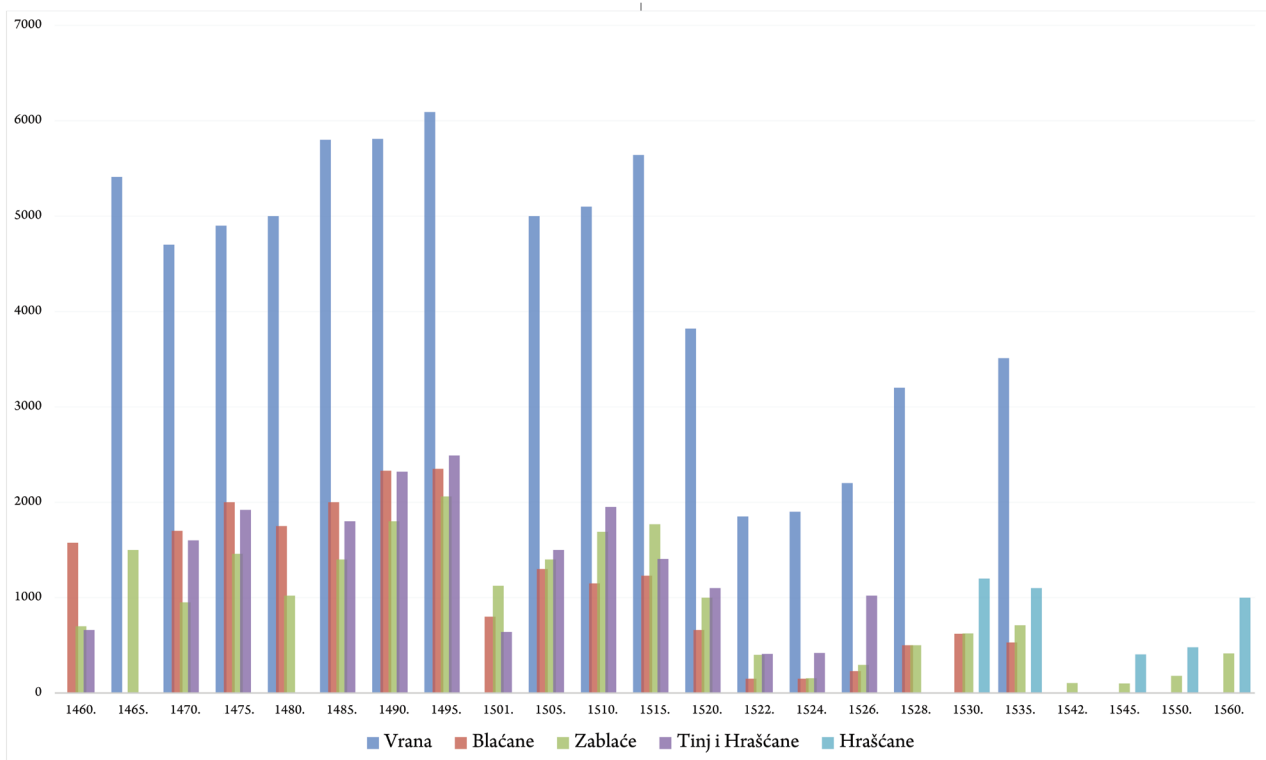
HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHIC FRAMEWORK

The Zadar Chamber leased state properties in the Vrana district at public auctions, usually for a period of two, three or five years, except for those enjoyed by deserving individuals as fiefdoms.³ Judging by the preserved auction documents, the Vrana fortress with its substructure was leased together with other villages of the district until 1460, and since then the properties were leased separately in the following leases: 1) Vrana with Škorobić and Kobiljani and a certain number of lots in Retićane, Malina Vas and Kolarina, 2) Blačani with Stabanj and properties outside the district – in Bojišće and Dobruće Selo, 3) Tinj and Hrašćane (since 1529 only Hrašćane) and 4) Zablaće with Košević, Kujina Luka and Plana (Modrave) and land in Bučina. These were the territorially largest and economically most significant auction units, whose lease amounts in the period 1460 - 1560 can be an indirect indicator of demographic processes and agrarian activities in the Vrana district shown in Chart 1. For an insight into the complete property or settlement topography of the Vrana district, it is necessary to add Pristezi, Pakošćane and Poškaljina, which are rarely mentioned in auction documents because they were enjoyed by private individuals as hereditary fiefdoms during most of the observed period.⁴

² Anzulović 2017.

³ On fiefdoms in the areas of Zadar and Vrana: Beuc 1954, 572-573; Antoljak 1977.

⁴ Everything stated in the above paragraph is based on data



Grafikon 1. Iznosi zakupa najvažnijih posjedovnih cjelina u vranskom distriktu u mletačkim librama (1460. – 1560.)

Chart 1. Lease amounts of the most important property units in the Vrana district in Venetian libras (1460 - 1560)

U selima vranskog distrikta, dakle, živjeli su kmetovi i težaci, a gospodar im je bila država, odnosno feudatari kao uživatelji državnih dobara. O napućenosti i broju stanovnika pojedinih sela u kasnom srednjem vijeku malo se toga može reći. Podatci *Zadarskog*

Therefore, serfs and heavy laborers lived in villages of the Vrana district, and the state was their master, that is, feudal lords as enjoyers of state goods. Little can be said about the density and number of inhabitants of certain villages in the late Middle Ages. Data

districtus (dalje: *DEI*) u Državnom arhivu u Zadru (dalje: *DAZD*): kut. 2, sv. III/2, 12v–14r, 17r–v, 19v; kut. 2, sv. III/4, 29v–33r; kut. 2, sv. III/6, 49v–52r; kut. 2, sv. III/7, 65r–66r; kut. 2, sv. III/8, 80v; kut. 2, sv. III/9, 83r–84v; kut. 2, sv. III/10, 95r–96v; kut. 2, sv. III/12, 114v–115v; kut. 2, sv. IV/1, 8r–9v; kut. 2, sv. IV/3, 22v, 24v, 26r–30r; kut. 2, sv. IV/4, 31r–32r, 38r–39r; kut. 2, sv. IV/5, 45r–46r; kut. 2, sv. IV/6, 58v–59r, 60v; kut. 2, sv. V, 4v–5r, 26r–v, 27v, 31r; kut. 3, sv. VI/1, 9r, kut. 3, sv. VI/2, 11v; kut. 3, sv. VI/3, 21r; kut. 3, sv. VI/4, 31r–32r; kut. 3, sv. VI/5, 42v–43r, 46r, 48r; kut. 3, sv. VI/6, 52v–53r, 56r, 57r; kut. 3, sv. VI/7, 60r, 69r–v; kut. 3, sv. VI/8, 70r, 76r, 79v; kut. 3, sv. VI/9, 88r; kut. 3, sv. VI/10, 93v; kut. 3, sv. VII/1, 94r; kut. 3, sv. VII/3, 20r–v; kut. 3, sv. VII/4, 28v; kut. 3, sv. VII/6, 44v–45r, 46v, 47v; kut. 3, sv. VII/8, 69r; kut. 3, sv. VII/9, 73v; kut. 3, sv. VII/10, 84r, 85v; kut. 3, sv. VII/12, 100r; kut. 3, sv. VII/13, 104v, 110r–v; kut. 3, sv. VII/14, 111r; kut. 3, sv. VII/15, 123v–124r; kut. 3, sv. VII/16, 131r–v; kut. 3, sv. VII/17, 139r–140r; kut. 3, sv. VII/18, 147v, 149v, 154v; kut. 3, sv. VII/19, 163r–164r.

from the archive fund *Datia et incantus civitatis Iadrae et eius districtus* (hereinafter: *DEI*) in the State Archives in Zadar (hereinafter: *DAZD*): box 2, vol. III/2, 12v–14r, 17r–v, 19v; box 2, vol. III/4, 29v–33r; box 2, vol. III/6, 49v–52r; box 2, vol. III/7, 65r–66r; box 2, vol. III/8, 80v; box 2, vol. III/9, 83r–84v; box 2, vol. III/10, 95r–96v; box 2, vol. III/12, 114v–115v; box 2, vol. IV/1, 8r–9v; box 2, vol. IV/3, 22v, 24v, 26r–30r; box 2, vol. IV/4, 31r–32r, 38r–39r; box 2, vol. IV/5, 45r–46r; box 2, vol. IV/6, 58v–59r, 60v; box 2, vol. V, 4v–5r, 26r–v, 27v, 31r; box 3, vol. VI/1, 9r, box 3, vol. VI/2, 11v; box 3, vol. VI/3, 21r; box 3, vol. VI/4, 31r–32r; box 3, vol. VI/5, 42v–43r, 46r, 48r; box 3, vol. VI/6, 52v–53r, 56r, 57r; box 3, vol. VI/7, 60r, 69r–v; box 3, vol. VI/8, 70r, 76r, 79v; box 3, vol. VI/9, 88r; box 3, vol. VI/10, 93v; box 3, vol. VII/1, 94r; box 3, vol. VII/3, 20r–v; box 3, vol. VII/4, 28v; box 3, vol. VII/6, 44v–45r, 46v, 47v; box 3, vol. VII/8, 69r; box 3, vol. VII/9, 73v; box 3, vol. VII/10, 84r, 85v; box 3, vol. VII/12, 100r; box 3, vol. VII/13, 104v, 110r–v; box 3, vol. VII/14, 111r; box 3, vol. VII/15, 123v–124r; box 3, vol. VII/16, 131r–v; box 3, vol. VII/17, 139r–140r; box 3, vol. VII/18, 147v, 149v, 154v; box 3, vol. VII/19, 163r–164r.

*katastika*⁵ o broju ždrijebova zemlje u vranskom distriktu u prvoj polovini 15. stoljeća mogu u tom smislu biti korisni, ali u prvom redu kao pokazatelji demografskih kapaciteta, ne i stvarne naseljenosti (v. Tablicu 1).⁶ Tako je u Pakoštanima u to doba od šesnaest ždrijebova zemlje bilo naseljeno samo njih deset. Iako o drugim selima takve podatke nemamo, posve je izvjesno da je broj kmetskih obitelji u njima oscilirao, što je s jedne strane bila posljedica unutarnje demografske dinamike i uobičajenih mikromigracija, a s druge vanjskih utjecaja, ponajviše osmanske vojne prijetnje.

Premda su štete od osmanskih upada zakupnici vranskih prihoda prijavljivali već 70-ih i 80-ih god. 15. st.,⁷ prva su veća stradanja stanovništva zabilježena 1500. godine, kada su Osmanlije opljačkale 13 sela vranskog distrikta, potom 1520., kada je s vranskog područja u sužanjstvo odvedeno 110 ljudi.⁸ Bilo je u tom periodu, naravno, i drugih, manje pogubnih, vjerojatno i nedokumentiranih, osmanskih upada, ali i drugovrsnih nedaća zbog kojih je život bio obilježen trajnom egzistencijalnom neizvjesnošću. Kao što su to činili mnogi u širem okruženju, zasigurno je i određen broj stanovnika vranskog distrikta iselio u „strane zemlje“ (*ad alienas partes*), poglavito u Apuliju i Istru,⁹ dok su drugi uporno ostajali, sklanjajući se u trenutcima akutne opasnosti unutar vranskih i zadarskih zidina, poput stanovnika Škorobića koji su 1520. bili smješteni u vranskom podgrađu (u dokumentu je zapisano da je nekoć u selu bilo 60 obitelji, da bi ih preostalo samo 15, i to *cohabitantes in burgo Aurane*).¹⁰ Iz iste je godine vijest o seoskom sudcu Retićana, koji je otišao *ad alienas partes*.¹¹ Unatoč povremenim stradanjima i iseljavanju sela vranskog distrikta opetovano su obnavljana i napučivana, o čemu svjedoči

from the *Zadar Katastik*⁵ on number of land lots in the Vrana district in the first half of the 15th century can be useful in this sense, but primarily as indicators of demographic capacity, not the actual population (see Chart 1).⁶ Thus, only ten of the sixteen land lots were inhabited in Pakoštane at that time. Although we do not have such data on other villages, it is quite certain that the number of serf families in them fluctuated, which was on the one hand a consequence of internal demographic dynamics and usual micro-migrations, and on the other the result of external influences, mainly the Ottoman military threat.

Although the damage from Ottoman incursions was already reported by tenants of Vrana revenues in the 1470s and 1480s,⁷ the first major sufferings of the population were recorded in 1500, when the Ottomans looted 13 villages in Vrana district, and later in 1520, when 110 people from Vrana region were taken in captivity.⁸ Of course, other less disastrous and probably undocumented Ottoman incursions took place in that period as well as other kinds of misfortunes attributing life with permanent existential uncertainty. As did many in the wider area, certainly a certain number of residents of the Vrana district moved to “foreign countries” (*ad alienas partes*), mainly in Apulia and Istria,⁹ while others persistently stayed, taking refuge in moments of acute danger within the walls of Vrana district and the walls of Zadar, such as the inhabitants of Škorobić who were located in the suburbs of Vrana in 1520 (the document states that once there were 60 families in the village, only 15 of them remained, namely *cohabitantes in burgo Aurane*).¹⁰ The news about the village judge of Retićane who went *ad alienas partes*¹¹ dates from the same year. Despite occasional suffering and emigration, the villages of the Vrana district were repeatedly rebuilt and repopulated, as evidenced by

⁵ Antoljak 1949.

⁶ U idealnim je ratarskim uvjetima ždrijeb zemlje optimalna površina za uzdržavanje jedne kmetske obitelji.

⁷ DAZD, fond HR-DAZD-388: *Dukale i terminacije* (dalje: *DT*), knj. II, 110v i 112r; DAZD, fond HR-DAZD-31: *Bilježnici Zadra* (dalje: *BZ*), Iohannes de Calcina, busta VII, sv. XI, 81v–82r.

⁸ Raukar *et al.* 1987: 185, 188–190.

⁹ DAZD, fond HR-DAZD-20: *Općina Zadar – Knez Zadra* (dalje: *OZKZ*), kut. 2, 138r–139v.

¹⁰ DAZD, *OZKZ*, kut. 2, 328r.

¹¹ DAZD, *OZKZ*, kut. 2, 149r.

⁵ Antoljak 1949.

⁶ Under ideal farming conditions, the plot of land is the optimal area for supporting a serf family.

⁷ DAZD, fund HR-DAZD-388: *Dukale i terminacije* (hereinafter: *DT*), bk. II, 110v and 112r; DAZD, fund HR-DAZD-31: *Notaries of Zadar* (hereinafter: *BZ*), Iohannes de Calcina, bust VII, vol. XI, 81v–82r.

⁸ Raukar *et al.* 1987: 185, 188–190.

⁹ DAZD, fund HR-DAZD-20: *Općina Zadar – Knez Zadra* (hereinafter: *OZKZ*), box 2, 138r–139v.

¹⁰ DAZD, *OZKZ*, box 2, 328r.

¹¹ DAZD, *OZKZ*, box 2, 149r.

popis stanovništva iz 1527. godine (v. Tablicu 1). Doduše, u tom popisu nedostaju četiri sela – Tinj, Blačane, Retičane i Pristezi, pa je moguće da su bila raseljena, odnosno da je njihovo preostalo stanovništvo pridruženo populacijskim korpusima susjednih naselja. Valja pritom uzeti u obzir da upravo u to doba Tinj postaje utvrdom,¹² što može biti razlog njegova izostavljanja iz popisa.¹³ Uglavnom, demografski kontinuitet održavao se, i to bez vidljivijih tragova doseljavanja pojedinaca i obitelji iz zaleđa, do mletačko-osmanskog rata 1537. – 1540., kada se stvari u tom pogledu bitno mijenjaju.

Tablica 1. Usporedni popis broja ždrijebova zemlje u prvoj polovini 15. stoljeća i broja stanovnika 1527. u pojedinim selima vranskog distrikta¹⁴

Zadarski katastik (15. st.)	Popis 1527.
Zablaće (40)	Zablaće i Pakošćane (164)
Škorobić (28 ½)	Škorobić (169)
Tinj (27)	-
Pristezi (26)	-
Hrašćane (24)	Hrašćane (97)
Ritičane (19)	-
Pakošćane (16)	[v. Zablaće]
Blačane (17)	-
Poškaljina (-) ¹⁵	Poškaljina (27)
	Pirane (47)

MORLAČKI KATUNI NA VRANSKIM PAŠNJACIMA

O Morlacima ili Vlasima, njihovoj ulozi i statusu u kasnosrednjovjekovnom hrvatskom društvu, pa tako i njihovim doticajima s teritorijem i društvenim tkivom dalmatinskih komuna, postoji obilna literatura. U bilješci pod tekstem izdvajamo nekoliko radova, u prvom redu kao uvod u povijest morlačkih zajednica u širem zadarskom i vranskom okruženju.¹⁶ Poznato je da su Morlaci zadarskog zaleđa, inače nastanjeni na kraljevskim imanjima i posjedima hrvatskog plemstva, redovito zimi sa

the 1527 census (see Table 1). Admittedly, four villages – Tinj, Blačane, Retičane and Pristezi – are missing from that list, so it is possible that they were displaced or that their remaining population affiliated to the population of neighbouring settlements. It should be taken into account that Tinj became a fortress¹² at that time, which may be the reason for its omission from the list.¹³ For the most part, demographic continuity was maintained, and without visible traces of immigration of individuals and families from the hinterland until the Venetian-Ottoman war of 1537-1540 when the situation changed significantly in this regard.

Table 1. Comparative list of the number of land lots in the first half of the 15th century and the number of inhabitants in 1527 in certain villages of the Vrana district¹⁴

Zadar Katastik (15th century)	Census 1527.
Zablaće (40)	Zablaće and Pakošćane (164)
Škorobić (28 ½)	Škorobić (169)
Tinj (27)	-
Pristezi (26)	-
Hrašćane (24)	Hrašćane (97)
Ritičane (19)	-
Pakošćane (16)	[v. Zablaće]
Blačane (17)	-
Poškaljina (-) ¹⁵	Poškaljina (27)
	Pirane (47)

MORLACH CATUNS ON VRANA PASTURES

There is abundant literature about the Morlachs or Vlachs, their role and status in the late medieval Croatian society, as well as their contacts with the territory and social fabric of the Dalmatian communes. In the note under the text, we single out several works, primarily as an introduction to the history of Morlach communities in the wider Zadar and Vrana surroundings.¹⁶ It is known that the Morlachs of Zadar's hinterland who settled on royal estates and properties of the Croatian nobility, regularly came to Zadar's

¹² *Commissiones* 1876: 157, 172 i 196. Usp. Anzulović 2017: 130–131.

¹³ V. komentar popisa kod Jakšić 2000: 203–205.

¹⁴ *Commissiones* 1876: 219.

¹⁵ Broj ždrijebova u Poškaljini nije naveden.

¹⁶ Klaić 1983; Ančić 1987 i 2007; Caciur 2016.

¹² *Commissiones* 1876: 157, 172 and 196. Cf. Anzulović 2017: 130-131.

¹³ See the commentary on the list by Jakšić 2000: 203-205.

¹⁴ *Commissiones* 1876: 219.

¹⁵ The number of lease lots in Poškaljina is not specified.

¹⁶ Klaić 1983; Ančić 1987 and 2007; Caciur 2016.

svojom stokom dolazili na zadarske komunalne i privatne pašnjake. Tako je, primjerice, u *Zadarskom katastiku* zabilježeno da su Morlaci uzimali u kratkotrajne, najčešće jednogodišnje, zakupe komunalne pašnjake na području ninskog, novigradskog i ljubačkog distrikta.¹⁷ Premda u tom izvoru nisu navedeni, postojali su i komunalni pašnjaci u vranskom distriktu, koje su također koristili Morlaci, što ćemo elaborirati dalje u raspravi, uz napomenu da je ponešto o tome pisala Ivna Anzulović.¹⁸

Kao što smo pokazali u prethodnom poglavlju, prihodi su državnih posjeda u vranskom distriktu do 1460. davani u zakup u cjelini, uključujući pripadajuće pašnjake, izuzimajući s druge strane vodenice u Blačanima te povremeno još neke nekretnine koje su bile predmetom zasebnih dražbenih postupaka. Tako se, primjerice, u dražbenom ugovoru iz 1445. spominju pašnjaci vranske utvrde (*pascua dicti castris*) kojima je zakupnik mogao slobodno raspolagati, odnosno davati ih u podzakup i ubirati od njih odgovarajuće prihode.¹⁹ Ugovorom sklopljenim kod javnog bilježnika u prosincu iste godine zakupnici vranskih prihoda Ludovik de Matafaris i Donat de Cresavis dali su u petogodišnji podzakup morlačkim katunarima Milbratu Stroiću i Jurju Pustojancu te pripadniku Milbratova katuna Jurju Radivojeviću vranske pašnjake zvane Petrinska (*pascua dicti incantus Aurane vocata Petrinscha*), za iznos od 55 dukata godišnje. Napomenuto je pritom da su dotični Morlaci iste pašnjake koristili i u vrijeme prethodnog zakupnika Jakova iz Bolonje.²⁰ Pet godina poslije, dakle 1450., novi privremeni uživateli vranskih prihoda Mazolus de Gallelis i Grgur de Venturino dali su u podzakup pašnjake Pirana (*totum pasculum de Pirane dicti incantus*) katunarima Tomašu Aladiniću, za godišnjih 150 dukata. Katunar je polovicu tog iznosa trebao platiti na svetkovinu sv. Barbare, a drugu polovicu prije nego što napusti pašnjak i

communal and private pastures with their cattle in the winter. Thus, for example, it was recorded in *the Zadar Katastik* that the Morlachs took short-term, usually annual leases of communal pastures in the Nin, Novi-grad and Ljubač districts.¹⁷ There were also communal pastures in the Vrana district, although they were not listed in the *Zadar Katastik*. They were also used by the Morlachs, which we will elaborate further in the discussion, with a note that Ivna Anzulović also mentioned it in her works.¹⁸

As we have shown in the previous chapter, until 1460 the revenues of the state estates in the Vrana district were leased as a whole, including the associated pastures, except for the water mills in Blačane and occasionally other properties which were the subject of separate auction procedures. Thus, for example, the auction contract from 1445 mentions the pastures of the Vrana fortress (*pascua dicti castris*), which the lessee could freely dispose of, i.e. sublease them and collect the appropriate income from them.¹⁹ In a contract concluded with a public notary in December of the same year, the tenants of the Vrana revenues, Ludovik de Matafaris and Donat de Cresavis, gave a five-year sublease of Vrana pastures called Petrinska (*pascua dicti incantus Aurane vocata Petrinscha*) to the members of Morlach catuns of elders Milbrat Stroić and Juraj Pustojanac, and a member of Milbrat's catun, Juraj Radivojević, for the annual price of 55 ducats. It was also noted that the Morlachs in question used the same pastures during the time of the previous tenant, Jakov from Bologna.²⁰ Five years later, i.e. in 1450, the new temporary beneficiaries of the Vrana revenues, Mazolus de Gallelis and Grgur de Venturino, subleased the pastures of Pirane (*totum pasculum de Pirane dicti incantus*) to the catun elder Tomas Aladinić for 150 ducats per year. This Morlach was supposed to pay half of that amount on the feast of St. Barbara, and the second half before he leaves the pasture with his catun and goes "to the mountains beyond the hills" (*ad planinas*

¹⁷ Antoljak 1950: 389, 394, 398.

