



UNIVERSITA' DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA

Sede Amministrativa: Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento di ____ STORIA _____

SCUOLA DI DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN : SCIENZE STORICHE

INDIRIZZO: STORIA (ANTICA, MEDIEVALE, MODERNA, CONTEMPORANEA)

CICLO XX

BEHIND ZARA
ZARA'S *contado* BETWEEN OTTOMAN AND VENETIAN RULES
1645-1718

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DATA CONSEGNA TESI
31 gennaio 2008

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ABBREVIATIONS:

a) Archives and Libraries

ASV – (*Archivio di Stato, Venezia*) State Archive Venice

BMCV – (*Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr*) Library of the Museum Correr in Venice

BNM – (*Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*) National Library San Marco in Venice

DARi – (*Državni Arhiv Rijeka*) State Archive Rijeka

DAZ – (*Državni Arhiv Zadar*) State Archive Zadar

HDA – (*Hrvatski Državni Arhiv Zagreb*) State Archive Zagreb

HAZU – (*Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti*), History Archive of Croatian Academy of Science and Art in Zagreb; (until 1990 Yugoslavian Academy of Science and Art – JAZU)

NSK – (*Nacionalna Sveučilišna Knjižnica*) National University Library of Zagreb

ZKZD – (*Znanstvena Knjižnica Zadar*) Scientific Library Zadar

b) Reviews and magazines

Radovi HAZU-Zd - *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* – Papers of the Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Science and Art in Zadar

Radovi HAZU – *Radovi HAZU* – Papers of the Croatian Academy of Science and Art

c) Published sources

COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES – *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, edited by Šime Ljubić and Grga Novak, published by Croatian Academy of Science and Art, Zagreb, 1876-1966.

Istorija kotarskih - *Istorija kotarskih uskoka*, [The history of uskoks from Kotari], I, II, edited by Boško Desnica, Serbian Academy of Science, Beograd, 1951.

INTRODUCTION

During one of the bloodiest centuries in European history, marked with numerous wars¹, the Republic of Venice strived to keep the peace, which would seem impossible to maintain whilst being surrounded by such neighbours as France, the Habsburgs (Austrian and Spanish) and the Ottomans². It was with reference to the latter, and before the start of the Candian War, that one Venetian Senator said that it was obvious that no one could live close to the Ottomans without being or becoming their enemy and that the Republic of Venice was ultimately the most exposed to their

¹ About Europe during the 17th century: *The General crisis of the seventeenth century*, ed. by G. Parker and L. M. Smith, London-Boston, Routledge, 1978; G. PARKER. *Europe in crisis, 1598-1648*, Ithaca (NY), Cornell University Press, 1979. See also: H. KAMEN, *Il secolo di ferro: 1550-1660*, Bari, Laterza, 1977; H. KAMEN, *L'Europa dal 1500 al 1700*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1993 (1984). About war, diplomacy and society in Early Modern Europe: M. S. ANDERSON, *War and Society in Europe of the Old Regime 1618-1789*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1988; G. PARKER *The Military Revolution. Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988 (Bologna, Il Mulino, 1990); J. BLACK *A Military Revolution? Military Change and European Society 1550-1800*, Atlantic Highlands (NJ), Humanities Press, 1991; R. F. WEIGLEY, *The age of battles. The quest for decisive warfare from Breitenfeld to Waterloo*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1991; F. TALLETT, *War and Society in Early modern Europe 1495-1715*, London-New York, Routledge, 1992; G. PARKER, *Guerra e rivoluzione militare (1450-1789)*, in *Storia d'Europa*, IV, ed. by M. Aymard, Torino, Einaudi, 1995, p. 435-481; *The Cambridge illustrated history of warfare. The triumph of the West*, ed. by G. Parker, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995; P. DEL NEGRO, *Guerra ed eserciti da Machiavelli a Napoleone*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2001.

² R. CESSI, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Firenze, Giunti Martello, 1981 (1946), p. 603-658; E. SESTAN, *La politica veneziana del Seicento*, in *Storia della civiltà veneziana*, III, ed. by V. Branca, *Dall'età barocca all'Italia contemporanea*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1979, p. 7-22; K. M. SETTON, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the seventeenth century*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1991; G. COZZI, *Venezia nello scenario europeo (1517-1699)*, in *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna. Dal 1517 alla fine della Repubblica*, ed. by G. Cozzi-M. Knapton-G. Scarabello, (*Storia d'Italia*, ed. by G. Galasso, XII/2), Torino, Utet, 1992, p. 103-200; G. COZZI, *Dalla riscoperta della pace all'inevitabile sogno di dominio*, in *Storia di Venezia*, VII, *La Venezia barocca*, ed. by G. Benzoni and G. Cozzi, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1997; *Venezia e la guerra di Morea. Guerra, politica e cultura alla fine del '600*, ed. by M. Infelise and A. Stouraiti, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2005.

aggression³. The Venetian's reversal from the expansion of their *Stato da Mar* at the beginning of the 16th century towards the development of a strategy to defend their maritime property became a policy of avoiding conflicts. However, to maintain peace was not an easy task. The Republic used all of its diplomatic efforts to balance and sustain a peace with the Ottomans especially after the losses of Cyprus, the Albanian towns of Antivari (Bari) and Dulcigno (Ulcinj) and considerable territory in the Dalmatian hinterland⁴. In Dalmatia it helped to bribe the local Ottoman border magnates, but these same politics did not help in the Aegean Sea, when in 1645 Maltese pirates attacked an Ottoman fleet. The Maltese ships laden with rich booty and slaves stopped on Venetian Candia (the island of Crete) on their way back to Malta. This was reason enough for the Sultan to attack the Venetian territory and thus start a long war for the Kingdom of Candia⁵.

The 24 year long Candian War followed, which was finally concluded with a peace treaty in September 1669, but for the Republic it ended quite negatively with the bitter loss of the island of Candia and the territories that it had gained in Dalmatia along with many human casualties⁶. On top of this, the material losses were enormous; fortresses, towns and villages on Crete and in Dalmatia were ruined, and the economy suffered greatly. The short economic recovery during the time of peace of 1670-1683 had not adequately replenished their state coffers⁷. A new Ottoman attack on the Venetian's doorstep resurrected the old polemics about the Venetian participation in the Holy League during the siege of Vienna⁸ and then in 1684 for the first time the Republic officially proclaimed war on the Ottoman Empire fighting primarily for the territories

³ G. B. NANI, *Historia Veneta*, II, Venezia 1686 (fourth edition), p. 24.

⁴ M. KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, in *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna*, p. 326-329.

⁵ COZZI, *Dalla riscoperta della pace*, p. 26. The real *casus belli* for the Ottoman's was the annoying Venetian possession of Candia which was exactly in the centre of the Aegean Sea, and was able to control all maritime routes from the Ottoman capital city southwards, Egypt and North Africa, restricting Ottoman domination of the sea which they had gradually established through the centuries, taking over Venetian territories on the Levant. Their military action was prepared and the aim was to conquer this last Venetian territory in the Mediterranean. COZZI, *Venezia nello scenario europeo (1517-1699)*, p. 118-128.

⁶ COZZI, *Dalla riscoperta della pace*, p. 42. During the war the Republic lost about 30,000 people, amongst them were 280 noblemen, which was actually one quarter of the Republic's *maggior consiglio*.

⁷ COZZI, *Dalla riscoperta della pace*, p. 82.

⁸ DEL NEGRO, *La milizia*, in *Storia di Venezia*, VII, *La Venezia barocca*, p. 510. See also J. ALAČEVIĆ, *Pro Lega Sacra*, Tabularium, II (1902), p. 52.

in Morea (the Peloponnesus). The whole of the Morean War was conducted as a conquest in order to take territory, which would replace the ‘Kingdom of Candia’⁹. The conditions of peace after the end of the Great War of the Holy League, of which the Morean War was just one part, were negotiated in Carlowitz, (today Sremski Karlovci) in 1699¹⁰. The Venetian possession of the Kingdom of Morea, along with territories conquered in Dalmatia and Albania were finally recognised¹¹.

Scholars of Venetian history, who researched the relations and conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and Venetian Republic, generally placed Venetian Dalmatia and Albania on the periphery of these wars¹². The local struggle was first analysed by Dalmatian scholars, such as Giuseppe Praga and Antonio De Benvenuti, from an Italian perspective¹³. Nevertheless, Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin historians studied and evaluated these Venetian-Ottoman wars with great interest¹⁴. However, such interest in this subject had already been expressed earlier during the 19th century. The Candian and Morean wars in Dalmatia were also the inspiration for numerous popular songs¹⁵. Journalists such as Serbian Teodor Petranović

⁹ COZZI, *Dalla riscoperta della pace*, p. 80.

¹⁰ COZZI, *Venezia nello scenario europeo (1517-1699)*, p. 146-147.

¹¹ COZZI, *Dalla riscoperta della pace*, p. 92; DEL NEGRO, *La milizia*, p. 528; A. VIGGIANO, *Lo specchio della Repubblica. Venezia ed il governo delle Isole Ionie nel '700*, Verona, Cierre, 1998.

¹² *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia, Arsenale, 1985. See also: E. EICKHOFF, *Venezia, Vienna e i Turchi Turchi: bufera nel sud-est europeo*, Milano, Rusconi, 1991. On relation between Venice and Ottomans see: P. PRETO, *Venezia e i turchi*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1975; P. PRETO, *Venezia e la difesa dai Turchi nel Seicento*, “Romische Historische Mitteilungen”, 26 (1984), p. 289-302; P. PRETO, *I Turchi e la cultura veneziana del Seicento*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, a cura di G. Arnaldi – M. Pastore Stocchi, vol. IV/2, *Il Seicento*, Vicenza, Neri Pozza, p. 314-341; P. PRETO, *Venice and the Ottoman Empire: from war to turcophilia*, in *La Mediterranee au 18. siecle. Actes du Colloque international tenu a Aix-en-Provence les 4-6 septembre 1985*, Aix-en-Provence, Université de Provence, 1987, p. 135-161.

¹³ G. PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, Padova, Cedam, 1954; A. DE BENVENUTI, *Storia di Zara dal 1409 al 1797*, Milano, F.lli Bocca, 1944. See also: F. SASSI, *Le campagne di Dalmazia durante la Guerra di Candia (1645-1648)*, “Archivio Veneto”, s. V, 20 (1937), p. 211-250; 21 (1937), p. 60-100. Other studies in Italian (but from a Serbian perspective): M. JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche del XVII secolo in Dalmazia*, Atti e memorie della Società Dalmata per la storia patria, (XX), Venezia, 1991.

¹⁴ *Historija naroda Jugoslavije* [History of the peoples of Yugoslavia], II, Zagreb, 1959, p. 555-565, p. 634-640, p. 1228-1243; G. STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje u mletačko-turkskim ratovima XVI-XVIII vijeka* [Yugoslavian countries in Venetian-Turkish wars 16th-18th centuries], Beograd, Istorijski institut, 1970.

¹⁵ The Franciscan Brother Andrija KAČIĆ MIOŠIĆ whose *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskog*, [Pleasant talks of Slavic People] was first published in 1756, was a great influence on public awareness over a wide area from Montenegro to Istria and was used as

and Croatian Ante Kuzmanić had observed the Christian struggle for freedom from Ottoman Muslim subjection, developing the myth of national heroes as Christian freedom fighters¹⁶. Here the historical narratives of the wars with the Ottomans in the 17th century were used for the purpose of the nation building process. Based on this tradition, historians continued to observe the Christian struggle for freedom from Ottoman Muslim subjection without placing these conflicts into the wider contexts of the histories of the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire¹⁷. In this way the Venetian hesitation to enter into open war against the Ottomans was presented negatively as being their lack in understanding the needs of the local people.

Even in the recent Croatian and Serbian historiographies, from the second half of the 20th century, most of the studies related to the history of early modern Venetian Dalmatia have been concentrated on giving overviews of war events from 1645-1718 and presenting Christian heroes amongst the immigrants from the Ottoman territories (Morlachs/Vlachs), or focusing only on some specific social groups of immigrants¹⁸. Ten years ago the international project initiated by Drago Roksandić began research into the complex situation of the early modern history of the wider area of the triple border (the Triplex Confinium) in the light of the overlapping interest of the three forces – the Habsburgs, Ottomans and Venetians and the

text book on their national history. He used the form of the popular epic in his narration of the history of South Slavs from medieval times onwards, with the stress on the struggle against Ottoman occupation. For the purpose of this thesis the edition of his book, published by Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 1956 has been used. In this way the 17th and 18th centuries' histories, especially the Candian and Morean wars period, became weighted with the legends created to feed the national identities of Croats, Serbs and Montenegrins, which have had their impact further into their historiographies.

¹⁶ T. PETRANOVIĆ, *Vlasi (Morlacchi)*, in *Srbsko-Dalmatinski magazin*, Zara, 1839, also PETRANOVIĆ, *Familija Dede-Mitrovića*, in *Srbsko-Dalmatinski magazin*. Zara, 1840, and PETRANOVIĆ, *Familija Smiljanić*, in *Srbsko-Dalmatinski magazin*, Zara, 1841. A similar series of popular texts was published by A. KUZMANIĆ in the magazine *Zora Dalmatinska*, 1847-49, and for the purpose of this thesis a reprinted version was used, which was published by Erasmus and Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, Zagreb, 1993.

¹⁷ Similar trends continued in the work of G. NOVAK, *Prošlost Dalmacije* [The past of Dalmatia], II, Split, Slobodna Dalmacija, 2004 (first edition 1946).

¹⁸ B. HRABAK, *Smiljanići od Zadra sokoli*, [Smiljanić, the Falcons of Zadar], Beograd, Prosveta, 1953. B. DESNICA published a great amount of historical research related to his own family originating from the Morlach hero Stojan Janković. The most representative were published in a collection of his works under the title *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija*, [Stojan Janković and Uskok Dalmatia], Beograd, 1991. M. JAČOV was mostly interested into specific ethnic definition of immigrants as Serbs; see: *Venecija i Srbi u Dalmaciji u XVIII veku* [Venice and Serbs in Dalmatia in the 18th century], Beograd, 1984; M. JACOV, *Srbi u mletacko-turskim ratovima u XVII veku*, Beograd, Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve, 1990.

wide net of the cross-border relationships on local levels. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of comprehensive research, which would present the complex changes which happened in the passage from the Ottoman to the Venetian rule of the Dalmatian hinterland although there are abundant documents in the State Archives in Venice and in Zadar, many of which have since been published¹⁹.

In this thesis will be observed the events that happened in Dalmatia, or more precisely in a micro-territory of the county of the city of Zara (*contado di Zara*) with the main purpose to reveal all the major changes related to the turnover of the Ottoman and Venetian government during the wars 1645-1718. These wars were a catalyst for many crucial changes, which had a huge impact on the history of Dalmatia. The aim of this thesis was to research the interactions between local coastal communities with the Venetian government and their Ottoman neighbours. More precisely, how official Venetian position and politics towards the Ottomans and Habsburgs was projected on to the life of the communities who made up the border areas in the dual province of Dalmatia and Albania²⁰, bearing in mind the specific situations of long lasting and exhausting struggles. The main role of the Venetian official representatives in the province – the Governor Generals (*Provveditore Generale*)²¹ and the Counts²² of the coastal cities who were representing the Venetian interests²³ and at the same time

¹⁹ B. DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih uskoka*, I and II, Serbian Academy of Science, Beograd, 1951. The author selected documents from Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV) and Državni Arhiv u Zadru (DAZ) as well as from his own family's archive, relating to the history of the Morlach immigrants in Zara's hinterland. G. NOVAK, published a selection of the reports of the Venetian Governors in Dalmatia from the beginning of the 17th century until 1670, see COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES VENETAE, VII and VIII, Zagreb, JAZU, 1965 and 1966.

²⁰ The main sources for this kind of research can be found in DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi, Dragomano Veneto*.

²¹ An essential source for the research of history of Venetian Dalmatia and Albania are *Dispacci* of governor generals, ASV, *Senato Mar, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche et lettere dei Provveditori Generali in Dalmazia et Albania*, 373-404 (*rubriche*), and 461-561 (*lettere*); as well as in DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, Giustin Da Riva and Vincenzo Vedramin. Documents related to the office of Governor General in Dalmazia were preserved in DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, boxes, 13-85.

²² Documents related to the office of Counts of Zara are preserved in DAZ, *Zadarski knezovi, Atti dei conti di Zara*. There are also very valuable manuscripts in Scientific Library in Zadar, especially ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 11129, Ms 124, *Carte che vertono sulla giurisdizione delli due rappresentanti Conte e Capitano di Zara sec. XVI-XVIII*.

²³ Numerous sources about the relationship with the Venetian Senate towards the province of Dalmatia and Albania and the area of Zara are preserved in ASV, *Senato Mar, Registri*, especially interesting for the period 1645-1718 are *Registri* 103-184. The documents of *Consultori in iure* are also important; see especially filza 28, c. 1-8; filza 41, c. 13-27; filza

mediating between the different social groups on local levels came to the fore²⁴. Furthermore the goal of this thesis is also to research which were the models of economic, administrative and social life in the county of Zara, which kept their continuation since medieval times, and which were new, introduced or adapted under the impact of war and the large numbers of immigrants from the Ottoman territory. Finally the main problems which the Venetian government met in the reorganisation of life in the county of Zara and the adaptation to the peaceful period of its last century of rule in Dalmatia will be examined.

This will be presented through five chapters. In order to facilitate the understanding of previously presented issues, which came to the fore in this research of the archival documents, it is necessary to give a comprehensive overview of the war events in the whole of the dual province of Dalmatia and Albania in the first chapter²⁵. The second chapter brings the subject closer to a micro-historical level, giving an overview of the continuation and discontinuity of the habitation in the territory of *contado di Zara* and detailed descriptions of the settlements²⁶ and natural environment²⁷. The third chapter is related to the border issues, which were arose during the Candian (*linea Nani*)²⁸ and Morean (*linea Grimani*)²⁹ wars and about the administrative changeover from the Ottoman to the Venetian government of the *contado*³⁰. In the fourth chapter is given a reconstruction of the

112, c. 373; filza 113, c. 438 and 506; filza 140, c. 70; filza 144, c. 128-130, c. 145-152; filza 151 c. 213-214; filza 165, c. 60.

²⁴ I. PEDERIN gives an overview about the Venetian administrative system of Dalmatia in his book, *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji (1409-1797)* [Venetian administration, economy and politics in Dalmatia], Magazine Dubrovnik, Dubrovnik, 1990.

²⁵ Alongside already mentioned published sources and publications, numerous precious documents can be found in ASV, *Senato Mar, filze*.

²⁶ ZKZD, Manuscripti, No. 16530, Ms 459, *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara del dottor Simon Gliubavaz dedicato a S. G. Leonardo Foscolo Provveditore Generale di Dalmazia et Albania*; also: No. 15266, Ms 314, *Documenti per la storia di Zara, Nona, Vegli, Pago, Arbe, Sebenico e Scardona sec. XIV-XVIII*; No. 18790, Ms 491, *Catastico de beni di Nona*.

²⁷ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII I XVIII stoljeća*, box 59, *Catastico di Nona*; box 64, *Catastico del Contado di Zara; Geografske i topografske karte Dalmacije i susjednih oblasti -Mape Grimani*,

²⁸ ASV, *Senato dispacci Provveditori da Terra e da Mar e alter cariche*, Busta 694 and 695.

²⁹ ASV, *Inquistori di stato, Minuti e dispacci, Confini Privilegi di Terre suddite in Dalmazia 1580-1774*, busta 288; HAD, *Ujedinjena Bansko-Varaždinsko-Karlovačka General-Komanda, Spisi Like i Krbave*, box 1, 2, and 3.

³⁰ Special attention in this chapter is dedicated to the town of Nona and the reconstruction of its *contado*, using the documents from DAZ, *Knjige Nina* as the main source.

migrations from the Ottoman to the Venetian *contado di Zara*. The fifth chapter gives an overview of the economic and social context of life in the *contado* where the new Venetian subjects from the Ottoman territory were arriving and settling.

Taking into consideration that each of the Dalmatian coastal communities had developed with its own characteristics, the territory of Zara's hinterland, the continental part of *contado di Zara*, due to its geo-strategic position can be taken as a paradigm to approach the study of the complexity of events that intensified during 1645-1718. Namely, the city of Zara which was the centre of the province and therefore of major importance to the Venetian government, but at the same time *contado di Zara* which was a border zone with the Ottomans and the Habsburgs³¹. The position of the Venetian Count in the city, during the 17th century was no longer challenged³². The Venetian government was fully accepted, but also threatened by the Ottoman's presence. Zara lost a large part of its continental territory during the 16th century conflicts and the Ottoman border was just behind the city³³. The low lying configuration of the terrain of Zara's hinterland meant that the Ottomans could easily and frequently carry out raids, which in turn hindered the continuity of agricultural production, although it did not cease completely. Instead it became adapted to the specific conditions of war and truce on both sides of the border becoming a combination of agriculture and cattle breeding³⁴. This also had an impact on the landscape and continuity of habitation from medieval Croatian to the Ottoman and from the Ottoman to the Venetian rules. The interest of the main politics from the Ottoman and Venetian side can be observed through the efforts exerted by both in the revitalisation of the

³¹ A comprehensive three volume publication about the history of the city of Zara from Antiquity to the 19th century has been published by T. RAUKAR - I. PETRICIOLI - F. ŠVELEC - Š. PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, [The Past of Zadar], III, Zadar, Narodni list and Filozofski fakultet Zadar, 1987.

³² About the problems of the establishment of the Venetian government in Zara during late medieval times and at the beginning of the 15th century see COZZI, *La politica del diritto nella Repubblica di Venezia*, in *Repubblica di Venezia e stati italiani. Politica e giustizia dal secolo XVI al secolo XVIII*, Torino, Einaudi, 1982, p. 250-261.

³³ A detailed state of the historiography on the Venetian-Ottoman borders in Dalmatia before the Candian war is given by W. PANCIERA, *La frontiera dalmata nel XVI secolo: fonti e problemi*, in *Società e Storia*, (114), 2006, p. 783-804.

³⁴ This was the case all along the Venetian-Ottoman border as well as the Habsburg-Ottoman border. About border economy and its influence on the environment of the triple borderzone see some examples in *Triplex Confinium (1500-1800), Ecohistory*, ed. by D. Roksandić, I. Mimica, N. Štefanec and V. Glunčić-Bužančić, Split, Splitski književni krug, 2003.

terrain devastated during the intensive conflicts, such as in the specific Venetian measures in the marsh terrain in *contado di Nona* (Nin).

After the Candian War and the Venetian expansion towards the channel of Morlacca (Podgorje), a new frontier with the Habsburgs was established there, which created constant tensions between these two forces and their subjects from Segna (Senj) who continuously aggravated the Venetian government, keeping alive the memory of the Uskoks long after the Madrid Peace Treaty³⁵. Moreover, the tensions with the Habsburgs on the Triplex Confinium in Zara's hinterland gradually became more and more significant than the tensions with the Ottomans and almost forcing an affiliation with the local Ottoman magnates, which was to become apparent in the reports about the border demarcation negotiations in 1700³⁶.

The border area was not only the place of constant conflicts and political games over territory, subjects and influence. This was also the territory of constant changes in inhabitants – emigrations and immigrations, which intensified during the wars. The wars caused large exoduses of Christians from the Ottoman territory to the Venetian. Zara's hinterland accepted most of the immigrants from Ottoman territory. This territory was scarcely populated after the Cyprus War and border demarcation in 1576 because of its position on the border and exposure to military actions and skirmishes even during peacetime. Ottoman Christian subjects moved to the Venetian territory after long negotiations from the both sides. Acceptance of the new subjects from the Ottoman territory and then the re-acquisition of the territory from the Ottomans caused numerous changes in the administrative organisation of the territory.

Here, two questions come into focus: the flexibility of the Venetian government to accept and adapt different forms of good practices from the Croatian medieval and Ottoman systems into the administrative

³⁵ About Uskoks and Habsburg-Venetian relationships in the 16th century see: C. W. BRACEWELL, *The Uskoks of Senj, Piracy, Banditry and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*, Cornell University Press, 1992.

³⁶ The border negotiations carried out by Nani have only been studied by S. BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između bosanskog pašaluka i mletačke Dalmacije nakon kandijskog rata – linija Nani* [Border demarcation between the Bosnian Pashaluk and Venetian Dalmatia after the Candian War – Nani line], MA thesis, University of Zagreb, 1992, but without a complete explanation why he had renounced the huge Venetian conquest during the Candian War, while the negotiations and tensions with the Habsburgs at the end of the 17th century were partially studied by Ž. HOLJEVAC, *The Triplex Confinium in Habsburg – Venetian Relations at the end of the Seventeenth Century*, in *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, p. 117-140, but only from Habsburg documents.

organisations of the new territory and subjects, and the developing reasons for this. The assimilation of large numbers of immigrants from Ottoman territory and their human potential finally enabled the creation of the Venetian military border system in Dalmatia and Albania. The creation of the military border system based on the Ottoman *serhadd* was actually accomplished when the real Ottoman threat to the Dalmatian coastal community diminished during the Morean War and at the beginning of the 18th century³⁷.

However, the changes of population in Zara's hinterland did not end with the recruitment and military service of a large number of newcomers. The *Provveditore Generale* had to deal with the problems of their adaptation to the new peaceful lifestyle, which resulted from the multiplied problems during the truce of 1670-1684 and after the Morean War. The main problems occurred in the pacification of different groups of immigrants who during a very long period of war had developed a specific way of life based on cattle breeding, robbery and slave trading and their introduction to a peaceful life and pre-existing method of economic production, which was based on the cultivation of land combined with cattle breeding (transhumance) and trade with the Ottomans. The side effects of war such as smuggling, corruption and banditry, difficulties in land distribution, the introduction of regular duty payments and agricultural production were the legacy of the Candian and Morean wars, which the Venetian government in Dalmatia needed to deal with during the last century of its existence³⁸.

³⁷ MŠ. PERIČIĆ, *Vonda carina u Dalmaciji*, [Military Border in Dalmatia], in *Vonda carina*, [Military Border], ed. by D. Pavličević, Zagreb, Liber, 1984, p. 199-204. See also A. SFRECOLA, *Le Craine di Dalmazia: La "Frontiera Militare" di Venezia nel primo settecento e le riforme del feldmaresciallo von Schulenburg*, in *Micro-history of the Triplex Confinium*. International Project Conference Papers 1 (Budapest, March 21-22, 1997). CEU Institute of South-Eastern Europe. Budapest, 1998, p. 135-145.

³⁸ More about the problems of the Venetian government in Dalmatia during the 18th century see in S. PERIČIĆ, *Dalmacija uoči pada mletačke Republike*, (Dalmatia on the eve of the fall of the Venetian Republic), Split, 1980; M. BERENGO, *Problemi economico-sociali della Dalmazia alla fine del Settecento*, in *Rivista storica italiana*, LXVI/4 (1954), p. 469-510 and F. M. PALADINI, *Un caos che spaventa, Poteri, territori e religioni di frontiera nella Dalmazia della tarda età veneta*, Marsilio, Venezia 2002.

Chapter I

THE WARS AND PEACE IN DALMATIA (1645-1718)

There has been numerous literature as well archival documents published related to the Venetian-Ottoman conflicts in Dalmatia during the Early Modern Time, especially the wars in the second half of the 17th century when the crucial changes happened there. However, the large amount of different sort of written sources allows numerous reviews of the already established chronology of war events. In order to make logically easy to follow the complex social and political situation in the hinterland of Zara in the second half of the 17th century, it is necessary to give a wide overview of the events which anticipated the Venetian-Ottoman wars 1645-1718 as well as the events that happened during these wars and periods of peace in between. Taking into consideration valuable and large existing historiographical publications mostly of Croatia and Serbian provenance related to the Candian and Morean Wars in the Venetian dual province of Dalmatia and Albania, the overview will be based on the data presented there in combination with some less known data from the archival documents. The problems listed here will be analysed deeper in the following chapters.

1. Venetian – Ottoman conflicts in Dalmatia before 1645

The Republic of Venice stabilised its government in the coastal part of Dalmatian during the first decades of the 15th century. Using the inner conflict of the Hungarian-Croatian throne, the Republic bought the rights to the city of Zara, Novegradi (*Novigrad*) and the island of Pago (*Pag*) from Ladislav of Naples in 1409. After this the Republic gradually expanded its government over the whole Dalmatian coast (peacefully or by the sword) from the town of Novegradi to the coastal area of Makarska, (Almissa / *Omiš* was annexed in 1440), together with islands from Quarnero (Kvarner Bay) (*Cres/Cherso*, *Arbe/Rab* and *Veglia/Veglia*, which was annexed in 1480) to the south of Dalmatia (*Lesina/Hvar* and *Curzola/Korčula*)¹. The

¹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES VENETAE, II, ed. by Š. Ljubić, Zagreb, JAZU, 1877, p. 1, from the report made by Venetian *Sindici* in 1525. See also COZZI, *Il Dominio da mar*, in *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna, Dalla Guerra di Chioggia al 1517*, Torino, Utet, 1986, p. 198; also M. ŠUNJIĆ, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću. Uspostavljanje i organizacija mletačke vlasti u Dalmaciji u XV stoljeću*, Sarajevo 1967; J. TADIĆ, *Venezia*

Republic's major interest was focused on the Dalmatian coastline and islands which assured free and safe navigation, as well as trade with the hinterland, without much intention to expand their government into the Dalmatian hinterland². Nevertheless, very soon after the establishment of the Venetian government on the Dalmatian coast, a new political factor appeared in the nearby hinterland. The Ottomans were gradually expanding their territories over the Croatian kingdom, including the Croatian counties in the Dalmatian hinterland, endangering the coastal city communities with their intrusions and violence. The first Ottoman intrusion into Dalmatia was noted at the beginning of the 15th century. Zara's hinterland, which was under the government of the Croatian Ban and therefore a part of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, was plundered by Ottoman troops in 1432³. After the fall of the Bosnian kingdom in 1463 into Ottoman hands and the fall of Herzegovina in 1482, there was no further peace for Venetian subjects in Dalmatia who were exposed almost daily to violence and plunder in their land around the cities (*aeger publicus*) and villages. The Ottoman troops of *akinçi* would not intend to conquer a territory. They would just rob, taking slaves and generally spread fear, riding throughout Croatia, Carniola and Friuli. Those who were not taken as slaves escaped as refugees, leaving abandoned villages and fields without defence⁴. The defence, which could be organised by the Venetian government, depended of the coordination with the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom and their ability in providing complementary defence. Therefore the destiny of the Dalmatian hinterland was very much depended on the abilities of Hungarian-Croatian kings and their officers (Croatian Ban) to provide proper defence of the Ottoman intrusions⁵. When the Ottomans gradually took over Croatian territory in Lika and continental Dalmatia and their

e la costa orientale dell'Adriatico fino al secolo XV, in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, in *Atti del I Convegno internazionale di storia della civiltà veneziana promosso e organizzato dalla Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia, 1-5 giugno 1968)*, I, *Storia-Diritto-Economia*, ed. by A. Pertusi, Firenze 1973, p. 687-704; M. WAKOUNIG, *Dalmatien und Friaul. Die Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Sigismund von Luxemburg und der Republik Venedig un die Vorherrschaft im adriatischen Raum*, Wien 1990; F. SENECA, *La penetrazione veneziana in Dalmazia*, in *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Padova*, CVI (1993-94), p. 31-43.

² T. RAUKAR, *Društvene strukture u Mletačkoj Dalmaciji*, [Social Structures in the Venetian Dalmatia], in *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj (od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća)*, [Social Development in Croatia from the 16th to the beginning of the 20th century], ed. by M. Gross, Zagreb, Liber, 1981, p. 103.

³ S. M. TRALJIĆ, *Nin pod udarom tursko-mletačkih ratova*, [Nin under the strike of Turkish-Venetian wars] in *Povijest grada Nina*, [History of the town of Nin], Zadar, Institut JAZU, 1969, p. 529-532.

⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, II, p. 132, from *Diarii di Marcantonio Michiel*, on 24 March 1514.

⁵ RAUKAR - PETRICIOLI - ŠVELEC - PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 199-206.

troops endangered Dalmatian coastal communities, Venetian-Ottoman conflict became inevitable⁶.

However, Dalmatia was not the Venetian's primary military concern. The Ottoman's territorial expansion in the Mediterranean endangered the very precious Venetian dominions in the Aegean and Ionian seas, which were crucial for their trade with the Near East and therefore first on the list of the priority to defend, of course only when military conflict was impossible to avoid⁷. In 1463 the Ottoman Sultan started his first war against the Republic of Venice⁸. During this war the Ottomans attacked Zara, Spalato and Sebenico (*Šibenik*) in September 1468. This provoked the Venetian government to invest in the fortification of the coastal towns. After this, three more Ottoman-Venetian wars followed in the 16th century. The war 1499-1502 ended with the Ottoman conquest of Makarska and its area (Primorje). In the war 1537-1540 the Ottomans conquered a large part of Croatia and during the war 1570-1573 they occupied the majority of the continental part of Dalmatia⁹. The wars in Dalmatia were always a reflex action or side effect of the Venetian-Ottoman conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean¹⁰.

The Ottomans and Venetians in Dalmatian hinterland fought over strategic positions - fortifications, the majority of which were established by the previous Croatian-Hungarian government, during 1360-1460. The Ottomans needed to ensure a large area as a frontier zone for their Bosnian dominion. In 1537, after conquering the very important fortress of Clissa (*Klis*), the Ottomans established the Klis Sandjak in Dalmatia. This was administrative and military territorial unit on the Empire's border, which encompassed the conquered territories in Lika, Krbava, area around the River Una, conquered areas of Dalmatia southern of the River Cetina, some areas in west Herzegovina, Rama and Uskoplje, area of the upper flows of the rivers Vrbas, Pliva and Sana and the upper flow of the River Narenta (Neretva). When the Ottoman conquest in Dalmatia was expanded after 1573 with the territories of the hinterland of Zara, Sebenico and Traù

⁶ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, II, p. 142, from *Diarii di Marcantonio Michiel*, on 31st January 1520.

⁷ F. THIRIET, *La Romanie vénétienne au Moyen Age. Le développement et l'exploitation du domain colonial vénétien (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, Paris 1957; B. ARBEL, *Colonie d'oltremare*, in *Storia di Venezia*, XII, *Il mare*, ed. by A. Tenenti – U. Tucci, Roma 1991, p. 947-985; G. GULLINO, *Le frontiere navali*, in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta delal Serenissima*, IV, *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, ed. by A. Tenenti-U. Tucci, Roma 1996, p. 13-111.

⁸ G. GULLINO, *Le frontiere navali*, p. 13-111. See also: *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, [History of Yugoslavian people], II, Zagreb 1959, p. 261-267.

⁹ G. NOVAK, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, I, Split, Slobodna Dalmacija, 2004, p. 168-169. See also: STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje u mletačko-turskim ratovima XVI-XVIII vijeka*, [Yugoslavian countries in Venetian-Turkish wars 16th-18th centuries], Istorijiski institut, Beograd, 1970, p. 11-51.

¹⁰ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 178.

(*Trogir*), the Krka Sandjak was established in 1580, which encompassed all the Ottoman territories west and north from the River Krka¹¹.

On the other hand, the Venetian's interest was to ensure their navigation on the Adriatic. The dominion on the coastal area became questionable, as well as its navigation since the Ottomans had occupied or endangered most of the coastal towns in the 16th century. In the Cyprus War the Republic lost the towns of Antivari (*Bar*) and Dulcigno (*Ulcinj*) in its Albania and only Cattaro (*Kotor*) and Budua (*Budva*) was left in its hands but being related with the rest of the Republic by a narrow sea channel control by the Ottomans from the fortress of Castelnuovo (*Hrecegnovi*)¹².

At the end of the 16th century, along with the Habsburg troops of Uskoks from Segna, Ottoman pirates from Dulcigno and Obbrovazzo (*Obrovac*) started to disturb the Venetian navigation on the Adriatic¹³. The Republic invested great amounts of money into rebuilding and improving the Dalmatian fortifications along the Ottoman border, but by 1573 most of them had fallen into Ottoman hands¹⁴. During the war of 1537-1540 the Venetians lost Nadino (*Nadin*) and Vrana (or *Laurana*), in *contado di Zara* and in 1572-1573 the very important fortress of Zemonico (*Zemunik*), and new built fortress of Polisane (*Poličnik*) in vicinity of Zara. During the war the Ottomans came in front of the city of Zara and there were rumours about possible Ottoman navy, which was around island of Lesina (*Hvar*), to come and attack Zara from the seaside. This would have been the crucial in changing of the positions of the Ottomans and Venetian dominion on the eastern Adriatic because the major Venetian adute was the possibility of defending the coastal Adriatic possession from the seaside. But such maritime attack never happened¹⁵.

The lost of the territory in the hinterland of its Dalmatian coastal communities and the Ottoman creation of their frontier system (*serhadd*), dictated a gradual change in the Venetian conducting war against the Ottomans. The usual strategies of a major conflict on a battlefield, which was possible to conduct in flat areas of the Terraferma, here in the mountain regions of Dalmatian hinterland were replaced with small garrisons whose major duty was to defend the fortifications and refugees from a sudden Ottoman ride. Beside this the Venetians had to accept the Ottoman way of small war, typical for the frontier areas, based on skirmishes, raids and

¹¹ K. JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe u vrijeme osmanske vladavine u 16. i 17. stoljeću*, [Northern Dalmatian hinterland during the Ottoman government in the 16th and 17th centuries], (MA thesis), University of Zagreb, 2004, p. 33-35.

¹² KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 329.

¹³ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, II, p. 139, from *Diarii di Marcantoni Michiel*, 8 marzo 1514.

¹⁴ A. DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete in Dalmazia*, Venezia, Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgo e Trifone, 2006, p.13-27.

¹⁵ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 218-220.

similar guerrilla actions¹⁶. This way of combating also dictated the specific way of living, creating specific frontier societies in the hinterland of the Dalmatian coastal towns¹⁷.

The conflicts between Venetian and Ottoman subjects in Dalmatia were a part of their daily lives. One of the reasons was the ambiguous borderlines which were most of the time disrespected¹⁸. The border in practice was never as agreed during peace treaty negotiations. This was the case with the border demarcation in 1540 as well as in 1576. The borderline was not strictly defined giving room for numerous trespasses. At the same time the Ottomans were ignoring obligations to hand back the villages in Zara, Sebenico and Traù districts to the Venetian side¹⁹.

After the Cyprus War in 1573, the Ottomans were obliged, by the peace treaty, to give back all conquered territories to the Republic of Venice. However, the fortresses of Zamonico, Salona (*Solin*) and Sasso (*Kamen*) were included in the Ottoman territory according to the demarcation line established in 1573, ignoring the peace treaty. The territory of the Republic of Venice in Dalmatia and Albania was restricted to a thin coastal line of the cities: Novegradi, Nona, Zara, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato (*Split*), Almissa and Bocca di Cattaro (*Boka Kotorska*) with Cattaro and Risano (*Risan*)²⁰. This border was established without the Venetian representative, by the Ottoman governor Ferhad-bey Sokolović because this was diplomatic practice. The border was revised in 1576, but without major changes and this final agreement was also signed by the Venetian representative Francesco Soranzo²¹.

¹⁶ TALLETT, *War and Society*, p. 60. The author finds similarity in the way of conducting guerrilla actions on the Ottoman border in Europe and on the English/Irish frontier in the early modern time, which was dictated very much by the fact of a not strictly defined borderline and the creation of great border zone where the military actions almost never ceased. See also STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 75-101.

¹⁷ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 329-331. The author gives an example of the Habsburg subjects Uskoks from Senj as a par excellence of frontier society. Some confirmation about people in Dalmatia who were able to use weapons and organise their own defence due to their constant exposure to the Ottoman attacks can be also found in the report of Antonio Civran who obtained the duty of the *Provveditore Generale* 1630-1632; see COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 54.

¹⁸ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo na zadarskoj krajini XVII. stoljeća*, Radovi JAZU-Zd, 4-5, (1959), p. 448-449.

¹⁹ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačke granice u Dalmaciji u XVI. i XVII. stoljeću*, [Turkish-Venetian borders in Dalmatia in the 16th and 17th centuries], Radovi HAZU-Zd, 20, (1973), p. 447-448. See also KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 330.

²⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 176, *Relazione di Giovanni Battista Grimani*, written in October 1644. See also PANCIERA, *La frontiera dalmata nel XVI secolo: fonti e problemi*, 2006.

²¹ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačka granice*, p. 451-453. BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 29. The author explain that the Venetian Republic accepted to agree to such borderline since its major interest related to free navigation and trade alongside the eastern Adriatic coast were

After the Cyprus War, the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire lived officially in peace until 1645. In Dalmatia this did not seem so. The borderline was disputed and therefore needed another revision, which was conducted by the Venetian *Dragoman* (diplomat-interpreter) Giovanni Battista Salvago in 1626. He noticed that the border demarcation in 1576 left the coastal communities with very restricted territories which included city ramparts and some fields around city walls, which most of the time was threatened by Ottoman intrusions²². Many of the villages were under Ottoman government while the Dalmatian communities demanded their return under the Venetian government. It was impossible to produce enough food for the cities and the only contact with the rest of the Venetian territories was via the sea. People abandoned the wide border area. The majority of them emigrated to the Dalmatian islands, Italy or inside city ramparts²³. The cities were overcrowded and any food was imported from the Ottoman territories²⁴. Some of the Venetian subjects chose to work on the fields on the other sides of the border, owned by the Ottomans. Such situations created room for constant conflicts between people on both sides of the border. The most frequent reason for local conflicts would be the incursions by Ottoman subjects into Venetian territory, robbing and maltreating Venetian subjects²⁵. This would provoke retaliatory attacks by Venetian subjects. Another cause of conflicts on the border would be the Uskoks, who would use family relationships and the friendships of Venetian subjects in Dalmatia to attack Ottoman subjects on the other side of the border²⁶.

In October 1644 Giovanni Battista Grimani *Provveditore Generale della provincia di Dalmazia et Albania* (Governor General of the province of Dalmatia and Albania) in his report depicted a very problematic situation on the Venetian-Ottoman border in this region. There were some open Ottoman attacks on the territories of Zara and Sebenico. In Zara, local Ottoman troops attacked the Venetian fortress of *Grussi* (Grusi) while 4,000

not endangered. The only losers in this situation were the Dalmatian coastal communities who lost their *aeger publicus* and Dalmatian noblemen who lost their land properties.

²² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 21; *Revisti dalmati confine del dragoman Salvago*.

²³ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 30, statement of the dragoman Salvago: “Ma non deve né anco l’uomo ammirare troppo questa declinatione, perché nella description de i confini furono numerate le case, ma i sudditi al tempo della guerra si ritirarono alle isole et altri passarono in Puglia, et alla Marca anconetana, et ivi restarono, così avendo anco fatto parecchi altri di tutta la provinita.”

²⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 50, *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Civran wrote in his report in 1630: “In essi luoghi della provincia non sono migli, non formenti, non ogli, non aceti, ne alcun di quei depositi, che non solo a confini de potentissimi barbari la fede de quali non mai fù intiera, ma in qualsisai parte con principe li più quieti, e i più deboli sono soliti tenersi.”

²⁵ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 412-418.

²⁶ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 331.

Ottoman soldiers attacked the village of Verpoglie (*Vrpolje*) near Sebenico²⁷. However, if a war was not openly announced from either side, Venetian or Ottoman, there was no official war and the local conflicts were taken just as skirmishes which were tolerated to a certain extent²⁸. The Republic preferred to keep 'peace' with the Ottomans which would allow navigation and trade and any critical situation which could erupt a war, they had to quieten down, most of the time by bribing local Ottoman magnates²⁹. Some of them preferred to keep friendly relationships with the Venetians such as the captain of the fortress of Sed-Islam in the Zara hinterland, Bey Beširagić. Opposite to this was the family of Durak-Bey who owned the estate of Vrana Lake and constantly provoked conflicts on the border. In his report Grimani described the problems, which Durak-Bey created by moving Morlachs just near to the border with the Venetian territories, causing numerous trespasses over the border³⁰. The problems which he noticed were very similar to those of the previous years of peace, and so it can be concluded that the revision of the borderline made in 1626 did not help to resolve all of the disputable spots on the borderline which related mostly to the lack of the fertile land around the cities (such as Spalato), and Ottoman intensions on the villages in the hinterland of some city communities (Sebenico and Traù)³¹.

In order to avoid anymore conflicts on the border Grimani ordered more control over the Venetian subjects. Therefore he forbade any inhabitation of the isolated settlements along the border because these were mostly shelters for the troublemakers who were causing trouble there. Another problem on the border was caused by the seasonal migrations in the pastures i.e. transhumance when Morlachs, Ottoman subjects, entered with their cattle into the Venetian territory without control. Grimani also recommended that Morlachs, Ottoman subjects, who immigrated to the Venetian territories in Dalmatia, should be deported to Istria or to islands because they were the target of revenge of the Ottoman captains and therefore a cause of further conflicts on the border. He also forbade the selling of muskets to Ottoman subjects who obviously did not have a supply

²⁷ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 166.

²⁸ EICKHOFF, *Venezia, Vienna*, p. 205, mentioned that once the Habsburgs were protesting because the Ottomans trespassed the border and they received this response from Mehmet Köprülü: "Le agressioni condotte senza artiglieria pesante e con meno di 5000 uomini non possono essere considerate violazioni della pace".

²⁹ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 418-419.

³⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 167.

³¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 103, f. 47v: "Se parlasse delle Ville di Traù pretese a nostro pregiudizio noi vi alerete di tante raggioni et scritte che militano a favor de nostri specialmente un comandamento diretto al Bassa di Bossina et al Sanjaco da Clissa cavato dal Gran signore l'anno 1631 il mese di settembre inviato dal Dil.mo Nob. Nostro Giovanni Capello quando sia Bailo et che deve trovarsi in contesti archiviji et in esso si giudicerano tutte le sedici ville nominatamente d'intero possesso della Republica."

of this 'new weapon' and which was a strategic advantage on the Venetian side³². Besides this, Grimani also noticed many strategic advantages the Ottomans had in this region. The Ottomans governed a large part of the province which was connected with Bosnia and Herzegovina and then on to Ottoman territories, while Venetian territories in Dalmatia and Albania were isolated, cut-off from their natural hinterland. Therefore the Ottomans had access to the resources and people which would be major prerequisites for conducting a war³³ while the Venetians needed to import grain, water and hay for horses as well as hardtack to keep the garrisons in its Dalmatian fortresses. The defensive politic introduced by the Venetian Republic during the 16th century demanded great investment in human resources, i.e. professional army and territorial militia, as well as investment into fortresses. This was a large burden for the communities of the *Stato da Mar*³⁴.

2. The war in Dalmatia 1645-1669

At the beginning of the Candian War there were no military conflicts between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire in Dalmatia and Venetian Albania apart from the almost usual skirmishes from both sides of the border. Most of the available Venetian army was taken to defend the kingdom of Crete while in Dalmatia fortresses were left with minimal army units³⁵. At the very beginning of the war there was about 6,000 infantry soldiers, 1,600 cavaliers and about 5,000 soldiers recruited as militia i.e. *cernide*³⁶. The Venetian government was counting on the urgent recruitment of more local people as *cernide*. This kind of recruiting auxiliary military forces was introduced during the first half of the 16th century on Terraferma. The system was developed through selection of men, plebeian, in age 18 to 50, one of hundred within a community, although this key was not all the time so strictly applied. The noblemen were excluded from this obligation. The ordinary people who were gathered in this way had a necessary

³² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 168-170.

³³ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 176.

³⁴ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 335-336, 344.

³⁵ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 103, f. 2v and 10r. From the list of the weapons and other equipment sent to Dalmatia it can be concluded that the Republic of Venice did take into account possible Ottoman attacks. The good equipment of the fortress of Zara became especially important. The movements of the Ottomans were observed on a daily basis. See also G. PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, Padova, Cedom, 1954, p. 184.

³⁶ PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, p.184. Also BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 30. The author points out that the Venetian army was chronically lacking people for military service in Dalmatia, while the Ottoman side was in a better position, having developed their system of occasional recruitment of their Christian subjects settled around the borderline. About the number of the Venetian troops in Dalmatia before the start of the Candian War see G. STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 199. Also, M. JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 13.

education in basic military discipline and weapon handling. They were mostly chosen to serve in protection of their own homelands, but when they were serving outside the territory of their own community, they would be given a wage. This system was gradually introduced to other Venetian territories³⁷. Dalmatians, as well as Christians from the surrounded areas under the Ottoman control (*le truppe Crovate et Albanesi*) were also recruited as volunteers to go to Crete³⁸. However, there was no doubt of an Ottoman attack on the Venetian Dalmatian properties especially bearing in mind the ambitious Halil-bey Durakbegović of Vrana who at the beginning of the Candian War returned from Buda to Dalmatia³⁹. Halil-bey was considered as one of the Venetians major enemies in Dalmatia therefore the Ottoman government kept him away from the Venetian border during the truce after the Cyprus War. On the other hand local Venetian subjects in Dalmatia were just waiting for a good opportunity to take revenge on the Ottomans who were disturbing them on a daily basis during the truce⁴⁰. Although the Venetian government did not put all the effort to protect the Dalmatian cities from the potential Ottoman attack after they attack the island of Crete, the situation gradually changed. This first attack to the Venetian possession in Dalmatia happened in summer 1645 when Halil-bey from Vrana attacked the villages of Rasanze (*Ražanac*) and Grue (*Grusi*). The excuse for the attack was easily found in the fact that the Venetian *Provveditore Generale* did not offer a common gift for the inauguration of the new border commander i.e. Halil-bey. The Venetian side, usually very careful in these specific diplomatic relationships with the Ottomans, maintaining a detailed list of appropriate gifts to different range of the Ottoman officers, did not consider it appropriate to offer a gift to someone with whom they were officially in the war⁴¹.

³⁷ PERIČIĆ, *Vojna krajina*, p. 200. The recruitment of peasants was not a unique invention of the Venetian Republic. It was quite common throughout Europe. See ANDERSON, *War and society*, p. 93.

³⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 103, p. 166v; In the termination from 22th March 1645 was presented the case of Marcovich family, Mattio, Pietro and Marco who traditionally served in the Venetian army organising troops recruited amongst their own people in Albania under the Ottoman rule. See also p. 207v.

³⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 103, p. 47v: “Coll’eseguirlo ove sete ci fatte creder di darne l’ordine stesso anco nell’altre parti accio dapertutto ci pratici la regola stessa, et li rapresentanti ne siano avvertiti et ecitati. Ben si considera da voi che Duracovich con la natura sua torbida possa capitando in Bossina procurar qualche male. Avvertito de suoi pensieri aserete la virtù e la diligenza per saper quanto si possa et oppner la ragione et il dovere...”

⁴⁰ NANI, *Historia Veneta*, III, p. 92 described the situation in Dalmatia in 1645: “Conveniva il Senato tra Candia e Dalmatia ripartire le difese, e le cure, perché in questa provincial alcuni de confinanti bramosi del torbido per audita di ripartirsi i campi e le case, tremevano d’impatienza di muover l’armi.”

⁴¹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Kandijskog rata*, Vjesnik vojnog muzeja, Beograd, 1958, p. 107. See also M. JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 10.

In December 1645 the Venetian Senate appointed Nicolò Dolfin and Lunardo Foscolo as extraordinary governors (*Provveditori Straordinarii*)⁴² and they were sent to Dalmatia together with military commander Major Baron Christopher Martin Degenfeld and Count Ferdinando Scoti with some cavaliers and infantry from Lombardy. Count Fabrizio Suardo was appointed general military commander and Marc Antonio Pisani was the chief commander of the cavalry⁴³. The Venetian Senate also appointed extraordinary governors in the main cities of Dalmatia and the fortress of Novegradi. The Senate was under the opinion that the Venetian military strategy in Dalmatia should be strictly defensive without any main military actions, which would demand any major action from the Venetian army, which was anyway too busy on Crete⁴⁴. There were also ideas to keep trade open between the Republic and Ottoman territories in the Dalmatian hinterland, although hostility demonstrated by the local Dalmatian beys discouraged such thoughts⁴⁵. Even though there were no major military conflicts, during the first year of war Ottomans kept up their provocations, incursions and raids into Venetian territory in the Zara hinterland but without major success⁴⁶.

In reality even the Republic's defensive tactic would be too difficult to withhold considering the poor conditions of their troops and fortresses in Dalmatia. The little number of mercenary troops, which were in Dalmatia at the beginning of the Candian War, did not even have where to sleep and the conditions in which they lived caused that many of them became ill before they had opportunity to see the battlefield⁴⁷. Most of the fortresses needed major refurbishment to be in any condition to resist any eventual Ottoman

⁴² PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, p. 184; Previous *Provveditore Generale* Andrea Vendramini was not seen as capable enough to cope with war situation. Therefore he was withdrawn from this position. See also ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 103, f. 284r.

⁴³ NANI, *Historia Veneta*, III, p. 92: "Lunardo Foscolo era il generale della Repubblica e i principali Capi dell'armi il Conte Ferdinando Scoti e il Baron di Degenfeld. In mare consisteva di sei galee la guardian, e di buon numero di fuste, barche armate et altri legni minori. Le città e le fortezze a sufficienza di presidio munite con buon corpo di cavalleria, a cui come provveditore generale comandava Marc Antonio Pisani. Ne paesi gente bellicose et avvezza a diffendere dall'insolenza de Turchi con la spada i loro terreni, garegiava la fedeltà col valore. Il Foscolo sentiva che uscendo in campagna si prevenissero le minacciate offese de nemici, ma il Senato non giudicava opportune di provarle. Perciò passavano sole reciproche scorrerie e se i Turchi danneggiarono Grussi, Nona, la Torretta e Malpaga, i Veneti si risarcirono sopra le terre loro et in quelle vaste campagne."

⁴⁴ F. DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog rata u Dalmaciji*, Split, Splitski književni krug, 1986, p. 70-71, 73.

⁴⁵ PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, p. 184.

⁴⁶ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, p. 2.

⁴⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Bust 692, Zara, 3 Ottobre, 1646: (...) "e pur se ne tiene necessità per li pagliazzi tanto per la militia sara quanto ammalata. Il tutto porto col solito di mia reverenza alla notitia di cotesto Ecc.mo Senato per le celere e necessarie provvigioni."

attack⁴⁸. The Republic decided to concentrate the bulk of its resources into defending Crete and so the Senate decided to act according to an official report made by Count Sforza Pallavicino⁴⁹ during the previous Venetian-Ottoman war. His opinion was that the fortresses in Dalmatia were in very bad status and their refurbishment would demand large investments, therefore the minimum the Republic should do was to concentrate all resources on the defence of strategic positions in Zara and Cattaro⁵⁰. Judging the ramparts of the town of Nona to be in very poor condition, *Provveditore Generale* of Dalmatia Andrea Vendramin ordered its destruction. This would prevent the town becoming an Ottoman fortress. The inhabitants accepted this and moved voluntarily to the islands of Pago, Pontadura (*Vir*) and to Zara after burning their own homes and destroying the town's ramparts⁵¹. Some other villages in the vicinity of other cities had to be destroyed too because it was estimated to be impossible to protect them from the eventual Ottoman invasion⁵². This became the main Venetian tactic during the war. Any settlement or fortress, which was judged as being impossible to protect from possible Ottoman invasion, had to be destroyed. According to this train of thought in 1646 the villages in the Zara hinterland: Grue, Gliuba (*Ljubač*), Rasanze, Neresane (*Nerežane*), Bocagnazo (*Bokanjac*), Torretta (*Turanj*), San Filippo e Giacomo (*Sveti Filip i Jakov*) and Pacosciane (*Pakoštane*) were all destroyed and their inhabitants were moved to the nearest islands⁵³.

The people in Dalmatian cities did not accept such a solution and they persisted with their demands on rebuilding and reinforcing fortresses especially those in Sebenico who halted the removal of cannons, which the Venetian government planned to transfer to Spalato. In Spalato the people started to reinforce one of the Diocletian's fortresses and also to build a new one. In Traù people, men and women, worked on rebuilding the barbicans, and eventually in Sebenico, encouraged by engineer Antonio Leni, men and women started to build a dry stone fortress on the hill of Sv. Ivan (St. John) over the city. Seeing such effort by the local people and their willingness to defend their city, the Venetian count of Sebenico provided some financial

⁴⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 103, f. 47v: "Il conte di Spalato scrisse esser quelle mure deboli e i torri verso la Chiesa di Santo Ascanio in pericolo di cadere, olter il bisogno dilette per artiglierie, havemo quell rappresentatne, che ve ne da parte noi col opere di capi di Guerra et ingegneri farete che sia riconosciuto il bisogno, et datori rimedio con quella circonspeitione che deve haversi grandemente nelle congiunture presenti di non dar preteso a Turchi di publicar la novità di fortificationi dal nostro canto."

⁴⁹ DE BENVENUTI, *Le opera fortificatorie*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p.62, 65.

⁵¹ DAZ, *Knjige Nina [Book of Nin]*, I, f. 5v; DARi, Collection Lorenzo Benevenia, RO 26, box 1, file 3, *Nuovo contributo alla storia civile ed ecclesiastica di Nona*, manuscript collection and notes made by L. Benevenia.

⁵² JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 17-18.

⁵³ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 76.

help for the city's community, which culminated in the building of a new fortress in just two months⁵⁴. Unfortunately the fortress of Verpoglie⁵⁵ was destroyed according to the order of the Venetian government and to prevent eventual Ottoman occupation, which would ultimately endanger the city of Sebenico. General Foscolo was so enthusiastic with the zealous response of Dalmatian people to defend their homes from the Ottoman attack and being so devoted to the Venetian government that he expressed it in his letters to the Venetian Senate⁵⁶.

Ottoman intrusions intensified on all sides of Venetian Dalmatia in 1646. In spring Ottoman troops were twice in Sebenico's neighbourhood, attacking the village of Vodizze (*Vodice*). The attack was successfully repelled thanks to men and women who fought alongside each other to defend their village as well as a Paduan galley, which helped them with cannon fire from the coast⁵⁷.

The most exposed to Ottoman attacks were the villages of Zara's hinterland. Ottoman subjects from Vrana were scouting around the Venetian fortress of Novegradi, the next target for their master Durak-bey of Vrana, a son of Halil-bey. In one occasion they burnt the fortress of Gliuba⁵⁸ and the villagers were saved by a Venetian vessel from Novegradi⁵⁹. In the southern part of *contado* the villagers from San Cassano (*Sukošan*) raided some Ottoman villages in their neighbourhood, which provoked an Ottoman attack on the fortress of Malpaga (*Dračevac*) very near to the city of Zara. As it was obvious from the report of the Venetian *provveditori straordinari* Paolo Caotorto and Andrea Morosini, Halil-bey and his son Durak were controlling the whole territory of Zara's hinterland threaten even to the island of Pago. Even more, Durak-bey with his troops and the Sultans representative Chaush who was supposed to report in Istanbul about his success in the vicinity of the Venetian main city in Dalmatia visited without

⁵⁴ J. PERIĆ, *Šibenik u mletačko-turskim ratovima*, in *Magazin Sjeverne Dalmacije*, II (1935), p. 64-65.

⁵⁵ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete in Dalmazia*, Venezia, 2006, p. 213-218.

⁵⁶ ZKZD, *Zbirka rukopisa* [Manuscripts collection], No. 11227, ms 219, f. 16: "Tutto faccio all'incontro perché s'avanzino le fortificazioni conform'al bisogno, assistito e sollecitando acciò parte così essenziale resti adempita al possibile. Ogni per centinara di persona senza pagamento lavorato tutti gli ordini di Persone, Gentiluomini, Cittadini, Plebei, Padri, Monache e Preti o intravedendo loro medesimi all'opera, o col mezo assistendo, considerabilmente, fanno avanzar il lavoro con publico profitto, loro merito, o mia particolar consolatione. Mentre vado conseguendo fine, al quali sono dirizzate le mie operazioni tutti et ad altro non mirano, che al servito, e vantaggio di Vostra Serenità servendomi la prontezza, che in ogni uno vado scoprendo del molto che deve sperarsi nelle maggiori occasioni di cimentar la fede, la costanza, l'affetto di questi fedelissimi sudditi. Tutto supplico humilmente asservire al zelo, col quale semo, et alle trame di maggiori vantaggi che più delli miei proprij certo vengono procurati." (4th April 1646)

⁵⁷ PERIĆ, *Šibenik u mletačko-turskim*, p. 64.

⁵⁸ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni veneta*, p. 55-63.

⁵⁹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 78.

any problems the area from Zaravecchia (*Biograd*), to Malpaga, Nona and Possedaria (*Posedarje*)⁶⁰.

Cavalry Commander General Marc Antonio Pisani forced the Ottomans to retreat and encouraged the local people to fight back providing a minimum of defence of villages around Zara⁶¹. An Ottoman attack on the fortress of Novegradi seemed inevitable. Knowing the very poor conditions of the fortress's ramparts, the governor general of Novegradi Bernardo Tagliapietra together with Count Giovanni Fabrizio Suardo who was the general commander in the fortress agreed that it would be impossible to resist any Ottoman attack with cannon fire. The ramparts were so weak, with occasional holes, there were not enough water supplies or reserves and it was not large enough to hold all the local people. To persist with the defence of Novegradi would lead to the certain deaths of everyone in the fortress. These were the reasons that Governor Tagliapietra expressed in his letter and in front of the assembly of the Venetian officers in Zara, but his and Count Suardo's warnings, who also wrote a letter to Baron Degenfeld, were not accepted⁶². He was ordered to return to Novegradi but was on the way he taken to prison in Venice⁶³. The Senate in Venice released him after he was vindicated but this was already after the fall of Novegradi's fortress⁶⁴. The Ottomans started their siege of Novegradi in the middle of the summer in 1646. Lunardo Foscolo sent help by boat to the fortress but there was not much hope. After the border demarcation in 1576 Novegradi was a Venetian island surrounded by the Ottomans. In fact, the only possible communication route for the Venetian Republic with the town of Novegradi was across the inner sea of Novigrad, which was monitored by the Ottoman pirates from the fortress of Obbrovazzo⁶⁵. Women and children from Novegradi were moved to the island of Pago before the Ottoman attack began⁶⁶. Very soon after the first Ottoman attack the guards of

⁶⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, Zara, 3 Ottobre 1646.

⁶¹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 82.

⁶² ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 15266, ms 314, f. 9: *Copia di lettera scritta da S. Conte Giovanni Fabritio Soardo all'Ill.mo et Ca.mo S. Barun Degenfeld a Zara, 21 Giugno 1646.*

⁶³ NANI, *Historia Veneta*, III, p. 92: "Il Bassa finalmente sollecitato dagli homini più torbidi del confine contra Novegradi si mosse, luogo piccolo, e più importante per il sito, che riguardevole per le fortificazioni, anzi l'haverebbe il General demolito se oposti non si sussero gli abitanti, esibendosi difenderlo contra ogni sforzo. L'esercito de Turchi era composto quasi tutto di paesani in numero di ventimila, ad alcuni però mancavano l'armi, a molti la disciplina, con pochi cannoni e senza chi con peritia li maneggiasse Bernardo Tagliapietre Provveditore Straordinario di Novegradi, andato a Zara per chiedere aiuti, era stato posto dal General in arresto, perché in tempo inopportuno pavese abbandonato la Piazza, onde restara Francesco Loredano provveditore ordinario, che al comparir de Turchi fece quanto sepe..."

⁶⁴ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 78-81.

⁶⁵ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 132-142.

⁶⁶ R. JELIĆ, *Pad Novigrada u turske ruke i bijeg Novigradana u Pag (1646.)*, in *Zadarska revija*, 5-6 (1989), p. 531-540.

Novegradi started the negotiations being fully aware of the bad condition of their fortress. Local Captain Martin Oštrić negotiated with the Ottomans and it was agreed that the Venetian soldiers and the rest of the people from Novegradi would be free to leave the town. Nevertheless, the panic which started amongst the Venetians caused total chaos and Ottoman soldiers started to enter the castle, killing people who were not able to escape⁶⁷. The military support sent by Lunardo Foscolo arrived too late to save the people or the fortress⁶⁸.

The loss of Novigrad brought fear amongst the people of the villages of Zara's hinterland as well as on the islands of Pago, Arbe, Veglia and Cherso. The Ottoman troops were free to raid further into and more often this territory. At the same time Ottoman pirates from Dulcigno robbed Christian ships on the Adriatic Sea and endangered Venetian navigation.

After Novigrad, Halil-bey's next target was Zaravecchia, the town near to his Vrana Lake estate, but before this his troops attacked the fortress of Toretta near Zara and a few days later they were at the front of Zaravecchia⁶⁹. Most of the inhabitants from these coastal areas were evacuated well before any clashes. This meant that the guards of Zaravecchia had time to set explosives around the town's ramparts setting them off when the enemy approached making them believe that they were under a ferocious bombardment and so retreated⁷⁰.

At the same time some people from Makarska came as representatives of their people to the Venetian governor in Almissa offering their region of *Primorje* (the coastal area below the mount of Biokovo), to become territory of the Republic of Venice instead of Ottoman Empire as before. This was accepted and also encouraged the Venetian governor to approve an attack on the Ottoman fortress of Duare (*Zadvarje*) in the mountain hinterland between Almissa and Makarska. Ottomans were not expecting the attack on Duare and the fortress was not well protected and so was taken in a short time⁷¹. This Venetian success encouraged some other Christian villages in *Primorje* to abandon their previous Ottoman masters and cross over to the Venetian government⁷².

⁶⁷ NANI, *Historia Veneta*, III, p. 93: "Il Loredano con tutto ciò impaurito et istigato da Martin Ostrich introdusse parlamento di resa. Gli abitanti, che prima vi ripagavano, accorti di non poter impedirla, ne volendo credersi alla fede fallace de Turchi, passarono a Pago con piccole barche. Così abbandonata la terre, accoregendosene i Turchi dal veder vallentate le guardie, rotto il maneggio entrarono da più parti nel borgo, e di la nel castello, facendo prigionieri qui pochi soldati, che non tagliarono a pezzi. Al Loredano davano la vita e la libertà, ma il Conte Giovanni Fabrizio Soardo Governatore fu trucidato."

⁶⁸ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 82-83.

⁶⁹ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 20.

⁷⁰ A. R. FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje u doba mletačko-turskih ratova (Biograd-Vrana coastland in time of the Venetian-Ottoman wars)* in Radovi HAZU-Zd, 1972, p. 472.

⁷¹ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 22.

⁷² DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 92-95.

Another Venetian offensive was on the town of Scardona (*Skradin*) on the River Krka, inland from the city of Sebenico. Unfortunately the only damage they caused was to some local inhabitants, whose houses were set alight, and the main objective, the fortress of Scardona, was not taken. At the same time Ottomans were plundering some villages in Sebenico's surroundings, while the Cavalry Commander General Marc Antonio kept the Ottomans busy on the outskirts of Zara attacking villages on their side of the border. Having so many open fronts, the Venetians were not able to secure the fortress of Duare which was too remote from the Venetian city of Almissa, thus they had to give up this fortress after the first Ottoman counter attack⁷³.

The third year of war, 1647, brought much more success for Venetian army and Foscolo's tactics became offensive. Venetian troops successfully took control of numerous fortifications in the territory of Zara: Zamonico, Sovare (*Suhovare*), Nadino, Polisani, Islam, Novegradi, Obrovazzo, Vrana; and Sebenico territory: Dazlina (*Daclina*), Racitniza (*Rakitnica*), Velin, Scardona⁷⁴. These achievements were very important because they ensured a wide area around the coastal cities' communities from Ottoman invasion. The fortresses were all destroyed and houses burnt in accordance with the Venetian's own scorched earth policy. The castle of Vrana⁷⁵, the property of Halil-bey, along with the famous Maškovića *han* (an Ottoman guest house) was burnt after being stripped bare. Several other rich Ottoman castles such as Nadino were also sacked and destroyed⁷⁶. The taking of the strong fortress of Zemonico was especially important for the Venetian army, in March 1647⁷⁷, when Durak-bey was killed whilst running for help and where his father Halil-bey was taken prisoner and sent to Brescia where he died in jail nine years later⁷⁸. Alongside eliminating the direct threat in the Zara area, the fortress of Scardona finally fell into Venetian hands⁷⁹ as well as Salona and fortress of Sasso in near Spalato⁸⁰.

The fall of Zemonico and Vrana meant that many Morlachs who were Ottoman subjects passed onto the Venetian side of the border⁸¹. This reinforced the Venetian army as Morlach immigrants now formed special guerrilla units within the Venetian army. Simultaneously as major battles for

⁷³ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 106-107.

⁷⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 67-70, brings a transcription of the document *Le conquiste del provveditore generale Lunardo Foscolo in Dalmazia nel 1647*; see also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 24.

⁷⁵ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 181-211.

⁷⁶ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 94-104.

⁷⁷ V. SOLITRO, *Povijesni dokumenti o Istri i Dalmaciji*, (*Historical documents about Istria and Dalmatia*), Split, Književni krug, 1989, p. 295-310.

⁷⁸ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 120-121.

⁷⁹ SOLITRO, *Povijesni dokumenti*, p. 311-320.

⁸⁰ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 134-137.

⁸¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 11-14.

key fortresses in the Dalmatian hinterland, small troops of Morlachs, who recently became Venetian subjects, robbed and raided deep into Ottoman territories in Lika and Bosnia. This was a very important method to destabilise the enemy, forcing more Morlachs, Christian Ottoman subjects, to immigrate to the Venetian territory and turn against their previous Muslim masters⁸².

In the meantime the new Sandjak of Lika, Čengiđ, who replaced Halil-bey in this position, was looking to prove his capabilities as an Ottoman leader by raiding and plundering into Zara territory all the way to the fortress of Malpaga on the outskirts of Zara⁸³. Sandjak of Klis, Ibrahim, raided into Spalato's territory. Their greatest concern was the Morlachs who were moving daily to Venetian territories. Therefore Ottoman Alaibey Ferhatpašić attacked Morlach refugees in Bocagnazo near Zara. Many of them were killed during this attack but this did not discourage other Morlachs under Ottoman control from turning against their masters. In May 1647 Catholic priest Stjepan Sorić and *serdar*⁸⁴ Petar Smiljanić raided with their Morlach troops all the way across the mountain ridge of Southern Velebit to the Ottoman town of Gračac, robbed and burnt the town and took a large number of Morlach families to the Venetian territory around Zara⁸⁵. Here the war turned into a real battle for subjects. The Republic's interest in the Morlachs, under Ottoman control was exclusively in using them as a source of the new armies. Therefore, they encouraged them to cross to the Venetian side. Once under Venetian control they were recruited to return to their old settlements and to force the remaining families to cross over to the Venetian side or face having their villages burnt and being killed as enemies of the Christian religion.

At the end of August 1647 the Ottomans started a well prepared siege of Sebenico which the Venetian side had long expected. Since June the Venetian defence of Sebenico was prepared and all the information about the movements of the Ottoman army were carefully collected day by day. Baron Herbestein was in charge of commanding the mercenary troops of *Oltramontani* and Captain Capra commanded the Italian mercenary troops. The Venetian government count on priest Sorić and his Morlachs

⁸² DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 15-17.

⁸³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 691, No. 10, Zara, 24 Zugno 1647: "Dopo essersi al maggior segno ingolosita quest Piazza che per tanto uniformi relationi et effete non discordi stava più che siccura dell'attaco dell'inimico capitarono nuovi avvisi che la mossa di lui dichiarono essa pura invente per far concorrente le forze maggiori nel luogo sospetto et indebolito e snovato il presidio di Sebenico con questo mezzo portarsi dopo all'agressore di quella Piazza così dice l'uso volgare benche'altri più sensati si persuadono che l'intentione del Bassa sia contro questa Città." See also DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 23.

⁸⁴ Leader of Morlachs who became Venetian subjects; more will be written in the chapter III.

⁸⁵ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 35. Also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 51-52.

troops as well⁸⁶. Women and children of Sebenico were removed to nearby islands to prevent them being taken as Ottoman slaves⁸⁷. Just before the start of the battle general Lunardo Foscolo fell ill and therefore was not able to take command of the city's defence. This duty was given to the very capable Baron Degenfeld. The Ottomans did not expect such a defence of the city and after long siege of the city ramparts they gave up finally in middle of September after a loss of large numbers of soldiers⁸⁸. Lunardo Foscolo, who had recovered in the meantime, ordered the reinforcement of Sebenico fearing a possible return of the Ottoman troops⁸⁹. In retaliation Venetian cavalry troops and Morlach guerrillas attacked the last Ottoman fortress between Zara and Sebenico territories – Ostroviza (*Oštrovica*)⁹⁰. At the same time the building of a fortress on the hill of Gripe near Spalato started. This was necessary to provide a strong defence of the city⁹¹. However, Dalmatian cities could only be secure if Ottoman troops were pushed back deep into Bosnia. Therefore Foscolo planned attacks on the fortresses of Knin⁹² and Dernis (*Drniš*) where the Ottomans usually gathered their troops before attacking Venetian coastal territories⁹³. To insure the success of the attacks as well as an attack on the key fortress of Clissa near to Spalato, it was necessary to have the majority of Christian Ottoman subjects of these areas on the Venetian's side. The negotiations with the Ottoman Morlachs resulted in the villages of Bagnevzi (*Banjevci*), Stancovzi (*Stankovci*), Dobra Voda, Cossulovo Pogle (*Kožulovo Polje*) in Sebenico territory and many other villages in Pietro Pogle (*Petrovo Polje*) near Dernis and some villages around Clissa accepting Venetian government despite the threats of the Ottoman beys⁹⁴.

At the end of September Gerolamo Foscarini was sent to Dalmatia as *Commissario* and his first duty was to check the Venetian army there. His report shows that despite such success, which the Venetian troops achieved, they were in very bad conditions. The major problem was related with provisions of the cavalry troops and very bad condition of horses, which were exhausted and underfed⁹⁵. He also checked the whole army in Zara:

⁸⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 691, Zara 21 Zugno 1647. See also: COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 70.

⁸⁷ ASV, *Consultori in iure, Dalmazia e le isole greche*, Filza, 49, Luglio 1646, the citizens of Šibenik asked permission to move their women and children to the islands.

⁸⁸ JAČOV, *Le guerre-veneto turche*, p. 52-61.

⁸⁹ PERIĆ, *Šibenik u mletačko-turskim*, p. 68.

⁹⁰ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 143-158, 161-162.

⁹¹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 159-161.

⁹² The other version of the name of this town was *Tenin*, but in the relevant documents more often was used Knin.

⁹³ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 71.

⁹⁴ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 163. Also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 63.

⁹⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 691, No 2, Zara, 11 Ottobre 1647: "Ben considerando incultioni gran parte et effetto da lunga hostilità et audienti di Guerra et anco le difficoltà di recapiti di esse provisioni per lo sostenimento della stessa

cavalry composed of 1,025 troopers organised as *Italiani*, *Oltramontani*, *Dragoni*, *Croati* and *Cavalli leggeri de Cappelletti*. Then there were 102 infantry troops organised as *Italiani*, *Oltramontani*, *Albanesi*, *Croati*⁹⁶ with battle ships and without, and Morlachs including 1,192 soldiers recruited of the local peasants and divided into 26 troops⁹⁷.

That same year some tribes in Ottoman controlled Albania accepted Venetian government and started to fight against the Ottomans in Bocca di Cattaro, attacking their fortress at Risano⁹⁸.

The Venetian attack on the town of Dernis began at the beginning of 1648. The wintery conditions, cold and deep snow prevented Ottoman reinforcement and troops to come from Bosnia and the rest of the Ottoman army in Dalmatia was isolated and easy prey. The conquest of Dernis was also helped with fruitful negotiations with the local Christian Morlachs who joined the fight against their Ottoman masters⁹⁹. Most of these Morlachs moved closer to Sebenico and to nearby islands. Soon after the taking of Dernis, Lunardo Foscolo ordered the attack on Knin, a strong fortress on the top of a cliff, almost impossible to approach. Local Ottomans, disheartened by the Venetian progress abandoned Knin even before the Venetians attacked. The Venetian army destroyed as much of the fortress as possible¹⁰⁰. The Venetian Morlach troops moved on further to the fortress of Verlica (*Vrlika*), which they plundered then torched¹⁰¹. After this they entered the abandoned town of Sign (*Sinj*), which again they robbed and burnt¹⁰².

In March 1648 General Lunardo Foscolo ordered the siege of the fortress of Clissa, which was only a few miles from Spalato. Considering

cavalleria non sia se non bene procurar che con le precognitione del bisogno resti prevenuto il medesimo coll'opportuno rimedio e preservata la cavalleria suddetta da quei discapiti e pericoli che non diversi per tempo sarebbero poi certamente irreparabili." Also No. 4: "I cavalli poi montati da Dragoni sono così deboli che a pena sussistono in piedi, come ho accenato nelle precedenti; et ogni giorno ne un morendo."

⁹⁶ Regarding the consistence of the troops, this was a typical Venetian army composed of different *nationi*, professional soldiers recruited in different European countries. The system was well developed since medieval time as described in M. E. MALLETT-J. R. HALE, *The Military organization of a Renaissance State. Venice c. 1400-1617*, Cambridge University Press, 1984. A typical Venetian military formation was composed of *Alemanni* (Germans), people from Swiss cantons and France. They were called *Oltramarini*, while *Albanesi* and *Croati* were called *Oltramarini*. See more in DEL NEGRO, *La milizia*, p. 517.

⁹⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 691, No. 3, Zara, 31 Ottobre 1647.

⁹⁸ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 123.

⁹⁹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 165-171. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 64-68.

¹⁰⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 71. Also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 68-69.

¹⁰¹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 174.

¹⁰² DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 199.

the fortress of Clissa to be invincible, many influential Ottoman magnates in Dalmatia took shelter there after the previous attacks with their families and their treasures. Venetian Morlach guerrilla troops ambushed Ottoman troops coming from Bosnia sent as support for the agas and beys besieged in fortress. After strong resistance, the Ottomans relinquished the fortress of Cliss¹⁰³. The surviving agas and beys and their families were allowed to leave but without their treasures.

In the reports of *Commissario* Marco Molin who in 1648 was sent to supervise the state of the Venetian army, where he referred to numerous difficulties regarding little provisions, low supply of munitions and especially bad state of cavalry the whole merit for such success of the Venetian army was paid to the General Lunardo Foscolo who succeeded to coordinate very difficult actions in very difficult conditions¹⁰⁴.

With the conquest of Clissa, the Venetians accomplished their military actions in the hinterland of Dalmatian communities. However, these territories needed to be reassured of any possible Ottoman retaliation. This resulted in interesting discussions inside the Venetian Senate about the revision of their scorched earth policy - according to which all conquered fortresses had to be destroyed in order to prevent them being used by the enemy. There was one suggestion to refurbish and keep Venetian troops in the two most important fortresses in Dalmatia, those of Clissa and Knin. After long discussions, mostly related to the expenses of such a plan, it was decided that the fortress of Clissa would be refurbished and an army unit was consequently sent there¹⁰⁵. The fortress was important to prevent further Ottoman intrusions into the territories of Spalato and Traù¹⁰⁶.

After this important Venetian conquest, the war turned back to the cross border attacks and raids by both sides as before. The most exposed to the Ottoman intrusions were Zara and Sebenico's hinterlands. These small actions in a large extent depended on the information system developed

¹⁰³ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 175-191. See also V. SOLITRO, *Povijesni dokumenti o Istri i Dalmaciji*, [Historical documents about Istria and Dalmatia], Splitski književni krug, 1989, p. 255-272. Report about taking of Klis wrote by Giovanni Andrea Tommaseo; also DESNICA, *Opsada i predaja Klisa 1648. godine*, [Sieg and surrender of Klis 1648], in *Stojan Janković and uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 47-60; see also JAČOV, *Le guerre-veneto turche*, p. 71-80.

¹⁰⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No 5: "Lode di questo Ecc. S. Generale con il proprio della sua virtu et applicatione nel servitio di V. Ser viene provveduto a quell più che che l'angustia le permete. La stagione avanzata fara riuscir più tardi le compares delle provisioni da costa non trovandosi nelle monitioni che quelle che sono descritte nell'inclusa nota onde avendo la Ser. V. sotto l'occhio il bisogno spero dalla publica prudenza ogni più solecita provisione a tutte le cose de quali non saprei esprimermi qual sia più necessaria et habbi loco all'urgenza mentre tutte sono per il quotidiano alimento che non si puo diferire."

¹⁰⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 13, Zara 15 Dicembre 1648.

¹⁰⁶ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 193-198.

from the both sides through a net of *confidenti* who sometimes were also the captured enemy's soldiers. In this way the Ottoman soldiers kept as Venetian prisoners sometimes accepted to provide some information for the Venetian government for their freedom or the Venetian soldiers kept in the Ottoman prisons sometimes found the way to inform their officers about the movements of the Ottoman army. The system worked both ways. The Ottomans were using the same way to provide necessary information about the Venetian army. The information were mostly related to the direction of the movement of the enemy army, their military equipment and provisions¹⁰⁷.

In June 1648 the Ottoman captain of the town of Udbina Kalun Ferhatović and his soldiers after extensively pillaging the villages of Zara's hinterland were returning across the Velebit Mountains when they fell into a trap set by waiting Morlachs from around Zara who were led by priest Stjepan Sorić and Petar Smiljanić. During the clash Ferhatović was killed invoking revenge¹⁰⁸. Very soon, an opportunity arose for the Ottomans when Morlachs from Zara attacked the fortress of Ribnik in Lika¹⁰⁹. During this attack Smiljanić was killed and Sorić was caught and brutally executed¹¹⁰.

Soon the Morlachs lost another leader when the territory of Sebenico was plundered by Husein-bey. Whilst his band was returning to Bosnia they were caught in a Morlach trap near the fortress of Zečevo. During the ensuing fight Vuk Mandušić, the leader of Sebenico Morlachs, was killed¹¹¹.

At the beginning of 1649 General Foscolo went to Albania with several mercenary troops¹¹². There the local Christians were ready to start to rise up against their Ottoman masters. So, the Venetian troops attacked

¹⁰⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Bust 692, Zara, 3 Ottobre 1646. Also Busta 689, Clissa 6 Settembre 1650: "Goldi Prion Borgogno, soldato della compagnia dell'III.mo Collonel Button, interrogato, resposse: Sono fugito hieri sera da Cettina ove ero trattenuto per schiavo. Il Bassa è accompagnato dall'altra parte del fiume, ha quattor in cinque milla cavalli molti di quali non hanno altr'arme che la scimitarra o la pistola; ho pur veduto due cannoni da compagnie sopra cannoni (...) Ho sentito a discorere che dessegnava portarli a Danni di castello Vragiz e che a Clissa per hora non vi pensa. Non ho osservato provisione alcune di biscotto solo nella casa ove ero ho veduto una cassa grande piena."

¹⁰⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 43.

¹¹⁰ PERIČIĆ, *Don Stipan Sorić u pjesmi i zbilji*, [Don Stipan Sorić in song and reality], *Radovi HAZU-Zd*, 1997, p. 229-230. About death of Sorić and Smiljanić see also JAČOV, *Le guerre-veneto turche*, p. 84-86.

¹¹¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 46-49. Also DESNICA, *Vuk Mandušić*, in *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 89-97. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 87-89.

¹¹² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 19, Zara 20 Gennaio 1649..

Antivari (*Bari*) but with little success¹¹³. They were more successful in the Bay of Cattaro where, after 10 days of siege, they conquered the fortress of Risan, which controlled the entrance to the bay¹¹⁴. Nevertheless, troubles with the frequent Ottoman raids in the Dalmatian hinterland forced Foscolo to return swiftly to Zara¹¹⁵. The open and unprotected field of *contado* of Zara as well as Sebenico due to bad state of the Venetian cavalry was exposed to the Ottoman rides¹¹⁶. In March 1649 the Ottoman attacked the villages of Bocagnazzo and on the way back towards Bosnia they confronted one Morlach troop, which was keeping guard in Bucovizza (*Bukovica*). Nevertheless, another Ottoman troop devastated the area around the village of Vodizze taking away domestic animals and 30 people. The similar Ottoman raids were repeating almost on daily basis¹¹⁷.

In June of the same year the plague spread to the city of Sebenico. The disease was carried amongst contagious stolen goods brought from somewhere in Bosnia. The infection caused panic and disorder. Local people believed that a werewolf was the cause of so many sudden deaths. The government needed three months to calm down the situation. The plague also spread to Zara, Spalato and around Traù although not to such an extent as in Sebenico¹¹⁸. The disease worried the Ottomans who reduced their raids into Venetian territories, afraid of the plague, but they did not give up¹¹⁹.

In 1650 the Ottoman Alay-bey Filipović returned to Knin and started to rebuild this important fortress, which would be the base for further intrusions in the territories of Dalmatian coastal communities¹²⁰.

Next year Lunardo Foscolo was replaced with Gerolamo Foscarini who was named the Governor general of Dalmatia and Albania¹²¹. Lunardo Foscolo remained the most successful Venetian military officer in Dalmatia and ever so well accepted by the local people¹²². His major military

¹¹³ STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 211-213.

¹¹⁴ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 91-93.

¹¹⁵ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 210-213.

¹¹⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 30, Zara 25 Febbraio 1649: (...) "per tender per hora quando ciò si verifici con buona ragione si deve credere voglia il nemico con la nuova stagione tentar anco nuove cose attaccando forse in primo loco Sebenico et infestare tutta questa campagna dove non è per trovare ostacolo o incontro alcun per mancamento di cavalleria che indebolita et annichilata niente se ne devono promettere niente sperare l'EE.VV. nel stato che hora si ritrova" (...)

¹¹⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 31, Zara 6 Marzo 1649.

¹¹⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, Spalato 19 Agosto 1650 and Clissa 6 Settembre 1650. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 95-96.

¹¹⁹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 215-217.

¹²⁰ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 218.

¹²¹ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 99-100.

¹²² *Dizionario bibliografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Treccani, 1997, p. 454-457; Lunardo (Leonardo) Foscolo chose the military career in the Venetian navy due to the modest

achievements in Dalmatia were based on his extraordinary sense to coordinate the continental and maritime military operation¹²³ in combination with the Morlach guerrilla, the only possible in the mountain terrain in Dalmatian hinterland. One year before Baron Degenfeld was also replaced with Gilio d'As who immediately strove to prove his abilities by attacking the Ottoman fortress of Castelnuovo but his attempt was severely set upon by Ottoman's troops, meanwhile Ottomans from Herzegovina robbed the Venetian territory in the Bay of Cattaro¹²⁴. Gerolamo Foscarini continued the same favourable politics towards the Morlach immigrants seeing them as an inevitable part of army troops in Dalmatia. He even made friendship with Morlach leader Ilija Smiljanić¹²⁵.

Ottoman intrusions continued in the Zara and Sebenico hinterlands followed by successful retaliations by Venetian Morlachs. In especially bad position were those newcomers i.e. Morlach immigrants settled on the open fields around those two cities. They had nowhere to esconse during such sudden Ottoman raids¹²⁶. Very disturbing for the Venetian defence of the coastal communities was the Ottoman works on the rebuilding of Knin's fortress. Several Morlach actions against this brought little results and the Ottomans continued to gather in Knin¹²⁷.

In 1652 General Foscarini made some success in the retaking of the fortress of Duare with significant contribution by Morlachs. However, the fortress was again estimated as being too difficult to keep from any counter attack and therefore was destroyed and abandoned again. Soon afterwards the Ottomans returned to Duare and rebuilt the fortress considering it as the key for the defence of their Sandjak of Herzegovina¹²⁸. The new Bosnian Pasha Fazli invested more money and effort into reinforcing the town and the fortress of Knin as well as nearby Verlica, which became an obstacle for further Morlach intrusions into the Ottoman territories. He also employed another tactic to stop the Venetian's advance and Morlach's emigrations, he began bribing their leaders and promising impunity if they returned with their people to Ottoman territory, but he did little success with escaped

conditions of his family, but his success showed that this was the right decision. After the duty of governor general in Dalmatia and Albania he was elected *Procuratore di San Marco* in 1650.

¹²³ COZZI, *La Guerra di Candia*, p. 119-120.

¹²⁴ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 217. Also STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 218-219.

¹²⁵ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 101. The author holds that Foscarini trusted more to Morlachs than to the Venetian mercenary troops.

¹²⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, Di Galera dal Porto di Zara 25 Agosto 1650.

¹²⁷ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 220-221; DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 68.

¹²⁸ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 224-225.

Morlachs¹²⁹. During the same year Croatian-Hungarian count Petar Zrinski offered his help to the Venetian troops in the actions around Norin and Metković, but without major impact. However, it is interesting to notice that despite Habsburg's official neutrality in this war, Zrinski did not agree with the Emperors politics, finding necessary to contribute into this war against the Ottomans and take opportunity to free the Croatian territory too¹³⁰. Nevertheless, count Zrinski had also his personal reasons for this because a large part of his estate in Croatia were endangered by the Ottomans.

In 1653 Gerolamo Foscarini was excused due to ill health and was replaced by Lorenzo Dolfino¹³¹ as Governor General of Dalmatia and Albania. The new *Provveditore Generale* planned military action on the re-established Ottoman base in Knin¹³². This happened a year later, but poor planning ended the action in disaster and the strong fortress remained in Ottoman possession¹³³. This left the Venetian army in Dalmatia significantly weakened. In the meantime Ottomans continued their usual raids in the Zara and Sebenico's neighbourhoods¹³⁴. In one fight with the Ottoman troops leader of the Zara Morlachs¹³⁵ Ilija Smiljanić was killed¹³⁶. This was a great lost of the Venetian side since the governor general relied very much on Morlach support. The reason for this was very poor conditions of the mercenary troops and lack of money, while the Morlachs were happy with having some hardtack distributed to their families. Dolfino was also very found of an idea to turn the Morlach troops into a regular part of the Venetian army and to pay them as regular soldiers, which could tie them firmly to the Venetian government.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, Morlach's leader Ilija, who amongst the other was also Dolfino's friend, was replaced with his brother Filip who also enjoyed fame amongst the Morlachs in the lower part of *contado di Zara*¹³⁸. In his report to the Venetian Senate Dolfino wrote of the vulnerability of the cities of Spalato, Traù and Almissa, which were frequent targets of Ottoman attacks before the fall of Clissa into

¹²⁹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 226. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 103.

¹³⁰ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 37. See also HAD, *Fond Zrinskih i Frankopana*, box 7, No. 15. Count Petar Zrinski was applying for the inscription of his son Ivan Anton and nephew Adam into the book of the Venetian noblemen.

¹³¹ *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, (40), Roma, Treccani, 1991, p. 556.

¹³² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 77-95. See also ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 17377/III – Ms 478, *Carte Spettanti alle famiglie Smiglianich, Soppe-Fortezza, Pechiaro Bianchi ecc.*, p. 4.

¹³³ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 229-231.

¹³⁴ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 232.

¹³⁵ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 76.

¹³⁶ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 111-112.

¹³⁷ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 114-117.

¹³⁸ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 17377/III – Ms 478, *Carte Spettanti alle famiglie Smiglianich, Soppe-Fortezza, Pechiaro Bianchi ecc.*, f. 3-4.

Venetian hands. Thanks to this fortress these communities were less exposed to Ottoman intrusions¹³⁹.

