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Ivan Alduk – Michael Ursinus

Sixteenth century Ottoman Landmarks between Salona, Lončarić and Vranjic: A Centre of Medieval Croatian Statehood Revisited Half a Millennium Later

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The paper examines excerpts from several Ottoman defters from the late 16th and early 17th centuries, which describe the present-day Solin area. By combining data from these sources with previously known information (medieval and Venetian), the study attempts to reconstruct the appearance of the Solin landscape during the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. In addition, the paper highlights the significance of Ottoman written sources in researching the history of Solin and the wider Dalmatian region.

Key words: Ottoman Dalmatia, Solin, Jadro River, defters, mills, fishery

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After the destruction and/or gradual abandonment of Salona at some point in time between 630 and 640 AD, in the course of the next two decades, the area of the river delta to the east, north and west of the ancient city walls of Salona (*Longae Salonae*) was occupied by the leaders of the Slavic settlers, who established here one of the most important centres of the early medieval Croatian state first as a duchy or principality, and later as a kingdom. At the site of Rižinice, on the road to Klis, Prince Trpimir (r. 845 – 864) founded one of the first Benedictine monasteries in the area. In Gradina, today´s centre of Solin, the remains of a church from the time of Emperor Justinian (r. 527 – 567) were restored and rebuilt during the 10th and 11th centuries, probably by Croatian rulers; while on the Island of Our Lady (Gospin otok), in the 10th century, the church of St Mary of the Island (Sv. Marija od Otoka), or that of St Steven (Sv. Stjepan), or possibly both, was built. In the atrium of the excavated church, in 1898, Don Frane Bulić identified (by its fragmentary inscription) the sarcophagus of Queen Helena (Jelena), «the wife of King Michael (Mihael Krešimir) and mother of King Steven (Stjepan Držislav) [...] buried here [...] in the year 976». At the site known as the Hollow Church (Šuplja crkva), an Early Romanesque three-nave basilica with a pronounced westwerk dedicated to St Peter and Moses was erected in the 11th century, where Ban (Demetrius) Zvonimir was crowned king in 1075.[1]

During the Late Middle Ages, no significant urban settlement developed in the Solin area, and the area itself was divided between Klis and Split. While Klis was in the hands of the Hungarian-Croatian and then Habsburg kings, Split was under Venetian rule from 1420.[2] However, both will soon face a common enemy.

Although we find the Ottomans in the interior of Dalmatia at the very beginning of the 15th century, from the 1460s on, Dalmatia was increasingly exposed to their attacks. At first, these were sudden incursions of greater or lesser intensity, but over time they became more frequent and more organized. At the beginning of the 16th century, Ottoman pressure on Dalmatia grew. With the

1 Some basic literature for earlier periods; Ž. Rapanić – L. Katić 1971; Antička Salona 1991; Starohrvatski Solin 1992; Salona Christiana 1994; Longae Salonae 2002.
2 L. Katić 1958



Central part of Calergi's map with the most important sites from this work (M. Kadi 1999)

rise to power of the «belligerent» sultans Selim I (1512–1520) and his son Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566), and the appointment of Gazi Husrev-bey as head of the Bosnian sandžak in 1521, the Ottoman attacks became difficult to withstand. Everything culminated in the capture of Klis in 1537, although some parts of this area had already been in Ottoman hands before that.[3]

What, among other things, strongly distinguished this area starting from the Middle Ages (probably even earlier) was the existence of numerous watermills and other aquatic facilities along the river. Although some were privately owned, a large number of mills, as well as the right to build them, formally belonged to the king and the Split commune; yet it seems that most of them were owned by the Archbishops of Split, probably as a result of royal grants since the Early Middle Ages.[4] The majority of mills were rented by their owners to private individuals.

As this paper will demonstrate for the first time, some were referred to by the Ottomans centuries later and recorded in their revenue survey registers from the second half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. Yet it is not always easy to determine precisely which features in the landscape the Ottoman revenue survey registers refer to.

Ottoman ways of describing (topographical) positions often lack precision by modern standards. This also applies to the topographical information found in Ottoman revenue survey registers (*tahrir defterleri*), which, without exception, were not compiled to visualise the whereabouts of a given location, but for fiscal purposes. Surveys of this kind were directed by a surveying commission (*hey'et-i tahrir*) whose task was to update the country's fiscal records. Most of the land had been recorded before, and the locations previously recorded under a name or appellative were therefore easily identifiable «on the ground», at least with the help of local people. Consequently, Ottoman *tahrir defterleri,* particularly those from the second half of the 16th century, are often stereotypical when indicating the whereabouts of locations. They generally use only a limited number of set phrases for the purpose of indicating (relational) positions, frequently phrased in Arabic and/or Persian rather than Turkish. For instance *der sahra-yi* «in the plain of», *der hudud-i* «in the grounds of», *der ma-beyn-i X ve Y*, «in between X and Y»,

3 L. Katić 1962; M. Šunjić 1967, pp. 86-95; S. M. Traljić 1978; Ž. Rapanić – L. Katić 1971, pp. 105-119; H. Šabanović 1982; M. Pavić 2014, pp. 90-104; M. Ursinus 2020; M. Ursinus 2022

4 L. Katić 1952; J. Jelaska 1985, pp. 119-122; S. Buble 2009. The origin and development of milling on Jadro River, since Roman times, is an extremely interesting but rarely covered topic in historiography, archaeology and spatial development of this area.



M. Kolunić Rota, Map of Split and surroundings – detail, 1571 (V. Firić 2001, p. 11)

der kurb-i «near», *der nezd-i* «in the immediate vicinity of», *gayr ez hudud-i* «outside the boundaries of» – all of which entirely based on Arabo-Persian lexicography and syntax. Boundary descriptions (*sınırname*) can be far more specific, mentioning landmarks such as (named) rocks, trees, brooks, paths, landed possessions and buildings and other locally known features, but also, more specifically, boundary markers such as hewn stones (*taş*), rocks carved as boundary markers (*nişanlu taş*), or waymarkers with incised inscriptions. In such perambulation records, the phraseology is generally more Turkish in character. However, all these Ottoman aids for providing the officials with essential bearings have in common that distances are virtually never given in absolute figures, such as yards, miles or hours of travel. Consequently, the researcher has only verbal directions of limited precision to rely on, i.e. simple forms of positioning a given place in relation to other (nearby) landmarks, phrased in standard expressions like those mentioned above. This means that, in order to track down «on the ground» the object or feature, more is needed than just the information derived from the Ottoman defter. It requires additional imagination, study of other written sources, and understanding of local toponymy; in other words, the knowledge of the local expert, and even they may not always succeed.

In this situation, our approach had to consider the relational character of Ottoman topographical description. Therefore, we will not initially be able to provide the exact location of some places using the coordinates of a modern map, but will describe their location, word by word, as they appear in the relevant sections of the Ottoman defters. The same applies to all remaining locations within the narrow strip of land along the lower course of the Jadro River, which widens into a sort of delta before meeting the sea near Vranjic. This area is flanked, following the course of the river, on the right-hand side by the grounds of ancient (Roman) Salona (*Solin-i Atik* in Ottoman times) up to the *castello* of Barbarić/Barbarinac by the sea, and on the

left by the former *çiftlik*, a pious foundation (*vakıf*) then, of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha, bordered in the south by the area of *terra nullius* between the Grand Vizier's pious foundation and the *contado* of Split.[5] It will be the task of the local expert to make sense of the rather disparate descriptions of each of these locations as mentioned in the Ottoman defters in order to place them 'on the map'. Of course, in addition to today's toponymy, we will also use other written sources (not only Ottoman ones) in identifying these places – specifically those created before, during, and after the Ottoman rule over Klis and Solin.

INDIVIDUAL LOCATIONS

For the restricted area delineated above, Defter BOA TD 622 of c. 1585 (as well as some earlier and later defters, as indicated in each case) refers to the water mills on the Solin (present-day Jadro) River; its fisheries extending downstream from its source (*kaynak*) to Vranjic and the *castello* of Barbarić/Barbarinac on the opposite side of the river's (wider) estuary (Uvala Vranjic); the bridge across the Solin River by the castle (*kale*) or *castello* of Lončarić; the vineyard of Behlul Bey between the Lončarić castle and New Solin (*Solin-i cedid* or *Yeni Solin*) and its grounds (*zeminha*); New Solin itself; the *zemin* plots of the Island (*Ada*) near the Big Church (*kilisa-i büzürg*); the plots forming part of the grounds of Solin and Kotle; and finally the *çiftlik* or large agrarian holding, later turned *vakıf* (pious foundation), associated with the late Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha on the left bank of the Solin River, already largely situated outside the area under investigation.

Water Mills on the Jadro River

BOA 211 (c. 1542), p. 134: Solin nam nehr-i azim başından deryaya varınca Yuray Tuştanik ve Diyan nam harbî zimmiler tasarrufında olan altı harab değirmen ocağından ma-ada on dokuz harab değirmen ocakları beşyüz akçe tapu ile [reaching (the point where) the mighty river (!) called Solin, flowing from its source, meets the sea, there are, apart from six ruinous odžaks of mills in the possession of the enemy (harbî) zimmis (!) by the names of Juraj Tuštanić and Djan, nineteen odžaks of ruinous mills with a transfer value of five hundred akçe].

Although this document provides only very general descriptions of the Solin area (along the river between its source and mouth), we can still learn a few things from it. A few years after the final capture of Klis by the Ottomans in 1537, and certainly as a result of years of fighting around the fortress, there were a considerable number of demolished houses and mills along the river itself, which were still formally the property of «foreign (*harbî* enemy) Christians» in the eyes of the Ottomans. The names «Juraj Tuštanić and Djan» are difficult to identify at this point without further research, primarily using Venetian documents that might refer to individual owners or tenants of the mills before the establishment of firmer Ottoman rule in this area. While «Juraj Tuštanić» (if the Ottoman tax official recorded the name correctly) at least sounds like a name that would be easier for us to identify, the name «Djan» is perhaps more difficult to pinpoint.[6]

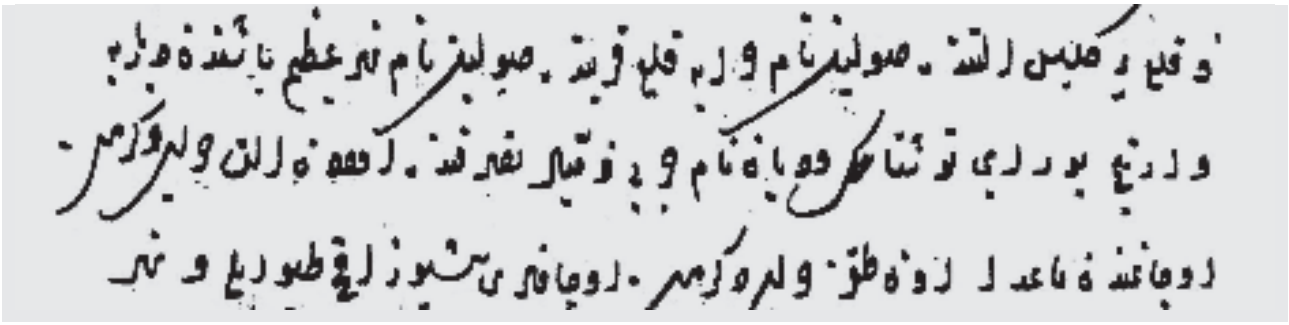


Figure 1
BOA 211 (c. 1542), p. 134

5 M. Ursinus 2021. The fact that, at this time, the Ottoman border with Split, consisting of a belt of uncultivated land established by treaty, had already been designated by Lovre Katić as a *terra nullius*; L. Katić 1958, p. 207.

6 Djan is probably the Turkish rendering of the common name Ivan, i.e. Gianni, Giovanni or Gian as in Gian Battista, Gian Luigi etc.

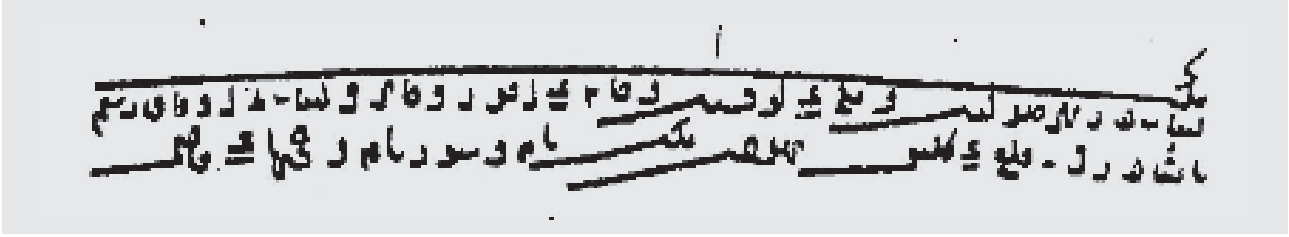


Figure 2
BOA 533 (1574), p. 451

BOA 533 (1574), p. 451: mülk-i asyab der nehr-i Solin ve kule-i Luksik ve hane-i ahur ve çayır ve asyab an evkaf-i Rüstem Paşa der kurb-i kale-i Klis [freehold of the mills in Solin River, and (of?) the kula of Lukšić, the Stables, the pasture and mill [proper], [all] part of the pious foundation of Rüstem Pasha near the fortress of Klis].

