

Aleksandar Jakovljević - Neven Isailović

PETROVO POLJE U VRELIMA OSMANSKOG RAZDOBLJA

(1528. – 1604.)





MONUMENTA TURCICA SIBENICENSIA ET TINIENSIA

Posebna izdanja Državnog arhiva u Šibeniku sv. 1

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Petrovo polje u vrelima osmanskog razdoblja (1528. – 1604.)

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Šibenik, 2019.

SADRŽAJ

Predgovor urednika	7
Predgovor autora	11
1. O vrelima	15
1.1 Načela izdavanja popisnih deftera	16
1.1.1 Onomastički materijal	16
1.1.2 Toponomastički materijal	22
1.2 Popisi Kliškog sandžaka	26
1.2.1 Pitanje popisa iz 1522. – 1523. godine	26
1.2.2 Popis iz 1528. – 1530. godine	29
1.2.3 Popis iz 1540. – 1542. godine	34
1.2.4 Popis iz 1550. godine	37
1.2.5 Popis iz 1568. – 1574. godine	41
1.2.6 Popis iz 1581. – 1585. godine	49
1.2.7 Popis iz 1604. godine	53
2. Povijest Petrova polja prije i nakon osmanskog osvajanja	59
2.1 Teritorij	60
2.2 Izvori i historiografija za razdoblje od kasne antike do Kandijskog rata	61
2.3 Ranija povijest	64
2.4 Petrovo polje u vrijeme hrvatskih narodnih vladara i u prvim stoljećima vladavine Arpadovića	66
2.5 Domald, Šubići, knez Nelipac	74
2.6 Razdoblje Nelipčića: <i>Campus – Polle – Polye Kanane</i> – <i>Campus Petri – Petrovo Polye</i>	82
2.7 Mreža naselja spomenutih u srednjem vijeku	101
2.8 Vrijeme Talovaca i jačanje osmanskog pritiska	114
2.9 Osmansko osvajanje Kninske županije i Petrova polja	124
2.10 Petrovo polje i okolica pod osmanskom vlašću od 1522. do 1604. godine	140
3. Nahija Petrovo polje od 1528. do 1604.	163
3.1 Administrativni ustroj i teritorij nahije	164
3.1.1 Osvajanje srednjodalmatinskog zaleđa i uspostava osmanske vlasti – osnovne izvorne naznake	164
3.1.2 Administrativni ustroj. Vojno-upravna i sudska organizacija	168
3.1.3 Teritorijalizacija nahije Petrovo polje	175

3. 2	Stanovništvo – struktura i naseljenost	182
3. 3	Migracije	215
3. 3. 1	Počeci naseljavanja Petrova polja (vanjske migracije)	217
3. 3. 2	Pitanje reverzibilnih migracija i problem promijenjene toponimije	233
3. 3. 3	Unutarnje migracije (kretanje stanovništva iz Petrova polja prema susjednim područjima)	246
3. 4	Zemljišna pitanja i gospodarstvo	266
3. 4. 1	Zemini i čiflicli	266
3. 4. 2.	Vakuf Murat-bega – struktura i status	283
3. 4. 3	Porezni sustav i gospodarstvo (poljoprivreda, obrti i trgovina)	287
3. 5	Vjera	298
3. 5. 1	Muslimani i islamizacija	299
3. 5. 2	Kršćani – rimokatolici i pravoslavci	303
4.	Naselja Petrova polja od 1528. do 1604.	323
4. 1	Drniš: tvrđava – varoš – kasaba	324
4. 1. 1	Tvrđava Drniš (<i>kal' a-i Drniš</i>)	324
4. 1. 2.	Varoš tvrđave Drniš (<i>varoš-i kal' a-i Drniš</i>)	330
4. 1. 3	Kasaba Drniš (<i>kasaba-i Drniš</i>)	331
4. 2	Sela Petrova polja	344
4. 3	Naselja izvan nahije Petrovo polje povremeno vezivana uz nju	420
5.	Popisi nahije Petrovo polje 1528. – 1604. [transliteracija sa paralelnim prijevodom]	429
	Popis iz 1528. – 1530.	431
	Popis iz 1540. – 1542.	455
	Popis iz 1550.	477
	Popis iz 1574.	509
	Popis iz 1585.	543
	Popis iz 1604.	591
6.	Faksimili popisnih deftera	641
	Zemljovidi nahije Petrovo polje	705
	Rječnik osmanskih pojmova	718
	Sažetak na engleskom	731
	Popis korištenih izvora i literature	738
	Kazalo osoba	757
	Kazalo mjesta	783
	Addenda et corrigenda	801

