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From Pre-Conquest Klis to Post-Conquest Landholding Issues¹

MICHAEL URSINUS (University of Birmingham)

It is generally accepted that the fortress of Klis, situated on a steep ridge set between the Kozjak mountain ranges in the west and the Mosor massif in the east, only about 10 kilometres from the port city of Spalato (today's Split),² was finally taken by the Ottomans after a hard winter and a long siege (which had to be temporarily lifted because of the bitter weather conditions) on the last day of Ramazan in the year 943H, on 12 March 1537, having been heroically defended by its commander, Petar Kružić, a native of Bihać on the Una river. We already hear of Kružić performing some military function in Klis by 1513, but he only became its commander (*zapovjednik*) around the year 1522 after Petar Novaković fended off a strong force of 25,000 Ottoman troops advancing south and east from their conquests of Knin and Skradin (and probably Drniš) and now preparing to attack

¹ This contribution is based on a wide array of Ottoman *tahrir defterleri* (TD) from the holdings of the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. I am grateful to the archive authorities for their generosity in providing me with digital copies of all relevant documents, and I am particularly grateful to Dr Astrid Menz of the Orient-Institut Istanbul for her unfailing assistance in procuring them.

² On Split and its hinterland bordering on the territory of Klis during the second half of the 16th century see my contribution (originally presented to the Sakarya Üniversitesi Uluslararası Osmanlı Araştırmaları Kongresi, organised by OSAMER at Sakarya University between 14 and 17 October 2015) entitled From Defter Entries to Landmarks on the Ground. Cooperative Research in CLEUNE (Gorica, Livno, Bosnia Hercegovina) on Ottoman Perambulations from the 16th Century, in: Fuat AYDIN (ed.), *Osmanlı Üzerine Konuşmalar*. İstanbul 2016, 103-122. Unfortunately, the sketch map prepared by my Heidelberg colleague Johannes Zimmermann for the area between Split and Klis to be published together with the above article was not included in the OSAMER publication, with the result that the reader who is not in possession of a detailed topographical map of the area in question is bound to struggle with the micro-topography of the various landmarks mentioned, which in turn will make it almost impossible to visualise clearly the main feature of the border between Spalato and Klis during the second half of the 16th century in the shape of a narrow belt of "no-man's land" (*terra nullius*) extending diagonally through the hinterland of Split from the island town of Vranjic in the northwest to an area immediately north of Stobreč in the east.

Klis in the summer of that year, reportedly leaving over 300 Ottomans dead.³ These assaults on Klis became more frequent and more systematic by 1530, with the construction of three walled towers at either side of the fortress hill at a certain distance (near Konjsko, Grlo and Rupertina) and finally a fourth stronghold south of Klis in the immediate vicinity of the ancient city of Salona under the command of Malkoč-beg kapetan, in order to cut off the fortress from its hinterland.⁴ But still the Ottomans had reason to complain to King Ferdinand about the defenders of Klis, arguing that, in the course of the spring of 1534 alone, Kružić and his men had ravaged its vicinity no less than 37 times, “destroying all crops, vineyards and fruit trees in the fields”.⁵ So, until and into the period of the preliminary peace with Habsburg 1533-1536, the situation in the surroundings of Klis was far from settled, with everyone living in the surrounding hills, including Christians, being considered “Turks” by the defenders of the fortress.⁶

It seems, however, that there was a time when relations between Klis and the Ottomans were less governed by force but by (Islamic) law. On 21 March 1516, Matij Michel, *knez* and *kapetan* of Split, reported from that city that the people of Klis had submitted (*podložili*) to the “Turks” and were paying tribute (*plaćaju danak*), which resulted in the *terra ferma* of Split opposite Klis being left open to Ottoman raids. On the 20th of that month, so the report goes, on Good Friday 1516, about 50 “Turkish” raiders on horseback had taken captive 18 families (*čeljad*) and driven away some livestock, 18 large and 200 small. Eventually they took the spoil to Klis in order to share their loot with the townspeople.⁷ When according to the same source on 9 December 1517 an Ottoman force of 100 horse and 300 foot appeared above the *castello* of the archbishop (Kaštel Sućurac), they were beaten back with one “Turk” dead, while the Christians suffered one dead and three wounded. The “Turks” would then have retreated towards Klis, which paid tribute to the Ottomans (*koji plaća danak Turcima*).⁸ Reportedly, the Ottoman military did not enter the fortress of Klis, but camped in the surrounding area. Two months before these events (i.e. at the beginning of October 1516) some inhabitants of Trogir staying in Venice stated that the

³ Lovre KATIĆ, *Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz od prethistorije do pada Venecije*, *Starine* 51 (1962), 267–434, 333.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 337.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 341.

⁶ *Ibidem*, 342. During the last few days before his assassination in mid-March 1536, Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha had finally established permanent relations with France directed (in large parts) against Habsburg. Hostilities were soon to erupt again. See Jean-Louis BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, *Chapitre V: L'apogée de l'Empire ottoman. Les événements (1512-1606)*, in: Robert MANTRAN (ed.), *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*. Paris 1989, 139-158, 152-155.

⁷ KATIĆ, *Veza*, 330; referring to Marino SANUDO, *Diarj (1501-1513)*, *Arhiv za povijestnicu jugoslavensku* 6 (1860), 162-471, 461.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 331; referring to Marino SANUDO, *Diarj (1513-1526)*, *Arhiv za povijestnicu jugoslavensku* 8 (1862), 1-255, 6.

“Turks” had under their control the environs of Klis, while the fortress itself was still in the hands of the Hungarian king.⁹

It would therefore appear that Ottoman de-facto control of the surroundings of Klis fortress had already been established by the spring of 1516, at the latest,¹⁰ with an arrangement in force (probably some form of *aman* covering the unprotected *suburbium* as well as the open country) which resulted in the payment of tribute (*haraç*) by the townspeople of Klis who were organised as a separate *communitas* (with its own *sigillo*), while the fortress of Klis (described as a *harbi kale* until 1537) continued to enjoy the suzerainty of the king of Hungary, barring Ottoman troops from entering.