It is very tempting to associate the «kula of Lukšić» with the Vitturi castle in today's Kaštel Lukšić – certainly on Venetian territory, which was never the subject of dispute between Venetian and Ottoman authorities. However, here we are dealing with a territory in Solin, within Rüstem Pasha's estate (pious foundation). Could this mill (and other properties) have been named after the Vitturi family from Trogir, known as Lukšić, as one of their (former) possessions? Perhaps. This possibility increases if we take into account data from very early defters for Klis and the surrounding area (a few years before the Ottomans conquered Klis in 1537). In one of them, from around 1528 – 1530, the estates, vineyards and mill of one Jerolim Lukašić (or perhaps Lukšić) are mentioned.[7] From the broader context, it is possible to conclude that these were estates west of Solin towards today's Kaštela, but the mention of the mill probably refers to the mill along the Jadro River. Although a small part of the Solin mills was owned by Trogir citizens as early as the 13th century,[8] a much more important fact is that the people of Trogir relied on the mills on Jadro and Žrnovnica, since the Trogir mills on Pantana often ran out of water, especially in the summer.[9]

What is particularly interesting to note here is that the Ottoman document possibly refers to the Vitturi family by the name Lukšić, and not Vitturi as the Venetian documents do. Lukšić is their patronymic and a kind of folk or Slavic name, given that the name Lukša is relatively common in that family. This was a common and well-known practice among the nobility as well as the rich common people (plebeians). Lukša Vitturi, who lived at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, probably left quite a mark on the future of his family. The builders of their fort/castle in today´s Kaštel Lukšić, Nikola and Jerolim Vitturi, were the grandchildren of Blaž, the son of Lukša Vitturi. The two brothers who rebuilt the castle in 1564 were Jakov and Jerolim Vitturi. One of these two Jerolims could possibly have been the owner of the mill in Solin.[10]

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236b: mülk-i asyabha-i der nehr-i Solin ve kale-i Lukşik ve hane-i ahur ve kale-i Yako Urmanik ve kale-i Pişkupye İnce Kulle demekle ma'rufdır dibek ocaklarıdır ve çayır-i Liştan an evkaf-i Rüstem Paşa el-merhum der kurb-i kale-i Loncarik [freehold of the mills on the Jadro River and (of?) the «castle» of Lukšić, the Stables, the «castle» of Jakov Urmanić and the Bishop's «castle» known as the Slender Tower (kula). These are fulling mills. Also, the pasture of Lištani. All belong to the pious foundation of the late Rüstem Pasha in the vicinity of the castle of Lončarić].

7 M. Ursinus 2020, pp. 85-86.
8 J. Jelaska 1985, p. 120.
9 J. Jelaska 1985, p. 122. Due to the loss of the Split mills on Jadro and Žrnovnica rivers, the Šibenik mills on the Krka River, and the poor utilisation of the Pantana mill (almost the only one in Venetian Dalmatia), the population of Venetian territories often went to Poljica, also an Ottoman territory, to grind the grain on the mills on the Žrnovnica River, which the Venetian authorities did not like at all. That is why they tried to «modernise» and increase the capacity of the mill on Pantana. I. Pederin 1990, p. 169; W. Panciera 2013, pp. 30-31.
10 Hrvatska enciklopedija, https://enciklopedija.hr/clanak/vitturi (2026-02-15); K. Marasović 2025, pp. 255-273, 287-311, 716-720.

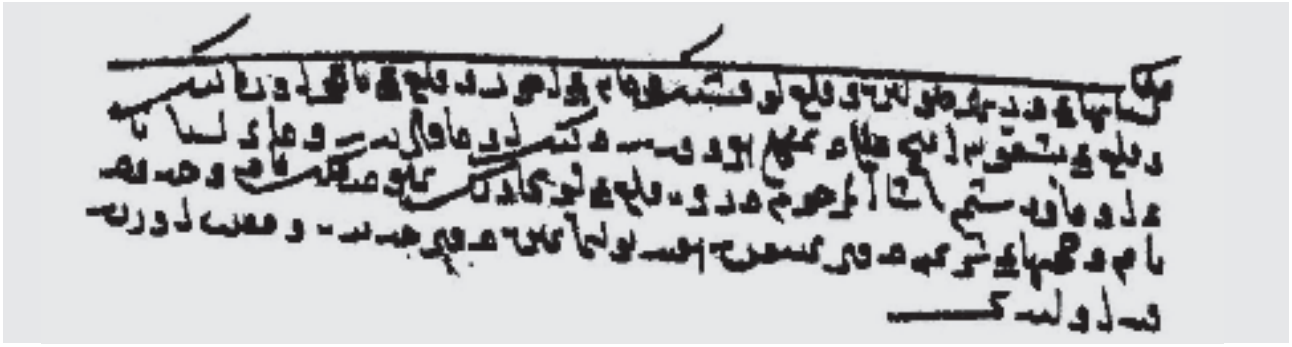


Figure 3
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236b

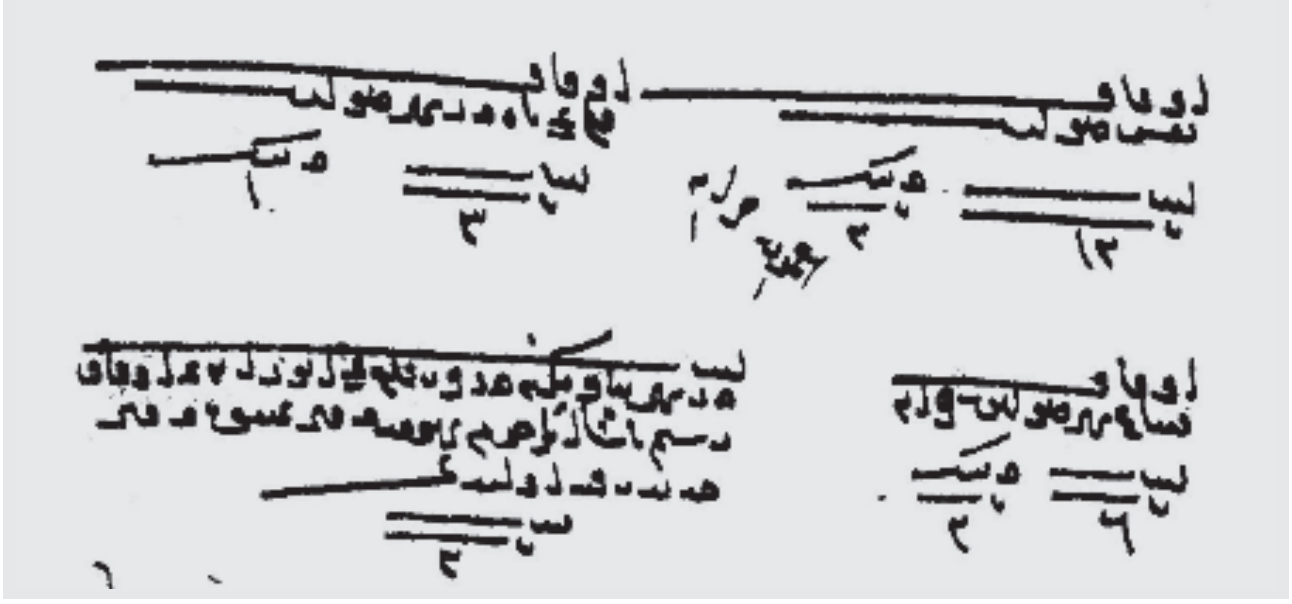


Figure 4
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236b

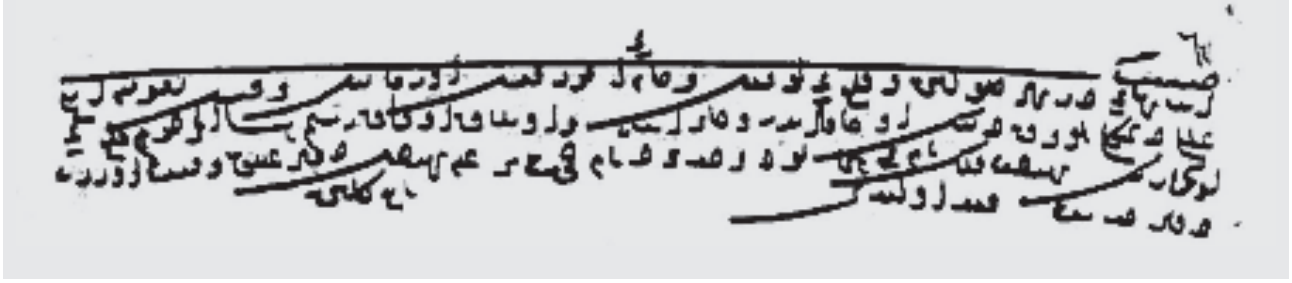


Figure 5
Ankara 1604, fol. 136b

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236b: ocağ-i nefs-i Solin asyab bab 12 dibek bab 2 ma'mur 1 harabe 1; ocağ-i kule-i Ban der nehr-i Solin asyab bab 3 dibek 1; ocağ-i kaynağ-i nehr-i Solin harabe asyab bab 6 dibek bab 2 [odžak of the Solin proper: 12 water mills, 2 fulling mills, 1 in working order, 1 ruinous; odžak of the Ban's kula on the Solin River: 3 water mills, 1 fulling mill; odžak of the source of the Solin River: 6 ruinous water mills, 2 fulling mills].

Ankara 1604, fol. 136b:[11] *Çiftlik-i asyabhai der nehr-i Solin ve kale-i Lunsik ve hane-i ahur [ve] kaştel Urmanik ve kaştel Piskopye İnce Galle demekle ma'ruf dibek ocaklarıdır ve çayır-i İstane ve otlak evkaf-i Rüstem Paşa el-merhum kale-i Loncarik ber muceb-i mülkname-i hümayun ve hudud-i tamm hüccet-i şer'iye ber muceb-i defter-i atik vakfiyet üzere defter-i cedide kayd olındı [çiftlik of the water mills on the Solin River and (of) the fulling mills known as Lunsić (?) castle, the stables, castello (!) Urmanić and castello (!) of the bishop (Piskopje) or Thin Grain (!), the pasture of Stanje/Stagnje and the hay meadow. [These are all part of] the pious foundation of the late Rüstem Pasha [near] the castle of Lončarić by virtue of an imperial grant of freehold, and [with its] complete boundary [specified in] a Sharia title-deed. It was recorded in the New Defter as being of vakıf status according to the Old Defter].*

For these last three documents (BOA 622 [c.1585], fol. 236b – BOA 622 [c.1585], fol. 236b – Ankara 1604, fol. 136b) we have decided to merge the commentary into one. In these defters, there are certain names and toponyms that we believe are more or less interconnected and that, based on these as well as other data, allow us to draw several conclusions more easily.

The castle/fort of the bishop and the unfinished one of the Urmanić (Urmaneo) family are both located in Kaštel Sućurac, far to the west and outside of the Ottoman territory. Both forts are shown in a drawing of Kaštel Sućurac from the end of the 16th century, with the archbishop's tall medieval tower (which can, in fact, be called a «slender tower») dominating the drawing.[12] However, the fulling mills (or stupa in local dialect) for beating coarse woollen fabrics, apparently mentioned here as belonging to castles/forts, cannot be identified with the actual fortifications in Kaštel Sućurac, as they are clearly situated along the Solin/Jadro River. Perhaps they are (still) possessions attached to the Bishop and the Urmanić family, being identified and named as such by the Ottoman scribes?

Alternatively, similar buildings – the archbishop's fortress and the Urmanić family fortress – may once have existed in Solin as in Kaštel Sućurac, and the Ottomans continued to refer to them by their original names.[13]

Now, we know that the Archbishop of Split, Hugolino de Mala Branca, built his houses with a large court and a fortress (fortalitium) in Solin around 1349. This fortified house was located in Prosik, near the Solin River and along the road leading to Klis (*In Prasse prope flumen Salonae in via quae tendebat Clissium*…).[14] It was this brief description that led Bulić to believe that the archbishop's fortress was in Gradina, which is actually on the right river bank and along the road towards Klis.[15] However, the village of Prosik, or more precisely the area of medieval Prosik, stretched on the left bank of the river to the east and south.[16] The location of the fortress itself is still difficult to determine today. Bulić believed that it was the fortress in Gradina, which we know with certainty was built by the Ottomans in the 16th century.[17] In this context, we must mention another piece of information from written sources, perhaps somewhat unreliable but also somewhat overlooked. A chronicle by an unknown author from the 16th century states that immediately before the final capture of Klis in 1537, the Ottomans rebuilt the fortress in Solin, the one built by Archbishop Mala Branca

11 The full reference for this defter, abbreviated here as «Ankara 1604», is as follows: Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü – Tapu Arşivi Dairesi Başkanlığı. Fon: Tapu Tahrir Defterleri TADB. TTD, Defter No. 13, abbreviated as: \TKGM\TADB\TTD\00013.