PREDGOVOR UREDNIKA

Razdoblje osmanske vlasti u hrvatskim krajevima jedno je od najslabije istraženih razdoblja hrvatske povijesti što se lako može vidjeti iz tek površnoga pregleda objavljenih vrela i literature koja se bavila ovom tematikom. Gotovo zanemariv broj domaćih povjesničara – osmanista sposobnih da iščitaju vijesti iz osmanskih vrela ili ih publiciraju učinio je hrvatsku historiografiju u dobroj mjeri ovisnom o rezultatima rada kolega povjesničara iz susjednih zemalja, osobito Bosne i Hercegovine gdje je osmanistika, iz razumljivih povijesnih i kulturoloških razloga, imala snažnu tradiciju s Orijentalnim institutom u Sarajevu kao središnjom ustanovom. Upravo zahvaljujući radu bošnjačkih povjesničara, objavljeni su tako osmanski popisni defteri pojedinih sandžaka u čijem su se sastavu nalazile i osvojene hrvatske zemlje, kao što su opširni popisi Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine i Oblasti Hercegovine iz 1585. godine, te popisi pojedinih nahija koje su se prostirale na hrvatskomu području, kao što je popis nahije Skradin iz 1574. godine. Iako ovi popisi predstavljaju osnovno vrelo i polazišnu točku u istraživanju povijesti hrvatskih krajeva tijekom osmanskog razdoblja, ono što nedostaje kako bi se stekao cjelovit uvid u procese koji su se odvijali u prvomu stoljeću osmanske vlasti jest sustavnost u njihovu istraživanju i objavljivanju. Upravo s tim ciljem nastala je zamisao o izdavanju popisnih deftera nahija koje su postojale na području današnje Šibensko-kninske županije i to od 1528. do 1604. godine kada je izvršeno ukupno šest popisa. Činjenica da je izbor pao upravo na nahije sa spomenutoga područja posljedica je niza okolnosti koje su omogućile konkretizaciju i realizaciju jedne, u početku tek načelne ideje.

Kako to često biva, iz sasvim neformalnoga razgovora s kolegom Nevenom Isailovićem, znanstvenim suradnikom Istorijiskog instituta u Beogradu – koji je zajedno s Aleksandrom Jakovljevićem s istoga instituta

prije nekoliko godina objavio popise nahija Kosovo i Petrovo polje iz 1574. godine – ideja o izdavanju spomenutih popisnih deftera prerasla je u načelan dogovor za čiju je realizaciju, naravno, trebalo pronaći izdavača koji bi prepoznao značaj ovoga projekta i osigurao potrebna materijalna sredstva. U tome je ključnu ulogu odigrala ravnateljica Državnoga arhiva u Šibeniku, mr. sc. Nataša Mučalo, koja je autorima i uredniku osigurala svu moguću potporu kao i financijsku konstrukciju potrebnu za objavu ove knjige. Treba napomenuti kako sve to ne bi bilo moguće bez suradnje s Nacionalnim parkom Krka – partnerom u projektu istraživanja, evidentiranja i digitalizacije arhivskog gradiva koje se odnosi na rijeku Krku i Pokrčje a iz kojeg je dijelom financirano izdanje – kao i bez financijske potpore Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske.