Indeed, ever since the fall to the Ottomans of the Hungarian banate of Srebrenik near Tuzla in 1512 (if this indeed is what happened), Ottoman incursions into Dalmatian territory had increasingly been aimed at resulting in conquests. After advances towards Sinj north-east from Klis early in 1513, which resulted in the final conquest of Sinj, the strongholds of Karin and Kušlat were conquered by 1514, and the fortress of Skradin far to the west of Sinj was attacked. The territories between Sinj and Skradin, the three *nahiyes* known as Zminje polje, Petrovo polje and Petrova gora, must have come under some kind of Ottoman domination in the process of westward expansion from Sinj or soon thereafter, despite Fehim Spaho's assertion that only the easternmost parts of Zminje and Petrovo polje nearest to Sinj fell to the Ottomans before 1528,¹¹ the date of TD 157, the earliest “extensive” survey register for the area to have survived. According to him, Petrova gora became Ottoman territory only after 1528 but before 1550.¹² Apart from the fact that the Ottoman survey register of c. 1540 already records most villages from Petrova gora,¹³ a close reading of TD 157, however, reveals that certain villages or units of agricultural land called *mezraa* or *çiflik* situated in the extreme northwest and southwest of Petrova gora, far outside the radius designated by Spaho,¹⁴ were (at least temporarily) in the hands of Ottoman beneficiaries (both Muslim and Christian), usually as parts of *timars* held by fortress personnel, by 1528. It is possible that these locations had been in Ottoman hands for some time, as three of them (the villages of Kosmač, Košubić / Mirlović Zagora and Zamilice all situated

⁹ Ibidem; referring to SANUDO, *Arhiv* 8, 28.

¹⁰ Perhaps already by about mid-September 1515, see Feridun M. EMECEN, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*. İstanbul 2016, 185.

¹¹ Fehim DŽ. SPAHO, *Splitsko zaleđe u prvim turskim popisima, Acta historico-oeconomica Iugoslaviae* 13 (1986), 47-86, 48.

¹² Ibidem: “Petrova gora čiji se cjelokupan teritorij [...] pao u tursku vlast poslije 1528., a prije 1550. godine [...]”. But see also Krešimir KUŽIĆ, *Povijest dalmatinske Zagore*. Split 1997, 95 and map (*zemljovid*) 5 “showing the situation in Zagora during the 16th century”.

¹³ See TD 211, pp. 625-635.

¹⁴ Such as Brnjica [TD 157, p. 1087 (2)], Zamilice [TD 157, p. 1091 (1)], Planjane [TD 157, p. 1088 (1)] and Kosmač [TD 157, p. 1087 (3)] as well as Kruševo and Široke [TD 157, p. 963 (3)], the last two according to the *defter* “situated between Šibenik und Trogir”.

north or northwest from Trogir) included at least one Muslim household each.¹⁵ This would agree with the fact that in the adjacent area to the south, on the *terra ferma* of Trogir and Split, Kaštel-Novi was newly erected in 1512 in anticipation of Ottoman advances, while Kaštel-Stari was reportedly attacked by Ottoman forces in 1515.¹⁶ In the hinterland of both Split and Klis, an Ottoman presence war clearly felt by 1515 or early 1516, respectively.

It would seem that this is borne out by the evidence in some later *tapu tabrir defters*, in particular TD 440, which has recently been identified as dating from 1550 by Fazileta Hafizović who also published the full Ottoman text in translation.¹⁷ It is this evidence to which we shall now turn before embarking on an attempt at visualising the redistribution of agricultural possessions in the area of Klis after 1537, when the fortress finally fell to the Ottomans and Kružić's severed head was displayed on its walls.

TD 440, pp. 207-209, contains an extended *derkenar* (for an English translation of this *derkenar* see Appendix I) detailing how, after the fall of Klis fortress in 1537, the area around Klis was assigned, as a collective *çiftlik* (*ber vech-i iştirak*), to the newly installed Ottoman garrison troops, i.e. the *mustahfizan*, the *azeban* and their commander (*dizdar*), the *kethüda* and the *ağa* of the *azeban* of the fortress of Klis, a total of 303 beneficiaries. This collective *çiftlik* became their possession (*uhdelerine kayd olındı*) after payment into the Imperial treasury (*hizane-i amire*) of 10,000 *akçe* under the title of *resm-i tapu*. Because, as was stated, "their possession is close to the Abode of War and a frightening place, their proceeds (*hasıl*) are assessed in ready money (*ber vech-i nakıd*) at [no more than] 1.300 *akçe* p.a. which they are to submit year by year, and to hand in the tithe (*öşür*) and the agricultural tax called *salariye* according to custom and *kanun* while they are able to farm the land". But some of the lands within the confines of the collective *çiftlik* had, albeit with the consent of the *mustahfizan* and *azeban*, in the meantime passed, under the title of *maktu* or *çiftlik*, into the possession of individuals or been assigned as *tımars* to strangers such as the *mustahfizan* of Sinj. Other plots, the *derkenar* goes on, "which in the time of the accursed infidels had been "registered by subsequent annexation" (*izafetle tabrir olunub*) in the names of adulterous infidels (*kefere*) living there and assigned as *tımars* to various *sipahis*, [so that] it is impossible now to find any person who can establish and define these lands [precisely]. Because the *sipahis* to whom the lands were assigned now demand the proceeds (*hasıl*)

¹⁵ For Košubić, today Mirlović Zagora, with its *mezraa* Bukovo see MAD 540, p. 178. Further evidence suggests that certain locations within the wider area in question had passed into Ottoman hands as early as 1516. TD 157, p. 1065 records the *mezraa* of Kaptula (in the immediate eastern vicinity of Knin) as having been awarded to a certain Korkud Beğ by the *emins* who had previously been surveying the *liva* of Bosnia (*sabıka liva-i Bosnayı ketb eden ümnen*). This must refer back to the 1516 *tabrir* of Bosnia from which result the surviving *icmal defteris* TD 56 and TD 57 dated February 1516.

¹⁶ Ivo BABIĆ, Prostor između Trogira i Splita. Kulturnohistorijska studija. Kaštel Novi 1991, 128, 131.

¹⁷ Fazileta HAFIZOVIĆ, Opširni popis timara mustahfiza u tvrđavama Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine. Sarajevo 2014.