12 K. Marasović 2025, pp. 48, 108-109.

13 The situation is further complicated by the fact that in the 16th century, the Urmanić family were tenants of some properties of the Archdiocese of Split. The family was very unpopular with the Venetian authorities, considering that, together with some other nobles from Split, they organised the brief conquest of Klis from the Ottomans in 1596, an action that Venice severely disapproved of and punished the protagonists; S. Kovačić 2000, pp. 40-41; M. N. Kuzmanić 2013, pp. 69-70.

14 L. Katić, 1928, p. 87.

15 F. Bulić 1913, pp. 4-5.

16 Prosik (translated as «cut through») got its name from the cut through the rock for Diocletian's aqueduct, preserved even today on an elongated rocky slope that extends west from Sutikva towards the river and today's Gašpina mlinica.

17 I. Alduk 2015; A. Torlak 2019.

(*…e ristaurar fa la foretzza di Salona, quella che era stata eriger fatta dall´arcivescovo Malabrancia*).[18] All other sources agree that at that moment the Ottomans were only rebuilding the fortress in Gradina – the same one they had built a few years earlier and which Kružić had partially demolished.[19]

Katić, on the other hand, could not determine the exact location of the archbishop's fortress, except that it was not in Gradina (on the right bank of the river) but in Prosik (which is a rather broad geographical denomination) on the left bank of the river.[20]

The document on the demarcation of Split, Klis and Omiš from 1397 provides minimal assistance in locating the archbishop's fortress. The people of Klis indicated (as the border with Split) an elongated hill that began on the Sutikva hill and went towards the sea by the southern side of a valley near the archbishop's fortress.[21]

The aforementioned Ottoman defters also do not help in locating this building. We could argue for a slight possibility that the fort was located closer to the river, although this primarily refers to the mills and fulling mills that belonged to it.

After everything that has been written, at this point and for our story, the most important thing is that the Archbishop of Split owned a fort in Solin as well as numerous other properties, including mills.[22]

The Urmanić family also owned mills and a fortress on the river, a fact we know from another, somewhat unexpected written source, which sheds more light on this story. In January 1556, the nobleman from the island of Hvar and Renaissance poet Petar Hektorović completed his unique and quite idyllic travel poem – *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* (*Fishing and the Fisherman´s Conversation*).[23] He would not have it printed in Venice until 1568. Describing his three-day journey, probably in the summer of 1555, with two fishermen in the triangle between Hvar, Brač and Šolta, at one point Hektorović tells the story of Paskoje, one of the two fishermen: Some time before this trip, he found himself in the company of some Dominicans for whom the servants had prepared lunch (*obid*) on the Solin River, near the Urmanić mill and their castellum – *Kol Urmanića mlina i kol njih kaštila*... Paskoje is probably describing events from 20 or more years earlier, when the area along the Solin River was still under Christian control and relatively peaceful. This information, so far very rarely used in the historiography, is of exceptional importance for the history of this area.[24] The point is that this family owned a fortified grain mill or fulling mill in Solin and that this mill was still referred to by their name during Ottoman rule – i.e., by the name of Jakov Urmanić. We know of two men with this name. Considering the time that Paskoje is referring to (first decades of the 16th century), this likely refers to the older one who appears in documents at the very end of the 15th century as «ser Jakov Urmanić», and who died before 1503. Another ser Jakov appears in the sources during the 1560s.[25]

It is also important to note that the mill was (or could be) fortified, which certainly follows to some extent from Paskoje's testimony, and from the Ottoman defter. A certain number of mills had a tower in addition to the mill building itself, or the mills were somewhat fortified, e.g., by constructing narrow loopholes in the walls. The

18 Notizie 1883, p. 14.

19 I. Alduk 2015, pp. 110-111; A. Torlak 2019, pp. 182-183. Unfortunately, during the last archaeological excavations in Gradina, archaeologists (due to poor prior planning unrelated to researchers) had to concentrate almost exclusively on the revisionary research of the early Christian/Byzantine and early medieval church. Thus, the opportunity to explore the entire area of Gradina, as well as the remains of architecture in the southern part of the fortress, was missed.

20 L. Katić 1928, pp. 88-90.

21 CD XVIII, 179.

22 This is not the place for a more detailed discussion of the location of the medieval fortress of the Archbishop of Split in Solin. All the more so because the Archbishop had numerous estates in Solin and the surrounding area, Prosik being one of those. And the earliest mention of an archbishop's fortress is related to Vranjic and dates back to the beginning of the 13th century (Hist. Salon, XXIV, 9). This information becomes even more interesting when we relate it to the identification of Prosik (more precisely, the places called *Prasce*) and Vranjic in later centuries. So this problem is as much of a spatial nature as it is chronological. M. N. Kuzmanić 2014, pp. 123-125; M. Zekan 2014; K. Juran-K. Barzman-J. Faričić 2019, p. 131, note 63.

23 There are also several translations of this work into English; K. Grgić 2019.

24 This story was first pointed out by R. Bužančić in his paper on early medieval churches on the Otok/Island in Solin, but with a very questionable interpretation that we must comment on here; R. Bužančić 1998, pp. 63-64. The author brings a fragment of that poem, from which it is quite clear what Paskoje and Hektorović are referring to. He concludes from the verse *Tuj se družina na obid skupila / Kon Urmanić mlina i kod njih kaštila – There the company gathered for lunch, near Urmanić mill and their fort* that the mention of the fort does not refer to the Urmanić family and their fort and mill, but to the fortified Dominican monastery, which he assumes existed in Solin, in the mid-16th century. To reinforce this assumption, the author used the 1671 map of Solin (more on which later)) with the church of St Catherine on the Otok/Island. We believe this to be a mistake made by the author of the map, given that a year earlier the church in Solin was dedicated to Our Lady (St Mary), just as it was in its earlier history (since the Early Middle Ages), but also after 1671, i.e., to the present day; L. Katić 1955, pp. 206-207; A. Duplančić 1999, p. 10.

25 M. N. Kuzmanić 2013, pp. 69-70



Janko´s mill, photo before World War II, (E. Dyggve 1989, p. 159)

best-preserved such tower stood next to Jankova mlinica/Janko´s mill at the south-western end of Gospin Otok / Our Lady Island, but was unfortunately destroyed during World War II.[26] Fortunately, photographs of the complex exist from before its demolition. They depict a tall tower (about 8 – 10 metres to the roof) with a rectangular ground plan, relatively thin walls, and a gable roof covered with stone slabs. Literature also mentions the existence of embrasures or bretèche above the door and loopholes/arrowslits in the walls.[27]

Although the mill is named after a Janko, it was not after Yako/Janko Urmanić, named as such in Ottoman sources. Instead, the mill was named after Janko Marijanović, a native of Poljica who distinguished himself in the battles for Klis in 1648. The mill and land in Solin were granted by the Venetian government to his son, and the family itself is often referred to as «Janko».[28]

The existence of such fortifications or towers, however modest they may be, emphasizes the value of the mills themselves and says something about the social and economic relations in this area – such as a feudalisation of the landscape (late medieval and Ottoman) or an internal power struggle over possessions that have great economic benefits. Also, we must not lose sight of the fact that this is a border area where there is always the danger of disagreements, robberies, hostilities and of course, war.

As for the towers, they probably became an integral part of the architecture of the mills in Solin, during the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. Later ones are the result of increasing Ottoman pressure on this area, and architecturally, they represent the simplest form that combines defence and habitation. The mill itself functioned exclusively as a working space, while the tower was probably used for residential purposes. Defence relied on the height of the tower and other features that made it difficult to conquer – e.g., an elevated entrance, loopholes, and occasionally machicolation or bretèche. In this anachronistic medieval form – tall towers with a square or rectangular ground plan and relatively thin

26 The mill was first neglected as a result of a quarrel between the millers of Solin, since some of them (probably out of malice and envy) destroyed the (ancient Roman?) bridge next to the mill with explosives. After that, the remains of the mill and the bridge were demolished by the Italian army during World War II, since they built their military barracks below the church. These barracks were later inherited by the new Partisan government and used as a camp for captured German soldiers. After that, they became the property of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army and were only demolished in 1994. L. Katić 1952, p. 214; M. Matijević 2024.

27 L. Katić 1952, pp. 217-218.

28 A. Duplančić 1999, p. 17. However, here we encounter a minor problem. The literature states that this mill and the estates in Solin were only given to Janko's son, Frane Marijanović, by the Venetian authorities in 1672. So, a year later than the creation of the map on which the mill is already called Janko's mill. Obviously, this investiture must have occurred earlier, or it was only formally confirmed in 1672, accepting the existing state of affairs.

walls – they persisted for a very long time, right until the 18th century. They are found throughout Dalmatia (and neighbouring Herzegovina) – in the interior, on the coast, and on the islands – and reflect the turbulent times in which they were built. While those on the coast and islands (e.g., Kaštela, Marina, Vis, Pelješac) often display strong stylistic features and a much better understanding of the principles of fortification architecture, the towers in Ottoman territory are much simpler in design (e.g., Makarska Littoral, Imotski, especially Vrgorac). The tower next to Janko's watermill would belong to these simpler types, which does not necessarily mean it was built during Ottoman rule over Solin. It may simply be one of the earlier forms.

A few more words about the architecture of mills. In Ottoman defters, stables are also mentioned alongside watermills, mills / grinding stones, fulling mills, and towers. These are, essentially, an integral part of the architecture of mills – especially the larger ones, since grain was brought to the mill almost exclusively on horses, donkeys, and mules, which then had to be accommodated somewhere during the grinding process.[29] The millers themselves also had to keep their horses or donkeys nearby to look after them.[30]

Perhaps in this context of fortified mills with towers, the mention of the bishop's fortress in the defters and the so-called Slender Tower should also be considered, but with a certain degree of caution, as later in the text we will offer some other thoughts about Janko's mill.

Let us consider the report from 1550 that the Venetian envoy Catarino Zeno left from his trip to Constantinople. Arriving in Split by galley from Venice, Zeno proceeded overland towards Constantinople. However, in Split he first had to gather information and see for himself all the problems the people of Split had with Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha, due to disagreements over the borders between Split and the Vizier's estate. In addition to the commune itself, the problem of the archdiocese regarding *de molini, et de castelletti, de saline...* is specifically mentioned.[31] Perhaps the word *castelletti* refers to the towers next to the mills, which are also mentioned in a certain way by the defters.

Furthermore, the Venetian, or Trogir, watermill on Pantana was fortified around 1582, among other things, with a strong tower. At one point, it became strategically extremely important as the one of the rare water mills under Venetian control in Dalmatia.[32] The mill on Pantana thus became one of the best examples of such architecture in Europe in general. Such building complexes are known, although somewhat less researched, in European architecture of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age.[33] We have presented only a few insights on this subject, which is certainly worthy of further elaboration and research.

It is also worth mentioning that a tower next to a mill appears in the earliest depictions of Solin, as an ideal symbolic representation. On a map of Dalmatia from the very beginning of the 16th century, the Solin mills are shown as a series of buildings along the river.[34] However, in the depiction of Solin (more precisely, Split and its surroundings) by Martin Kolunić Rota from 1570, we clearly see a building on arches above the river (watermill), next to which is a tower with a hipped roof topped by a crescent, with the adjacent inscription *Molini*-watermills.[35] An almost identical complex with the same inscription also appears in the depiction of this area on the copper engraving by G. F. Camotio from 1571.[36] Here, along the branches of the Jadro River, two smaller buildings are shown, which

29 D. Alaupović Gjeldum 1981, pp. 91-92; S. Buble 2009, p. 98.

30 At the end of this lengthy commentary on the Solin mills and their architecture, we would like to mention the possibility of a slightly broader view of the entire area in terms of its «urbanism» and spatial development during the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age. Solin never developed into a city/town or even a significant settlement in the then and present sense of the word. Its importance rested on slightly different features. During the Middle Ages, the inhabited part of Solin, especially the area along the river, was still dominated by royal buildings from the Early Middle Ages and later (churches, monasteries, remains of the royal palace (?), the archbishop´s fortified palace etc.), bridges and, of course, mills. Furthermore, we must also take into account the ancient (Roman) ruins of Salona that were just that – ruins – for a very long time and consequently a convenient source of building stone, a quarry. The medieval mills, and everything related to them, remained there during the Ottoman administration, along with two other prominent buildings – the Ottoman fortress in Gradina and the Venetian one on the main bridge. Solin's urbanism and its development, and to some extent its influence on the emergence and development of today's Solin, should be viewed from this perspective.

31 P. Matković 1878, p. 204; G. Necipoğlu 2014, p. 325.

32 I. Babić 2016, pp. 276-281; W. Panciera 2013, pp. 30-31.

33 P. Racine 2006; Of particular note are the fortified mills in southwestern France, especially along the Baïse River; O. Deviliers 2016. Or the fortified mill of Canet in the Aude department in the south of France, https://journals.openedition.org/pds/11420 /(2026-02-17). There are also examples in Italy, especially in the Veneto region, where mills (and all water-powered plants) at this time began to form a kind of pre-industrial landscape; D. Howard 2021.