Knjiga *Petrovo polje u vrelima osmanskog razdoblja (1528. – 1604.)* prva je knjiga u okviru nove biblioteke Posebnih izdanja Državnoga arhiva u Šibeniku pod nazivom *Monumenta turcica Sibenicensia et Tiniensia*, a u okviru koje bi narednih godina trebali biti objavljeni popisni defteri svih nahija s područja današnje Šibensko-kninske županije: Nečvena, Skradina, Ostrovice, Petrove gore, Kosova, Knina i Vrhrike. Iako tematski usko vezana uz lokalno područje, ova knjiga unatoč tome teritorijalnom ograničenju uvelike nadilazi ne samo lokalne već i nacionalne okvire. Za razliku od dosad objavljenih popisnih deftera pojedinih sandžaka i nahija, koji su se odnosili na pojedinu godinu njihova nastanka, sada se prvi put donose svi popisni defteri jedne nahije, u ovom slučaju nahije Petrovo polje, nastali u navedenom razdoblju. Komparativne prednosti koje nudi ovakav pristup iznimne su i omogućuju uvid u različite procese i segmente društveno-gospodarskoga razvitka koji su se tijekom prvog stoljeća po uspostavi osmanske vlasti odvijali na ovome području. Postavljajući tako nove standarde, ova knjiga uvelike nadilazi nacionalne okvire s obzirom da nudi inovativan metodološki pristup i univerzalan model koji može poslužiti kao uzor u budućem izdavanju popisnih deftera. Hrvatska osmanistika i historiografija općenito s knjigom *Petrovo polje u vrelima osmanskog razdoblja (1528. – 1604.)* dobivaju pak kapitalno djelo kakvo dosad nije postojalo. Doc. dr. sc. Emir Filipović s Odsjeka za historiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu

u svojoj je recenziji ustvrdio: „Monografska studija o Petrovom polju bit će od velike koristi stručnjacima i ljubiteljima prošlosti te će predstavljati velik doprinos poznavanju lokalnih prilika u prošlosti. Međutim, najveća vrijednost ovog djela ipak će ostati u objavljenom izdanju osmanskih popisnih deftera koji će omogućiti izradu novih znanstvenih radova, modificiranje određenih stanovišta prisutnih u historiografiji, iznošenje novih zaključaka i proširivanje postojećih saznanja.“ Autorima stoga možemo samo poželjeti uspješan nastavak rada uz nadu kako će i sljedeća knjiga, posvećena nahiji Nečven, u skoro vrijeme ugledati svjetlo dana.

dr. sc. Ante Birin

PREDGOVOR AUTORA

Pred čitateljima se nalazi prva u nizu monografija koje će predstaviti povijest Pokrčja i područja Šibensko-kninske županije na osnovi vrela osmanskog razdoblja, točnije popisnih deftera sastavljenih između 1528. i 1604. godine. Kako se radi o prvoj knjizi, potrebno je najprije utvrditi načela edicije i iznijeti razloge koji su nas ponukali da se opredijelimo za dana načela. Prvobitna zamisao bila je objaviti svaki defter u cjelini, kronološkim redom. Međutim, takav bi pristup iznjedrio brojne poteškoće koje bi mogle umanjiti vrijednost konačnoga rezultata. Razlog su tome različita načela kojima su se osmanske vlasti vodile u popisima prije 1574. godine i od te godine. Naime, dok su navedeni popisi i oni kasniji sastavljani prema upravnim jedinicama (nahijama) u okviru Kliškoga sandžaka, raniji defteri vođeni su u skladu s adresom korisnika prihoda što je rezultiralo rasipanjem podataka o jednom području na različitim mjestima, čak i u različitim svescima popisa. Uz to, pokazalo se da se neki zaključci mogu donijeti isključivo uvidom u podatke iz svih dostupnih deftera, čak iz drugih izvora osmanske i neosmanske provenijencije. Obavijesti iz notarijata dalmatinskih komuna pod mletačkom vlašću pokazale su se osobito dragocjenim materijalom za usporedbu podataka.

Zato smo se odlučili za drugačiji pristup od prvobitno zamišljenog, a to je obrada kompletne sačuvane defterske građe, ali prema nahijama kao osmanskim upravnim jedinicama niže razine koje su obično obuhvaćale kompaktne mikroregije. Prateći područje jedne nahije u defterima nastalima tijekom šest popisa (1528. – 1530., 1540. – 1542., 1550., 1574., 1585. i 1604. godine), mogli smo steći uvid u kontinuitet i promjene, kako u administrativnom ustroju i organizaciji prostora tako i u stanovništvu. Na isti je način omogućena pouzdana ubikacija toponima, identifikacija pojedinih skupina, obitelji i osoba te dosljedno praćenje društvenih i gospodarskih struktura. Kako bi se održala jasnoća konteksta, u izdanje

vrela mjestimično su uključeni i pojedini podatci koji se odnose na druga upravno-geografska područja koja su činila dio istoga timara s petropoljskim naseljima i zemljištima.