[for themselves], saying “the proceeds were registered on us”, the *mustahfizan* of the fortress of Klis sent a representative to the Sublime Porte, presenting the following complaint:

After the aforementioned fortress had been conquered, survey officials (*vilayet katible-ri*) came. For the lands around [the fortress] they took from us for the Treasury 10,000 *akçe* as *resm-i tapu*, then established the confines of the land and registered it in our name under the title of *çiftlik*. Until the present it has been in our possession (*tasarrufimizda*). Now, while the fortress of Klis was [still] in the hands of the unbelievers, some people had the *müfettişes* and survey officials register some of the lands around the fortress in their names without at all being able to make use of the usufruct of the land, simply to have it registered upon them. They enter and violate the land which is in our possession, and which was registered upon us after the conquest.

At that time, upon the request of the *cadi* of Skradin, a noble decree arrived with the [following] content:

In essence, while the fortress of Klis was in the hands of the accursed infidels, they had some lands around it recorded in their names, without being able to take the usufruct until the time of conquest. After the conquest, survey officials came, took the 10,000 *akçe resm-i tapu* of the *mustahfizin* of the aforementioned fortress, and delineated the extent of the land. – It was [therefore] decreed to disregard the titles (*tapu-ya itibar olunmıya deyü*) [issued] in the time of the accursed unbelievers, even if they [those individuals] had been given the usufruct [of those lands]. In fact, the aforementioned lands are wholly (*külliyyen*) in the possession of the fortress commanders. It is [an] unknown [principle] that the usufruct [rights] of the individuals in whose names the usufruct was earlier registered at the time of the accursed infidels should have precedence [over the later ones] (*sebkat eyledüği malum olmayub*).

At this junction several issues emerge: Was the statement from Istanbul concerning the (presumed) precedence (*sebkat*) of titles issued “in the time of the accursed infidels” a means simply to demolish the claims of rightful *tapu*-holders on real estate which had in the meantime been singled out for other purposes? Was this statement amounting to a call for the confiscation of such lands held with pre-conquest titles? Clearly, any holder of a *tapu* issued for real estate before 1537 which were to fall within the confines of the post-conquest collective *çiftlik* would now, after the latter had been formally assigned to the *mustahfizan* of the fortress of Klis, potentially constitute an obstacle, raising a legal issue of some consequence about the validity (or otherwise) of titles held in the face of demands by the state to undo them as a consequence of “necessity”. Space will not allow to elaborate on this issue in detail; but we need to review the “presumptions” made in the *hükm-i şerif* from Istanbul on the basis of the cases of pre-conquest titles recorded in TD 157, and to put the locations on a map:

There are twelve such cases in all,¹⁸ concerning ten *mezraa*, three *çiftlik* and one *zemin*. Except for one *çiftlik* and the *zemin*, all the remaining units are indeed described in TD 157 as “empty and not yet cultivated” (*henüz ziraat olunmayub hali üzere ibka olındı*), being situated close to the Abode of War and constituting fear-inspiring places. In two cases the *mezraa* is described as empty and/or not yet cultivated for reason of being “close to the *harbi* fortress of Klis” (TD 157, p. 377; p. 1071). The beneficiaries are Christians as well as Muslims, among the latter *timar* holder Mustafa (TD 164, p. 365), *derviş* Hasan (TD 157, p. 963) and *yeniçeri* Ilyas (TD 157, p. 962). It is clear from the wording *ibka olındı* that the holders in question had their titles confirmed in 1528, evidently as existing beneficiaries. With Klis to become Ottoman only nine years later, it may be surprising to find these locations (with one exception) invariably recorded in TD 157 and TD 164 (the accompanying *icmal defteri*) as “belonging to (the [*harbi*] fortress of) Klis” (*tabi-i Klis; tabi-i kale-i Klis; tabi-i kale-i harbi-i Klis*). A final glance at the distribution map reveals that the circumference of the area covered by our locations (or those that could be identified), particularly its boundary towards Split, appears to closely correspond with the extent of the *terrae* of the late medieval (c. 1400) township of Klis.

Appendix I:

Çiftlik-i Mustahfizan: A Transcription (system Yeni Redhouse) and Re-Translation of TD 440, pp. 207-209 (cf. Fazileta HAFIZOVIĆ, Opširni popis timara mustahfiza u tvrđavama kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine. Sarajevo 2014, 409–413).

Transcription of the *derkenar* (“marginal note”) in TD 440 (1550), p. 207-209:

(p. 207:)

1. çiftlik-i
2. mustahfizan ve azeban mea dizdar ve kethüda ve ağa-i azeban-i kale-i Klis tabi-i Klis üçyüz
3. üç nefer kimesnelerdir mezkurlar ber vech-i iştirak mutasarrıflardır ki kale-i mezbure varoşı ve Solin-i Atik
4. yerleri Kuru Köprüye varınca Solin üzerinde vaki olan değirmenlerden gayrı ve andan Kila
5. nam hacara ve andan Rakoçiç nam kışla¹⁹ ve andan Musur²⁰ yaylasına gelince ve andan Sukna-ya²¹ ve andan kale-i

¹⁸ TD p. 157, p. 377, p. 962f., p. 1023, p. 1071.

¹⁹ HAFIZOVIĆ: “kaštela”.

²⁰ HAFIZOVIĆ: “Motor?/Mutor?”.

²¹ HAFIZOVIĆ: “Sućene”.