¹⁸ Anzulović 2017: 163.

¹⁹ DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 1, sv. II/7, 65v–66v.

²⁰ DAZD, *BZ*, Iohannes de Calcina, busta II, sv. III/5, CCXXVIr–CCXXVIIr. Jakov iz Bolonje bio je zakupnik vranskog posjeda u periodu od 1440. do 1445. godine (DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 1, sv. II/5, 44r–v).

¹⁷ Antoljak 1950: 389, 394, 398.

¹⁸ Anzulović 2017: 163.

¹⁹ DAZD, *DEI*, box 1, vol. II/7, 65v–66v.

²⁰ DAZD, *BZ*, Iohannes de Calcina, bust II, vol. III/5, CCXXVIr–CCXXVIIr. Jakov from Bologna was a tenant of the Vrana estate in the period from 1440 to 1445 (DAZD, *DEI*, box 1, vol. II/5, 44r–v).

sa svojim katunom pođe „u planine iza brda“ (*ad planinas ultra montem*).²¹ Isti je Tomaš Aladinić 1458. zakupio oba vranska ispasišta, i Petrinsku (Petrin) i Pirane (*totum pasculum Petrin et Pirane dicti incantus Aurane*), i to za 12 solda po konju te odgovarajuća davanja za drugu stoku; naime, prema „morlačkom obračunu i brojanju“ (*secundum computum et numeracionem morlachorum*) svaki je konj vrijedio kao četiri goveda odnosno 20 malih živina. Tako utvrđen iznos zakupnine trebalo je podmiriti u dvije godišnje rate, jednu na blagdan sv. Petra, a drugu na svetkovinu sv. Martina, s tim da je stoka katunara Tomaša bila izuzeta od nameta. Tom su prilikom osim katunara navedeni i pripadnici njegova katuna Kršul Žudetić, Vladislav Mihović, Belota Bušletić i Aliver Šimunović. Ugovor je bio sklopljen na rok od dvije godine.²²

Nakon što je 1460. uvedena praksa odvojenih dražbi pojedinih dijelova umjesto cjeline vranskih posjeda, vranski su pašnjaci i formalno-pravno, slijedeći geografsku logiku i naslijeđenu funkcionalnu podjelu, raspoređeni u tri dražbena dijela: a) pašnjaci u sklopu zakupa vranskog podgrađa s naseljima Škorobić i Kobiljane, koji su po običaju „prodavani“ katunaru Rodeli;²³ b) pašnjaci u sklopu zakupa Zablaca i okolnih sela, koji su po običaju iznajmljivani katunarima Milasu Grkavcu i Tomašu;²⁴ c) pašnjaci „od Petrina“ (*de Petrino*) u sklopu zakupa Blacana i Stabnja.²⁵

ultra montem).²¹ In 1458, the same Tomaš Aladinić leased both Vrana pastures, Petrinska (Petrin) and Pirane (*totum pasculum Petrin et Pirane dicti incantus Aurane*), for 12 soldas per horse and corresponding payments for other livestock; namely, according to the “Morlach calculation and counting” (*secundum computum et numeracionem Morlachorum*), each horse was worth four cattle, or 20 small poultry. The amount of rent determined in this way had to be paid in two annual instalments, one on the feast of St. Peter, and the other on the feast of St. Martin, with the fact that the livestock of catun elder Tomaš was exempted from the levy. On that occasion, in addition to the catun elder, members of his catun Kršul Žudetić, Vladislav Mihović, Belota Bušletić and Aliver Šimunović were mentioned. The contract was concluded for a period of two years.²²

After the separate auctions practice of individual lots was introduced in 1460 instead of the entire Vrana estate, the Vrana pastures were formally and legally, following geographical logic and the inherited functional division, divided into three auction parts: a) pastures as part of the Vrana suburb lease with the settlements of Škorobić and Kobiljane, which were customarily “sold” to the catun elder Rodela;²³ b) pastures as part of the lease of Zablaca and the surrounding villages, which were customarily leased to catun elders Milas Grkavac and Tomaš;²⁴ c) pastures *de Petrino* within the lease of Blacane and Stabanj.²⁵

²¹ DAZD, BZ, Simon Damiani, busta II, sv. III/11, 14r–15r.

²² DAZD, BZ, Iohannes de Calcina, busta V, sv. VIII/3, CXLIIr–CXLIIIr.

²³ [...] *burgi castris Aurane et villarum Scorobichio et Cobiliane cum duobus villicis in villa Ratichiane et quatuor sortibus in Malignauas et duabus in Collarina pertinentiarum dicti castris Aurane, cum omnibus suis pasculis consuetis vendere Rodele catonario* [...] (DAZD, DEI, kut. 2, sv. III/2, 12v–14r).

²⁴ [...] *villarum Sablatie, Cosseuich, Chuina Luca et uille de Plana cum terrenis de Bucina et cum omnibus pasculis consuetis affictare Millas Gerchauaz et Thomasio cathonariis* [...] (DAZD, DEI, kut. 2, sv. III/2, 17v).

²⁵ [...] *ville Blachiane incantus castris Aurane cum villa Stabagni usque oliuarios qui spectant et pertinent illis de burgo Aurane, et uersus ponentem usque ad confines uille Tini. Item ville Boischie cum terrenis positus ad uillam Dobruchiesello pertinentiarum dicti castris Aurane, cum omnibus et singulis suis pasculis de Petrino consuetis vendere et cum omnibus et singulis iuribus et pertinentiis suis* [...] (DEI, kut. 2, knj. III/2, 14r).

²¹ DAZD, BZ, Simon Damiani, bust II, vol. III/11, 14r–15r.

²² DAZD, BZ, Iohannes de Calcina, bust V, vol. VIII/3, CXLIIr–CXLIIIr.

²³ [...] *burgi castris Aurane et villarum Scorobichio et Cobiliane cum duobus villicis in villa Ratichiane et quatuor sortibus in Malignuas et duabus in Collarina pertinentiarum dicti castris Aurane, cum omnibus suis pasculis consuetis vendere Rodele catonario* [...] (DAZD, DEI, box 2, vol. III/2, 12v–14r).

²⁴ [...] *villarum Sablatie, Cosseuich, Chuina Luca et uille de Plana cum terrenis de Bucina et cum omnibus pasculis consuetis affictare Millas Gerchauaz et Thomasio cathonariis* [...] (DAZD, DEI, box 2, vol. III/2, 17v).

²⁵ [...] *ville Blachiane incantus castris Aurane cum villa Stabagni usque oliuarios qui spectant et pertinent illis de burgo Aurane, et uersus ponentem usque ad confines uille Tini. Item ville Boischie cum terrenis positus ad uillam Dobruchiesello pertinentiarum dicti castris Aurane, cum omnibus et singulis suis pasculis de Petrino consuetis vendere et cum omnibus et singulis iuribus et pertinentiis suis* [...] (DEI, box 2, vol. III/2, 14r).

Dvije od tri navedene pašnjačke zone u izvornim nose prepoznatljiva imena – *Petrin* (*Petrinska*) i *Pirane*. Pašnjaci *Petrin*, čiju približnu ubikaciju sugerira današnji oronim *Petrim* u naselju Jagodnja Donja, pripadali su srednjovjekovnom selu Blačanima.²⁶ Toponimom *Pirane* pak označavao se prostor između Vranskog jezera i mora, u srednjovjekovlju subordiniran Zablacu, čiji je veći dio tijekom sljedećih stoljeća preslojio toponim *Modrave*.²⁷ Treća pašnjačka zona, koju treba tražiti na području srednjovjekovne Vrane odnosno susjednih sela Škorobića i Kobiljana, nije poznata pod zasebnim imenom, ali je poznato da je u njoj sredinom 15. stoljeća, tijekom zimskih perioda, „po običaju“ boravio katunar Rodela sa svojim katunom. O tome dodatno svjedoči bilježnička isprava iz 1453., kojom su kalafat Jurica Petrović i Radovac Veličić iz sela Podi, na molbu Morlaka iz katuna Rudele Milotića (*morlachorum de catona Rudele Milotich catonarii*), otkupili Rudelin dug za travarinu bivšim zakupnicima vranskih prihoda Ludoviku de Matafarisu i Donatu de Cressavi (podsjetimo se, potonja su dvojica ubirali prihode Vrane u periodu od 1445. do 1450. godine).²⁸ Očito je, dakle, da se spomeni katunara Rodele i katunara Rudele Milotića odnose na istu osobu, koju bilježimo i u dokumentu iz 1469. pod imenima *Rotella* i *Rudella*. Tada je taj katunar, čije ime po svemu sudeći valja čitati Rudela ili Rudelja, sudjelovao u pregovorima o hrvatsko-mletačkom razgraničenju na području Škorobića,²⁹ što je još jedna potvrda uključenosti njegova katuna u dinamiku gospodarsko-demografskih kretanja na razmeđu vranskog i ostrovičkog distrikta.

Što se pak tiče običajnih korisnika zimskih pašnjaka u Piranama, to jest katunara Milasa³⁰ Grkavca i Tomaša, s velikom se sigurnošću može kazati da je rečeni Tomaš identičan Tomašu Aladiniću kojeg bilježe ugovori iz 1450. i 1458. godine. Ostaje pitanje tko je Milas Grkavac, odnosno je li u zapisu *Millas Gerchauaz* uopće riječ

Two of the three mentioned pasture zones have recognizable names in the sources – *Petrin* (*Petrinska*) and *Pirane*. The *Petrin* pastures belonged to the medieval village of Blačane, and their approximate location suggests today's oronym *Petrim* in the settlement of Jagodnja Donja.²⁶ On the other hand the toponym *Pirane* denoted the area between Lake Vrana and the sea, that subordinated to Zablacé in the Middle Ages, the greater part of which was superimposed by the toponym *Modrave* during the following centuries.²⁷ The third pasture zone, which should be searched for in the area of medieval Vrana, i.e. the neighbouring villages of Škorobić and Kobiljane, is not known by a separate name, but it is known that in the middle of the 15th century, during the winter periods, the catun elder Rodela stayed in it with his catun "according to custom". This is further evidenced by a notarial document from 1453, by which the shipbuilder Jurica Petrović and Radovac Veličić from the village of Podi, at the request of Morlach from catun of Rudela Milotić (*Morlachorum de catona Rudele Milotich catonarii*), bought Rudela's debt for the herbaticum fee to Ludovik de Matafaris, the former tenants of the Vrana revenues and Donat de Cressavis (here we remind the reader that the latter two collected the revenues of Vrana in the period from 1445 to 1450).²⁸ It is obvious, therefore, that the mentions of catun elder Rodela and catun elder Rudela Milotić refer to the same person, who is recorded in a document from 1469 under the names *Rotella* and *Rudella*. That catun elder, whose name should probably be read Rudela or Rudelja, participated then in the negotiations on the Croatian-Venetian demarcation in the area of Škorobić,²⁹ which is another confirmation of the involvement of his Morlach catun in the dynamics of economic and demographic movements on the border between the Vrana and Ostrovica districts.

As for the usual users of the winter pastures in Pirane, that is, the catun elders Milas³⁰ Grkavac and Tomaš, it can be said with great certainty that the said Tomaš is identical to Tomaš Aladinić, who is recorded in contracts from 1450 and 1458 whereas Milas

²⁶ Anzulović 2017: 163.

²⁷ Juran 2021: 148–149.

²⁸ DAZD, BZ, Simon Damiani, busta III, sv. IV/10, 445v.

²⁹ DAZD, DT, knj. II, 176–178.

³⁰ Ime se može čitati i Milaš.

²⁶ Anzulović 2017: 163.

²⁷ Juran 2021: 148–149.

²⁸ DAZD, BZ, Simon Damiani, bust III, vol. IV/10, 445v.

²⁹ DAZD, DT, bk. II, 176–178.

³⁰ The name can also be read as Milaš.

o jednoj ili o dvije različite osobe (Milas i Grkavac?). Nema dvojbe da je u to doba postojao katun Grkavac, s Milasom ili bez njega.³¹ Štoviše, čini se da je u njemu stasao i sam Tomaš Aladinić, što će postati razvidnim negdje u sljedećim redcima. Nadalje, u vezi bi s Grkavcem mogao biti i katunar Milbrat Stroić, onaj koji je 1445. s Pustojanjem zakupio pašnjake u Petrinu. Doduše, potonja poveznica nije posve pouzdana jer se temelji samo na sličnosti Milbratova prezimena Stroić i prezimena Strojšić, koje je 1432. nosio izvjesni Martin, katunar Grkavca (*Martinus condam Nicole Stroissich Grichauač vlachus*).³² Dodamo li tome da je potkraj 14. stoljeća među pripadnicima katuna Pripka Grkavca spomenut Aladin Strojšić,³³ koji bi mogao biti istovjetan katunaru Aladinu Grkavcu, posvjedočenom u zadarskim ispravama s početka 15. stoljeća,³⁴ onda postoji mogućnost i da je Tomaš Aladinić sin rečenog Aladina. Sve to upućuje na zaključak o tijesnim vezama između katuna Grkavac, odnosno katunâ kojima je on bio matica i vranskih pašnjaka u Petrinu i Piranama. Valja tomu dodati da se jedan od Grkavaca sredinom 15. stoljeća javlja i kao zakupnik ninskih komunalnih pašnjaka. U toj se ulozi najprije spominju katunari Vlatko Gleđevac i Jurko Radivojević (1435.), potom samo Gleđevac (1438.), a onda Vlatko Grkavac (1440. i 1441.) te naposljetku Vlatko *Glichauač* (!) (1445.).³⁵ U kakvu su odnosu dva Vlatka – Gleđevac i Grkavac, a u kakvu katunar Jurko Radivojević i njegov imenski parnjak Juraj Radivojević koji je 1445. pripadao katunu Milbrata Stroića, možemo samo nagađati.

Zanimljivo je da su odredbe identične onima iz 1460. o stečenim pravima katunarâ Rudele, Milasa [i] Grkavca i Tomaša na korištenje vranskih pašnjaka uporno i bez ikakvih izmjena ponavljane i u sljedećim zakupima. Rudelu tako nalazimo u

Grkavac remains unidentified. The question remains whether record of *Millas Gerchauaz* refers to him or these names signify two different people (Milas and Grkavac?). There is no doubt that at that time there was a catun Grkavac, with or without Milas.³¹ Moreover, it seems that Tomaš Aladinić himself grew up in that catun, which will become evident in the following lines. Furthermore, the catun elder Milbrat Stroić, the one who leased pastures in Petrin with Pustojanac in 1445, could also be related to Grkavac. Admittedly, the latter link is not entirely reliable, because it is based only on the similarity of Milbrat's surname Stroić and the surname Strojšić, which was borne by a certain Martin, the catun member of Grkavac (*Martinus condam Nicole Stroissich Grichauač vlachus*) in 1432.³² If we add to this that at the end of the 14th century Aladin Strojšić was mentioned among the members of the catun of Pripko Grkavac,³³ who could be the very same Aladin Grkavac, attested in Zadar documents from the beginning of the 15th century,³⁴ then there is also the possibility that Tomaš Aladinić is the son of the aforementioned Aladin. This all leads to the conclusion of close ties between the catun Grkavac, i.e. the catuns of which he represented, and the Vrana pastures in Petrin and Pirane. It should be added that in the middle of the 15th century, one of the Grkavac members appears as a lessee of communal pastures in Nin. In this role, the catun elders Vlatko Gleđevac and Jurko Radivojević are first mentioned (1435), then only Gleđevac (1438), then Vlatko Grkavac (1440 and 1441) and finally Vlatko *Glichauač* (!) (1445).³⁵ We can only guess the connection between the two Vlatkos have – Gleđevac and Grkavac, and also the connection between the catun elders Jurko Radivojević and his namesake Juraj Radivojević, who in 1445 belonged to the catun of Milbrat Stroić.

It is interesting that provisions identical to those from 1460 regarding the acquired rights of catun elder Rudela, Milas [and] Grkavac and Tomaš to use

³¹ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, busta IV, sv. 72, 21v i busta V, sv. 109, list XXX.

³² DAZD, BZ, Theodorus de Prandino, busta IV, sv. V/5, 128v–129r.

³³ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, busta IV, sv. 77, 6v

³⁴ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, busta V, sv. 107, 23r i sv. 109, 3r.

³⁵ DAZD, DEI, kut. 1, sv. II/4, 31v–32r; kut. 1, sv. II/5, 42r; kut. 1, sv. II/6, 52r; kut. 1, sv. II/6, 57r; kut. 1, sv. II/7, 67r.

³¹ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, bust IV, vol. 72, 21v and bust V, vol. 109, sheet XXX.

³² DAZD, BZ, Theodorus de Prandino, bust IV, vol. V/5, 128v–129r.

³³ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, bust IV, vol. 77, 6v.

³⁴ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, bust V, vol. 107, 23r and vol. 109, 3r.

³⁵ DAZD, DEI, box 1, vol. II/4, 31v–32r; box 1, vol. II/5, 42r; box 1, vol. II/6, 52r; box 1, vol. II/6, 57r; box 1, vol. II/7, 67r.

dražbenim ispravama do 1526.,³⁶ a Milasa [i] Grkavca i Tomaša zaključno s 1535. godinom.³⁷ No vrlo je izgledno, gotovo sigurno, da su rečeni katurari mnogo prije tih godina nestali sa životne scene, što znači ili to da su njihova imena u dražbenim ispravama posmrtno zadržana kao identifikatori još uvijek postojećih katuna (koji su unatoč osmanskim osvajanjima i demografskim turbulencijama i dalje dolazili na vranske pašnjake) ili pak to da su odredbe o pašnjacima mahinalno prepisivane u svaki idući dražbeni zapisnik kao jezične i pravne okamine onkraj društvene stvarnosti. Svejedno kojoj se mogućnosti priklonili, izgledno je da se sudbina navedenih katuna stopila s onom drugih morlačkih zajednica hrvatskog predznaka, koje su u vrtlogu sukoba triju imperija – osmanskog, mletačkog i habsburškog – „lutale“ prostorom Istre, Dalmacije i Banovine tijekom gotovo čitava 16. stoljeća. O tome će biti riječi u poglavljima koja slijede, s tim da ćemo najprije detaljnije razmotriti prilike na širem zadarskom prostoru, a onda ćemo u završnom dijelu rasprave perspektivu suziti na vransko područje.

MORLACI ISTRIJANI NA ZADARSKOM POGRANIČJU

Osvajanjem Skradina 1522., Ostrovice 1523. i Obrovca 1527. Osmanlije su zagospodarili „srce Hrvatskog Kraljevstva“ – prostorom između rijeka Krke i Zrmanje, koji je u hrvatskim vremenima nosio teritorijalnu oznaku *Hrvati* ili *Banovina*. Taj je prostor u novim političkim okolnostima inkorporiran u osmansku pograničnu vojnu

³⁶ DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 2, sv. III/2, 12v–14r; kut. 2, sv. III/4, 29v–31r; kut. 2, sv. III/6, 51r; kut. 2, sv. III/7, 65r; kut. 2, sv. III/9, 84r–v; kut. 2, sv. III/10, 95r; kut. 2, sv. III/12, 114r–v; kut. 2, sv. IV/1, 8r–v; kut. 2, sv. IV/3, 27r; kut. 2, sv. IV/4, 39r; kut. 2, sv. IV/6, 58v; kut. 3, sv. V, 26r–v; kut. 3, sv. VI/3, 21r; kut. 3, sv. VI/5, 42v; kut. 3, sv. VI/6, 52v–53r; kut. 3, sv. VI/7, 69v; kut. 3, sv. VI/9, 83r–v; kut. 3, sv. VII/3, 20r–v.

³⁷ DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 2, sv. III/2, 17v; kut. 2, sv. III/4, 33r; kut. 2, sv. III/6, 50v; kut. 2, sv. III/7, 66r; kut. 2, sv. III/9, 84r; kut. 2, sv. III/10, 96r; kut. 2, sv. III/12, 115r–v; kut. 2, sv. IV/1, 9v; kut. 2, sv. IV/3, 24v i 28r–v; kut. 2, sv. IV/4, 38r; kut. 2, sv. IV/6, 60v; kut. 2, sv. V, 27v; kut. 3, sv. VI/4, 31r; kut. 3, sv. VI/5, 43r; kut. 3, sv. VI/7, 60r; kut. 3, sv. VI/8, 70r i 79v; kut. 3, sv. VI/10, 7v; kut. 3, sv. VII/6, 45r; kut. 3, sv. VII/9, 73v; kut. 3, sv. VII/10, 85v.

the Vrana pastures were persistently and without any changes repeated in the following leases. Thus, we find Rudela in the auction documents until 1526,³⁶ and Milas [and] Grkavac and Tomaš as late as 1535.³⁷ But it is very likely, almost certain, that the aforementioned catun elders disappeared from the “scene” long before those years, which means either that their names were retained posthumously in the auction documents as identifiers of the still existing catuns (which, despite the Ottoman conquests and demographic turbulence continued to come to Vrana pastures) or the fact that the provisions on pastures were mechanically rewritten in every subsequent auction record as linguistic and legal debris beyond social reality. No matter which option one chooses, it is likely that the fate of the aforementioned catuns merged with that of other Morlach communities of Croatian origin, which in the whirlwind of conflict between the three empires – Ottoman, Venetian and Habsburg – “wandered” across the territory of Istria, Dalmatia and Banovina during almost the entire 16th century. This will be discussed in the following chapters, with the fact that we will first consider the opportunities in the wider Zadar area in more detail, and then in the final part of the discussion, we will narrow the perspective to the Vrana area.

ISTRIAN MORLACHS ON THE ZADAR BORDER

By conquering Skradin in 1522, Ostrovica in 1523 and Obrovac in 1527, the Ottomans took control of the “heart of the Croatian Kingdom” – the area

³⁶ DAZD, *DEI*, box 2, vol. III/2, 12v–14r; box 2, vol. III/4, 29v–31r; box 2, vol. III/6, 51r; box 2, vol. III/7, 65r; box 2, vol. III/9, 84r–v; box 2, vol. III/10, 95r; box 2, vol. III/12, 114r–v; box 2, vol. IV/1, 8r–v; box 2, vol. IV/3, 27r; box 2, vol. IV/4, 39r; box 2, vol. IV/6, 58v; box 3, vol. V, 26r–v; box 3, vol. VI/3, 21r; box 3, vol. VI/5, 42v; box 3, vol. VI/6, 52v–53r; box 3, vol. VI/7, 69v; box 3, vol. VI/9, 83r–v; box 3, vol. VII/3, 20r–v.