After one year's service Dolfin was replaced by Zuan Antonio Zeno at the beginning of 1655¹⁴⁰. During this year Ottomans were regrouping their forces, gathering in groups of many thousands, raiding again into Zara and Sebenico's territories¹⁴¹.

A year later Ottoman pirates from Dulcigno and Santa Maura entered the Venetian Adriatic attacking and robbing ships all the way to Traù, but the Venetian navy succeeded to fight them off¹⁴². The Venetian government was conducting recruitment of the local people, voluntary and as *cernide*, trying to reinforce the navy and provide better protection of the Dalmatian islands. Local Dalmatian men, naval captains, who voluntarily offered their services to the Republic, would be given some money in advance to distribute as a stimulus to the recruited men and a ship with all precise instructions for their actions¹⁴³.

Zuan Antonio Zeno was then, after a year's service, replaced by Antonio Bernardo who continued to reinforce the defence of the Dalmatian cities being made aware of an imminent Ottoman attack by spies. He also found a very bad state of the Venetian mercenary troops who due to very difficult conditions of physical exhaustion and poor nutrition in majority fall ill¹⁴⁴. Nevertheless, the support from the local people grew. People from the mountain region above Makarska, (*Gornji kraj*), known as *hajduks*, recognised the Venetian government which was important in the further defence of this new region of Venetian Dalmatian coastal possession¹⁴⁵.

In 1657 the new Bosnian Pasha Seid Ahmet sent a troop of his soldiers to attack the city of Spalato, but they were stopped a few miles before the city and chased away. Their camp near Clissa was also attacked and so they turned towards Castelli (*Kaštela*) near Spalato where they attacked and looted waiting for a better opportunity to attack the city again. Later they changed their plans and attacked the village and fortress of Bosiglina (*Bosiljina*) in the district of Traù. Despite a very strong defence

¹³⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 113.

¹⁴⁰ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 113.

¹⁴¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, p. 85.

¹⁴² DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 233.

¹⁴³ ASV, *Senato Mar*, 1656 Maggio/Giugno, Fa 485, 17 Zugno in Pregadi: "Che sia stata carica al capitano Stefano Marghetich d'ammassar sopra questo giuditio nel termine de grossi quindeci prossimi fanti vinti per servire con essi sopra un bregantin d'esser commandato da lui et consegnato con suoi permessi et apprestamenti necessarii dalla casa del Arsenal e ciò con la paga da lui capitano offitial e soldati solita corrispondersi alle compagnie d'barca armata. Sarano datti al predetto Marghetich ducati ottanta imprestanza per doverli scentare a ducati due per soldato al mese e per quali sara obligato dar pieggiare di sodisfattione del colleggio nostro."

¹⁴⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 127.

¹⁴⁵ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 237.

by the local people, including a brave fight by some of the local women led by Catterina Despotova (Katarina Despotova) and Matusha Scirglina (Matusha Škriljina), the Ottomans first entered into the village and then destroyed the fortress, retreating towards Bosnia with goods, treasure and many slaves. The leaders were executed and their heads were sent to the Sultan, which was a mark of respect for their adversaries¹⁴⁶.

The Pasha of Herzegovina prepared his next attack on the city of Cattaro¹⁴⁷. Before the attack the state of the fortress of Cattaro was very bad and there was a little number of the soldiers who were surviving on an existential minimum without having where to sleep and very little food supply¹⁴⁸. But, after a resistant defence by local people, supported by the Venetian navy, which included Governor General Bernardo, the Ottomans gave up the siege. The Albanian tribes of the Klimenti and Bilopavlovići also participated in this fight but their rebellion against their Ottoman masters was soon to be oppressed¹⁴⁹. The governor general was to describe this extraordinary defence in his report to the Venetian government as his first military campaign after taking on his duty¹⁵⁰. He continued to support the Albanian tribes, especially Pstrovichi (Paštrovići), Maini e Pobori by sending them supply of grain and wood so they could rebuild some houses in the town of Budva¹⁵¹.

1658 was a difficult year for the Morlachs, Venetian subjects in the territory of Zara. Their guerrilla troops pervaded all the way to north Bosnia, robbing the rich regions of this Ottoman Eyalet¹⁵². However, the Bosnian Pasha did not wait long for revenge and with eight thousand soldiers he plundered the villages of Zemonico, Rogovo, Possedari and Novegradi. Morlachs, who had expected such a counterattack, hid in the castle of Castel Venier (*Vinjerac*) just in time to escape major disaster. The Ottomans then turned towards the coastal communities of Bibinje (*Bibigne*), San Cassano, Torretta and Zaravecchia¹⁵³. Soon after these events, Morlachs from the territory of Zara caught and robbed two of the Sultan's deputies (*chaush*) on their way to Bosnia. In return Ottoman troops

¹⁴⁶ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 245-248. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 120-121.

¹⁴⁷ STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 238-239, 243-245. Also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 121-126.

¹⁴⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar*, 1656 Maggio/Giugno, Fa 485, 8 Giugno 1656.

¹⁴⁹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 248-252.

¹⁵⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 129-131.

¹⁵¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, 1656 Maggio/Giugno, Fa 485, g Maggio 1656 and Zara, 3 Aprile 1656.

¹⁵² DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 94. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 126-127.

¹⁵³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 95-100.

surprised Morlachs working in the fields, killing and taking many of them, including women and children as slaves¹⁵⁴.

The following year Ottoman troops were quiet in Dalmatia, being busy in the Levant and Transylvania. There were only a few pirates in the Adriatic Sea, which impeded the free navigation of the Venetian fleet and conducted raids in Spalato's territory, but were being driven away by people from Vranjic and Salona¹⁵⁵. In February the Morlachs from Zara area attacked and robbed the Ottoman area alongside the River Cetina. During this, their leader, serdar Janko Mitrović was fatally wounded dying very soon after. His troops then attacked Ottoman territories in revenge for his death¹⁵⁶.

In 1660 Dalmatia and Albania were awarded a new *Provveditore Generale*. Replacing Antonio Bernardo was Andrea Cornaro¹⁵⁷. He faced a great problem – a lack of troops. Soldiers were protesting and even deserting because they were not being paid as promised. The new *Provveditore* handed out the money pacifying their anger. The Venetian Senate named Don Inocentio Conti as general military commander in Dalmatia. He successfully commanded the defence of the territory around Spalato when the Ottomans attacked Salona and Sasso. After this the Ottoman troops chose closer targets in the territories of Zara and Sebenico. The visit of Habsburg Emperor Leopold I to Trieste drew the Venetian navy away from the Adriatic, allowing more Ottoman pirates to attack and rob Venetian ships¹⁵⁸. They plundered ships all the way to island of Arbe in the Kvarner Bay¹⁵⁹.

In 1661 there were no major military conflicts in Dalmatia apart from the usual Ottoman raids into the hinterland of the Venetian coastal communities and pirates who impeded navigation in the Adriatic. In May an Ottoman galley was seen in the sea near Zara, originally coming from Dulcigno. Near the island of Selva (*Silba*) a galley of Durak-pasha from Morea was caught with 120 people¹⁶⁰. When the Ottoman Alay-bey Filipović stole cattle near to Zara, their Morlach owners tried to stop his soldiers, but more than one hundred of them were killed during this fight and some were taken as slaves¹⁶¹. In May of the same year the new *Provveditore Generale* Gerolamo Contarini arrived in Zara.

The next five years also passed relatively peaceful in Dalmatia. The Ottomans struggled in Transylvania and in Hungary, advancing towards

¹⁵⁴ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 254-255.

¹⁵⁵ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 258.

¹⁵⁶ DESNICA, *Istorija kandijskog*, p. 102-103.

¹⁵⁷ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 131.

¹⁵⁸ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 259-271

¹⁵⁹ A. M. STRGACIĆ, *Upadi osmanskih gusara u predjele zadarskih otoka*, [Intrusions of the Ottoman pirates in the area of islands of Zara], in *Zadarska revija*, (4) 1956, p. 45

¹⁶⁰ STRGACIĆ, *Upadi osmanskih*, p. 44-45

¹⁶¹ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 137.

Austrian countries. This period was used for the further works on reinforcing the defence of Dalmatian cities¹⁶². However, the regular Ottoman intrusions into the territory of Zara persisted, provoking revenge attacks into their territories around the River Cetina by the Morlachs. Governor General Gerolamo Contarini in his report to the Venetian Senate stated that the territories of the cities of Spalato and Traù were peaceful and often excluded from Ottoman intrusions since the Venetian army took the fortresses of Clissa, Salona and Sasso¹⁶³.

In the springtime 1666 the violence began again and to spread to wider regions. Morlachs from Sebenico area started their intrusions into the Ottoman territory around the River Cetina. In one such occasion Morlachs killed important local Ottoman magnates Atlagić and Baraković¹⁶⁴. Morlachs from Zara area fought with some Ottoman soldiers near the fortress of Zečevo¹⁶⁵. The Bosnian Pasha decided to attack the fortress of Gradac in *Primorje* near Makarska. Thankfully due to the help of the troops led by the Governor General Caterino Cornaro¹⁶⁶, who arrived in the region in the summer of 1665, local hajduks fended off the attackers¹⁶⁷.

In 1667 a powerful earthquake struck the city of Dubrovnik. The earthquake also damaged the city of Cattaro and the rest of the settlements in Venetian Albania as well as the Ottoman fortress of Castelnuovo. In Cattaro 300 people died as a directly result of the earthquake, but many were to die later from famine. *Provveditore* Caterino Cornaro visited the city, bringing some help and then ordered the reconstruction of the city walls which were damaged leaving the city open to attack. However, the Ottomans were too busy rebuilding their fortress at Hercegnovi¹⁶⁸. The rest of Dalmatia lived with the usual raids from the both sides of the border. The Governor General Cornaro put all his effort into re-organising the army, which for years was in a very bad state, without major control of rations and people as showed in the reports of *Commissionari*. He imposed his personal strict control over all the provisions and munitions. Beside this he replaced large number of the officers, keeping only those who prove themselves. He also kept the strict division of the troops by *nationi* having in mind that the language barrier was the main reason of misunderstanding and mistrust in the army¹⁶⁹. In the summer of 1667 Antonio Priuli replaced Caterino Cornaro as the Governor General of Dalmatia and Albania.

¹⁶² DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 272

¹⁶³ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 153.

¹⁶⁴ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, p. 106-108, 112-113, 125.

¹⁶⁵ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, p. 128.

¹⁶⁶ *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, (29), Roma, Treccani, 1983, p. 169.

¹⁶⁷ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 278.

¹⁶⁸ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 279-285.

¹⁶⁹ *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, (29), Roma, Treccani, 1983, p. 170-171. See also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 256-257.

The last two years of conflict leading to peace were mainly concentrated around Crete and there were very few in Dalmatia¹⁷⁰. In this way the first move of the new *Provveditore Generale* Priuli was to send some troops from Dalmatia to Candia¹⁷¹. He also organised the local guards to keep an eye on every Ottoman movement and prevent large massacre of the peoples around coastal towns. At the same time he was looking for some confidants on the Ottoman side of the border in Lica, Sarajevo and Albania in order to be well informed about the Ottoman movements¹⁷². However, the Ottomans did raid all the way into Zara and Zaravecchia in December 1667¹⁷³. They seemed to persist on retaking as much as possible the territory in *contado di Zara*, which then became the most exposed to their attacks although in the rest of the province there was no major military conflicts. Despite this, the local defence was mostly based on troops of *cernide* who were not able to give a proper resistance and needed help by the Morlach troops. The majority of the capable troops were recruited for Candia¹⁷⁴. With the final proclamation of peace in September 1669, the Venetian Senate sent instructions about conducting peaceful relations between Venetian and Ottoman subjects in Dalmatia and Albania, bearing in mind the usual skirmishes and animosity in these regions. A severe punishment would be dealt out for those who would offend the peace and attack any Ottoman subject. Simultaneously the Ottoman Sultan ordered the same respect for Venetian subjects¹⁷⁵, but in reality clashes on the local level still continued.

¹⁷⁰ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro, 135, p. 276v.

¹⁷¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 6, Zara 17 Ottobre 1667.

¹⁷² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 8: "Ha spediti mandati rigorosi perché in ogni luogo sono fatte deli guardie e le genti habbia tempo di salvarsi. (...) Procura di stabilir confidente in lica, Seraglio et Albania per ricavare serviti particolari."

¹⁷³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 24: "Turchi hanno fatto una scorreria nel Contado di Zara non osservabili ordini da esso lasciati per qualche straniero; la gente ben avvertite; hanno condotto via sette persone tra putti e donne con 300 animali minuti e dieci grossi." Also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, p. 136-137.

¹⁷⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 36, 46, 48, 49, 50: "Obbedira i pubblici comandi circa alla spedizione delli altri 500 fanti in Candia e procurera di sciegliere li meno inabili. Spera spedirne 300 sopra tre vascelli che stava per noleggiar il S. Corner per il carico de paglie e legname a Curzola. Fa molte consideratione sopra lo stato debole della Provincia per resistere in ogni caso a qualche invasione de Turchi e supplica d'esser soccorso. Cernide capitate da Capodistri affatto inabili all'armi e difesa delle piazze." See also ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 135, f. 384v.

¹⁷⁵ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 290-295.

3. The truce years 1670-1684

The Republic of Venice was quite content to end the conflicts in Dalmatia, which during the latter years of the war hadn't really increased their territories in the Dalmatian hinterland. They were satisfied with the territories gained during the first years of the war under the general command of Lunardo Foscolo, which had finally ensured a secure and well guarded border with the Ottomans along with the possibility to provide more food for this province which commonly needed additional supplies from the Republic's reserves or even to be imported from Ottoman territories. The next step, after lost of the Kingdom of Candia, was to re-establish and reinforce the trade with the Ottomans through the market places in Dalmatia. This meant that the swift stabilisation of the border and peaceful relations between subjects on both sides of the border became necessary. Nevertheless, the local situation did not completely follow the Venetian's wishes, providing more troubles for the *Provveditori Generali* in Dalmatia and Albania.

With the proclamation of peace in September 1669, the conflicts did not cease. The only difference was that the governors from both sides of the border could protest against any contravention of the peace agreement, border trespasses and demand compensation for lost goods¹⁷⁶. In November 1669 a group of Ottoman soldiers raided and robbed around the village of Possedari in the territory of Zara. They captured 27 people and a large number of cattle. Governor General Antonio Priuli demanded from the Ottoman government that the cattle be paid for and the people released, but they replied simply saying that the raid had happened during the official conflict and they did not accept Priuli's complaints¹⁷⁷. To prevent further Ottoman offences the Venetian government in Dalmatia decided to organise local people in the villages to keep guard around the border with the Ottomans. These Morlach guards were organised into groups of about 20, who took the duty in turns¹⁷⁸.

At the same time the Senate decided to reinforce the squads in the new conquered fortresses with groups of local Morlachs. There was a long discussion about this and it was finally decided that large military units would be sent to stay in the new fortresses after the final border demarcation, which, the Senate was presuming, would confirm the

¹⁷⁶ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 35. The author holds that the war lasted so long and had such repercussions due to personal involvement of the actors in the war. She finds that the main motivation of the local people from both sides was land; Ottoman magnates who wanted to preserve their land property and Morlachs who fought for land that was promised to them.

¹⁷⁷ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 295.

¹⁷⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 5. See also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, p. 146.

Venetian's conquest in Dalmatia. Thus a group of Morlachs from the territory of Sebenico was sent to keep guard in Scardona, which had been abandoned since the Venetian conquest. Very soon after this a troop of Ottomans attacked them in complete violation of the peace proclamation¹⁷⁹.

Alongside the pending question of the fortresses in Dalmatia, the Venetian Senate faced the problem of the new Morlach inhabitants. Governor General Antonio Priuli chose some Morlach leaders and took them with him to Venice where they had the chance to present the wishes of their people in Venetian Dalmatia. They demanded that the Senate approve their rights to keep the properties in the newly conquered towns and villages in Dalmatia. They also asked for the recognition of their rights to judge within their communities in civil as well as in criminal cases. Considering these demands quite inappropriate, the Senate answered in very ambiguous ways by only sending them food supplies and awards for their military contributions¹⁸⁰. In this way they tried avoid any discussions and not to offend or discourage the Morlachs who actually deserved their respect because of their military capacity. The Senate was also trying to keep more subjects under their governance in Dalmatia¹⁸¹.

In December 1669 the new Governor General of Dalmatia and Albania Antonio Barbaro arrived in Zara. His first intention was to check all the new possessions of these provinces, commencing at the beginning of 1670. The fortresses and villages which the Venetian government considered their new conquests and which Barbaro went to visit were: Zemonico, Islam, Vrana, Polisane, Carino (*Karin*), Tign (*Tinj*), Obrovazzo, Nadino, Cosulovaz (*Kožulovac*), Ostrovizza, Scaradona, Velin, Racitnizza, Necuen (*Nečven*), Verlica, Cerni Lug (*Crni Lug*), Salona, Clissa and in Albania the fortress of Risano. He also checked upon the acceptance of Venetian government made by the people of Makarska and Primorje and Poljice¹⁸². Barbaro was pleased to see the new fertile lands and many new subjects, which according to his opinion could replace the lost of the Kingdom of Crete¹⁸³. Barbaro's mission was to preserve these new

¹⁷⁹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 296.

¹⁸⁰ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 296-297.

¹⁸¹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 35, in his report the Governor General Antonio Priuli considered Morlachs as the only ones who would be able to populate the newly conquered part of Dalmatia and Albania and the new borders with the Ottomans: "Alla custodia e mantenimento delle frontiere niun altro presidio io considero più valido dei Morlachi e haiduci, tra tutti consistenti in numero di tre mille habili all'armi, nazionali prattichissimi del paese, assuefatti a quell clima, aggueriti e robusti, e da Turchi confinanti anco temuti per la memoria delle tante straggi, che ne han fatto."

¹⁸² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 283.

¹⁸³ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p.289: "Portava nel'universal opinione così grato sembante la pace, che facendo scordar le perdite pareva che dale ceneri e dai funerali di Candia facesse nascer sotto il cielo della Dalmatia una nuova fenice di concambii et conseguenze vantagiose; onde misurati da me colla vista di gran spatii del paese et visitate pur in persona tutte le fertili campagne, che sembrava fossero dal capitulato promosse in

possessions for his Republic as well as keep the peace with the local Ottomans, which was to become a very difficult task.

In the meantime more Ottoman incursions into the newly conquered Venetian positions occurred followed by regular retaliations by the Venetian Morlachs¹⁸⁴ who gradually moved into the newly conquered Venetian villages¹⁸⁵. The new Bosnian Pasha was just about to arrive in Eyalet when Dalmatian Ottoman magnates Atlagić, Filipović and Durakbegović used this period without direct control in Eyalet to retake their possessions, which they had lost during the war¹⁸⁶. On one hand, it was not new situation for the Venetian subject in Zara's hinterland where often Ottoman's raids happened even during non-official state of war¹⁸⁷. On the other hand, this was a direct contravention of the agreement between the Sultan and Francesco Morosini when the border demarcation was decided in Dalmatia and Albania according to *ius uti possidetis*. The local Ottoman magnates used all of their influence to prove their rights in front of the new Pasha accusing Morlachs of breaking the peace agreement¹⁸⁸. Very soon after local Ottomans started to invade their old villages and fortresses in Dalmatia, which was contradictory to Istanbul's official demand of keeping the area of new Venetian conquest as a no-man's land before the final establishment of the borderline. The local Ottoman magnates were furious about the loss of their properties and their Morlach serfs who now lived as Venetian subjects and invading the Ottoman previous properties. Yet the Venetian Senate was very benevolent towards moving Morlachs into the newly conquered villages because they thought this would stop Ottomans invading these territories again. According to the recommendations of the

dominio a vostra Serenità, et esposti tutti li luoghi et territorii in accorato disegno ai riflessi di questo Eccellentissimo senato.”

¹⁸⁴ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 298, described how Ottomans from Lika plundered the village of Polaza when Barbaro was visiting the Bay of Cattaro, but then the Morlachs from Zara and Sebenico territory together retaliated with attacks on Lika and Krbava. See also ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 5.

¹⁸⁵ NANI, *Historia Veneta*, III, p. 530: “ Il Senato imparli similmente la sua commissione ad Antonio Barbaro Provveditore Generale della Dalmazia. I Turchi ipatienti di attendere l'arrivo del Bassa, che essendo indisposto veniva con lento viaggio, faccero alcune scorrerie nel territorio di Zara, predando huomini et animali, e ritenuto infreni i suoi con editti severi. Ad ogni modo i Morlacchi con improvvisa incursione corsero a portar le habitationi loro ne luoghi distretti, rappezzandovi alcune vecchie campane. Non erano tuttavia capaci di sostenreli, ne per numero, ne per forza. Ma i Bosnesi vedendosi rapir i terreni, e la speranza di rigoderli diedero co'lamenti in alatisime strida, essendo non sotto incontro al Bassa le loro querele, ma facendo pervenire alla Porta.”

¹⁸⁶ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 49.

¹⁸⁷ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 31v.

¹⁸⁸ NANI, *Historia Veneta*, III, p. 531: “Ma questo [Pasha] appena giunto nella Città di Seraglio Metropoli della Bosna, si trovo attorniato dal Filipovich, dall'Atlaich, da Durach Begovich, capi di quell confine, c'havendo nella Guerra passata rilevati inestimabili dani, ne odiavano gli autori e speravano all'orecchie del Bassa essersi da Morlachi rota la pace coll'occupar tanti mesi dopo conchiusione di essa i luoghi abbandonati.”

ex-*Provveditore Generale* Antonio Priuli, Morlachs were the only ones capable of defending the border in Dalmatia, which would then also save the Republic money, because it would not be necessary to station expensive professional military units there¹⁸⁹. The Venetian government counted on the personal interest of the Morlach newcomers who once received the land that they were fighting for, had an interest to defend it¹⁹⁰. Therefore Antonio Barbaro received an order to facilitate the Morlach's stabilisation in their new homes¹⁹¹.

The tensions were almost on personal levels between the Ottoman masters and their runaway serfs. Especially fragile was the fortress of Scardona. Daniel Difnico, brother of the chronicle writer Francesco, was sent with some Morlachs from the Sebenico area to fend off Ottomans who intended to put this important place under their control. This also happened at Dernis where Gregorio Detrico with some Morlachs kept the Ottomans away. Governor General Barbaro sent additional professional guards there and forbade the Morlachs from leaving these places¹⁹².

At the same time, the same Governor Barbaro was in charged to organise the renewal of trade with Bosnia through the market places of Dalmatian cities. Therefore, he sent an invitation for the Ottoman fiscal representatives - *emin* who resided in Dalmatian cities. But, the Ottoman side demanded the removal of the Venetian military units from Scardona and Dernis¹⁹³. They were especially angry with the people from the community of Poljice who, during the war, had passed on to the Venetian side. Therefore, the Ottoman representative for fiscal affairs - *deftedar*, demanded their return under the Ottoman government. Atlagić, Filipović and Durakbegović tried to persuade Deftedar Musli to stop negotiations with Barbaro in order to make impression that Venetians had taken advantage of the rights agreed in the peace treaty¹⁹⁴. Finally, Musli went to meet Barbaro near Spalato where the particularities about the Ottoman representatives in Dalmatian cities were finalised¹⁹⁵.

The new Bosnian Pasha Mehmet, being surrounded with Atlagić, Filipović, Durakbegović and the very unhappy Yusuf-aga whose fortress of

¹⁸⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 36: "Se per guardarle si pensasse ad applicarvi gente pagata, non servirebbe un esercito anco poderoso d'altra conditione, con tanto frutto quanto lo renderanno li tre mille Morlachi e haiduci avvezzi già in tanti cimenti a military, e insanguinarsi con Turchi. Il mantenerli a quella custodia puo praticarsi con tenue e quasi publico insesibile interesse senza muover novità, che possa svegliar gelosie e sospetti negl'ottomani, dove che la guernigione d'ogn'altra gente costerebbe dispendio intollerabile, non renderebbe buon servitio, anzi causerebbe di difidenza al confine."

¹⁹⁰ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 54-55.

¹⁹¹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 299.

¹⁹² DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 300.

¹⁹³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 20.

¹⁹⁴ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 304-305.

¹⁹⁵ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 307.

Risano in Albania was conquered during the war and was desperately looking for revenge, went to observe the situation in the disputable villages and fortresses. Barbaro sent him his representatives Marc Antonio Montealbano, Fran Marjanović and Gregorio Detrico¹⁹⁶. They were to investigate the Pasha's intentions and to justify the new Venetian possessions to him. However, the Pasha persisted on the statement that Venetians would have rights only to keep their government in Clissa, Sasso and Novegradi where their military units were stationed all the time during the war¹⁹⁷.

In the meantime the Ottomans attacked Venetian subjects in Dernis and forced them to retreat. After this they went on to attack the fortress of Scardona but without any success they had to retreat to Knin. A second part of their troops successfully attacked the fortress of Obbrovazzo. Yusuf-aga attacked the fortress of Risano in the Bay of Cattaro. The Pasha disregarded the Venetian's protests saying that the people in these fortresses had actually left willingly, with no resistance. The fact was that within all of these fortresses, which the Venetian government considered as new conquests confirmed by the peace treaty, there had not been sufficient military forces which would have been able to repel the Ottoman attacks¹⁹⁸. Nevertheless, the Pasha punished Atlagić and Filipović and they had to pay large amounts of money for their unsolicited military actions¹⁹⁹.

Finally in 1671 the Sultan's Commissioner Hasazi arrived in Bosnia who was in charge of investigating the problems with the border in Dalmatia and Albania. He visited the disputable places from Risano, Primorje, Poljice, which belonged to the Klis and Lika Sandjak. In a talk with Gregorio Detrico he admitted that the places in Dalmatia were presented at the court in Istanbul, as well as to him personally, as being important towns, but after his own visit he understood that they did not have such a large importance, one reason being the small number of mosques²⁰⁰. Nevertheless, after Hasazi left Dalmatia, the problem of the border persisted. The Venetian Senate named Gian Battista Nani as special

¹⁹⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 21.

¹⁹⁷ NANI, *Historia Veneta*, p. 531: "Contraponeva a tutto ciò il Generale Barbaro I suoi officij efficacy portati per il nome al Bassa dal Cavalier Marc Antonio Montealbano e dal Governatore Gregorio Detrico e giustificando Morlachi l'inviati all'abboccamento, in cui sarebbero le ragioni discusse, e stabilito quanto pareses giusto et a presenti conforme. Ma il Bassa con militie avanzatosi a Clivno, chiedeva, che prima si facessero i luoghi nuovamente habitati, e lasciavasi intendere a Venetiani aspetare et soloamente i mantenuti con loro presidio cioè è Clissa, il Sasso e Novegradi e questo come piazze che occupate una volta dal armi del Re, ricuperate poi da quelle della Repubblica dovesse connumerarsi tra le queste conquiste..."

¹⁹⁸ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 310-317. See also ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 28.

¹⁹⁹ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 319.

²⁰⁰ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 322-324.

commissioner for border demarcation and he was sent to Dalmatia to negotiate with the Bosnian Pasha according to the agreements of Bailo Molino with the Sultan. Official negotiations between Gian Battista Nani and the Ottoman commissioner began near the ruins of the castle of Islam in the territory of Zara, in summer 1671. Nani saw the main obstacle to smooth negotiations in the presence of local Ottoman magnates who were influencing the Sultan's commissioners in order to take back their old properties²⁰¹. After many months of travelling alongside the border and negotiations between Nani and three consecutive Ottoman commissioners (one Pasha even died during the border determination), it was finally agreed that only those places, which were not destroyed after the Venetian conquest and where they constantly stationed their military units would be recognised as Venetian territory. The Republic kept the fortress of Clissa, Salona, Sasso and Novegradi with its surrounding.

The Venetian side accepted to move hajduks from Risano and Morlachs from other new conquered places in Dalmatia. Governor General Barbaro removed hajduks from the Bay of Cattaro to Istria where, as he admitted, they felt very lost²⁰². Morlachs who believed that the new land would be Venetian, to which they were now subjects, ploughed and worked the fields, but under the new agreement they were to be removed and they were not allowed to collect the grain from this disputable zone. This caused many problems. It was finally decided that one tenth (tithe) of the harvest would be given to the Ottoman masters²⁰³. The Ottomans retook these disputable border places once the Morlachs were removed despite the agreement with the Venetians.

Barbaro's zealous actions in keeping the new Venetian acquisition²⁰⁴ were not welcomed on the Ottoman side and therefore, the Senate decided for sake of peace to replace him with Zorzi Morosini who took on the duty of Governor General in Dalmatia and Albania in 1671. In his final report to the Senate, Antonio Barbaro described Dalmatia, after the establishment of the new borders as a coastline of 30 miles, which, after the loss of Crete, would be the frontier of Christianity and it should be considered as *antemurale* and the border of the Republic of Venice, which would be

²⁰¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Lettere di Gian Battista Nani, No. 695.

²⁰² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 295: "Non puoca renitenza provai nelli haiduci di Cattaro, quail non conoscendo altro cielo si figuravan l'Istria ove eran destinati fuori del mondo."

²⁰³ DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 325.

²⁰⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 293, in his report to the Senate, Barbaro justifies his intentions to keep peace as well as protect the Venetian new conquest territories: "Sarebbe soperfluo e tedioso il ridire quanto sopra questi progetti minaciosi io mi sia difuso in copiosissime lettere scritte a Vostre Eccellenze, mentre stavo tutto fisso alli studii della pace in si fatte minaccie pareva che mi s'intimava la Guerra."

always exposed to Ottoman intrusions and hostility²⁰⁵. According to the *relazioni* all other Governor generals who followed him on this position, agreed that Dalmatia was the precious possession of the Republic and the border, which would stop Ottoman invasions into Italian lands²⁰⁶.

According to the agreement between Gian Battista Nani and Bosnian Pasha, the people of Poljice and those from Makarska and Primorje were obliged to return to their ex-Ottoman masters. However, these people found a diplomatic way to avoid direct subjection to the Ottomans.²⁰⁷ At the same time the Republic sent financial support to the Franciscan brothers in Makarska counting on their Christian devotion²⁰⁸.

Nevertheless, the expectations of the Republic, which were created by the end of successful warfare in Dalmatia, were not fulfilled with the final border demarcation and agreements between Nani and the Ottoman representatives. The Republic expected to enlarge its territories in the Dalmatian hinterland and to attract more Ottoman subjects to immigrate to these territories providing a great source of new subjects who would work the land and be ready to do military service. Nevertheless, for the sake of peace, the Republic had to compromise and give up most of its gained territories in Dalmatia and Albania. In practice the border was placed along the same borderline established by Ferhad-pasha in 1576 but with the same problems only more intensified than at the end of the 16th century²⁰⁹.

²⁰⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 296

²⁰⁶ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 38v.

²⁰⁷ Pietro CIVRAN, *Relazione storica dell'anno 1676 del Provveditore Generale Pietro Civran, diretta al Senato di Venezia*, published in *Il Dalmatino*, Zadar, 1909, p. 48; *Provveditore Generale* wrote in his report in 1676 that representatives of Makarska, Primorje, Krajina and Poljica visited him in Spalato proclaiming their faith to the Venetian Doge although they were officially the Sultan's subjects: "Quei popoli confinanti di Macarsca, Primorie, Craina e Poglizza, che già con volontarie dedizioni avevano accresciute le forze, e dilatato l'Impero di V. Serenità, mi spedirono a Spalato suoi Ambasciatori, per riverire l'adorata porpora e Rappresentanza di V. Serenità, mi fecero con lacrime commemorazione della loro fede e divozione, rissentendo più grave la fatalità, che li ha ricondotto sotto il giogo ottomano."

²⁰⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 135, f. 258v, as well as Registro 138, f. 37r: "Al Provveditore Generale in Dalmatia et Albania. Con nostro de 17 Agosto 1669 incaricassimo il Pred. Vostro a somministrare ai Padri di S. Francesco minori osservanti della Prov.a di Macarsca ducati cento B.V. in elemosina per una volta tanto del tratto, et importar delle decime solite contribuiti da cotesti Morlachi così d'orzo, come formento ad altro per suffragare in qualche parte le loro angustie e darli modo restaurare quei conventi più volte incendiati da Turchi e venendoci per nome dei medessimi rappresentanti non haver per ancora tale commissione sortito il suo effetto ben convincente per così sia che restino delli religiosi consolati, onde rinovando in voi nulla più viva maniera l'incarico stesso siamo certi che procurarete adempirlo con la prontezza che maggiore vi sia permessa per far la godere tale medesimo sovegno destinato le dalla publica pieta."

²⁰⁹ About Linea Nani, from the Ottoman point of view, see M. P. PEDANI, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, Roma, Herder, 2002, p. 45.

The border established by *linea Nani* caused many problems, which were mostly related to the lack of agricultural land and tensions in coastal communities where the majority of the new inhabitants – Morlachs moved²¹⁰, where they did not have enough nor quality land for their extensive cattle breeding and agriculture²¹¹. In 1672 Morlachs finally had to withdraw from the territories of the new, but then lost Venetian properties. Governor General Zorzi Morosini ordered Morlach leader Stojan Janković Mitrović and General (Zuane Rados) Ivan Radoš who enjoyed respect and authority amongst the Morlachs, to move them closer to the Dalmatian cities and Venetian territory²¹². On the other side of the border, the untouched fertile land, which was given back to the Ottomans, became abandoned because the settlements were destroyed during the war. Due to inadequate farming land in their new settlements around the cities the Morlachs returned to work on this land of their ex-Ottoman masters Durakbegović, Filipović and Atlagić who had returned to their properties here soon after the establishment of the border²¹³. The rent of this land and collection of duties, from the Morlachs was collected by the Venetians, on behalf of the Ottomans and handed to their representative in the Dalmatian cities – the emin²¹⁴.

The Venetian government needed to revitalise their Dalmatian communities, re-inhabit cities and abandoned villages where majority of the houses had been completely ruined during the war. At the end of the Candian war in Dalmatia the people from communities such as Nona²¹⁵ and Novegradi returned to their homes and started to rebuild them. During the war the composition of inhabitants changed. Many of autochthonous inhabitants from the hinterland of Dalmatian cities moved without returning or died in the war while the immigrants from the Ottoman territory – Morlachs, started to live in the abandoned houses and work the land. In order to control the population of abandoned villages and especially the vulnerable zones such as Nona and the newly conquered area around Clissa and Salona, the Venetian Governor had to conduct the distribution of the land and create a new cadastre. The Governor General Zorzi Morosini work on the distribution of land in the Dalmatian communities of Nona²¹⁶ and the

²¹⁰ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, p. 69.

²¹¹ ASV, *Senato Mar, Dispacci di Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Rubrica, Busta 382, Letter No. 15 of the General Governor Zorzi Morosini, dated 7th August 1671. He emphasised that Morlachs felt desperate after being ordered to move from the territories, which according to border demarcation belonged to the Ottomans. They lost their pasturelands too.

²¹² ASV, *Senato Mar, Dispacci di Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 50.

²¹³ ASV, *Senato Mar, Dispacci di Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta, 383, No. 4.

²¹⁴ ASV, *Senato Mar, Dispacci di Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 384, No. 4.

²¹⁵ ASV, *Senato Mar, Dispacci di Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 38.

²¹⁶ ASV, *Senato Mar, Dispacci di Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 58.

new territories around Clissa and Salona²¹⁷. He conducted distribution of the land ignoring *ius postliminii* according to which it would have been necessary to return the land in the re-conquered territories to its previous owners. Instead of this, the whole new territory was proclaimed state ownership. The Republic based this right on the fact that the previous owner of the same land was the Ottoman Empire i.e. the Sultan himself and therefore the entire Sultan's land became state property²¹⁸. Although there were some cases where the private ownership of the previous Ottoman landlords was respected. During the creation of the cadastre of Clissa and Salona, the female heirs of the Ottoman officers there, who accepted the Christian religion and Venetian subjection after 1671, were given the rights to keep ownership of the properties which was given to their fathers by the Ottoman Sultan for their services. In the documents issued by the Venetian Senate all the new inhabitants of this territory were obliged to respect this decision and if they were working on this land, they were obliged to continue to maintain their feudal duties towards the landlords and pay tithe to *camera fiscale*²¹⁹.

Life slowly returned to normal in the Venetian cities and towns mostly around trade with Bosnia rather than developing factories as was expressed in many of the Governor's letters. The Venetian government put a great amount of effort into revitalising the central marketplace of the province – *scala* in Spalato²²⁰. This was the main point of trade with the Bosnian hinterland. After the Candian War an increasing amount of information about the appearance of English and Dutch trade ships in the Adriatic can be observed in the reports of the Venetian officers in Dalmatia. These ships, which were directed to the ports on the Habsburg territory, were direct competition to the Venetian trade monopoly in the Adriatic, which the Republic intended to preserve. The Venetian governors in

²¹⁷ I. GRGIĆ, *Prva agrarna operacija na mletačkoj novoj stečevini u Dalmaciji*, [The first agrarian operation in the Venetian new acquisition in Dalmatia], in *Izdanja Muzeja Grada Splita*, II, Split, 1962, p. 5-24.

²¹⁸ I. GRGIĆ, *Prva agrarna operacija na mletačkoj novoj stečevini u Dalmaciji*, [The first agrarian reform on the Venetian new acquisition in Dalmatia], in *Izdanja Muzeja grada Splita*, II, 1962, p. 7-8.

²¹⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 138, f. 6v; The case of Cattarina Sattanovich who inherited land around Clissa, which belonged to her father Achmet Aga, Disdar of fortress of Clissa. Also f. 25v: "...la supplica di Cattarina, Paola e Giovanna figliole già d'Asim Braim Vargorzanin Turco di Salona et ricercando in questa la confirmatione dell possesso dei terreni che nelle pertinanze di Clissa e Salona erano loro come benij proprij commessi dal Provveditore Contarini risolvemo di rimettere alla cura prudenza l'affare perché mirando a consolar i medessimi in modo che venghino a goder col dominio di essi l'effetto dell'approvato del Senato de 22 Settembre 1663 siano lasciati inssieme e Morlacchi che si attrovano esso a lavorali e continuare nella coltura d'essi obligando li a questa recognitione che stimarete giusta e consuete a consegno dei figli predetti." Some other examples can be found in GRGIĆ, *Prva agrarna operacija*, p. 8-10.

²²⁰ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro, 143, f. 120r.

Dalmatia had their net of confidants who were observing all the Habsburg actions in the Adriatic. The Habsburg Adriatic trading ports also dealt with the same goods (salt, wood, fabrics and raw materials) as the Venetians Dalmatian ports. This competition grew with the Habsburg's plan with the development of Fiume and Trieste as their main ports at the beginning of the 18th century²²¹.

The trade of salt from Pago, which was mostly exported through the *scala* of the Ottoman town of Obbrovazzo, was also very important. The Venetian government struggled to quash smuggling especially that of salt from the island of Pag salt pans²²². Any smuggling was punished severely, but it continued to blossom especially with the Habsburg ports of Trieste and Fiume (*Rijeka*) and Croatian Bakar (*Buccari*)²²³. In order to control the channel between the island of Pag and the mountain of Velebit, to stop smuggling as well as incursions of pirates and ships from the Habsburg territory, the Venetian government began to move new Morlach subjects to the villages below Velebit from Gesenize (*Jesenice*), Starigrad and Tribanj (*Tribanj*) towards Karlobag considering these territories to be Venetian. This caused new frontier issues with the Habsburgs who preferred to keep the Venetians away from the slopes of Velebit as well as Ottomans who occupied most of Lika on the other side of Velebit mountain range²²⁴.

The fragile borderline needed better guarding and to be organised by local people. The Republic of Venice saw a great opportunity to supervise the border of the province in the Morlachs, but their units needed to be better disciplined. However, many duties regarding military and civil government of Morlach communities were given to their leaders - *serdars*. They were also responsible to quell conflicts and banditry along the border.

Animosity between the Venetian Morlachs and their old Ottoman masters caused constant skirmishes especially in Zara and Sebenico territories where the majority of new inhabitants moved to and where at the same time the majority of new conquest territories were lost. The peace was actually never really established in places around border. The Habsburg

²²¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Civran, Busta 383, No. 88: "Esser state da commissari imperiali scelte due gran case in Fiume e destinatele ad'uso dogana. S'è stabilito per parte degli Olandesi di condur sali, droghe e pannine d'ogni sorte per stravere a bratto legnami et argenti vivi." No. 93: "Manda lettera dal Veglia del Capitan Verzi circa il negozio tra Austriaci et Olandesi per introdur commercio a Fiume." No. 94: "Obedira prontamente ad ogni suo motivo manda quanto gl'ha scritto il confidente di Fiume circa il Partida di Sali dell'Narenta con la Camera di Buccari." See also ROKSANDIĆ, *Bune u Senju i Primorskoj krajini (1719-1722)*, in *Radovi instituta za hrvatsku povijest Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 15, Zagreb, 1982, p. 70: The Habsburg Emperor Karl VI proclaimed Trieste and Fiume the free ports on 18th March 1719, which was actual end of the Venetian domination of the Adriatic.

²²² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta, 382, No. 41.

²²³ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 141, 6th July 1675, f. 84v; also Registro 143, 3rd April 1677, f. 29r; Also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES VENETA, VIII, p. 64.

²²⁴ DAZ, *Dragomanski arhiv*, box 6.

subjects from the area around Segna (*Segnani*) associated with Venetian Morlachs especially in Zara and Sebenico hinterland to disturb and rob Ottoman merchants²²⁵. This caused many complaints from the Ottoman side and repeated excuses from the Venetian governors²²⁶. The Governor generals punished this kind of law offenders severely as well as any quarrels between Morlachs and their previous Ottoman masters which usually led to retaliation²²⁷. A preventative method in which the Venetian Governors tried to stop any clashes on the border was to remove Morlachs and hajduks to Istria or even to the Italian peninsula where they would be conscripted into the army²²⁸. Venetian governors also used traditional diplomatic methods on the border in cultivating confidants and friendships among Ottoman border officers²²⁹.

At the beginning of the 1680s the conflicts between Morlachs, most of the time associated with the *Segnani*, and the Ottomans were escalating. The troubles were almost the personal levels between the Christian Morlachs and their former Muslim masters, Durakbegović, Atlagić and Filipović. The leader of one group of bandit Morlachs was Ilija Janković Mitrović the brother of the chief leader of Morlachs in the territory of Zara, *Serdar* Stojan Janković Mitrović. The Venetian *Provveditore Generale* Lorenzo Donà ordered that Ilija Janković be caught dead or alive, promising a reward for anyone who would even bring him news about him²³⁰. When this did not help to catch Ilija and his gang, the Governor ordered the arrest of Stojan and his other brother Zaviša who were then taken to prison in Venice²³¹.

The situation with the Venetian Morlachs who worked on the Ottoman land was especially difficult. In 1682 Durakbegović, the grandson

²²⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 75.

²²⁶ DAZ, *Dragomanski arhiv*, box 11, filza LXXXIV, “Corrispodenza del Prov. G.rale Grimani con lo Stato Ottomano e viceversa (ommicidi, deperdazioni d’animali, svolegi, incendi, insulti, offese verbali reciproche, malvivenza, contrabandi, differenze per merci trasportate da un luoco all’altro senza permessi, castighi de’sudditi d’ambi li stati, disenzioni, rescassioni de diritti privati’ (124 cases)

²²⁷ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, p. 47: ‘Ho severamente vietato ai sudditi il rimettersi in possesso, come erano prima della passata Guerra, di praticar de fatto, e di propria autorità il proprij rissarcimenti delle rapressaglie di confinante, costume antico di quei popoli, ma facile a prorompere in qualche fastidioso sconcerto.’

²²⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No 27, as well as No. 36.

²²⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 77; Pietro Valier, General Governor in Dalmatia in his report to the Venetian Senate in 1680 described his relationship with an Ottoman officer in this way: “Il capitano di Obrovazzo sopra ogni altro ritrovai alieno dall’interesse, et amico dell’onesta. Con la sua mano potei spesse volte troncane molti nodi difficoltosi, et intricate, e scriver l’aggiustamento col Begovich ed altri, senza uscire dalla linea della ragione.”

²³⁰ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 254.

²³¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 257.

of Halil-bey of Vrana and the son of Durak who was killed during the siege of Zemonico in 1647, planned to re-establish his family estate in Zara's hinterland. Thus he planned to move Ottoman Morlachs on to his estates in Vrana and Zemonico where the Venetian Morlachs were working. When in August the same year his brother Hasan-bey entered Zemonico, his troops setting alight the Venetian Morlach hovels and ruining their fields. The Morlachs protested and one of them was killed. This started an open fight and led to the killing of Hasan-bey together with several other Ottoman noblemen and around 200 other of their men, only four Morlachs were killed²³². There was no way that the Venetian governor could cover up this incident. The Governor Lorenzo Donà sent local commanders Count Possedaria, Soppe and Smiljanić to keep the Morlachs away from Ottoman territory and tried to stop the Ottoman investigation into the whole event by bribing their officers sent by the Sultan as well as Durakbegović himself who was willing to keep everything quiet. However the news reached the Gran Vizier who protested to the Venetian Bailo who, realising the severity of the situation, in that it could ignite a war, offered and paid 250,000 ducats to the Ottomans without all permission from Venice. After this Bailo was called back to Venice and placed in prison because of his diversion of the official position. Later he succeeded to excuse himself and was released²³³.