6. mezburenün Sin kalesi canibi ki Koçılı Brd[u]²² demekle maruf yerdir mea nisf-i mezraa-i Koniska ki dört
7. aded filuriye dört hisar erenleri uhdesine kayd olunmuşdır filurların eda edeler nisf-i mezraaya mutasarrıf
8. olalar ve nisf-i ahere eflaklar mutasarrıflardır ve mezraa-i Belaçe-ye²³ ve Çuçuravça²⁴ varınca ve mezraa-i
9. Hucye/Socye²⁵ ve mezraa-i (blank) ve mezraa-i Istari Obrnali²⁶ ve Bandol bağları ile maruf yerlerdir hali ve haric ez defter bi-la rüsum olub tapuya müstehakk olmağın mezkurlardan hizane-i amire[ye] isalı için on bin akçe
(p. 208:)
10. resm-i tapuları alınub uhdelere kayd olındığı mutasarrıf olalar henüz darü'l-harba karib muhavvaf yerler
11. olmağın senevi ber-vech-i nakd bin üçyüz akçe hasıl tayin olındı sal be-sal eda edeler
12. zirata ve hirasete kabil oldıkda adet ve kanun üzere öşür ve salariye vereler haliya zikr olunan
13. yerlerden Ban bağları kale-i mezbure mustahfızları ve azebleri rizasıyla Mehemed Ağa veled-i Farmude tasarrufındadır
14. deyü defter-i atıkde mukayyed bulunub haliya tefettüş için mahmiye-i Klisa gelinüb görüldükde kale-i merkume etrafı
15. tahrir olındıkda vech-i meşruh-i sabık üzere on bin akçe resm-i tapuları alınub Klis kalesi mustahfızlarınınun
16. üzerlerine kayd olunub Sin kalesi mustahfızlarına timara verilüb lakin hudud-i muayyene-i merkume dahilinde
17. Solin-i Atik surınınun içinde olan arz mahmiye-i Saray²⁷ kurbında sakin olan İbrizade Kasım
18. Sipahi uhdesine ber-vech-i maktu kayd olunub aher sipahiye timara verilüb ve sabıka Budin beğler
19. beğisi iken fevt olan merhum Süleyman Paşa namına hudud-i mezbure içinde bazı arazi çiftlik deyü
20. kayd olunub aher sipahiye timara verilüb hudud-i mezkure dahilinde bazı arazi dahi küffar-i liyam
21. zamanında sakin olan kefer-i fecere namlarına izafetle tahrir olunub aher sipahilere ber-vech-i timar tayin

²² HAFIZOVIĆ: “iskrčena zemlja”.

²³ HAFIZOVIĆ: “Bilače”.

²⁴ HAFIZOVIĆ: “Čucurevac”.

²⁵ HAFIZOVIĆ: “Soče”.

²⁶ HAFIZOVIĆ: “Uzbalj”.

²⁷ Hafizović broadly misunderstands this passage.

22. olunub haliya arazi-i merkume-[y]i tayin ve tahdid eder kimesne bulunmayub arazi-i merkume timara verilen
23. sipahiler bize hasıl yazılmışdır deyü hasıl taleb eylediklerinde kale-i Klis mustahfızları atebe-i aliye-ye
24. adam gönderüb kale-i mezbure feth olındıkdan sonra vilayet katibleri gelüb etraf ve eknafında
25. olan arazi için bizden miri-ye on bin akçe resm-i tapu alub arazi-i merkuma hudud tayin
26. edüb bi-resm-i çiftlik üzerimize kayd eyleyüb bu zamana değin tasarrufımızda olub haliya bazı kimesneler Klis
27. kalesi küffar yedinde iken müfettişlere ve vilayet katiblerine kale etrafında bazı arazi uhdelerine [?]
28. kayd etdirib kat'a tasarrufa kadir olmayub mücerred üzerlerine kayd ettirmekle bade'l-feth bizim üzerlerimize
29. kayd olunub tasarrufımızda olan arazi-ye dahl ve taarruz ederler deyü tazallüm edüb ol-zamanda
30. İşkradın kadısı olan dua-guylerine hükm-i şerif vared olub mazmun-i hümayunında fi-nefsi'l-amr
31. Klis kalesi küffar-i liyam elinde iken etraf ve eknafında olan arazi üzerlerine kayd
32. işidüb feth zamanına değin tasarrufa kadir olmayub bade'l-feth vilayet katibleri gelüb mustahfızın-i
33. kale-i mezburenin on bin akçe resm-i tapuların alub arazi tahdid edüb mezburlar tasarruflarında
34. ise küffar-i liyam zamanlarında olan tapuya i'tibar olınmıya deyü buyurılıb fi'l-hakika arazi-i
35. merkume-i mahdude külliyyen hisar mustahfızları tasarruflarında bulunub sabıka küffar-i haksar zamanında
36. uhd[e]lerine kayd olınan kimesnelerin tasarrufları sebkat eyledüğü malum olmayub ve hisar mustahfızları
37. hudud-i muayyene dahilinde malumu'l-hudud olan nefsi-i Solin-i Atik surı dahili ve Süleyman Paşa
38. merhum namına olan arazi için yedi yüz akçe resm-i tapu verib te'kiden li'l-asl üzerlerine
39. kayd ettirmek murad edinüb li-ebed arazi-i merkume ala haddihi mezkurlar uhd[e]lerine defter-i cedide
40. kayd olındı
41. Timurhan veled-i Radosav; Davud veled-i Radosav; Ali kassab
42. hane-i müslim 3; resm-i çift 22
43. hasıl-i
44. gendüm kile 143 kıymet 2146; cav kile 144 1/2 kıymet 2168; dönüm-i bağat 71 fi 5 resim 497; resm-i arus 100
45. yekun 5977

(p. 209:)

46. Nefs-i

47. varoş-i kale-i Klis tabi-i Klis varoş-i mezburda hin-i tahrirde sakin bulunan haric

48. ez defter eflak keferesinin ziraat ve hiraset için kendü yerleri olmayub kale-i mezbure-i

49. Klis mustahfızları uhd[e]lerine bi-resm-i çiftlik mukayyed olan arazisinde icare ile ziraat ve hiraset

50. edegelüb öşür ve salariyelerin sahib-i arza eda eyledikleri malum olub kefere-i merkume

51. zimmetlerine cizye-i şeriye ve rüsum bedeli münhall oldukları üzere her duhan-hanele-rine yetmiş akçe resm-i filuri

52. takdir olunub deftere kayd olındı ve ziraat edegeldikleri sabıku'z-zıkr mustahfızan yerleri

53. haslından ber-karar-i sabık sahib-i timara öşür ve salariyelerin eda edeler

[followed by five lines with 21 names of Christian heads of household]

59. hane-i geber 21, resm-i filuri fi 70: 1470; mahsul-i haymane ve nısf-i bad-i hava: 696

60. yekun 2166

Re-Translation:

Çiftlik of the *mustahfizes* and *azebes* as well as the fortress commander and his lieutenant and the elder of the *azebes* of the fortress of Klis, attached to [the district of] Klis. They are 303 individual personnel who jointly enjoy the usufruct [of the *çiftlik* whose boundary is described as follows: From] the suburb of the aforementioned fortress [it runs], excepting the [water]mills situated along Jadro river, towards the grounds of ancient Salona [and] the Dry Bridge, from where [it continues] to the rock called Kila, from there to the winter pasture of Rakočić, and from there ascending towards the summer pasture of the Mosor [mountain] it runs to Sukna [?] and from there to the place known as Kočilo Brdo [which is] on that side of the aforementioned fortress [of Klis] which lies in the direction of Sinj, together with half of the *mezraa* of Konjsko which is registered as in the possession of four [households paying the] *filuriye* [tax and] four fortress guards – may they pay their *filuriye* tax and may they enjoy the usufruct of half of the *mezraa* – the other half is in possession of Vlachs. And it then reaches the *mezraas* of Blaca and Sućurac and the *mezraa* of Sočje [?] and the *mezraa* of (blank) and the *mezraa* of Uzbalj [?]; these are the locations known as the vineyards known as Banov Dol which are empty and not covered by the [previous] register (*haric ez defter*). Having received payment from them at the Imperial Treasury for obtaining legal title [to the usufruct of this land], 10,000 *akçe* title fee were collected from the abovementioned and [the land] recorded as their possession of which they are to enjoy the usufruct. Because these are places which presently are close to the Abode of War and [therefore] fear-inspiring, they are assessed at an income of [only] 1,300 *akçe* in ready money *per annum*. This [amount] they are to remit year by year. For what agriculture, they are able to carry on they are to pay the tithe and the *salariae* tax according to custom and *ka-*

nun. Presently a record was found in the Old Register (*defter-i atik*) indicating that of the localities mentioned, the vineyards of Banov Dol were, with the consent of the *mustahfizan* and *azebs* of the Fortress, in the possession of Mehmed Ağa, son of Farmude. With [some official] having come to the well-protected Klis in order to investigate, it now became apparent that when the surrounds of the Fortress were surveyed, [the sum of] 10,000 *akçe* was, as previously described, collected from them under the title of *resm-i tapu* and [the land] registered on the *mustahfiz*es of Klis fortress, [but] was given to the *mustahfiz*es of Sinj fortress as *timars*. Still, the land which was situated inside the walls of ancient Salona within the specific boundaries mentioned above was registered with a lump-sum (*maktu*) in the name of İbrizade Kasım Sipahi living in the vicinity of the well-protected [city of] Saray [Bosna], [but] was given to other *sipahis* as *timars*. Some other lands which were recorded within their aforementioned boundaries as a *çiftlik* in the name of Süleyman Paşa who died as former governor-general of Budin were [also] given to other *sipahis* as *timars*. In addition, some lands within their given boundaries were recorded (*tahrir olunub*) by subsequent inclusion (*izafetle*) in the name of adulterous unbelievers who had been their owners (*malik*) at the time of the accursed infidels, and [yet] given to other *sipahis* as *timars*. [So] when the *sipahis* who were given as *timars* these aforementioned lands [whose extent] no one is presently able to assess and [whose boundaries] no-one able to delineate claimed their income arguing “they were registered as our income”, the *mustahfiz*es sent someone (*adam*) to the Sublime Porte:

After the aforementioned fortress had been conquered, survey officials (*vilayet katibleri*) came. For the lands around [the fortress] they took from us for the Treasury 10,000 *akçe* as *resm-i tapu*, then established the confines of the land and registered it in our name under the title of *çiftlik*. Until the present, it has been in our possession (*tasarrufımızda*). Now, while the fortress of Klis was [still] in the hands of the unbelievers, some people had the *müfettiş*es and survey officials register some of the lands around the fortress in their names without at all being able to make use of the usufruct of the land, simply to have it registered upon them. They enter and violate the land which is in our possession, and which was registered upon us after the conquest.

At that time, upon the request of the *cadi* of Skradin, a noble decree arrived with the [following] content:

In essence, while the fortress of Klis was in the hands of the accursed infidels, [some individuals] had some lands around it recorded in their names, without being able to take the usufruct until the time of conquest. After the conquest, survey officials came, took the 10,000 *akçe resm-i tapu* of the *mustahfiz*in of the aforementioned fortress, and delineated the extent of the land. – It was [therefore] decreed to disregard the titles (*tapuya itibar olunmaya deyü*) [issued] in the time of the accursed unbelievers, even if they [those individuals] had been given the usufruct [of those lands]. In fact, the aforementioned lands are wholly (*külliyen*) in the possession of the fortress commanders. It is [an] unknown [principle] that the usufruct [rights] of the indi-

viduals in whose names the usufruct was earlier registered at the time of the accursed infidels should have precedence [over the later ones] (*sebkat eyledüği malum olmayub*).

The fortress *mustahfiz*es agreed to have [the lands] situated within their specific boundaries inside the walls of ancient Salona as well as those under the name of the late Süleyman Paşa registered upon them in accordance with the original [arrangement] for a *tapu* fee of 700 *akçes*. [Consequently], the aforementioned lands within their confines were forever recorded in the New Register (*defter-i cedid*) upon the aforementioned [fortress personnel].

Timurhan, son of Radosav; Davud, son of Radosav; Ali, butcher

Muslim households: 3; field tax (*resm-i çift*) 22 [*akçe*]

Produce from

Wheat, 143 *kile*, worth 2.146 [*akçe*];

Millet, 144 ½ *kile*, worth 2.168 [*akçe*];

Vineyards 71 *dönüm* per 5 [*akçe*]: 497 [*akçe*];

Marriage dues 100 [*akçe*];

Total: 5,977 [*akçe*].

Suburbium of the fortress of Klis belonging to Klis [district]: It is known that for their agriculture the Vlach unbelievers not recorded in the [previous] register who had settled in the aforementioned suburb of Klis at the time of the survey without having plots of their own for sowing and harvesting worked fields by hiring grounds recorded on the *mustahfiz*es of the fortress of Klis as [their] *çifilik*, paying the tithe and the *salariye* [tax] to the landowners. The canonical poll tax and the equivalent of the *rüsum* owed by the aforementioned unbelievers apart, seventy *akçe* were collected from every newly established household as *resm-i filuri* and recorded in the register. From what agricultural produce they retain from the lands of the *mustahfizan* mentioned before they are to pay the tithe and the *salariye* [tax] to the *tımar*-holder in accordance with previous decisions.