³⁷ DAZD, *DEI*, box 2, vol. III/2, 17v; box 2, vol. III/4, 33r; box 2, vol. III/6, 50v; box 2, vol. III/7, 66r; box 2, vol. III/9, 84r; box 2, vol. III/10, 96r; box 2, vol. III/12, 115r–v; box 2, vol. IV/1, 9v; box 2, vol. IV/3, 24v and 28r–v; box 2, vol. IV/4, 38r; box 2, vol. IV/6, 60v; box 2, vol. V, 27v; box 3, vol. VI/4, 31r; box 3, vol. VI/5, 43r; box 3, vol. VI/7, 60r; box 3, vol. VI/8, 70r and 79v; box 3, vol. VI/10, 7v; box 3, vol. VII/6, 45r; box 3, vol. VII/9, 73v; box 3, vol. VII/10, 85v.

jedinicu *Vilajet Hrvati*,³⁸ naslonivši se neposredno na granice zadarskog distrikta. Opustošenu i većim dijelom raseljenu Banovinu Osmanlije su naselili morlačkim (vlaškim) stanovništvom, koje se u sumarnom defteru Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1530. naziva Vlasima vilajeta Istre (*Eflakân-ı Vilâyet-i İstre*), a u sljedećim defterima iz 1540. i 1550. Vlasima Istre. Temeljem tih etničko-teritorijalnih oznaka u znanstvenoj je literaturi oblikovan zaključak da su Vlasi Istre zapravo hrvatske i mahom katoličke morlačke skupine koje su zbog osmanskih upada potkraj 15. i početkom 16. stoljeća iz svojih primarnih staništa u zaleđu dalmatinskih gradova spontano ili organizirano migrirale u Istru, da bi na poziv osmanskih vlasti u povratničkoj migraciji 1528. – 1530. napučile prostor današnje Bukovice i Ravnih kotara, odnosno srednjovjekovne Banovine, formirajući društveno tkivo Vilajeta Hrvati.³⁹ Tijekom mletačko-osmanskog rata 1537. – 1540. velik je dio Vlaha Istre prešao na mletačku stranu, pa se oni od tada kao zasebna društvena skupina javljaju i u mletačkim vrelima, i to pod nazivom Morlaci Istrijani ili samo Istrijani.⁴⁰ Stoga je u kontekstu osmanistike primjereno rabiti naziv Vlasi Istre, kao što je u kontekstu venecijanistike opravdano koristiti istoznačnu sintagmu Morlaci Istrijani. S obzirom na to da ćemo se dalje u raspravi oslanjati na povijesne izvore obiju provenijencija, pretežito pak na one mletačke, čitatelj će se u

between the rivers Krka and Zrmanja, which in Croatian sources bore the territorial designation of *Hrvati* or *Banovina*. In the new political circumstances, this area was incorporated into the Ottoman border military unit *Vilajet Hrvati*,³⁸ leaning directly on the borders of the Zadar district. The devastated and largely displaced Banovina was settled by the Ottomans with the Morlach (Vlach) population, called the Vlachs of the Vilayet of Istra (*Eflakân-ı Vilâyet-i İstre*) in summary defter (census) of the Bosnian sanjak from 1530, and the Vlachs of Istria in the following defters from 1540 and 1550. The conclusion in the scientific literature that the Vlachs of Istria are actually Croatian and mostly Catholic Morlach groups that, due to Ottoman incursions at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, migrated spontaneously or in an organized manner from their primary habitats in the hinterland of Dalmatian cities to Istria, is formed on the basis of above ethnic-territorial markings. Furthermore, in the return migration of 1528 - 1530, at the invitation of the Ottoman authorities, they populated the area of today's Bukovica and Ravni Kotari, i.e. the medieval Banovina, forming the social fabric of the Vilayet Hrvati.³⁹ During the Venetian-Ottoman war of 1537 - 1540, a large part of the Vlachs of Istria moved to the Venetian side, and since then they appear as a separate social group in the Venetian sources, under the name Istrian Morlachs or simply Istrians.⁴⁰ Therefore, in the context of Ottoman studies, it is appropriate to

³⁸ Za *Banovinu* usp. Antoljak 1991, za *Hrvate* Ančić 2008: 47, a za *Vilajet Hrvati* Jurin Starčević 2012: 27–29.

³⁹ Buzov 1990: 244; Jurin Starčević 2012: 168–173. U literaturi se rabe i nazivi Vlasi zemlje Istre, Vlasi vilajeta Istrije i Vlasi Istrije, kao i sintagma istarski Vlasi, koja nije najsretnije rješenje jer se ne radi o „Vlasima koji žive u Istri“, nego o skupini Vlaha koja je obitavala u sjevernoj Dalmaciji.

⁴⁰ *Relazioni* 1996: 50–54, 63–64; Caciur 2016. Zanimljivo je da Morlaci Istrijani zadarskog područja u molbi koju su 1549. uputili mletačkom Senatu sebe nazivaju „samo“ Morlacima (*noi Murlachi ... noi meschini Murlachi ... universita de Murlachi*), dok ih mletačke vlasti u odgovoru na njihovu molbu imenuju Morlacima Istrijanima (*Murlachi Istriani*) ili „samo“ Istrijanima (*Istriani*), s tim da je pisar na jednome mjestu prekrizio zapis *prefati Murlachi*, zamijenivši ga u međuretku izričajem *tutti li Istriani preditti* (!) (Archivio di Stato di Venezia (dalje: ASVe), Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 6, 408–410).

³⁸ For *Banovina*, Cf. Antoljak 1991, for *Croats* Ančić 2008: 47, and for *Vilajet Hrvati* Jurin Starčević 2012: 27–29.

³⁹ Buzov 1990: 244; Jurin Starčević 2012: 168–173. In the literature, the names Vlachs of the Istrian land, Vlachs of the Istrian province and Vlachs of Istria are also used, as well as the phrase Istrian Vlachs, which is not the happiest solution, because it is not about “Vlachs living in Istria”, but about a group of Vlachs who lived in the northern Dalmatia.

⁴⁰ *Relazioni* 1996: 50–54, 63–64; Caciur 2016. It is interesting that in the petition they sent to the Venetian Senate in 1549, the Morlach Istrians of the Zadar area call themselves “only” Morlachi (*noi Murlachi ... noi meschini Murlachi ... universita de Murlachi*), while the Venetian authorities, in response to their request, call them Morlachs of Istria (*Murlachi Istriani*) or “only” Istrians (*Istriani*), with the fact that in one place the scribe crossed out the entry *prefati Murlachi*, replacing it in the middle line with the expression *tutti li Istriani preditti* (!) (Archivio di Stato di Venezia (further: ASVe), Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 6, 408–410).

sljedećim redcima češće susretati s Morlacima Istrijanima nego s Vlasima Istre.

Od Morlaka Istrijana koji su tijekom rata 1537. – 1540. prebjegli Mlečanima, dio je unovačen u mletačke vojne postrojbe te naseljen u Zadru i njegovu distriktu, dio je preseljen u Istru, a dio se potkraj rata i po njegovu svršetku vratio Osmanlijama. Sve do Ciparskog rata 1570. – 1573. Morlaci Istrijani davali su društveni pečat mletačko-osmanskom pograničju u neposrednom i širem zaleđu Zadra, bivajući gotovo u kontinuitetu objektom diplomatskih nadmudrivanja na relaciji Venecija – Istanbul, uz posredovanje pokrajinskih namjesnika i političkih elita, s jedne strane dalmatinskih kneževa i providurâ, a s druge bosanskih kadija i begova. Svjesni njihovih vojnih vještina, ali i demografske atrofije svojih uzgraničnih posjeda, obećavali su im jedni i drugi razne povlastice, pozivali ih pod svoje okrilje, zadržavajući pritom nužan oprez te provocirajući istodobno lojalnost i (ne)potkupljivost njihovih glavara. O tome je nedavno pisala Dana Caciur, dok su osmanski pogled na Morlake Istrijane u svojim radovima sublimirale Snježana Buzov i Kornelija Jurin Starčević.⁴¹ Narativ koji se o Morlacima Istrijanima, odnosno Vlasima Istre može iščitati iz njihovih znanstvenih priloga polazište je daljnjoj raspravi koju ćemo usmjeravati izoštavanjem pogleda na objavljena i u literaturi već korištena vrela te nadopunjavati raščlambom neobjavljenih vrela lokalne i regionalne, mahom zadarske, provenijencije.

Prema popisnom defteru iz 1530., Vlasi Istre obitavali su u nahijama Zrmanja (134 kuće u 22 sela), Kličevac (123 kuće u 15 sela), Obrovac (24 kuće u šest sela), Zečevo (50 kuća u 11 sela), Karin (53 kuće u devet sela), Bukovica (57 kuća u 11 sela), Benković (30 kuća u četiri sela), Ostrovica (34 kuće u četiri sela) i Podgorje (143 kuće u sedam sela i varošu Obrovca). Ukupno je to 681 kuća u 90 sela.⁴² Na tom je prostoru, zajedno sa susjednim nahijama Plavna, Popina i Strmica, bilo još 218 kuća u 17 sela kod kojih stanovništvo nije identificirano nazivom Vlasi Istre. Prema K. Jurin Starčević, u tih

use the name Vlachs of Istria, just as in the context of Venetian studies, it is justified to use the syntagm Istrian Morlachs with the same meaning. Considering that we will further in the discussion rely on historical sources of both provenances, predominantly on those from Venice, in the following lines the reader will more often meet the Istrian Morlachs than the Vlachs of Istria.

Of the Istrian Morlachs who defected to the Venetians during the 1537 - 1540 war, some were recruited into the Venetian military units and settled in Zadar and its district; some moved to Istria; and some returned to the Ottomans at the end of the war and after its end. Until the Cyprus War of 1570 - 1573, the Istrian Morlachs made a social imprint to the Venetian-Ottoman border area in the immediate and wider hinterland of Zadar, being almost continuously the object of diplomatic outsmarting between Venice and Istanbul, with the mediation of provincial governors and political elites, on the one hand Dalmatian princes and governors, as well as Bosnian kadis and beys on the other hand. Aware of their military skills, but also of the demographic atrophy of their bordering possessions, both promised them various privileges, invited them under their wing, maintaining the necessary caution and simultaneously provoking the loyalty and (in)corruption of their leaders. Dana Caciur recently wrote about this, while Snježana Buzov and Kornelija Jurin Starčević sublimated the Ottoman view of Istrian Morlachs in their works.⁴¹ The narrative that can be read about the Istrian Morlachs, i.e. the Vlachs of Istria, from their scientific contributions is the starting point for further discussion, which we will be directing on by focusing on published and already used sources in the literature, and supplement them with an analysis of unpublished sources of local and regional, mostly Zadar, provenance.

According to the census register from 1530, the Vlachs of Istria lived in the districts of Zrmanja (134 houses in 22 villages), Kličevac (123 houses in 15 villages), Obrovac (24 houses in six villages), Zečevo (50 houses in 11 villages), Karin (53 houses in nine villages), Bukovica (57 houses in 11 villages), Benković (30 houses in four villages), Ostrovica (34 houses in four villages) and Podgorje (143 houses

⁴¹ Buzov 1990; Jurin Starčević 2012; Caciur 2016.

⁴² *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Hırvatistan* 2010: 258–264; Jurin Starčević 2012: 169.

⁴¹ Buzov 1990; Jurin Starčević 2012; Caciur 2016.

su 17 sela boravile tri različite, isto tako vlaške, skupine: 1) Vlasi doseljeni iz Istre, za koje nije izričito navedeno da pripadaju skupini Vlaha Istre; 2) Vlasi doseljeni iz Uskoplja i Unca i 3) „autohtoni hrvatski katolički Vlasi“ koji su u Banovini dočekali i prihvatili osmansku vlast, zadržavši svoje posjede.⁴³

Starješine džemata i knezovi Istarskih Vlaha u Vilajetu Hrvati 1530. bili su Jakov Propat, Ivaniš Mirko i Slade Livoje u nahiji Zrmanja, Petar, sin Milovana u nahiji Bukovica, vojvoda Žakman u nahiji Karin, Pavel *Veradil* u nahiji Obrovac, Radič i Tomaš Rožić u nahiji Kličevac, Petar Jančić u nahiji Benković, Grgur Bratić (ili Bratil) u nahiji Ostrovica, Martin, sin *Vrtača* u nahiji Zečevo, Nikola Rojnović, Mate Rožić, Nikola, Pejan Mivčanić te Mate Krstojević u nahiji Podgorje.⁴⁴ Budući da je recentna historiografija usuglašena u stavu da su rečeni vlaški čelnici odnosno njihovi prethodnici sa svojim drušinama do početka 16. stoljeća, odnosno do pada Ostrovice i Obrovca pod Osmanlije (1523. – 1527.) boravili na području Banovine (tada još uvijek u okviru Ugarsko-Hrvatskog Kraljevstva), očekivali smo o kojem od njih pokoju dodatnu vijest u dalmatinskim, napose zadarskim, ali i hrvatskim ispravama tog doba. Rezultat je naše arhivske potrage u tom pogledu vrlo skroman i popraćen nejasnoćama, ali ujedno intrigantan, donekle i kompatibilan s postojećim narativom.

Prezime Jakova Propata,⁴⁵ jednog od morlačkih starješina u nahiji Zrmanja, upućuje na moguću vezu s Morlacima Poropatićima koji se potkraj 14. stoljeća javljaju u zadarskim vrelima kao pripadnici katuna Butka Brančića.⁴⁶ Početkom 15. stoljeća dvojica Morlaka Poropatića,

in seven villages and the town of Obrovac). In total, there were 681 houses in 90 villages.⁴² In that area, together with the neighbouring nahiyahs of Plavno, Popina and Strmica, there were another 218 houses in 17 villages where the population was not identified by the name Vlachs of Istria. According to K. Jurin Starčević, three different, also Vlach groups lived in those 17 villages: 1) Vlachs that immigrated from Istria, who were not explicitly stated to belong to the group of Vlachs of Istria; 2) Vlachs who immigrated from Uskoplje and Unac and 3) “indigenous Croatian Catholic Vlachs” who welcomed and accepted Ottoman rule in Banovina, keeping their properties.⁴³

In 1530 the elders of the congregation and princes of the Vlachs of Istria in Vilayet Hrvati were Jakov Propat, Ivaniš Mirko and Slade Livoje in the nahiyah of Zrmanja, Petar, son of Milovan in the nahiyah of Bukovica, duke Žakman in the nahiyah of Karin, Pavel Veradil in the nahiyah of Obrovac, Radič and Tomaš Rožić in nahiyah Kličevac, Petar Jančić in nahiyah Benković, Grgur Bratić (or Bratil) in nahiyah Ostrovica, Martin, son of *Vrtač* in nahiyah Zečevo, Nikola Rojnović, Mate Rožić, Nikola, Pejan Mivčanić and Mate Krstojević in nahiyah Podgorje.⁴⁴ Recent historiography agreed that the said Vlach leaders as well as their predecessors and their groups lived in the territory of Banovina (at the time still within the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdoms). Therefore, we expected some additional news about them in Dalmatian records, especially Zadar, but also Croatian documents of that time. The result of our archival search in this respect is very modest and accompanied by ambiguities, but at the same time intriguing, and somewhat compatible with the existing narrative.

⁴³ Jurin Starčević 2012: 169–170.

⁴⁴ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Hırvatistan* 2010: 258–264 (Yako Propat, İvoniş Mirko, İslade Livoye, Petre veled-i Milovan, Zakman Voyvoda, Pavel Veradil, Radiç, Tomaş Rojik, Petre Yançik, Gırgor Bratil, Martin Veled-i Vırtaç, Nikola Roynovik, Matı Rojik, Nikola, Peyan Mivcanik, Matı Kristoyovik). Ovako su pak glasile njihove imenske formule prema čitanju K. Jurin Starčević: Jakov Propat, Ivoš sin Mirka, Žakman, Petri sin Milovana, Paval, Radul, Radica, Grgur Bratić, Martin, Tomaš Ružić, Mate Ružić, Petri Jančić, Mate Kostović i Nikola Vojnović (K. Jurin Starčević 2012: 169, bilj. 598).

⁴⁵ U korijenu je tog prezimena rumunjska riječ *poropat* u značenju ‘beskrevetnik, nomad’ (Šimunović 1986: 87).

⁴⁶ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, busta IV, sv. 76, 14v–15r.

⁴² *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Hırvatistan* 2010: 258–264; Jurin Starčević 2012: 169.

⁴³ Jurin Starčević 2012: 169–170.

⁴⁴ *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Hırvatistan* 2010: 258–264 (Yako Propat, İvoniş Mirko, İslade Livoye, Petre veled-i Milovan, Zakman Voyvoda, Pavel Veradil, Radiç, Tomaş Rojik, Petre Yançik, Gırgor Bratil, Martin Veled-i Vırtaç, Nikola Roynovik, Matı Rojik, Nikola, Peyan Mivcanik, Matı Kristoyovik). This is how their name formulas read according to K. Jurin Starčević: Jakov Propat, Ivoš son of Mirko, Žakman, Petri son of Milovan, Paval, Radul, Radica, Grgur Bratić, Martin, Tomaš Ružić, Mate Ružić, Petri Jančić, Mate Kostović and Nikola Vojnović (K. Jurin Starčević 2012: 169, note 598).

braća Vlatko i Stojslav, stanuju u Zadru,⁴⁷ dok potkraj tog stoljeća Poropatiće nalazimo u Artikovu Selu.⁴⁸ U kontekstu kasnijih morlačkih migracija indikativno je to što je 1526. načelnik Motovuna u Istri vodio sudski proces protiv šestorice Morlaka nastanjenih u Sv. Vitalu na Motovunštini, među kojima je bio i stanoviti *Ferchus Poropatic*.⁴⁹ Nakon Ciparskog rata jednu je skupinu Morlaka u Istru doveo mletački plaćenik i osmanski prebjeg Juraj Poropatić, koji je u mletačku vojnu službu unovačen na području Zadra.⁵⁰ Budući da se sve te vijesti bez teškoća uklapaju u dosadašnji spoznajni okvir migracijskih kretanja morlačkih skupina na relaciji Dalmacija – Istra, možemo oprezno pretpostaviti da je Jakov Propat, jedan od Vlaha Istre u Zrmanji 1530., u srodničkoj vezi s kasnosrednjovjekovnim Poropatićima u zadarskom zaleđu, odnosno s Poropatićima koji se kao morlački imigranti javljaju u Istri dvadesetih i osamdesetih godina 16. stoljeća. K tomu, prezime je Poropatić u zadarskom distriktu, točnije u selima Režane, Ljubač i Tkon, posvjedočeno i u drugoj polovini 16. te početkom 17. stoljeća.⁵¹

Mnogo se jasnija veza između predosmanskih hrvatskih Morlaka i Vlaha Istre očituje u slučaju kneza Petra, sina Milovana, čijem je džematu 1530. pripadalo 11 sela u nahiji Bukovica (Medviđa, Bruška i dr.).⁵² On se, naime, u jednoj zadarskoj ispravi iz 1518. spominje kao katunar Zelengrada – *Petri Milouanich catonarii districtus*

The surname of Jakov Propat,⁴⁵ one of the Morlach elders in the nahiyah of Zrmanja, points to a possible connection with the Morlach clan Poropatići who appear in the Zadar sources at the end of the 14th century as members of the Butko Brančić catun.⁴⁶ At the beginning of the 15th century, two Morlach brothers Vlatko and Stojslav Poropatić, lived in Zadar,⁴⁷ while at the end of that century we find the surname Poropatić in Artikovo Selo.⁴⁸ In the context of later Morlach migrations, it is indicative that in 1526 the head of Motovun in Istria led a court process against six Morlachs who settled in St. Vital in the Motovun region, among whom was a certain *Ferchus Poropatic*.⁴⁹ After the Cyprus War, a group of Morlachs was brought to Istria by the Venetian mercenary and Ottoman defector Juraj Poropatić, who was recruited into the Venetian military service in the area of Zadar.⁵⁰ Since all these news fit without difficulty into the existing cognitive framework of Morlach groups' migration movements on the Dalmatia - Istria route, we can cautiously assume that Jakov Propat, one of the Vlachs of Istria in Zrmanja in 1530, is related to the late medieval Poropatići in the hinterland of Zadar, that is, with the Poropatići who appeared as Morlach immigrants in Istria in the twenties and eighties of the 16th century. In addition, the surname Poropatić is also recorded in the second half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century⁵¹ in the Zadar district, specifically in the villages of Režane, Ljubač and Tkon.

A much clearer connection between the pre-Ottoman Croatian Morlachs and the Vlachs of Istria is

⁴⁷ DAZD, BZ, Christophorus Zeno, busta jedina, sv. I, 73r.

⁴⁸ Košuta, udovica Tome Poropatića, stanovnica Artikova Sela, i njezin posinak Grdan Poropatić spomenuti su u jednom dokumentu iz 1499. godine (DAZD, BZ, Matheus Sonzonius, busta IX, br. 79).

⁴⁹ De Luca 2011: 52, bilj. 9. Ostala petorica u tom procesu inkriminiranih Morlaka bili su *Andreas Bictorovich, Radich Vehotich, Michula Livoevich* i *Iuri figlio di Miluchi*. Preuzetno bi bilo tvrditi da je Mikula Livojević u bilo kakvoj vezi s vlaškim starješinom Sladom Livojem, koji je poput Jakova Propata 1530. boravio u nahiji Zrmanja, ali ne treba ni takvu mogućnost u potpunosti odbaciti.

⁵⁰ To sudimo po tome što se trošak njegovih prvih plaća podmirivao iz zadarske blagajne. V. De Luca 2011: 85, 118–119, 128.

⁵¹ Anzulović 1998: 290.

⁵² *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Hırvatistan* 2010: 260.

⁴⁵ At the root of that surname is the Romanian word *poropat*, which means 'the one with no bed, nomad' (Šimunović 1986: 87).

⁴⁶ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serčana, bust IV, vol. 76, 14v-15r.

⁴⁷ DAZD, BZ, Christophorus Zeno, single bust, vol. I, 73r.

⁴⁸ Košuta, widow of Toma Poropatić, resident of Artikovo Selo, and her stepson Grdan Poropatić were mentioned in a document from 1499 (DAZD, BZ, Matheus Sonzonius, bust IX, n° 79).