Izbor ovakva pristupa omogućio je da ova knjiga, a takve će biti i naredne, nadmaši razinu pukog izdanja izvorâ i da se pretvori u sintetičku monografiju posvećenu jednoj mikroregiji u širem kronološkom okviru koji obuhvaća skoro jedno stoljeće. Nalazi do kojih se došlo priređivanjem deftera, ali i analizom drugih izvora, pridonijeli su izradi sustavne i opsežne uvodne studije posvećene samim vrelima, pregledu povijesti, glavnim obilježjima i značajkama osmanske vlasti (administrativni ustroj, stanovništvo, migracije, zemljišni odnosi, gospodarstvo i vjera) te naseljima na prostoru obrađene nahije, u ovom slučaju nahije Petrovo polje. Sâmo izdanje izvora obuhvaća latiničnu transliteraciju osmanskog teksta pisanog arabicom, prijevod na suvremeni hrvatski jezik, faksimile izvornika te pomoćne priloge kao što su povijesno-geografske karte i rječnik osmanskih pojmova. Navedeni materijal omogućit će širokom krugu čitatelja upoznavanje s podacima defterâ, a znanstvenicima provjeru valjanosti ove kritičke edicije osmanskih vrela te zaključaka autora. Mislimo da će se ovaj pristup pokazati uspješnijim od dosadašnjih, doista posve legitimnih, pokušaja da se defteri obrađuju u cjelini, ali bez dublje kontekstualizacije i sistematizacije. Osim toga, kako bi se omogućilo lakše praćenje iznimno velikog broja bilježaka, iste ne tek u neprekinutom brojčanom nizu već u svakoj od prve četiri cjeline počinju od rednog broja jedan. Bilješke u petoj cjelini, koja donosi transliteraciju deftera sa paralelnim prijevodom, tek u posebno za transliteraciju, a posebno za prijevod.

Posebnu zahvalnost na podršci i izuzetnom strpljenju dugujemo nakladnicima, pokretačima i sponzorima projekta izdavanja vrela osmanskog razdoblja za područje Šibensko-kninske županije: Državnom arhivu u Šibeniku i Nacionalnom parku Krka, kao i inicijatoru i uredniku edicije Anti Birinu. Moramo zahvaliti i turskim arhivskim ustanovama koje čuvaju ovdje objavljene deftere i koje su nam ustupile prava objavljivanja faksimila: Osmanskom odjelu Arhiva Predsjedništva Vlade u Istanbulu i Općem ravnateljstvu za tapije i katastrofe u Ankari. Svojim prijedlozima, komentarima i sugestijama uveliko su pridonijeli i uvaženi recenzenti kojima ovom prilikom također zahvaljujemo. Za kvalitetu uvodne studije

posredno je zaslužan Kristijan Juran s Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, čija su nam objavljena istraživanja bilježničkih spisa iz Šibenika bila od velike pomoći pri identificiranju osoba i toponima te mu zbog toga upućujemo najsrdačniji kolegijalni pozdrav. Kolegi Dejanu Zadri također izražavamo zahvalu jer nam je omogućio uvid u brojnu, nama teško dostupnu, literaturu. Zahvaljujemo, na kraju, i brojnim drugim kolegama, prijateljima i članovima obitelji koji su nam, tijekom izrade ove knjige, pružili podršku i pomoć.

Nadamo se da će čitatelji, pripadali oni krugu povjesničara, stanovništvu Petrova polja ili nekoj drugoj zainteresiranoj publici, u ovoj knjizi pronaći brojne zanimljive i korisne podatke. Premda smo se trudili da oni budu vjerodostojni, pouzdani i pristupačni, ispričavamo se za eventualne nenamjerne pogreške, za koje smo samo mi odgovorni.

Autori

Aleksandar Jakovljević - Neven Isailović

PETROVO POLJE
IN THE SOURCES OF
THE OTTOMAN PERIOD
(1528. – 1604.)