[The following is a list of 21 Christian heads of household, concluded by the following list:]

Non-Muslim households 21, *filuriye* tax at 70 [*akçe*]: 1,470 [*akçe*]; income from tent-dwellers and half of *baduhava*: 696 [*akçe*];

Total: 2,166 [*akçe*].

Appendix II:

Catalogue of Ottoman possessions recorded in 1528/30 for the area of Klis

There are in fact several instances of titles (*tapu*) being awarded to a number of beneficiaries prior to 1537 (“individuals in whose names the usufruct was earlier registered at the time of the accursed infidels”). The following is a catalogue of all twelve cases recorded in the *mufassıl* survey register for Bosnia (TD 157) completed in 1530, as well as those recorded in its accompanying *icmal* register (TD 164):

(1) The *mezraas* of Kuti and Ogorye. Kuti, recorded as part of the *hass* of the *sancakbe-ği* and forming part of the *çiftlik* of Ali and Mehmed, both belonging to Sinj, is described as being situated “in the vicinity of Klis” (*Klis civarında*: TD 157, p. 377) and as an empty location (*hali*) “near the Fortress of the Abode of War called Klis” (*Klis nam harbi kale kurbında*), and is identified here with **Kute**, part of **Dugopolje** east-northeast of Klis below the Mosor mountain range. Ogorye village, formerly a *mezraa*, can be identified with **Ogorje** village in (former) Zminje polje *nahiye* northwest from Klis (cf. TD 164, p. 37). For a location map showing the grounds of both settlements see Kužić, *Povijest*, map (zemljovid) 5, between pp. 96 and 97.

(2) Bar Čučovina (?): In the possession (*deruhde*) of Hızır Kethüda, Vukić, son of Milovac, Krvatić, son of Meliković (?), Gjurin Vukić and Mustafa, forming part of the *timar* of Mustafa and Piri, son of Veli who are the descendants of sipahis (*sipahizadegan*) of the *liva* of Bosnia. This *mezraa*, (administratively) “belonging to Klis” (*tabi-i Klis*: TD 157, p. 1071), is also described as being situated “in the vicinity of the Fortress of the Abode of War called Klis” (*Klis nam harbi kale kurbında*) consisting of lands (formerly) worked by the priests (*papazlar*). Because of its proximity to Klis it is not yet under the plough. – Although this toponym might seem to read Bar Čučovine; could its name in the end be Bar Popovine, which would fit the description? At any rate, there is a location called Barići at a short distance south of Klis-Varoš, opposite Barića ograde. However, TD 164, the *icmal* register of TD 157, places it in Sinj district (*tabi-i Sin*: TD 164, p. 365).

(3) Itrokral kilisesi. Part of the *timar* held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ. This location is described in the survey registers as “in the vicinity of Klis” (*der kurb-i Klis*) and “belonging to the fortress of Klis” (*tabi-i kale-i Klis*: TD 164, p. 323), also as “lying in front of the suburb of the Fortress of the Abode of War called Klis” (*Klis nam harbi kale varoşı öninde olan*: TD 157, p. 962). Because it is situated close to the Abode of War it is not yet worked, and therefore confirmed empty (*hali üzere ibka*). – The church of Itrokral is identified here with the **Chapel of the Three Kings (Trokral)** in Klis-Varoš of which only a fountain remains today, known under that name.²⁸

(4) Mala [ve] Velika Stupi. Among the *mezraas* and *baştinas* in possession (*deruhde*) of Şücca el-Siyyak, İlyas el-Hayyat, Ivan, son of Tomaš and Ali, son of Balaban, forming part of the *timar* held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ, this *mezraa* is described as being situated “in the vicinity of Klis” (*der kurb-i Klis*: TD 157, p. 962) and as “belonging to Klis” (*tabi-i Klis*: TD 164, p. 323). Because it is situated close to the Abode of War it is not yet farmed, but confirmed empty (*hali üzere ibka*). – Not in Aličić/Spaho, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine* (Sarajevo, 2007), nor in Hafizović, *Opširni popis timara mustahfiza u tvrđavama kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine* (Sarajevo, 2014). Unidentified.

(5) Lušani/ Bušani. *Çiftlik* in the hands of Mustafa from Lepetič, Nasuh from Novo-brdo, Hamza Veličić [from Livno?] and others belonging to Sinj, forming part of the *ti-*

²⁸ I owe the reading as “Trokral”, as well as this information, to my long-standing friend and colleague Nenad Močanin of Zagreb University.

mar held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ. This *mezraa* is recorded as being “situated in the vicinity of Klis” (*der kurb-i Klis*: TD 157, p. 962) and as “belonging to Klis” (*tabi-i Klis*: TD 164, p. 323). Because of its proximity to the Abode of War it is not yet put under the plough, but confirmed empty (*hali üzere ibka*). – Even though the *icmal* survey register would suggest a name like Lušani, none is recorded for the area in question (Lušani not in Aličić/Spaho 2007 nor Hafizović 2014). However, there is **Bučani** south of the source of the rivulet of Jadro. But as with other toponyms derived from patronyms, an identification with places recorded in the 16th century is highly problematical.

(6) Meslenovik Lovac Dolac. Fields and *baştinas* in possession (*derubde*) of Lazar Voyvoda, forming part of the *tımar* held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ. This *mezraa* is recorded as being situated “in the vicinity of the fortress of Klis” (*der kurb-i kale-i Klis*: TD 157, p. 962) and as “belonging to Klis” (*tabi-i Klis*: TD 164, p. 324). Because of its proximity to the Abode of War it is not yet farmed, instead recorded empty (*hali üzere ibka*). – Under the above toponym, no settlement is recorded for the area (not in Aličić / Spaho 2007 nor Hafizović 2014). However, in the immediate (western) vicinity of Klis is the location of **Dolac** above the Archbishop’s *kula* in Sućurac.²⁹

(7) Koniča. Among the locations in possession (*derubde*) of Mahmud, son of Balaban, Marko, son of Bubić and Radivoj Radivojević belonging to Sinj, forming part of the *tımar* held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ. This *mezraa* is described as “belonging to Klis near Mosor [mountain]” (*tabi-i Klis der kurb-i Moson*: TD 157, p. 963) and as (administratively) “belonging to the Fortress of the Abode of War [known as] Klis” (*tabi-i kale-i harbi-i Klis*: TD 164, p. 324). Because of its proximity to the Abode of War, it is not yet under the plough, but confirmed “empty” (*hali üzere ibka*). – Undoubtedly, the *defters* here refer to present-day **Konjsko** north of Klis.