⁴⁹ De Luca 2011: 52, note 9. The other five indicted Morlachs in that process were *Andreas Bictorovich, Radich Vehotich, Michula Livoevich* and *Iuri figlio di Miluchi*. It would be presumptuous to claim that Mikula Livojević had any connection with the Vlach elder Slade Livoje, who, resided in the nahiyah of Zrmanja in 1530 like Jakov Propat, but such a possibility should not be completely dismissed.

⁵⁰ We estimate this by the fact that the cost of his first salaries was paid from the Zadar treasury. See De Luca 2011: 85, 118–119, 128.

⁵¹ Anzulović 1998: 290.

Selengradi,⁵³ pa je moguće da se sa svojim katunom odselio u Istru početkom 20-ih god. 16. st., da bi se 1528. – 1530. vratio na svoja stara staništa (Zelengrad je smješten upravo na području koje je 1530. pripadalo njegovu džematu).

Slučaj Tome Ružića ili Tomaša Rožića,⁵⁴ čiji je džemat 1530. obuhvaćao sela Miranje, Jagodnja i Jarane⁵⁵ u nahiji Kličevac, mnogo je složeniji. Taj bi morlački čelnik, sudimo li po antroponimiji i povijesnom kontekstu, mogao biti istovjetan Tomi Ružiću o kojem je mletački Senat raspravljao sredinom ljeta 1524. godine. Naime, generalni je providur Dalmacije pismom odaslanim 10. srpnja 1524. iz Šibenika obavijestio i upozorio predstavnike mletačke vlasti u Istri da je Morlak Toma Ružić, nastanjen u Vodica, obećao bosanskom sandžak-begu dovesti 100 morlačkih obitelji te mu služiti kao vodič u osmanskim napadima na istarske mletačke posjede. O tome je već pisao Klemen Pust,⁵⁶ no ovdje je zgodu s Ružićem potrebno dodatno kontekstualizirati. Vodice, mjesto gdje je Ružić 1524. bio nastanjen, bile su od kraja 14. stoljeća pod mletačkom vlašću, a od 1523. pod vlašću Habsburgovaca.⁵⁷ Budući da je Ružić, dakle, u trenutku kada dalmatinski providur otpravlja svoje pismo u Istru, bio pod habsburškom jurisdikcijom, kapetan mletačkog Rašpora naredio je svom pomoćniku i oružanoj pratnji da ga liše slobode čim se pojavi na rašporskom teritoriju. Takva se prilika ukazala kada je Ružić o svetkovini sv. Marije Magdalene sa svojim bratom i još nekolicinom Morlaka došao u neko selo u blizini Rašpora, gdje je uhvaćen i utamničen. Iako je bio izložen torturi, sve što je na koncu rekao mletačkom kapetanu bilo je to da je služio u Klisu i Senju kao vojnik, da je duže vrijeme boravio u Šibeniku, gdje je i rođen, te da je prije šest godina, dakle 1518., zbog turskih pustošenja

evident in the case of prince Petar, son of Milovan, whose congregation in 1530 included 11 villages in the nahiyah of Bukovica (Medviđa, Bruška, etc.).⁵² Namely, he is mentioned in a Zadar document from 1518 as the catun elder of Zelengrad – *Petri Milouanich catonarii districtus Selengradi*,⁵³ so it is possible that he moved to Istria with his catun in the early 1520s, only to return in 1528-1530 to its old habitats (Zelengrad is located exactly on the territory that belonged to its congregation (jamaat) in 1530).

The case of Toma Ružić or Tomaš Rožić,⁵⁴ whose congregation in 1530 included the villages of Miranje, Jagodnja and Jarane⁵⁵ in the nahiyah of Kličevac, is much more complex. If we judge by the anthroponymy and the historical context, this Morlach leader could be the very same Toma Ružić, who was discussed by the Venetian Senate in the middle of the summer of 1524. Namely, in a letter sent from Šibenik on July 10, 1524, the general governor of Dalmatia informed and warned the representatives of the Venetian authorities in Istria that Morlach Toma Ružić, living in Vodice, had promised the Bosnian Sanjak-bey to bring 100 Morlach families to serve as his guide in Ottoman attacks to the Istrian Venetian possessions. Klemen Pust has already written about this,⁵⁶ but that's where the incident with Ružić needs to be further contextualized. Vodice, the place where Ružić settled in 1524, was under Venetian rule from the end of the 14th century, and from 1523 under the rule of the Habsburg monarchy.⁵⁷ Since Ružić was under Habsburg jurisdiction at the time when the Dalmatian governor sent his letter to Istria, the captain of the Venetian Rašpor ordered his assistant and armed escort to detain him as soon as he appeared on Rašpor territory. Such an opportunity arose during the feast of St. Maria Magdalena when Ružić came with his brother and a few other Morlachs to a village near

⁵³ DAZD, OZKZ, kut. 1, 5v.

⁵⁴ Ime i prezime tog Morlaka moguće je čitati (barem) dvojako. Ovdje smo se opredijelili za imensku formulu *Toma Ružić*.

⁵⁵ Jarane su srednjovjekovno selo sjeveroistočno od Miranja, na prostoru današnjeg Podluga (Jakšić 2000: 65–68).

⁵⁶ Pust 2010: 169; Pust 2011: 134–135.

⁵⁷ <https://www.istrapedia.hr/hr/natuknice/1430/vodice> (pristupljeno 18. studenoga 2022.)

⁵² *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Hırvatistan* 2010: 260.

⁵³ DAZD, OZKZ, box 1, 5v.

⁵⁴ The name and surname of that Morlach can be read (at least) in two ways. Here we opted for the name formula *Toma Ružić*.

⁵⁵ Jarane is a medieval village northeast of Miranje, in the area of today's Podlug (Jakšić 2000: 65–68).

⁵⁶ Pust 2010: 169; Pust 2011: 134–135.

⁵⁷ <https://www.istrapedia.hr/hr/natuknice/1430/vodice> (accessed November 18, 2022)

došao u Vodice.⁵⁸ Tako je barem mletačke senatore izvijestio rašporski kapetan, pribilježivši još da je Toma Ružić osoba vrlo pronicljive naravi te da ga cijene i poštuju svi Morlaci, koji ga k tomu nazivaju knezom.⁵⁹ Što se dalje zbivalo, nije poznato. U kontekstu navedenih vijesti o Ružiću valja napomenuti da je mletački ambasador Pietro Zeno u pismu upućenom iz Šibenika u Mletke 29. srpnja 1524. napisao, među ostalim, da je zadarski kapetan nedavno oslobodio sedmoricu Turčina koje su kod Skradina zarobili Istrijani.⁶⁰ Istog je dana o istoj stvari Pietro Zeno poslao dopis i Ibrahim-paši,⁶¹ ali je pritom Istrijane prometnuo u Ugre, dok je zadarskom kapetanu dodijelio atribut odrješitog vojskovođe koji je rečene Ugre u boju smaknuo, a sedmoricu turskih sužanja doveo u Šibenik odakle su otpraćeni i predani skradinskom dizdaru.⁶² Prema *Dnevnici* Marina

⁵⁸ [...] *et questo anno esser stato in Clisa et hauer amazato vno capitano de Turchi et esser stato a Segna et del capitano esser sta pagato per soldato esser stato etiam a Sebenicho molti anni per esser in quel loco nato et sempre stato excepto da anni sei in qua che e venuto ad habita rale Vodize per fuger Turchi [...]* (ASVe, Capi del Consiglio de Dieci, Lettere di rettori e di altre cariche, busta 270, n° 3).

⁵⁹ [...] *dicto Thomaso morlacho e vno homo molto sagaze et saputo et honorato qualmente da tutti li Morlachi et da quelli vieni nominato conte [...]* (ASVe, Capi del Consiglio de Dieci, Lettere di rettori e di altre cariche, busta 270, n° 3).

⁶⁰ [...] *Vlterius dinoto ad quelle come uenuto de qui el Magnifico camerlengo da Zara cum lettere de quelli Magnifici rectori, ha conduto cum si VII pregioni turcheschi, li quali scriueno esser sta recuperati per esso Magnifico capitano di Zara de mano de Histriani che li haueano presi alli confini de questo loco de Sibinico et Scardona, cum ordine che se douesseno mandar à Scardona ad quel desdaro et farsi far de receuer [...]* (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Capi del Consiglio de Dieci, Lettere Rettori ai Capi, Sebenico, busta 280, n° 29, 29. VII. 1524.). Na ovaj nam je dokument ukazala dr. sc. Lovorka Čoralić iz Hrvatskog instituta u povijest te joj na tome najtoplije zahvaljujemo.

⁶¹ Vjerojatno je riječ o velikom veziru Ibrahim-paši, kojeg je Sulejman Veličanstveni dao pogubiti 1536. godine (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ibrahim-Pasa-Ottoman-vizier-circa-1493-1536>; pristupljeno 18. studenoga 2022.).

⁶² [...] *et essendo fatti vii pregioni per Hungari de li subditi del Gran Signor, et quelli passando per li territorii nostri, el proprio capitano de Zara monto ad cauallo et ando ad defenderli, et furno morti de li Hungari et recuperati li pregioni, li quali me hano mandati de qui, et io li ho consignati presente dicto schiauo, et mandati al desdaro de Scardona [...]* (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Capi del Consiglio de Dieci, Lettere Rettori ai Capi, Sebenico, busta 280, n° 30, 29. VII. 1524.).

Rašpor, where he was caught and eventually imprisoned. Although he was subjected to torture, all he told the Venetian captain in the end was that he served in Klis and Senj as a soldier, that he stayed for a long time in Šibenik, where he was born, and that six years ago, that is, in 1518 he came to Vodice because of Turkish devastation.⁵⁸ At least that's what the Rašpor captain informed the Venetian senators, noting that Toma Ružić is a person of a very perceptive nature and that he is valued and respected by all the people of Morlach, who also call him prince.⁵⁹ It is not known what happened next. In the context of the aforementioned news about Ružić, it should be noted that in a letter sent from Šibenik to Venice on July 29, 1524, the Venetian ambassador Pietro Zeno wrote, among other things, that the captain from Zadar had recently freed seven Turks who had been captured by the Istrians near Skradin.⁶⁰ On the same day, Pietro Zeno sent a letter to Ibrahim Pasha about the same matter,⁶¹ but at the same time he transferred the Istrians to the Ugrians, while he assigned the attribute of a freed military leader to the Zadar captain, who killed the said Ugrians in battle, and brought seven Turkish soldiers to Šibenik from where they were escorted and handed

⁵⁸ [...] *et questo anno esser stato in Clisa et hauer amazato vno capitano de Turchi et esser stato a Segna et del capitano esser sta pagato per soldato esser stato etiam a Sebenicho molti anni per esser in quel loco nato et sempre stato excepto da anni sei in qua che e venuto ad habita rale Vodize per fuger Turchi [...]* (ASVe, Capi del Consiglio de Dieci, Lettere di rettori e di altre cariche, busta 270, n° 3).

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⁶¹ It is probably the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, whom Suleiman the Magnificent had executed in 1536 (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ibrahim-Pasa-Ottoman-vizier-circa-1493-1536>; accessed November 18 2022).

Sanuda u stradalnoj su pak družini bili mletački podanici i Ugri.⁶³ Premda nije posve jasno tko su bili Istrijani o kojima Pietro Zeno govori u svom izvješću, može se pretpostaviti da je riječ o prvom spomenu društvene grupacije koju kasniji izvori bilježe pod nazivom Vlasi Istre, odnosno Morlaci Istrijani. Imajući u vidu mletačke optužbe na račun Tome Ružića, skrećemo pažnju i na podatak iz listopada 1524. kada su Turci, uz pomoć neimenovanog vodiča (u izvoru je njegovo ime nečitko), s velikim brojem vojnika pustošili istarska sela.⁶⁴

Teško je reći ima li mletački zatočenik Toma Ružić (*Thomaso Rosich*) ikakve veze s Istrijanima i Turcima iz prethodnih redaka, no bez obzira na to skloni smo ga poistovjetiti s morlačkim starješinom Tomašom Rožićem (*Tomaš Rojik*) koji je sa svojim katunom 1530. boravio u nahiji Kličevac. Premda o njemu nedostaje pouzdanijih vijesti, gomilaju se s druge strane brojne indicije i dvoumice. Odaje li njegovo prezime srodnost s Jurjem Ružićem, koji je bio glavar jedne skupine velebitskih Vlaha 1433. godine?⁶⁵ Krije li se pod Tominom izjavom da je rođen u Šibeniku zapravo njegova mladenačka vezanost za neki morlački katun koji je na prijelazu iz 15. u 16. stoljeće bio smješten u šibenskom distriktu? Što pak reći o stanovitom Tomašu Ružiću iz Banovine (*Thomasium Rusich de Banatico*), koji je 1518. uz posredovanje ser Augustina Kolunića uredio račune s Jakovom

over to the Dizdar of Skradin.⁶² According to the *Diaries* of Marin Sanudo, however, Venetian subjects and Ugrians were in the group that perished.⁶³ Although it is not entirely clear who were the Istrians that Pietro Zeno refers to in his report, it can be assumed that this is the first mention of a social group that later sources record as the Vlachs of Istria, i.e. Istrian Morlachs. Bearing in mind the Venetian accusations against Toma Ružić, we also draw attention to the information from October 1524, when the Turks ravaged the Istrian villages with the help of an unnamed guide (his name is illegible in the source) and a large number of soldiers.⁶⁴

It is difficult to say whether the Venetian prisoner Toma Ružić (*Thomaso Rosich*) had anything to do with the Istrians and Turks from the previous lines, but regardless, we tend to identify him with the Morlach elder Tomaš Rožić (*Tomaš Rojik*), who stayed with his catun in nahiyah Kličevac in 1530. Although there is a lack of reliable news about him, on the other hand numerous indications and doubts are piling up. Does his last name indicate a relationship with Juraj Ružić, who was the head of a group of Vlachs from Velebit in 1433?⁶⁵ Does Toma's statement that he was born in Šibenik actually hide his youthful attachment to some Morlach catun that was locat-

⁶³ [...] *havendo alcuni subditi nostri preso certi Turchi di quelli erano a Scardona et questo insieme con Hongari lui Capitanio cavalcho in persona et amazo alcuni di l horo et recupero sette Turchi erano prezoni et li ha mandati a Sebenico a S. Piero Zen Orator acio li restituissa ec. Et ch el Sig. Turcho cognosa la bona mente di la Signoria nostra in voler conservar la bona pace* [...] (Arkiv 1865: 184).

⁶⁴ [...] *Noto in le letere di Montona e come Turchi haveano brusa uno castello de chiamato et venuti fino a Castelnuovo et brusato alcune caxe dil borgo i qual Turchi sono 12 milia guidati et menati da uno nominato ... (XXXVII, 49). – Adi 23. Di Udene di S. Andrea Foscolo Luogotenente avisa come Turchi di sora l Istria e alli confini havendo fato grandissime prede di anime et animali et brusar et haveano preso et amazato uno fradello del Conte Cristoforo Frangipani chiamato il Conte ... che li vene contra con 400 cavalli i qual fo roti et morti* [...] (Arkiv 1865: 188).

⁶⁵ *Acta Croatica* 2017: 73–74.

⁶² [...] *et essendo fatti vii pregioni per Hungari de li subditi del Gran Signor, et quelli passando per li territorii nostri, el proprio captainio de Zara monto ad cauallo et ando ad defenderli, et furno morti de li Hungari et recuperati li pregioni, li quali me hano mandati de qui, et io li ho consignati presente dicto schiauo, et mandati al desdaro de Scardona* [...] (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Capi del Consiglio de Dieci, Lettere Rettori ai Capi, Sebenico, busta 280, n° 30, 29 July 1524).

⁶³ [...] *havendo alcuni subditi nostri preso certi Turchi di quelli erano a Scardona et questo insieme con Hongari lui Capitanio cavalcho in persona et amazo alcuni di l horo et recupero sette Turchi erano prezoni et li ha mandati a Sebenico a S. Piero Zen Orator acio li restituissa ec. Et ch el Sig. Turcho cognosa la bona mente di la Signoria nostra in voler conservar la bona pace* [...] (Arkiv 1865: 184).

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⁶⁵ *Acta Croatica* 2017: 73–74.

Čavlovićem iz Crnice kod Šibenika?⁶⁶ Treba li pripisati slučajnosti što je te iste godine Toma Ružić, onaj o kome smo raspravljali u prethodnom odlomku, pobjegao pred Turcima u istarske Vodice? Što u kontekstu svega toga znači spomen katuna Ružić na šibenskom teritoriju 1540. godine?⁶⁷ Mnogo je pitanja, a odgovora (ni)malo.⁶⁸

U odnosu na Ružića mnogo je jasnija situacija s vojvodom Žakmanom i Petrom Jančićem, koji su 1530. sa svojim Vlasima nastanjivali nahije Karin i Benković. Oni su, uz generalnog providura Dalmacije Alvisea Badoera, bili najzaslužniji za prelazak oko 2000 morlačkih obitelji iz osmanske na mletačku stranu u jeku ratnih zbivanja 1538. zbog čega ih je mletački Senat, kao i njihova suputnika Pavla Najčinovića, nagradio vojničkom plaćom; Žakmanu Gleđevcu (*Sacman Gliegeuaz*) dodijeljena je plaća od 10 dukata, a Pavlu Najčinoviću i Petru Najčinoviću po dukat manje.⁶⁹ Žakman Gleđevac, naravno, istovjetan je vojvodi Žakmanu, Petar Najčinović nije nitko drugi doli Petar Jančić (to ćemo poslije dodatno argumentirati), dok Pavla Najčinovića u defteru iz 1530. nismo uspjeli prepoznati (od ondje popisanih morlačkih glavara imenjak mu je samo knez Pavel *Veradil* u nahiji Obrovac).

Očito je da je vojvoda Žakman pripadao morlačkom rodu, odnosno katunu Gleđevac koji bilježe mnoge kasnosrednjovjekovne zadarske isprave. Tako se 1391. Morlaci *de catuno uocato Gleieuiuch* spominju kao podložnici krbavskog kneza Jurja Pavlovića.⁷⁰ Tijekom prve polovine 15. stoljeća Gleđevci su uzimali u zakup pašnjake ninske komune, kao i privatne pašnjake zadarskog plemića Gabrijela Nozdronje.⁷¹ No u

ed in the Šibenik district at the turn of the 15th to the 16th century? What can we say about a certain Tomaš Ružić from Banovina (*Thomasium Rusich de Banatico*), who in 1518 settled accounts with Jakov Čavlović from Crnica near Šibenik with the mediation⁶⁶ of Sir Augustin Kolunić? Should it be attributed to coincidence that in the same year Toma Ružić, the one we discussed in the previous paragraph, fled from the Turks to Vodice in Istria? In the context of all this, what does the mention of catur Ružić mean in Šibenik territory in 1540?⁶⁷ There are many questions, but (not even) few answers.⁶⁸

In relation to Ružić, the situation is much clearer with duke Žakman and Petar Jančić, who lived with their Vlachs in the villages of Karin and Benković in 1530. They, along with the general governor of Dalmatia Alvise Badoer, were the most responsible for the transfer of about 2,000 Morlach families from the Ottoman to the Venetian side in the midst of the war in 1538, for which the Venetian Senate, as well as their companion Pavao Najčinović, rewarded them with military pay; Žakman Gleđevac (*Sacman Gliegeuaz*) was awarded a salary of 10 ducats, and Pavle Najčinović and Petar Najčinović each received a ducat less.⁶⁹ Žakman Gleđevac is, of course, the same as duke Žakman, Petar Najčinović is none other than Petar Jančić (we will further argue this later), while we were unable to recognize Pavao Najčinović in the 1530 ledger (of the Morlach chieftains listed there, his only namesake is prince Pavel *Veradil* in Obrovac).

It is obvious that duke Žakman belonged to the Morlach family, that is, to the Gleđevac catur, which is recorded in many late medieval Zadar documents. Thus, in 1391, the Morlachs *de catuno uocato Gleieuiuch* were mentioned as subjects of the prince of Krbava, Juraj Pavlović.⁷⁰ During the first half of the 15th century, Gleđevac leased the pastures of the Nin commune, as well as the private pastures of the Zadar nobleman

⁶⁶ Državni arhiv u Šibeniku (dalje: DAŠI), fond HR-DAŠI-263: *Bilježnici Šibenika* (dalje: BŠ), kut. 30/I, sv. 1517–1519, 41v.

⁶⁷ Juran 2014: 154–155.

⁶⁸ Ružićevu vezu sa šibenskim teritorijem posredno posvjedočuje i činjenica da se vijest o njegovu dosluhu s Turcima proširila upravo iz – Šibenika.

⁶⁹ ASVe, Senato mar, Reg. 24, 158v. Usp. Caciur 2015: 61.

⁷⁰ DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus de Flumine, busta jedina, sv. II/2, 23v.

⁷¹ DAZD, BZ, Bartholomeus de Serčana, busta jedina, sv. I/1, 5r; Theodorus de Prandino, busta III, sv. IV/1, 6v; DAZD, DEI, kut. 1, sv. II/4, 31v–32r; kut. 1, sv. II/5, 42r; kut. 1, sv. II/6, 52r; kut. 1, sv. II/6, 57r; kut. 1, sv. II/7, 67r.

⁶⁶ State Archives in Šibenik (hereinafter: DAŠI), fund HR-DAŠI-263: *Notaries of Šibenik* (hereinafter: BŠ), box 30/I, vol. 1517–1519, 41v.

⁶⁷ Juran 2014: 154–155.

⁶⁸ Ružić's connection with the Šibenik territory is indirectly testified by the fact that the news about his collusion with the Turks spread precisely from Šibenik.

⁶⁹ ASVe, Senato mar, Reg. 24, 158v. Cf. Caciur 2015: 61.

⁷⁰ DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus de Flumine, single bust, vol. II/2, 23v.

kontekstu vojvode Žakmana i teritorijalizacije njegova džemata mnogo je intrigantnija vijest iz 1496. o Morlaku Marinu od Gleđevaca iz sela Bukovice (*Marini Morlachi de Gleieuzi in villa Buchouiza*), koji se spominje u vezi s nekim pritužbama na svećenika Šimuna Bratišića reč. Stupića, nećaka karinskog župnika Martina.⁷² Selo istog imena – Bukovica⁷³ – zabilježeno je u džematu vojvode Žakmana 1530. u nahiji Karin, pa je očito da se Žakman, poput Petra Milovanića koji mu je bio susjedom, poslije kratke „istarske epizode“ vratio na područje odakle je i potekao. Za razliku od njih dvojice, Najčinoviće nismo uspjeli povezati s nekim od predosmanskih hrvatskih katuna, ali ih zato bilježe mnoga zadarska vrela 16. i 17. stoljeća.