The situation again started to boil. The Ottoman officers on the border – the *beys* and *agas* were harassing Morlachs who worked on Ottoman lands and extorting money. After any Ottoman abuse, Morlachs were hungry for revenge. When the Ottomans lost at the city walls of Vienna in 1683, the Morlachs in Dalmatia were so encouraged with the military actions by the Habsburgs and retreat of the Ottomans, that it was impossible to calm down the situation on the Dalmatian border. The Ottomans started to abandon their town and fortresses next to the Venetian territories in Dalmatia en mass. The Ottomans withdrew from the border towns of Obbrovazo, Vrana, Scardona, moving deeper into the continent, towards Livno and Blagaj, where they placed their families²³⁴. The abandoned towns and villages were open for the Morlachs to loot. The Venetian government tried to stop them but with little success.

The Morlachs who stayed to live on the territory which had become Ottoman according to the *linea Nani*, started to plead with the Venetian government for permission to become Venetian subjects. They also started to move onto Venetian territory, escaping from the daily intrusions and

²³² DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 239-245. Also STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 302-305.

²³³ DESNICA, *Zemunički događaj*, in *Stojan Janković i Uskočka Dalmacija*, ed. by Srđan Volarević, Beograd, 1991, p. 131-138. See also G. STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog rata 1684-1699*, Beograd, 1962, p. 15-19.

²³⁴ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 255.

attacks of Venetian Morlachs²³⁵. The Venetian Senate was not so keen to accept the Ottoman subjects being afraid of an escalation of the conflict on the official level. The Republic desperately wanted to keep peace with the Ottomans. Nevertheless, their Morlach subjects entered the abandoned fortress of Vrana, Ostroviza, Bencovich, Obbrovazzo, Carino, Scardona and the Ottomans even intended to leave Knin and Dernis²³⁶. The Venetian government released the Janković brothers with the specific orders of organising the Morlachs and keeping them under control in the case of all out conflict. The colonel of the territory Ivan Radoš was in charge to keep control of the Morlachs and the situation was gradually calming down to the point that the Ottomans returned to Obbrovazzo and started to think about the re-establishment of the trade with the Venetians, which the Republic supported being aware of the possibility that the Segnani might move to the town²³⁷. But this seemingly calm situation was not to last long as Morlachs once again attacked Obbrovazzo²³⁸ while more and more Ottoman Morlachs were moving to the Venetian territory. At the end of 1683 the movement also spread to Sebenico territory. Ilija Janković succeeded in boosting Morlach rebellions in the territory of Traù and all together with Morlachs from Zara, Sebenico and Traù territories they attacked and conquered Dernis. Every abandoned or conquered Ottoman place was immediately populated with Morlachs²³⁹. The Bosnian Pasha was furious but there was no way the Venetian government could stop the spreading of the uprising in the Christian Ottoman subjects in Dalmatia encouraged by Venetian Morlachs and troops of Segnani.

In December 1683, Morlachs from Zernoviza (*Žrnovica*), near Almissa, proclaimed their allegiance to the Republic of Venice turning their backs on their masters. The same happened again with the people from Poljice. At the beginning of 1684 the coastland of Makarska was once again free from the Ottoman government. They had forced Ottoman officers to flee the town²⁴⁰. At the same time Venetian Morlachs attacked the town of Plavno where many of the Ottoman noblemen sheltered with their families²⁴¹. The Ottomans succeeded to repel the attack but it was a great surprise and shock for them²⁴². The Morlach rebellions even attracted the interest of Pope who sent them weapons, which were initially destined for the troops of the Holy League. Very soon the Republic changed its policy towards the rebellions and began openly to welcome the new Morlach

²³⁵ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih I*, p. 256-260.

²³⁶ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih I*, p. 266-268.

²³⁷ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih I*, p. 287-288.

²³⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih I*, p. 309-310.

²³⁹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 35.

²⁴⁰ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 38.

²⁴¹ DAZ, *Generalni Providuri*, box 49, f.120v.

²⁴² DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih I*, p. 321

immigrants. They began to distribute weapons and food to them, also preparing their army in case of Ottoman attack. This happened only after the Senate decided about their involvement on the side of the Holy League, presumably being prompted by the Pope's intervention²⁴³.

Even before the official Venetian proclamation of war, an open battle between Ottoman troops and Venetian subjects happened below the fortress of Clissa where the defenders of Clissa were helped by Venetian troops from Traù and Spalato.

4. Morean War in Dalmatia 1684-1699

When the war officially started, the Venetian army made a fast progress thanks to the Morlach rebellions. The Republic's forces immediately occupied a large part of the Dalmatian hinterland, which was previously Ottoman territory all the way to Knin and Sign (*Sinj*) and the valuable fortresses amongst which was Duare, the key to Herzegovina²⁴⁴. This wide zone protected the Dalmatian city communities from any possible powerful Ottoman intrusions as had happened during the Candian War.

At this time though, the Republic was not ready, practically, for a long lasting war. The fortresses were still ruined and under bad condition and only a few of them had been partially refurbished since the previous war. Their weapons were outdated and more importantly the numbers of professional soldiers in Dalmatia were very low, relying mostly on soldiers from Italy with very little or no battle experience at all. The majority of Venetian troops were still engaged in Morea. A small number of mercenaries were sent to Dalmatia together with Baron Bartolomeo Vavisano Grimaldi who was named as the Governor General of military troops in the province²⁴⁵. The only hope, in Dalmatia for the Republic, were the Morlach guerrillas. Therefore, in 1684, extraordinary Governor General Domenico Mocenigo, after arriving in Zara, organised meeting with Morlach commanders Smoljan Smiljanić, Francesco count of Possedaria, Simon Bortolazzi and Stojan Janković²⁴⁶. He recommended to have organised in each of villages a chief of Morlachs who would lead the villagers in accordance with these main leaders and instructions from Venice²⁴⁷. Unfortunately the Morlach warriors lacked discipline but Mocenigo was counting on the reward/punishment method to control their behaviour²⁴⁸. Each of these four Morlach commanders was given the duty to organise a cavalry troop of the 60 most capable Morlachs. Soon, Morlachs

²⁴³ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 43.

²⁴⁴ STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 307-308.

²⁴⁵ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 150, f. 10v.

²⁴⁶ DAZ, *Generalni Providuri*, box 49, f. 32v-33v.

²⁴⁷ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, box 49, f. 9r-10v; also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 4.

²⁴⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 6-5.

from Zara territory united with those from Sebenico and Traù territories and planned an attack to the Ottoman fortress of Knin²⁴⁹. On their way to Knin they met an Ottoman troop, which was on the way back to Bosnia after plundering Venetian territories. The Ottomans were beaten in the ensuing clash but Stojan Janković was wounded²⁵⁰.

After the initial shock of constant Morlach attacks on their territories, the Ottomans tried to regroup their forces and started counter attacks on the territories of the Dalmatian cities. Therefore, they launched attacks on the weakest part of Venetian territory, which was closest to their territories, Primorje and the fortress of Duare but they were defeated²⁵¹.

In comparison with the state of the Venetian army in Dalmatia at the beginning of the Candian War and in 1684, at the beginning of the Morean War, it can be observe the change of the military organisation. The Morlach troops were organised under their commanders *serdars* and lower commanders *harambasas*²⁵². They became a regular part of the Venetian army, with their specific tactic in scouting the territory, raiding and disturbing enemy territory, as well as being a regular part of any major military action of the Venetian mercenary troops and navy²⁵³.

In August 1684 Morlachs from the region of Zara were pillaging Ottoman territory in Lika, around the fortress of Ribnik. The area was to become a regular victim of these attacks. Soon Morlachs from all regions of

²⁴⁹ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, box 49, f. 32r: “Sono rese ben chiare le attioni con quali D. simon bortolazzi uno dei quattro capi de Morlacchi di questo territorio si è segnalato più incontri col nemico in questi principij di guerra sostenendo il commando e direttione de Morlacchi stessi. Fu notabile di fatto seguito al fine del mese caduto di maggio verso la fortezza di Knin dove avanzatoli egli con diversi de suoi unitamente con gli altri Capi suoi colleghe, furono avalidi da numerata unione de Turchi a piedi et a cavallo, ma resistendo con intrepido corraggio rimangono fugiti e rotti li nemici molti dei quali restarono et altri captivi.”

²⁵⁰ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, II, p. 12-13. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 159.

²⁵¹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 59. Also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 161.

²⁵² DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, *Dispacci al Senato dal Provveditore Generale*, f. 15r. According to his report to the Venetian Senate, Valier was very aware of the bad discipline of the Morlach warriors: “Io conosco l’instabilità e non molta disciplina de Morlachi, difficile alla sospezione, et all’obediencia ad ogni modo non è impossibile ridurli con l’interesse et obligarli con la mercedi, che non dovendo essere dispensata, che all’occasione si ridurrebbe a strepitosa apparenza, ma a moderato displendio.”

²⁵³ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 38v: “Al fatto perché molti acquisti anco de luochi chiusi si sono conseguiti nella Provincia senza grandi eserciti da soli Morlacchi, Obbrovazzo, Scardona, Duare e l Ecc.mo Donà con questi solo mezzo avrebbe più oltre progredito, se avesse voluto prendere quella libertà che per buona regola di governo, anco la speranza di vittorie non si presume da chi religiosamente obbedisce. Ma sempre non si possono avere questi grandi eserciti et è ben operare con quello si ha. Contro la raggione è poi, che si vogli condur le genti, li cannoni e li viveri per montagne disastrose e per camino lungo, mentre si possi avere la condotta più facile per mare e per fiumi con le galere, calette et altri bastimenti de quali gode Vra. Ser. comodo vantaggio e possesso.”

the Venetian Dalmatia would begin to attack into in Bosnia in Glamoč, Livno and Grahovo Field²⁵⁴.

Provveditore Generale Pietro Valier, who replaced Domenico Mocenigo, continued with further conquests in the south of Dalmatia around the River Narenta mouth. Venetian troops conquered the fortresses of Norin and Opus (*Opuzen*). As those territories were thought to be too difficult to defend, the Senate decided to destroy the fortress of Norin but to rebuild and keep the fortress at Opus²⁵⁵.

In March 1685 Venetian troops backed by predominately Morlach warriors²⁵⁶, started the siege of Sign despite snow and very bad weather, which caused many problems with the use of gunpowder²⁵⁷. The Morlachs were not used to trench warfare tactics and therefore they were not as efficient as expected. When they started with an open attack on the fortress, they fell into an Ottoman trap, losing their concentration and discipline, with more than 2,000 of them being killed or caught²⁵⁸.

In the meantime the Ottomans attacked Castelli the area between Traù and Spalato, but the local inhabitant's help succeeded in organising a strong defence. Durak-bey gathered in Livno the Ottoman troops for the invasion of the *contado di Zara*²⁵⁹. However, the Ottomans were encouraged by their defence of Sign and therefore organised a powerful attack on the fortress of Duare where the Venetians had recently established their government but only kept a small unit of soldiers. Governor General Valier was relying completely on Morlach troops to protect this strategically important fortress, which was the key for the passage towards Ottoman Herzegovina. At the start of the siege they were suffering but their fortune changed and they succeeded to fight off the attack²⁶⁰. After this success a group of Morlach warriors led by Stojan Janković Mitrović remained in the fortress to protect it from any other possible attack and they went on to plunder Ottoman territories in Herzegovina around Ljubuški to keep them busy well away from Dalmatia²⁶¹.

In July 1685 a common military action by Habsburg and Venetian troops was planned in Lika²⁶² but on the agreed day the Habsburg soldiers

²⁵⁴ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, box 49, f. 35v-36r; also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 35-36.

²⁵⁵ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 61.

²⁵⁶ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 53v.

²⁵⁷ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, 26th March 1685, f. 61r-64v.

²⁵⁸ DESNICA, *Mletački poraz pod Sinjom 7. Aprila 1685*, in *Stojan Janković i Uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 139-151. See also DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, box 51, Marin Micheli, p. 8r-11r.

²⁵⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 67r.

²⁶⁰ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 87-89

²⁶¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 91-93, and STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 63.

²⁶² DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, 19th September 1685, f. 100r-100v.

did not show up. Therefore, Venetian soldiers took the action on their own, plundering the villages and the towns in Lika and marching all the way to Herzegovina²⁶³. During this action, about 300 Morlachs families, Ottoman subjects, from Lika moved to Venetian territory in Dalmatia, around the River Zermagna²⁶⁴.

Increasing number of Morlach subject to the Venetian territory meant more soldiers ready to fight against the Ottomans, but the Venetian government faced numerous problems related shortage of weapon especially muskets. Therefore the governor general ordered that all the weapon of died soldiers had to be collected. Beside this there was an increasing problem of illegal selling of the weapon to the Ottoman side²⁶⁵. There was also a problem of irregular and low payment of the regular soldiers, which was about 15 liras monthly and of which every soldier had to pay certain amount for his clothes. This also caused deserting of large number of paid soldiers. Therefore the Pietro Valier intended to conduct numerous small reforms of the army to increase their efficiency as well as to attract more people to sign in²⁶⁶.

At the end of August of the same year, Morlachs together with Venetian cavalry led by Stojan Janković organised another campaign in Bosnia, making raids around the town of Vakuf and then in Lika. This time again a large number of Christian families from the Ottoman territory in Lika moved to Dalmatia near the town of Scardona. All these new Venetian subjects were immediately ready to fight against their previous masters, but according to Valier's opinion they needed to be better organised and have better discipline to improve their efficiency²⁶⁷. The guerrilla warfare tactic used by the Venetian Morlachs created a wide deserted area in west Bosnia and Lika. Christian inhabitants were leaving, while Muslim people were hiding in the fortresses²⁶⁸. Venetian troops entered deeper into the area of the River Narenta and destroyed the town of Metković as well as the fortress

²⁶³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 94-97.

²⁶⁴ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 65.

²⁶⁵ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 122v-123r.

²⁶⁶ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 155r: "La causa poi che non siano ben armate nasce dal poco stipendio, dalle sole lire 15 che conseguisce il soldato che altre volte oltre che lire 15 godeva il sorvegno del vestito e se bene nei mesi addietro conosceva dall Ecc.mo Senato tale convenienza nella riforma 31 marzo, admete la libertà di accrescerlo sino alle lire 18 al mese per ciascheduno."

²⁶⁷ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 138v: "Potrebbero li Morlacchi operare con più regola e render la loro operazione più proficiue. Ma la loro inordinata disciplina e poca obbedienza non lascia che s'avvanzi l'acquisto de luochi chiusi e muniti che sarebbe il desiderabile per togliere la pianta della radice, ne ciò si conswguira mai senza la mano regolata e forte della publici armi."

²⁶⁸ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 66.

of Gabela²⁶⁹. This meant that the Ottomans were no longer secure in south of Herzegovina.

In March 1686 the Venetian Morlachs conquered the town of Gračac. This was a very important fortress on the way from Dalmatia towards Lika, but the Venetian Senate decided to destroy the town's ramparts and fortress being aware of the difficulty hold the area. Meanwhile the Pasha from Herzegovina was preparing counterattacks on the fortresses of Opus and Norin on the Narenta²⁷⁰. The fortress of Norin, which was very weak and difficult to resist attack from Ottoman artillery, was also destroyed by the Venetian troops, and so all Venetian forces were concentrated on the defence of the fortress at Opus, which they successfully conducted. Boosted by these successes the Venetian troops of Morlachs penetrated deeper into Ottoman territory attacking the area around the town of Duvno²⁷¹.

This caused further retaliations with the raiding of the villages of Poljice. Local people there succeeded to organise themselves and attacked the Ottoman troops as they were on their way back to Bosnia. They suffered great losses while people from Poljice managed to take back their goods from the Ottomans²⁷². Nevertheless, the Venetian government did not miss this opportunity to keep their faith with confirming their privileges as free community based on their traditional constitutions²⁷³.

The next Venetian strategic step was to attack the town of Livno where the Pasha of Herzegovina had an occasional residence²⁷⁴. This should have destabilised the Ottomans and keep them away from the Venetian territories in Dalmatia. In addition to this Morlach leader *Serdar* Smoljan Smiljanić penetrated deep into the Bosnian territory with his people. They attacked the mine of Majdam on the River Sava where the Ottomans forged their weapons. They destroyed their foundry and their reserves of weapons, which they found there. This was a great success of the Morlach guerrilla strategy²⁷⁵. After this event, Smoljan Smiljanić and Stojan Janković Mitrović together organised a new attack on Livno²⁷⁶. The new Governor General Gerolamo Cornaro, encouraged with these Morlach successes, again planned the siege of Sign. He gathered the Venetian army in Salona from where they marched towards Sign, which this time was conquered in a

²⁶⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 138r. Also STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 67.

²⁷⁰ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 132v. Also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 167.

²⁷¹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 68.

²⁷² STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 69.

²⁷³ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 129r.

²⁷⁴ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 163v. Also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 142-143.

²⁷⁵ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 71.

²⁷⁶ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 146-147. Also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 168.

very short time²⁷⁷. One Venetian army unit remained in the fortress and its ramparts were rebuilt²⁷⁸. Now only the fortress of Knin still remained in Ottoman hands. In the meantime, the Ottoman army from Hungary retreated to Bosnia and moved closer to the Venetian frontiers in Dalmatia. From the fortress of Knin, they started to attack the Venetian fortresses of Bribir, Perušić and Vrana in the hinterland of Zara²⁷⁹ and another Ottoman unit moved towards Sebenico territory where they attacked the fortresses of Zlosela, Velin and Daclina, but without major success²⁸⁰.

In 1687 Mehmed Atlagić became the new Bosnian Pasha and he was very keen to bring back Morlachs under the Ottoman control²⁸¹. With the beginning of the new military season, he was preparing a great offensive on the Venetians, who, thanks to their net of confidants were prepared to strike back²⁸². His strategy of bribing Morlach leaders was fruitless. While he was forcing his hand with them his army attacked Sign but thanks to the Morlach warriors the Ottoman siege was broken and the town was safe in Venetian hands²⁸³. A day after the Herzegovina Pasha started his offensive on the Venetian territory of Primorje, but was very soon defeated by the local people and ancillary troops from Spalato. During this Morlachs from Zažablje in Herzegovina accepted the government of the Venetian Republic and turned against their ex-masters, attacking the fortress of Stolac²⁸⁴.

The Venetian Governor estimated the situation stable enough to prepare a very important attack on the fortress of Castelnuovo at the entrance of the Bay of Cattaro. The Venetians had an alliance agreement with the tribes of the mountains around the Bay of Cattaro and Montenegro, who promised their help in this military action. The Governor General Gerolamo Cornaro gathered as mercenary troops many as possible who were available²⁸⁵. They started their siege of Castelnuovo in August 1687 and after a month of heavy fighting the Ottoman troops finally gave up. The conquest of this fortress was a great success for the Venetian army after many previous attempts to take this place in previous Venetian-Ottoman wars²⁸⁶. The fortress of Castelnuovo controlled the navigation in this part of

²⁷⁷ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 151-153.

²⁷⁸ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 72

²⁷⁹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 165-169.

²⁸⁰ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, II, 20th February 1686, f. 69r-71v and 18th March 1686, f. 103v-106v.

²⁸¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 177.

²⁸² DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, III, p. 105r-105v, 107r.

²⁸³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 184-185. Also DESNICA, *Mletački poraz pod Sinjom on 7th April 1685*, in *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 139-152. See also STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 317. And also JACOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 173-175.

²⁸⁴ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 78

²⁸⁵ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 153, f. 11v

²⁸⁶ *Dizionario biografico Italiano*, (29), Roma, Treccani, 1983, p. 245. Thanks to this achievement Gerolamo Corner was elected *Procuratore di San Marco*.

the Adriatic as well as being the only obstacle to Venetian dominion of Albania²⁸⁷.

Simultaneously with the siege of Castelnuovo, one part of the Venetian Morlachs troops pillaged the outskirts of the Ottoman town of Duvno in order to keep the Ottoman troops busy and away from Hercegnovi. During this fight Stojan Janković was killed²⁸⁸. Despite the lost of their valuable leader, Morlachs continued with their intrusions in Bosnia during 1687. They penetrated all the way to Varcar-Vakuf. Here the brother of Stojan Janković, Zaviša was wounded²⁸⁹.

Morlachs from Spalato, Clissa and Makarska raided the area around Mostar, whilst others from Sebenico, Scardona and Velin raided around Bilaj in Bosnia²⁹⁰. Despite great success of the Venetian army, they were also struggling with supply and money distribution for the troops, which was just a reflection of the whole of the situation in the Republic due to extraordinary war expenses²⁹¹.

The next and last Venetian target in Dalmatia was the fortress of Knin. Morlachs constantly attacked the area around this town and made life of the Ottoman subjects here impossible. Governor General Gerolamo Corner²⁹² ordered Morlachs to keep guard around Knin in order to stop any Ottoman caravan from supplying it. The very cold weather in March 1688 made it impossible for Morlachs to keep their positions and somehow the Bosnian Pasha succeeded to get supplies into Knin²⁹³ and reinforce the Ottoman troops. This enabled them to make surprise attacks in Zara's hinterland stealing cattle and taking slaves. Nevertheless, Morlachs retaliated with a deep intrusion into the Ottoman territory, five days walk from Dalmatia²⁹⁴.

During this year the Senate received official offer from the Saxonian Prince Albert Coburgh to join in the Venetian i.e. Christian side in the war against the Ottomans. The Venetian success in Dalmatia and Morea attracted more European rulers to send their troops to contribute in the war against the Ottomans²⁹⁵.

²⁸⁷ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 80-89.

²⁸⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 189-192 and DESNICA, *Smrt Stojana Jankovića i seoba ramskih franjevac u Dalmaciju*, in *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 172-180. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 176-177.

²⁸⁹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 196-197.

²⁹⁰ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 90-91.

²⁹¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 153, f. 343v.

²⁹² *Dizionario biografico Italiano*, (29), p. 243-246. Gerolamo Corner obtained the duty of *Provveditore Generale* twice, in 1680-1682 and 1686-1689.

²⁹³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 233-235.

²⁹⁴ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 92.

²⁹⁵ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 153, f. 483v.

In September 1688 the Venetian troops started the siege of Knin. After 12 days Knin fell into their hands²⁹⁶. Many Ottoman noblemen were captured and amongst them were Atlagić and the Sandjak of Krka and Lika Alay-bey Černičić, with their sons and 30 more agas²⁹⁷.

After conquering the whole of Dalmatian hinterland, the Venetian troops were transferred to the south, around the mouth of the River Narenta. They re-took the fortress of Norin and waited for a good opportunity to secure their positions in this area²⁹⁸. After this success the Venetian troops controlled the whole Dalmatian coast from the river Zermagna to Makarska and river Narenta²⁹⁹. The Ottoman troops were so weak that there were no more than 1,000 inhabitants in the area from Glamoč, Uskoplje, Kupres and Livno. Beside this the majority of the Ottoman troops were transferred to the Croatian frontier where they had to resist a large offensive of the Habsburg army³⁰⁰.

Next year the Venetian troops expanded their offensive towards Imoschi (Imotski) and Vergoraz (Vergoraz), with further intrusions into Herzegovina. In September 1689 they attacked the town of Čitluk on the Narenta, but without the expected success and they had to give up this goal. Later they were more successful in attacking Trebinje, also in Herzegovina. Nevertheless, the Ottoman retaliation came very soon and re-established their position in Trebinje³⁰¹.

In 1690 the Ottomans entered Dalmatia and made raids around Knin and Sign. Afterwards they prepared a large attack on Sign for March the same year. The Ottomans did not succeed to take the town but they caused an immense amount of damage to the local people³⁰². The Morlachs retaliated with an attack on Livno.

²⁹⁶ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 184-185.

²⁹⁷ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, II, p. 237-246.

²⁹⁸ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 95.

²⁹⁹ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 139v: "Hora Padrone VV.EE. di tutto il litorale dalla parte della Morlacca sino al confine de Ragusei. Fra terra quanto chiude la linea azura. Principia la medesima a Iansenizza parte della stessa Morlacca che riguarda il mare e di la proseguendo per la cima de Monti a Svonigrad, Castelo sotto il sorgente del Fiume Zermagna detto anticamente Iedrino che irriga l'uno e l'altro Obrovazzo colla sboccatura nel Canale di Novegradi, lasciando dall'altra parte di detti Monti nel fine della Prova di Lica il Castello di Grasaz distrutto con mine. D'indi potando per la cima de Monti sopra il Sorgente del fiume Bottischiza al monte di Karsovaz ove è il passo per Bosna. E di la a Rarcichi ove sorge il fiume Krka pur al Monte Cosiach di sopra il sorgente che forma il fiume Cettina e continua su quelli di Prologh. Da quali cadendo per Bascoblatto sopra Radobiglie scare per la cima di quello di Macarsca e Primorgie al Fiume Narenta sopra la torre di Norin oltre il quale viene terminare con Clesh al confine de Raguse abitato dal Noncovich assicurato con buon forte."

³⁰⁰ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 149r.

³⁰¹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 96-97.

³⁰² STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 97.

In November 1690 the Venetian troops conquered Vrgorac and the Christian inhabitants from the surrounded Ottoman villages immigrated to the Venetian territory in Dalmatia³⁰³.

In the following year there were no major military actions in Dalmatia apart from the occasional skirmishes and raids. In 1692 Ottomans intensively attacked and plundered the area near Verlica but Morlachs retaliated by raiding Glamoč. They also attacked Livno and took rich booty³⁰⁴. The next year saw similar actions in Dalmatia, but the conflicts almost completely moved to Bosnia. There was no town safe from Morlach intrusions³⁰⁵.

In 1694 the Venetian troops concentrated their actions along the Narenta where they succeeded to conquer Čitluk and Gabela³⁰⁶. The Ottomans had two unsuccessful attempts at retaliation³⁰⁷.

After this there were almost no military activities in Dalmatia and in 1696 finally the Venetian Governor General organised an attack to Dulcigno while the Ottomans plundered in the fields around Knin³⁰⁸. The rest of the province i.e. *acquisto vecchio* was passing through gradual introduction of the organisation of the peaceful administration, especially regarding orders in land distribution and duties collection³⁰⁹. On the very north of Dalmatia, where the Venetian interests met Habsburg's, the problem of the domination over the territory and subjects became more obvious and therefore present in the reports of the Venetian officers³¹⁰.

During 1697 the Venetian Morlachs organised some serious intrusions on the Ottoman territory around Livno and Mostar, but with many losses. They also plundered in the central Bosnia, around Vakuf and Banja Luka³¹¹. During the last year of the war the Ottomans took some actions to return some territories around Čitluk and the River Cetina but without results.

³⁰³ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 99. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 201-202.

³⁰⁴ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 101.

³⁰⁵ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 198-199.

³⁰⁶ ZKZD, Manuscript, No. 28290 Ms 798, *Relazioni e informazioni di Magistrati Veneti sulla Dalmazia (1593-1701)*, f. 59r. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 206-2113.

³⁰⁷ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 106.

³⁰⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 330-331.

³⁰⁹ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, box 61, f. 55v and 100r-102v.

³¹⁰ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, F.a LVIII, No. 15, f. 1-6. *Assegnamento di terre alli Popoli di Obbrovazzi per fargli aumentare con l'industri la loro popolazione. Daniele Dolfin.*

³¹¹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba morejskog*, p. 108.

5. The truce 1699-1714 and the war 1715-1718

When the war officially finished in 1699 Governor General Alvise Mocenigo ordered the Morlachs to guard along the exposed places of the frontier to hold the Venetian position before the conclusion of the peace treaty and border determination. The Peace Treaty was concluded in Carlowitz (*Sremski Karlovci*) in January 1699 with participation of the Ottomans on one side and the Habsburgs, Poland and the Republic of Venice on the other side. Venice again concluded the agreement according to the principle *uti possidetis*³¹². After this it was necessary to conduct a physical border determination. Giovanni Grimani was named as extraordinary Venetian governor in charge of border demarcation in Dalmatia and Albania. There were more problems with the Habsburgs side than with the Ottoman representatives as can be noted from the letters written by Grimani to the Venetian Senate³¹³.

The new border with the Ottoman properties, called after the Venetian border negotiator *linea Grimani*, was quite clear in Dalmatia and almost followed the natural barrier created by the mountain ridge between Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The borderline was determined according to the agreement following the rule of *uti possidetis* and the Republic of Venice received all the fortresses conquered during the war in the Dalmatian hinterland and the territory around them, which was marked by a semi-circle or straight line (depending on the physical characteristics of the terrain) within one hour's walk from the fortress or town towards the Ottoman territory. The Republic extended its possession over the fortresses of Knin, Vrelica, Sign, Duare, Vrgorac and Čitluk in Dalmatia, as well as Castelnuovo and Risano in Bay of Cattaro i.e. Venetian Albania³¹⁴. In this way the Republic of Venice connected almost all of its territories in Dalmatia and Albania. Being surrounded by the Venetian Republic's territories did not please the lords of the Republic of Dubrovnik. Therefore they intervened with the Ottoman Empire and the border around their Republic was established with thin stripes of Ottoman territories towards the sea from both sides of the Venetian territories in Dalmatia as well as in Albania³¹⁵.

The border in Zara's hinterland with extended Venetian possessions towards Gračac, the fortress of Keglević and Zvonigrad as well as alongside the coastline below the Velebit Mountains, created many disputes and

³¹² DAZ, Dragomanski arhiv, box 1, filza IX, No. 2, *Trattato di pace tra la repubblica Veneta e la Turchia fatto in Carlovitz li 26 gennaio 1699 e ratificato del 1701*.

³¹³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701.

³¹⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giovanni Grimmani, Busta 701.

³¹⁵ S. OBAD- S. DOKOZA- S. MARTINOVIĆ, *The Southern Borders of Dalmatia*, Zadar, Državni arhiv, 2005, p. 26-31.

almost open conflict with the Habsburgs³¹⁶. In negotiations with the Habsburg representatives Grimani was recalled Article 12 of the war pact concluded in 1684, according to which the Habsburg side acknowledged, in advance, all occupation of the territories of ancient Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. However, this was not applicable in the case of the fortress of Zvonigrad and in order to avoid more war, Venetian Morlach troops led by serdars Zaviša Janković Mitrović and Ivan Sinobad had to retreat from this area in 1701. The new triple confinium was established on the peak of Medviđa Glavica south of the source of the River Zermagna and south of the fortress of Zvonigrad³¹⁷.

After this the Republic of Venice established permanent guards in the fortresses especially those most exposed to the Habsburg territories such as Obrovazo on the River Zermagna. These guards were partially recruited from the new Dalmatian inhabitants who continued to provide military service for the Republic in peacetime. The Venetian Governors understood that it would be cheaper to keep troops of local people and pay them less liras and some measures of hardtack instead of recruiting and bringing in expensive foreign mercenaries.³¹⁸ Although the major attention was given to the Habsburg border, the Venetian governors in Dalmatia did not forget to keep an eye on the Ottoman's movements around the border of Bosnia and Herzegovina and keeping a regular net of *confidenti*³¹⁹.

This new peaceful life was not easy to introduce into the new society of Dalmatia where the new Morlach immigrants adapted to the new rules with many difficulties. First of all, the government needed to organise the distribution of the land according to the new cadastre. This was a long process, which started immediately after the border demarcation but would last for more than 50 years. The final reform of the agricultural land distribution was conducted during the 1750s by Governor Francesco Grimani³²⁰. Many of the Venetian governors in Dalmatia during the war gave all the newly arrived Morlach communities an amount of land where they could produce food. The ambiguities of such entitlements where the borders of the properties and owners were not very clear defined created conflicts amongst the villages in the Dalmatian hinterland. The animosity, which was previously shown towards the Ottomans, now exploded amongst different villages and communities. They were stealing or killing each others cattle and ruining harvests in the fields³²¹. This situation together with the introduction of tax collection demanded an urgent census and the creation of a cadastre. The new distribution of land in 1709 was applied

³¹⁶ HDA, *Generalatus Karlostadiensis* 2, bounded documents, f. 179r-189r.

³¹⁷ HOLJEVAC, *The Triplex Confinium*, p. 117-140.

³¹⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 385.

³¹⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva, f. 53r.

³²⁰ PALADINI, *Un caos*, p. 131-141.

³²¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 348, 362, 368.

only on the new acquired territories (*acquisto nuovo*) in Zara and Sebenico districts, while the distribution of the land conducted previously in 1675 remained the same. This distribution was conducted in the way so that each of the family settled on the new territory would have enough land to produce its own food and to maintain, at minimum, a horse for eventual state needs³²². Of course this was not applicable to high level Morlach soldiers who profiled as Morlach nobility during the Candian and Morean Wars, as war and civil leaders of Morlach communities in Dalmatia, i.e. serdars, harambasas and captains. They turned into real landlord families with large properties where other tenants would work. The relationship landowner-tenant was not always ideal and many times the Morlach nobility abused its position against its own people. This was also a cause of protests and rebellions amongst the new inhabitants in Dalmatia³²³. The new role of serdar and harambasa was to control the collection of the tithe – obligatory duties, which instead of being in goods, had to be paid in money. Duty collection was given to duty lessees. The problem was that not everywhere the estimation of the tithe was the same. The duty lessees were free to estimate the harvest and the tithe. The problem caused a rebellion in 1704 in the Zara hinterland, with the distinct possibility to spread over to the territories of Sebenico. The rebellion was organised by the Orthodox Priest Petar Jagodić Kuridža together with Matija Žabetić and Ilija Nanić, all three of them were new inhabitants of the Zara hinterland³²⁴. The Venetian Governor General Marin Zane acted very promptly to stop the rebellion while the leaders escaped to the Habsburg territory³²⁵.

Another problem that the Venetian government faced in Dalmatia after the Morean War were trespasses of the border with the Ottomans. The loss of a large part of territories in Dalmatia in 1700, the Ottoman government became very rigid towards the illegal passing of the border by Venetian subjects³²⁶. They protested to the Venetian government and were ready to attack any Venetian subject who illegally crossed the border³²⁷. These protests were mostly related to the groups of bandits who were operating on the both sides of the border. They continued attacking Ottoman merchants who travelled to Dalmatia. Moreover, they also conducted regular intrusions into Ottoman territory and robbed their subjects. The Venetian government went to great efforts to stop this and punish the

³²² DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije 17. i 18. stoljeća* [Cadastrs of Dalmatia of the 17th and 18th centuries].

³²³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 360-361.

³²⁴ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 381-389.

³²⁵ DESNICA, *Jedna nepoznata buna i jedan neznani mučenik*, in *Stojan Janković i Uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 248-265.

³²⁶ DAZ, *Dragomanski Arhiv*, box 11, filza LXXVIII, no. 78, *Generalato Mocenigo dal 1697-1702*.

³²⁷ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 379.

perpetrators³²⁸. The main impediment of the Venetian intentions to keep peace with the Ottomans in sake of trade, were the actions of people from Segna i.e. *Segnani* who were really successors of Uskoks. The Republic of Venice did not have any problem with Uskoks after they had been moved from Segna at the beginning of the 17th century and after the Madrid Peace Treaty because this organisation as such did not exist in Segna any more, but according to constant complaints in the Venetian documents, persistence of the Segna guerrilla who used the same routs as Uskoks can not be avoided. Moreover Segnani were especially active during the Habsburg-Ottoman conflicts when Venice intended to stay away. In this way, trespassing Venetian territory in Zara's hinterland they were provoking Ottoman protests in front of the Venetian government and intended to involve Venice into war against the Ottomans at least to keep busy the Ottomans on this part of their huge border and weakened their position on the Croatian border. So, although it could be perceived as bandit's actions, the guerrilla actions of Segnani were well coordinated and aimed³²⁹. Some Venetian subjects in Dalmatia were frequently accompanied troops of Segnani attacking Ottomans, but some other groups of outlaws operated individually using the infamy of the Segnani to cover their crimes. Segnani also created many problems at the sea. At the beginning of the conflict between the Bourbons and the Habsburgs for the Spanish succession in 1700, the Habsburg government armed Segnani in order to protect their territories on the upper Adriatic Sea from possible French invasions. Nevertheless, Segnani used these weapons to attack the Ottomans as well as Venetian ships and subjects³³⁰. This all had a very negative impact on the development of trade, which the Republic desperately needed for its economic recovery.

The Venetian efforts in revitalising the economy and especially trade with the Ottomans in Dalmatia were thwarted at the end of 1714 when Ottomans proclaimed war again. Alongside the economy reasons, the Republic of Venice was not ready to face another war because of the totally bad state of its army after the end of the Morean War³³¹. The army passed through a change of the system developed through the wars of the 17th century. During this war the Morlach troops as the support of the local people were integrated into the Venetian regular troops. After the Morean War the majority of them were released home, but certain number of them were kept as professional soldiers. Nevertheless, the Republic was not ready to invest major financial resources to create a great military force although the surrounding neighbourhood (Habsburgs, Ottomans, French) demanded

³²⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 395, 397.

³²⁹ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 214-215.

³³⁰ STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, Beograd, 1970, p. 443.

³³¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No. 26, 33.

the consciousness of the necessity of defence³³². The investment into refurbishment of the system of the borderline fortresses, including the major coastal towns, was already too demanding on the Venetian budget in dual province of Dalmatia and Albania³³³.

The excuse for this new war the Ottomans found in the Venetian's help of refugees from Montenegro who found shelter in Venetian territory in the Bay of Cattaro. In January 1715 the Governor General in Dalmatia and Albania Angelo Emo organised the firm defence of the Venetian fortresses and forced the Ottomans to leave the bridge on the River Cetina near Sign, while Morlach troops took control over some smaller fortresses on the Ottoman side of the border: Trilj, Zazvina, Prolog, Plavno, Strmica and Glavas³³⁴. Again the main Venetian forces were sent to Morea, while in Dalmatia and Albania, the Venetian strategy was to hold the territories and assure existing borders.

In August 1715 the Bosnian Pasha gathered a large troop of about 40,000 soldiers with the aim of attacking Sign. According to some estimations this was possible the largest Ottoman army ever to attack a Dalmatian town. One part of this large army succeeded to take control of the fortress of Verlica and conducted further attacks on the towns of Dornis and Sign. However, a strong Venetian defence forced the Ottomans to totally retreat on 15th August, also leaving the fortress of Verlica³³⁵.

Later in the same year the same Bosnian Pasha attacked the fortress of Strmica and the town of Knin, but these attempts were also repelled by the Venetian troops³³⁶.

In April 1716 the Habsburg Monarchy join the Republic of Venice in the war against the Ottoman Empire concluding the pact of another Holy League. The Habsburg troops led by Eugene of Savoy operated in the territory of Serbia penetrating deeply into the Ottoman territory³³⁷. However, the Venetian Republic did not take advantage of this favourable condition when the Ottomans were attacked from the other side, to conduct any large military actions in Dalmatia. The majority of the Venetian forces were concentrated in Morea, while the Venetian interest in Dalmatia and Albania was related to movement of the local Christian Ottoman subjects, who started to turn against their masters in the mountains around the Bay of

³³² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No. 57, 75, 81.

³³³ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Gisutin Da Riva, f. 21: "Li 2m ducati destinati alle fabbriche, qualunque sijno state usate tutte le diligenze e tutta l'attentione nel risparmio. Qui in Zara oltra il riparo delle mura pregiudicate ne fondamenti dagl'impeti del mare, di molte Cortine e Caselli, del Corpo di Guardia et Orologgio di Piazza dell'Arsenale, e delle cisterne del castello, di Piazza delle erbe, e del forte si è ridotto ancho al suo termine l'aggiustamento delli cinque Pozzi pubblici, cioè della gran cisterna alla Torre di Santa Marcella."

³³⁴ PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, p. 194.

³³⁵ STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 445-446.

³³⁶ PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, p. 194

³³⁷ STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 447.

Cattaro (Brda and Montenegro) as well as those of south-eastern Herzegovina (Zažablje and Popovo Polje). Therefore the majority of Venetian military actions were concentrated towards these territories³³⁸. In August 1716 the Venetian troops penetrated deep into Ottoman Herzegovina and raided the city of Mostar burning houses and stealing everything, causing mass panic amongst the Ottomans. In November Venetian Morlach troops raided around Duvno and Glamoč. They also entered the town of Metković, Utovo, Zarine, Popovo and established control over the territory in the hinterland of Hercegnovi and along the lower flow of the River Narenta³³⁹.

In 1717 the new Venetian Governor General in Dalmatia and Albania Alvise Mocenigo ordered a common action with the tribes from Montenegro in order to conquer the town of Antivari in Albania. During the same year more attacks by the Morlachs on Ottoman territories were carried out and Morlachs regularly advanced all the way to Livno. In June 1717 the Venetian troops conquered the Ottoman town of Imoschi, which was the last Venetian conquest in Dalmatia³⁴⁰.

The war officially ended on 21st July 1718. The Peace Treaty was concluded in the Serbian town of Požarevac (Passarowitz). According to this peace treaty the Republic of Venice acquired a territorial extension in Dalmatia, which encompassed the town of Imoschi and its territory³⁴¹. The borderline towards the Republic of Dubrovnik remained the same as established by the Peace Treaty of Carlowitz and the other borders were to establish according to *uti possidetis*. There was also ordered that all war prisoners had to be freed within 71 days. The building of new defence fortresses and towers was not permitted, only the refurbishment of the old. Merchants had to have passports (patents) issued by the Venetian Bailo in Istanbul otherwise they were not allowed to travel and sell their goods³⁴². The border demarcation was conducted in 1721 by the Venetian Governor Alvise Mocenigo therefore the new line was named after him *linea Mocenigo*. After this last conflict between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire, the Republic greeted a long-term peaceful period in Dalmatia and Albania, but not without some turbulence caused mostly by the adaptation of the official government in the newly acquired territories,

³³⁸ STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 447-451.

³³⁹ PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, p. 195.

³⁴⁰ G. SCARABELLO, *Dalla Guerra di successione spagnola alla perdita della Morea*, in *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna*, p. 559. See also PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, p. 195.

³⁴¹ DAZ, Dragomanski Arhiv, box 1, filza, IX, no. 3 *Trattato della pace di Passarowitz de 21 luglio 1718 con gli istrumenti di confinazione ed altri relativi*, also no. 4 *Confini di Stato della Dalmazia e Cattaro dopo la pace di Passarowitz illustrate dall'Ingegnere Antonio Marcovich nell'anno 171.8*

³⁴² ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 23815, Ms. 603, *Articoli alla Pace conclusa fra la Serenissima Republica di Venezia e la Porta Ottomana a Passaroviz l'anno MDCCXVIII*.

new inhabitants i.e. Morlach immigrants and new 'peaceful' conditions, alongside the general changes within the Republic as well as within European politics.

Taking into consideration the numerous changes, which were the consequences of the two consecutive and long lasting wars between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire, the following discussion will focus on the micro-situation in the hinterland of the city of Zara i.e. the continental part of the Venetian administrative unit, *contado di Zara*, with all the changes which happened during 1645-1718.

Chapter II

LANDSCAPE AND CONTINUITY OF HABITATION

The territory which here is referred as *contado* i.e. county of Zara is related to the territorial administrative unit established by the Venetian Republic after 1409 encompassing district of Zara, (together with the islands of the Zara channel to island of Murter), district of Nona, district of Novegradi and district of Vrana¹. As the political situation in Zara's hinterland changed, the name *contado* was applied to the different territory. By the Ottoman expansion, which started almost soon after the Venetian establishment in Dalmatia, the territory of *contado* was gradually diminished. This was most obvious during the 16th century, when Venice lost majority of its territory in Dalmatian hinterland. Even after the 1576, when the Venetian territory in Zara's hinterland was narrowed to only few kilometres from the coastline, around the city of Zara, town of Nona and fortress of Novegradi, the territory kept the same administrative name - *contado*. Nevertheless, the situation started to change in favour of the Venetian Republic after the Candian War, when the Republic expanded its territory in Zara's hinterland to the thin coastline alongside the Velebit channel (*Morlacca* or Podgorje) and after the Morean War when the Republic recovered majority of its Zara's hinterland and expanded it towards medieval Croatian county of Luka i.e. Banadego or Bucovizza, which was joined to the administrative unit of *contado* of Zara. More about the administrative-political changes in these described areas will be written in the chapter III. Here, the main focus will be directed to the geographical characteristics of Zara's hinterland, which after the Morean War was known as *contado* of Zara and then to see how different government systems in the same territory influenced the cultural landscape mostly related to the rural settlements. The special attention will be paid to the period of the exchange of the Ottoman and Venetian government during the 17th century. Regarding the islands as complex and specific world within the *contado* this part of the territory will be excluded from main discussions in this thesis².

¹ L. KOS, *Bukovica i Ravni Kotari*, in *Benkovački kraj kroz vijekove*, [Benkovac region through centuries], 1, Benkovac 1987, p. 66.

² Majority of the implications of the term *contado* of Zara in this thesis will be related to the hinterland of Zara i.e. its continental part.

1. Geo-physical characteristics of the territory

The territory of interest here (*contado di Zara* i.e. hinterland of Zara) is triangle-shaped, bordered from one side with high mountains and on the other with the Adriatic Sea. It encompasses the northern most part of today's Dalmatia, surrounded with the natural physical borders created by the River Krka basin from the south-east and the Velebit and Dinara mountain ridges and the source of the River Zermagna from the north. The island of Pago on the north-west and the sea channel of Zara together with the islands of the Zara archipelago on the south-west, (amongst which the largest are Ugljan, Pašman and Dugi Otok), create seaside borders of this territory. This territory can be divided into two main continental parts today known under the names of Bucovizza (Bucovizza) and Ravni Kotari. Bucovizza, the karst plateau on average at 250-300 metres above sea level, below the southern slopes of the Velebit massif, creates a transformation of the high mountains into the flat valley of Ravni Kotari, east from the Bay of Carino and the River Zermagna and west from the River Krka³. South from this imaginary line, (Bay of Carino-River of Krka), towards the sea is the flat area of Ravni Kotari.

The coastline of Morlacca (*Podgorje*), which is just below the slopes of the Velebit massif, which rises steeply from the sea, alongside the sea channel (Velebitski Kanal/Canalle di Morlacca), opposite the island of Pago, towards the north-west and the town of Karlobag also belongs to the territory of Zara's hinterland. This is mostly pure limestone terrain, a typical karst area. Today the territories of Bucovizza, Ravni Kotari and Podgorje are part of the County of Zara, which encompasses 2,127 km² (islands excluded)⁴.