34 K. Juran-K. Barzman-J. Faričić 2019, p. 105.

35 V. Firić 2001, p. 11.

36 *Ibid*., p. 12.

also represent mills. Although these depictions, like all those that were later created almost as copies, are very simplified representations of Solin and its surroundings, they still convey the most basic information about the area and prominent points or buildings within it, just like the laconic Ottoman defters. Although it is very difficult to substantiate this claim, given the simplified depictions in both Rota and Camotio, the position of the mill with a tower along the northern side of the largest island on the river (Otok / Gospin Otok) would correspond to the position of today's Velika Galija watermill, which could mean that it once had a tower. As mentioned above, this could be a general depiction of the Solin watermill as a type, of which the tower was an important part. The same general architectural features are confirmed by the much later, and much more precise, map of Solin from 1671.[37] On this map, there is a small tower next to Velika Galija, while the towers next to the nearby mill of Janko and today's Aljinović mill are much more prominent. Although the Aljinović mill is relatively well preserved, there is no tower there today.

In this context of a fortified mill or a mill with a tower, we could perhaps also consider the reference to the «Lukšić tower» and other properties in the aforementioned defter (BOA 533 [1574], p. 451).

The report of the rector of Split, Antonio Pasqualigo, on his return from duty in 1567 also mentions towers next to the mills in Solin.[38] The largest mill on the river at that time belonged to the widow of Rüstem Pasha and had 12 grinding mills/stones and can relatively certainly be identified with the Velika Galija watermill. However, Pasqualigo mentions more of them. Two turrets or small towers (*torreselle*) with mills and fulling mills (*fuolli*) were once owned by the Split commune and were demolished in his time. Another tower with two grinding stones was once owned by the «Christians of Klis».[39]

The latter is of interest because it is possible to establish a connection with the estates which, in the Ottoman defter, are associated with the so-called Ban's tower (*oc-ağ-i kule-i Ban*). These comprise three mills and one fulling mill.[40] This is, in fact, the only document that informs us of such a tower in Solin, and, like most others there, it provides the pre-Ottoman name of the tower.

The same number of mills or grinding stones (three) and fulling mills (one) is recorded on Calergi's map from 1675[41] in a watermill called «Bagna mlinizza» which could be translated as Banska mlinica/Ban´s mill. Its position on the map (number 2142), at the south-western end of Gospin otok, corresponds exactly to the previously mentioned mill of Janko with a tower, which was destroyed at the beginning of World War II. This possibility, although entirely unrelated and somewhat unclear, was already suspected by Lovre Katić. He attempted to relate it, among other things, to Petar Kružić (the last Christian commander of Klis fortress until 1537) and his authority over Solin on behalf of the Habsburg king. Kružić leased a mill to Jerolim Cvičić / Zvičić from Split in 1534, and, interestingly, it was also a watermill with three mills/grinding stones.[42]

It is important to mention another interesting fact here. We should not be surprised by the long existence of some of these buildings or, more specifically, the mill of Janko. Although it underwent numerous changes, it stood in the same place for at least 400 years, and probably much longer. Grinding grain was the main, and almost the only, craft activity in Solin during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age.[43] This activity essentially continued without interruption until after World War II, despite all the hardships, wars, and population changes.[44]

37 A. Duplančić 1999, p. 10.

38 L. Katić 1952, pp. 213-214; Š. Ljubić 1880, p. 138.

39 Evliya Çelebi also mentions the «mills of Klis» and «mills on the Klis River» (Jadro) in his travelogue; E. Čelebija 1967, pp. 155, 197.

40 To clarify and simplify, in Croatian history, Ban was the second-ranking official in the kingdom directly subordinate to the king himself. In the Hungarian-Croatian and later Habsburg Kingdom, Ban functioned as the king's representative in the Croatian lands. From medieval documents, we know that he also had certain authority and income over the Solin mills; L. Katić 1952, pp. 205-206.

41 HR-DAZD-6, Grimani maps, no. 95-96.

42 L. Katić 1952, pp. 212-21; 1993, p. 308; Although he never held the title of Ban, Kružić was definitely the highest royal representative in what remained of the Habsburg Kingdom in the south during the late 1520s and 1530s. However, folk tradition, tales and songs, often refer to him as Ban; M. Dragić 2022. It seems that the aforementioned Jerolim Cvičić/Zvičić died at the same time as Kružić or with him, in the last attempt to break the Ottoman siege of Klis in March 1537; J. Pera 1955, p. 283.

43 This connection between craft/knowledge and a specific region is perhaps best expressed in the charter of King Zvonimir from around 1077 to the monastery of St Benedict in Split, when he gave the nuns, among other things, a mill *...que est vita ipsorum...* – which is their life. CD I, 170. The last mill that operated to some extent in Solin until the 1980s was the Velika galija or Ponkova mlinica; S. Buble 2009, pp. 97-98.

44 This history of long existence is also reflected in much smaller details. For example, in the very names of individual parts of the mill facility (e.g., *senj* and *paprica* – iron parts of the millstones, *kolovaja* – a channel for bringing water to the blades), which are called exactly the same today as in the documents from the 13th and 14th centuries; L. Katić 1952, pp. 207-209; S. Buble 2009, pp. 103-107.

One of the items also mentioned in these last three defters is pastures. This is understandable, given the relatively large number of livestock at that time.

The pasture called Lištani (BOA 622 [c.1585], fol. 236b) is currently impossible to locate. As a kind of compensation, we can only state that it is a phytonym, more precisely from the word «list» (proto-Slavic **listъ*), which would denote everything green and relatively wooded, which certainly corresponds to a pasture. Therefore, perhaps we should not look for this place in the centre of today's Solin, but rather on its outskirts. Although the references in the defters could mean that the pasture was located somewhere near the Lončarić fortress (or the former Venetian castle on the bridge), we still believe that, due to the frequent mention, it is only a general note that roughly defines a particular location.

On the other hand, the pasture referred to as «Stanje» or perhaps «Stagnje» and the hay meadow there (Ankara 1604, fol. 136b) could be located to some extent. The toponym «Stagnje» is mentioned in a document from 1374 (…*vie veteres Stagne vocate*… – ...old roads called Stagnje...),[45] and is situated somewhere north or west of Sutikva towards the Jadro River or its source – in any case, in an area where we would expect pastures, and not so much arable land.

New Solin (*Solin-i Cedid* or *Yeni Solin*) and Gradina

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236a: Yeni Solin üsti ve altı yanında vaki' olan Prosik nam mahalla varınca iki kıt'a harabe dalyan [two sets of ruinous fisheries (or fishponds?) on reaching the site known as Prosik situated on the upper and lower side of New Solin (Yeni Solin)].

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 235a: bağ-i Behlul Beğ ez-Zaim der ma-beyn-i kale-i Loncarik ve Solin-i cedid tabi'-i Klis dönüm 13 ½ fi 5 resim 68 [vineyard of Behlul Bey the zeamet-holder (situated) between the castle(s) (kale) of Lončarić and New Solin (Solin-i Cedid) belonging to Klis: (size) 13 ½ dönüm at 5 tax 68 (akçe)].

The mention of New Solin is particularly interesting and presents one of the most challenging questions raised by this paper. First, it is notable to observe that the Ottomans clearly distinguished ancient Roman Salona (*Solin-i Atik*) from New Solin (*Solin-i Cedid or Yeni Solin*). In the defter (BOA 622 [c.1585], fol. 236a), New Solin is associated with Prosik, which is allegedly located «on the upper and lower sides of New Solin». Thus, it appears that the term «New Solin» could refer to a larger area. The Ottoman geographical description of Prosik as lying «on

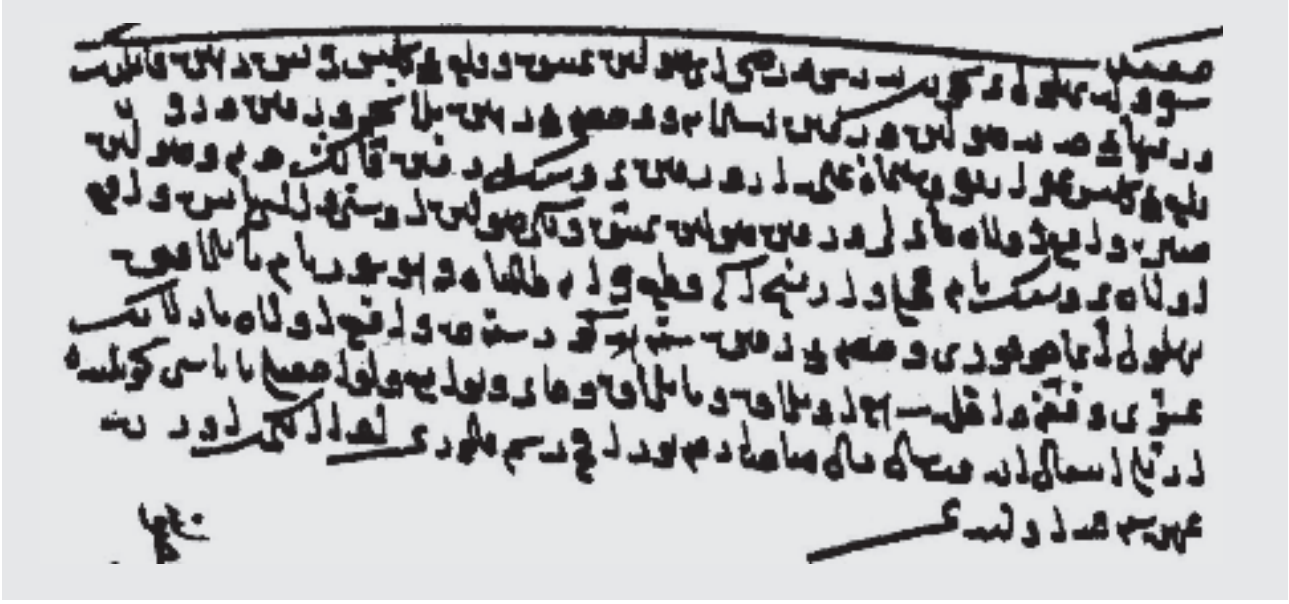


Figure 6
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236a

45 L. Katić 1955, pp. 149, 161, 168.

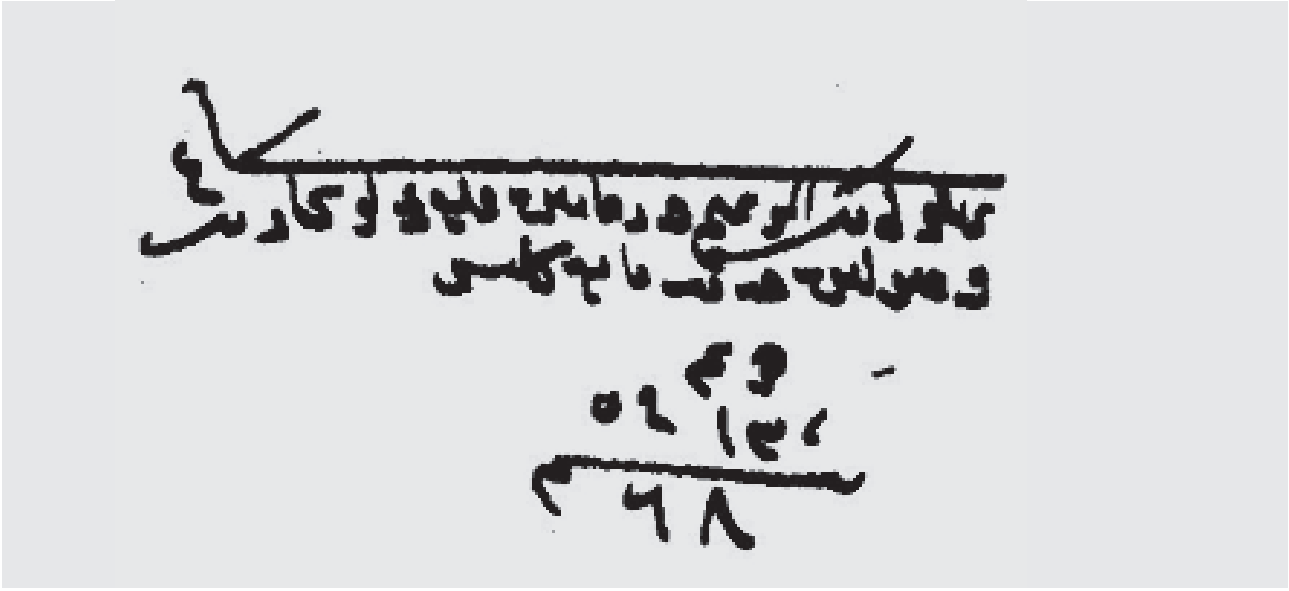


Figure 7
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 235a

the upper and lower part of New Solin» suggests that the two districts face each other along the course of the Jadro River, with (potentially smaller) New Solin on its right and (potentially more extensive) Prosik on its left bank.

Prosik, as mentioned earlier, is a medieval village, more precisely a rather wide area of a village on the left bank of the Jadro River. If one had to define it, mostly on the basis of Katić's research,[46] it would be from the middle course of the river, west of Sutikva hill, and through today's Kunčeva greda and Arapovac to the Solin districts of Japirko and Bašini across the river from the contemporary center (areas broadly called by the locals Priko vode / Across the water). In this case the river could be considered the rather clearly defined border between New Solin and Prosik. .