Knez je Petar Najčinović početkom kolovoza 1533., kao osmanski podanik i stanovnik sela Dobruće, u Zadru sklopio ugovor s agentima dvojice mletačkih trgovaca obvezujući se da će im u roku od osam dana do njihova broda u Karinu dovesti 2000 kvarti pšenice. U literaturi je taj ugovor već razmatran,⁷⁴ a ovdje je važno uočiti prostorne koordinate unutar kojih se odvija Najčinovićev trgovački pothvat: Dobruća – Karin – Zadar. Dobruća, odnosno srednjovjekovna Dobruća Vas na području današnjeg Benkovca, upisana je 1530. kao selo u džematu Petra Jančića, čime se potvrđuje već iznesena pretpostavka da su Petar Jančić i Petar Najčinović ista osoba. Karin pak povezuje vojvodu Žakmana i Najčinovića, kao što ih na određen način povezuje i činjenica da je Žakman bio posjednik timara u selu Vrpljani,⁷⁵ nedaleko od Najčinovićeve Dobruće.⁷⁶ Obojica su na koncu sa svojim Morlacima

Gabrijel Nozdronja.⁷¹ But in the context of duke Žakman and the territorialization of his congregation, there is much more intriguing news from 1496 about Morlach Marin of Gleđevac from the village of Bukovica (*Marini Morlachhi de Gleieuzi in villa Buchouiza*), who is mentioned in connection with some complaints against priest Šimun Bratišić also called Stupić, the nephew of Karin priest Martin.⁷² The village of the same name – Bukovica⁷³ – was recorded in the congregation of duke Žakman in 1530 in the nahiyah of Karin, so it is obvious that Žakman, like Petar Milovanić who was his neighbour, returned to the area where he came from after a short “Istrian episode”. Unlike the two of them, we have not been able to connect the Najčinović catun with any of the pre-Ottoman Croatian catuns, but they are recorded in many Zadar sources of the 16th and 17th centuries.

At the beginning of August 1533, prince Petar Najčinović, as an Ottoman subject and resident of the village of Dobruća, closed a contract with the agents of two Venetian merchants in Zadar, committing himself to bring 2,000 quarts of wheat to their ship in Karin within eight days. This contract has already been discussed in the literature,⁷⁴ and here it is important to note the spatial coordinates of Najčinović’s commercial venture: Dobruća – Karin – Zadar. Dobruća, i.e. the medieval Dobruća Vas in the area of present-day Benkovac, was registered in 1530 as a village in the congregation of Petar Jančić, which confirms the already stated assumption that Petar Jančić and Petar Najčinović are the same person. Karin, on the other hand, connects duke Žakman and Najčinović, just as they are connected in a certain way by the fact that Žakman was the owner

⁷² DAZD, BZ, Presbiter Hieronimus Vidolich, busta jedina, sv. I/14, 170r–v.

⁷³ Moguće je da nekadašnji položaj tog sela treba tražiti u blizini izvora Bukovac na tromeđi Karina, Kruševa i Zelengrada. U kakvu su toponomastičkom odnosu izvor Bukovac, srednjovjekovno selo Bukovica, nahija Bukovica i današnja Bukovica, trebalo bi dodatno istražiti.

⁷⁴ Anzulović 1996: 276–277; Fabijanec 2011: 557–558.

⁷⁵ Jurin Starčević 2012: 170. O srednjovjekovnom selu Vrpljane v. Anzulović 2020: 97 (Slika 14 – položaj sela Vrpljani i Dobruća Vas) i 104–106.

⁷⁶ Zanimljivo je da se nakon pada Kličevice u osmanske ruke, odnosno u godinama pred početak mletačko-osmanskog rata 1537., nekad pogranična hrvatska sela Grivna, Hrašćević i

⁷¹ DAZD, BZ, Bartholomeus de Serčana, single bust, vol. I/1, 5r; Theodorus de Prandino, bust III, vol. IV/1, 6v; DAZD, DEI, box 1, vol. II/4, 31v–32r; box 1, vol. II/5, 42r; box 1, vol. II/6, 52r; box 1, vol. II/6, 57r; box 1, vol. II/7, 67r.

⁷² DAZD, BZ, Presbyter Hieronimus Vidolich, single bust, vol. I/14, 170r–v.

⁷³ It is possible that the former location of that village should be sought near the Bukovac spring at the triple border of Karin, Kruševo and Zelengrad. The toponymic relationship between the source of Bukovac, the medieval village of Bukovica, the village of Bukovica and today’s Bukovica should be further investigated.

⁷⁴ Anzulović 1996: 276–277; Fabijanec 2011: 557–558.

prebjegli na zadarsko područje, ostajući u njemu kao brana osmanskim upadima. Budući da Najčinoviću ambijent unutar zadarskih zidina nije bio stran ni 1533., naslućujemo da ga je poznao i prije nego što je postao osmanskim podanikom. To, naravno, ostaje samo slutnjom, bez arhivske potvrde, a iz perioda koji je prethodio njegovoj posljednjoj političkoj konverziji raspoložemo još viješću o mirazu vrijednosti 842 mletačke libre koji mu je 1531. donijela njegova supruga Maresa iz Obrovca.⁷⁷ Izdvojit ćemo na kraju ovog poglavlja još nekoliko ratnih i poslijeratnih podataka o Najčinovićima, njihovim bliskim srodnicima i njihovu najbližem vojnom suputniku Žakmanu Gleđevcu. Potonji je tako u ožujku 1539. zastupao Marina, sina pok. Milića Tehojevića, i to kao njegov najbliži srodnik (*vti consanguineus et magis propinquior*), u postupku mirenja sa sudionicima, odnosno nasljednicima onih koji su bili odgovorni za umorstvo Marina oca. Poprište Milićeve nasilne smrti bila je utvrda kneza Jurja Korlatovića, a vrijeme umorstva treba tražiti u nekom trenutku prije njezina pada u osmanske ruke (to sugerira opis mjesta radnje – *in castro olim comitis Georgii Corlatouich, ad presens districtus Turcharum* – i činjenica da su četvorica od

of a groomer in the village of Vrpljani,⁷⁵ not far from Najčinović's Dobruća.⁷⁶ Both of them eventually fled with their Morlachs to the Zadar area, remaining there as a barrier against Ottoman incursions. Since Najčinović was not unfamiliar with the environment within the walls of Zadar even in 1533, we can guess that he knew it even before he became an Ottoman subject. This, of course, remains only a hunch, without archival confirmation. However, we still have news from the period preceding his last political conversion referring to a dowry worth 842 Venetian libra that was brought to him by his wife Maresa from Obrovac in 1531.⁷⁷ At the end of this chapter, we will highlight a few more war and post-war data about the Najčinović family, their close relatives and their closest military companion Žakman Gleđevac. In March 1539, the latter represented Marin, the son of the late Milić Tehojević, as his closest relative (*vti consanguineus et magis propinquior*), in the reconciliation process with the participants or heirs of those who were responsible for the murder of Marin's father.

⁷⁵ Jurin Starčević 2012: 170. On the medieval village of Vrpljane, see Anzulović 2020: 97 (Figure 14 – location of the villages of Vrpljani and Dobruća Vas) and 104-106.

⁷⁶ It is interesting that after the fall of Kličevica to the Ottomans, i.e. in the years before the beginning of the Venetian-Ottoman war in 1537, the former Croatian border villages of Grivna, Hrašćević and Konjašice in the immediate vicinity of Vrpljane, including Žakman's groomer, were in the possession of Uršula, Ivan Karlović's sister. Moreover, documents from 1530 and 1535 place them in the Zadar district (!), which I. Anzulović recently observed and considered, concluding that "the mentioned villages were surrounded on one side by the area under Ottoman rule, and on the other by that under Venetian rule and completely separated from the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom, and for that reason they were attached to the Zadar area ... and under care of them on behalf of her brother and his relatives in Croatia by Ursa Kurjaković (Karlović), a nun in the Dominican monastery of St. Dimitrij in Zadar." (Anzulović 2020: 121). A fate similar to Grivna, Konjašice and Hrašćević was shared by the neighboring locality Crnil (a former village), where in 1536 it was the property of Zadar immigrant Grgur, son of the late prince Gašpar Paladinić, who then leased it to prince Juraj Korlatović (Anzulović 2020: 111). The fact that Hrašćević (*Karye-i Hraštevik*) and Crnil (*Karye-i Harbona maa Črnil*) in the defter from 1530 are among the villages of the Vlachs of Istria in the district of Kličevac (*Osmanlı Belgerinde Hırvatistan* 2010: 262) interferes with this data.

⁷⁷ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. II/D, 30r-31r. Based on this information, Ivna Anzulović concludes that Petar Najčinović was a "Croatian prince" originally from Obrovac (Anzulović 1996: 276 and 1998: 296).

Konjašice u neposrednom susjedstvu Vrpljana, pa tako i Žakmanova timara, nalaze u posjedu Uršule, sestre Ivana Karlovića. Štoviše, dokumenti iz 1530. i 1535. smještaju ih u zadarski distrikt (!), što je nedavno uočila i razmotrila I. Anzulović zaključivši da su se „spomenuta sela našla okružena s jedne strane područjem pod osmanlijskom vlasti, a s druge onim pod mletačkom vlasti i potpuno odvojena od Hrvatsko-Ugarskog Kraljevstva te su iz toga razloga priključena zadarskom području ... i o njima se brine u ime svoga brata i svojih rođaka u Hrvatskoj Ursa Kurjaković (Karlović), redovnica u dominikanskom samostanu sv. Dimitrija u Zadru.“ (Anzulović 2020: 121). Sudbinu sličnu Grivni, Konjašicama i Hrašćeviću imao je susjedni lokalitet Crnil (nekadašnje selo), gdje je 1536. bio posjed zadarskog imigranta Grgura, sina pok. kneza Gašpara Paladinića, koji ga je tada dao u zakup knezu Jurju Korlatoviću (Anzulović 2020: 111). S tim pak podatcima interferira činjenica da se Hrašćević (*Karye-i Hraštevik*) i Crnil (*Karye-i Harbona maa Črnil*) u defteru iz 1530. nalaze među selima Vlaha Istre u nahiji Kličevac (*Osmanlı Belgerinde Hırvatistan* 2010: 262).

⁷⁷ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. II/D, 30r–31r. Na temelju tog podatka Ivna Anzulović zaključuje da je Petar Najčinović bio „hrvatski knez“ podrijetlom iz Obrovca (Anzulović 1996: 276 i 1998: 296).

petorice inkriminiranih umrli prije mirenja).⁷⁸ O društveno-prostornom kontekstu tih događaja pisala je I. Anzulović.⁷⁹ Iste je godine zadarski imigrant Toma Najčinović pok. Mrgana otkupio iz sužanjstva svog brata Martina, koji je bio zarobljenik Jurja Banića iz Novigrada.⁸⁰ Nema sumnje u to da su rečena dvojica Najčinovića u srodstvu s knezovima Petrom i Pavlom, odnosno da pripadaju skupini Morlaka Istrijana prebjeglih na zadarsko područje. Vojni časnici Žakman Gleđević i Petar Najčinović spominju se, primjerice, 1543. i 1552. kao mletački plaćenici, odnosno kapetani Morlaka na području Zadra, dok je Pavao Najčinović zvan Pace (*comes Paulus Naycinouich cognomentus Pace*) svoju vojnu službu 1547. obavljao u Istri.⁸¹ Knez je Petar Najčinović imao brata Martina, kojeg jedna isprava također bilježi s kneževskom titulom (*comes*),⁸² a Pavao Najčinović bio mu je rođak (*consanguineo*).⁸³ O Petru znamo i to da je 1543. zakupio posjede obitelji Ventura i Pasinis u selu Krnezi te da je 1545. kupio vinograd u Kožinu. Rod Najčinovića kasnije se razgranao i razmjestio u više sela zadarskog distrikta. Šezdesetih godina 16. stoljeća, kada je vojni časnik i konjanik Andrija Najčinović pok. Pavla službovao u selu Tršci,⁸⁴ petorica su drugih Najčinovića obrađivali zemlje u Dračevcu kod Nina.⁸⁵ U Krnezi je 1569. stanovao Gašpar Najčinović,⁸⁶ a iste je godine kapetan Andrija Najčinović uzeo u najam kuću u Zadru, u predjelu Sv. Vida.⁸⁷ Poznato je i gdje se smjestio Žakman Gleđevac; on je, naime, 1555. zabilježen kao stanovnik Podnovja kod Posedarja, gdje

The scene of Milić's violent death was the fortress of prince Juraj Korlatović, and the time of the murder should be sought at some point before it fell into Ottoman hands (this is suggested by the description of the scene – *in castro olim comitis Georgii Corlatouich, ad presentens districtus Turcharum*, as well as the fact that the four of the five accused died before reconciliation).⁷⁸ I. Anzulović wrote about the socio-spatial context of those events.⁷⁹ In the same year, Zadar immigrant Toma Najčinović, son of the late Mrgan, bought from captivity his brother Martin who was a prisoner of Juraj Banić from Novigrad.⁸⁰ There is no doubt that the said two Najčinovići are related to princes Petar and Pavao, that is, they belong to the group of Istrian Morlachs who defected to the Zadar area. Military officers Žakman Gleđević and Petar Najčinović are mentioned, for example, in 1543 and 1552 as Venetian mercenaries or captains of Morlachs in the Zadar area, while Pavao Najčinović called Pace (*comes Paulus Naycinouich cognomentus Pace*) performed his military service in Istria in 1547.⁸¹ Prince Petar Najčinović had a brother Martin, also recorded in one document with the princely title (*comes*),⁸² and Pavao Najčinović was his cousin (*consanguineo*).⁸³ We also know about Petar that in 1543 he leased the estates of the Ventura and Pasinis families in the village of Krneza and that in 1545 he bought a vineyard in Kožino. The Najčinović family later branched out and settled in several villages of the Zadar district. In the sixties of the 16th century, when the military officer and horseman Andrija Najčinović, son of the late Pavao, was serving in the village of Tršci,⁸⁴ five other Najčinovići worked the land in Ninski Dračevac.⁸⁵ In 1569, Gašpar Najčinović lived in Krneza,⁸⁶ and in the same year,

⁷⁸ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. I/G, 15r-v.

⁷⁹ Anzulović 1996: 270–271.

⁸⁰ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. I/G, 19r.

⁸¹ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. I/I, 11r-v; Franciscus Thomaseus, busta jedina, sv. I/2, 26r; Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. II/A, 36r.

⁸² DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. I/I, 13r, 16. 5. 1543.

⁸³ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. II/A, 36r.

⁸⁴ DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, busta I, sv. II/2, 17v–18r; Horatius de Marchettis, busta I, sv. I/III, 16r.

⁸⁵ DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, busta I, sv. II/4, 6r–7v.

⁸⁶ DAZD, OZKZ, kut. 9, 810r.

⁸⁷ DAZD, BZ, Constantius Cornelius, busta jedina, sv. I/3, 14r-v.

⁷⁸ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. I/G, 15r-v.

⁷⁹ Anzulović 1996: 270–271.

⁸⁰ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. I/G, 19 r.

⁸¹ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. I/I, 11r-v; Franciscus Thomaseus, single bust, vol. I/2, 26r; Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. II/A, 36r.

⁸² DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. I/I, 13r, 16. 5. 1543.

⁸³ DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. II/A, 36r.

⁸⁴ DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, bust I, vol. II/2, 17v–18r; Horatius de Marchettis, bust I, vol. I/III, 16r.

⁸⁵ DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, bust I, vol. II/4, 6r–7v.

⁸⁶ DAZD, OZKZ, box 9, 810r.

je živio i njegov sin Milivoj (Milinko), također vojni časnik.⁸⁸ U mletačkoj su vojnoj službi bili i Žakmanov sin Ivaniš, koji je poginuo u okršaju s Turcima, kao i Ivanišev sin Juraj, kojem je mletačka vlada 1569. odobrila povećanje plaće s pet na šest dukata.⁸⁹

Sve u svemu, arhivska nas vrela usmjeravaju na zaključak da je najveći dio Morlaka Istrijana naseljenih na zadarskom području tijekom rata 1537. – 1540. pripadao skupinama koje su predvodili vojvoda Žakman i knezovi Najčinovići. Pretpostavljamo da su mnogi od njih pojedinačno, imenom i prezimenom, ali ne i napomenom da pripadaju grupaciji Morlaka Istrijana, zabilježeni u zadarskim ispravama od 1540. do 1570., pogotovo onima o zakupu neobrađenih zemljišta i zapuštenih sela na kopnenom dijelu zadarskog distrikta. U prvom ih redu treba tražiti ondje gdje su kao vojni časnici bili stacionirani Gleđevci i Najčinovići (Podnovje, Tršci, Kukulj, Krneza), to jest općenito u pograničnim naseljima u okolici Novigrada i Zemunika, kao i na području Nina (Krneza, Dračevac, Briševo). No takav istraživački zahvat već dobrano izlazi iz okvira ovog rada. Nama još preostaje postaviti i odgovoriti na sljedeća pitanja: je li bilo Morlaka Istrijana na području Vrane i, ako jest, odakle su pristigli ili, konkretnije, kojim su džematima Vilajeta Hrvati 1530. pripadali?

captain Andrija Najčinović rented a house in Zadar, in the area of St. Vid.⁸⁷ It is also known where Žakman Gleđevac settled down; Namely, in 1555 he was recorded as a resident of Podnovje near Posedarje, where his son Milivoj (Milinko), also a military officer, lived.⁸⁸ Žakman's son Ivaniš, who was killed in a conflict with the Turks, was also in the Venetian military service, as was Ivaniš's son Juraj, to whom the Venetian government granted an increase in salary from five to six ducats in 1569.⁸⁹

All in all, the archival sources lead us to the conclusion that the largest part of the Istrian Morlachs who settled in the Zadar area during the war of 1537-1540 belonged to the groups led by duke Žakman and the two princes Najčinović. We assume that many of them were recorded individually by name and surname in Zadar documents from 1540 to 1570, but not with the note that they belong to the group of Istrian Morlachs, especially those on the lease of uncultivated land and abandoned villages on the mainland part of the Zadar district. First of all, one should look for them where the Gleđevci and Najčinovići were stationed as military officers (Podnovje, Tršci, Kukulj, Krneza), that is, in general, in the border settlements around Novigrad and Zemunik, as well as in the area of Nin (Krneza, Dračevac, Briševo). However, such a research intervention is well beyond the scope of this work. We still must ask and answer the following questions: were there Istrian Morlachs in the area of Vrana and, if so, where did they come from, or, more specifically, which congregation did the Vilayet Hrvati belong to in 1530?

⁸⁸ DAZD, BZ, Simon Budineus, busta I, sv. 3, 179v. Usp. Jelić 1989: 147–149.

⁸⁹ ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 43, 19. studenoga 1569.

⁸⁷ DAZD, BZ, Constantius Cornelius, single bust, vol. I/3, 14r-v.

⁸⁸ DAZD, BZ, Simon Budineus, bust I, vol. 3, 179v. Cf. Jelić 1989: 147-149.

⁸⁹ ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 43, November 19, 1569.

MORLACI ISTRIJANI NA PODRUČJU VRANE

Prema popisu Vlaha Istre u Vilajetu Hrvati 1530. na granici s vranskim distriktom boravili su tada pripadnici džematâ Tome Ružića (Miranje, Jagodnja i Jarane) i kneza Radiča (Polača, Donje i Gornje Ceranje te Užalice), s tim da su odvojeno od Vlaha Istre popisani i članovi skupine kneza Ivana Mirkovića u Gornjim i Donjim Miranjima.⁹⁰ Raseljena hrvatska sela na jugoistočnim granicama vranskog distrikta – Dobra Voda i Banjevci – očito nisu pripadala korpusu Vlaha Istre. S obzirom na prije utvrđenu činjenicu da su 1538. na mletački teritorij prebjegli Morlaci vojvode Žakmana s karinskog područja te Morlaci kneza Petra Najčinovića s benkovačkog područja, razložno je pretpostaviti da su to isto učinili i drugi Morlaci koji su boravili uz zadarske granice, prije svih upravo oni iz Ružićeva i Radičeva džemata. No ni Ružića ni Radiča, za razliku od Gleđevca i Najčinovića, ne nalazimo u zadarskim vrelima. Jesu li njihove morlačke družine ostale u Istri? Ili su po povratku u Banovinu ostale pod Turcima? Prije nego što u tom pogledu iznesemo određene pretpostavke, valja istražiti spominju li se uopće Morlaci Istrijani u kontekstu vranskog područja.

Sredinom 1549. Morlaci Istrijani zadarskog teritorija putem svojih su punomoćnika Martina Radulovića i Tome Milanovića zatražili od mletačkog Senata određene ustupke, žaleći se da im je ugrožen opstanak u egzistencijalno neizvjesnim prilikama na graničnom pojasu uz osmanske posjede. Dokument s pismeno uobličanim morlačkim zahtjevima temeljito je obradila D. Caciur, zadržavajući se na pitanjima mletačke imigracijske politike te oblikovanja društvene zajednice Morlaka Istrijana i njihove uloge u mletačko-osmanskim odnosima u zadarskoj krajini u periodu od 1540. do 1570. godine.⁹¹ Mi ćemo se pak usredotočiti na neke druge, posebno topografske, aspekte njegova sadržaja.

Morlaci ističu da ih je u vrijeme dok su bili turski podanici bilo oko 2000 kuća te da su bili na

ISTRIAN MORLACHS IN VRANA DISTRICT

According to the census of the Vlachs of Istria in Vilayet Hrvati 1530, members of the congregations of Toma Ružić (Miranje, Jagodnja and Jarane) and prince Radič (Polača, Donje and Gornje Ceranje and Užalice) lived on the border with the Vrana district although separated from the Vlachs. In Istria, the members of prince Ivan Mirković's group in Gornje and Donje Miranje were also listed.⁹⁰ Displaced Croatian villages on the south-eastern borders of the Vrana district – Dobra Voda and Banjevci – obviously did not belong to the Vlachs of Istria. Considering the previously established fact that the Morlachs of duke Žakman from the Karin area and the Morlachs of prince Petar Najčinović from the Benkovac area fled to the Venetian territory in 1538, it is reasonable to assume that other Morlachs who lived along the borders of Zadar did the same. Precisely, those were above all from the Ružić and Radič congregations. However, neither Ružić nor Radič, unlike Gleđevac and Najčinović, are found in Zadar sources. Did their Morlach companies stay in Istria? Or did they remain under the Turks after returning to Banovina? Before making certain assumptions in this regard, it is necessary to investigate whether Istrian Morlachs are mentioned at all in the context of the Vrana region.