The typology of rocks and their structure create different forms of landscape, together with the distribution of water and fertile soil, which has a large impact on the habitation of a territory. The limestone hills of Bucovizza and flysch valleys of Ravni Kotari with the mix of clay and sandy soil with patches of *terra rossa* (red soil) are the main characteristics of the Zara hinterland. The lowest part of this territory is on north-west around the Bay of Nona with alluvial characteristics with clay, sandy soil and peloid rich of minerals. The terrain becomes undulating, hilly towards the south-east and middle part with some fertile valleys around Nadinsko Blato (Nadino Bog) and Vransko jezero (Vrana Lake) as well as

³ I. ANDROVIĆ, *Po Ravnim kotarima i kršnoj Bukovici*, [Through Ravni Kotari and karst Bukovica], Zadar, 1909, p. 87.

⁴ I. RUBINIĆ, *Neki problemi geografije Zadra i njegove regije*, [Some problems of geography of Zadar and its region], in *Zadar - zbornik, geografija, etnologija, ekonomija, povijest, kultura* [Zadar – collection of works, geography, ethnology, economy, history, culture], Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, 1964, p. 9.

Bokanjačko Blato (Bocagnazzo Bog)⁵. Numerous springs and short rivers end in Vrana Lake watering its valley. However, water in this region mostly depends on rain-snow regime during the cold part of year and it easily finds its underground way in the porous karst. Thus, rivers and streams are mostly temporary. Those of longer and permanent flow were used for mills and transport and they were also effective barriers against enemy invasions⁶. The River Zermagna was especially rated for its high quality fish and crabs, which made the town of Obbrovazzo famous⁷. In the cadastre of the territory of Nona, created in 1609, the water sources i.e. torrents are separately emphasised, which indicates their temporary watering characteristics but despite this they were also very important for the mills in the town's surroundings. Analysing the different names, mostly of Croatian origin, the quality and direction of the flow of these water sources can also be defined.⁸

Red clay (*terra rossa*) and sandy soil on the surface of limestone is a good basis for intensive agriculture in combination with abundant irrigation and warm, Mediterranean climate, especially for growing grain, corn and grapevines. In his script written during the second half of the 17th century Zara nobleman Simon Gliubavaz (Šime Ljubavac)⁹ describes the area of the Zara hinterland as rich, fertile, gentle, partly hilly, but ideal for cultivation with plenty of beautiful fields and meadows, water sources, springs and ponds, pasturelands for any sort of animals, with woods and forest with

⁵ The characteristics of the terrain can be observed from the geographical maps as well as from the cadastre description of the territory through the specific toponyms which indicates hills and uplifts such as *Claviza* [probably Glavica, in Croatia, little head], *Lupsa Gomila*, *Slusca Gomilla*, *Drapsa Gomilla*, [gomila=pile] *Gorgniachi*, [gore=up], *Docine*, [valley], *Garbe*, [pits], *Tre Monti*, *Berda*, [hills] *Verche* [vrši=peaks] etc. in the territory of Nona, DAZ, Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st., source nr. 6, box 38 – *Repetorio de beni di Nona*, f. 1r – 2r.

⁶ D. MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria i socio-migracijska kretanja u sjevernoj Dalmaciji u 18. stoljeću*, [Mala aria and social-migratory movements in northern Dalmatia in the 18th century], (PhD thesis), University of Zagreb, 2004, p. 47-57.

⁷ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara*, f. 13.

⁸ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, source No. 6, box 38 – *Repetorio de beni di Nona – Nomi di tutte le contrade che si attorvano nel Contado di Nona nominate nelli acquisti di Beni Publici e nelli tittoli de particolari con dimostrazione della linea de Confini de luochi piu principali*, f. 4: “Torrenti: Docine, [valleys], Garbe, [pits], Potochine, [streams], Don Gesiva Draga, [creek], Crili potoch, [sinuous stream], Vodliza, [little water], Fiume che vien di Pogliza, Fiume che viene del Bosco Negro, Fiume che viene di Sotto Zevcovico, Acqua Zodrava, [healthy water], Slave.”

⁹ *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, [Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia], (5), Leksikografski zavod FNRJ, Zagreb, 1957, p. 566-567. Gliubavaz was born in Zara 1608, graduated at University of Padua, worked as a judge and teacher in the city of Zara. He was the author of some scripts about the history of Dalmatia and therefore inspiration to more famous Ivan Lučić (Ioannes Lucius or Giovanni Lucio) who published the book *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, in Amsterdam, 1667.

plenty of raw material and wild animals and birds. In his time excellent fruits, grain, wines and oils, honey and wax were produced there¹⁰. The most fertile soil is around Nona, Possedaria, Carino and Novegradi. These kinds of potentially agricultural terrains have been always attractive to immigrants. Bucovizza, the region of extreme karst with low shrub vegetation (*macchia*) and rocky terrain was a permanent source of new immigrants for neighbouring Ravni Kotari¹¹. On the other hand, the karst pasturelands of the Velebit massif made Bucovizza an important passage for transhumant areas of seasonal shepherds from the valley in the summer period.

The settlements were concentrated mostly around the water sources, on the edge of fertile fields. In this way hinterland of Zara was, even before the Roman period recognised as a prosperous agricultural region. Besides layers of fertile soil, abundant water sources for irrigation and the favourable climate, there is the sea as an open communication/exchange way. The numerous archaeological as well as documentary evidences of Roman villas in the area prove these comparative advantages of Ravni Kotari¹². They were appreciated and used throughout the centuries including during the Ottoman government in the early modern ages (second half of the 16th and first half of the 17th century). However, the long-term conflicts between the Venetian and Ottoman forces, especially in the second half of the 17th century in this very region left a long-term impact. The constant small conflicts in the area, intensive Ottoman intrusions throughout the Candian War made it impossible for permanent living necessary for any sorts of agricultural activity a part from semi-nomadic livestock breeding, causing almost total devastation of the cultural landscape¹³ created through centuries of agricultural/irrigation activities and maintenance of settlements and communication routes¹⁴, as well as water areas (potential source of diseases, especially malaria).

¹⁰ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara*, f. 28.

¹¹ MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 50

¹² M. SUIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, [Past of Zadar], I, Faculty of Philosophy Zadar, 1981, p. 18.

¹³ Here the term cultural landscape implies any environment modified under human activities and therefore includes agricultural land, forests, which have been cut and planted, housing areas, cultural buildings and monuments, roads etc.

¹⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 19; G. B. Nani emphasised the great devastation of the territories around the Venetian-Ottoman border in Zara's hinterland, which was caused by war and lack of people and by his estimation, it would need more decades to bring everything to the pre-war state. See also M. SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Cartographic sources for the history of the Triplex Confinium*, Hrvatski Državni Arhiv and Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2002, p. 35; and BUZOV, *Vlach villages, pastures and Chifiliks: the landscape of the Ottoman borderlands in the 16th and 17th centuries*, in *Triplex Confinium Ekohistorija (1500-1800)*, p. 239.

While the territory was kept as cultivated, mostly organised space during the Ottoman government, the Venetian government, at the beginning of their re-conquest of the territory of Zara's hinterland in the second half of the 17th century preferred to keep it neglected, with many marshes as natural barriers against eventual Ottoman invasions despite the need for agricultural land which would feed the permanently 'hungry' Dalmatia, especially the area of Zara. Besides, the new Venetian subjects, Morlach immigrants were not adapting easily here, a new territory for them. Neglected irrigation canals, marshes and ponds were a cause of high mortality, being a major cause of diseases, first of all malaria¹⁵.

When discussing about natural obstacles and advantages, especially regarding agricultural activities, it is necessary to take into account the impact of climate changes, which often caused a drop in the amount of harvests. Especially cold winters and prolonged rainy periods caused a lot of damage to the European economy generally during the early modern ages. Between the 14th and 18th centuries Europe was passing through a minor ice age. Scientists have argued about the causes of these kinds of climate changes but some reasons for some unusually cold and prolonged winters and wet summers¹⁶ could be explained with lack of sunspot activity¹⁷. There were three especially cold periods in early modern ages: 1570-1600, 1690-1700 and 1810-1820 with the consequences of total fail of harvests and ensuing famines¹⁸. However, to understand this kind of natural changes and their impact on society, it would be necessary to observe the changes over a long period. Here, it can be only noticed that the Venetian officers very often refer about the weather in their reports to Senate especially when it was something not usual such extreme hot and dry weather or raining and cold out of winter season. In Zara's hinterland there were especially strong winds, which were often strong impediments for sailing even during the summers¹⁹. At the time there were numerous complaints about the weather

¹⁵ MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 274-276; It is interesting that even the Ottoman Bosnian Pasha Mahmud who represented the Ottoman side during the border demarcation in 1671 with the Venetian *Commissario* Giann Battista Nani, died soon after the accomplishment of the establishment of the borderline in the territory of Zara. F. DIFNICO in his History of the Candian War in Dalmatia, mentioned that the Pasha died of *febbre terziana*, which was actually one type of malaria, see: DIFNICO, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 333.

¹⁶ M. BERTOŠA, *Izazovi povijesnog zanata*, [Challenges of historical vocation], Zagreb, Antibarbarus, 2002, p. 60-62.

¹⁷ D. H. PENINGTON, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, Longman, Pearson Education, Harlow, 1989, p. 55-56.

¹⁸ F. BRAUDEL, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme; XVe-XVIIIe siècle*, tome I, *Les structures du Quotidien: Le possible et l'impossible*, [Croatian translation, *Strukture svakidašnjice, Materijalna civilizacija ekonomija i kapitalizam od XV. do XVIII stoljeća*], Zagreb, August Cesarec, 1992; also MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 51.

¹⁹ BMC, *Mss Gardenigo*, No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Eccmo. Senato dall'Eccmo. Sig. Pietro Civran per il Generalato di Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 47v: "Non potevano i legni armati liberamente scorer quell acque per li venti impetuosi soliti regnatrici anco di mezzo estate

in reports from Venetian officers in Dalmatia related to the extreme hot or cold periods²⁰. In 1706 *Provveditore Generale* Giustin Da Riva mentions extremely a dry summer, which caused the failure of the harvest and migration of people from Bucovizza towards Velebit areas under the Ottoman and Habsburg government. In his report are also indicated the micro-climate characteristics of the region, emphasising that in those mountain areas of Velebit the summer was wetter and therefore more favourable for agricultural production²¹.

The periodic migrations related to the micro-climate characteristics of two regions – Ravni Kotari and mountain slopes existed through the millenniums since the pre-Roman times. The herdsmen communities seasonally moved from the pasturelands in flat area of Kotari where they spent coldest part of the year, to the high Velebit slopes in the summer, which was to dry in Kotari²². This created a specific sub-region of transhumance, which continued to exist despite the state borders, military conflicts and any administrative ban²³. This sub-region, which in the 17th century encompassed the areas of the three states, (Venetian Ravni Kotari, Ottoman part of Bucovizza and slopes of Velebit and Habsburg slopes of Velebit) was closely related to the geographical characteristics of the territory.

onde per lo più ritirati nel canale di Novegradi vi facevano incitile permanenza.” The same text was published in *Il Dalmatino*, Zadar, 1909, p. 44.

²⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, Giovanni Grimani wrote in his letter, during the border demarcation near Golubić, on 21st June 1699: “Habbiamo passato la notte con pioggia e vento così gagliardo e grande che molte tende han dovuto cedere: Habbiamo tempi molto contrarij alla stagione mentre li cattivi durano le notti e giornate intere.” Completely opposite to his report was G. B. Nani on 21st July 1671: “Ho convenuto nella più bollente stagione ricondur mi in Zara dove arrivai hieri per secondare le sodisfattioni del Bassa nell’ordine del maneggio.”

²¹ DAZ, *Dispacci, Giustin Da Riva 1706-1709*, book 1, f. 183v: “Sotto gl’oltraggi d’onestrema sicità sono periti nella Bucovizza quasi tutti i seminati e nella Provincia suddita corre un’infelice, e sterilissima annata. La sciagura ha indotto diverse famiglie de Morlacchi a passare la linea nelle tenute Cesaree, et Ottomane dove il cielo è stato più ferate e forse dondurra alcuni altra delle più povere a seguire l’esempio, et a cercar alimento dove l’ubertà glie lo promette.”

²² M. ŠARIĆ, *The Turkish wars and the changing realities of the Lika and Krbava ecosystems (15th – 16th centuries)* in *Triplex Confinium Ekohistorija (1500-1800)*, p. 248.

²³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 100: Governor General Zorzi Morosini in 1672 ordered to Colonel Rados to stop trespasses of border and confiscate cattle of those who continued passing the state border because of pastures in Bukovica. Also ASV, *Senato dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No 44; Governor General Vincenzo Vendramin wrote about the problems with continuous trespasses provoked by the Venetian Morlachs who careless of state border worked the land from the both sides, passing border with their cattle. Therefore he decided to retain some of their leaders in order to stop these trespasses, which caused diplomatic problems. See also D. ROKSANDIĆ, *Stojan Janković in the Morean War*, in *Constructing Border societies*, ed. by D. Roksandić and N. Štefanec, Central European University Budapest, 2000, p. 243

Later, with the prolonged peace on the Ottoman border during the 18th century, there were some intentions of physiocratic melioration of the land by the Venetian government, but with numerous and all kinds of obstacles as can be seen in the study of Filippo Maria Paladini²⁴.

However, it is interesting to mention here that the area of Ravni Kotari, as opposed to Bucovizza, became a prosperous agricultural region, with the same comparative advantages created by good traffic connections and additionally with the development of tourism on the Dalmatian coast, during the 20th century²⁵.

2. Continuity and discontinuity of settlements and habitation before the Ottoman intrusions

In order to work out the intensity of human recreation of the natural environment and spreading of the cultural environment mostly through agriculture, usage of water sources, forestry, house building, roads and irrigation channels, it is necessary to observe the continuity of human presence on the territory. The continuity of a settlement was mostly related to its position in relation to water sources and fertile soil. Nevertheless, the security/strategic position i.e. possibilities for defence against any enemy attack also had a strong influence. Once established, a cultural environment needed a constant human presence to be sustained. The fertile soil of Zara's hinterland (Ravni Kotari) was a strong attraction to constant immigrants despite some physical and natural obstacles related to marshlands²⁶ which can be seen in the continual habitation of even 'highly lethal wetland areas such as Nona'²⁷. Archaeological research of the region shows that the area was constantly inhabited since pre-Roman periods and numerous towns and villages were inhabited by Liburnian people²⁸. They started with the cultivation of this territory at least 2,000 years BC²⁹. Nona (*Aenona*) and Zara (*Iadeara*) were well known settlements of pre-Roman times, thanks to their fertile surroundings and sea, which assured the connection for goods' exchange. Along with these two towns, some other important settlements were: *Corinium* (Carino), *Nedinum* (Nadino), *Hadra* (Medvida), *Sidrona*, *Alveria* (near Dobropoljci) and *Asseria* (near Benkovac).

²⁴ PALADINI, *Un caos che spaventa*.

²⁵ Unfortunately, the 1991-1995 war again caused damages and negative impacts on the cultural landscape, bringing again the abandonment of farms and rich vegetable and fruits plantations, which still waited for people to return and revitalise.

²⁶ Toponyms, which are constructed with the word 'blato' (in Croatian = mud) usually indicate the bog and shallow marshlands, which are numerous in Zara's hinterland such as Boccagnazzo, Nadino, Nona, etc.

²⁷ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 39-54.

²⁸ SUIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, I, p. 16.

²⁹ G. NOVAK, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, I, p. 27-29, 37: The remains of the Hallstatt culture were found in Prahulje near Nona, in the towns of Nona and Boccagnazzo.

However, the Romans were the first who systematically changed the landscape of the area in a way, which continued through medieval and early modern times. After establishment of their government on the eastern Adriatic, Romans expanded their culture to the hinterland of their urban centres of *Iadear* (Zara) and *Aenona* (Nona), organising the most fertile parts of land as *ager publicus populi Romani* and turning them into olives and grapevine plantations³⁰. They also started to build a system of water channels, especially related to aqueducts³¹ and made an important change in the natural environment. The evidences of their presence on the territory are numerous. This was also the most densely urbanised maritime region of the eastern Adriatic of Antiquity³². The towns, which were well developed in the Roman period were: *Argyruntum* (Starigrad), *Clambetae* (already established by Liburnians near Obrovazzo), *Asseria* (near Benkovac), *Aenona*, *Iader*, *Nedinum* (Nadino), *Hadra* (Medvide), *Sidrona* and *Alveria* (near Dobropoljci) and *Corinium* (Carino)³³. It can be seen here that the Romans followed development of the previous settlements giving them an urban note and organisation.

The Romans were the first to construct roads in the region, which were still being used a thousand years later, because no other government in this region built roads during the middle and early modern ages. They all used this Roman heritage. Much of the time the roads followed the border of the *ager*. Across the territory of Zara's hinterland they built the road that connected Nona, Zara and Asseria, towards Scardona and Knin (*Tenin*), and another that followed the coastal line to Salona.

During the Dark Ages the territory shared the destiny as the rest of the Roman Empire, suffering invasions and destruction by different Barbarian peoples. Nevertheless, with the establishment of the Croatian medieval counties³⁴ and less and more independent forms of government, Zara's hinterland became one of the most important Croatian territories with the town of Nona as the centre of the Croatian bishopric³⁵ and towns of Carino, Nadino, Zaravecchia³⁶, continuing the previously established intensive habitation of the region. The Croatian medieval settlements were organised around fertile fields and water, but on the slopes of hills in order to avoid floods and to preserve as much as possible the fertile soil for

³⁰ SUIĆ, *Antički grad na Jadranu*, [Antiquity town on the Adriatic], Zagreb, Golden Marketing, 2003, p. 95.

³¹ G. NOVAK, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, I, p. 64.

³² SUIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, I, p. 18.

³³ SUIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, I, p. 38-39 and 62-65.

³⁴ This happened during the 9th and 10th centuries. So, it passed at least 400 years before the Roman tradition in these areas was partially renewed.

³⁵ C. F. BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, Zara, Tipografia Vodizki, 1879, p. 191-197.

³⁶ G. NOVAK, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, I, p. 93-94.

agriculture, connected with the roads from the Roman times³⁷. The villages and hamlets in the hinterland had a well-established structure and hierarchy, with the main characteristic of gathered houses around a centre with a church, most of the time³⁸. The transhumant character of livestock breeding gave another dimension in the creation of counties, which intended to have upper and lower parts, using hills or mountain slopes for summer pasturelands. However, this was only the continuation of the antique tradition, including the continuation of castles, roads and villas³⁹.

In the late Middle Ages the territory of Zara's hinterland was divided between the district of the town of Zara, (which continued the Roman-Latin culture, related to the thin line of coast and islands) and the wider hinterland, which was divided into the territory of *contado* of Nona, the Croatian county of Luka including the district of Gliuba and the district of Novegradi, the districts of the castles of Nadino and Vrana and the remains of the Croatian county of Sidraga⁴⁰. At the same time, this was also the territory of three bishoprics: Nona, (the largest continental part), Zara (the coastal area), Scardona (around Vrana Lake and towards the southeast). The comparative research of documents shows that administrative borders between the Zara and Nona bishopric were the same as the borders of Zara Roman *astarea / ager*, which also proves the continuity of habitation of this region. The territory northeast from this was also known as *Banadego* i.e. Banovina or the territory governed by a Croatian Ban, which in the sources was also called upper County of Luca (*Luca superior*)⁴¹.

Nevertheless, in order to observe the continuity of habitation in this highly populated medieval area, it is important to make a list of the villages of these territories, which can be found in late medieval documents and compare their continuity in the new historical circumstances (establishment of the Venetian government on the coast and the Ottoman invasions) through the early modern ages, (see appendix).

The territory of the Croatian county of *Luka superior* i.e. Banadego was defined by the castles of: Carino, Korlatović (Corlat), Benković (Benkovac or Bencovich), Kličevica, Polača Mariani, Perušić, Račić Cerane, Miranje, the castle of Kožulovac, Otavac, Velim, Dazlina and Rakitnica, with the villages of Zaton, Raslina, Zlopolje. On the north were

³⁷ Further in this text, in the representation of the villages of Zara's hinterland represented by S. Gliubavaz, the continuation of the same rule for the village's development on hills, surrounded by fertile fields can be noted.

³⁸ SUIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, I, p. 54.

³⁹ I. GOLDSTEIN, *Županije u ranom srednjem vijeku u Hrvatskoj*, [Counties in early middle ages in Croatia], in *Hrvatske županije* [Croatian Counties], Zagreb, Školska knjiga, 1996, p.16-17.

⁴⁰ F. SMILJANIĆ, *Teritorij i granice Lučke županije u ranom srednjem vijeku*, [Territory and borders of Luka County in the early Middle Ages] in Radovi JAZU-Zd, 1996, p. 205-207.

⁴¹ SMILJANIĆ, *Teritorij i granice*, p. 229.

the castles of Obbrovazzo and Zelengrad with the villages of Medvida, Podgrađe, Dobropoljci, Nunić, Bilišani and Kistanje⁴². The villages of the Carino district belonged to this Croatian county as bordering towards the Venetian possession in the district of Novegradi⁴³.

The large number of settlements (villages, hamlets and settlements around castles) proves the predominately agricultural character of habitation of the region. Besides the intensive habitation of the territory, there was the road (*Via magna cesta tendes per Lucam*) which connected Knin, through Bucovizza (Banadego), across Ivoševci, Kolašac, Modrino Selo, Bjelina to Dobropoljci and further across Brgud, Lisičić and Podgrađe near Benkovac, through the district of Novegradi from Korlat, parallel with the Bay of Novegradi, towards Smilčić, Kašić, Trščani (near today Islam Grčki) to Green oak (the border mark near today's village of Islam Latinski)⁴⁴, where it connected with the road to Nona⁴⁵.

After establishing the government in the coastal cities of Dalmatia at the beginning of the 15th century, the Republic of Venice conducted the creation of a *Catastico*⁴⁶ of the territories of Zara, which encompasses the district of Zara, Nona, Vrana, Novegradi and Gliuba. From this document, written mostly in Latin, it can be observed that the district of Nona encompassed the islet of Pontadura (*Punctadura*) with some pasturelands, arable lands and vineyards. East from the town of Nona were some pasturelands, which were rented to Vlach communities for 205 golden ducats per year, eight calf and ten rams. There was more arable land around the town itself, which was only partially cultivated⁴⁷.

Some of the villages, which were listed as belonging to the district of Nona in some medieval documents, in this document were mentioned as part of Zara's district given in property to Zara noble families. The villages mentioned in the *Catastico* were: Crbavazlug (*Krbavaclug*), Visozzane (*Visočane*), Lovinaz (*Lovinac*), Chacavzi (*Čakavci*), Stanichiaselo (*Stanića Selo*), Snojazzi (*Snojaci*), Premudich (*Premudić*), Camgnane (*Kamenjane*), Porizzane (*Poričane*). These villages were now the part of the Zara district which slightly expanded after the establishment of the Venetian government⁴⁸. The land around these villages was partially arable, partly vineyards, partially pastureland and a part was karst and therefore difficult to be used for any agriculture. There was also a source of water named as

⁴² SMILJANIĆ, *Teritorij i granice*, p. 218-221.

⁴³ JAKŠIĆ, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobarzi*, [Croatian Medieval landscapes], p. 98.

⁴⁴ SMILJANIĆ, *Teritorij i granice*, p. 225.

⁴⁵ JAKŠIĆ, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni*, p. 89-98.

⁴⁶ *Catastico de stabili che dopo la dedizione possedeva la serenissima signoria di Venetia in Zara, o nel suo distretto. Copia estratta dal libro catastico, esistente nella cancellaria della magnifica communita di Zara*, published by: Stjepan ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik 15. stoljeća*, in *Starine*, no. 42, JAZU, Zagreb, 1950, p. 371-417.

⁴⁷ ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik*, p. 389.

⁴⁸ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 49.

Potoch (stream)⁴⁹. The castle of Gliuba also belonged to the district of Zara. The land around this castle was worked with oxen and there were some pasturelands on the plateau from Gliuba towards the island of Pago, which were rented to Vlach communities⁵⁰.

The district of the castle of Vrana (*Aurana*) encompassed the villages of Hrašćani (*Chraschiane*), Tign (*Tin*), Zablaće (*Sablagna*), Blaćane (*Blagnane*), Škorobić (*Scorobich*), Bojska (*Boyscha*) and Malinavas. These villages had arable land worked by the villagers who were obliged to give a quarter and a tenth of the fruits to the castle of Vrana. All the villages were surrounded with arable land, vineyards and their own pasturelands. The land close to the castle of Vrana was also partly cultivated with numerous olive trees, but some land was uncultivated⁵¹. The hamlets of Bristich and Boscognane had to keep horses for the needs of the owners of the castle, which implies that there were enough good quality pasturelands for keeping these kinds of animals⁵².

The castle of Novegradi had its own district with the villages of Dolac, Kašić, Trnovo, Domakovci, Stupić, Horuplje, Konjašice including the castle of Nadino and the villages around. The land around the villages was mostly arable and partly covered with vineyards. Near to the castle of Novegradi there were some pasturelands, which were rented to Vlach communities for 200 ducats a year⁵³.

It is interesting to notice that in the documents there are distinguished pasturelands, which are used by Vlach shepherd communities, which were distinguished as a different economic group⁵⁴ although they might have been also different ethnic group. The name Vlach was very often the name for the shepherd's communities in which could be included local inhabitants who turned into shepherds instead of being farmers. However, it is also interesting to notice that after the 15th century the number of Vlach communities increased with increasing turning of agricultural land into pasturelands. Majority of the pasturelands were on the islands where the land was not of such a good quality for the agricultural production. Beside

⁴⁹ ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik*, p. 383.

⁵⁰ ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik*, p. 395.

⁵¹ ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik*, p. 390.

⁵² ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik*, p. 391.

⁵³ ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik*, p. 394.

⁵⁴ In these documents the group of shepherds were mentioned under the name of Vlach, although Vlach were usually translated as *Morlacchi* in Venetian documents. This different use of name Vlach in a Venetian document could imply different identifications of this group of people, who were medieval shepherd groups, while Morlach was the name related to the Ottoman subjects of Christian religion, who moved to Dalmatia during the Ottoman invasions. See also ŠARIĆ, *Dinarski vlasi između Osmanskog Carstva i Venecije*, (MA thesis), University of Zagreb, 2005, p. 73-75.

this, the Venetian market, which was open through Zara's port, had a large interest for the products of cattle breeding⁵⁵.

According to its geographical characteristics Zara and its hinterland represented the most important area in the whole Dalmatia, except the city of Dubrovnik and its surrounding area. The city of Zara was well positioned in the middle of the Dalmatian coast, protected by the islands from rough sea and with a natural protected port. On the other hand there was fertile hinterland, which could provide enough food for a prosperous capital city and, same important, good connections with the inland, across Bucovizza and Velebit⁵⁶ towards Croatian counties and Bosnian Kingdom (later replaced with the Ottomans). However, the Venetians who recognised this advantages of Zara and therefore for the centuries persisted to take over the city and its area (also to stop any possible competition to their own city), once they established their government here in the 15th century, they did not succeeded to develop all this comparative advantages with the appearance of the Ottomans. Opposite to Dubrovnik, which was growing thanks to their exclusive trade connections with the Ottoman Empire, the Venetian Republic in Dalmatia, more precisely in Zara did not succeed to use this opportunity and turn the city into main connection with the Ottoman hinterland. This was not Venetian priority. Quite opposite, they used very strict measures regarding restrictions of Zara's trade on the Adriatic, in order to suppress any possible competition with the capital city⁵⁷. Therefore the first boost after the establishment of the Venetian government turned into stagnation and decreasing due to the Ottoman presence in the hinterland⁵⁸. The trade with the Ottomans here was not as significant as the conflicts, which accumulated exactly in Zara's hinterland. This became the place of the most often Ottoman-Venetian conflicts during the early modern time.

3. Continuity and discontinuity of settlements and habitation after the Ottoman intrusions

It is necessary to make a distinctive breaking point in the analysis of the continuity of habitation of Zara's hinterland before and after the Ottoman incursions. The Ottoman incursions and the gradual taking over the Croatian territory in Dalmatian hinterland started in the 15th century.⁵⁹ After taking over the Bosnian Kingdom in 1463 and expanding on the Croatian

⁵⁵ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 85.

⁵⁶ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 29.

⁵⁷ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 61-71, 96.

⁵⁸ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 242.

⁵⁹ TRALJIĆ, *Nin pod udarom*, p. 530-535; also TRALJIĆ, *Zadar i turska pozadina od XV do potkraj XIX stoljeća*, [Zadar and the Turkish hinterland from the 15th to the end of the 19th century] in *Radovi JAZU-Zd*, 1965, p. 203-209.

territories of Lika, after the Battle of Krbava in 1493, the Ottomans started their offensive expansion towards Zara's hinterland⁶⁰ mostly taking the territories of Croatian magnates (County of Luca and territory of Banadego). The Ottoman presence in this area and war with the Republic of Venice in Dalmatia caused major changes in habitation since the Dark Ages and Barbarian intrusions. These major changes happened mostly during the Venetian-Ottoman wars in 1571-1573 and especially during the two long consecutive wars 1645-1700. At the beginning of the Ottoman intrusions during the 16th century the *old*, mostly Croatian inhabitants emigrated or were taken as the Ottoman slaves, leaving large empty spaces behind them. Despite catastrophic descriptions of Ottoman devastation of the territory and depopulation, one can be careful in making conclusions because these areas were partially repopulated after the major conflicts. Nevertheless, the further Ottoman expansion into Venetian territories caused abandonment of the land, which was cultivated over many centuries before, as well as stopped the maintenance of roads and water canals. This was the beginning of turning the area of Zara's hinterland into a frontier with the constant presence of skirmishes and intrusions and the impossibility of any extended agricultural activity, which culminated during the 17th century wars. At that time the cultural as well as natural environment suffered total devastation⁶¹. This became most obviously with the 'starvation' of Dalmatian coastal communities, which were cut off from their *contado*, i.e. *aeger publicum*⁶².

The Republic of Venice defended its government around three urban centres of Zara, Nona and Novegradi with a very small *contado* around these towns exposed to constant Ottoman raids. Therefore it is interesting to see which settlements continued to live under the Ottoman government, which did not survive their attacks and which settlements adapted to the new life on the frontier. The research of the archive documents mostly related to public notary and registry books, show that the changes of inhabitation i.e. abandonment of the area, happened gradually. The first Ottoman intrusions in the 15th century caused only temporary emigrations.

⁶⁰ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, pp. 67-70; The authors emphasised that the major Ottoman intrusions into the territory of Zara started after the fall of Bosnia, more precisely in 1468, after which there was seven consecutive intrusions between 1470 and 1481.

⁶¹ BUZOV, *Vlach villages*, p. 237; the author states that after the Candian War all the fortresses and towns as well as orchards and forests in the borderline zone were destroyed and burned because the main military strategy from the both sides was burning and destroying without exception.

⁶² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, *Relazione del nobile homo signor Alvise Zorzi ritornato di proveditor da Zara 1620. 20. Febbraio*, p. 89-90; Zorzi stated that the community of Zara depended on the import of grain from the neighbouring Ottoman land, which proves that the Ottomans continued to produce enough food, continuing cultivating land in Zara's hinterland as in previous times. See also KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 356-357.

Most of the time people were looking for shelter on islands but they would be back to their villages after the subsidence of Ottoman danger. The fertile fields on the mainland were a strong attraction in comparison to the mostly karst terrain of the islands⁶³.

Zuan Moro, the captain of Zara, witnessed the devastation of the fertile *contado di Zara*, in his *relatio* to the Venetian Senate written on 10th January 1524 talking about the loss of about 5,000 inhabitants because of constant Ottoman incursions⁶⁴. The abandonment of the villages, which were the most exposed to the Ottoman raids after the fall of Carino (1514), Ostrovica (1523) and Obbrovazzo (1527) into Ottoman hands was the next step in the migration processes caused by the Ottoman military actions. Taking over the castle of Obbrovazzo, opened the entrance to their daily raids into *contado* all the way to the ramparts of the town of Zara⁶⁵. In his report to the Venetian government about the assessment of the renewal of the castles and towers in the *contado*, the captain of the army in Dalmatia Baleono Malatesta described wide areas around the castle of Nadino and Vrana which were abandoned leaving the fertile land to ruin but emphasising the good habitation of the area of Novegradi where people felt more secure⁶⁶. Yet, the people from the centre of the *contado* moved closer to the coast around Zara and Zaravecchia.

The new way of living under continuous enemy attacks changed the appearance of the settlements. Some castles were reinforced such as Novegradi, Nadino, Tign, Zemonico and Vrana⁶⁷, expanding the space for urgent refugee shelter within the castle from the neighbouring villages⁶⁸ including the extension of the defensive system of the city of Zara⁶⁹. Feudal families with the support and encouragement of the Venetian government built defensive castle on their properties such as the family Pechiari (Pečarić) in Polisani, the family Venier rebuilt the castle of Zemonico, the archbishopric of Zara financed the building of fortress Tosina between

⁶³ I. ANZULOVIC, *O opstojnosti hrvatskog pučanstva sjeverne Dalmacije iz predturskog vremena*, [About survival of the Croatian people of northern Dalmatia from the pre-Turkish time], *Zadarska smotra*, (4-6), 1998, p. 270.

⁶⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, (annorum 1433-1527), p. 171; see also RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 186-187; about the numbers of human losses on the Venetian side (killed and taken as slaves) during the Ottoman invasions in the 16th century and critical revision of the sources in order to work out the exaggerations of different authors.

⁶⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, p. 196.

⁶⁶ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, p. 187.

⁶⁷ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, p. 186-188.

⁶⁸ DE BENVENUTI, *Le fortificazioni venete*, p. 85, 107, 181.

⁶⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, p. 185-186. See also KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 332-335. The author sees the wars against the Ottomans as the stimulation of building and rebuilding of the main towns and fortresses in the Venetian maritime possession. The building of the ramparts also changed the ground plan of the coastal towns, changing the way of life of the suburbs, now squashed between the city walls.

Nadino and Novegradi, Zuan Nadal Salamon financed the rebuilding of the fortress of Ljuba⁷⁰, the family Detrico built the castle of Vrčevo and Rimanich built the castle near village of Trnovica later known as *Castello Venier*⁷¹. On the Croatian side of the territory, the fortresses of Korlatović (Corlat) and Benković (Bencovich) were built⁷². It was also necessary to put up defences even around small villages and where it was possible to build guard towers. In this way some villages of Zara's district received a new appearance adapted to military-defence purposes such as Grue, Bičina and Kukalj, which had dry stone ramparts around as well as in Zadarski Malpaga where defence tower was built⁷³. The noble family of Civalleli built a tower in Krmčina and the family Meštrović in Toretta⁷⁴. Gradually all surviving villages on the Venetian side of the border built a kind of defensive wall to protect themselves from sudden Ottoman attack⁷⁵.

On the other hand the town of Nona was in a devastated condition. The antique town ramparts were in ruins and the town was almost completely abandoned⁷⁶ although the Ottoman danger was not the only reason for the abandonment of the town, which was most of the time suffering from malaria⁷⁷. In the reports of the Venetian officers who visited there can be noted the devastation of the cultural landscape caused by the lack of human activities in the maintenance of the channel around the town and entrance to the port, which was filling up with sand deposited by the

⁷⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, p. 172.

⁷¹ ANZULOVIC, *O opstojnosti*, p. 271.

⁷² ANZULOVIC, *O opstojnosti*, p. 271.

⁷³ JELIĆ, *Stanovništvo kopnenog dijela zadarskog teritorija*, in *Zadarska revija*, 1985, p. 557.

⁷⁴ ANZULOVIC, *O opstojnosti*, p. 271.

⁷⁵ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, p. 36-80

⁷⁶ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, p. 173; also ZKZD, Manuscripts, No 15258, Ms 307, *Documenti spettanti alla storia di Zara*, p. 129: "Nella citta di Nona si ritrovano per molti secoli un monastero di povere monache del ordine di S.ta Chiara, ma si come quella citta era ridotta inabitabile non solo destrata per l'antichita come pure dale guerre etia rovinati li monastero per la fortificatione di quella citta. Convenero nell'anno 1501 ritirarsi entro le mure di Zara, citta parimente nel dominio Veneto Capitale, a metropolis di Dalmatia" (...)

⁷⁷ MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 124; R. JELIĆ, *Ninjani u zadarskim crkvenim maticama XVI i XVII stoljeća*, [People from Nin in the church registry books of the 16th and 17th centuries], *Radovi JAZU-Zd*, (16/17), 1969, p. 600; The author explained that the first mal'aria damage was noticed in 1348, when the Venetian count in Nona demanded permission for the repopulation of the town, where people were constantly dying. The author also believes that the reason for such high negative impact of the marshlands and mal'aria could be found in the changes of the flow of stream of the Ričina, which was also after one intervention of the Venetian government. This might have caused the creation of numerous marshes, ideal as the nesting area for the malaria mosquitos. If the town would had been surrounded with the same non-healthy air, it would be difficult to believe that it was developed as strong urban centre in the previous ages.

River Ričina⁷⁸ as well as the strong northern wind *bora*, which brought sand into the bay of Nona, making it impossible to use the port. The ford was so shallow that it was possible to walk into the town. In the case of sudden attack, the Ottomans would easily take over the town, which was poorly defended by the few inhabitants left in the town living as peasants, working on a land around the town's ramparts⁷⁹. Beside this, the slow flow of water caused accumulation of sewage water around the town⁸⁰ increasing the possibility for the spread of diseases besides already present *l'aria meno salubre*. There were even some thoughts about moving the whole town somewhere between the valley of Visevizza (Viševica) and Zaton, but they were not explored, nor were the ideas of rebuilding the town's ramparts but of smaller sizes than existing in order to easily defend it with the little number of people, who remained here⁸¹.

Comparing the list of these villages with the villages mentioned in table 1 (see appendix); it can be observed that a large number of the villages from the late Middle Ages continued their inhabitation. Further analyses showed that some of the villages mentioned in this table continued to exist to the present day. Unfortunately, some of the names of the villages were not possible to identify. Beside the name of the villages mentioned in table 2, (see appendix), in the report of the Zacaria Vallaresso written in 1527, there was a new village established by the immigrants from the territory occupied by the Ottomans mentioned as *Certi Murlachi noviter*, 41 of them, but without precise placement of this new settlement in the *contado*⁸². Nevertheless, Nikola Jakšić⁸³ and before him Tomislav Raukar, noticed that there were large empty spaces left in the area of Zara's hinterland between Novegradi and Nadino, caused by the Ottoman intrusions and the new position of their border moved towards the Venetian possessions in the district of Novegradi surrounded by the villages of the Zara territory: Vrana, Poscaglina (Poškaljina), Verbizza (Vrbica), Rogovo, Bubgnane (Bubnjane), Veterinichi (Veterinići), Sicovo (Sikovo), Raschiani (Hrašćani), Gorizza (Gorica), Galovaz (Galovac), Trsczi (Tršci), Starovasciane (Starovašane), Migliazza (Miljača), Strupnic (Strupnić), Komorane, Suovare (Suhovare), Gladusa (Gladuša), Trsciane (Trščane), Basciza (Baščica), Lovinzi (Lovinci), Snojaci, Porizzane (Poričane), Slivniza and Possedaria. Nevertheless, as the research of Nikola Jakšić showed the villages there were very soon renewed despite the Ottoman presence obviously related to the calming of war actions, which proves that the Ottoman intrusions did not

⁷⁸ TRALJIĆ, *Nin pod udarom*, p. 530.

⁷⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 94-95.

⁸⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, p. 187.

⁸¹ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, p. 58-59.

⁸² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, tome I, p. 219

⁸³ JAKŠIĆ, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni*, p. 202-203; also RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III p. 235.

cause major and sudden break in the continuity of habitation of the Zara hinterland despite some general thoughts in Croatian historiography⁸⁴. This was rather long term process, sped up with the wars of the second half of the 17th century.

Meanwhile, the Ottomans moved their border closer to the Venetian territories during the war of 1537-1540 taking over the castle of Vrana and Nadino, which caused a movement of the inhabitants of this area closer to the coastal area of Zaravecchia and the building of the new settlements in this area as well as some of them moving to the islands of Pasma and Vergada. However, some of them stayed to live in the same villages but under the new Ottoman government⁸⁵. Some of the inhabitants from the villages in Novegradi district such as Prasquich (Praskvić), Cerinzi (Čerinci), Tersciani (Trščani) and villages of Nadino district moved to Novegradi⁸⁶. The constant Ottoman presence in Zara's hinterland, especially after taking over the majority of the Novegradi's district also caused the change of the previous position of some settlements abandoning the places related mostly to fertile soil and rebuilding the houses with a defensive wall in less approachable places⁸⁷. In this way the village of Rasanaze moved towards the coast. Malpaga was also moved onto a hill and, as mentioned before, a tower was built there. Some other places such as Possedaria, Gliuba and Radovin continued to exist in the same place thanks to the possibility of organising defences, (people from Possedaria used the islet in front of the village as shelter from Ottoman invasions), although they were fairly abandoned because of the impossibility of organising any quiet agricultural activity in their environs⁸⁸.

The Ottoman expansion ended with the Cyprus War (1571-1573) and the establishment of the borderline by Ferhat-pasha in 1576. The castle of Zemonico and Polisani were under the Ottoman government. The border was practically just a few miles from Zara and the coastland taking the fertile fields from the coastal communities, cutting off their districts. The fields, vineyards, pasturelands and forests were also divided with the borderline. Those villagers who did not have abilities to protect their villages had to abandon them or risk to be taken as the Ottoman slaves. The rest of the

⁸⁴ T. RAUKAR, I. PETRICIOLI, F. ŠVELEC, Š. PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 372 – The authors emphasised that some estimations show that Zara's hinterland possibly lost 90% of its previous inhabitants during the main Ottoman intrusions and occupation of the territory. The territory was inhabited with completely new inhabitants, which was started by the Ottoman government. However, my opinion is that these processes were intensified by the Venetian government, during and after the wars of the second half of the 17th century and that the major changes of habitation happened with the Venetian expansion towards the Zara hinterland.

⁸⁵ JAKŠIĆ, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni*, p. 206-207.

⁸⁶ ANZULović, *O opstojnosti*, p. 305.

⁸⁷ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 367.

⁸⁸ ANZULović, *O opstojnosti*, p. 297.

Venetian territory was partially cultivated despite its good quality putting the coastal communities in difficult positions without the abilities to produce their own food⁸⁹.

A large number of the villages, which were divided by the border in 1576, (*acquisto vecchio*) disappeared due to the impossibility of living and continuing with agricultural activities under raids and skirmishes⁹⁰. Some of them were later joined, creating new villages or became part of extended towns and large villages. In this way some toponyms became micro-toponyms related only to one part of a village. However, some of them, with the abilities of provide defence, survived life on the border. As can be noticed the Ottomans occupied the majority of the administrative territory of Nona. Simon Gliubavaz in his script *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara* emphasised that besides Nona, Novegradi and Zara with some territories alongside the coast all the rest was taken by the Ottomans⁹¹. The cadastre of Nona from 1609 shows the poor situation with the territory of this town, which was narrowed within the *contado*, including villages of Brevilacqua, Zaton, Novoselzi (Novoselci), Varhe (Vrsi), Poglizza (Poljica), Dracevazz (Dračevac) and islet of Pontadura, bordered from one side with the territory of Zara⁹², which was encompassing the long coastal line including villages of: Petrezane, Diclo, Bocagnazo, Grue, Cerno, Malpaga, Bibigne, San Cassano, Carcina (Krčina), Torretta, SS. Filippo e Giacomo, Zaravecchia, Pacoschiane; and from the other side by the Ottomans⁹³. As an isolated 'island' in an Ottoman 'sea', there was Novegradi and the remains of its district including Possedaria, and further towards the territory of Nona: Slivniza, Castel Venier, Rasanze, Radovin and Gliuba⁹⁴.

The only way to survive on the unquiet Ottoman border was to adapt with the further building or reinforcing of ramparts or at least a guard tower from which the enemy could be observed and then warn people in time to

⁸⁹ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 16530, ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 35: "L'empietà Ottomana pero l'aveva poi reso meno frequente di abitanti et in conseguenza meno coltivato a pregiudizio della sua fertilita si larga remunerazione delle fatiche rusticane..."

⁹⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 30.

⁹¹ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 16530, Ms. 459, Simon GLIUBAVAZ, *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara*, f. 9.

⁹² DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, source No. 6, box 38, f. 4r "Confini Zara: Di Viceviwa fra terra alla Croce sulla Strada di Cosino; dalla Croce a Orlovaze Confin di Zara, di Smiglievaze al Sasso di Mormoro; dal Sasso di Mormoro a S. Tomaso; da s. tomaso per mezzo il Lago di Gradine; di Gradine al sasso di bischiane che e la Strada di Zara a Pogliza, del detto per il fiume a S. Martin, di S. Martin ripassando il fiume di Callara; dalla fiume di Callara per bosco a Paucina Guardia Confin de Turchi"; compare with S.M. TRALJIĆ, *Nin pod udarom*, p. 542.

⁹³ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, source No. 6, box 38, f. 1r-5r; "Confini de Turchi: Di Paucina guardia alla Valle di Cherniza calando nella valle fin al Torrente seguitando il medesimo fin al mare. Per la riva del mar a Leporina. Di Leporina voltando la punta di Velebich a Nona", f. 4r.