If we consider the fact that Prosik, as well as part of the mills on the Jadro River, was largely the property of the Archbishop of Split during the Middle Ages, the situation becomes even more interesting. Available sources acknowledge that the estate of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha in Solin bordered territory of the commune of Split,[47] which means that it extended on the left bank of the Jadro River, i.e. south of the river. We also know that the mills were the most important part of that estate. Consequently, we can assume that Rüstem simply took over the estates of the Archbishop of Split, reflecting a common practice or policy when Ottoman dignitaries were granted the freehold, by means of a *mülkname* or an act of *temlik* from the Sultan, of former ecclesiastical land in newly conquered territories.[48] When he set out on his journey to Constantinople via Split, the mentioned Venetian *ambassador straordinario* Catarino Zeno stopped somewhere between Split and Solin noting the disputes between Rustem and the citizens of Split: …*sopra la differentie de Spalatini, che hanno co'l magnifico Rustem, et vedute tutte le difficulta sue, et quelle del archivescovado, de molini, et de castelletti, de saline*…[49] Allegedly, Rustem was furious at these complaints from Split.[50]

The term «New Solin» was probably created to clearly distinguish it from the old, Roman Solin, i.e. Salona (*Solin-i-Atik*). However, it is also possible that there was a need to distinguish it from Rüstem's estate, the future vakif. Certainly, the border was the river, but perhaps not such a solid border, considering that Rüstem's property

46 L. Katić 1928, p. 88-90.
47 M. Ursinus 2021.
48 M. Ursinus 2022, pp. 390-394.
49 P. Matković 1878, p. 204.
50 G. Necipoğlu 2014, 325.

also included the mills found on both banks of the river. Therefore, New Solin can be imagined primarily on the right bank of the river.

Incidentally, this is the area where there were the most watermills in history, where the most famous Solin church(es) of Our Lady of the Island and St Stephen stood, and where the centre of Solin is still located today. The most important feature of this area is the existence of the main Split-Solin-Klis road, most likely created during the (Early) Middle Ages on part of the eastern ramparts of Roman Salona (today's Ulica kralja Zvonimira).

One might think that Novi Solin could refer to a smaller settlement that developed next to the former Venetian fort on the bridge on the left bank of the river (Ottoman Lončarić), in present-day Meterize[51] – but from the defter (BOA 622 [c.1585], fol. 235a) about the rather large vineyard of Behlul Bey located between Novi Solin and Lončarić, it is clear that such a conclusion is unlikely.

However, there are other possibilities. There is information in the literature that Ghazi Hüsrev Bey, announcing the victory at Klis in 1537 to Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, promised to build a «new city» on the ruins of ancient Salona.[52] If true, the appellation *Yeni Solin* or *Solin-i cedid* would confirm that the intention of Hüsrev Bey, which he himself was unable to realise (he died in 1541), came to fruition in some form in later decades. However, we must be very careful with this. If the inspiration for this story was Pečevija's report on the Ottoman capture of Klis in 1537,[53] then the conclusion about the reconstruction of the old city and the construction and settlement of the new one could be misinterpreted. Because there is almost no doubt that this report refers to the reconstruction of the fortress in Gradina, and not a new city or any form of settlement.[54] Gradina was constructed and first destroyed in 1532 but rebuilt in 1536/37 by Ghazi Hüsrev Bey, only to fall into disuse after the fall of Klis and described as the *Castello di Turchi ruinato* in later sources. In this, Ottoman sources almost completely agree with Venetian ones.[55] Even Evliya Çelebi, writing about the capture of Klis about a hundred years after that event, tells a similar story and speaks of a rectangular fortress built of stone that Husrev Bey erected on the foundations of the city of Solin/Salona.[56]

However, Gradina is marked with a question mark in our list because there appears to be no reference to it in the Ottoman defters. We consider it unlikely that it is hidden behind the Ottoman appellation *Yeni Solin* or *Solin-i cedid,* yet «New Solin» might include the former fortress. We must stress that in none of the references to «New Solin» is there a clear and unambiguous mention of it being a (former) fortress (*kale* or *kaştel* in Ottoman). As a (disused) Ottoman fortress, it could not, of course, have been part of Rüstem's or any other individual land possessions, but it could have served as a topographical feature. Why it was not mentioned in the defter – it remains unknown at present.

The reference in the defter to New Solin as belonging to the territory of Klis (*tabi'-i Klis*) is another interesting point, since part of today's Solin on the right riverbank, almost down to Gradina,[57] is still within the boundary of the Klis cadastral commune. This unusually deep wedge in the Solin territory, which is still a subject of controversy today, has never been fully clarified, so perhaps this is one possible explanation or at least one of the possible paths that needs to be further explored.

The «River Island» (*Ada*) and the «Big Church»

> *BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236a: çiftlik-i Ali Ağa an hisse-i zeminha-i Solin ve Kotle ve zemin-i ada der nezd-i kilisa-i büzürg mea balıklağı [çiftlik of Ali Ağa: part of the grounds of Solin and Kotle and the plot (zemin) of the Island (ada) in the immediate vicinity of the Big Church (kilisa-i büzürg) together with its fishing ground (or fishponds [balıklık])].*

51 I. Alduk 2018, pp. 114-115.

52 J. Belamarić 2007, p. 32.

53 I. Alajbegović Pečevija 2000, p. 172.

54 In a free translation from Croatian, this text would read as follows – …*then the Bosnian governor, the late Husrev Bey, planned to repair the Solin fortress, which is located near the Klis fortress, and which has long been in ruins and has become inhabited by owls and bats. He informed the padishah (sultan) of his plan to place ghazis (warriors) in it who would attack the infidels and besiege the Klis fortress, hoping that the fortress could be joined to the Islamic fortresses, and the padishah accepted his plan. So, after repairing the fortress properly, Husrev Bey placed the required number of ghazis in it.*

55 I. Alduk 2015, pp. 111-112; A. Torlak 2019, pp. 182-183.

56 E. Čelebija 1967, pp. 195-196. Unfortunately in recent translations of parts of Çelebi „Seyahatname", this part about Klis and Solin is missing and the focus is on his mission to Split and the description of that city; R. Dankoff – S. Kim 2011, pp. 161-166. For some new approaches to Çelebi's text in general, see V. Kursar – N. Moačanin – K. Jurin Starčević 2021

57 More precisely, the Klis cadastral border is about 30 metres from the fortress to the north/northeast.

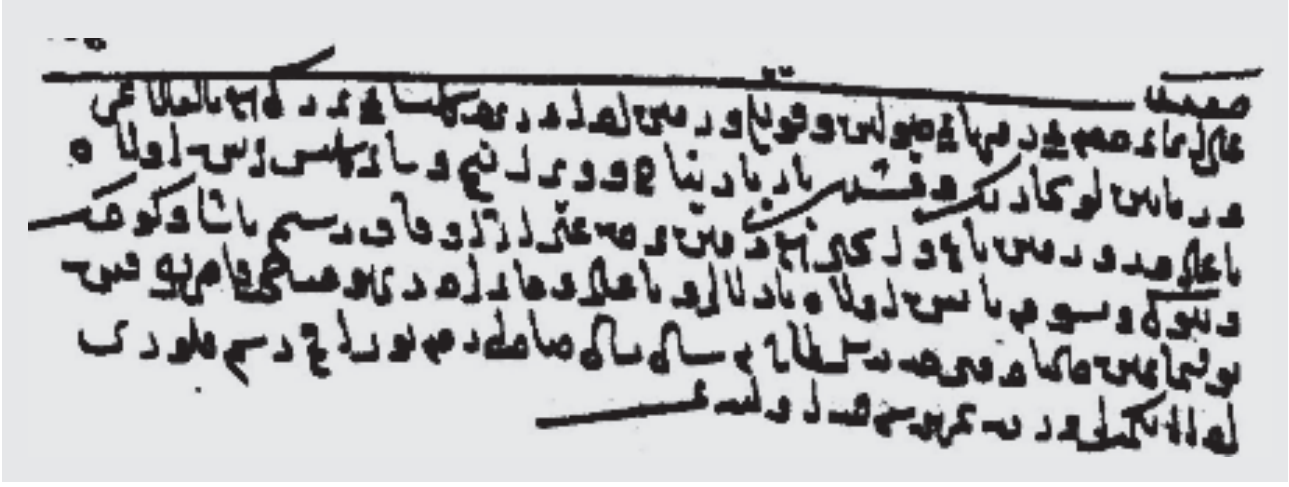


Figure 8
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236a

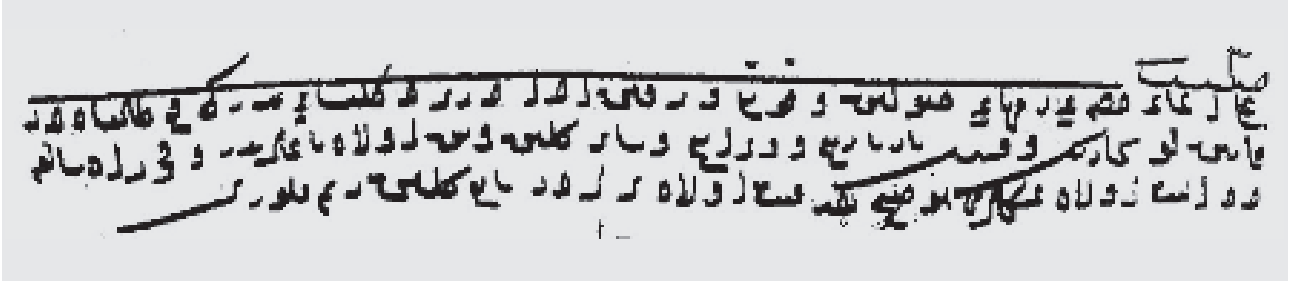


Figure 9
Ankara 1604, fol. 136a

Ankara 1604, fol. 136a: çiftlik-i Ali Ağa an hisse-i zeminha-i Solin ve Kotile ve zemin-i ada der nezd-i kilisa-i büzürg mea dalyan der ma-beyn-i Loncarik ve Kastel Barbarinaç ve Viraniç [çiftlik of Ali Ağa: part of the grounds of Solin and Kotle and the plot (zemin) of the Island (ada) in the immediate vicinity of the Big Church (kilisa-i büzürg) with fishery rights between Lončarić, the castello of Barbarinac and Vranjic].

In Ottoman terminology, the Turkish word *ada* (island), like the Arabic *ğazīra*, refers not only to islands in the sea or lakes but also regularly denotes intra-fluvial dry land, hence al-Ğazīra, Mesopotamia. Even a peninsula is often referred to as an island in Ottoman texts. In this document, we find one extremely important piece of information – the mention of a church on the island. Since it is beyond doubt that the building mentioned is a church on a river island (*ada*), it may be the medieval church, or its remains, of Our Lady of the Island. In Ottoman defters, churches are sometimes named, i.e. their dedication is recorded, which could mean (though not in all cases) that they were in use at the time of recording. The fact that this church is not given its dedication probably indicates that the building was no longer in use as a church. Apart from the problem that arose very early in Croatian archaeology and historiography regarding the number of churches on the Island (one or two), and/or their dedications,[58] another problem remains – the fact that the Church of Our Lady of the Island is not mentioned in historical sources for a very long time – between

58 R. Bužančić 1998, pp. 57-58; A. Duplančić 1999, p. 7. With all relevant literature on this topic.

1397 and 1670,[59] nor is it found on maps or drawings of this territory from the 16th and early 17th centuries.[60]

Despite that, the defters from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century confirm that at least parts of the church survived the Ottoman conquest. It may even have been functional in the early Ottoman period, but over time it was certainly abandoned and partially demolished.[61]

This information about the existence of a church (or more likely church ruins) on the Otok/Island[62] is extremely important, since we are now quite certain that the 17th-century Church of Our Lady was actually largely built within an existing church from the Early Middle Ages, i.e. it used its walls.[63] We knew about the existence of such ruins in the Solin-Klis area before, but earlier historiography did not attempt to use and interpret this information. The Calergi map records many such ruins; we know from the request for separation from the Klis parish that an older and ruined church was to be repaired, etc.[64] Even Archbishop of Split S. Cupilli, in his 1718 visitation, described the Solin church as very old and renovated several times.[65]

Finally, there are the well-known watercolours by P. Zečević painted around 1840 from the Archaeological Museum in Split,[66] on which it is clear that the 17th-century church used the walls of the earlier one with characteristic early medieval lesenes on the longer walls.[67] Considering that some authors argue for the thesis of the existence of two medieval (early medieval) churches on the Otok, the question arose as to which of the two could have been used for the construction of the church in the 17th century. The main problem are the dimensions of the church built or renovated in the 17th century (especially its width) and the existence or non-existence, as well as the shape, of lesenes on the church walls.[68]

Despite being very important, this new piece of information about the church on the Island, which apparently survived the Ottoman conquest in most of its architecture, unfortunately does not provide a full answer to these and other questions.

In view of the foregoing, it should be stressed that the Ottoman term for «big» (*büzürg*), being of Persian, not Turkish origin, could also be translated as «important».