Summary

The monograph on the district of Petrovo polje in the early Ottoman period was originally devised as a critical edition (with transliteration and translation) of the extant Ottoman *tapu tahrir* registers from the 16th and early 17th centuries and as the first book in a series dedicated to publishing of Turkish sources for the territory of the present-day Šibenik-Knin County. Having in mind that such an edition, containing only sources, would not put published data into a proper context, an extensive introductory study was added to it, resulting in a full-scale monograph focussed on the origin and character of the sources, history of the district, its administrative system, population, land distribution system, economy, religious issues, settlement structure etc. The registers themselves were published as parallel transliteration (Ottoman Turkish in Latin script) and translation (Croatian), with ensuing facsimiles of the original *defters*, written in Ottoman Turkish in Arabic script. Among the additional features of the book, there are maps, a dictionary of Ottoman terms, the bibliography of used primary and secondary sources and indexes.

The district of Petrovo polje was completely conquered by the Ottomans in 1522. The first survey of land was conducted already in 1522/23, but the register of that census is not preserved. The extant material comprises of several registers pertaining to six consecutive surveys carried out in 1528–1530, 1540–1542, 1550, 1568–1574, 1581–1585 and 1604. Most of the data are preserved in extensive (*mufassal*) registers, while some exist only in the form of summary (*icmal*) registers. While the first three surviving censuses listed the revenues from land and taxes primarily according to the beneficiary, since 1574 the new system was introduced, grouping all the items on the primarily territorial basis, i.e. following the administrative division of the Ottoman Empire. All censuses of fully territorialised *nahiye* of Petrovo polje from the period after 1574 are preserved in the extensive form and all of them are published in this book. Before its publication, only partial editions of the censuses from 1528–1530, 1550 and 1574 were made available to the wider audience through translations.

As a broad field surrounded by the mountain ranges of Promina, Svilaja and Moseć, the wider area of Petrovo polje was an important region since the times of the Illyrian-Roman warfare. The town of Illyrian Delmatae – Sinotium, was succeeded by Roman municipium Magnum in the present-day village of Umljanović. After the settlement of the Slavs, Petrovo polje

became an integral part of Croatia and its importance was dictated by the relative vicinity of the major centres of Croatian national rulers such as Knin or Solin. One of the late and, therefore, unreliable chronicles dealing with the alleged murder of king Zvonimir stated that the king was assassinated in front of the church on Cecela (Saint Cecilia) hill near Siverić, where the assembly of nobles was held, and not near the town of Knin. It seems that there was an archdeaconry of the Bishopric of Knin in Petrovo polje, though mentioned only as Polje. After a long period without significant mentions in the sources, the district once again rose to prominence in the High and Late Middle Ages, in the times of the Domaldić and Šubić families, and especially during the era of *knez* Nelipac and his successors – the Nelipčić family – who were originally based in the County of Knin to which Petrovo polje belonged. Up until 1400, there was no mention of Petrovo polje, but simply Polje (Slavic word for “field”) or Kanjane field, so it is not entirely clear how the district and the neighbouring mountain of Petrova gora (Moseć) got their names. The district was polycentric, having two central settlements – one being the fort of Brečvo with its suburb and the other the village of Siverić under Cecela hill where assemblies of the district were recorded in the late 14th century. From the same time the mentions of many settlements which would survive well into the Ottoman period began to emerge and multiply. The Nelipčić family mostly controlled the district up until its extinction in the male line in 1435. After a brief upheaval in the region, king Sigismund of Luxemburg transferred all the Nelipčićs’ possessions into the hands of his favourites – the Talovac family. Once again, Petrovo polje is less mentioned in the sources, but its nobility was under the growing pressure of the Ottoman attacks, especially since the fall of the medieval Bosnian state in 1463. In a failed attempt to secure the districts, several forts – Petrovac, Drniš, Buhaj, Stračaj – were erected in the mid and late 15th century.