⁹⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 30.

organise refuge. In this system were also included fortresses on the island of Pago (opposite from Gliuba, was the fortress of Gliuba)⁹⁵ and on Uglian, the fortress of St. Michael near Preko (Oltre), which could control all the territory of Zara's hinterland. Some other islands were used as refuges such as Pontadura for the people from Nona⁹⁶, Pago for people from Novegradi⁹⁷, Pasma for people from Zaravecchia and its surroundings. Some people left across the Adriatic to Puglia and Marca Anconitana where they stayed⁹⁸. The problem with defence was the ensuing abandonment of the territory and no one to resist to the enemy incursions. The fortresses of Gliuba and Grue⁹⁹ were the last towers of the northern part of the *contado*¹⁰⁰. On one hand, reports from Venetian officers contain constant regret about abandonment of the agricultural land, but on the other hand, this restriction with the safe areas for the continuation of agricultural activities, meant that the mainland close to the ramparts of Zara started to be worked on by the people who lived inside the town's ramparts (Varoš) where they could easily escape in a case of sudden Ottoman raids. They also kept the animals there, grazing them around the city¹⁰¹. Nevertheless, the cultivation of the terrain near the port of Zara caused many problems with soil erosion into the sea during heavy rains¹⁰².

4. Zara's hinterland within the Sandjak Krka or Lika

On the other side of the border the Ottoman magnates (Durakbegović, Ferhatpašić, Atlagić, and Filipović) who were mostly interested in land usage, established their feudal properties and continued agricultural production¹⁰³. Halilbey Memibegović established a large land property (*ziamet*) in Vrana. Ferhatbey Sokolović organised his feudal property around the fortress of Tign, with villages of Gorizza, Perkos, Raschiani, Bubgnani and Lisciani (Lišani) whose common name was *Vojnići* according to *vojvoda* who was in charge of the management of these

⁹⁵ ZKZD, No 16530, Ms, 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, p. 17, 67; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 279; The fortress of Gliuba on the island of Pago was originally established at the beginning of the 17th century as protection against constant Uskok's attacks of this area.

⁹⁶ TRALJIĆ, *Nin pod udarom*, p. 542.

⁹⁷ JELIĆ, *Pad Novigrada*, p. 534-540.

⁹⁸ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 30.

⁹⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 166; In 1640 Ottomans attacked the area around Grue and destroyed the whole agricultural land.

¹⁰⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 96.

¹⁰¹ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 379-380.

¹⁰² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 88.

¹⁰³ L. JELIĆ, *Lički Sandžakat i postanje mletačke krajine*, [Sandjak of Lika and origin of Venetian Borderland], in *Narodni koledar za 1898*, Zadar, 1897, p. 87; also SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Cartographic sources*, p. 39; noticed that the whole of the Ottoman period in Dalmatia was characterised by the spontaneous transformation of temporary settlements into permanent related to agriculture.

villages and tax collection¹⁰⁴. Beširagić family established their *ziamet* from Bistrovine and fortress of Clicievizza (Kličevica) to Cascich with their castle in Bigliane (Biljane Donje). They also kept the land around Obbrovazzo (upper and lower) and Krupa. The Kositerović family kept smaller property in Carino and continued their property in Corlat. Yusuf-aga Tunić was the owner of the former castle of Bishop of Nona in Učiteljavas¹⁰⁵, which changed its name to Sedd-i Islam¹⁰⁶. Thus their main interest was the continuation of the habitation of the territory and therefore attracting immigrants mostly from the east Herzegovina (Orthodox) as well as west Herzegovina (Catholic), known in the sources of Venetian provenience as Morlachs¹⁰⁷.

The villages of this part of the former Croatian county of Luka, the area of Banadego (Bucovizza), as well as the Novegradi district were part of the Bishopric of Nona and therefore under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Nona who continued to visit his parishes under the Ottoman government with the special permit received by the Sultan (*arz*) which allowed the bishop to move freely on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, visiting churches¹⁰⁸. In a letter to the Bishop of Nona Francesco de Grassis, from 1638, are mentioned villages on the Ottoman territories, which were under his jurisdiction: Maurzi (Mahurci), Polisane, Visozzane, Suovare, Gladuse, Islam, Crupagli (Krupalj), Tersci, Kamegnane, Podberiane, Strupnich (Strupnić), Cascich, Cerinzzi, Trnovo, Bigliane, Corlat, Prasquich, Nadino, Rastevich, Polazza and Lisane¹⁰⁹. This shows us that these villages of former Novegradi district survived the Ottoman invasions. Moreover, the Ottomans kept the pre-existing topographic net, encouraging the habitation of abandoned villages. As stated before, there is evidence that the old inhabitants moved back to their villages, although under the Ottoman

¹⁰⁴ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 105-106

¹⁰⁵ JAKŠIĆ, *Privilegium regium episcopo nonensi in villa Islam*, in *Zadarska revija*, 34, 1998, p. 335-352

¹⁰⁶ L. JELIĆ, *Lički Sandžakat*, p.87-92; about the medieval identification of the Ottoman castle Islam, see also: JAKŠIĆ, *Privilegium regium*, p.338-345. The village of Islam (today two split villages of Islam Latinski and Islam Grčki) can be identified with toponyms *Vciteli*, *Vceteli*, *Vitigeli*, *Ocitegl*, *Vciteglianas*, *Cetiglavaz*, but in a simplified way it can be transcribed as Učiteljavas. This medieval village covered a part of today's Islam Latinski. There was also the house of Bishop of Nona, but after 1576, the Ottomans established a very strong fortress named Sedd-i Islam or bulwark of Islam. The name Islam erased the previous medieval names of the settlements, which today cover the two villages of Islam Latinski and Islam Grčki.

¹⁰⁷ BUZOV, *Vlaško pitanje i osmanlijski izvori*, [Vlach's question and Ottoman's sources], in *Povijesni prilozi*, 11, Zagreb, 1992, p. 39-60; also ŠARIĆ, *Dinarski vlasi*, p. 81-84.

¹⁰⁸ J. KOLANOVIĆ, *Monumenta Ecclesiae cathedralis Nonae*, in *Povijest grada Nina*, [History of the town of Nin], ed. by G. NOVAK and V. MAŠTROVIĆ, JAZU, Zadar, 1969, p. 487, 518.

¹⁰⁹ KOLANOVIĆ, *Monumenta Ecclesiae*, p. 525; see also JAKŠIĆ, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni*, p. 206-207.

government. Special duties for the keeping pigs enforced by the Ottoman government can also be evidence of survival of the *old* Christian inhabitants, because it would be illogical to believe that the new Morlach inhabitants could bring large numbers of these animals with them all the way from Herzegovina or Montenegro. This duty was significant to fill the state's coffers¹¹⁰.

The general rule of the Ottomans was that the old settlements had to be continuously habituated and therefore there it was not possible to establish new settlements from the remnants of the previous settlements (*mezra*)¹¹¹. Often names of the villages, which have prefix *gornji* (upper) or *donji* (lower), *mali* (little) or *veliki* (great), implies the expansion of previous settlements or the turning of an occasional settlement of villagers of a village into permanent sites (such as Donji and Gornji Zemunik, Donje and Gornje Biljane etc.)¹¹². The continuation of the names of the settlements from the Middle Ages proves the presence of the *old* inhabitants in the territory under the Ottoman government, keeping the tradition of the toponyms, which was also accepted by the immigrants. Moreover, the new names of the villages, which replaced the old one, covering the same area or moved slightly from the original positions, were sometimes named after the names of wood, forest, meadows where they were established which also proves the continuation of the tradition in preserving those medieval toponyms. On the other hand, the names of the disappeared villages turned into micro-toponyms related to a part of a large village (such as Režani in Islam) or to a specific place (such as Lupoglavac, which is the name of a well in Pridraga)¹¹³. Despite the efforts of the Ottoman magnates to inhabit the area¹¹⁴, the villages next to the borderline were mostly abandoned¹¹⁵ as on the Venetian side of the border creating a large zone no-man's-land.

The Ottomans also continued the building and reinforcement of the fortresses and castles turning the area into the real borderland (*krajina* or *serhadd*)¹¹⁶. The most important fortresses were those, which they inherited

¹¹⁰ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Srednjodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 137.

¹¹¹ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Srednjodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 131-133.

¹¹² JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Srednjodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 133.

¹¹³ JAKŠIĆ, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni*, pp. 207-208 – the author showed that the new name of the village Scabrgne (Škabrnja) instead of medieval village of Starovsane and Camegnane derived from the name of a wood near those villages. It can be also significant that the names of medieval villages turned into names of micro-toponyms such as Podberagne, Tersci, Lemescevihraschie (Lemeševohrašće) etc.

¹¹⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 167; Durachbey inhabited the village of Verbiza with some Morlachs despite the agreement with the Venetian government that the villages on the borderline would be abandoned in order to avoid trespasses.

¹¹⁵ BUZOV, *Vlach villages*, p. 238; this was a dangerous zone very near to the *house of war* and therefore intensive agriculture was impossible.

¹¹⁶ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Filza 28, *Memorie e notabili dallo servizio*, c. 8; The author described all the Ottoman fortresses alongside the border in the Zadar's hinterland before the Candian War. According to their number and density of their spread it can be concluded

from the Croatian medieval and Venetian early modern defence system: Vrana, Tign, Nadino, Zemonico, Polisani, Islam, Carino, Cula Atlaghich (Kula Atlagića), Obbrovazzo and Benkovac. The fortresses kept their medieval appearance with some addition of the oriental architectural elements. Some of them such as Cula Atlaghich and Islam were newly established, although with the continuation of the nearest medieval villages (*Tihlići* or *Tilčići*, *Bojišta* and *Opachia polaca* near Cula Atlaghich¹¹⁷ and *Učiteljivas* near Islam). The new built fortresses were Bojnik at the mouth of the River Zermagna, Kotišina on the east coastline of the Bay of Novegradi, Carino and the tower in Bigliane¹¹⁸. Around the fortresses were villages, which were mostly the properties of the owners or captains of the fortresses who occupied *mezra* (abandoned settlements) and *chiftliks* (abandoned land taken by the Ottoman garrisons in the fortresses and rented to peasants) turning them into prosperous manors¹¹⁹. The villages also gained ramparts (*palanka*) such as Zecevo (*Zečevo*), Suovare and Vercevo (*Vrčevo*). There were built wooden watchtowers (*čardak*) near the large villages such as those in Gesenizze, Bucovich (*Buković*), Segar, Gorizza, Perkos, and Raschiani. There was also the continuation of the guard system from the medieval guard towers on the hills¹²⁰. However, the majority of the villages within the territory were left open, without ramparts, which implies that those villages had peaceful lives, without being exposed to any enemy attack, i.e. Venetian invasion before 1647¹²¹. The whole area was divided into three parts: *superior*, around Carino, *inferior*, around Vrana and *medio* around Nadino¹²².

The continuity of the cultural landscape during the 70 years of relatively peaceful Ottoman government in the Zara hinterland can also be observed in the continuation of maintenance of the water channels, roads and buildings for civil purposes. One of the greatest building complexes was the castle of Vrana owned by Halilbey Memibegović and his successors Durakbegović. Although the castle was burnt during the Venetian-Ottoman War 1537-1540, Halilbey rebuilt it and turned it into a luxurious oasis with artificial pools, gardens and fountains. Near to the castle a magnificent *han* (*caravansarai*) was established by the Yusuf Mašković, (*Maškovića han*), who was the Capigi Pasha of the Sultan Ibrahim who led the Ottoman navy

that the Ottomans first of all were concerned about the building of a firm military border here.

¹¹⁷ S. BAČIĆ, *Osvrt na knjigu Pravoslavna Dalmacija E. Nikodima Milaša*, [Review of the book Orthodox Dalmatia by E. Nikodim Milaš], Zadar, Grafotehna, 1998, p. 218.

¹¹⁸ L. JELIĆ, *Lički sandžakat*, p. 82.

¹¹⁹ BUZOV, *Vlach villages*, p. 237; also JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 133-134.

¹²⁰ L. JELIĆ, *Lički sandžakat*, p. 98.

¹²¹ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, p. 88.

¹²² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 27.

in the attack of Venetian Candia in 1645¹²³. The Ottomans also organised irrigation from the stream near the village of Scorobich (Škorobić), which was used by the mills and the processing of wool. There were water pipes, which brought water to the *han* and the castle. The area was surrounded with dense forest of olive trees, fertile fields with all sorts of fruits and grain¹²⁴. The whole village of Vrana became a most prosperous agricultural land, called the garden of the Lika Sandjak¹²⁵ and according to the number of inhabitants and mosque which was also built there, actually had the status of *varoš* or *casaba* i.e. town.

The Ottoman system of organising *serhadd* in the Sandjak of Krka or Lika¹²⁶, also gave importance to some other places in Zara's hinterland¹²⁷, which before were not so well developed. The fortress of Sedd-i Islam as a centre of an area under the command of a captain had a central point in the defensive system. This was the second most important fortress in the *serhadd* after Udbina. This also implies that large number of soldiers were living there, which would have stimulated the development of the villages around to supply this fortress. However, Sedd-i Islam only had the status of a fortress, while some other fortresses developed a *casaba* in their neighbourhood, which brought them the status of a town¹²⁸. Obrovazzo had this status thanks to the development of an important market exchange place i.e. *scala* with plenty of timber, iron and resin from Obrovazzo's hinterland and Lika¹²⁹ although its two fortresses did not lose their strategic importance. It was actually the Ottomans who built the second fortress (*Superior*) and rebuilt the old medieval Croatian fortress (*Inferior*) there¹³⁰. Velin and Carino were also fortresses with the status of *varoš* but of mostly agricultural importance, less market and strategic¹³¹. A noticeable expansion of the fortress of Nadino happened during the Ottoman government. They were also about to build a mosque there just before the

¹²³ DESNICA, *Jusuf Mašković i njegov han u Vrani*, [Jusuf Mašković and his Han in Vrana], in *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 29-37.

¹²⁴ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, p. 106-112.

¹²⁵ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 198-201.

¹²⁶ F. DŽ. SPAHO, *Prilog istoriji grada Islama u Ravnim kotarima u XVII stoljeću*, [Addition to the history of the town of Islam in Ravni Kotari in the 17th century], in *Zadarska revija*, 34, 1993, p. 354: The Sandjak of Klis was established in 1537. Then in 1580 this territorial unit was split into two Sandjaks: Klis and Krka or Lika. The area of the Zara hinterland became part of Krcki Sandjak.

¹²⁷ DESNICA, *Zagorska Dalmacija*, p. 587.

¹²⁸ SPAHO, *Prilog istoriji grada Islama*, p. 357.

¹²⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 28; also JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 229.

¹³⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 244-245; also DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 174.

¹³¹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 247; also JURIN STRAČEVIĆ, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 197.

Candian War. The place was prosperous thanks to the fertile land¹³². The largest and most populated fortress was Zemonico with about 400 houses (*dim* i.e. chimneys). Ferhat Pasha built a mosque there and the castle itself was extended creating the new town of Zemonico¹³³ (today Zemunik Donji and Zamunik Gornji).

5. Expansion of the Venetian dominion in Zara hinterland

The situation changed with the Candian War in 1645 and the Venetian offensive politics towards the Dalmatian hinterland which was to their advantage in two ways: assuring the fertile *contado* for the coastal towns especially Zara, and pushing away the Ottoman as a constant danger from their coastal territories. This was accomplished with the establishment of *Linea Grimani* in 1700.

The fact that in the beginning of their expansion the Ottomans used the tactic of destroying the territory thus creating an impossible situation for people there, forcing them to abandon the land and then occupying the territory themselves cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, despite a general opinion about the devastation during the Ottoman invasions, it can be seen that the Ottoman government in Zara's hinterland revitalised this area and developed some settlements and continuing, to a certain extent, the advancement of the cultural landscape. The real devastation of the territory started with the Candian War, first with the Ottoman usual tactic of constant pressure on Zara's hinterland, burning and destroying the territory in 1646¹³⁴ and then the Venetian offensive on the Ottoman Dalmatian possessions. Lunardo Foscolo's scorched earth policy especially contributed to the destruction of Zara's hinterland during the first years of the Candian War (1646-1647)¹³⁵. The Ottoman fortresses were brought down¹³⁶, villages burned making the land unliveable¹³⁷. This military justified tactic was

¹³² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 247.

¹³³ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 93; also ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 81-17.

¹³⁴ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 78: (...) "vi appaiono li vestiggi d'alquante alter ville che nella passata Guerra rimasero esauste d'abitanti, senza che mai piu abbino potuto conquistarli come sono Cherbavaz Lugh a piu della già detta collina di Radovin".

¹³⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 67-69; also DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 95, 166, 174, 203-205.

¹³⁶ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 109; *Provveditore Generale* Lorenzo Dolfin in his final report to the Senate in 1655 wrote about the demolishing of both fortresses of Obbrovazzo and Zvonigrad, accepted with relief by the inhabitants of Novegradi, Rasanze and Possedaria who were most exposed to the Ottoman attacks from those places.

¹³⁷ The extent of the devastation of the territory, which was under the Ottoman government and ruined during the Venetian offensive is obvious from the S. Gliubavaz's description of the villages of *contado* which were on the other side of the border. The present situation,

applied even with the Venetian towns and villages such as Nona, Zaravecchia and Turanj. Constant robbery and burning by the Venetian Morlach troops and retaliations by the Ottomans made life additionally miserable on the border and any economic activity impossible apart from robbery and cattle breeding, which were easy to be hidden from the enemy but also very easily stolen. The same tactic of general devastation of the landscape was repeated during the years just before and at the beginning of the Morean War (1682-1685). However, even after General Foscolo's military actions, when the Ottomans left the territory, there was no Venetian control and this situation allowed constant Ottoman raids with more devastation and even more so, made revitalisation of this territory impossible¹³⁸.

The famous Ottoman traveller Evliya Celebi visited the former Ottoman fortresses in Zara's hinterland around 1660 and described the situation found there during the Candian War. Nadino was described as an abandoned fortress occupied by Venetians while the Ottoman families escaped to Knin. The vineyards and gardens of this town were left to grow wild. He found the same sad situation in Obrovazzo where the fortresses were demolished by the Venetian troops¹³⁹. At the same time Evliya was in an Ottoman military troop who was plundering this area contributing to the destruction of the territory.

This was when the actual breaking point in the continuity of habitation in the Zara's hinterland happened and lasted for almost 30 years because the Candian War was just an overture into the real Venetian offensive towards Zara's hinterland during the first years of the Morean War¹⁴⁰. The situation finally calmed down at the beginning of the 18th century, but the area was in such a state of devastation that it needed decades to return the cultural landscape as it was during the Ottoman government¹⁴¹. It is interesting to notice that the majority of the medieval

which he was facing in the 1650s was a sad abandonment of villages and castles which on the top of everything were robbed, burned and demolished. ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 81-112

¹³⁸ ASV, Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Busta 380-382, *Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1667-1669*, No. 24, 78, 94, 235; see also L. MARČIĆ, *Uzroci slabog ekonomskog-kulturnog razvoja zadarskog zaleđa*, in *Magazin sjeverne Dalmacije*, II, Split, 1935, p. 5-6.

¹³⁹ E. CELEBI, *Putopisi (Siyahatnamesi)*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1954, p. 178-180.

¹⁴⁰ Venetian Governor General Gerolamo Grimani wrote in 1678 that the local Ottoman magnates Durakbey and Atlagić intended to revitalise Zara's hinterland after the establishment of the *linea Nani*, but the problem was that their subjects passed on to Venetian side and they were lacking people to start to cultivate their land again. BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione o particolari donvenuti nella Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dell'Ecc.mo Kav. Gerolamo Grimani fu Provveditore Generale in Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 85r

¹⁴¹ ASV, Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Busta 694, No. 19; In 1671 Giann Battista Nani wrote about Zara's hinterland: (...) "dalla guerra tutto è ruinato, e deserto sia

villages' names appear in the documents by this time, and after this they were disappearing or replaced with new villages, indicating major changes of habitation and inhabitants¹⁴².

Probably the best description of the territory of Zara's hinterland in the period of the second half of the 17th century can be found in the already mentioned script *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara* written by Zara nobleman Simon Gliubavaz. In his description of the villages in the region can be seen the appreciation of the sources of fresh water and fertile soil for a prosperous village and emphasising the good defensive position. A typical example was the village of **Dračevac** or **Malpaga**, four miles away from the city of Zara, situated on the first hills outside the city and was easily visible. There was a round tower at the entrance of the village surrounded by the bulwark. There were about 30 houses and the villagers worked the fields around and they kept a constant guard from its tower¹⁴³. Very near to the city of Zara and Malpaga as well, was the village of **Bokanjac** or **Boccagnazzo**, which was about three miles distance from the city. In the village were about 25 houses surrounded with a marshland but with a lush field, which ends with the forest of *Grobnizza* or *Gromnizza*, mostly covered by low trees and bushes as well as rocks extending towards the east. Here was also the lake of Boccagnazzo or popularly called *Ugnacovo Blato*. During the summer the water from the lake evaporated allowing good cultivation of the soil left after the water receded. Very near to the village were the ruins of a castle, which was destroyed by the Venetians during the Candian War to prevent any Ottoman conquest. The place was called *Belvedere* because of the beautiful sight towards the sea as well as toward the mainland¹⁴⁴. Bianchi described that the village of Boccagnazzo was also abandoned during the first years of the Candian War and its inhabitants were refugees on the islands near Zara¹⁴⁵.

Also few miles from Zara, but on the coast, there was the village of **Diclo**. The village was settled in a valley, behind a cape almost a mile long into the sea named *Puntamica* or *Oštri Rat*. The village had a pleasant and fertile valley and gentle hills good for agriculture. There was also an abundant water source, which was used on galleys. There was another stream called *Pocrovnich* couple miles from the village but plenty of water¹⁴⁶. After the village of Diclo, there was a hamlet of St. Bartholomeus

gran tratto, che mancando i Turchi di gente, per più d'un età non puo riddursi allo stato di prima".

¹⁴² JAKŠIĆ, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni*, p. 207.

¹⁴³ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, p. 36; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 396-397.

¹⁴⁴ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 38

¹⁴⁵ BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 393-395.

¹⁴⁶ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 40; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 172-173.

or **San Bartolomeo** with about ten peasant houses and a tower. Near to the hamlet there was an abundant stream, which flowed into the sea. A mile from the hamlet was another village with about 15 houses, a little port and a little bay. The name of the village was **Petrezane** (*Petrčane*) or **Portoschavina**, which was a mistaken pronunciation of the name of an ancient church there of St. Slavina (i.e. *Schiavina* in Italian). Very near to Petrezane, north towards the hinterland was the hamlet **Petrezane Male** or **Glupavzi** with about 10 houses. The three villages of San Bartolomeo, Petrčane and Glupavzi created a triangle around a fertile field where excellent grain and oil were produced¹⁴⁷. Between the hamlet of Glupaci and Boccagnazzo was a village of about 20 houses settled on a hill a little inland from the coast, called *Kožino selo* or **Cosino Sello**. Peasants worked on a lush field around the village, but near to the marshland of Boccagnazzo¹⁴⁸. Near was also a wood with plenty of wild fruits, juniper, fir and other evergreen shrubs and trees. There was also plenty of pastureland. The village was burned by the Ottomans in 1636, but it was restored later retaining its habitation¹⁴⁹.

Belonging to the territory of Nona, *Vrsi* or **Verhe** was a village about three miles from the town of Nona and about 11 miles from Zara, situated on a hill, with about 40 houses, encircled with a marshland. Continuing after the village were hills with forests and lush and fertile fields and valleys covered with vineyards, arable land and pasturelands¹⁵⁰. Within the territory of Nona also belonged the village of *Poljica* or **Poglizza** with about 25 houses encircled with a marshland but the village itself was in a middle of a lush field¹⁵¹ after which it was probably named (*polje* i.e. field), planted with grain, vineyards. Around the village was an oak forest and between Poglizza and the place called Zerava there was a stream alongside which grew a forest where numerous wild animals lived¹⁵². The furthest village of the territory of Nona was *Zlovšane* or **Zlovsane**. The village was encircled by stonewalls and it had about 10 houses. Near the village was a forest. The people from the village would keep guard to warn other villages in the territory about the movement of the enemy¹⁵³.

In the same territory of Nona, towards Zara were the villages of **Privlaka** or **Brevilacqua** and **Zaton**, which were about a mile from Nona, on the coast¹⁵⁴ and about 15 miles west from the city of Zara. Privlaka was a

¹⁴⁷ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 49-50; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 175-176.

¹⁴⁸ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 51.

¹⁴⁹ BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 173-174.

¹⁵⁰ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 62; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 327-329.

¹⁵¹ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 62.

¹⁵² BIANCHI, II, *Zara Cristiana*, p. 328-331.

¹⁵³ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 61.

¹⁵⁴ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 63.

few miles distance from the islet of Pontadura and its name indicates the shallow ford between the mainland and the islet. The village of about 25 houses was established on the coastland three miles from the town of Nona and six miles from the village of Zaton, surrounded with spacious and beautiful fields. The village of Zaton was torched in 1646 after the destruction of Nona, but it was rebuilt after the end of Ottoman danger after the Candian War, but this time the new houses of Zaton were slightly moved from the coast in order to prevent the pirate attacks and to be closer to the field¹⁵⁵. The village was composed of about 30 houses. At a little distance from a lush and ample field there was a strong fortress¹⁵⁶.

On the islet of *Vir* or **Pontadura** there was the same named village of about 20 houses with no defensive wall. The village was on a hill near to the sea and on the other side was a lush field. There was also a ruin of an antique fortress. The islet was hilly and covered with dense forest called *Virich* full of venomous vipers, which were very highly sought after by doctors for their serum¹⁵⁷.

On the other side of the coast, towards the southeast, about five miles from the city of Zara, in its district was *Bibinje* or **Bibigne** settled on the top of a rocky hill, but surrounded with a fertile valley and hills. The village was encircled with a solid wall with three entrances. Next to the wall was a castle destroyed during the Ottoman invasions in the Candian War. The village had about 40 houses. On the coast, two miles distant was the village of *Sukošan* or **San Cassiano** of about 50 houses placed in a valley between two capes¹⁵⁸. There was also a castle built on an artificial islet and although ruined it was used as a shelter from the people in neighbouring villages during Ottoman intrusions in 1646¹⁵⁹. Seven miles away was the village of *Turanj* or **Torretta** built on a beach with dominating tower, which is how the village was named. The tower was built in 1646 just before the Candian War. In the village were about 50 houses and it was surrounded with a beautiful field, which extended towards the hills. The village and the tower were under a strong Ottoman attack after the fall of Novegradi in 1646 and the villagers burned their own houses and the tower to prevent them from being used by the enemy. The Ottomans suddenly burned the village again in July 1668¹⁶⁰. However the village was rebuilt

¹⁵⁵ BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, p. 176-180.

¹⁵⁶ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 51, 53.

¹⁵⁷ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 64; BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, II, p. 180-182.

¹⁵⁸ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 41; about Bibigne see also FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 414-417.

¹⁵⁹ BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, II, p. 162-169; about Sukošan see also: FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 421-426.

¹⁶⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380-382, No. 94

after the war¹⁶¹. Only two miles from Toretta, alongside the coast towards the south was the village of *Sveti Filipjakov* or **San Filippo e Giacomo**. In the hinterland of the village was a fertile plain with beautiful olive gardens. Three miles from the village was the abbey of Rogovo¹⁶². Onwards again three miles further towards the south was **Biograd** or **Zaravecchia** with about 100 houses built on the top of a rocky cape. The houses were built around a bay, which was used as a port. Behind the town was a valley¹⁶³. The last village of the territory of Zara towards the south was **Pakoštane** or **Pacoschiane**, which had about 20 houses built on the coastline. The village was the feudal manor of the noble Carnaruti family from Zara together with the cultivated field in the hinterland of the village towards Vrana Lake¹⁶⁴.

Back again closer to the town of Nona, more precisely about eight miles and one mile from Boccagnazzo and three miles from Poglizza was the village of **Grusi** or **Grue**. The village belonged to the territory of Zara. Inside its stonewall, on the top of a rocky hill there were about 40 houses. The village's name *Grue* originated from the characteristic of the rocks of the hill, which is very fragile and called *gruhe*. The village was surrounded with a plain and meadows. Here the Venetian government kept cavalry troops because the place had a good strategic position for the defence of Zara and Nona. The local people also kept guard¹⁶⁵. Near to Grue, but again belonging to the territory of Zara was the ancient place of **Ljubač** or **Gliuba**. The town of about 60 houses was erected on a knoll near the sea, partly circled by walls and partly by ramparts. All around the town was a spacious field rugged with deep cascades. There was also another castle, two miles from the town, on the top of a hill. These were the remains of the *Castello di Iuba*, which belonged to the Templar Knights and later to different Croatian noble families. The Venetian government demolished the castle preventing it to be taken by the Ottomans¹⁶⁶. On the top of a hill which was the strategic point in the area, was the village called **Radovin**. On one side the place was cut-off by a deep gorge, while on the three other sides were spacious fertile fields. In the castle of Radovin were only the ruins of houses, towers and ramparts of large size, which could have been of Roman origin. There was also a feudal property of the noble Gliubavaz family from Zara. Near the ruins was an abundant source of water, which

¹⁶¹ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 43; C. F. BIANCHI, p. 159-161; about village of Toretta see also: FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 436.

¹⁶² ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 44; C. F. BIANCHI, II, p. 155-157; about Filip Jakov see also: FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 446.

¹⁶³ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 44; BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 141-155; Also FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 452.

¹⁶⁴ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 46; BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 140-142; FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 465.

¹⁶⁵ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 65.

¹⁶⁶ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 66-67; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 276-279.

entered the sea near Gliubglinja (Ljubljina) where once were watermills. From this point, a clear view of the territory allowed easy control from all approach ways from Islam, Polisani, Nadino and Zemonico¹⁶⁷. Only four miles distance from Radovin, was the castle of **Ražanac** or **Rasanze** situated on the coast and established as a feudal property of Zara's noble Girardini family. The place was protected by strong ramparts and a tower with an additionally stonewall built around about 100 houses. The inhabitants of Rasanze succeeded to repel an Ottoman attack after the fall of Novegradi in 1646. Nevertheless, the Venetian government ordered the abandonment of the fortress and burn the houses and tower in order to prevent any possibility of being taken by the Ottomans. Another seven miles from Rasanze, there was the castle of **Slivnica** or **Slivniza** from the three sides surrounded by the sea with a little port. The place was destroyed by the Ottomans in 1571 and it was difficult for the inhabitants to settle again in the village because of frequent Ottoman intrusions and pillage. They rebuilt the houses on the hill from where it was easier to defend but it was more difficult to continue agricultural activity¹⁶⁸. However, there was a new castle built by the noble Venier family and therefore called **Castel Venier** or **Vinjerac**. The place was burned again by the Ottomans in 1657¹⁶⁹. The place had importance in the surveying of the entrance into the Bay of Novegradi as well as the traditional transhumance routs to Velebit pasturelands¹⁷⁰. Four miles from there was **Posedarje** or **Possedaria**, circled by solid ramparts with a guard tower. There were about 80 houses and around were lush valleys and fertile hills. The Ottomans burned the place in 1646 after taking Novegradi as well as in 1665. The place was the property of Croatian noble Kurjakovići family and then inherited by the counts of Possedaria i.e. Posedarski who rebuilt the village after the Morean War¹⁷¹. Very near to Possedaria was the abandoned village and castle of **Budin** whose ruins were surrounded by dense forest¹⁷². Very near was the castle of Novegradi, which was built on the top of a rocky hill, above the sea and very difficult to approach. Below the castle was the settlement of more than 100 houses, open towards the sea, but surrounded by ramparts towards the

¹⁶⁷ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 68; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 326-327.

¹⁶⁸ BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 322-323; also R. JELIĆ, *Novigradski distrikt*, Radovi JAZU-Zd, (31), 1989, p. 160-161.

¹⁶⁹ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 70; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 287-288; also JELIĆ, *Novigradski district*, p. 162-164.

¹⁷⁰ D. MAGAŠ, *Povijesno zemljopisne značajke crkvenog života Vinjerca*, [Historical geographical characteristics of church life in Vinjerac], in Radovi HAZU-Zd, 41, 1999, p. 146.

¹⁷¹ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 71; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 288-289; JELIĆ, *Novigradski district*, p. 154-160.

¹⁷² ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 72.

hinterland. The town and castle were ruined by Ottoman invasion in 1646¹⁷³.

Only one mile from Possedaria and four miles from Radovin was the village of *Poričane*¹⁷⁴ or **Porizzane** settled on the riverbank of the Ričina which gave it its name. In its environs were more small villages such as *Miljašić* or **Migliassich**, which was settled on the top of a hill. On the top of another hill were the villages of **Macurci** and then **Brda**. Closer to the city of Zara was the village of **Crno** or **Cerno**, near to Malpaga and marsh of Boccagnazzo. Then further to the south was the village of **Babin Dub** named after an outstanding oak tree (*dub*). There was the village of **St. Martin** named after the church, which was built on the top of a hill, near to a water source, which flowed into the sea near Sukošan. The village of **Račice** was closer to the sea, also on the top of a hill. *Zablaće* or **Zablachil** was the village on the coast of the Vrana Lake and two miles from Pacosciane. The name of the village implied a muddy but fertile area¹⁷⁵.

After this, S. Gliubavaz gave very short description of the villages on the other side of the border, which were conquered by the Venetian army in the actions of 1647. The lack of the information from Gliubavaz can be explained by him being unable to visit those places and not to have the same sources of the information, i.e. living people. It is interesting to note that Gliubavaz emphasised the abandoned villages as well as those where Ottomans continued to live together with the previous Ottoman subjects, Morlachs. The villages around the castle of Zemonico, settled in a fertile valley were *Strupnić Veliki* and *Strupnić Mali* or **Strupnich Superior** and **Strupnich Inferior**, which together had about 100 houses. There was another large village called *Prkos* or **Percos** with about 40 houses. On a hill was the village of *Podberanje* or **Podberagne** and about five miles distant was the village of *Kamenjane* or **Camegnane**. There together were also about 100 houses. Near was the hamlet of *Taroščane* or **Radoscicha Cria** named after the Ottoman aga who established this village on his feudal property in a beautiful valley. About three miles from Zemonico was the village of *Gorica* or **Gorizza** with about 60 houses settled in a spacious valley. A couple of miles from the village was the tower of *Vrčevo* or **Vercevo** - a solid construction, but it was destroyed by the Venetian Morlach troops in 1647. The village below the tower of Vercevo was *Mali Prkos* or **Mali Pricos** with about 20 Morlach houses. A couple of miles further were villages belonging to the feudal property of the castle of *Tinj* or **Tign**. The castle had a little village around of about 20 houses in a lush field extending all the way to Vrana Lake. To the same castle belonged the villages of *Bubnjane* or **Bubgnane**, *Lišane* or **Lissane**, *Hrašćane* or

¹⁷³ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 73; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 290-294; also JELIĆ, *Novigradski district*, p. 152-154.

¹⁷⁴ Short description of this village can be found in JELIĆ, *Novigradski district*, p. 165.

¹⁷⁵ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 78-80.

Hraschiane and **Rogovo**. All this villages were built a few miles from the coast in fertile valleys with about 30-40 houses¹⁷⁶.

One large and prosperous village was **Suovare**. The village was abandoned in 1571 but after the establishment of the Ottoman government, new inhabitants were brought there and they rebuilt the village, but it was ruined again by Venetian troops in 1646¹⁷⁷. After major military actions, the old inhabitants returned to the abandoned village and restored it during the 18th century¹⁷⁸. Only three miles from Suhovare was the castle of **Poličnik** or **Polisane**. The castle was erected on a knoll, surrounded by fertile fields. The castle had sturdy ramparts and two round towers. The Ottomans built a water container so that it could survive long sieges. Below the castle was a settlement. However, the castle and settlement were destroyed by Venetian troops in 1646 to prevent any Ottoman return¹⁷⁹. A few miles from the castle was the village of **Rupalj** or **Hrupagl** with about 25 houses settled on a hill and surrounded by a beautiful valley and meadows. Nine miles from Polisani, towards Possedaria, was the castle of **Islam**, a building of square shape with an excellent view towards the Bay of Novegradi, with plenty of fertile fields, meadows and water sources. The castle was ruined in 1647 by the Venetian army. Only a mile from this castle was the village of **Rudonovo** with about 30 houses settled in the middle of a field and two miles further, on a little hill was the village of **Stošija** or **Stossia** with about 30 houses¹⁸⁰. In the other direction from Islam, four miles towards the east was the village of **Kašić** or **Cassich** with about 30 Morlach houses, surrounded by a fertile field. In the same field the Ottoman feudal family Piragich built a tower with some houses around a source of a little river. There was also another village of about 30 houses owned by Morlachs and Ottomans and named **Ferletići** or **Ferletichi**. Very near was **Čerinci** or **Cerinzi** with about 20 houses whose inhabitants produced very good quality grain and wine. One large Ottoman feudal village was that of **Biljane** or **Bigliane** where were about 80 houses but they were destroyed during the Candian War. Near to the village was the source of the River Slutina or Bistrovina, which flowed near the ruins of the Kličevica Castle and ended in the lake of Nadino. The river was abundant with delicious crabs and fish¹⁸¹.

From the detailed description given by Simon Gliubavaz a few things can be concluded. The Venetian villages were mostly composed of about 40-50 houses. Their placement was related to the existence of fertile fields and therefore the main activity was agriculture, which was degraded

¹⁷⁶ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 103-112; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 371

¹⁷⁷ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 90.

¹⁷⁸ BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 336-337.

¹⁷⁹ BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 335.

¹⁸⁰ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 92-98.

¹⁸¹ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 99-103.

by the Ottoman intrusions, which meant that all of the villages on the Venetian side of the border were therefore encircled with defensive walls. Large villages of about 80-100 houses were on the Ottoman side of the border, which implies better conditions of life related to agriculture and without major military disturbance. Numerous places were ruined and destroyed but upon the order of the Venetian government which was applying the policy of preventive destruction of stronghold points which could have been used by the enemy. After the Venetian offensive in 1647 the prosperous villages and fortresses on the Ottoman side of the border were demolished and ruined, most of them being abandoned. Therefore it can be concluded that the major wreckage of the settlements in the Zara hinterland happened at the beginning of the Candian War, by the actions of the Venetian army, and then additional by the Ottoman raids during the same war. The settlements were slowly recovered after the Morean War and the establishment of a long term peace.

6. Changes in the appearance of the settlements

Life on the very unsettled borderline between the Ottomans and Venetians during the 17th century, as well as the two wars 1646-1699 made an impact on the appearance of the settlements in the rural as well as urban areas. As noted before, during the Ottoman government, some of the places of strategic position on the Ottoman *serhadd* developed from fortresses into towns, which was also related to the possibility of combining military service with feudal activities of the officers in the fortresses, who were very successful. Nevertheless, after the Morean War, when Ottomans left the area of Zara's hinterland, Zemonico and Vrana the most important Ottoman border fortress-towns lost their importance and turned back into villages. After it was robbed, burned and ruined during Candian War, the castle of Zemonico did not actually recover during the truce 1669-1684¹⁸². After a few years of decay, in 1703 Governor General Marin Zane gave the order to turn the place into a military centre and the castle of Zemonico was to use as army barracks, especially for cavalry¹⁸³. The manor of Vrana was intended to turn into a feudal property given to the noble family Borelli, but the place was far too devastated after the dramatic events at the beginning of the Morean War in 1685, when the majority of the cultural complex of Durakbegović was devastated by Morlachs. The irrigation system was also destroyed and the widely spreading marshland around the lake brought *mal'aria*, which chased off the inhabitants from the area. In 1710 the village

¹⁸² ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 88.

¹⁸³ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 105-106; also BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 384.

of Vrana had only 19 houses with a few sickly people living there¹⁸⁴. A similar scene could be seen in the manor of the Beširagić family in the village of Bigliane where they had built a complex of large, solid houses with gardens. There were also another 80 peasant houses who worked on fertile field around the village. All the houses were robbed and demolished during the invasion of Christian troops in 1647¹⁸⁵. This village never recovered its Ottoman heritage, of which no traces remain today.

The military buildings suffered even more during both wars on the both sides of the border. Governor General Giustin Da Riva visited the frontier fortresses of *contado* of Zara in July 1706 finding the castle of Novegradi in such a state that it was impossible to live there and had to be kept closed. The two fortresses of Obbrovazzo were also in very bad shape. The upper fortress was without walls and without inhabitants. The lower fortress was in a little bit better state and needed refurbishment as the key fortress for the protection of the river Zermagna and a salt market place. In the best shape was the fortress of Dracevazz on Zermagna, which needed only an additional tower¹⁸⁶.

An example of continuity of settlement and discontinuity of administrative purpose

As a paradigm of continuity and discontinuity of habitation and changes of settlement appearance can be presented by the case of the village of Islam. The most important Ottoman tower in Zara's hinterland Sedd-i Islam was built at the beginning of the 17th century and first appears in the documents in 1604¹⁸⁷, also lost its military importance after the establishment of *linea Grimani*, but it developed as a prosperous village alongside the ancient road Knin-Nona during the 18th century. The village of Islam covered a few medieval hamlets (Grgurice, Učiteljvas, Trščani, Kačina Glavica, and Režane). The remains of the Bishop of Nona's house¹⁸⁸ which according to the studies of Nikola Jakšić was somewhere between the village of Possedaria and the Church of St. George was used by the Ottomans to build their fortress. Evliya Celebi has an opposing view - in his *Siyahatnamesi*, he claims that the Ottomans led by famous Husrev-Bey erected the powerful fortress of Sedd-i Islam from scratch¹⁸⁹. In addition to this is the report from Dragoman Giovanni Salvago, who writing about the revision of the Venetian – Ottoman borders in 1626, wrote that there were

¹⁸⁴ DE BENVENUTI, *Fortificazioni venete*, p. 206-207; also MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 198-199.

¹⁸⁵ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 102.

¹⁸⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 68 and No. 74.

¹⁸⁷ JAKŠIĆ, *Privilegium regium*, p. 337.

¹⁸⁸ BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana*, II, p. 310.

¹⁸⁹ CELEBI, *Putopisi*, p. 172.

no old castles before the Ottomans built the fortress of Sed-i Islam¹⁹⁰. On the map of *Contado di Zara*, created in 1688 by the Venetian Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, the place of Islam is marked as *terra nuova* alongside the symbolic drawing of the castle¹⁹¹. Simon Gliubavaz also wrote that there was no settlement in the area of Islam before the Ottomans built the fortress, but then in the next sentence he mentions the ruins of a medieval castle in the village of Vespaglievaz (another reading of the medieval name Učiteljavas), which was a retreat of the Bishop of Nona¹⁹². Further more, F. Dž. Spaho proved that during the Ottoman government there was also another fortress called *Jakali Kula* with a mosque¹⁹³. There is an open question which of the two fortresses was built on the ruins from the Bishop of Nona's house and which one was possibly built from nothing. The Ottomans kept a large military unit within Sedd-i Islam, but the place never turned into *casaba*, because the village around did not significantly develop. In the Venetian documents of the time Sedd-i Islam gained fame as being the gathering place for all sorts of bandits and *malviventi*, who constantly raided in to the *contado* of Zara and cause skirmishes¹⁹⁴. On the other hand the captain of the fortress of Sedd-i Islam Beširagić was a precious Venetian *confidente* and friend who secretly provided information about Ottoman movements in exchange for Venetian gifts, of course. The first years of the Candian War brought another destruction of the fortress of Islam¹⁹⁵. When *Provveditore Generale* Lunardo Foscolo and his troops conquered Zemonico, the Ottomans abandoned Islam and the place was ruined according to the Venetian scorched land policy in 1647 since the fortress was especially noxious to Zara and its surrounding¹⁹⁶. When the war finished in 1670, the Morlach's *serdar* and Venetian soldier Stojan Mitrović-Janković was given the property¹⁹⁷, which, according to the research conducted by Nikola Jakšić encompassed the same area as the previous property of the Ottoman Yusufaga Tunić and before this the

¹⁹⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 28: "Piccolo fu il principio d'Islam et grande è il suo incremento, e non essendo delli castelli vecchi, disse si terra nuova, hora terra e murata e munita. Hebbe nome da Turchi Seddi Islam, che vuol dir antemural Mahommetano" (...); also p. 170.

¹⁹¹ *Borders of Croatia on Maps from the 12th to 20th century*, The Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb, 1993, p. 92.

¹⁹² ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 95-98

¹⁹³ F. Dž. SPAHO, *Prilog istoriji*, p. 357-358.

¹⁹⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 28-29.

¹⁹⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 171.

¹⁹⁶ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 68, 245.

¹⁹⁷ DESNICA, *Istorija Kotarskih*, I, p. 145; The author presents a transcription of the original document in possession of his family related to the investiture of Mitrović-Janković family on 10th August 1670 with the houses and property of Yusuf Aga Tunić, which encompassed 400 gognals of arable terrain and vineyards, pasturelands and some non-cultivated land. The land was given to the family with the obligation that it be worked and kept cultivated.

property of Bishop of Nona, in Učiteljavas, i.e. Islam, which is obvious proof of continuity of a specific way of life (residential manor) in an specific environment, but with constant changes in government and therefore in form of the land property and purpose of the possession¹⁹⁸ (from religious high rank officer, to the Ottoman border military officer to the Venetian border military officer who also had whole range of administrative and juridical competences).

Yet, the new border negotiation between Mahmud Pasha and Giann Battista Nani in 1671 began precisely near the ruins of the fortress of Islam, confirming the previous borderline and *acquisto vecchio* leaving this area to Ottomans again. Thus Stojan Mitrović-Janković and his family could not enjoy their property entitled by the Venetian government¹⁹⁹, during the truce 1670-1684. However, from the reports of Venetian officers we can see that their subjected Morlachs did not accept the border demarcation and kept living and working on the land, which belonged to the castle of Islam. Over time, the Venetians had to destroy their houses spread around the field of Islam and forced them to move to Possedaria²⁰⁰.