In the middle of 1549 Istrian Morlachs in Zadar territory requested certain concessions from the Venetian Senate through their proxies Martin Radulović and Toma Milanović, complaining that their survival was threatened in existentially uncertain circumstances on the border zone next to the Ottoman possessions. The document with written Morlach demands was thoroughly processed by D. Caciur, focusing on issues of Venetian immigration policy and the shaping of the social community of Istrian Morlachs and their role in Venetian-Ottoman relations in the Zadar region from 1540 to 1570.⁹¹ We will focus here on some other, precisely topographic aspects of its content.

The Morlachs point out that there were about 2,000 houses and that they were famous for their military skills at the time when they were Turkish subjects,

⁹⁰ Jurin Starčević 2012: 170.

⁹¹ Caciur 2016.

⁹⁰ Jurin Starčević 2012: 170.

⁹¹ Caciur 2016.

glasu po svojim vojnim vještinama zbog čega im je, uostalom, generalni providur Alvisse Badoer ponudio i na koncu osigurao mletačku zaštitu. U međuvremenu ih je na zadarskom području ostalo oko 700 obitelji, i to mahom uz granicu, gdje su uvjeti za život mnogo oporiji nego u drugim mjestima zadarskog distrikta gdje je pak „mirno i tiho“.⁹² Stoga traže da ih se 60 unovači u pješake, odnosno stražare kao osiguranje od upada martolosa, da im se omogući zajedničko korištenje objedinjenih pašnjaka na području više sela, da ih se izuzme od javne tlake i, što je za ovu raspravu ključno, da im po isteku tekućeg zakupa Novigrada država ustupi na korištenje svoje posjede u zadarskom distriktu, to jest zemlje i pašnjake u selima Trnovo i Kašići te selima Zablaće, Koševići, Kuina Luka, Plana i Modrave, odnosno Pirane, uključujući terene u Vučini, uz davanje osmine.⁹³ Riječ je, naravno, o posjedima na području Novigrada (Trnovo i Kašići) i Vrane (Zablaće i druga spomenuta sela). Senat je iste godine, dakle 1549., donio odluku da se navedene zemlje (sada u općenitoj formulaciji „državne zemlje na zadarskim granicama“, bez toponimijskih specifikacija) po isteku tekućih zakupa dodijele na obradu Istrijanima, ali uz davanje sedmine, a ne osmine.⁹⁴ Da je ta odluka provedena, potvrđuju zapisnici javnih dražbi vranskih posjeda, koje ćemo sagledati u okviru općih političkih prilika nakon pada Vrane u osmanske ruke 1538. godine.

Tijekom rata javnih dražbi nije bilo, a u periodu od 1540. do spomenute odluke Senata 1549.

which is why the general governor Alvisse Badoer offered them and eventually secured Venetian protection. In the meantime, about 700 families remained in the Zadar area, mostly along the border, where living conditions were much harsher than in other places of the Zadar district, where it is “peaceful and quiet”.⁹² Hence, they request that 60 of them be recruited as footmen or guards as insurance against frequent Ottoman marauding raids; that they be allowed to use the unified pastures in the area of several villages; that they be exempted from public pressure and, which is crucial for this discussion, that upon expiry of the current lease of Novigrad, the state cedes to the use of its properties in the Zadar district, that is, land and pastures in the villages of Trnovo and Kašići and the villages of Zablaće, Koševići, Kuina Luka, Plana and Modrave, i.e. Pirane, including the fields in Vučina, with the tax fee of one eighth of income.⁹³ It is, of course, about properties in the area of Novigrad (Trnovo and Kašići) and Vrana (Zablaće and other mentioned villages). In the same year, i.e. in 1549, the Senate made a decision that the said lands (now in the general formulation of “state lands on Zadar’s borders”, without toponymic specifications) should be allocated to the Istrians for cultivation after the expiration of the current leases, but with the tax fee of one seventh, not an eighth.⁹⁴ The auction books of Vrana properties testify that this decision was implemented and we will consider them in the context of general political circumstances after the fall of Vrana to the Ottomans in 1538.

During the war, there were no public auctions, and in the period from 1540 to the aforementioned

⁹² [...] *per esser grande differentie da li luogi tranquili et quieti a [luoghi] confini si atroci et inquieti come sono questi, che con continuo timor et dubitation stamo et habitamo [...]* ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 6, 410.

⁹³ O tome podrobnije u Caciur 2016: 22–27. Ovdje pak donosimo dio izvornog zapisa s toponimima, koje Caciur nije posve ispravo prenijela u svome radu: [...] *di terreni qualli sono della Illustrissima Signoria nel contado et confini di Zara et Serenissimo Signor Turco con pagar lotavo finito sera presente incanto di Nouigradi qualli terreni sono questi terreni et pasculi de villa Ternovo et Casichi item vila Zabblata, Chuseuichi, Chuina Luca villa di Plana, Modra[ue] vel Pirane con li terreni di Vucina et pasculi consueti qualli se affitano a rason de libri 180 alano [...]*. (ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 6, 409)

⁹⁴ ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 6, 408.

⁹² [...] *per esser grande difference whether luogi tranquili et quieti a [luoghi] confini si atroci et inquieti come sono questi, che con continuo timor et dubitation stamo et habitamo [...]* (ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 6, 410).

⁹³ More details about this in Caciur 2016: 22–27. Here, however, we present a part of the original record with toponyms, which Caciur did not convey quite correctly in her work: [...] *di terrains qualli sono della Illustrissima Signoria nel contado et confini di Zara et Serenissimo Signor Turco con pagar lotavo finito sera presente incanto di Nouigradi qualli terreni sono questi terreni et pasculi de villa Ternovo et Casichi item villa Zabblata, Chuseuichi, Chuina Luca villa di Plana, Modra[ue] vel Pirane con li terreni di Vucina et pasculi consueti qualli se affitano a rason de libri 180 alano [...]* (ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 6, 409).

⁹⁴ ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 6, 408.

u dražbene su knjige zavedena samo po dva zakupa Zablaća (1542. i 1544.) i Hrašćana (1543. i 1548.).⁹⁵ Usljedio je potom – u srpnju 1549. – zakup Zablaća s novim odredbama: da svi koji su iskrčili i koji kane privesti kulturi u prethodnom ratu zapuštene zemlje tijekom prve tri godine zakupniku daju šestinu, a sljedeće dvije godine petinu; da Rade Šiljanović, koji je doveo mnoge seljake na područje zakupa, može slobodno uživati ždrijeb zemlje u Zablaću, kao što su to pravo u prijašnjim vremenima i po starom običaju konzumirali sudci sela; da svi koji obrađuju zemlje na području zakupa mogu voditi svoje blago na pašnjake selâ Zablaća i Koševića, bez ikakvih davanja.⁹⁶ Iste se odredbe nalaze i u sljedećim zakupima Zablaća i susjednih sela (1555. i 1560.).⁹⁷ Sadržaj i prostorno-vremenski kontekst dražbenih zapisa daju naslutiti da je Rade Šiljanović jedan od prebjeglih starješina Morlaka Istrijana, iako se to u spomenutim dokumentima nigdje izrijeком ne spominje. No zato se Istrijani spominju u zakupima drugih sela i obrađivih zemljišta u blizini osmanske Vrane, to jest u zakupima Vitkovaca i Blaćana u periodu 1550. – 1560. te u izuzetnom slučaju zakupa Banjevaca i Miranja 1550. godine.

Vitkovci su 1550. prvi put uopće bili predmetom dražbe, i to kao predio na području Tinja.⁹⁸ Konkretnije, na licitaciji se našlo oko pet ždrijebova zemlje koje su obrađivali Ivan Humašić reč. Talisman,

decision of the Senate in 1549, only two leases of Zablaće (1542 and 1544) and Hrašćane (1543 and 1548) were entered into the auction books.⁹⁵ This was followed – in July 1549 – by the lease of Zablaće with new provisions: that all those who cleared and who intend to bring the land that was neglected in the previous war to cultivation, during the first three years give the lessee a sixth, and the following two years a fifth of their fee; that Rade Šiljanović, who brought many peasants to the lease area, can freely enjoy the lot of land in Zablaće, as this right was consumed by village judges in former times and according to old custom; that everyone who cultivates land in the lease area can take their wealth to the pastures of the villages of Zablaće and Košević, without any taxes.⁹⁶ The same provisions are found in the leases of Zablaće and neighbouring villages that followed (1555 and 1560).⁹⁷ The content and spatial-temporal context of the auction records suggest that Rade Šiljanović was one of the defected elders of Istrian Morlachs, although this is not explicitly mentioned anywhere in the aforementioned documents. But that is why the Istrians are mentioned in the leases of other villages and arable land near the Ottoman Vrana, that is, in the leases of Vitkovci and Blaćane in the period 1550-1560 and in the exceptional case of the lease of Banjevci and Miranje in 1550.

Vitkovci was auctioned for the first time in 1550, as a district in the area of Tinj.⁹⁸ More specifically, there were about five lots of land that were cultivated

⁹⁵ DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 3, sv. VII/9, 73v; sv. VII/10, 84r, 85v i sv. VII/12, 100r.

⁹⁶ [...] *che tutti quelli quali hanno derotto et che de cetero deromperanno terreni del presente incanto che non sono sta lauorati dalla guerra in qua, debbano responder al futuro incantador uel conduttor li primi tre anni del presente incanto il sexto, et li dui altri il quinto. Item che Rade Siglianouich qual e sta causa de condur molti villani a lauorar li terreni del sopradetto incanto debba hauer libera la sorte posta nella villa Xablata che soleuano hauer li iuidici di essa villa con l'obbligo solito et consueto. Item che tutti coloro, che lauorano et lauoraranno le terre del predeto incanto possino pascolar li animali sui proprii d'ogni sorte nelli pascoli della villa Xablata et Coseuichi solamente, senza pagar cosa alcuna al incantador [...]* (DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 3, sv. VII/13, 104v).

⁹⁷ DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 3, sv. VII/16, 131r–v i sv. VII/18, 154v.

⁹⁸ Toponim je po svoj prilici u vezi s rodom Vitkovića koji je u 15. stoljeću prisutan u Tinju (DAZD, *BZ*, Iohannes de Calcina, busta III, sv. V/5, CCXLIIv i busta VII, sv. XIII/1, 47v).

⁹⁵ DAZD, *DEI*, box 3, vol. VII/9, 73v; vol. VII/10, 84r, 85v and vol. VII/12, 100r.

⁹⁶ [...] *che tutti quelli quali hanno derotto et che de cetero deromperanno terrainni del presente incanto che non sono sta lauorati dalla guerra in qua, debbano responder al futuro incantador uel conduttor li primi tre anni del presente incanto il sexto, et li dui altri il quinto. Item che Rade Siglianouich qual e sta causa de condur molti villani a lauorar li terreni del sopradetto incanto debba hauer libera la sorte posta nella villa Xablata che soleuano hauer li iuidici di essa villa con l'obbligo solito et consueto. Item che tutti coloro, che lauorano et lauoraranno le terre del predeto incanto possino pascolar li animali sui proprii d'ogni sorte nelli pascoli della villa Xablata et Coseuichi solamente, senza pagar cosa alcuna al incantador [...]* (DAZD, *DEI*, box 3, vol. VII/13, 104v).

⁹⁷ DAZD, *DEI*, box 3, vol. VII/16, 131r–v and vol. VII/18, 154v.

⁹⁸ The toponym is probably related to the Vitković family, which was present in Tinj in the 15th century (DAZD, *BZ*, Iohannes de Calcina, bust III, vol. V/5, CCXLIIv and bust VII, vol. XIII/1, 47v).

Juraj Bubičić, Jelina pok. Martina Maračina,⁹⁹ Pavao Buljevac, Luka Vitanović, Juraj Čoban, Martin Dragišić, Antun Pilicarić, Luka Bule, Mate Ružić, Ivan Bubičić pok. Nikole, Mate Polčić i Ivan Ružić, svi iz Tinja (*villani delo dicto loco de Tin*), kao i komad zemlje između kanala uz Mačjak i kanala koji vodi do blačanskih mlinova. U dražbenoj se ispravi nalazi i sljedeća odredba, koju su sukladno odluci mletačkog Senata donijeli zadarski rektori: ako rečene zemlje budu sijali Istrijani zadarskog područja, dužni su zakupniku davati sedminu.¹⁰⁰ Istoga dana kada su zakupljeni Vitkovci, 24. kolovoza 1550., sastavljen je ugovor o zakupu Blačana uz ovaj dodatak: ako zemlje (dakle, na području Blačana) budu obrađivali drugi (hoće reći oni koji ne pripadaju *istrijskoj* populaciji), imaju davati uobičajenu četvrtinu.¹⁰¹ Takve se odredbe, *mutatis mutandis*, nalaze i u zakupima Miranja i Banjevaca od 7. rujna 1550. godine.

Koncentracija spomena Istrijana u navedenim dražbenim ispravama zasigurno je izravna posljedica njihovih uspješnih pregovora (ako tako možemo nazvati rezultat „prijetećih molbi“) s mletačkim vlastima 1549., ali i činjenice da je sultanovim aktom od 1. srpnja 1550. okončan višegodišnji mletačko-osmanski spor oko jurisdikcije nad selima u okolici Vrane i Nadina.¹⁰² Mlečanima je tada priznato pravo na posjed devet lokaliteta (obradivih predjela) i 44 sela, među kojima su Miranje, Banjevci i Blačane.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Transkripcija prezimena nije sigurna; na jednome mjestu čitamo Markušin (*Marcusin*), a na drugome Maračin (*Marachin*) (DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 3, sv. VII/13, 110r–v i sv. VII/17, 140r).

¹⁰⁰ DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 3, sv. VII/13, 110r–v.

¹⁰¹ DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 3, sv. VII/13, 110v.

¹⁰² Raukar *et al.* 1987: 224.

¹⁰³ Ovo su imena 44 sela prema mletačkom prijevodu osmansko-turskog izvornika: *Buchouichi, Radobudichi, Priticeuci, Bigliane, Ternouo, Vchipach, Lissane, Veterinichi, Bubgnane, Tin con la soa torre, D[ol]za /meza/, Cerinci, Vegliane, Chraschiane, Suchouara, Paprachiane, Starossane, Rocich ouer Rocane, Gergurich, Lemessane, Camegnane, Tersci, Podbergiane, Cassich sotto Paprachiane, Gorizza sotto [...] erisane, Polissane, Pod, Sasane, Orubla granda et piccola, Vissochiane, Galofci, Starouzi ouer Bec[hiacouzi], Giorna et Dolna ouer Rachoua, Giurcho Possedarschi et Iuane et Islauo Pogosat (!), Verzeuo, Isluiniizza giorna ouer dolna, Megliaccha, Meza Dolza, Treschiane, Banouza, Mirane, Zablachiane, Chassichi, Rogouo. Njima je dodano još osam posjeda (*pezzi**

by Ivan Humašić also called Talisman, Juraj Bubičić, Jelina, of the late Martin Maračin,⁹⁹ Pavao Buljevac, Luka Vitanović, Juraj Čoban, Martin Dragišić, Antun Pilicarić, Luka Bule, Mate Ružić, Ivan Bubičić, of the late Nikola, Mate Polčić and Ivan Ružić, all from Tinj (*villani delo dicto loco de Tin*), as well as a piece of land between the canal along Mačjak and the canal leading to the Blačan mills. The auction document also contains the following provision adopted by the Zadar rectors in accordance with the decision of the Venetian Senate: if the Istrians of the Zadar area sow the said land, they are obliged to give fee of a seventh to the lessee.¹⁰⁰ On the same day when the people of Vitkovci were leased, August 24, 1550, a contract was drawn up on the lease of the people of Blačane, with this addition: if the land (that is, in the territory of the people of Blačane) is cultivated by others (that is, those who do not belong to the *Istrian* population), they must give the usual quarter.¹⁰¹ Such provisions, *mutatis mutandis*, are also found in the leases of Miranje and Banjevci from September 7, 1550.

The concentration of recordings of Istrians in the mentioned auction documents is certainly a direct consequence of their successful negotiations (if the result of “threatening pleas” can be called that) with the Venetian authorities in 1549, but also the fact that the sultan’s act of July 1, 1550 ended the multi-year Venetian-Ottoman dispute regarding the jurisdiction over the villages in the vicinity of Vrana and Nadin.¹⁰² At that time, the Venetians were granted the right to own nine localities (arable areas) and 44 villages, among which are Miranje, Banjevci and Blačane.¹⁰³ We highlight the latter three villages

⁹⁹ The transcription of the surname is not certain; in one place we read Markušin (*Marcusin*), and in another Maračin (*Marachin*) (DAZD, *DEI*, box 3, vol. VII/13, 110r–v and vol. VII/17, 140r).

¹⁰⁰ DAZD, *DEI*, box 3, vol. VII/13, 110r–v.

¹⁰¹ DAZD, *DEI*, box 3, vol. VII/13, 110v.

¹⁰² Raukar *et al.* 1987: 224.

¹⁰³ These are the names of 44 villages according to the Venetian translation of the Ottoman-Turkish original: *Buchouichi, Radobudichi, Priticeuci, Bigliane, Ternouo, Vchipach, Lissane, Veterinichi, Bubgnane, Tin con la soa torre, D[ol]za /meza/, Cerinci, Vegliane, Chraschiane, Suchouara, Paprachiane, Starossane, Rocich ouer Rocane, Gergurich, Lemessane, Camegnane, Tersci, Podbergiane, Cassich sotto Paprachiane, Gorizza sotto [...] erisane, Polissane, Pod, Sasane, Orubla granda et piccola, Vissochiane, Galofci, Starouzi ouer Bec[hiacouzi], Giorna*

Potonja tri sela ne ističemo samo zbog sadržaja dražbenih isprava o kojima smo netom govorili, nego i zbog netransparentnog procesa kojim su dospjela u sultanov ferman. Sultan se, naime, pri nabranju sela i posjeda pozvao na izvješće sarajevskog kadije iz 1548., no u tom izvješću nema spomena ni Miranjama ni Banjevcima, dok se za obradive zemlje i travnjake u Blačanima kaže da su dijelom u posjedu muslimana, a za dva mlina u blizini da su razrušena i ni u čijem posjedu.¹⁰⁴ To što je unatoč kadijinu izvješću Blačane ustupio Mlečanima, sultan je pojasnio svojom milošću i dobrohotnošću, uvažavajući ujedno strateški položaj susjedne mletačke utvrde u Tinju. No i dalje ostaje nejasno kako su pod zadarsku jurisdikciju dospjeli Miranje i Banjevci, sela koja su u kasnom srednjem vijeku pripadala ostrovičkom distriktu u sklopu Ugarsko-Hrvatskog Kraljevstva. Svaki pokušaj otklanjanja nejasnoća mora polaziti od činjenice da su ta dva sela graničila sa selima vranskog distrikta – Miranje s Blačanima i Vranom, a Banjevci s Retičanima. Teritorijalno-administrativna povezanost Miranja i Vrane primjećuje se već početkom 16. stoljeća, što je po svoj prilici posljedica osmanskih upada i sve izraženije uloge vranske utvrde kao utočišta stanovništvu okolnih sela. Jedino u tom kontekstu, naime, postaje razumljiv podatak o stanovitom Ivanu Grličiću iz Miranja u vranskom kaštelanatu (*Iuano Gerlicich de villa Mirane castellanatus Aurane*), koji u veljači 1513. kupuje vinograd nedaleko od Zadra.¹⁰⁵ Zasad nemamo potvrdu sličnih

not only because of the content of the auction documents we just mentioned, but also because of the non-transparent process by which they ended up in the sultan's firman. Namely, the Sultan referred to the report of the Sarajevo qadi from 1548 when enumerating the villages and possessions, but there is no mention of Miranje or Banjevci in that report, while the arable land and grasslands in Blačane are said to be partially owned by Muslims and two destroyed mills nearby in no one's possession.¹⁰⁴ The sultan explained that Blačane was ceded to the Venetians by his grace and benevolence despite the qadi's report, at the same time respecting the strategic position of the neighbouring Venetian fort in Tinj. But it still remains unclear how villages Miranje and Banjevci, which belonged to the Ostrovica district within the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom in the late Middle Ages, came under Zadar's jurisdiction. Any attempt to remove ambiguities must start from the fact that those two villages bordered the villages of the Vrana district – Miranje with the people of Blačane and Vrana, and Banjevci with the people of Retičane. The territorial-administrative connection of Miranje and Vrana was noticed as early as the beginning of the 16th century, which is most likely a consequence of Ottoman incursions and the increasingly prominent role of the Vrana fortress as a refuge for the population of the surrounding villages. It is only in this context, namely, that the information about a certain Ivan Grličić from Miranje in Vrana district (*Iuano Gerlicich de villa Mirane castellanatus Aurane*),

di campagne), a radi se vjerojatno o napuštenim selima: *Sicouo, Gelsane, Zopori, Paliuch, Badagn, Sperglieuci, Plemichi, Tulepichi*. Na posebnom je mjestu navedena još *Verbizza* (ASVe, Documenti Turchi, busta 5, br. 646).

¹⁰⁴ Sela popisana u tom izvješću, to jest mletačkom prijevodu osmansko-turskog izvornika, redom su ova: *Uerbichia, Rogouo, Tin co(n) la tor(re), Lissiane, Bubgniane, Ueternich, Chraschiane, Sicouo, Goriza, Galuchia, Gelssane, Terssichi, Lemessane, Uschipach, Posedaria co(n) le sue uile, Chaminiane, Podberchiane, Starosane, Milaccha, Buchouich, Radobudich, Bigliana piccola, et Bigliane grande, Priticeuzi, Ternouo, Topori, Uegliane, Cerinzi, Chassichi, Ruchiane, Zaplatia, Paprechiane, Baluich, Badan, Sperglieue, Plemich, Pechiarouichi, Tulepich, et la torre de Cuchal*. (ASVe, Documenti Turchi, busta 5, br. 637).

¹⁰⁵ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes Philippus Raymundus, busta I, sv. I/2, 97v. Usp. Anzulović 2017: 142.

et Dolna ouer Rachoua, Giurcho Possedarschi et Iuane et Islauo Pogosat (!), Verzeuo, Isliuinizza giorna ouer dolna, Megliaccha, Meza Dolza, Treschiane, Banouza, Mirane, Zablachiane, Chassichi, Rogouo. Eight more estates (*pezzi di campagne*) were added to them, and these are probably abandoned villages: *Sicouo, Gelsane, Zopori, Paliuch, Badagn, Sperglieuci, Plemichi, Tulepichi*. *Verbizza* is also mentioned in a special place (ASVe, Documenti Turchi, bust 5, n° 646).