After decades of pillaging attacks that ruined the economy and depopulated the whole region, the Ottoman Turks conquered the entire district of Petrovo polje in 1522, establishing full control over its main surviving fort of Drniš. Drniš was the only fortification that the Turks reinforced and became the main centre of the newly formed *nahiye* of Petrovo polje in the *kaza* of Skradin. A small town (*város*, i.e. market place) emerged under the fortress, later becoming a full-scale Turkish *kasaba*, a

town inhabited solely by the non-agricultural Muslim population. Petrovo polje remained under the Ottoman rule up until 1683/1684 (officially until 1699 and the Treaty of Karlowitz), with a brief period between 1648 and 1671 when some parts of the *nahiye* were either under Venetian control or no man's land. The Ottoman period was marked by the settlement of large *vlach* groups in the depopulated district, who were coming mainly from Herzegovina and, possibly, Bosnia. Almost the entire 16th century was marked by the Venetian efforts to resolve the border issues with the Turks and problems with the *vlachs*, mostly in the region of Petrova gora, neighbouring the *nahiye* of Petrovo polje, which was originally Venetian and also the home district of the first *sanjak-bey* of Klis – Murat-bey Gajdić. Also, the *uskoks* in the service of the Habsburg realm launched pillaging attacks on Turkish possessions, including Petrovo polje, taking people, cattle and other valuables. In Ottoman sources there are not many data, besides *defters*, about life in Turkish Petrovo polje, excluding some information about the Drniš fortress and town. On the other hand, the Venetian notaries from Šibenik filled in this gap with contracts concerning marriages, sales, rent etc., mentioning people from Petrovo polje who had business on the territory belonging to Venice. Most of the extant data up until 1604 are focussed on Drniš which developed into an important centre of administration, commerce and artisanship with its own Muslim elite, mainly deriving from military officials and merchants.

The Ottoman administration was organised on several levels. The land was firstly given under lease to the persons who were willing to resettle it so as to ensure defence and the payment of taxes. After that, the incomes were given to the sultan, *sanjak-beys* and the beneficiaries in military status – *sipahis* and the members of garrisons in fortresses. Later on, most of the land, inhabited by the persons of the *vlach* status, generated income for the *sanjak-beys* of Klis, which lasted almost until the end of the 16th century. Meanwhile, some parts of the land, usually those of the best agricultural quality, were turned into semi-privatised *çiftliks* of the members of the local or regional elite. The Ottoman military system in the region was organised around the fortresses and their garrisons, in case of Petrovo polje – around Drniš. The *vlach* population served as auxiliary troops. The judicial and, to some extent, administrative system was represented by the institution of *kaza*, headed by the *kadi* or his deputy – *naib*. While the seat of the local *kadi*

was in Skradin or Livno, it seems that there was a *naib* in Drniš or even a *kadi* at the beginning of the 17th century. Even after full territorialisation around 1574, the *nahiye* of Petrovo polje was administered by representatives of *sanjak-beys* of Klis, of *kadis* of Skradin and *dizdars* (castellans) of the Drniš fortress. The *vlachs* had their own *knezes* who collected taxes and vouched for their villages.

It seems that Petrovo polje was almost completely depopulated in the decades of Ottoman attacks in the 15th and early 16th centuries. Therefore virtually all population arrived as part of the Turkish project of resettlement from the territories under Ottoman rule. According to the calculations, there was a steady rise in the number of people throughout the 16th century, although it is just estimation. The population ranged from more than 2000 in the early 1530s to 7000 people at most in the first years of the 17th century (the present-day population of Petrovo polje is around 6500). The great wars of the 17th century most certainly put this rising trend to an end. Not counting Drniš, as the main centre of the *nahiye*, the old medieval centres of the district – Gradac (the successor of the Brečvo settlement) and Siverić kept their importance and size even in the Ottoman times. As already said, the population was mostly, if not completely, of *vlach* origin. They were most certainly *vlachs* by their social status and at least some of them Vlach by ethnic origin. Although we do not have full data on migration processes, it seems that large numbers of new settlers came in the late 15th and early 16th centuries from western (Ružići, Radohnići, Vojihnići) and eastern Herzegovinian *katuns* (Mirilovići, Baljci, Kričke), which, usually, also determined their respective religious affiliation. We lack data on the northern part of the *nahiye* of Petrovo polje which may have partly been settled by *vlachs* coming from Bosnia. Many of the newcomers to Petrovo polje also settled the neighbouring *nahiye* of Petrova gora, which was taken from the districts of Venetian towns of Šibenik and Trogir.