At the beginning of Morean War the Ottomans left the place of Sedd-i Islam. In the meantime, the formal owner of the ruins of the fortress, some houses and 400 *gognali* of land around²⁰¹, *serdar* Stojan Janković died in the battle against Ottomans on Duvanjsko Polje in 1687²⁰². Therefore, he did not live enough to be able to rebuild the fortress or to live in the place, which today has taken his name - *Kula Stojana Jankovića*. Nor does it seem that his brothers Ilija and Zaviša enjoyed much of the property in Islam. Zaviša who inherited Stojan in the position of *serdar* died in 1702 leaving behind a son Ilija of minor age who had rights to inherit his position of *serdar*, but only after reaching the age of maturity²⁰³. Soon after his father's death Ilija requested a confirmation of the entitlement to the property of some houses and 400 *gognals* of land in Islam which were nominally given to his family by the *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Barbaro in 1670. The Venetian Senate confirmed the ownership in 1705²⁰⁴ therefore it is most possible that the family Mitrović-Janković rebuilt the fortress after this period. It is not very clear which of the pre-existing buildings the Mitrović-Janković family rebuilt during the 18th century. Nikola Jakšić intended to prove that the Janković castle contained significant architectural

¹⁹⁸ JAKŠIĆ, *Privilegium regium*, p. 347.

¹⁹⁹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 144-145.

²⁰⁰ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 199.

²⁰¹ K. MILUTINOVIĆ, *Od Stojana Jankovića do Vladana Desnice*, in *Zadarska revija*, 1, 1968, p. 12; The author calculated that 1 *gognal* would be the same as 2,593m². According to this Stojan Janković was awarded with 1,037.2 km² of arable land in the area of Islam.

²⁰² DESNICA, *Smrt Stojana Jankovića i seoba ramskih franjevaca u Dalmaciju*, in *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 173.

²⁰³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 369-373.

²⁰⁴ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 390-391.

characteristics of a medieval building i.e. bishop's house²⁰⁵, which is also the opinion of Stanko Bačić who also holds that the Yusufaga Tunić rebuilt the bishop's house on the original site and this one was later given to the Mitrović-Janković family²⁰⁶. The lack of archaeological research does not allow any firm conclusion about what happened with this building complex. It is interesting here to make another parallel in the continuation in the destruction and rebuilding of places in Zara's hinterland²⁰⁷. The village of Islam developed during the 18th century, being split into two villages Islam Latinski and Islam Grčki, according to C. F. Bianchi, in 1755²⁰⁸, although Roman Jelić tried to prove that in the cadastre of 1709 the villages were already mentioned as two separate villages²⁰⁹. The continuation of medieval habitation in the base of Islam can be noticed in the toponyms of Režani and Grgurice, which became names of the hamlets of the villages of Islam Grčki and Islam Latinski.

7. The appearance of the Morlach villages

The Morlachs - previously Ottoman subjects, who now immigrated upon the systematic actions of the Venetian government to the new conquered places in the Dalmatian hinterland and were not all the same as previous Ottoman immigrants, contributed to the continental appearance of the rural settlements instead of the previous Mediterranean style 'gathered' villages of Zara's hinterland. The new villages were more open, with the houses spread in the territory creating numerous hamlets, as well as gathering older settlements together²¹⁰. The building of the houses was also different. In the late medieval villages of Zara's hinterland the houses were built of stone, often with a tower, with yards surrounded by a tall wall. More modest houses were small drystone buildings usually with two rooms and covered with stone tiles²¹¹. Some of the villages became very prosperous during the Ottoman government and their houses were also large and built

²⁰⁵ JAKŠIĆ, *Privilegium episcopi*, p. 347.

²⁰⁶ BAČIĆ, *Osvrt na knjigu*, p. 295.

²⁰⁷ The castle of Janković passed through almost same destiny during the Croatian Homeland War 1991-1995 when it was burned and destroyed. The Desnica family, ancestors of the Mitrović-Janković family, has been refurbishing the castle again, almost from scratch.

²⁰⁸ BIANCHI, *Zara Cristiana II*, p. 310.

²⁰⁹ JELIĆ, *Stanovništvo Islama Grčkog 1709*, [Inhabitants of Islam Grčki 1709], in *Zadarska revija*, (5-6), 1988, p. 551; looking through the documents of the cadastre it can be noted that the distinction between these two villages is not consistent. The two names of *Islam Latino* and *Islam Greko* appear, but the villages often appear as *Castello Islam* and *Islam*. See DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII stoljeća*, box, 6, book 1; also DAZ, *Mape Grimani*, no. 183.

²¹⁰ MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 277-279.

²¹¹ SUIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, I, p. 53-54.

of stone, but positioned in a line, one after another²¹². The domination of the extensive cattle breeding over agriculture, during the centuries of the Ottoman presence in *contado* was related to the military conflicts and the perilous living conditions, dictated the way the settlements developed, which were mainly dispersed little groups of houses, of almost autonomous economies²¹³. The stone houses covered with straw could have been found in *contado* amongst the *old* inhabitants as well as the newcomers Morlachs after the Candian War²¹⁴. The method of house building firstly indicated the impoverishment of the peasants as well as the temporality of such buildings, which were easily destroyed as well as rebuilt. The old appearance of 'gathered' village houses survived on the coastline where the spread of the houses was mostly determined by the lay of the land which can also be noticed from the descriptions given by Simon Gliubavaz²¹⁵.

The domination of livestock breeding over agriculture was very much determined by the instability due to frequent enemy raids and intrusions during the war of the 17th century²¹⁶. Cattle were easy to move, while the enemy would often burn and destroy any harvest in the fields. However, it would be very superficial to conclude that life on the Venetian-Ottoman borderland was predominately driven by extensive livestock breeding. The misleading image of the Ottoman territory as being an exclusively pastoral driven economic area is given by the Ottoman duty collection documents where only incomes from cattle breeding were noted. Snježana Buzov pointed out the importance of large numbers of chiftliks as well as mills on the Ottoman borderland in Dalmatia, concluding that it was rather the case of a combination of livestock breeding and agricultural economies²¹⁷. There is more evidence in the written documents about the continuous agricultural activity even during war times, on the both sides of the borderline²¹⁸. Then, as soon as it was possible to have some consecutive

²¹² ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 90-91.

²¹³ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Cartographic sources*, p. 15; also JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 137.

²¹⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 17.

²¹⁵ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara*.

²¹⁶ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 61; in *dispaccio* written on 25th February 1685, *Provveditore Generale* Marin Micheli express his concerns about Morlachs around Vrana, San Cassiano, Nadino, Malpaga, Budin, Obbrovazzo, Cermeina and Scardona who were scared of sudden Ottoman raids and destruction of their harvest, so the land was left uncultivated and they starved.

²¹⁷ BUZOV, *Vlach villages*, p. 237-239.

²¹⁸ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 284; also ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 20000, Ms. 501, f.3; in his final report to the Senate, presented on 4th January 1672, *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Barbaro expressed his admiration for the brave resistance of the Morlachs (Venetian new subjects) who cultivated the land and kept guard against Ottoman attacks: (...) "di V.S. dei luoghi acquistati nella Guerra erano in sostanza da Morlacchi e Haiduci con sommo giubilo habitati e coltivati sudando alla Guerra al lavoro

truce period, people would start to work land wherever it was available. Here we should take into consideration that the cultivation of the land was so important that the Venetian subjects lacking fields on the Dalmatian coast also worked on the Ottoman land of Durakbegović during the truce of 1670-1682²¹⁹. From the description of the land categories in the Venetian cadastre, which was divided into arable land, vineyards, pasturelands, wetlands and those which were non-cultivated, it can be observed that the quantity of arable land dominates²²⁰ indicating that the inhabitants (*old* as well as the new, Morlachs) lived predominately from agriculture, which was naturally combined with extensive cattle breeding, which implies seasonal migrations towards the slopes of Velebit over Bucovizza and Morlaccia coastline (without acknowledging any political borders). Therefore it can be concluded that livestock breeding was never the sole activity in Zara's hinterland and even those immigrants who in their previous settlements maybe lived predominately as herdsman, were attracted here by the quantity and quality of the arable land. Another question is how much they were able to make best use of the land especially related to the problems of irrigation of the numerous marshlands which most of the time caused problems in the form of *mal'aria*²²¹.

The Venetian governors did not like the way of living introduced by the Morlachs with their houses spread all over the *contado* (i.e. field). During wartime it was considered that only those who prefer to conduct robbery and bad lives, prefer to live in the fields, near to forests where they could easily hide from the clutches of justice. Therefore it was forbidden to live outside the existing settlements²²². According to the orders of Governor General Pietro Valier in 1678 all the villages on the mainland had to have bulwarks and entrance gate locked during the night by the key, which was kept by the judge or captain of the village²²³. There was a general problem of control over these new inhabitants in rural areas. Living outside of the usual settlements, they were outside the control of the Venetian government, and in the time of fragile peace with the Ottomans, they were seen as those who would create troubles with their trespasses or attacks against Ottoman

delle campagne moderne che havevano con rischio della vita e col prezzo del sangue mantenuti" (...).

²¹⁹ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 149; also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 177, 199, 215.

²²⁰ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII. i XVIII. stoljeća*.

²²¹ MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 95.

²²² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 167-168; the same concern about the robbery of houses, which were built outside of the villages in the field or that they became nests of bandits, was expressed by Serdar Simon Bortolazzi, ZKZD, No 11174, Ms. 169, *Informazione del Serdar Co. Simon Grisigono Bortolazzi*, f.10r.

²²³ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut i nekoliko priloga za proučavanje lige*, [One county's statute and some additions to the study of liga], in *Magazin sjeverne Dalmacije*, II, Split, 1935, p. 28.

subjects. The Venetian government was very strict regarding houses outside the villages near the Ottoman border²²⁴ and there were orders to destroy them and then move the inhabitants to the nearest village²²⁵. *Provveditore Generale* Giustin Da Riva proposed to establish the new villages where the environment was the most adaptable for such a procedure and make Morlachs, who lived all over the fields and forests to move into such organised settlements²²⁶.

Nevertheless, with the stabilisation of the border between the Ottoman and Venetian sides, in the 18th century, the new Morlach inhabitants, started to build their villages, which were most of the time continuities of the older settlements. However they changed the way of the villages' structure - building detached houses, alongside roads, or on the edges of the villages, while the older settlements were more compact. The Venetian governors found this a problem especially for defence from possible enemy attacks, whilst later being more exposed to the robbery of *malviventi* (hajducs). Count Simon Grisigono Bortolazzi was sent by the Venetian governor to visit the villages in Ravni Kotari in the middle of the 18th century. His document contains detailed descriptions of Morlach villages and the way of life after settling in this territory. Visiting the area he recognised a few types of the villages, those spread with the houses placed at a certain distance from each other, spread like branches or alongside the roads and those of partly attached houses. The houses were built of stone with plaster, separated from each other; sometimes they would have a second floor. Some of them were poorly built of drystone, whilst some others, in very bad conditions, were abandoned. The peasants planted oak trees in front of their stalls, which were good protection against the sun and wind and whose branches could be cut during the winter for heating²²⁷.

²²⁴ It is interesting that the Habsburg government had almost the same policy in the villages of the Croatian Military Border. Building the houses outside of the centre of the settlements or to extended villages were forbidden. See: SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Historic Atlases of Croatian Towns: Hrvatska Kostajnica*, Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb and State Archive Sisak, 2007, p. 248.

²²⁵ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 199, 223; *Provveditore Generale* Gerolamo Cornaro, ordered the destruction all the houses, which were built outside the villages near the Ottoman border and move the inhabitants to the nearest village under the eye of a judge or captain of the village in order to avoid any conflict with the Ottomans.

²²⁶ DAZ, Dispacci, Giustin Da Riva 1705-1706, I, f. 33v: (...) "in quelle tenute, nelle qualli i Morlacchi vivono disgiunti, e sparsi per il bosco e per la campagna sarà fatta osservazione de siti più proprij per impiantarvi I villaggi e per disponer le genti ad unirsi in cohabitazione e società."

²²⁷ ZKZD, No 11174, Ms. 169, *Informazione del Serdar Co. Simon Grisigono Bortolazzi*, f. 6v.

8. Useful landscape - cadastre and land management

The organisation of a territory applied through the distribution of land property is one of the most obvious demonstrations and applications of governmental power in practice and its relationship towards the environment as a subject of its domination. The purpose of cadastre is to organise living on a territory regarding ownership and kinship, as well as very important creation of the basis for the collection of taxes. The creation of a cadastre therefore appears soon after establishment of a new form of central government on a territory as an expression of political and economic power²²⁸. In the case of the establishment of Venetian dominion in Dalmatia this was obvious through several cadastre, which the Venetian government created and they were always related to the territorial changes and after major conquests (in both ways, when the Republic gained or lost some territories). The first Venetian cadastre in Dalmatia was created in 1420 and its transcription from the 17th has been preserved in the State Archive of Zadar, containing only a part of the original cadastre related to Zara, Nona, Novegradi and Gliuba²²⁹. The second Venetian cadastre for the area of Zara's hinterland was the cadastre of Nona created in 1609. At the first sight there were no significant territorial changes, which would require the creation of a new cadastre around that year. Nevertheless, there was the Cyprus War 1570-1573 and the establishment of the new border when the Republic lost most of the Dalmatian hinterland. After the border demarcation in 1574 and then in 1576 there were 44 villages in Zara's hinterland²³⁰ which Venice demanded to be returned under its government²³¹, which in fact did not happen. Therefore, the prolonged negotiation about the borderline established by Ferhadpasha, meant that Venice was so late in reorganising its territory in Zara's hinterland and creation of the new cadastre in 1609 only in the territory of Nona²³².

The next cadastre for the territory of Nona was created after the Candian War and the confirmation of the *acquisto vecchio*, 1672-1675²³³.

²²⁸ DAZ, Dispacci, Giustin Da Riva 1705-1706, I, f. 33r.

²²⁹ ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik*, p. 374-417.

²³⁰ ANZULOVIĆ, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 101.

²³¹ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Povijest mletačkog katastra Dalmacije*, [History of the Venetian cadastre of Dalmatia], in *Arhivski vijesnik* [Bulletin d'archives], 43, Zagreb, 2000, p. 175-176.

²³² DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 4, *Terminazione di Giovanni Giacomo Zane*, f. 67r-71r; In the document were explained the reasons for the creation of the new cadastre of Nona: disorders with the properties, irregular payments of duties and illegal possession as well as the spread of the marshlands.

²³³ Governor General Antonio Barbaro started to distribute the most important and valuable former Ottoman property even before the border demarcation. In this way he entitled the Mitrović-Janković family with the property in Islam, the former property of disdar of Carino to Francesco Sorin from Zara, former Ferhatpašić property around Tign to Colonel

The urge for this new cadastre was mostly created by the population changes and the chaos of war during which many villages, including the town of Nona were destroyed and abandoned. During the Candian War numerous Morlach immigrants were given land but only temporarily in order to be able to produce food for their survival. They moved into empty villages usurping the abandoned land. There were also some *old* inhabitants who used the abandoned land²³⁴. This caused frequent conflicts between the old and new inhabitants and demanded state intervention, which happened according to the proposal of *Provveditore Generale* Zorzi Morosini accepted by the Senate in February 1672²³⁵ and confirmed by the Senate in December 1674 and June of 1675²³⁶. After this, two officers - Stefano Boucaut and Napolion Eraut made precise drawings of the territory creating a topographic map with main buildings, houses, roads and paths as well as the borderline with the Ottomans. There are also some indications of the landscape on the map, marked knolls and hills and water sources on the terrain²³⁷. Every particle of the terrain was individualised relating to the name of the owner, a list of which was given in a separate book in alphabetical order according to their first names. The *agrimensori publici* Boucaut and Eraut led the precise instructions of the *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran who also wanted to see the territory with his own eyes to understand the public and private needs in order to organise the territory as best possible²³⁸. There were distinguished 30 sorts of terrain and about 1,000 gognali of the community land²³⁹. The primary interest was to create preconditions for the rebuilding and restoration of the town of Nona and then the villages in its territory²⁴⁰. Land was selected by its quantity as well as quality: *sassosi*, (rocky), *spinosi* (scrubland), *quasi inutile* (almost

Vuko Černica, castle of Zemunico to the noblemen Lorenzo and Nadal Donadi. See DAZ, *Spisi Barbaro*, book II, f. 218; also DESNICA, *Istoriya Kotarskih*, I, p.148-150.

²³⁴ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 18790, ms. 491, *Cattastico de beni di Nona (XXIX)*, f. 3r; *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran wrote to the Senate: (...) “nissuno quasi sapendo il suo precisamente restavan mischiate le raggioni publiche e private entro un Caos di disordini”.

²³⁵ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Povijest mletačkog*, p. 177.

²³⁶ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 18790, ms. 491, *Cattastico de beni di Nona (XXIX)*, f. 2r.

²³⁷ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Povijest mletačkog*, p. 179.

²³⁸ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 18790, ms. 491, *Cattastico de beni di Nona (XXIX)*, f. 4r; see also DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII stoljeća*, box 59, *Cattastico di Nona 1675*.

²³⁹ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book IV, f. 87r: (...) “li mesi passati che Sig. Maggi. Antonio Canagetti che servendo suo Ser. Si trova pretendesse 30 sorti di terra, che rilevano numero considerabile di circa un migliaro di campi Communalì qui chiamati gognali onde col mezzo di suo intervento fece essa comunità notificarlo” (...)

²⁴⁰ DAZ, *Knjige Nina (books of Nona)*, book VII, p. 245r; also ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 18790, ms. 491, *Cattastico de beni di Nona (XXIX)*, f. 4r: (...)“Restano separati quelli di raggion publico e danno modo da popolarsi la città di Nona, oggetto principal del Principe con nuove concessioni a nuovi habitanti et li Comuni proveduti di Sagi per pascolo e boschi in maniera che ogniuno senza confondersi puo conoscer il suo” (...).

useless), *boschini* (woods), *pascolini* (pasturelands). All the measurements were carried out in the local land measurement - *gognali*²⁴¹. The whole of the territory of Nona had 89,474 *gognali* of which almost half or 45,000 *gognali* were useless²⁴². The 1675 cadastre of the territory of Nona remained the same until the end of the Republic in 1797. Nevertheless, all the efforts of the Venetian governors to revitalise the town of Nona and its area with this land organisation, did not reach the expected results. In June 1709, during his visit of the territory, *Provveditore Generale* Vincenzo Vendramin witnessed the sad situation in the territory of Nona. The town was in a very bad state, desolated with a very small number of inhabitants in its *contado*. The majority of newcomers left the area because of the lack of pasturelands and healthy water and air²⁴³.

Nevertheless, the urge for the organisation of the agricultural production by the Venetian government in Dalmatia produced another cadastre of the *acquisto nuovo* in the hinterland of Zara after the main turbulences of the Morean War when the majority Zara's hinterland was conquered. The cadastre of *Contado* of Zara was accomplished in 1709²⁴⁴ under the leadership of *Provveditore Generale* Vincenzo Vendramin although its creation started soon after the peace treaty was concluded and the establishment of the borderline or *linea Grimani* in 1699²⁴⁵. According to this cadastre the whole territory of new acquisition in Zara's hinterland was divided into three parts, which logically followed the characteristics of the landscape. The upper part or *Contado Superior* which encompassed the villages of Visozzane, Radovin, Slivniza, Possedaria, Polisani, Suovare, Rupagl, the castle of Islam and the villages of Islam, Casscich, Bigliane, Corlat, Vegliane, Smilcich, Cula Atlagich, the castle of Benkovac, Bukovich, Novegradi, Carino, Popovich, Brusca, Radaglize, Burgud, Podgrade, Lisicich, Cosulovac and Lepuri, Bulich, Lisani, Zasvich, Dobro Pogle, Ostrovica, Djerveske, Medvidja, Beline, Costomirich, Paricich, Mordino Selo, Smistach, Biocino Sello (upper and lower), Nunich,

²⁴¹ M. ZANINOVIĆ RUMORA, *Stare mjere za površinu u sjevernoj Dalmaciji*, [Old measurements for surface in northern Dalmatia], in *Radovi HAZU*, 35, Zadar, 1993, p. 130, estimated 1 *gognaj* equivalent to 1,336.1583 square metres, while PERIČIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju agrarnih odnosa u Mletačkoj Dalmaciji*, [Addition to knowledge of agrarian relationships in Venetian Dalmatia], in *Radovi HAZU*, 34, Zadar, 1994, p. 146, estimated 1 *gognjal* to be equivalent of 1,332 square metres.

²⁴² ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 18790, ms. 491, *Cattastico de beni di Nona (XXIX)*, f. 3v; also ASV, *Inquisitori di stato, Dispacci*, Busta 288, *Confini, privilegi & avisi sudditi di Dalmazia 1580-1774, Circa prerogative di Nona*.

²⁴³ ASV, *Sentao Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, no. 38: "Contado scarso di popolazioni con pocchi pascoli, senza acque e con aria insalubre."

²⁴⁴ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII stoljeća*, box 64, *Cattastico del Contado di Zara diviso nell'inferiore, medio e superiore ad uso della Provincia esistente nell'Archivio per commissione data alli Publici Periti di Ill.mo et Ecc.mo S.r Vincenzo Vendramini, Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia er Albania l'anno MDCCIX*.

²⁴⁵ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Povijest mletačkog*, p. 181.

Cistagne, Medupacie, Trosela, Rudele, Suplia Cergna, Ivosevac, Radusich, Mokropogle, Ervenich, Segar, Belisane, Crusevo. Comparing the list of the villages with the map it can be noticed that the majority of these villages are placed in the area of the Venetian new conquest in Bucovizza i.e. former *Banadego*.

Alongside the coast was *contado inferior* with the villages: Gorizza, Rastane, Tign, Bubgnane, Lisani, Toretta and S. Filippo e Giacomo, Zaravecchia, Pacosciane, Vrana, Radosinovac and Dobravoda, Bagnevci, Jagodgne, Ceragne, Peruscich, Usilnica, Stancovzzi and two villages on the island of Murter, Betina and Murter. It can be noticed that the *contado* was extended here to the new acquisition around the Vrana, as well as towards the territory of Šibenik.

The smallest area was *contado medio* with the villages of Grue and Brisevo, Murviza and Brignusi, Smocovich, Zemonico, Scabrgna, Ambar and Perkos, San Cassiano and Galovzi, Bigliane Inferior, Nadino, Rastevich, Sopot, Peruscich, Colarina, Vucich, Provich and Morpolazza.

Comparing the names of the villages listed here with the previously mentioned villages, some new names of the villages can be noticed, which in previous sources were not mentioned (Scabrgna, Cula Atlagich, which were the new villages, while some villages changed the names such as Rastevich which dropped the capital "H"). In the cadastre were included some new villages of Podgorje (*Morlacca*). These were some old villages on the side of Novegradi and some villages on the Velebit slopes where the Venetian government extended its power despite Habsburg's objections. The total number of villages of Morlacca included into the Venetian cadastre was 29, of which 9 were on the other side of the river Zermagna²⁴⁶. The largest village there were: Tribagn, Starigrad, Castel Venier, Gesenice (*villa di Iaseniza*), Zaton, Zavagnani, Golubich (part of Segar) (*Golubich parte di Zegar*), Ervenich and Mokropogle. Those parts were of special interest for the Republic because of the summer pasturelands for seasonal cattle breeding. The new village was Starigrad, near the fortress of Veza, which was established by the *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran²⁴⁷, mostly by immigrants from the Ottoman side of the border in the Velebit mountains as well as some Habsburg subjects from Sv. Juraj near Segna²⁴⁸.

The cadastre creators divided the land of *Contado* by its quantity and quality into: *arrativi* (arable), *vignati* (vineyards), *prattivi* (meadows), *incolti* (non-cultivated). The land, which was about to be organised was selected additionally into: *incolti pubblici* (public non-cultivated), *bosco con buon fondo* (forest with good basis i.e. of good quality), *paludi*

²⁴⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta, 400, No.133.

²⁴⁷ ASV, *Camera dei confini*, Busta 249.

²⁴⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 183; also DAZ, *Dragomanski arhiv*, filza LVIII, *Confini generalato Ecc.mo Valier 1678 ed altri generalati antichi*, box, 6.

(marshlands), *boschivo* (forest), *pascolino* (pasturelands)²⁴⁹. Besides this, there was further definition of property into public and private. This time the measurements were carried out in *campo Padovano*²⁵⁰. According to the quotas of these different categories of land, which were distributed to the inhabitants of the villages in *contado* it can be noticed that in all areas the predominant quantity of land was arable. There was a significant quota of vineyards the around the village of Pacosciane, while there were no vineyards around Slivniza. The significant quota of meadows was around Provich in *contado medio*. Large areas in *contado inferior* were categorised under pasturelands. There was also significant quota of marshlands, emphasised around Zaravecchia. There were also some marshlands around Nadino around *contado medio* and Bigliane Superior in *contado superior*. The least good quality forest was in *contado superior*, which can be explained by the karst area, which encompassed this territorial unit in the zone of Bucovizza. The quota of non-cultivated land nowhere surpassed significant numbers and it is interesting to note that in the area of village of Rupagl there was no non-cultivated land at all.

The process of cadastre creation was slow, because the engineers were measuring land in every village, respecting the old confines of the property and there where they did not exist or where they were ambiguous they had to take into consideration all the possible disputes. They had to report about their progress every week²⁵¹. They also made maps of every village community. Alongside the picture there were all the information, which described the state of every village, number of families, number of potential soldiers, women, children, large and small animals, land divided into arable, pasture, vineyards and able to cultivate, forests and useless land. In every paper was described the possession of each of the families. All together in the county of Zara (except Bucovizza and Morlacca) were about 56,700 *campi padovani* of which 11,051 were useless²⁵².

It is interesting to note that in the 1750s Simon Grisigono Bortolazzi in his report noticed that the cadastre of Ravni Kotari created in 1709, after almost 50 years was no longer used. The peasants lost their property ownership documents or pretended to have them lost so as to avoid paying

²⁴⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva 1705-1706, I, f. 36v: “ Preché gl’Agrimensori non ricadano in tal omissione, gl’ho espressamente commandato che nelle misurazioni, e nelle note distinguano il colto, et il coltivabile, il boschivo, il pascolativo et il totalmente inutile, diligenza che fara cadere ongi sorte di terreno nella sua qualità, e quantità in considerazioni. Tenendo in tanto detti Agrimensori necessità di carte reali e colori per poter estendere l’operationi fatte, e da farsi” (...).

²⁵⁰ ZANINOVIĆ RUMORA, p. 132, estimated that 1 campo padovano should be equivalent to 3,655.0777 square metres.

²⁵¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 48.

²⁵² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 90.

duties and present their income as less than normal²⁵³. He realised that the document of the cadastre created in 1709 did not contain more than the determination of the properties and their recognition by the public authorities regarding the proportional number of individuals living in a family. Yet, *serdar* Bortolazzi emphasised that the present situation that he was facing had not changed much over almost 50 years. The roads were the same, the places were the same as well as houses, giving the reason for this to the natural constitution of things as well as to the low discipline of the inhabitants²⁵⁴.

9. Perception of the natural and cultural landscape

The natural landscape was mostly perceived through the scope of being useful as agricultural land or as some source of money. One glance at the map will show that there are no cities in Dalmatia, which would have more fertile and prosperous hinterland such as Zara. Probably the most admirable metaphor about the fertile hinterland of Zara was expressed by Giovanni Battista Salvago, the Venetian officer for the reconsideration of the Venetian – Ottoman borders in Zara’s hinterland. He identified this spacious place as irrigated by two rivers, the Zermagna and Krka with *illirica region mesopotamica*²⁵⁵. According to text written by Gliubavaz, some antique authors compared this territory to Egypt, expressing his sorrow for the destruction brought about by the Ottomans²⁵⁶. Beautiful fields irrigated by the rivers and framed with hills and mountains were those most of the time perceived by the Venetian officers²⁵⁷. Nevertheless, the landscape was most of the time seen as hostile to human and ‘natural’

²⁵³ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 11174, Ms. 169, *Informazione del Serdar Co. Simon Grisigono Bortolazzi*, f. 2r: “L’asserzione loro sempre fallace e menzognera, intenti a diminuire il quantitative de possedimenti onde pulsar alla pubblica clemenza per esiger sempre nuove provvidenze accedenti d’ordinario la loro vigoria e la volonta di ben coltivarli, ignari che il prodotto è sempre proporzionale più all’industria che all’estensione de campi rende incerto ogni riscontro ritratto da si fatta impure sorgente.”

²⁵⁴ ZKZD, No 11174, Ms. 169, f. 5r.

²⁵⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 34.

²⁵⁶ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 16530, Ms. 459, Simon GLIUBAVAZ, *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara*, f. 28: (...) “come lo nomina Strabone, di ottimi frutti, biade, vini ed ogli, divizioso di miele e cere, onde non senza ragione da autore di antichissima relazione viene paragonato all’Egitto, asserendo egli che in quelli tempi, cioe’ avanti fosse stato rovinato e distrutto dal Turcica barbarie, dubbioso rimaner faceva chinuque avesse preteso di decidere se maggior copia producesse di vino, oglio, miele e latte.”

²⁵⁷ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 20000, Ms. 501, *Relazione al Serenissimo principe di Antonio Barbaro Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia ed Albania a 1672*, f. 2r: (...) “a renderlo dovittiosa di bellissime campagne, irrigate da fiumi innaffiate da fonti ad ornate di colline, che sib en a primo aspetto pareva che l’occhio non sapesse discerner altro che horrori e dirruppi, la parte pero interna fertili e piane, sono della qualita che ho esposto” (...).

beauties as we see them today were most of the time just obstacles and dangerous places such as river torrents, gorges, canyons. To a Venetian nobleman, who was sent to serve its *Serenissima Repubblica* the crude and wild surroundings of fortresses, such as Novegradi, with the ever present Ottomans even during peace time, could not have been the place of dreams where some city man would like to spend the rest of his life. For a nobleman, the urban environment was the only place he would like to know about, although he might have expressed his admiration towards natural beauty in accordance with the romantic spirit of the time²⁵⁸. Although, during the 17th century the rural environment decorated with villas spread in Veneto, became very fashionable. But this was the cultural environment of wide plains with webs of irrigation canals, fields of corns and wheat, exchanged with vineyards and fruit gardens around luxurious villas with large approaching roads, without any defence wall²⁵⁹. Thus completely opposite to the Dalmatian reality of constant enemies presence and the only secure life within the ramparts.

The descriptions of the territory, which can be found in the sources such as the reports of Venetian officers and local noblemen, depended on their intentions and service. The *Provveditori Generali* were mostly concerned about how to provide more land for their Republic in the Ottoman hands, use it in the sake of a better economy and then how to provide safety²⁶⁰. Therefore, numerous descriptions of the fortresses of the both sides of the border contain the indication of possible useful land²⁶¹. The possible usage of land was always obvious from the reports of the Venetian officers. The local noblemen were mostly interested in presenting their homeland as beautiful, a God-given place to live²⁶², glorifying the past and sometimes glossing over the present situation. The extension of the *Contado of Zara* on the whole of Zara's hinterland after the wars with the

²⁵⁸ See more in G. GULLINO, *Different people of the east Adriatic: the point of view of the Venetian patricians*, in *Tolerance and intolerance in Triplex Confinium*, Padova, 2007.

²⁵⁹ COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 324, 332.

²⁶⁰ ZKZD, No. 20000, Ms. 501, p.12r, Antonio Barbaro in 1672 expressed: (...)“visti li gran spatij del paese e misurati in persona tutte le fertili campagne che sembrava fossero dal capitulatione promesse in dominio a V. S. al esposti tutti luoghi e territorij in accurate disegno a riflessi di qual'Eccm. Senate, ordino la publica prudenza che con cautelle proprie rihabitati e mi furono con tali occasioni cue premurosissime commissioni ingionate, l'una di consernar i luoghi di nuova conquista e l'altra di osservar con Turchi la pace, onde questa fondasse radici più durabili e sicuri”.

²⁶¹ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Filza 28, Memorie e notabili dallo servizio, c. 8, *Luoghi di Dalmazia*.

²⁶² ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 35: “Dalla Città e Porto verso sirocco, Levante e Grego il terreno si va piacevolmente sempre più innalzando sino alla cima delle convicine colline, che le formano quasi corona per lo spazio di tre in quattor miglia alquanto sassoso e scarso d'acqua, ma però coltivato e ripieno di bellissimi vignali et olivari. Dietro poi a dette colline non vi mancano ampie campagne e pianure”; also DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 4, f. 1r-1v.

Ottomans in the 17th century was justified also by the recovery of the antique territory of Liburnia, which was not completely true, because Zara's *ager* was smaller than Liburnia and could be identified with the border between the bishopric of Zara and Nona. Despite this, *contado* of Zara extended all the way to the Velebit ridge and the Triplex Confinium, which can be seen on the maps of the border demarcation between the Habsburg Monarchy, the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic²⁶³. Moreover, the term Liburnia in antiquity covered the large area from the Bay of Kvarner to the Zara region²⁶⁴.

Toponyms often show the human perception and relationship towards a natural environment. They were most of the time related to the quality of the soil and water as mentioned regarding the cadastre of Nona created in 1609. Simon Gliubavaz also gave a detailed explanation of the relationship of toponyms and quality of the landscape as mentioned. The perception of the landscape can be also seen through map creation. Probably the best known map of the *contado* of Zara was that created about 1530 by the Venetian Matteo Pagano²⁶⁵. The map represents the territory far extended beyond the administrative borders of Zara as well as that of the Venetian Republic since by that time the Ottomans were already in the neighbourhood of the *contado* taking over Knin, Ostrovica and Obbrovazzo. The author of the map was obviously interested in presenting the quality of the landscape of both Zara's and Sebenico's hinterlands as well as the coastline. Thus we can find detailed drawings of houses, towers and ramparts around the city of Zara, the town of Nona and Zaravecchia on the sea, then the castles with settlements such as Rasanze, Slivniza, Novegradi, Carino, Corlat, Nadino, Polazza, Vrana, Zemonico and Polisani. There are also drawings of towers although not all of them were mentioned by name but their placements were very precise, which indicates the author's substantial knowledge of the territory. There are also houses, which indicate villages besides the author's precise writing of the term *ville*. The characteristics of the landscape such as forests, lakes and the quality of soil as well as economic items, such as mills, are indicated with the written terms (*boschi, lago, pedrosi, molini*) and additionally emphasised with drawings. Other qualities of the landscape such as knolls, hills and rivers are

²⁶³ DAZ, *Mape Grimani*, No. 6, 123, 125.

²⁶⁴ ZKZD, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, f. 9: "Alcuni dei moderni scrittori dano a questa Provincia di Liburnia il nome di Contado di Zara, fondandosi sopra quanto in atestazione dell'antico suo predominio lascio scritto Vegezio: esser la Liburnia il nome di Contado di Zara, fondandosi sopra quanto in atestazione dell'antico suo predominio della Dalmazia soggetta alla giurisdizione di Zara."

²⁶⁵ M. PAGANO, *Tutto el Contado di Zara e Sebenicho of Mateo Pagano*, in *Borders of Croatia on Maps*, p. 86.

also obvious through the intentional use of three-dimensional representations although they don't have written names²⁶⁶.

Vicenzo Maria Corronelli designed another map, which represents the *contado* of Zara in the 17th century with the demarcation of the *acquisto vecchio*. The map is entitled *Contado di Zara Parte della Dalmatia*, but it represents a wide area up to the Velebit ridge and it includes all the islands of the Zara archipelago. Regarding its size and measures, Corronelli created very detailed map and it could be considered the first topographic map of this area²⁶⁷. On the maps are emphasised administrative borders of the territory of Novegradi, Nona and Zara as well as the border towards the Ottoman possessions according to the *linea Nani*. The author did not use so many different drawings to represent the situation of the terrain, although the drawings of trees and hills are very indicative, as well as detailed drawings of the waters with only a few names such as *Zermagna*, *Fiumara del Porto* (in the territory of Nona), *Acqua di Cacma* (near Tign) and *Fiume Guduchia* (which ends in Vrana Lake). The lakes are also clearly drawn with names: *Bocagnazzo* and *Lago di Vrana*, as well as *Lago di Carin* with a note that the water is salty, while the lake of Nadino was only marked with the word *lago* and on the edge of the Vrana Lake is a drawing of marshland and written *Paludi*. Near to *Bocagnazzo* the author found it important to write that the stream from the lake ends in the port of Nona via underground means. The main valleys are also emphasised by the written words: *Valle di Liuba* and *Valle di Rasance*.

Main towns were precisely drawn with ground plans such as Zara, Nona, Zaravecchia, Vrana, Novegradi and the two castles of Obbrovazzo. Other villages are emphasised with the real drawings of houses and towers, in situ. The most important value of the map is the information, which the author writes about the villages where available to him. In this way we can read on the map that the village of Zlovsane in the territory of Nona was abandoned and Mahurzi was destroyed. Zaton had 20 houses, Vrsi 48, Rasanze 200, Radovin 70, Dracevazz 14, Bocagnazzo 200, San Cassiano 14, Toretta 20, San Filippo e Giacomo 40, Pacosciane 40 houses. There was also the village of Pridraga as a new village near Novegradi with 16 houses, but with the nearest Church of St. Martin, had been destroyed. One new village was Starigrad which the author emphasised as the place established by the Governor General Pietro Civran near to the castle of *Vezza* or *Vegia*, (Večka kula), which confirms the establishment of the Venetian government on the other side of the *Canalle di Morlacca* (Velebitski kanal). Coronelli

²⁶⁶ MLINARIĆ, *A Comparative Analysis of the Early Modern Toponyms from the Novel Planine of Petar Zoranić and the Map Tutto el Contado di Zara e Sebenicho of Mateo Pagano*, in *Triplex Confinium (1500-1800) Ekohistorija*, p. 29-51, as well as MAGAŠ, *Geographic Determinants of the Conception of Mateo Pagano's Map: The Whole District of Zadar and Šibenik*, in *Triplex Confinium (1500-1800) Ekohistorija*, p. 13-29.

²⁶⁷ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Chartographic sources*, p. 19.

also mentioned 100 houses in the village of Budim, which Simon Gliubavaz mentioned as being only ruins. Another difference can be observed here which is related to the number of houses. Gliubavaz wrote his text soon after the main military actions of the Candian War. The villages, which he described on the Venetian side of the border, had an average of 50-60 houses. Coronelli obviously drew his map after the establishment of the new borderline in the 1670s and the increased number of the houses in the villages of the *contado* could be related to the new Morlach immigrants. He also knew very well the situation with the villages on the territory of the Ottoman side of the border. He emphasised that Polisane were destroyed, Suovare had only 14 houses but without inhabitants, Stossia's houses were all ruined, Vrana was burned in 1647, the tower of Cucagn was ruined, the village of Badagn continued to survive with 70 houses and Obbrovazzo had 500 inhabitants. Near to the town of Obbrovazzo, Coronelli emphasised the places of timber transfer for sale, as well as the places of guards at mouth of the River Zermagna. On the maps are also marked mills and the stone bridge near the Castle Venier. The author also placed the other names of places that he knew of, i.e. Croatian and Roman. This map is a precious source for the changes in the territory of Zara's hinterland during the second half of the 17th century and shows a detailed knowledge of the Venetian *geographer* of the territory²⁶⁸ as well as the Venetian interests in Zara's hinterland²⁶⁹ with the special attention of the political and administrative divisions (*contado, territorio*).

10. Natural and human borders

The mountain ridge of Velebit creates a natural barrier between Zara's hinterland towards Bosnia and Lika. All migratory movements slowed down through the high mountain passages. However, once passed the mountains, it was easy to pass through the flat territory all the way to the coast, which is what happened during the Ottoman intrusions from Bosnia and Lika. Once they had established control over Bucovizza, the path to the flat hinterland of Zara was open²⁷⁰. After the conflict ceased and peace negotiations ended, the state officers would go to determine the physical border on the land. Natural obstacles (borders) were used as border

²⁶⁸ V. M. CORONELLI, *Contado di Zara, descritto dal P. Maestro Coronelli cosmoginfo della Serenissima Republica di Venetia, dedicato a Monsig. Ill.mo e Rev.mo Matteo Farsetti Protonotario Apostolico et Auditore della Signatura in Venetia 1688 con Privilegio dell' Ecc. Senato*, in *Borders of Croatia on Maps*, p. 92.

²⁶⁹ B. FURST BJELIŠ, *Cartographic Perceptions of the Triplex Confinium and state power interests at the beginning of the 18th century*, in *Constructing border societies on the Triplex Confinium*, p. 210-211.

²⁷⁰ SUIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, I, p. 57; also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 18, in his report Antonio Priuli, in 1670 emphasised: (...)“ove apunto li monti di Bucovizza sono dalla natura posti quasi per freno all'incursioni de Turchi” (...)

demarcation when and where it was possible: rivers, streams, ditches, as well as outstanding trees, piles of rocks, roads and paths or there would be placed signs as crosses or signs on large rocks²⁷¹. All this began to be represented on very precise maps of the areas of interest with detailed figurative presentations of certain landscapes over which the border would cross²⁷².

As an illustration of this kind of border demarcation here can be used the description of the borderline between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice established in 1576. There were many reasons for the Venetians to complain about this borderline and one of them was that the borderline split the natural surroundings of the Venetian villages, leaving them without fields and forests, necessary for their survival. The borderline went from the Bay of Carino dividing the sea from the little Bay of Tiha (Tija) below Kruševo to the shallow marsh of Gumance on the other side, below the village of Dolac (today's Pridraga). In establishing the physical border, the natural landmarks were used. For example in establishing the border in the Bay of Carino, a great rock on the seashore was used (*il sasso grande alla riva del Mare*)²⁷³. After this the border went up to the village of Dolac where a well called Lupoglavac was used as a marker. From here the border went to a pile of stones and through a ravine all the way to a *mirila*²⁷⁴ near the village of Cucagl towards the Church of St. Martin. On the border, but on the Ottoman side was the village of Cucagl, as well as the village of Grabovzzani. From the *mirila* the borderline went to the combe of *Horuguenizze* near the village of *Paljuh* (today's Paljuv).

Further more the border mark was the water source called *Pispret* (Pištet). From here the borderline followed a road marked with piles of rocks all the way to *Gradina* (an ancient hill fortress near Podgradina). The borderline went further to the creek of Slapača between Possedaria and the village of *Podnovije* and from here to the walls of the village *Mirci*. From

²⁷¹ JAKŠIĆ, *Privilegium regium*, p. 335; near the village of Crno there are toponyms *Latinska Gomila* and *Turska Gomila* which were the piles of rocks used as border demarcation in 1576.

²⁷² SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Granice*, p. 453; The author emphasised that the appearance of the special maps of the border demarcation was related to the physical border demarcation in a natural landscape for the first time in Dalmatia in 1700, but there have been evidence that the physical border demarcation carried out by the Venetian governor G. B. Nani in 1671 was also recorded in a special, detailed map, which has been preserved in the State Archive in Zadar, DAZ, Mape Grimani, no. 260, *Disegno della linea Nani*, with the detailed status of the borderline around Novegradi. After a discussion with Mirela Slukan Altić, we concluded that it might be the case of having the real demarcation map, which would imply that the Nani's border demarcation in the district of Novegradi was the first recorded on the special map in 1671.

²⁷³ ANZULović, *Razgraničenje između mletačke i turske*, p. 57.

²⁷⁴ *Mirila* is a stone stopping place where coffins would be rested during funeral processions from villages to cemeteries. See more in MAGAŠ, *Geographic Determinants*, p. 146.

here the borderline passed through the village of Učiteljivas (today's Islam Latinski), which became a part of the Ottoman Empire (the last fortress before the Christendom – *Sedd-i Islam*). The next border mark after the green oak (*babin dub*)²⁷⁵ near Učiteljivas was the hill *Copizza* and *Topolova loqua* (pond) and the stream of Basciza (Baščica) and the mills on this stream and the hill of *Cermole* near Lovinzi. Furthermore the borderline followed the valley named *Vuglia* where the border was marked with a tree with a cross and the water source called *Dobravoda* and another *mirila* and water spring called *Racovichi*. After this the borderline crossed vineyards and passed near the Church of St. Peter on a rocky hill between the villages of Slimnica and Radovin. From this point the borderline crossed the road and forest of *Brisi*. On the edge of the forest the border was marked with a cross on a tree and further on a cross on a stone which was on a crossroads and went all the way to the creek of *Giasuizza* near the village of Krbavaclug and from here to another creek called *Stragazza* and through the forest towards the two large stones and further to *Gomilla* (pile of rocks) and a stone creek below the road towards the village of Cherneza (Krneza) and pit of *Smocuova*. Here the border left the villages of Stanicha Selo and Ambrozicha Selo to be on the Venetian side.

From here the borderline went towards Visočane alongside a stone bank. From here the border followed the creek of *Golubnizza* and then following a pile of rocks to the other creek of *Podassiza* and further to *Gomila* (pile) near the villages of Migliascicha and Scrole leaving them to the Venetian government. From here, all the way following the piles of rocks, the borderline went to a dry river bed where a stone with the cross and stone bank were. The borderline passed next to a great pile of rocks (*Gomila grande*) dividing the villages of Brda (Venetian) and Brisevo (Ottoman). The borderline went down crossing a road near *Prodi* and then through vineyards and forests, to another *gomila* and *grobница* (tomb). The borderline went further following a pile of stones to the dyke of *Giasinizza* and following the road all the way to *Goichale gomila*. From here the borderline went to a channel near the village of *Slochuchiane*. Here the borderline avoided the village of Cerno, passing through a forest and further to the hill *Zemunaza* (near Zemonico) and the forest and pastureland near Stomorinavas. From here the borderline followed the road southwards, following a pile of rocks and passing through *macchia* and forest to the valley *Dolaz Verminihin*, following the trees with crosses and next to two felled trees, towards a stone pile through the forest which belonged to the village of *Ralichich*, further through the forest and next to the church of Babindub, following the road to *Pignazza Draga* near Vercevo and further to the top of a hill from where the sea can be seen, further avoiding the village of Toretta, next to the fields on the edge of forest to the water source

²⁷⁵ JAKŠIĆ, *Privilegium regium*, p. 348-350.

of *Rucina*. From here the borderline followed the road near vineyards southwards, next to ruins (probably a Roman aqueduct) and towards a stone hill on the road to *Costegl* and *Cosevich*, avoiding Pacosciane and ending in Vrana Lake²⁷⁶.