In addition to these dilemmas, there is another one that we noticed while working on this text. There are reasonable and more or less well-argued assumptions that the church of St Mary throughout history from the Middle Ages to the present day, regardless of the break in the cult, was dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, which is celebrated on September 8 (*Mala Gospa*).[69] However, on the famous map by Z. Calergi from 1675, it is marked as *La Madona assunta*, i.e., dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady (*Velika Gospa*), which is celebrated on August 15. Until now, this information in Calergi's map has most often been considered an error. However, in a source almost contemporary to this map, namely the report of the missionary Don Petar Božanović to the Holy See from July 1672, the church in Solin is listed as *l'Assumpta*.[70] And while the dedication of this church to St Catherine on the map from 1671 was dismissed as a mistake,[71] this piece of information should be further studied.

In the defters, another toponym is mentioned – Kotile/Kotle. This place is part of the *çiftlik* or agrarian holding of Ali Ağa (see above) and is not specified further. Its grounds appear to be of the same quality as those of Solin and Ada, all being recorded as *zemin* plots. According to Hazim Šabanović, this term of Persian origin denotes a (larger) complex of cultivated plots which are

59 A. Duplančić 1999, p. 7

60 In the visitation of Archbishop Markantun de Dominis in 1604, there is mention of the image of Our Lady transferred from Solin to Split, which was then kept in the Chappel of the Immaculate Conception on the Peristyle. A. Duplančić 1999, p. 9

61 This very loose assumption of some kind of use of the church would be based exclusively on the relative proximity of the Venetian fortress on the bridge over the Jadro River, only 400 metres downstream. However, this fortress also passed into Ottoman hands at the beginning of the Cyprus War, so July 1571 could be the *terminus post quem non* for the presumed functioning of the church on the Island.

62 The word «otok» is capitalised here because that is actually its name, considering that it is the largest island on the river, and it is most often called Otok/Island or Gospin otok / Our Lady's Island (because of the church).

63 The primary reference in this context is the work of A. Duplančić, which Bužančić subsequently drew upon while proposing certain alternative, yet closely related, interpretations. A. Duplančić 1999, pp. 13-24; R. Bužančić 1998, pp. 68-73.

64 A. Duplančić 1999, p. 8.

65 *Ibid*., p.15.

66 Unfortunately, the church burned down in 1875.

67 A. Duplančić 1999, pp. 15-22.

68 *Ibid*., pp. 19, 27-28; R. Bužančić 1998, pp. 68-86; M. Matijević 2011, pp. 67-69.

69 L. Katić 1955, pp. 214, 217-218.

70 M. Jačov 1998, p. 200.

71 See footnote 24.

neither of *çiftlik* nor *baştina* status.[72] It is frequently recorded as part of *hassa* holdings, a sipahi's possession which he cultivates himself (similar to the *terra dominicata* in European feudalism), as distinct from *reaya* land. *Zemin* can often, but not always, be shown to refer to (former) church lands. The place name can probably be identified with the *petra incisa* of the 1328/1329 demarcation of the border between Klis and Split, situated by the sea west of today's Solin (between Solin and Kaštel Sućurac): *incipit in mari directe ad petram incisam quae vocatur Chotal [...].*[73] On the recently published map and documents of the Turkish-Venetian demarcation after the Cyprus War, this toponym also appears (as one of the points of demarcation) right along the sea coast between Solin and Kaštel Sućurac.[74] It is still marked and referred to as Kotal on some 17th-century maps (e.g., that by Calergi).[75] The place is clearly considered to be in Ottoman hands, making it impossible for Split to have a land connection with its territory in part of today's Kaštela – a connection that had already been severed since 1571 with the Ottoman conquest of the Venetian castle on the Solin bridge (Lončarić).

The Fort/*Castello* of Lončarić

BOA 533 (1574), p. 451: andan harabe kilisaya andan Klis hududına andan Lonçariç nam kastel kale yerlerinden andan İvraniç nam harabe kaleye [from there to the ruined church, from there to the Klis boundary, from there past the grounds of the castle by the name of Lončarić castello and from there to the ruined castle of Vranjic (final section of boundary description of Rüstem Pasha's vakif)].[76]

BOA 533 (1574), p. 452: zemin-i bağ der kurb-i köpri-i kaştel Loncarik der nehr-i Solin an evkaf-i Behlul Beg [vineyard plot in the vicinity of the bridge of the castello of Lončarić on the Solin River as part of the pious foundation of Behlul Bey].

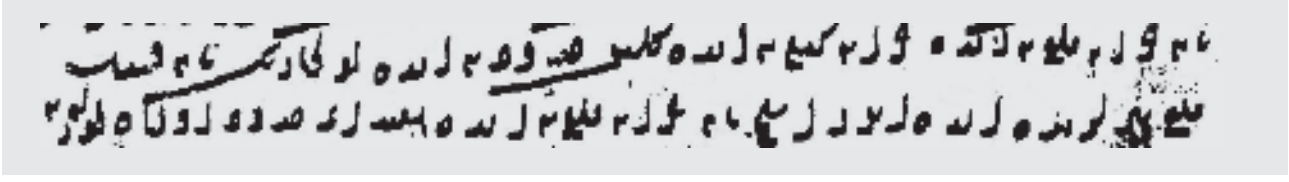


Figure 10
BOA 533 (1574), p. 451

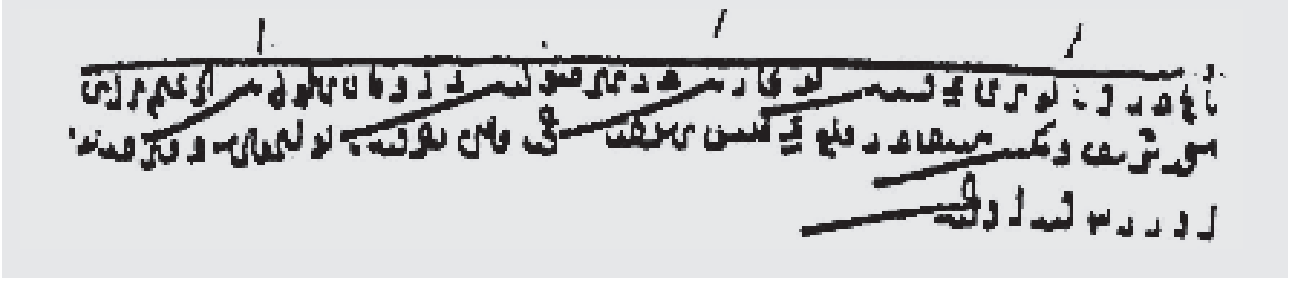


Figure 11
BOA 533 (1574), p. 452

72 H. Šabanović 1964, p. 145
73 L. Katić 1958, pp. 193, 197.
74 K. Juran-J. Faričić 2024, pp. 75, 102.
75 L. Katić 1993, p. 297.
76 For the full text of the perambulation text of Rüstem Pasha's *mülk* property/pious foundation, in Modern Turkish transcription and English translation, see M. Ursinus 2021, p. 88.

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 235a: bağ-i Behlul Beğ ez-Zaim der ma-beyn-i kale-i Loncarik ve Solin-i cedid tabi'-i Klis dönüm 13 ½ fi 5 resim 68 [vineyard of Behlul Bey the zeamet-holder (situated) between the castle (kale) of Lončarić and New Solin belonging to Klis: (size) 13 ½ dönüm at 5 tax 68 (akçe)].

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 237a: bağ-i Ferhad Paşa mir-i miran-i Bosna Çirvarik bağı demekle marufdır der kurb-i kale-i Loncarik dönüm 5 fi 7 resim 35 [vineyard of Ferhad Pasha, governor-general of Bosnia, known as the Črvarić (?Crvarić) vineyard, in the vicinity of the castle of Lončarić: 5 dönüm at 7 tax 35 (akçe)].

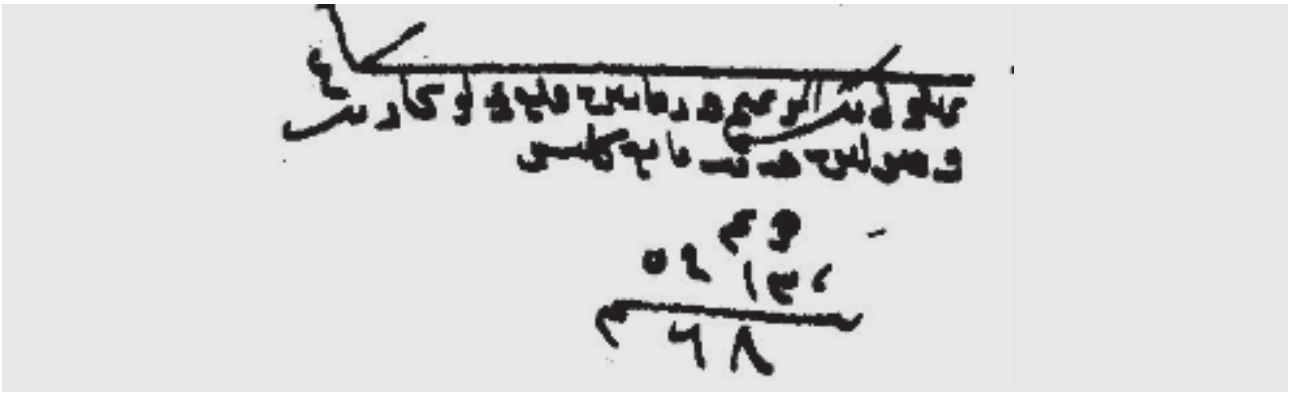


Figure 12
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 235a

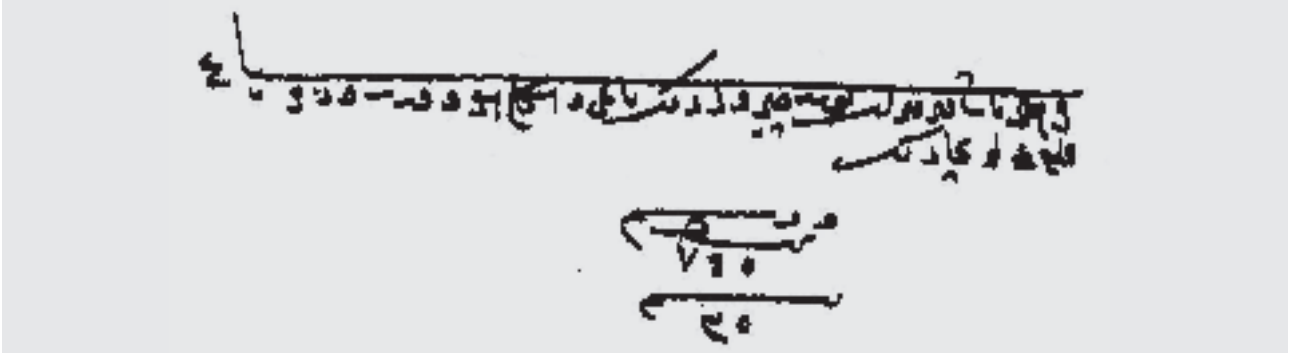


Figure 13
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 237a

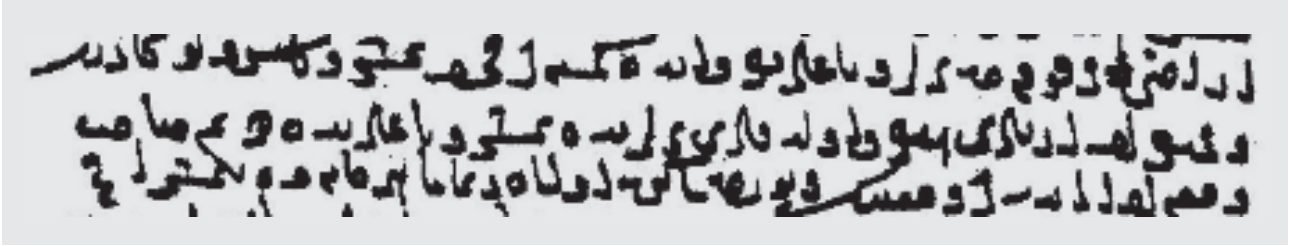


Figure 14
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236b

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236b: arazi-i merkumede yerler ve bağlar tasarruf eden kimesneler mücerred öşür ve Klis ve Loncarik ve Kamengrad erenleri mutasarrıf oldıkları yerlerinden öşür ve bağlarından dönüm sahib-i vakfa eda ederler [those people who cultivate the fields and vineyards on the aforementioned lands (the pious foundation of the late Rüstem Pasha) pay only the tithe, while the privates of Klis, Lončarić and Kamen (fortresses) pay to the owner of the pious foundation the tithe from the fields they farm and (per) dönüm from their vineyards].

Although the toponym, or rather the Lončarić fort, has long been known in local historiography,[77] it has only recently been clearly identified as the earlier Venetian fort on the Solin bridge.[78] The Venetian administration fortified the bridge on the lower course of the Jadro River as early as the beginning of the 16th century, when only a tower existed there. Probably in the 1530s (in response to the construction of the Ottoman fortress in Gradina), they added a fortified courtyard to the tower with accommodation for stratiotes. In the summer of 1571, at the height of the Cyprus War, the garrison of the Solin castle surrendered to the Sandžak-Bey of Klis[79] under very suspicious circumstances.[80]

In most of the above-mentioned defters, Lončarić is treated as almost solely a landmark. However, defter BOA 622 [c.1585], fol. 236b is particularly interesting. It states that the population of Ottoman fortresses, including Lončarić, paid a tithe to the vakif of the late Rüstem Pasha for the cultivation of their fields and vineyards, as well as additional taxes on that same land.