¹⁰⁴ The villages listed in that report, i.e. the Venetian translation of the Ottoman-Turkish original, are in order: *Uerbichia, Rogouo, Tin co(n) la tor(re), Lissiane, Bubgniane, Ueternich, Chraschiane, Sicouo, Goriza, Galuchia, Gelssane, Terssichi, Lemessane, Uschipach, Posedaria co(n) le sue uile, Chaminiane, Podberchiane, Starosane, Milaccha, Buchouich, Radobudich, Bigliana piccola, et Bigliane grande, Priticeuzi, Ternouo, Topori, Uegliane, Cerinzi, Chassichi, Ruchiane, Zaplatia, Paprechiane, Baluich, Badan, Sperglieue, Plemich, Pechiarouichi, Tulepich, et la torre de Cuchal*. (ASVe, Documenti Turchi, bust 5, n° 637).

odnosa na relaciji hrvatski Banjevci – mletačka Vrana. Uglavnom, Banjevci i Miranje postaju 1550. dijelom zadarskog teritorija, što potvrđuju osmanski defteri iz iste godine, gdje stoji da su posadnici Vrane u prethodnom defteru bili upisani na napuštena sela (mezre) Banjevce, Miranje, Zablaće i Blaćane, ali „sada kada se došlo /na tu teritoriju/, i kada je izvršena kontrola, /utvrđeno je da su/ Banovci i Miran i Zablaće i Blaćani i Zablaćani i Kašić i njihova zemlja u posjedu franačkih nevjernika, koji pripadaju Veneciji...“¹⁰⁶ Znakovito je da se u ulozi zakupnika Miranja i Banjevaca 1550. našao dobro nam znani Morlak Istrijanin – knez Petar Najčinović. Iznos zakupa bio je simboličan – svega četiri dukata za svako selo, što je jasan pokazatelj demografsko-gospodarske zapuštenosti tog prostora i materijalni odraz, barem tako sudimo, bojazni od novih teritorijalnih prijevora. Je li do njih doista došlo, nije poznato, no indikativno je da nakon 1550. Miranjama i Banjevcima više nema spomena u dražbenim knjigama.

Dakle, Morlaci se Istrijani u kontekstu vranskog područja spominju u zakupima Vitkovaca, Blaćana, Miranja i Banjevaca 1550., zakupima Vitkovaca 1556. i 1560. te zakupima Blaćana 1555. i 1560. godine. Pretpostavili smo k tomu da populaciji Morlaka Istrijana pripada Rade Šiljanović, koji se neizravno spominje kao starješina seljaka naseljenih u Zablaću i susjednim selima u dražbenim ugovorima iz 1549., 1555. i 1560., a moglo bi lako biti da istom demografskom korpusu pripada i onih trinaestero poimence navedenih stanovnika Tinja koji su obrađivali zemlje u Vitkovcima. U ovom se raspravnom trenutku nameću sljedeća pitanja: jesu li Morlaci Istrijani u zadarskim selima kod Vrane (snažnije) prisutni već po završetku rata 1540. ili tek od stabilizacije političkih prilika 1549./1550. godine? Kojim se

who bought a vineyard near Zadar in February 1513 becomes comprehensible.¹⁰⁵ So far, we have no confirmation of similar relations between Croatian Banjevci and Venetian Vrana. Basically, Banjevci and Miranje became part of the Zadar territory in 1550, which is confirmed by Ottoman defters from the same year stating that Vrana possessors mentioned in previous defter were registered in the abandoned villages (mesres) of Banjevci, Miranje, Zablaće and Blaćane, but “now that came /to that territory/, and when the control was carried out, /it was established that/ Banovci and Miran and Zablaće and Blaćane and Zablaćane and Kašić and their land were in the possession of the Frankish infidels, who belong to Venice...”. It is significant that the well-known Istrian Morlach – prince Petar Najčinović found himself the role of tenant of Miranje and Banjevci in 1550.¹⁰⁶ The amount of the lease was symbolic – only four ducats for each village, which is a clear indicator of the demographic and economic neglect of that area and a material reflection, at least in our opinion, of the fear of new territorial disputes. It is not known whether they really happened, but it is indicative that after 1550 there are no more mentions of Miranje and Banjevci in the auction books.

Thus, in the context of the Vrana region Istrian Morlachs are mentioned in the leases of Vitkovci, Blaćane, Miranje and Banjevci in 1550, in the leases of Vitkovci in 1556 and 1560, and in the leases of Blaćane in 1555 and 1560. We have assumed that Rade Šiljanović, who is indirectly mentioned as the elder of the peasants settled in Zablaće and neighbouring villages in auction contracts from 1549, 1555 and 1560, belongs to the population of Istrian Morlachs, and it could easily be that the same demographic group also belongs to those thirteen named residents of Tinj who farmed

¹⁰⁶ Hafizović 2014: 534. Kašić iz citata vjerojatno je današnji Kašić Banjevački, iako se može pomisliti i na izobličen zapis ili pak pogrešno čitanje imena srednjovjekovnog sela Košević kod Zablaća. Slično je bilo i s mezrama Rugova i Baštani, koje se očito odnose na Rogovo i Hrašćane: „mezre po nazivu Rugova i Bašani i Galovci i Starovci i Dolnja i Gornja Orahova nalaze u granicama franačkih nevjernika, koji pripadaju Veneciji, i u njihovom posjedu. Zbog toga nisu upisane u novi defter“ (Hafizović 2014: 547).

¹⁰⁵ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes Philippus Raymundus, bust I, vol. I/2, 97v. Cf. Anzulović 2017: 142.

¹⁰⁶ Hafizović 2014: 534. The Kašić from the quote is probably today's Kašić Banjevački, although one can also think of a distorted record or a misreading of the name of the medieval village Košević near Zablaće. The same was the case with the villages of Rugovo and Baštani, which obviously refer to Rogovo and Hrašćane: “the villages named Rugova and Bašani and Galovci and Starovci and Dolnja and Gornja Orahova are located in the borders of the Frankish infidels, who belong to Venice, and in their possession. That is why they were not entered in the new defter” (Hafizović 2014: 547).

tempom i na koji način odvijala poslijeratna gospodarsko-demografska obnova tih sela? Postoje li svjedočanstva o povratku njihovih predratnih stanovnika?

Vrela koja smo tijekom istraživanja proučili ne omogućuju posve jasne i nedvosmislene odgovore na gornja pitanja. Isprave o zakupu Zablaća 1542. i 1544. te Hrašćana 1543. i 1548. svjedoče o procesu poslijeratne obnove, ali s vrlo niskom razinom gospodarske aktivnosti (cijene zakupa Zablaća u navedenim godinama sedam su puta manje od cijene dostignute na dražbi prijeratne 1535.). Valja pritom imati na umu da su poslijeratne godine (posebice 1540. – 1545.) obilježene čestim upadima senjskih uskoka u okolice Vrane,¹⁰⁷ ali i pljačkaškim odgovorima suprotne strane, što, primjerice, posvjedočuju mletačke pritužbe na djelovanje Muhameta Matta, zapovjednika osmanskih plaćenika u Nadinu (1545.).¹⁰⁸ Jednako su bremenite bile godine 1547. i 1548., kada su pokrajinski upravitelji Klisa i Bosne pokušali samovoljno odrediti granice između osmanskog i mletačkog teritorija te uz prijetnju oružjem nagovoriti zadarske Istrijane da se vrate pod sultanovu zaštitu.¹⁰⁹ Sve u svemu, stabilizacija demografskih prilika na pograničnom području u blizini Vrane i Nadina nije bila moguća sve do izvješća sarajevskog kadije iz 1548., odnosno sultanova fermana iz 1550. godine. No isto se tako može pretpostaviti da su Morlaci Istrijani već tijekom rata ili po njegovu svršetku koristili barem dio gospodarskih resursa vranskog područja, posebice vode i pašnjake, boraveći u improviziranim nastambama, što je uostalom način života kojem su bili itekako vični.

Pokazali smo u prethodnim redcima da prve poslijeratne vijesti o stanovnicima obnovljenih sela u onom dijelu nekadašnjeg vranskog distrikta koji je ostao pod zadarskom jurisdikcijom pripadaju pedesetim godinama 16. stoljeća. Od prijeratnih vranskih sela u kontekstu zadarske administracije više nema spomena Stabnju, Pristegu, Škorobiću i Reticanima, koji su pripali osmanskoj strani, kao ni Koševiću, Kujinoj Luci i

land in Vitkovci. At this moment of discussion, the following questions arise: Were Istrian Morlachs (more) present in Zadar villages near Vrana already after the end of war in 1540 or only after the stabilization of political conditions in 1549/1550? At what pace and in what manner did the post-war economic-demographic reconstruction of those villages take place? Are there testimonies of pre-war inhabitants' return to these villages?

The sources that we have studied during the research do not allow completely clear and unequivocal answers to the above questions. The documents on the lease of Zablaće in 1542 and 1544 and Hrašćane in 1543 and 1548 bear witness to the process of post-war reconstruction, but with a very low level of economic activity (the lease prices of Zablaće in the mentioned years are seven times lower than the price reached at the pre-war auction in 1535). It should be borne in mind that the post-war years (especially 1540 - 1545) were marked by frequent incursions of the Uskoks from Senj into the vicinity of Vrana,¹⁰⁷ but also by predatory responses from the opposite side, as evidenced, for example, by the Venetian complaints about the actions of Muhamet Matt, the commander of the Ottoman mercenaries in Nadin (1545).¹⁰⁸ The years 1547 - 1548 were equally difficult. At that time the provincial governors of Klis and Bosnia tried to arbitrarily determine the borders between the Ottoman and Venetian territories and, with the threat of weapons, persuade the Istrians from Zadar to return to the sultan's protection.¹⁰⁹ All in all, the stabilization of the demographic conditions in the border area near Vrana and Nadin was not possible until the report of the Sarajevo qadi from 1548, or the sultan's firman from 1550. But it can also be assumed that the Istrian Morlachs used at least part of the economic resources of the Vrana region already during or after the war, especially water and pastures, staying in improvised dwellings, which is, after all, a way of life to which they were very accustomed.

We have shown in the previous lines that the first post-war news about the inhabitants of the rebuilt villages in that part of the former Vrana district that remained under the jurisdiction of Zadar belong to

¹⁰⁷ Hrabak 1987: 16–19.

¹⁰⁸ ASVe, Documenti Turchi, busta 5, br. 553.

¹⁰⁹ *Relazioni* 1996: 50–54, 63–64.

¹⁰⁷ Hrabak 1987: 16-19.

¹⁰⁸ ASVe, Documenti Turchi, bust 5, n° 553.

¹⁰⁹ *Relazioni* 1996: 50-54, 63-64.

Piranama, to jest Modravama, gdje se, po svemu sudeći, sjedilački život ugasio, što ne znači da su zamrle i stočarske aktivnosti. Isto tako, u vrelima od 1537. do 1570. nema spomena žiteljima Hrašćana i Blaćana iako je zadarska komuna redovito ubirala kakav-takav prihod od zakupa tih sela.

Primjer Pakoššana zorno je svjedočanstvo poteškoća koje su pratile poslijeratnu obnovu seoskog života, a k tome je riječ o jedinom vranskom selu smještenom u priobalju što stvara dojam (manje ili više varljiv) da je bilo najmanje izloženo osmanskim upadima. Pakoššana su, naime, od rata (1537. – 1540.) do 1548. bile puste, s možda pokojnim privremenim ili povremenim stanovnikom, a onda su ih feudatari Karnarutići pokušali naseliti težacima s otoka Murtera. Taj je pokušaj propao jer među onima koji 1552. stajuju u Pakoššanima ne prepoznajemo Murterine, nego samo jednog od prijeratnih stanovnika tog sela te nekolicinu novodoseljenih Morlaka (ako je suditi po njihovim prezimenima kao što su *Aladinović* i *Višić*). O tome smo nedavno opširnije pisali.¹¹⁰

Drugačije je bilo sa Zablaćem, koje se u dražbenim ispravama od 1549. navodi kao selo (*villa Xablata*), gdje je, kako smo pokazali, Morlak Rade Šiljanović uživao ždrijeb zemlje, dok su druge poljoprivredne površine u obuhvatu zakupa Zablaća obrađivali pripadnici populacije okupljene pod Radinim starješinstvom.¹¹¹ Premda bi se iz toga moglo zaključiti da je Zablaće nakon rata obnovljeno i napučeno novim stanovnicima, u drugim se vrelima njegovi žitelji uopće ne spominju. Štoviše, Rade Šiljanović na više je mjesta spomenut kao stanovnik Poškaljine, kao 1552., kada je obavljao službu seoskog suca (*Radoslaue Sillanouich iudex ville Poscaline*),¹¹² potom 1557., kada je pod imenom Rade Šiljanović pok. Cvite (*Radi Sciglianouich condam Cuite*) zakupio trećinu jedne vodenice u Zablaću,¹¹³ te 1558., kada je zajedno sa svojim sumještaninom Petrom Milohničem uzeo u zakup zemlje u Kožinu

the fifties of the 16th century. Of the pre-war villages in Vrana, in the context of the Zadar administration, there is no mention of Stabanj, Pristeg, Škorobić and Retićani, which fell to the Ottoman side, as well as Košević, Kujina Luka and Pirane, i.e. Modrave, where, sedentary life apparently ceased, which does not mean that livestock activities also died out. Likewise, in the sources from 1537 to 1570, there is no mention of the inhabitants of Hrašćane and Blaćane, although the Zadar commune regularly collected some income from the lease of those villages.

The example of Pakoššana is a vivid testimony of the difficulties that followed the post-war reconstruction of village life, and it is the only village in Vrana located on the coast, which creates the impression (more or less deceptive) that it was the least exposed to Ottoman incursions. Namely, from the war of 1537 - 1540 to 1548, Pakoššana was deserted, with perhaps a deceased temporary or occasional resident, and then the feudal lords of the Karnarutić family tried to settle them with farmers from island of Murter to perform corvée work. This attempt failed, because among those who lived in Pakoššana in 1552, we do not recognize any name from Murter, but only one of the pre-war inhabitants of that village and a few newly settled Morlachs (judging by their surnames, such as *Aladinović* and *Višić*). We wrote about this in more detail recently.¹¹⁰

It was different with Zablaće, which is mentioned in auction documents from 1549 as a village (*villa Xablata*), where, as we have shown, Morlach Rade Šiljanović enjoyed the lot of land, while other agricultural areas included in the lease of Zablaće were cultivated by members of the population gathered under his seniority.¹¹¹ Although it could be concluded from this that Zablaće was rebuilt after the war and filled with new inhabitants, they are not mentioned at all in other sources. Moreover, Rade Šiljanović was mentioned in several documents as a resident of Poškaljina, such as in 1552, when he served as a village judge (*Radoslaue Sillanouich iudex ville Poscaline*),¹¹² then in 1557, when under the name of Rade Šiljanović, of the late Cvite (*Radi Sciglianouich condam Cuite*) leased a third of a

¹¹⁰ Juran 2022.

¹¹¹ V. bilješku 96.

¹¹² DAZD, OZKZ, kut. 5, 77r.

¹¹³ DAZD, BZ, Simon Budineus, busta I, sv. I/2, 83r.

¹¹⁰ Juran 2022.

¹¹¹ See note 96.

¹¹² DAZD, OZKZ, box 5, 77 r.

kod Biograda.¹¹⁴ Od žitelja Poškaljine u periodu 1550. – 1570. posvjedočeni su još Martin Radašinić, Jelena Šankovića i Juraj Milohnić 1555.,¹¹⁵ Rajan Bubičić, Andrija Radašinić, Stipan Šiljanović i Juraj Milohnić 1556.,¹¹⁶ braća Juraj i Radoslav Bubičić pok. Lukca ili Lukača 1558.,¹¹⁷ Bartol Bušletić i Juraj Vrsatović (*Versatouich*) 1563.,¹¹⁸ braća Mihovil, Luka i Nikola pok. Antuna Galešića 1565.,¹¹⁹ Ivan Vrsatović 1568.¹²⁰ te historiografiji otprije poznata petnaestorica koja su 1570. sklopila ugovor o preseljenju u Biograd (Bubičić, Dabanović, Galešić, Kurjaković, Ljubić, Milatović, Miomanović, Pahović, Pozničić, dvojica Radašinića, Sanadić, Sanković, Vranešić i Vrsatović).¹²¹ Čini se stoga da je središte naseljenosti zablackog kraja od prijeratnih Zablaca (gdje je nalazila župna crkva) pomaknuto u poslijeratnu Poškaljinu, čiji su stanovnici svojim poljoprivrednim aktivnostima zahvaćali i obližnje zablacke i biogradske zemlje. Sagledamo li situaciju unutar tako postavljenog demografskog okvira, postaje jasnije zašto o stanovništvu Biograda od 1537. do 1570., slično kao u slučaju Zablaca, nema ni jedne relevantne vijesti. Posve je pak jasno da je najugledniji pripadnik seoske zajednice u Poškaljini bio Rade Šiljanović. U prvi smo mah po uočavanju njegova spomena u zakupima Zablaca pomislili da je možda istovjetan Radiču, morlačkom starješini Vlaha Istre u nahiji Kličevac 1530., ipak, to je samo domišljanje bez snažnijih argumenata. Pomislili smo i na vezu s predosmanskim katunom Šiljanović (u literaturi se susreće i pod imenom *Šiglanović*),¹²² ali je i to teško dokazati. No zato je vrlo vjerojatno da Rade Šiljanović pripada istom rodu kao vojni časnik Lukačić Šiljanović pok. Matijaša, koji je 1569. od mletačkih vlasti tražio

water mill in Zablacé,¹¹³ and in 1558, when he leased land in Kožino near Biograd together with his fellow villager Petar Milohnić.¹¹⁴ Records also provide information on other inhabitants of Poškaljina in the period 1550 - 1570, among which: Martin Radašinić, Jelena Šankovića and Juraj Milohnić in 1555,¹¹⁵ Rajan Bubičić, Andrija Radašinić, Stipan Šiljanović and Juraj Milohnić in 1556,¹¹⁶ brothers Juraj and Radoslav Bubičić, of the late Lukač in 1558,¹¹⁷ Bartol Bušletić and Juraj Vrsatović (*Versatouich*) in 1563,¹¹⁸ the brothers Mihovil, Luka and Nikola of the late Antun Galešić in 1565,¹¹⁹ Ivan Vrsatović in 1568,¹²⁰ and the fifteen previously known to historiography who signed an agreement on moving to Biograd in 1570 (Bubičić, Dabanović, Galešić, Kurjaković, Ljubić, Milatović, Miomanović, Pahović, Pozničić, the two Radašinićs, Sanadić, Sanković, Vranešić and Vrsatović).¹²¹ Therefore, it seems that the centre of population in the Zablacé region was moved from pre-war Zablacé (where the parish church was located) to post-war Poškaljina, whose inhabitants also occupied the nearby Zablacé and Biograd lands with their agricultural activities. If we observe this information within such a demographic framework, it becomes clearer why there is not a single relevant news about the population of Biograd from 1537 to 1570, similar to the case of Zablacé. It is quite clear that the most respected member of the village community in Poškaljina was Rade Šiljanović. At first, when we noticed his mention in the leases of Zablacé, we thought that he might be the same as Radič, the Morlach elder to Vlachs of Istria in the nahiyah of Kličevac in 1530; however, it is just a guess without stronger arguments. We also thought of a connection with the pre-Ottoman catun Šiljanović (he is also found in the literature under the name *Šiglanović*),¹²² but this is also difficult to prove.

¹¹⁴ DAZD, BZ Iohannes a Morea, busta jedina, sv. I/4, 171r.

¹¹⁵ DAZD, BZ Daniel Cavalca, busta I, sv. I/2, 32v–33r.

¹¹⁶ DAZD, OZKZ, kut. 7, 16r, 29v.

¹¹⁷ DAZD, BZ, Simon Budineus, busta I, sv. I/3, 123r.

¹¹⁸ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes a Morea, busta jedina, sv. I/5, 51v.

¹¹⁹ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes a Morea, busta jedina, sv. I/6, 19r–v.

¹²⁰ DAZD, BZ, Constantius Cornelius, busta jedina, sv. I/2, 18r.

¹²¹ Anzulović 1998: 292–293 i 2017: 172.

¹²² DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, busta V, sv. 95, 16r. Vidjeti i Klaić 1983.

¹¹³ DAZD, BZ, Simon Budineus, bust I, vol. I/2, 83r.

¹¹⁴ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes a Morea, single bust, vol. I/4, 171r.

¹¹⁵ DAZD, BZ, Daniel Cavalca, bust I, vol. I/2, 32v–33r.

¹¹⁶ DAZD, OZKZ, box 7, 16r, 29v.

¹¹⁷ DAZD, BZ, Simon Budineus, bust I, vol. I/3, 123r.

¹¹⁸ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes a Morea, single bust, vol. I/5, 51v.

¹¹⁹ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes a Morea, single bust, vol. I/6, 19r–v.

¹²⁰ DAZD, BZ, Constantius Cornelius, single bust, vol. I/2, 18r.

¹²¹ Anzulović 1998: 292–293 and 2017: 172.

¹²² DAZD, BZ, Petrus de Serçana, bust V, vol. 95, 16r. See also Klaić 1983.

povećanje plaće pozivajući se na svoju dugotrajnu službu (više od 20 godina pod kapetanima Nikolom Detrikom i Ivanom Medoševcem), ali i na zasluge svog pokojnog oca, suradnika kneza Žakmana, u dovođenju Istrijana pod mletačku vlast.¹²³ Jedan se Matijaš Šiljanović spominje 1559. kao stanovnik novigradskih Blačana¹²⁴ pa je lako moguće da je riječ o Lukačićevu ocu, tim više što okolnosti spomena ukazuju na to da je raspolagao znatnim novčanim sredstvima.¹²⁵ Primijetili smo također da se u nekih Matijaševih sumještanima javljaju ista prezimena kao u Poškaljini (uz *Šiljanović*,¹²⁶ još *Bubičić* i *Vrsatović*),¹²⁷ što je dodatni argument u smjeru zaključka o zajedničkom ishodištu novigradskih (blačanskih) i vranskih (poškaljinskih) Šiljanovića te njihovoj pripadnosti grupaciji Morlaka Istrijana.¹²⁸

¹²³ ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 43, 19. studenoga 1569.

¹²⁴ Na zadarskom su teritoriju postojala dva sela pod imenom *Blačane*, jedno u novigradskom, a drugo u vranskom distriktu, pa ih u izvorima nije uvijek jednostavno razlučiti. Čini se da vranske Blačane nakon rata 1537. – 1540. nisu bile naseljene, tim više što su nakon 1550., za razliku od drugih sela u blizini, još uvijek bile predmetom mletačko-osmanskih tvrđenja (DAZD, *DEI*, kut. 3, sv. VIII, 186r; DAZD, *DT*, knj. 3, 39v–40r).

¹²⁵ DAZD, *BZ*, Daniel Cavalca, busta I, sv. II/2/8, 30r.