(8) The *mezraas* of Sucurac ve Kozice ve Krušvar ve Ismolvac. *Çiftlik* of Derviş Hasan and Küçük Evrenos and Korkud, forming part of the *tımar* held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ. The *mezraas* are described as being situated, together with the fields, vineyards and mills owned by Jerolim Lukašić, in the area between Klis and Trogir (*Klis ile Trogir arastında*: TD 157, p. 963) and as “belonging to the fortress of Klis” (*tabi-i kale-i Klis*: TD 164, p. 324). Because of their proximity to the Abode of War, they are not yet under the plough, but confirmed empty (*hali üzere ibka*). – The identification of these four locations is based on the assumption (suggested by the above description) that they form a group of locations within a given territory, the area between Klis and Trogir with its centre west of ancient Salona. In this area, Vjeko Omašić, *Povijest Kaštela od početka do konca XVIII stoljeća* (Split, 1986), maps between pages 112 and 113 and following 416; 36-47, refers to the following locations (from east to west): Smoljevac, Sućurac, Kozice and Krušević, with the latter close to the boundary between the cities of Split and Trogir. In this way, the four locations take up almost the entire space below the Kozjak range in the north and the sea in

²⁹ Vjeko OMAŠIĆ, *Kaštela od prapovijesti do početka XX. stoljeća*, vol. 1. Kaštela 2001, 146, map “Kaštelansko polje od XI do XV stoljeća”.

the south between the Trogir/Split boundary in the west and the grounds of ancient Salona in the east. – Sucurac *mezraa* is therefore identified here with the fields of **Sućurac**, and Ismolvac with those of **Smoljevac**. Kozice, which might perhaps be mistaken for (another) Gorica, is now identified safely with the fields of (former) **Kozice**. Krušvar, with a village of that name attested as part of Dicmo in the district of Sinj, is on the basis of group identification nevertheless considered here to relate to the (medieval) settlement of **Krušević**, also known as Kruševik and Kruševo.³⁰ In spacial terms all four *mezraas*, unlike the coastal settlements of the Kaštelas, are likely to have extended across the upper ranges of the district known as Dilat or Dillatum, representing the grounds of the (late) medieval villages of the same names. For another location map see Babić, *Prostor*, opposite p. 71

(9) The *zemin* of Solin. This arable, in the former possession (*deruhde*) of İsmail Ağa and Pir Ahmed, forms part of the *tımar* held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ. At the time of the survey, after an inspection, it was awarded with full title (*tapu ile*) to İbrioglio Kasım Beğ. It consists of the fields within the ruined castle known as Solin and is bordering on the Abode of War (TD 157, p. 963). TD 164, p. 324 has it as “belonging to the fortress of Klis” (*tabi-i kale-i Klis*). – These are the grounds of **ancient Salona**.

(10) The *mezraas* of Brodolani and Radovina (or, according to TD 164, p. 323: Radine). They are situated “close to the fortress of Klis” (*der kurb-i kale-i Klis*: TD 157, p. 963) and are recorded as “coming under [the administration of] the fortress of Klis” (*tabi-i kale-i Klis*: TD 164, p. 323), at the same time forming part of the *tımar* held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ, but in actual possession (*deruhde*) of Mezd, belonging to Sinj. Because of their proximity to the Abode of War, they are not yet farmed, but confirmed empty (*hali üzere ibka*). – Neither name is listed in Aličić / Spaho 2007 or Hafizović 2014. Kužić, *Povijest* (map 5) lists the grounds of Broćanac Veliki west of Konjsko, but has no Rad(ov)ine. Unidentified.

(11) The *mezraas* of Meterezovište (?) and Kočuvic. These fields are with their water mills in the hands (*deruhde*) of Hasan, son of the *kapuç*, transferred from Kasım Voyvoda, forming part of the *tımar* held by Küçük, son of Hasan Beğ (TD 157, p. 962). According to TD 164, p. 323, both *mezraas* “belong to Klis” (*tabi-i Klis*). In consequence of their proximity to the Abode of War, they are not yet worked. – Here again, group identification is applied, on the assumption that both *mezraas* are situated in close proximity to each other. Kočuvic appears to correspond to present-day **Kunčevi** not far to the west of the landmark of Sutikva (129 m), while Meterezovište is likely to refer to **Meterize** a little further to the west, immediately south of Solin.

(12) The *mezraa* of Īrzane / Īzrate. It is mentioned as being situated “within the area belonging to the fortress of Klis” (*kale-i Klis tevabiinde*: TD 157, p. 1023), and recorded as part of the *çiftlik* of Mahmud Beğ, Ahmed, son of Hasan, Hasan Hoca, Musa, son of Abdullah and Evliya, son of Oruç. TD 164, p. 343, however, has no reference to this location. – The toponym appears to refer to **Ozrna** in the immediate proximity to Klis.

³⁰ Ibidem, 47.

Appendix III

What was the extent of the territory of pre-Ottoman Klis?

From the above Catalogue, it is possible to draw an outline of the area considered by the Ottoman scribes working on the composition of TD 157 and TD 164 as “belonging to Klis” (*tabi-i Klis*) or, more specifically, “belonging to the fortress of Klis” (*tabi-i kale-i Klis*) – just like a village would be described, after the conquest, as “belonging to” or “coming under” the principal town of a given Ottoman judicial district. Let there be no doubt that at the time of the survey of 1528-1530 the fortress itself was still in the hands of the enemy, and was to remain so until 1537, almost a decade later. The entries (underlined in the above Catalogue) using phrases such as “belonging to [the fortress of] Klis” or “coming under [the administration of] Klis [fortress]” therefore relate to the pre-Ottoman administrative-territorial unit placed under the fortress of Klis, allowing us to sketch the extent of the territory considered as having been administered from the fortress of Klis in pre-Ottoman times.