According to the report of the rector of Split, Andrea Michieli (1569-1573), the attack on the fortress in 1571 had been planned for a long time, and everything was sponsored by Mihrimah – the widow of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha and heiress to his numerous estates, including this one in Solin.[81] Other sources confirm that Mihrimah was interested in the Solin estates and, despite various proposals from Split to resolve the problematic borders, tried to maintain and expand her estate, as her late husband had done.[82]

The only obstacle to this estate was the Venetian fortress, practically at the centre of it, so the alleged pleasure and encouragement of the Ottoman princess to occupy the fortress is not surprising. Especially since it is clear from the aforementioned document that the population of the fortress later paid additional taxes on the land they cultivated on Rüstem's/Mihrimah's property.

Vranjic and the *castello* of Barbarić/Barbarinac

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236b: hududı İvranice nam kale kurbında vaki' olan tuzladan Duyme demekle maruf bınara [its boundaries: from the salt pan (tuzla) near the castle of Vranjic to the fountain known as (St) Dujam], then, returning: nehr-i Soline andan Solin suyı ile deryaya andan derya ile İvranice nam harabe kale-ye andan [i]btida-i hudud olan tuzla-ya varub nihayet bulur [to Solin River, from there along Solin River to the sea, from there along the sea to the ruined castle called Vranjic where it ends when arriving at the salt pan (tuzla), from where the boundary (description) started].

BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236a: dalyan der nehr-i Solin kaynağ başından İvraniçe ve Barbarik kaştellerine varınca her bir tarikiyle mahi sayd olınursa öşrin al[ın]ur fi sene 50 [fishery in the river of Solin; if fish is caught by any means from the head of its source to the castelli of Vranjic and Barbarić/Barbarinac, a tithe is being taken, annually 50 (akçe)].

Ankara 1604, fol. 136a: dalyan der nehr-i Solin kaynak başına İvraniç ve Barbarik kaştellerine varınca her ne tarikiyle mahi sayd olınursa sahib-i arza öşrin verürler tabi-i Klis semer-i mahi [fishery in Solin River: If fish is caught by any means going towards its source, (or in the opposite direction) towards the castelli of Vranjic and Barbarić, a tithe is given to the (deputy) owner of the land. Under Klis: Profit from fishery].

77 K. Kužić 2005.

78 A. Torlak 2019, p. 184.

79 The course of the construction and development of this fortress, its destruction during the Candian War, as well as the fate of this area in later periods, is described in the work of Alduk (I. Alduk 2018). What the author incomprehensibly failed to do there was to identify this fortress with the fortress called Lončarić in later sources. Although somewhat complicated, the author first encountered this identification and justified criticism of this part of his article in a graduation/master thesis from the University of Zadar (M. Marasović 2018), which was further clarified by Ana Torlak in her already cited work on the Gradina fortress.

80 I. Alduk 2018, pp. 110-111.

81 G. Novak 1964, p. 130.

82 I. Alduk 2010, pp. 66-67; G. Necipoğlu 2014, p. 325.

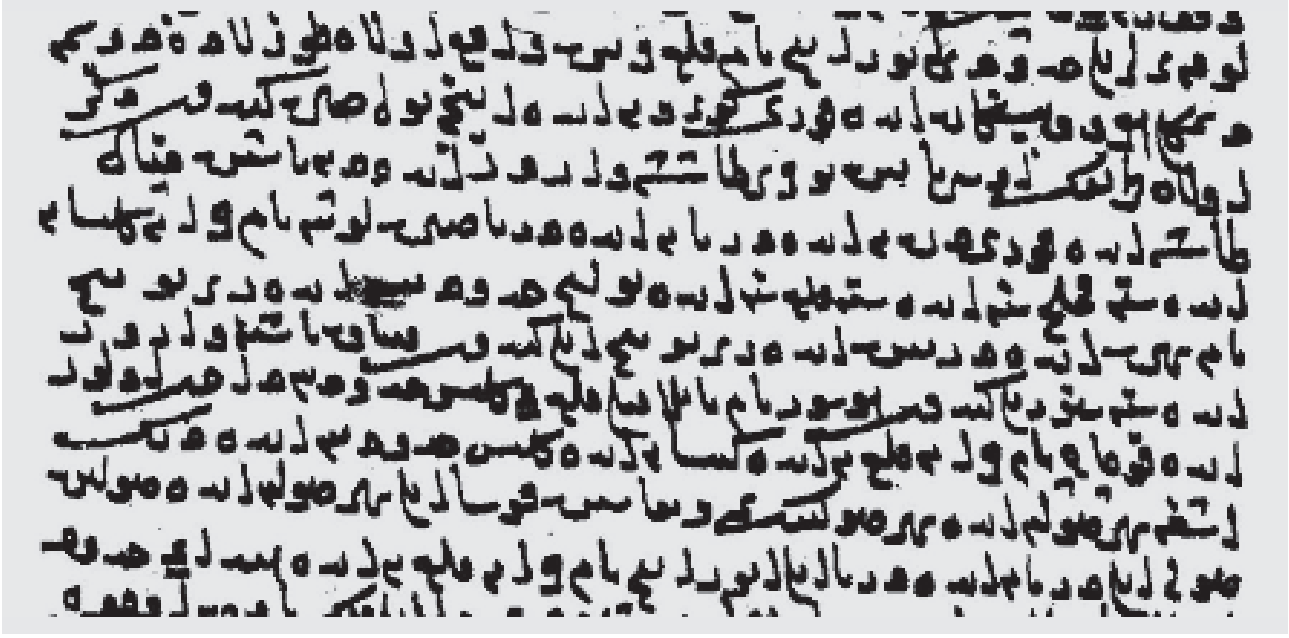


Figure 15
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236b

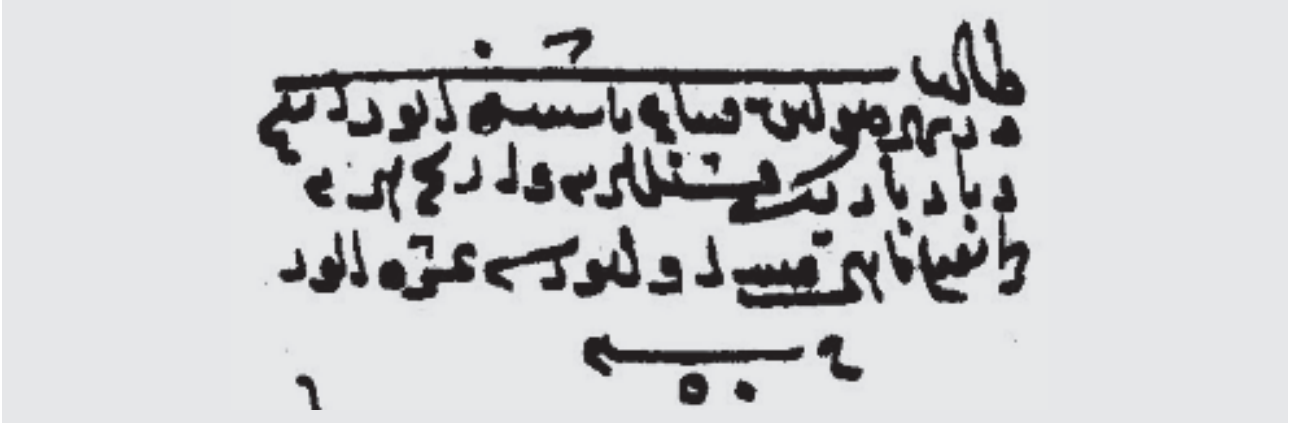


Figure 16
BOA 622 (c. 1585), fol. 236a

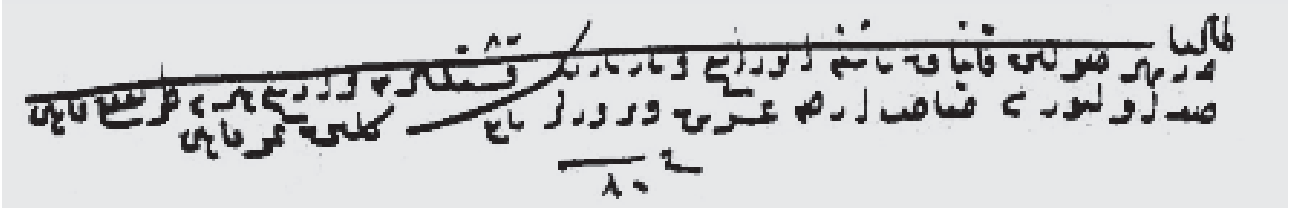


Figure 17
Ankara 1604, fol. 136a

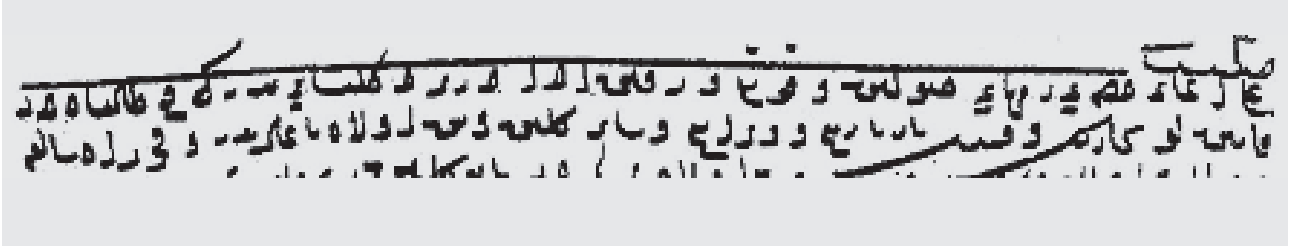


Figure 18
Ankara 1604, fol. 136a

Ankara 1604, fol. 136a: dalyan der ma-beyn-i Loncarik ve Kastel Barbarinaç ve Viraniç [fishery between Lončarić, Kaštel Barbarinac and Vranjic].

All defters used in this paper can, of course, be used to research various aspects of Solin's history in the Early Modern Age – perhaps most notably the boundaries and functioning of Rüstem's estate, social relations, as well as the general economic activity in this area at that time. In this context, the mention of fishing is of some importance. As far as we know, this is the first such mention in the sources, or at least the oldest,[83] and the diversity of this activity is noteworthy.

Apparently, fishponds were located between Prosik and New Solin (BOA 622 [c.1585], fol. 236a) – in fact maybe near the very place where modern fishponds from the first half of the 20th century can be seen todayThe earlier ponds were near Gospin otok, but they also date back to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century.[84]

Furthermore, it is clear that the area in the triangle between Lončarić, Vranjic and Barbarinac was of particular interest for fishing. This should not come as a surprise, considering that this is the lower course of the river and the estuary where the river mixes with the sea and forms brackish water, rich in nutrients and oxygen. Such water is full of life and is especially favoured by some species such as mullets, sea bass, and gilthead bream.

Therefore, the Ottomans considered the area of the river mouth and the sea immediately in front of it to be their territory, while the same could not be fully said for Vranjic and Barbarinac.

Barbarinac has appeared in sources and on maps of this area under various names (Isoletta, Otočac, Skradinik) since the 1470s. There was a small tower of the Kuparić family on the islet, several houses of the inhabitants of the abandoned village of Smoljevac, and perhaps a small church of St Martin. However, after the Cyprus War (1570 – 1573), the islet is no longer mentioned in historical sources and was probably abandoned at that time due to Ottoman pressure.[85] The abandonment of Barbarinac could also have been a direct consequence of the Ottomans capturing the Venetian castle on the bridge in Solin (later Lončarić) in July 1571, as well as the demolition (and abandonment) of nearby Vranjic, which occurred at the same time and under very suspicious circumstances. The aforementioned rector Michieli clearly states that Vranjic was burned and destroyed in the chaos and disorder that arose after the capture of the Venetian fort in Solin (and the Kamen fortress), and that it was done by Venetian subjects (…*fo bruggiato et rouinato dalli nostri proprii*).[86]

In any case, the excerpt from one of the defters (BOA 622 [c.1585], fol. 236b) refers to Vranjic as a destroyed fortress – *İvranice nam harabe kale* – which fully corresponds to these events from 14 years earlier. The abandonment of Vranjic and Barbarinac certainly made it easier for the Ottomans to claim this entire area as their own, exactly as shown on the map created around 1588 (and in some related documents) of the Venetian-Ottoman demarcation after the Cyprus War.[87] It is worth noting that part of the documentation related to this demarcation was created in Solin, more precisely in Ottoman Lončarić.[88]

83 In the 1730s, a citizen of Split asked the Venetian authorities for a part of the Jadro River with fishing rights, for which he had a map of the river drawn up; A. Duplančić 1999. pp. 7 (ref. 3), 8.
84 M. Matijević – M. Domazet 2006, pp. 109-110.
85 K. Marasović 2025, pp. 33-37.
86 G. Novak 1964, pp. 130-131.
87 K. Juran – J. Faričić 2024, p. 65.
88 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

The preceding paragraphs should have made it clear that our work on the Ottoman evidence for the topography and toponymy of the terrain within the triangle between Salona, Lončarić and Vranjic during the late 16th and early 17th centuries is a work in progress, not the *summa* of final conclusions. We have sought to demonstrate that this is partly due to the fiscal, rather than topographical, nature of the Ottoman survey registers (*tapu tahrir defterleri*) from this period, which results in a relational rather than topographical (in the modern sense of the term) perspective of Ottoman revenue recording. We have also shown that the recording of fiscal revenues for the Ottoman treasury was conducted largely on the basis of a toponymy that remained almost entirely (with the significant exception of New Solin) pre-Ottoman in character, in line with the general Ottoman practice of naming (and taxing) sources of revenue according to ancient custom (*adet-i kadim üzere*), thereby preserving locally current practices and appellations. It is therefore unsurprising that the Solin water mills, for example, are comprehensively recorded in the defters by reference exclusively to their pre-Ottoman names. If we compare this with the present-day topography of Solin, it is enough to note that in that area there are still toponyms preserved from the time of Ottoman rule almost 500 years ago, more precisely toponyms of Ottoman/Turkish origin (Karabaš, Arapovac, Majdan, Meterize).