After a brief period (around 1528–1530), when the tithe taxing system was imposed on the population in the status of *re'aya*, the system was rearranged by 1542 when Christian inhabitants of Petrovo polje were transferred to the *vlach* status, which entailed some privileges, including the payment of a single tax in the form of *filuria* (meaning one ducat), along with certain common fees. By 1574 even the Muslim population was, mainly, in the *vlach* status, with very few exceptions, primarily concerning the land

outside of village boundaries where agricultural tithes were still in effect. This status would survive up until the end of the Ottoman era. In the same period, through the de facto privatisation of certain landed estates (*çiftliks* and *zemins*), either close to Drniš or with soil of high quality, the emergence of the local Muslim elite can be witnessed. This especially applies to the Terzibalić family whose power was established by its founder Bali, the *dizdar* (castellan) of Drniš. Over the years, Bali and his numerous successors gathered practically all estates belonging to the garrison of Drniš and made them their own possession. The other example of a similar practice was the *vakf* (endowment) of Murat-bey Gajdić in the central part of Petrovo polje. This endowment, linked with Murat's mosque in Klis, along with neighbouring *çiftliks*, became the basis for the wealth of Gajdić's family and the family of his warden. Not counting income from the land (taxes, agricultural products) which was directed either to beneficiaries from the administrative and military class of the Ottoman society or the owners of *çiftliks*, the economy of Petrovo polje was also based on artisanship (available sources mention sword-makers, goldsmiths, tailors etc.) and commerce. The vicinity of the border made Drniš an important centre of trade, both legal and illegal (which involved smuggling), and a customs post. Additionally, periodic trade gained in importance as the three significant fairs (*panayirs*) were also recorded in the *nahiye* in the last quarter of the 16th century.

Throughout the period of the Ottoman rule, Petrovo polje had mainly Christian population, although the Muslims eventually rose up to ca. 20% in the early 17th century. Most of the villages were Christian and their religious denomination was not noted in the sources. Yet, some data on the names and origin of the population, along with the titles of priests and analogy with later period, can help us determine, although not precisely, which communities were mainly Roman Catholic and which Greek Orthodox. Only a few churches were directly mentioned in the sources and some of them only as previous owners of land and not as active religious objects. It is certain that active churches were in the village of Gradac (the seat of the parish of Petrovo polje) and between the villages of Badanj and Rahčić (Ramčić) which was the main church for Catholics of the area near Drniš. Muslims constituted the entire population in the *kasaba* of Drniš and the village of Bučić, while they were numerous in the villages of Rahčić (Ramčić)

– which was next to Drniš – Miočić and Pavčić. In other settlements they were either a small minority or were not present at all. The mosques, at least four of them, were recorded only in Drniš. Some of them were later destroyed and some turned into churches.

The network of settlements was mainly inherited from the Middle Ages, although the names of some villages, especially in the southern part of Petrovo polje, changed names, which was recorded primarily in the documents of Venetian notaries and not in Ottoman *defters* which preserved the old nomenclature. The new names mainly derived from the *vlach* groups, *katuns* or families that settled abandoned villages and *mezras*. The only urban settlement was Drniš, initially a fortress with a small suburb in which agricultural activity was combined with crafts. The fortress had the military population while, in time, the suburb was divided into the *kasaba* of Drniš, inhabited by Muslim merchants and artisans, and mainly the agricultural village of Rahčić (Ramčić), inhabited by both Christians and Muslims, which represented the remnants of the old *város* of Drniš. By combining the data from Ottoman and Venetian sources, it was possible to determine the location of all villages and most of microtoponyms inside them. Some persons from both groups of sources were also positively identified. Some settlements had their own *vlach knezes* which implied a certain level of autonomy in tax collection. There was even one Muslim *knez* of local *vlachs*. A group of settlements, geographically outside of Petrovo polje, were, at times, recorded as a part of the *nahiye*, due to two reasons. The first one was the structure of income (according to the beneficiary) in the early *defters*, while the other was the wave of internal migrations from the villages of Petrovo polje to the neighbouring areas under effective Ottoman (and sometimes nominal Venetian) rule.

Virtually all the data presented in the introductory study can be traced in the critical edition of Ottoman registers, presented as transliteration, translation and facsimiles in the final part of the book.



Cijena: 200 kn