On the basis of the Catalogue it becomes evident that several recordings in TD 157 and TD 164 concern arable fields, vineyards and mills in the immediate vicinity of the fortress of Klis, such as the grounds of the Chapel of the Three Kings (Trokrál) right in front of the suburb (*varoş*) of Klis, or the grounds of Ozrna and Bar Popovine (?) nearby (if indeed their identification is correct). But other real estate is to be found further away towards the periphery of the territory of Klis.

In order to establish the extent of the (pre-Ottoman) territory “under” Klis fortress it is necessary to make a distinction between locations described by the Ottoman survey officials as being merely situated “near” (the fortress of) Klis (*kurbında*), and those identified as actually “belonging to Klis” (*tabi-i Klis*) or coming under its administration. It is the latter alone that we are concerned with here.

From the list of locations recorded as “belonging to” or “coming under” Klis (*tabi-i Klis*) we can sketch an area extending from Konjsko in the north to Solin and Meterize / Kunčevići in the south, and from Dugopolje in the east to the fields of Smoljevac, Sućurac, Kozice and Krušević in the west, extending westwards below the Kozjak range at some distance from the coast in the direction of Trogir (Trau),³¹ comprising an area of roughly six by twelve kilometres.

Thanks to the historic-topographical details provided by Vjeko Omašić for the hinterland of Split and its “satellite” *kaštela*s along the bay of Split, as well as the archival studies carried out many decades ago by Lovre Katić on the basis of Venetian and, primarily, sources from the archives of Split (such as the *Reambulacija* of the real estate in the possession of the archbishop of Split dated 1397), it is possible to compare this area with the medieval territory of the township of Klis. The situation is less clear when it comes to the northern

³¹ The map “Middle Ages” (srednji vijek) in BABIĆ, Prostor, 72, allows the reader to visualise the area in question, extending from the right upper corner to near the centre of the map.

and eastern course of the boundary of medieval Klis, but its southern and western boundary is well established as it faced its great rivals, the cities of Spalato (Split) and Trau (Trogir).

According to Katić,³² in 1403 the Bosnian *vojvoda* Hrvoje re-confirmed the boundary drawn in 1390 between Split and Klis as forming a diagonal line which started from the coastal location known as Glavica (“headland”) and continued up-hill towards the church of St. Michael (Kambelovac), the boundary being marked on suitable rocks with the letters S P (*Spalati possessio*). Shortly before, in 1397, the boundary had been fixed as running vertically up-hill from a location on the coast known as “Kotal” (cauldron) towards the location called “Crvena Stina” or “Crvena Stijena” (Red Rock) up to the top of Kozjak Mountain. Within a short period of time, two different approaches had been followed in an attempt to solve the long-standing border dispute between Klis and Split, one using a vertical delineation, the other a diagonal one, both however leading through the foothills of Kozjak mountain.³³ The reversal from a “vertical” approach back to a “diagonal” solution perhaps shows an inherent instability of the boundary in this sector: The line from where the walls of ancient Salona touched the sea at the point called “Glavice”³⁴ opposite the island township of Vranjic continuing up-hill in a north-westerly direction along a straight line towards the church of Sv. Mihovil in Lažani below Visoki vrh (567 m) in Kozjak mountain was, as pointed out by Katić himself, perhaps not the last attempt at drawing a line between the territorial aspirations of Klis and those of Split, the arch-rival of Klis for centuries.³⁵ Yet the Ottoman evidence from TD 157 and TD 164 seems to show that this diagonal line continued to be observed throughout the period from 1403 to 1528, possibly revised somewhat to the advantage of Klis if the upper grounds of Kozice and Kruševo / Krušević / Kruševik had not from the outset been included in the territory of Klis unlike large parts of the fields of the former villages of Sućurac and Smoljevac which had. The fact that both TD 157 and TD 164 list the grounds (*mezraa*) of Kozice and Krušvar (identified with Kozice and Krušević) as “belonging to the fortress of Klis” (*tabi-i kale-i Klis*) and as being situated “between Klis and Trogir” (*Klis ile Trogir arasında*) would suggest that in 1528 these grounds were definitely considered part of Klis. – Probably already by 1550 (the date of TD 440 and its *derkenar*), but certainly by 1574 (the date of TD 533), the boundary had been re-drawn, and Ottoman Klis was henceforth bordering the territory of Venetian Spalato (Split) along a (vertical) line from Mt Kozjak down

³² Lovre KATIĆ, Granice između Klisa i Splita kroz vjekove, *Starohrvatska prosvijeta* 3 (1958), no. 6, 187-210, 206.

³³ Ibidem, 205f.

³⁴ On this landmark, see Vjeko OMAŠIĆ, Povijest kaštela od početka do kraja XVIII stoljeća. Split 1986, 107f.

³⁵ For the situation in 1397, see especially Lovre KATIĆ, Reambulacija dobara splitskog nadbiskupa 1397. godine, *Starohrvatska prosvijeta* 3 (1956), no. 5, 135-177, 154, 156 (Sućurac: “vertical” boundary). Further on the history of the delineation between Klis and Split see KATIĆ, Veza, 269, 288f. (referring to the year 1328), 295 (concerning 1356), 305f. (concerning 1390), 307f. (concerning 1397).

to the Red Stone und finally to the landmark in the sea known as “Kotal”, thus following the line of the demarcation of 1397.³⁶ This meant that the two *mezraas* of Kozice and Krušević were finally taken away from (Ottoman) Klis.

ABSTRACT

On the basis of Ottoman “detailed” (*mufassal*) survey registers (*tabrir defterleri*) for the area of Klis dating from the first half of the 16th century, an attempt is made to trace pieces of landed property held by Muslim (and to some extent Christian) owners in this area while the fortress of Klis (which only submitted to the Ottomans in 1537) was still in enemy hands and consequently considered by them a “fortress in the Abode of War” (*harbi kale*). By identifying the locations described in the Ottoman survey registers as belonging to the pre-Ottoman fortress or township of Klis, the territorial extent of Klis immediately prior to the Ottoman conquest becomes visible.

³⁶ See my contribution on Ottoman perambulations (note 2), in: AYDIN (ed.), *Osmanlı Üzerine Konuşmalar*, 120-122.