This again underscores the importance of Ottoman revenue survey registers for the reconstruction, albeit within characteristic limitations, of pre-Ottoman landscapes in general (including rivers, estuaries, seaboards and islands), and of agricultural land (including former private estates and church property), as well as townscapes in particular. But, one must always remember that the defters naturally reflect the perspective of the Treasury, not that of today's historians or geographers. This is why many contemporary questions will inevitably remain un-answered.

However, if we combine these defters with various medieval sources as well as those from the time of Venetian rule, the landscape of Solin, or rather its emergence and development, can become more complete and clearer. On the other hand, the Ottoman revenue survey registers discussed here amply demonstrate that, against the backdrop of the scarcity or complete absence of medieval primary sources for specific locations, they constitute some of the best (and sometimes the only) documentary basis needed to bridge the gap between the medieval and modern periods in the history of this nucleus of Croatian statehood in the fluvial landscape just outside the walls of ancient Salona. Yet, in order to identify and contextualise such valuable pieces of information derived from the Ottoman documentation, erudition, archaeological and topographical knowledge, and imagination are required to make such evidence meaningful in the sense of suggesting, if not providing, answers – some of which may serve as a basis for further discussion and study.

Abbreviations

BASD	= Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Spalato
BOA	= Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye-Directorate of State Archives, Istanbul)
Godišnjak	= Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske, Zagreb
PPUD	= Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Split
KB	= Kulturna baština, Split
SHP	= Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Split
VAHD	= Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split

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Sažetak

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Osmanski orijentiri 16. stoljeća između Salone, Lončarića i Vranjica:
Novi pogledi na središte srednjovjekovne hrvatske državnosti pet stoljeća poslije

Ključne riječi: osmanska Dalmacija, Solin, rijeka Jadro, defteri, mlinice, ribarstvo

Rad se bavi izvadcima iz nekoliko osmanskih deftera s kraja 16. i početka 17. stoljeća koji »opisuju« današnji solinski prostor. Salona, glavni grad rimske Dalmacije, polako se gasi u kasnim stoljećima Carstva, a u prva četiri desetljeća 7. stoljeća život u njoj gotovo u potpunosti prestaje. Ipak, tijekom ranoga srednjeg vijeka Solin postaje jedno od sjedišta hrvatske države (kneževine pa kraljevstva), ali nikada više kao urbano središte. U kasnijim stoljećima solinski će prostor biti podijeljen između Klisa i Splita. Ta će se podjela nastaviti i nakon 1537. godine, kada će Osmanlije poslije dugogodišnjih pokušaja zauzeti Klis, u kojemu ostaju do 1648. godine. Međutim, ovdje bi trebalo naglasiti da će se osmanska kontrola kliške okolice dogoditi i mnogo prije 1537. godine, dok najraniji defteri za to područje, točnije područje zapadno od današnjega Solina (Smoljevac), potječu još iz približno 1528. godine.

Donose se podatci iz nekoliko deftera nastalih u razdoblju između 1542. i 1604. godine. Pritom treba imati na umu prirodu osmanskih poreznih popisa. Budući da oni ne nastaju kao katastar oporezivanih nekretnina, njihova je topografija vrlo općenita i skromna, s naglaskom na praktičnoj naplati poreza (fiskalnosti), a ne na opisivanju prostora. Toponimi i imena javljaju se povremeno i ne kao čvrste točke u prostoru, već kako bi približno označili položaj oporezivane nekretnine ili aktivnosti u odnosu na neku točku u prostoru. Osim toga, i kada se defteri ažuriraju, ova se toponimija najčešće zadržava, a ažurira se ponajviše iznos poreza tako da činjenica da određeni toponim postoji u ranijemu defteru ne znači da je bio korišten i u vrijeme kada nastaju kasniji defteri.

Stoga je poznavanje suvremene i povijesne lokalne toponimije ključno za bavljenje ovim temama. Jednako je važna i analiza neosmanskih pisanih te kartografskih izvora – kako srednjovjekovnih, tako i mletačkih – nastalih prije i nakon razdoblja osmanske vlasti na ovome prostoru. Kombiniranjem podataka iz deftera te drugih pisanih izvora u ovome se radu pokušalo prikazati izgled solinskoga krajolika tijekom kasnoga srednjeg i ranoga novog vijeka.

Zanimljiva je činjenica da se evidentiranje fiskalnih prihoda za osmansku riznicu uglavnom provodilo na temelju toponimije koja je gotovo u potpunosti (uz značajnu iznimku »Novoga Solina«) bila predosmanskoga karaktera – u skladu s općom osmanskom praksom imenovanja (i oporezivanja) izvora prihoda »prema drevnoj praksi« (*adet-i kadim üzere*). Time ne samo da su očuvani lokalni nazivi, već i pojedine prakse čime se pridonosi proučavanju povijesti »dugoga trajanja« kroz različite aspekte.

Stoga ne čudi što su solinske mlinice u defterima sustavno bilježene isključivo pod svojim predosmanskim imenima. Velik se dio tih poreznih popisa odnosi upravo na mlinice, koje su predstavljale najunosniji izvor prihoda u Solinu kroz dulje povijesno razdoblje. Ti su objekti Osmanlijama u Dalmaciji donosili i ključnu stratešku prednost, pa su pitanja opskrbe žitom, brašnom i kruhom bila stalnim predmetom mletačkih diplomatskih napora u ovome dijelu prekomorskih posjeda. O iznimnoj važnosti mlinica zorno svjedoči i njihova arhitektura, posebice obrambene kule građene tik uz njih. One govore i o društvenim i ekonomskim odnosima na prostoru Solina – poput feudalizacije krajolika (kasnosrednjovjekovne i osmanske) ili unutarnje borbe za moć oko posjeda koji donose prilične prihode. Također, u smislu fortifikacijske arhitekture, ne smijemo izgubiti iz vida činjenicu da je ovo granično područje na kojemu uvijek postoji opasnost od nesuglasica, pljački, neprijateljstava i, naravno, rata.

Pojedine se mlinice izdvajaju. Ovdje bismo upozorili na mlinicu koja do sada nije bila jasno identificirana, no u jednomu se od deftera povezuje s posjedom »banove kule«, za čije postojanje u Solinu do sada nismo znali. Taj kratki navod povezali smo s podatkom s Calergijeve karte o postojanju »Banske ili Banove mlinice« na južnome dijelu Gospina otoka. Stoga se opravdano, uz zanimljivu podudarnost broja mlinova i stupa vezanih za ove nazive, nametnuo zaključak o mogućnosti da je nekadašnja Jankova mlinica nastala na mjestu one u vlasništvu bana ili, što je također moguće, u vlasništvu kliške tvrđave. Nakon što je ova mlinica uspješno smještena u prostor, utvrđeno je da to nije moguće učiniti s ostalima, poput onih u vlasništvu splitskoga nadbiskupa, obitelji Urmaneo/Urmanić, a možda čak i trogirskih Vitturija/Lukšića.

U pojedinim defterima često se nailazi na prostornu odrednicu »Novi Solin« (*Solin-i Cedid* ili *Yeni Solin*) – do sada nepoznatu u historiografiji ovoga prostora. S obzirom na to da se taj pojam stavlja u određeni odnos s Prosikom, relativno jasno smještenim u prostoru, dobiva se dojam da se radilo o današnjemu središnjem dijelu Solina uz lijevu obalu Jadra. U svakom slučaju, taj je pojam nastao kako bi se taj prostor razlikovao od antičke Salone (*Solin-i-atik*), ali i kako bi se razlikovao od značajnoga posjeda (kasnije vakufa) velikoga vezira Rustem Paše, koji se smjestio na prostoru od Jadra prema jugu i splitskom teritoriju. U smislu razvoja solinskoga urbanizma, ma kako on bio skroman, ovaj je podatak svakako vrijedan daljnjega istraživanja. Iako postoji mogućnost da se pod nazivom »Novi Solin« misli na osmansku utvrdu u Gradini, ta je mogućnost ipak mala. Pritom ostaje zanimljiva činjenica, ali i neodgovoreno pitanje zašto defteri ne spominju tu utvrdu barem kao orijentir u prostoru, s obzirom na to da ona u vrijeme osmanske vlasti nije više bila u funkciji.

Jedan od zanimljivijih i za lokalnu povijest važnih podataka je spomen »velike crkve« (*kilisa-i büzürg)* na otoku (*Ada*). Nedvojbeno se radi o ostatcima, i to prilično dobro sačuvanim,

jedne (ili jedine) od znamenitih Jeleninih crkava čiji su zidovi u drugoj polovini 17. stoljeća, nakon odlaska Turaka, poslužili za gradnju solinske crkve posvećene Gospi. Iako vrlo važna, ova nova informacija o crkvi na Otoku, čiji je veći dio preživio osmansko osvajanje, nažalost ne daje potpuni odgovor na ova i druga pitanja vezana uz problematiku Jeleninih crkava – dapače, otvara i neka nova.

Pitanje i sudbina Lončarića, bivše mletačke utvrde na solinskome mostu koju Osmanlije zauzimaju 1571. godine, također je jedna od tema ovoga rada. Iako se o samoj utvrdi ne donose novi podatci, »između redaka« se iščitava njezina važnost za ovaj prostor, kao i okolnosti pod kojima je tako nenadano prešla iz mletačkih u osmanske ruke. Tim se zbivanjima upravljalo izravno iz Carigrada, znatno više nego iz lokalnoga osmanskog sjedišta u Klisu.

Upravo je prostor u trokutu između Lončarića, Vranjica i Barbarinca posljednja od tema vezanih za »solinske« deftere. Ovdje najbolje do izražaja dolazi prilična podudarnost osmanskih i mletačkih izvora nastalih nakon gubitka kaštela na solinskome mostu. Prema mletačkim izvještajima, Vranjic su u ljeto 1571. spalile i uništile »naše« snage. Da je mjesto stradalo, potvrđuje i osmanski defter iz 1585. godine, u kojemu se Vranjic naziva uništenom utvrdom (*İvranice nam harabe kale*). S time je povezano i rano napuštanje Barbarinca. On se izdvaja kao jedini od dvadeset kaštela i naselja nastalih u to vrijeme duž Kaštelanskoga zaljeva koji je izgubio funkciju već tijekom Ciparskoga rata (1570. – 1573.)

U poreznome smislu, trokut između spomenutih točaka, kao i nekoliko drugih položaja uz Jadro, bio je važan za naplatu poreza na ribarenje pred ušćem rijeke te na uzgoj ribe u tadašnjim ribnjacima. Današnja solinska ribogojilišta vuku svoje podrijetlo s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća, dok su najstarije vijesti o tim aktivnostima bile poznate tek iz tridesetih godina 18. stoljeća. Defteri nam jasno govore da je takvih aktivnosti na solinskoj Rici bilo i u 16. stoljeću, a slijedom toga vjerojatno i ranije.

Sve ovo još jednom ukazuje na važnost osmanskih poreznih popisa za rekonstrukciju, iako unutar karakterističnih ograničenja, predosmanskih krajolika općenito te poljoprivrednoga zemljišta uključujući bivše privatne posjede i crkvene nekretnine. No, nikada se ne smije zaboraviti da su defteri prirodno težili gledati na stvari iz perspektive Riznice, a ne iz perspektive današnjih povjesničara ili geografa. Zato će mnoga pitanja na koja bismo danas željeli pronaći odgovore neizbježno ostati otvorena.

Međutim, kao što je već naglašeno, kombiniranjem deftera s različitim srednjovjekovnim te mletačkim izvorima, naša rekonstrukcija nastanka i razvoja solinskoga krajolika postaje cjelovitija i jasnija. S druge strane, ovi defteri jasno pokazuju da u uvjetima nedostatka primarnih srednjovjekovnih izvora za određene lokacije oni predstavljaju neke od najboljih, a katkad i jedine dokumente koji mogu premostiti jaz između srednjovjekovnoga i modernoga razdoblja u povijesti ovoga prostora. No, kako bi se uočili, identificirali i kontekstualizirali tako dragocjeni podatci, potrebni su vrhunska erudicija, arheološko, topografsko i historiografsko znanje, pa i imaginacija, čime ti dokazi konačno dobivaju puni smisao, sugeriraju rješenja ili nude odgovore koji otvaraju prostor za daljnju znanstvenu raspravu.