¹²⁶ Godine 1568. Bernardin Šiljanović iz Blačana, zajedno s jednim stanovnikom Slivnice, zakupljuje mlin u Poričanima (DAZD, *BZ*, Constantius Cornelius, busta jedina, sv. I/2, 12r).

¹²⁷ DAZD, *OZKZ*, kut. 7, 1v, 53r, 58r.

¹²⁸ U dokumentima koji bilježe Šiljanoviće njihovo se prezime piše najčešće *Siglianouich*, no prisutni su i oblici *Silanouich*/*Sillanouich*. Sve te inačice u ovom radu transkribiramo kao *Šiljanović*. Osim u novigradskim Blačanima i Poškaljini, Šiljanoviće nalazimo i u drugim mjestima zadarskog distrikta: 1553. Matej Šiljanović stanuje u Novoselcima na području Nina (DAZD, *OZKZ*, kut. 5, 214r); 1560. ždrijeb zemlje u Grusima obrađuju nasljednici pok. Mihovila Šiljanovića (DAZD, *BZ*, Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. II/D, 40r); 1564. Juraj Šiljanović (*Seglianouich*) pok. Pavla, stanovnik sela Dolinci, uzima na obradu ždrijeb zemlje u Gorici (DAZD, *BZ*, Simon Budineus, busta I, sv. I/6, 469v); 1568. Toma Šiljanović pripada ligi, to jest zajednici sela Brda (*della liga di Berdo*) (DAZD, *BZ*, Constantius Cornelius, busta jedina, sv. I/2, 32r–v). Dok se u pogledu netom nabrojenih Šiljanovića ne libimo pretpostaviti da potječu od istog morlačkog roda, nismo sigurni kako u tom kontekstu valorizirati podatke o Andriji Šiljanoviću iz Rogova 1497., Martinu Šiljanoviću (*Siglianouich*), koji je 1516. živio u Žankovića dvoru u blizini

However, that is why it is very likely that Rade Šiljanović belongs to the same family as the military officer Lukačić Šiljanović, of the late Matijaš, who asked the Venetian authorities for a salary increase in 1569, referring to his long service (more than 20 years under captains Nikola Detrik and Ivan Medoševac), but also to the merits of his late father who was prince Žakman's associate in bringing Istrians under Venetian rule.¹²³ One Matijaš Šiljanović is mentioned in 1559 as a resident of Blačane of Novigrad,¹²⁴ so it is quite possible that he is Lukačić's father. This is especially indicated with the mention that he had considerable financial resources at his disposal.¹²⁵ We also noticed that some of Matijaš's fellow residents have the same surnames as in Poškaljina (in addition to *Šiljanović*,¹²⁶ *Bubičić* and *Vrsatović*),¹²⁷ which is an additional argument in the direction of the conclusion about the common origin of the Novigrad (Blačane) and of Vrana (Poškaljina) Šiljanovića and their belonging to the Istrian Morlach group.¹²⁸

¹²³ ASVe, Senato Deliberazioni Mar, filze 43, November 19, 1569.

¹²⁴ There were two villages named *Blačane* on the territory of Zadar, one in the Novigrad district and the other in the Vrana district, so it is not always easy to distinguish them in the sources. It seems that after the war in 1537–1540, the Blačani of Vrana district were not inhabited, especially since after 1550, unlike other villages in the vicinity, they were still the subject of Venetian-Ottoman friction (DAZD, *DEI*, box 3, vol. VIII, 186r; DAZD, *DT*, bk. 3, 39v–40r).

¹²⁵ DAZD, *BZ*, Daniel Cavalca, bust I, vol. II/2/8, 30r.

¹²⁶ In 1568, Bernardin Šiljanović from Blačane, together with a resident of Slivnica, leased a mill in Poričani (DAZD, *BZ*, Constantius Cornelius, single bust, vol. I/2, 12r).

¹²⁷ DAZD, *OZKZ*, box 7, 1v, 53r, 58r.

¹²⁸ In the documents that record the Šiljanović family, their surname is usually written as *Siglianouich*, but the forms *Silanouich* / *Sillanouich* are also present. We transcribe all these versions in this paper as *Šiljanović*. Apart from Novigrad's Blačane and Poškaljina, the Šiljanovića can also be found in other places of the Zadar district: in 1553, Matej Šiljanović lives in Novoselci in the area of Nin (DAZD, *OZKZ*, box 5, 214r); In 1560, the lot of land in Grusi was cultivated by the heirs of the late Mihovil Šiljanović (DAZD, *BZ*, Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. II/D, 40r); 1564 Juraj Šiljanović (*Seglianouich*) of the late Pavle, resident of the village of Dolinci, takes a lot of land in Gorica for cultivation (DAZD, *BZ*, Simon Budineus, bust I, vol. I/6, 469v); In 1568, Toma Šiljanović belonged to the league, that is, to the community of the village of Brda (*della liga di Berdo*) (DAZD, *BZ*, Constantius Cornelius, single bust, vol. I/2, 32r–v). While we do not hesitate to assume that the Šiljanovića just listed come

Osim Poškaljine, u demografskoj mreži Morlaka Istrijana u okolici Vrane ističe se još jedno naselje – Tinj. O njegovim stanovnicima koji su 1550. – 1560. obrađivali zemljišni posjed u Vitkovcima već je bilo riječi, a ovdje ćemo podastrijeti još nekoliko vijesti iz drugih vrela. Naišli smo tako na Nikolu Bubičića iz Tinja, koji se u dokumentu iz 1548. spominje kao dužnik nekog Filipa Tvrtkovića,¹²⁹ dok smo njegova sumještanina Tomu Čobana primijetili u ispravi iz 1555. kao obrađivača podvornice u Lišanima.¹³⁰ Demografsko-posjedovnu povezanost Tinja i Lišana potvrđuju još dvije isprave, od kojih jedna datira u 1561., kada su Tinjani Marko Popović pok. Jurića, Andrija Vučenović pok. Pavla, Vid Dobranić pok. Jakova i Grgur Derešić pok. Pavla, zastupajući ujedno svoje odsutne sumještanine, od vlasnikâ Lišana zakupili sve tamošnje pašnjake,¹³¹ dok se u drugoj, tri godine mlađoj, javlja Grgur Bulić iz Tinja, koji od braće Gallelis uzima na obradu ždrijeb lišanske zemlje.¹³² Poznato nam je još da su u Tinju 1556. stanovali Ivan Ružić, Matej Mogušević, Grgur Derešić i Vukašin Ružić,¹³³ 1561. Ivan Umašić i Antun Pilicarić,¹³⁴ a 1569. Perica Ružić, vojnik u konjaničkoj četi kapetana Sladoja Milanovića.¹³⁵ Među nabrojenim stanovnicima Tinja posebno su intrigantni Ružići jer pobuđuju asocijaciju na Morlaka Tomu Ružića, o kojem smo prije podosta govorili. Je li ih povezivala kakva čvršća veza od asocijativne, teško je reći. Ukazujemo pritom na činjenicu da u Jagodnji Donjoj postoje toponimi Mali Ružić i Veliki Ružić, dakle u selu koje je 1530. pripadalo džematu Tome Ružića (!), a u tom bi kontekstu valjalo razmotriti i osmanski podatak iz 1550. o mezri Ružić u blizini Vrane.¹³⁶ Manje je

In addition to Poškaljina, another settlement – Tinj – stands out in the demographic network of Istrian Morlachs in the vicinity of Vrana. It has already been discussed about its inhabitants who cultivated the land in Vitkovci in 1550 - 1560, and here we will add a few more news from other sources. Thus, we came across Nikola Bubičić from Tinj, who is mentioned in a document from 1548 as a debtor of a certain Filip Tvrtković,¹²⁹ while we noticed his fellow villager Toma Čoban in a document from 1555 as a farmer in Lišane.¹³⁰ The demographic and property connection of Tinj and Lišane is confirmed by two more documents, one of which dates from 1561, when Marko Popović, of the late Jurić, Andrija Vučenović, of the late Pavle, Vid Dobranić, of the late Jakov, and Grgur Derešić, of the late Pavao, from Tinj, representing their absent fellow villagers, leased all the pastures from the owners of Lišane.¹³¹ In the second document, three years earlier, the name of Grgur Bulić from Tinj appears. He takes a lot of land from the Gallelis brothers to cultivate it.¹³² We also know that in 1556 Ivan Ružić, Matej Mogušević, Grgur Derešić and Vukašin Ružić lived in Tinj,¹³³ in 1561 Ivan Umašić and Antun Pilicarić,¹³⁴ and in 1569 Perica Ružić, a soldier in the cavalry company of captain Sladoje Milanović.¹³⁵ Among the listed inhabitants of Tinj, the Ružić's are especially intriguing, because they evoke an association with Morlach Toma Ružić, about whom we spoke quite a bit before. It is difficult to say whether they were connected by a stronger bond than an associative one. We would like to point out the fact that there are toponyms Mali Ružić and Veliki Ružić in Jagodnja

Turnja, te Ivanu Šiljanoviću (*Silanouich*), stanovniku Vrgade 1555. godine (DAZD, BZ, Matheus Sonzonius, busta I, sv. I/1B, 16. 12. 1497.; Petrus de Bassano, busta I, sv. II/D, 10v; Petrus de Pago, busta II, sv. II/2c, 20r–v).

¹²⁹ DAZD, BZ, Franciscus Thomaseus, busta jedina, sv. IV, br. 1.

¹³⁰ DAZD, BZ, Daniel Cavalca, busta I, sv. I/2, 32v–33r.

¹³¹ DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, busta I, sv. II/1, 29v–30v.

¹³² DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, busta I, sv. II/2, 49v.

¹³³ DAZD, OZKZ, kutija 7, 28r, 58v, 97r.

¹³⁴ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes a Morea, busta jedina, sv. I/5, 32r–v.

¹³⁵ DAZD, BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, busta I, sv. I/III, 17v–18r.

¹³⁶ Hafizović 2014: 536.

from the same Morlach family, we are not sure how to valorize the information about Andrija Šiljanović from Rogovo in 1497, Martin Šiljanović (*Siglianouich*), who lived in Žankovića dvor near Turanj in 1516, and Ivan Šiljanović (*Silanouich*), resident of Vrgada in 1555 (DAZD, BZ, Matheus Sonzonius, bust I, vol. I/1B, 16 December 1497; Petrus de Bassano, bust I, vol. II/D, 10v; Petrus de Pago, bust II, vol. II/2c, 20r–v).

¹²⁹ DAZD, BZ, Franciscus Thomaseus, single bust, vol. IV, n° 1.

¹³⁰ DAZD, BZ, Daniel Cavalca, bust I, vol. I/2, 32v–33r.

¹³¹ DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, bust I, vol. II/1, 29v–30v.

¹³² DAZD, BZ, Nicolaus Drasmileus, bust I, vol. II/2, 49v.

¹³³ DAZD, OZKZ, box 7, 28r, 58v, 97r.

¹³⁴ DAZD, BZ, Iohannes a Morea, single bust, vol. I/5, 32r–v.

¹³⁵ DAZD, BZ, Horatius de Marchettis, bust I, vol. I/III, 17v–18r.

vjerojatno da na izvorištu kojeg od svih tih antropimnih i toponimnih *Ružića* stoji kasnosrednjovjekovna obitelj Ružić iz Hrašćana.¹³⁷ Naravno, ne treba ni takvu mogućnost posve isključiti.

Time smo iscrpili sve arhivske podatke o Morlacima na vranskom području u 15. i 16. stoljeću koje smo do početka pisanja ovog rada uspjeli prikupiti. Preostaje nam još uobličiti ih u zaključak, možda i naznačiti u kojem bi smjeru trebalo ići u budućim, nadopunjujućim ili pak nadovezujućim istraživanjima.

ZAKLJUČAK

Utvrda Vrana sa svojim distriktom dospjela je 1409. godine pod vlast Venecije. Državnim je posjedima u vranskom distriktu, koji je osim same utvrde i njezina podgrađa obuhvaćao još 14 sela, upravljala zadarska komora dajući ih u zakup na javnim dražbama, najčešće na rok od dvije do pet godina. Zakupnici su dio prihoda ostvarivali od pašnjaka, i to tako što su ih davali u podzakup morlačkim katunima iz obližnjeg hrvatskog zaleđa. U vranskom su distriktu postojale tri pašnjačke zone, jedna u predjelu Petrin kod sela Blaćana, druga u predjelu Pirane pod Vranskim jezerom te treća u blizini sela Škorobića. U središnjoj trećini 15. stoljeća na tim su pašnjacima tijekom zimskih perioda boravili uglavnom pripadnici katuna Grkavac, kao i morlačke zajednice katunarâ Rudelje Milotića i Tomaša Aladinića. Spomenuti katunari, odnosno njihovi nasljednici raspolagali su svojevrsnim „običajnim pravom“ na podzakup rečenih pašnjaka – njihova se prisutnost, naime, uvijek iznova anticipira u dražbenim ispravama sve do 20-ih god. 16. st., ali je upitno jesu li oni ta prava kontinuirano konzumirali imajući u vidu, s jedne strane, česte mletačko-hrvatske razmirice, a s druge osmanske upade i osvajanja.

¹³⁷ Jednom su zgodom Ružići iz Hrašćana sudjelovali u neobičnom pravnom činu; nakon što mu je 1519. umro otac, maloljetni je Grgur Ružić (u dobi od samo osam godina) postavljen za seoskog sudca, ali je tu dužnost do Grgurove punoljetnosti trebao obnašati njegov stric. U sljedećim se desetljećima dvojica hrašćanskih Ružića bilježe kao stanovnici Zadra i Vasta u Apuliji (DAZD, OZKZ, kut. 2, 134r; DAZD, BZ, Matheus Sonzonius, busta III, sv. III/P, 22r; Augustinus Martius, busta jedina, sv. I/1, 22. 4. 1544.; Simon Budineus, busta I, sv. I/3, 151r–152r).

Donja, i.e. in a village that in 1530 belonged to the congregation of Toma Ružić (!), and in this context we should also consider the Ottoman information from 1550 about the village of Ružić near Vrana.¹³⁶ It is less likely that the late medieval Ružić family from Hrašćane¹³⁷ stands at the origin of all these anthroponymic and toponymic *Ružićs*. Of course, such a possibility should not be completely ruled out.

With this, we have exhausted all the archival data on the Morlachs in the Vrana area in the 15th and 16th centuries that we managed to collect until the beginning of writing this paper. It remains for us to shape them into a conclusion, perhaps to indicate in which direction we should go in future, complementary or follow-up research.

CONCLUSION

The fortress of Vrana with its district came under the rule of Venice in 1409. The state properties in the Vrana district, which in addition to the fort itself and its suburbs included 14 other villages, were managed by the Zadar chamber, leasing them at public auctions, usually for a period of two to five years. The lessees made part of their income from the pastures, by subleasing them to the Morlach catuns from the nearby Croatian hinterland. There were three pasture zones in the Vrana district, one in the area of Petrin near the village of Blaćane, another in the area of Pirane under Lake Vrana and the third near the village of Škorobić. In the mid third of the 15th century, members of the Grkavac catun stayed on these pastures during the winter, as well as the Morlach community of catun elders Rudelja Milotić and Tomaš Aladinić. The above-mentioned catun elders, i.e. their heirs, had a kind of

¹³⁶ Hafizović 2014: 536.

¹³⁷ Once by chance, the Ružić family from Hrašćane participated in an unusual legal act; after his father died in 1519, the minor Grgur Ružić (at the age of only eight) was appointed village judge, but his uncle was supposed to hold that office until Grgur came of age. In the following decades, two Ružićs from Hrašćane are recorded as residents of Zadar and Vasto in Apulia (DAZD, OZKZ, box 2, 134r; DAZD, BZ, Matheus Sonzonius, bust III, vol. III/P, 22r; Augustinus Martius, single bust, vol. I/1, 22 April 1544; Simon Budineus, bust I, vol. I/3, 151r–152r).

Osmanska je prijetnja već od 70-ih god. 15. stoljeća utjecala na gospodarska i demografska kretanja u vranskom distriktu. Posebno su kritičnima u demografskom pogledu bile 1500. i 1520. godina. Unatoč povremenim stradanjima i depopulacijskim procesima, sela su opetovano obnavljana i napućivana, doduše ne uvijek u jednakoj mjeri, o čemu najbolje svjedoči popis stanovništva 1527., kada su u šest sela zabilježena ukupno 504 žitelja. No stvari će se bitno promijeniti tijekom mletačko-osmanskog rata 1537. – 1540., kada je Vrana postala osmanskim utvrdom, dok su preostali mletački posjedi u vranskom distriktu napušteni i zapušteni. No još je jedan ratni događaj bitno utjecao na daljnji tijek događaja i u okolici Vrane i na zadarskom pograničnom prostoru u cjelini – prelazak većeg broja osmanskih Morlaka pod mletačko okrilje. Riječ je o populaciji koju povijesna vrela nazivaju Vlasima Istre ili Morlacima Istrijanima, a historiografija u njima prepoznaje morlačke skupine koje su zbog osmanskih upada potkraj 15. i početkom 16. stoljeća iz svojih primarnih staništa u širem zadarskom zaleđu spontano ili organizirano migrirale u Istru, da bi na poziv osmanskih vlasti u povratničkoj migraciji 1528. – 1530. napućile prostor današnje Bukovice i Ravnih kotara, gdje su Osmanlije formirale pograničnu vojnu jedinicu pod nazivom Vilajet Hrvati. Od Morlaka Istrijana koji su 1538. prebjegli Mlečanima, skupine predvođene vojvodom Žakmanom Gleđevcem, Petrom Najčinovićem i Pavlom Najčinovićem unovačene su u mletačke vojne postrojbe te naseljene u Zadru i njegovu distriktu. Druge su morlačke skupine preseljene u Istru, a dio ih se potkraj rata i po njegovu svršetku vratio Osmanlijama.

Morlaci Istrijani zadarskog područja tražili su 1549. od mletačkih vlasti, među ostalim, da im djele na korištenje zemlje i pašnjake na području okrnjenog vranskog distrikta uz manja zemljišna davanja od uobičajenih. Takvu je odluku mletački Senat na koncu i donio, pa su sljedećih godina Morlaci Istrijani napućili i/ili obnovili nekoliko naselja u blizini Vrane – Poškaljinu, gdje je bio nastanjen morlački starješina Rade Šiljanović, Tinj, a po svojoj prilici i Pakoštane. Na tom su prostoru, dakle, u 15. i početkom 16. stoljeća Morlaci boravili samo sezonski, povremeno i privremeno zakupljujući pašnjake za zimsku ispašu svojih stada, a nakon rata 1537. – 1540. morlačko je stanovništvo gotovo jedino koje

“ordinary right” to sublease said pastures – namely, their presence is repeatedly anticipated in auction documents until the 1520s, but it is questionable whether they continuously consumed these rights, bearing in mind, on the one hand, frequent Venetian-Croatian disputes, and on the other, Ottoman invasions and conquests.

The Ottoman threat had an effect on economic and demographic trends in the Vrana district since the 1470s. The years 1500 and 1520 were particularly critical in terms of demographics. Despite occasional suffering and depopulation processes, the villages were repeatedly rebuilt and repopulated, although not always to the same extent, which is best evidenced by the census of 1527, when a total of 504 inhabitants were recorded in six villages. However, things changed significantly during the Venetian-Ottoman war of 1537-1540, when Vrana became an Ottoman fortress, while the remaining Venetian possessions in the Vrana district were abandoned and neglected. But another war event significantly influenced the further course of events, both in the vicinity of Vrana, and in the Zadar border area as a whole – the transfer of a large number of Ottoman Morlachs under Venetian auspices. This is a population that historical sources call the Vlachs of Istria or the Istrian Morlachs, and historiography recognizes in them the Morlach groups that spontaneously or organizedly migrated from their primary habitats in the wider hinterland of Zadar to Istria due to Ottoman incursions at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries, only to populate the area of present-day Bukovica and Rvni Kotari in the return migration of 1528 - 1530 at the invitation of the Ottoman authorities. The Ottomans formed a border military unit there called Vilajet Hrvati. From the Istrian Morlachs who defected to the Venetians in 1538, the groups led by duke Žakman Gleđevac, Petar Najčinović and Pavao Najčinović were recruited into the Venetian military units and settled in Zadar and its district. Other Morlach groups were moved to Istria, and some of them returned to the Ottomans at the end of the war.

In 1549, the Istrian Morlachs in Zadar region, asked the Venetian authorities, among other things, to grant them land and pastures in the area of the truncated Vrana district, with smaller than usual land payments. In the end, the Venetian Senate

boravi, pa i stalno prebiva, u obnovljenim vranskim selima. Ostaje neodgovorenim pitanje postoji li među tim, međusobno nekoliko desetljeća udaljenim morlačkim skupinama srodnička ili kakva druga veza. Bilo kako bilo, vransko je područje u periodu 1540. – 1570. temeljito „presvučeno“ novim demografskim ruhom morlačke provenijencije. Još jedno, gotovo jednako temeljito, demografsko restrukturiranje tog područja nastupit će tijekom i nakon Ciparskog rata (1570. – 1573.) kada se dio Morlaka Istrijana iz Poškaljine i Tinja povlači u Biograd, no to je već tema za neki budući istraživački zahvat.

made such a decision, so in the following years the Istrian Morlachs populated and/or rebuilt several settlements near Vrana – Poškaljina, where the Morlach elder Rade Šiljanović lived, Tinj, and probably also Pakoštane. Therefore, in the 15th and early 16th centuries, Morlachs lived only seasonally, occasionally and temporarily, leasing pastures for winter grazing of their herds, and after the war of 1537-1540, they were almost the only population that stayed and permanently lived in the restored Vrana villages. The question remains unanswered as to whether there is a kinship or some other connection between these Morlach groups, several decades apart. Be that as it may, in the period 1540 - 1570, the Vrana area was thoroughly “overlaid” with a new demographic fabric of Morlach provenance. Another, almost equally thorough, demographic restructuring of that area will occur during and after the Cyprus War (1570 – 1573), when part of the Istrian Morlachs from Poškaljina and Tinj retreat to Biograd, but this is already a topic for some future research intervention.

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ASVe – Archivio di Stato di Venezia

BŠ – Bilježnici Šibenika / Notaries of Šibenik

BZ – Bilježnici Zadra / Notaries of Zadar

DAŠI – Državni arhiv u Šibeniku / State Archives in Šibenik

DAZD – Državni arhiv u Zadru / State Archives in Zadar

DEI – *Datia et incantus civitatis Iadrae et eius districtus*DT – *Dukale i terminacije / Ducals and terminations*OZKZ – *Općina Zadar – knez Zadra / Municipality of Zadar - Duke of Zadar***Popis objavljenih izvora / Published sources**

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