This kind of establishment of the so-called “wet borderline” was also used during the border demarcation after the Candian War in 1671 (*Linea Nani*). Actually, this border demarcation was mainly a confirmation of the previous borderline established in 1576. The Venetian border negotiator Giovanni Battista Nani and the Ottoman Mahmutpasha agreed about the existing border (therefore *acquisto vecchio*) at their meeting near to the ruins of the castle of Islam and there were only little corrections in the Bay of Carino, giving more space to the town of Novegradi²⁷⁷. These corrections were also presented on a detailed map of the Novegradi area. Unfortunately the map does not provide much information about the landscape of the area. Therefore, it is difficult to understand all the changes in the real environment. The major change happened near the old border mark *Erachamiche* near the channel of Crusevo. Here a new pile of stones (*gomila*) was built by the man whose name was also mentioned on the map (*Gerolimo Naranzich*). The pile was named after the Ottoman negotiator *Mamut Bassa*. From here *linea Nani* goes to the sea. This was near the road, which led from Carino to Zara and the well named *Cociterovaz*. There is also a sign of a house with the owner’s name is also written there (*Vicenzo Zorich*). On the map some of the old border marks were repeated such as the well near *Badagn*, village of *Bipischich*, the road, which divided Smilcich from Bigliane and the water source *Pistet*²⁷⁸. There was one huge problem with such border marking. The trees, piles of rocks did not last for long periods. The Venetian negotiator Nani found it very difficult to follow the old borderline created almost 100 years before²⁷⁹.

However, the business of the border demarcation was pretty much about the relationship towards the natural environment. Therefore we can find much information about the state of Zara’s hinterland in 1671 during his travel alongside the old border together with the Ottoman Pasha. Nani suffered the hottest period of the year, a shortage of water and difficult

²⁷⁶ ANZULOVIC, *Razgraničenje između mletačke i turske*, p. 57-97; also JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 86.

²⁷⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, *Lettere di G. B. Nani, Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*.

²⁷⁸ DAZ, *Mape Grimani*, No. 260.

²⁷⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 21: “Se alcuna di VV.EE fosse servita di legger la scrittura stabilita del 1576 vederebbe anche qual sia la confusione di cose che hora si conviene distinguer, consistendo gran parte dei segnali d’all’hora in alberi o intieri o tagliati che non appariscono più e per la longhezza del tempo e per la desolazione di tutto il paese.”

travelling conditions²⁸⁰. A lack of clear border markings was one of the obstacles in combination with the previously mentioned problems as well as diplomatic fights against cunning Ottoman local magnates who would not miss any opportunity to extend their properties. The border established in this way by using natural characteristics of terrain, however could not endure the time as well as human interpretation, and numerous obstacles, which Nani's commission met were related to the changes of the toponyms due to change of the inhabitants of an area as well as their provisional moving of the border marks²⁸¹. From the Nani's report we can also see the state of the villages around the border, which were mostly abandoned, burned and in ruins, as well as the surrounding areas²⁸².

The establishment of the border after the Morean War was not related to the territory of Zara's hinterland since the border was moved up to the Triplex Confinum on the source of the River Zermagna. There were many arguments and negotiations about the zone around the castle of Zvonigrad with the Habsburgs and the Republic of Venice persisted on a customary border with Lika, possible related to the transhumance settlements of the Dalmatian coastal communities. The importance of the pasturelands for the Dalmatian coastal communities and their transhumance on the Velebit southern slopes i.e. Morlacca can be noticed in the Ottoman documents where the summer pasturelands in Morlacca in *nahi* of Obrovazzo were emphasised as those of special interest which could accept about 72,000 sheep²⁸³. Nevertheless, Grimani's main border demarcation process was different and related to the key fortresses in the Dalmatian hinterland, away from Zara's hinterland, which now was completely under Venetian control. The Venetian side persisted on having some land around the towns they gained during the Morean War. *Provveditore Generale*

²⁸⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, no. 21: "La mancanza totale in molti luoghi d'acqua in altri il fattor dell'intessa desolazione del paese, la difficoltà di trasportar il bagaglio et ogni genere di disaggio accompagnato questo penoso viaggio."

²⁸¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 19: (...) "se bene veramente i confini furono posti del 1570 ad ogni modo non smepre si sono mantenuti ma tanto i paesani Turchi, che i nostri hanno procurato d'avantaggiarsi, usurpando quel d'altri e perciò molti confini sono mossi et alcuni luoghi hanno cambiato nome, e chiamati in un modo da Turchi, et in un altro da nostri causando confusione" (...)

²⁸² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 19, also No. 21: "Non trovatosi dunque dopo l'ultimo mio dispaccio dei due alcun leggitimo segno del confin di Gruhussi, ha bisognato approvare la vecchia massiera, che visibilmente appariva. Di la partiti tentavano i Turchi di lasciar la villa di Bardo alla sinistra con che a loro restava, ma io assolutamente negando di far quella stradda tanto dissi che il Bassa si rese capace d'una permuta che pure del '76 si fece con'altro viaggio, onde cambiato camino resto nel confini di VV.EE." And further more: (...) "figurandosi i Turchi che appresso la villa di Railicich certe ruine fossero le masiere del confine, volevano porlo sopra le porte si puo dir della villa, tagliando fuori certo pochi terminationi di quegl'habitanti".

²⁸³ BUZOV, *Vlach villages*, p. 236.

Grimani²⁸⁴ was expressing his sorrow that the Republic was losing large parts of meadows, fertile land and forest. In the end the borderline was semi-circle shaped around the towns (Knin, Verlica, Sign), which gave them certain *ager* and possibilities to survive as well as following the natural borders such as knolls, hills, springs, where this was possible²⁸⁵. The Republic learned a lesson through suffering during the 16th century when the Venetian coastal towns were cut off from their *contado*.

The settlements were established in the places, which allowed the best usage of the natural sources of the environment. Nevertheless, with the change of the natural conditions (*mal'aria*, other diseases) or under the pressure of constant conflicts, some areas become abandoned. These two negative factors worked side-by-side most of the time and their effects can be obvious in the depopulation processes in the areas such as Nona during the whole early modern age and Lake Vrana after the Ottomans' departure in the 18th century.

It can be concluded that the habitation and appearance of settlements were largely influenced by the natural characteristics of an environment. In this way in Zara's hinterland there was a large concentration of villages and hamlets, whose development was motivated by the favourable environment. The building of houses on knolls and hills was a result of the healthier air opposed to the dampness and *mal'aria* found in the valleys, and then there were the strategic reasons when it was necessary to assure the defence of the territory. This typical spread of settlements can be observed in Zara's hinterland from the Middle Ages over the whole of the early modern ages.

The expansion of the Ottoman government over Zara's hinterland was possible due to the configuration of the flat, mildly undulating terrain, which allowed easy military movements in the direction from the mountains towards the sea. However, it was motivated by the desire of the domestic beys to conquer as much land as possible for their feudal manors. The interest of the Republic Venice was contra (from the sea towards the mountains), but proportional to the Ottomans and it was driven by the desire to assure as much as possible the natural resources of the hinterland for the Dalmatian coastal towns. The final Venetian conquest of this territory was concluded with the creation of cadastres.

²⁸⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, *Giovanni Grimani, Commissario sopra i confini in Dalmazia et Albania*.

²⁸⁵ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Granice Dalmacije*, p. 457

Chapter III

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGEOVER

The specific type of administrative and political organisation of the Venetian government in Dalmatian hinterland was inevitably related to the strategic and political objectives of the Venetian government there¹. During the wars of the second half of the 17th century the Republic's political position changed and it began to be more offensive in comparison with the 16th century's mostly defensive position especially towards the Ottomans. It is interesting to see how with the war success and integration of new Morlach inhabitants who assured significant military strength, changed the objectives and positions of Venice especially in Zara's hinterland where three forces: Habsburgs, Ottomans and Venice met creating a triple border and a specific area of common but opposing interests. It is also interesting that the politics and diplomacy in border negotiation was different in the Venetian-Ottoman relationship, to the Habsburg-Venetian relationship, which is most obvious in the border demarcation process and establishment of *linea Nani* and *linea Grimani*. Together with the territorial expansion, the Republic was introducing the administrative and political organisation of the new territory, which was always a specific combination of old, pre-Venetian system (medieval Croatian) and typical Venetian political institutions with the introduction of some Ottoman elements related to the establishment of the military border. The process of administrative and political organisation was very important in proving the Venetian possession of a territory as well as the immediate integration of the new subjects – Morlachs.

¹ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 64: The authors emphasised that the Venetian's only intention was to ensure its government over Dalmatian coastal towns and due to this to ensure control over some strategic fortresses in the hinterland such as Ostrovizza and Clissa.

1. Re-introduction of the Venetian political power in Zara's hinterland

The Republic's traditional objective was to assure the free navigation and control over "its Bay", *Golfo di Venetia*, as well as the market places on the Dalmatian coast where the caravan routes from Bosnia ended². There were no thoughts about expanding their Dalmatian possession at the time when the Venetians were mostly losing the territories of their eastern Adriatic coastal communities during the 16th century. But when the circumstances allowed an expansion towards the new territories in the Dalmatian hinterland, the Republic accepted this challenge. The main turning point in the relationship between the Ottoman and Venetian forces in Dalmatia, and at all in the history of the Venetian dominion in Dalmatia, happened at the end of the Candian War. In the first years of the war (1646-1647) the Venetian army succeeded to repel the Ottomans from the whole of the former Ottoman territory in Zara's hinterland. This happened thanks to Morlach guerrilla and General Focolo's sense of battle strategy and the management of these specific and new Venetian military troops. However, the Venetian government did not succeed to establish control over the territory, which can be seen by numerous Ottomans intrusions during the whole period of the war and even after the official end of the war. Nevertheless, the Republic claimed the new acquisition in Dalmatia, believing in the principle of *uti possidetis*, which was included in the peace treaty in 1669 as being the principle according to which Venetians would have rights to expand their possession in Dalmatia to all places from where the Ottomans were expelled. Nevertheless, negotiation and the border demarcation took different directions bringing great disappointment to the

² PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 12; The author emphasised that the technology of navigation in the 15th century was so advanced that the Venetians did not have to depend on sailing down the Dalmatian coast. Their main target was to establish their market places at the end of the caravan routes from the hinterland (Bosnia and further Balkans). However in addition of the territory of Venetian dependence of the eastern Adriatic coast goes the statement of COZZI, *Venezia nello scenario europeo (1517-1699)*, p. 119, where he explained that the loss of Dalmatia would put the city and the state of Venice in a very difficult position restricted to its lagoon, blocking its traffic and communication routes. Regarding the importance of marketplaces in Dalmatia, especially after the loss of Cyprus, see: R. PACI, *La scala di Spalato e il commercio veneziano nei Balcani fra cinque e seicento*, Venezia, Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Venezia, Miscellanea di Studi e Memorie, XIV, 1971.

Venetian representatives in Dalmatia³, and most of all to the newcomers, the Morlachs, who were predominately fighting for the land there. This turning of the Venetian position from winner to loser in Dalmatia, despite war success⁴ has often been a subject in historiography although not thoroughly explained.

a) *Hard job of border demarcation – linea Nani*

In 1669 the border negotiation's 'hot potato' was given to an experienced diplomat and politician *Cavaliere e Procuratore di San Marco* Giann Battista Nani⁵. At the beginning of the Candian War he was ambassador at the French court and after this in Vienna and during his diplomatic stage, he was mostly working on persuading these two Venetian competing forces to step on the Venetian side and join the Holy League⁶. Besides this rich diplomatic career, Nani also published a large three volume book about the history of the Venetian Republic and the Candian War⁷, but this happened after he accomplished his diplomatic career with the establishment of the borderline in Dalmatia named after him *linea Nani*. Reading his reports from his services in Paris and Vienna, as well as the book about the Candian War, one thing can be concluded: he was mostly concerned about bringing peace to his homeland⁸. Using the words of Gaetano Cozzi in the

³ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione o particolari contenuti nella Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dell'Ecc.mo Kav. Gerolamo Grimani fu Prov. Generale in Dalmazia et Albania*, f. 86r; Grimani, who was Governor General in 1678 expressed his sorrow of lost of the territories in Zara's hinterland presuming that local Ottoman magnates bribed Mahmut Pasha: (...) "è notorio che Mahmut Passa, qual fù il primo spedito per la divisione de' confini, contaminati dalle promesse fatteli dalli predetti due capi e qualche altro confinante, dall' hora d'esser con grosse somme di danaro corrisposto, pose le mete a suo capriccio con intacco ancora delle pubbliche ragioni che nella Guerra del 1570 restarono da Ferhat aceremente pregiudicate. Onde ritiene con tacita violenza un bellissimo paese che per ogni raggione e per vigor del capitolato doveva rimaner a S. Ser.tà."

⁴ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačke granice*, p. 457.

⁵ DIFNIC, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 326.

⁶ NSK Zagreb, *Rukopisi*, R3587; Report written by G. B. Nani after his return from the extraordinary diplomatic service in Paris and Vienna in 1660: "Ch'è quanto il Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Nani ha potuto riferire al Senato nel ritorno dall'Ambasciata straordinaria di Vienna dalla quale s'incamino nel ritorno che faceva Venetia l'anno 1660 a quella di Parigi.

⁷ ZKZD, 1514/I, Q 4-2, NANI, *Historia Veneta*, in Venetia, MDCLXXVI.

⁸ NANI, *Historia Veneta*, I, p. 2: "Stabili pertanto i suoi pensieri nell'arti della conservatione, e della Pace" (...).

description of one Venetian nobleman on a high great level who dealt with important issues of state, it can be said that Nani had the manners of a *gran signore*, which also implied a wide range of experience, a knowledge of the world and of people ranging from ambassadors to different state rulers and ministers; but also someone who never forgot the pragmatism of his own homeland, essential in any good negotiation, in politics as well as in trade⁹. He was sent to meet the Ottoman representative in Dalmatia to establish the new borders according to the conclusions of the Peace Treaty, which was the duty of the Venetian ambassador in Istanbul. Nani received the authorisation to gain the maximum amount of territory in Dalmatia, but not at the cost of breaking the peace¹⁰.

Before his arrival in Dalmatia, there was *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Barbaro, who in 1670 took over this duty happily facing the challenge of subjecting the newly gained Venetian territory in the Dalmatian hinterland presuming it being conquered and protected by the Venetian army during the war despite some continuations of Ottoman intrusions and attack on the new Morlach Venetian subjects¹¹. His main concern, after he visited the whole territory between the rivers of Zermagna and Krka was the lack of people¹². Barbaro warned the Venetian Senate that Venice should not leave the newly conquered territory unpopulated and the Senate should speed up its decision and allow him to move the new Morlach subjects to the newly conquered territories especially to the key fortresses, because the interim between the peace conclusion and border demarcation was giving very attractive possibilities for local Ottomans to retake the fortresses, which they had lost during the war¹³. Nevertheless, just as Barbaro warned the Senate, the local Ottomans used the confusing situation in which the Republic did not establish a firm control over the territory and reconstructed the whole political situation in the Dalmatian hinterland.

The Ottoman commission, some local agas and new the Bosnian Mehmet Pasha Teftish visited the places of former Klis Sandjak. During his visit the Pasha apparently used a false document that seemed being issued

⁹ COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 333.

¹⁰ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 56.

¹¹ DIFNIC, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 298.

¹² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche de Provveditori Generali in Dalmazia*, Busta 381, No. 5 and No. 17.

¹³ DIFNIC, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 297.

by the Gran Vizier, which he was using to prove the legal rights of the Ottomans to retake the key fortresses in the Dalmatian hinterland, except Clissa, but without any surrounding territory¹⁴. At the same time some local Ottoman troops, surprising the poor Venetian defence, took over Obbrovazzo, Scardona and Dernis¹⁵. Barbaro sent some additional Venetian troops there led by the Count of Zara and Count of Sebenico and Captain Gregorio Detrico, but without success. At the end he demanded the Pasha to withdraw his people and leave these places empty until April 1671 when the border demarcation was supposed to begin¹⁶. However, this became a turning point in their report to the central Ottoman government and the Gran Vizier in Istanbul who was in the middle of negotiations with the Venetian Bailo Molin. After the presentation of the situation on the land and the excellent diplomatic play by the local Ottoman magnates in the front of the Gran Vizier, the Venetians had to accept to keep their Morlachs away from the border before the final decision about the borderline¹⁷. During the meeting with Barbaro, Pasha negated any Venetian possession in the Dalmatian hinterland apart of the fortress of Clissa, which was apparently the only one mentioned in the document of the peace conclusion¹⁸. This was the crucial fact, which changed the Venetian position in the Dalmatia hinterland and changed the direction of the border demarcation.

In April 1671 Barbaro received an order to remove the Venetian subjects, (most of them were newcomers Morlachs), behind the old

¹⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 44.

¹⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche de Provveditori Generali in Dalmazia*, Busta 381, No. 45; The Captain of Zara Magno tried to defend Obbrovazzo, while the Captain of Senico was defending Scardona but both without any success. See also, DIFNIC, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 312-314.

¹⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 48.

¹⁷ DIFNIC, *Povijest kandijskog* p. 308; BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 46, 49; Gran Vizier recommended to the Bosnian Mehmed Pasha Teftish to take over as many fortifications in Dalmatia as possible, but without causing military conflict. At the same time Bosnian Ottoman magnate Filipović presented the territory in Dalmatia as very important for the Ottoman Empire and balancing the forces of the Republic of Venice on the Adriatic gaining a huge support of Gran Vizier Ahmedpasha Koprulu.

¹⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche de Provveditori Generali in Dalmazia*, Busta 381, No. 28; also BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 40; She pointed out that in the peace agreement were mentioned the fortress of Clissa and other fortresses and towns, which the Venetians conquered in Dalmatia. However, with the later change in the Ottoman politics, they only accepted the named fortress of Clissa, avoiding to recognise the Venetian conquest of other fortresses in Dalmatia finding reason in the fact that Venetians did not keep their permanent military troops there, except in Clissa.

borderline from 1576, after agreement that the Ottomans would also stay away from these disputable territories. The greatest problem was the fact that the majority of Morlachs had already started to work the land, which they had to leave on the other side of the border¹⁹.

In May 1671 Giann Battista Nani arrived in Spalato in order to be closer to the new Venetian fortress of Clissa. He was supposed to meet the new Ottoman representative for the border demarcation because Mehmed Pasha Teftish had died. It seems that Nani had been expected a smooth diplomatic job with the new Bosnian Pasha Mahmut who was on his way from Adrianopolis to meet him somewhere in Dalmatia, because his dragoman Tommaso Tarsia informed him that Mahmut was kind of quiet and moderated person²⁰ and not very warlike. Nani believed that they would have started their diplomatic job around Spalato and the newly conquered Venetian territories around the fortresses of Clissa, Sasso and Salona, which the Venetian side considered to be clearly their new acquisitions as well as great Ottoman losses. The starting Venetian principle was *uti possidetis* and their interpretation of the Peace Treaty concluded on Crete, and signed by the Sultan and Bailo Molino. According to this principle, the Venetians believed that all the places which their army conquered during the war in Dalmatia were supposed to become their territory²¹ although they had accepted to move his people from the newly conquered territory expecting the Ottomans to also keep them abandoned before the final border decision²². Nevertheless, the Ottomans showed that they were the masters of the situation even though they had obviously lost the war in Dalmatia. Nani

¹⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche de Provveditori Generali in Dalmazia*, Busta 381, No. 59.

²⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 2: “Un Emin Turco che è qui giunto di fresco è venuto a vedermi con dimostrazioni de giubilo che si trovi modo di aggiustar il confine e di sapere le differenze. Mi ha detto esser destinato al governo di Bosna Mamut Bassa alter volte Bassa di Buda e poi Caimecan in Costantinopoli. Il Tarsia che molto bene lo conosce lo descrive per huomo de moderati pensieri et amator di quiete.”

²¹ DIFNIC, *Povijest kandijskog*, p. 329.

²² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 13: (...) “disse il Tarsia parergli che mancasse nelle parte di risposta alle mie lettere circa retirar le genti da luoghi che dovevano restare vuoti reciprocamente. Rispose il Bassà questo è superfluo perché dovremo fare l’abboccamento. Non ha trovato alcun’incontro che vi sia ordine di evacuare Dernis et Obrovazo, come con le solite sue delusioni” (...).

was not very happy understanding that the actual meeting with Mahmut Pasha would take place somewhere in the territory of Zara, believing that there was nothing to be discussed and all the places, which were burnt and ruined there, anyway were supposed to become Venetian²³. Finally it was decided to start the meeting in Nadino. From Sapolato Nani arrived in Zaravecchia, the closest port to the meeting point, but now with very imprecise expectations, because of the letters received from his *confidente* about the Pasha who apparently wanted to renew the old borderline²⁴. Besides this, the experienced diplomat Nani knew that the Ottomans were likely to change their statements²⁵. He was even ready to compromise being aware that the local Ottomans had many more possibilities to quickly organise their military troops in the nearest territories of the Lika and Klis Sandjak and take over the places, for which they had pretensions. Moreover, the Venetians did not have enough people even to peacefully populate the gained territories. Therefore Nani believed that a slight decline in the borderline against the Venetian territory would be a better solution than to fight the Ottomans²⁶. An insight into this kind of diplomatic reflection would help to understand the Venetian position just before the real border negotiations started and understand how it was possible that an experienced politician as Giann Battista Nani gave up so much territory in Dalmatia.

²³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 13: “Ma se a confini di Zara, dove furono abbandonati e distrutti li luoghi acquistati non essendo mai caduti in pensieri che restar dovessero al dominio di V.V.E.E., ne volesse far buono il possesso goduto et il presidio sostenuto non con altro che con una guardia avanzata composta de soli Morlacchi, il pregiudizio di quell congresso ribatterò in ogn'altra parte con mio estremo cordoglio”.

²⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 15: “Osservo nelle sue lettere le ambigue parole hora di rinnovare il confine, hora di porre il confine nuovo, che possono havere più sensi. Vi è perciò gran luogo a credere che le voci siano di Giacobe e le mani d'Esau. Ad ogni modo io unirò tutta la debolezza degli spiriti miei, acciò il servitio di V.V.E.E. al possibile sia sostenuto”.

²⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 6: (...) “perché di ciò che dicono i Turchi non e da confidarsi; mentre parlano a un modo; e scrivono ad un' altro e se ogni volta, che in questa materia de confini hanno preso la penna in mano, hanno cambiato frase, che vuol dire la sostanza di tutto il negotio” (...)

²⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 11: (...) “puo facilmente vedersi che il tirare le linee del confine un poco più addentro non è cosa di grande momento; preché nello stato antico di V.V.E.E. vi è più bisogno di gente che de terreno; essendo veramente tutta la provincia spogliata a lacrimabile segno”.

The meeting with Mahmut Pasha finally took place near the ruins of the fortress of Sedd-i Islam, so, starting the border negotiation in the area actually where the Ottomans were supposed to lose the majority of their territory. Here, Nani faced his first diplomatic crash. Mahmut Pasha had his own interpretation of the principle *uti possidetis, ita possiedatis* as the places had to be taken and repopulated and possibly rebuilt in order to prove legacy of possession²⁷. To avoid the wrong impression that Nani immediately accepted the confirmation of the Ottoman demands and the 'old borderline', it has to be mentioned that he was fighting with all the possible arguments²⁸, but almost all the circumstances were working against him²⁹. He persisted on a field insight sending a commission to check the newly conquered places, but they did not prove any e Venetian army presence except for a few guards, which for Mahmut Pasha, supported by the local magnate Atlagić, was proof that the Venetians had not improved their government on the territory³⁰. To lower tensions, which could have led to the possible re-opening of military conflicts, Nani had to accept this and confirm the borderline as it was back in 1576³¹, although even then the Venetians were not happy with the borderline. Even more, Nani was facing another problem. There were no papers about the border demarcation from

²⁷ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 40-41.

²⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 18: "Io mostrai di niente comovermi a queste voci, ma insistei che non si parlasse de vecchi confini, ma de nuovi decidendo prima quali luochi dovessero restar ad una parte et all'altra e poi di questi sara pronto a stabilir i confini".

²⁹ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 53-54.

³⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 18: (...) "dilatandosi particolarmente nel sostenere che le guardie non sono presidij perchè non servono ad altro che a dar avviso ai pastori che si ritirino all'arrivare de'nemici. Io mostrando tanto maggiore fermezza, quanto erano color presenti et in particolare l'Atlaich più maligno degl'altri; dissi che ben sapevo che le guardie non sono presidij perchè non si tengono sopra monti o in campagna o nelle ville particolarmente quando sono vicine alter piazze forti, ma che con le guardie provavo il possesso e questo bastarmi a fine che sia la Capitulatione adempita che parla de'luoghi occupati, e posseduti; non de'presidiati. Il discorso s'è portato in lungo quasi due hore" (...).

³¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, N. 19: "Per questo trovandomi munito da tante comissioni di V. S. che non si rompi li negotio e che certamente si concludi, credo di non poter far altro che lasciar correre e star sul vecchi liberando questo dai pregiuditi che tentassero d'inferire. Sarà certamente confermato da questo nuovo esempio dopo tant'altri quanto sia pernicioso riddursi a porre confini locali con Turchi".

1576 in Zara's archive³² and there was only a copy in Italian sent to him from Venice, which could hardly help him to prove the Venetian territorial legacy against the Ottomans territorial demands. Nani invited each of the Dalmatian cities to choose a delegation of four noblemen and two plebeians to join him as local representatives in the border negotiations. Disgracefully, those from Zara had no clue about the territory in their hinterland and there were only a few villagers around ruined Novegradi who were able to show them around their territory, which also was very vague³³. However, Nani succeeded in establishing new borders around Novegradi with a slight extension compared with the Ottoman proposal³⁴. After this, due to the deficiency of the documents from 1576, he had to fight diplomatically for every old border mark in Zara's hinterland³⁵. When the problems of establishing the precise border demarcation occurred the commission tried to rely on the local inhabitants but their indications were very ambiguous and mostly related to the land which, they were cultivating before the war. Some of them, obviously 'old' Venetian subjects, such as in the case of the land around Vrana Lake showed documents about land property from the period before the Ottoman conquest of the zone. Many of them had already started to cultivate the land, which before the war was on the other side of

³² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 12: (...) "come si tengono le copie in Italiano de cozetti stabilito da reciproche commissarij del 1576 così gli autentichi ai quali solo si presta fede dai Turchi, che nella Cancelleria di Zara solevano custodirsi sono stati per quello si vede da noti, qualche decina d'anni avanti l'ultima Guerra, o asportati o smariti."

³³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Lettere di G. B. Nani Provveditore dei confini in Dalmazia 1671*, Busta 694, No. 19: "Non si puo dire in quanta ignoranza di questo interesse viene da quei di Zara. La città mi ha destinato Quattro Ambasciatori Nobili e due d'ordine de Cittadini che dovrebbero somministrar ogni lume ma tutti sei in sieme non sanno render qual si sia conto. Bisogna perciò valersi de villani che parlano secondo il loro interesse più che secondo la verità delle cose, et uno ben spesso contrario all'altro".

³⁴ DAZ, *Mape Grimani*, No. 260, *Disegno della linea Nani*; The map represents a detailed description of the territory around Novegradi with the 'old' and 'new' Nani borderline.

³⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 19: "Si suppone che questo conzetto autentico in Turco sia in secreta costi perché la copia in italiano che s'ha qui tradotta dal Dragomano Manitre è cavata dal commemoriali 24 a carte 28, ma non s'ha creduto bene in altri tempi valere di esso preché i nomi delle ville sono così mal espressi in turco c'hanno causato confusioni estereme; per che non si trovano in essere et anche per rispetto di dette tre ville che s'acquistano nel poner le mete. La seconda scrittura per tanto è più importante che è stipulata di settembre pur del '76, nella quale si statuiscano i confini per tutto il giro del Territorio e di questa non habbiamo che la traduzione privata del Manitre Dragomano che parimente si trova nella secreta costi nel Commemorial 24 a carte 26 e si vede una nota che l'autentica in Turco di mano del Coza coll'assistenza del Naipo, o sia Nodaro, fu lasciata in qual tempo ai Rettori di Zara."

the border; also many of them had cultivated Ottoman land before the war although they were Venetian subjects. This created a specific zone of dual subjection of people who actually did not really care about the origin of the government as long as they could work the land as one of the main sources of survival³⁶. However, the insecurity of the Venetian government, based primarily on the lack of soldiers and lack of subjects, as well as a lack of trust in the new Morlach subjects, meant they failed to prompt, even provisionally, to introduce their administrative organisation in the new territory and resulted in practical loss of the acquisition. The only thing Nani could do it was to confirm the establishment of the new i.e. old borderline of *acquisto vecchio* in Zara's hinterland.

b) *A fight for a piece of karst - Morlacca*

The territory of the Velebit Channel - *Podgorje* or Morlacca became one of the disputable territories after the Candian War, where all three parts – political forces: Ottoman, Venetian, Habsburg's claimed their political rights³⁷, using different tactics to introduce their rights. Nevertheless, as Drago Rokсандić has emphasised, the problems of the confrontation of these three imperial forces can already be noticed after the Peace Treaty of Madrid and the removal of Segna's Uskoks³⁸ when the Venetians were freer

³⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 21: (...) “essendo io andato col Bassa a visitar i limiti di Zara vecchia e Pacoshiane, come i primi passarono senza rumor così gl'altri diedero soggetto a disputa acre, mentre alcuni del paese havendo coltivato certi pochi campi sopra la riva del lago del Vrana; pretendevano sostenerli, ma repugnando tutte le scritte et i disegni, che tirano la linea tra il mare e il lago, senza punto toccarlo, non ha potuto haver luogo la pretensione loro; e tanto meno quanto che alcuni de vecchi hanno detto che avanti la Guerra coltivavano essi quei terreni e pagavano le decime a Turchi. Hanno veramente i nostri mostrato alcune investiture di V.S; ma non concludono all'intento perché alcune sono fatte et altre si riferiscono a tempi non solo anteriori al '76 ma ne' quali la S.V. possedeva Laurana”.

³⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubrica del Provveditore Generale Pitro Civran*, Busta 383, No. 41: “Rappresenta quanto gli occorre d'osservare e massime alla parte dove sono indecisi i confini tra Archiducali, Turchi e la Republica molti pregiudicij causti massime de Archiducali sudditi per goder qualche pascolo hanno acconsentito a qualche contributione. Raccorda non si possi riuscir in qualche parte le publiche ragioni che con l'introdur a parte a parte alcuna famiglia de Morlacchi dei più atti a propulsar la foza de altri pastori. Ha poi rimesso dentro le linee le altrettanti ritrovate fra vecchi e nuovi abitanti” (...).

³⁸ ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex confinium*, Zagreb, Barbat, 2003 p. 16.

to claim their territorial interest in the area from Starigrad to Obbrovazzo³⁹. The real opportunity to get this part of the territory was shown to the Venetians during the successful battle 1647-48 when the Ottomans were expelled and both fortresses of Obbrovazzo and Dracevazz (*Dračevac*) on the River Zermagna were conquered⁴⁰, opening a possibility for the spread of the Venetian government alongside the coast below Velebit. This piece of karst coastland was strategically very important⁴¹ for several reasons. This was close to the Ottoman marketplace – *scala* of Obbrovazzo. It was also important for the control of the sea entrance to the Bay of Novegradi and passages for the transhumant routes to the pasturelands of Velebit. The forest on the slopes of Velebit provided abundant source of timber especially for shipbuilding. Contrary to the territory in the rest of Zara's hinterland, here in Morlaccia, the Venetians applied specific, very offensive, but non-military tactics, preferring diplomacy. They obviously had great experience in how to deal with such neighbours as the Habsburgs with whom they had a long frontier in the Italian peninsula as well as in Istria. Tensions were always present and usually manifested in the occupations of each other's territories near the borderline, which was very relative especially regarding the lives of local border communities who often trespassed over the border sometimes provoking killings, but never open conflicts⁴². The Venetians therefore did not feel they were doing something exceptional by establishing their new settlement of Starigrad near the old fortress of Vezza (*Veča*)⁴³, with their new Morlach inhabitants as well as settling their garrisons in Dracevazz and Obbrovazzo under the command of

³⁹ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, 129: (...) “anzi nell'anno 1616 al tempo della Guerra degli Usocchi prohibitosi da Vostra Serenita alle galere vascelli et alter barche di andar con nettovaglie a qualunque terra sopra il Quarner e Canal della Morlaccia fu detto da Barsez sino a Scrisa. E ciò non per altro ragione se non perché dopo il detto luoco di Scrisa il paese è della Serenita Vostra”.

⁴⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 18.

⁴¹ BMC, Mss Gardenigo No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo Sig. Pietro Civran per il Generalato di Dalmatia et Albania*, p. 29v.

⁴² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 16: “In più parti in Italia esteso il di lei confine con il Cesareo; che nascono sempre dei passi assai avanzati da una parte e dall'altra con occupatione de' luochi con asporto di animali e con omicidij ma che per questo mai nascono querelle tra Principali che non s'accomodino con commissarij come pure di presente saran e certo più nascere amarezza alcuna”.

⁴³ ASV, *Camera dei confini*, Busta 249, *Carteggio, relazioni visite, ducali dispacci etc. relativi alle questioni tra la Repubblica Veneta e la Corte Imperiale di Vienna a caduta della differenza confinarie sulla Triplice Confine e nella Morlaccia in Dalmazia*.

the Count of Possedaria⁴⁴. They also reinforced the fortresses of Castel Venier and Rasance and repopulated the area of these villages with new and old subjects⁴⁵. The legacy for the possession of this territory Venice could prove with the ancient borders of the *contado* of Nona, which extended all the way to the slopes of Velebit⁴⁶ as well as the bishopric of Nona which had its borders from Zelengrad, Obrovazzo and alongside the coast to the town of Jablanac⁴⁷. Besides this, the rest of the coastline below Velebit, from Starigrad to Carlobago, was claimed as territory of the seasonal pasturelands for the Venetian islands communities of Pago and Arbe, as well as Rasanze and Castel Venier. Furthermore, the Venetians justified their occupation within the legal reasons founded into the medieval *regalia* of the Croatian King Petar Krešimir IV who gave rights of pasturelands of the Velebit slopes to the Bishopric of Arbe. The same rights were confirmed by the Hungarian King Coloman. According to the Venetian understanding the border between the Ottoman possessions in Lika and the coastal Venetian possessions in Morlacca should follow the top of the mountains⁴⁸.

According to the reports of *Proveditore Generale* Zorzi Morosini people from Pag negotiated with the Ottomans in 1671 about the repopulation of the settlements on the coastland below Velebit i.e. Morlacca, from the fortress of Vezza to Carlobago (*Karlobag*), which

⁴⁴ HAD, *Ujedinjena Bansko-Varaždinsko-Karlovačka Generalkomanda – 1560-1673, Karlovačka Generalkomanda, Acta confini croatici – Croatica Vindica*, 1669 – bb: “...Capitanus Franciscus aus Possedaria armata manu esplicatis Vestillis Bellicis et 27 maribus armatis tentavit abducere Sacra Cesarea Mattis ibidem subditas collocates abdictis duas Wallachorum Familias quo cum integra hactemis fraude usurpat territorri restitutione merita repetando (20 milliaribus Italicus desfitum in Maris Littore situm et supremis Capitanus Segneris antiquitus iusdictioni subiectum su plane usqua ad Dracevaz et Obrovaz loco alias italianibus millibus seposita a Starigrad)” (...).

⁴⁵ BMC, Mss Gardenigo No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo Sig. Pietro Civran per il Generalato di Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 47v: “Operar qualche forte altro mirabil effetto. Nel tratto di 100 miglia in circa di Paese sotto la Montagna della Morlacca d'indubitata ragione di V. Ser. ch'era prima abbandonato e deserto per redimerici gl'pregiuditi inferiti da gl'Austriaci che lo pretendono di com'issare publica ho trovato modo d'accomodarvi molte famiglie che sotto il calore de' legni publici si trattengono più sicure et vi si fermano quietamente senza timore de gl'insulti de pastori confinanti”.

⁴⁶ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, source No. 6, box 38 – *Repertorio de beni di Nona*; also ANTOLJAK, *Zadarski katastik*, p. 395, and R. JELIĆ, *Ninjanjani u zadarskim*, p. 598.

⁴⁷ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 4, pp. 45v-46v and *Knjige Nina*, book 5, pp. 28r-29v, *Copia fatta dal Libro dei Privileggi della Magnifica Comunità di Nona, Confini della diocesi di Nona*.

⁴⁸ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, p. 129.

actually could collide with the territory of the Habsburg Empire because they already had some intention to rebuild some ports there as well as the same fortress of Vezza. The main interest of those from Pago was the salt trade⁴⁹, but the Republic soon understood all other comparative advances of such a small piece of karst⁵⁰. Nevertheless, the high level disputes which occurred amongst the Habsburg, Venetian and Ottoman governments had their effect on the local level and caused conflicts between the Morlachs, who might have been seen as the same ethnic group, but who were defiantly subjects of different, opposing states, and used this opportunity to grab pieces of land for themselves. The Habsburg troops from Segna started to attack the Venetian newcomers on the annexed territory of Morlacca⁵¹. Besides this, there were also some conflicts between Morlachs (Venetian subjects) and Vlachs (Habsburg subjects)⁵².

In November 1673 *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran visited this zone from the island of Pago to Novegradi, paying special attention to the disputes over the pasturelands caused between Venetian and Habsburg subjects. His suggestion was to gradually inhabit this area with Morlach families, those who, according to his opinion would be able to chase off other shepherds⁵³. In 1675 he agreed with the Captain of Udbina a payment of an annual contribution of money for the free use of the pasturelands in this area⁵⁴ as well as rebuilding the place of Starigrad near fortress of Vezza⁵⁵ and according to the reports of *Consultori in iure*, without having any attention to cause disputes with the Habsburgs who did not show any

⁴⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381 and 382.

⁵⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 2.

⁵¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 27.

⁵² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 32; In October 1671 *Provveditore* of Novegradi Marco Gradi reported of an attack on an Orthodox priest whose cattle were stolen and whose house in Vezza was burnt. See also: *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, c. 130; The letter of Rudolf di Gebingz, Captain of Segna to the Governor General in Dalmatia. Amongst other things he also complains about numerous attacks of Venetian subjects on Habsburg subjects: (...) “sono così quotidiani li lamenti che mi vengono contro Dalmatini sudditi di V.E. che mi hanno obligato di dar ordini con tutta giustitia, per riparare li continui assassinij et homicidij che seguono a poveri sudditi di sua Maesta Cesarea” (...)

⁵³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 383, No. 41.

⁵⁴ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, p. 44.

⁵⁵ The establishment of the settlement of Starigrad by the Venetians had a great importance in the Venetian diplomatic fight for the legacy of their government in Morlacca. See ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, c. 129.

intention to repopulate Morlacca⁵⁶. On the other hand, the Habsburgs started to reinforce the place of Carlobago⁵⁷, moving there more people who had most of the time caused problems with the Venetian government, joining the Segnani who would attack the Ottoman caravans on their way from and to the Dalmatian coastal market places⁵⁸. This increased tensions between the Ottoman and Venetian local governments and demanded a great effort and financial expense from the Venetian officers to calm the Ottoman protests down. In August 1675 Civran ordered the regular naval control of the channel of Morlacca and established two small ports in Castel Venier and Rasanaze for this purpose⁵⁹. By the repopulation of the place of Carlobago, only a few miles from the island of Pago, the Habsburgs caused a potential impediment of the Venetian control over the Velebit Channel and created a base for the further territorial expansion towards the mountain territories under Ottoman government as well as towards southern and Venetian Dalmatia.

More practical problems with the establishment of Carlobago were related to the control of the maritime as well as mountain traffic⁶⁰. The territory of Morlacca was important for the pasturelands and timber, which was the basis of the economy of the villages of Tribagn, Gesenice, Rasanaze, Castel Venier and Obbrovazzo. This was also the main traffic route to Lika where Venetians exported salt and imported cattle, wool,

⁵⁶ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, c. 130.

⁵⁷ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, c. 130; The place had to be destroyed and abandoned in 1616 by the Venetian General Zane as a nucleus of Uskoks; see also: BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo Gierolamo Cornaro K. Prov. di S. Marco, fu Prov. Generale in Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 141v.

⁵⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubrica del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia Giorgio Morosini*, Busta, 382, No. 2; No. 56: "Insulto fatto sotto li 5 instante da Segnani nella Terra d'Islano a Turchi. Depredati alcuni animali e somme di robbe con la morte di due Turchi e tre schiavi. Subito da due geni armati ha fatto S.E. inseguirli ma in vano. Nelle risposte al Generale sudetto s'è espresso del spiacere dei tale represaglia". and BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo Sig. Pietro Civran per il Generalato di Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 47r.

⁵⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 383, No. 127: "Nuovo accidente successo tra Segnani e Begovih Sangiaco di Cherca. Sua Ecc. Non ha voluto impegnar la publica forze oltre il confine. Considera la necessità di tener ben custodio con legni armati il Canal della Montagna per impedir ad essi Segnani il transito sullo stato del Turco e li nostri terreni. Alla sicurezza di detti legni dalla furia de inverti ha fatto eriggere due moli, l'uno a Castel Venier e l'altro a Rasanze. Seguita tal opera senza aggravio della cassa publica".

⁶⁰ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, Filza, FLVIII, No. 10.

cheese and grain which was all gathered at the port of Zara for further export⁶¹. On the other hand, the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand III accepted the plan of the re-establishment of a settlement in Morlacca precisely to stop the Venetian invasions into this territory⁶². The Venetians obviously had a cunning plan to attract the Habsburg subjects from these areas to move to their territories, for which duty Count Possedaria was given in 1669⁶³, but the Habsburgs knew about this plan and tried to obstruct it⁶⁴. In December 1675 Governor General Pietro Civran reported about 50 families from Sveti Juraj (St. George) near Segna who had moved to Castel Venier and Rasanze⁶⁵.

This case was very similar to the solution, which Provveditore Generale Pietro Valier suggested was to persuade the Court of Vienna to move their Segnani subjects from Carlobago and to move here new inhabitants who would be dedicated to both governments⁶⁶. Of course the animosity and competition between these two sides were so high that there was no possibility for such a rational solution. The problem of the Podgorje (*Morlacca*) continued during the last 30 years of the 17th century⁶⁷ despite the fact that the Habsburgs and the Venetian Republic were allies during the Vienesse/Morean War. At the beginning of the war, while both sides conducted some joint military actions, there were some Venetian attempts to persuade people from Carlobago to move to Segar (*Žegar*) near the source of the River Zermagna, which was a newly liberated Venetian territory⁶⁸. The tensions increased by the end of the war and the areas of common

⁶¹ BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relazione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo Gierolamo Cornaro K. Prov. di S. Marco, fu Prov. Generale in Dalmatia et Albania*, p. 140v and 142r.

⁶² HDA, *Spisi Like i Krbave*, box 1, No. 7, document dated 19th October 1658

⁶³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche de provveditori generali in Dalmazia*, Busta 381, No. 17; also HAD, *Spisi Like i Krbave*, box 1, No. 8; General Herbestein report to the Court War Council about the activities of Count Possedaria who intended to attract inhabitants of Carlobago to move to the Venetian territories; also No. 9, dated 7th December 1682, with similar content.

⁶⁴ HDA, *Spisi Like i Krbave*, box 1, No. 9, document dated 7th December 1682.

⁶⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 384, No. 8.

⁶⁶ BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relazione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo Sig. Pietro Valiero fu Prov. Generale in Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 119r.

⁶⁷ HAD, *Ujedinjena Bansko-Varaždinska-Karlovačka-Generalkomanda, Karlovačka Generalkomanda 1674-1699*, 1694 bb. Also ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, 7529, Ms. 32, *Nascioni e Istorie riguardanti li Confini Dalmati del 1600 a 1770*.

⁶⁸ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, II, f. 147r-147v and III, f. 22r-26r.

interest expanded with the retreat of the Ottomans from Lika and the area of the upper flow of the Zermagna, which can be also seen in the numbers of the documents – reports of the Habsburg officers regarding the problem with the Venetian expansion towards these territories⁶⁹. In 1699 the Habsburg, Venetian and Ottoman troops met in the mountains of Velebit and the triple confine was created according to the Carlowitz Peace Treaty. However, this was the whole area of the confronting interests and territorial pretensions and not of only one confining point.

The territory of Zara was no longer disputable in the relationship of border negotiations after the Morean War, therefore it can be seen that the Venetian *Commissario* Giovanni Grimani found almost a natural affiliation with the Ottoman Bosnian Pasha Osman in defending the Venetian positions against the Habsburg interest in the disputable territory of the Triplex Confinium and the fortress of Zvonigrad⁷⁰. Grimani was well prepared for the border demarcation business with the Ottomans⁷¹, which started in the late spring of 1699 in the territory of Knin. There he met Osmanaga and they had no major problems about the agreement of the borders between the Knin and Zara territory since the borderline started below the fortress of Strmica⁷² on the southern Velebit slope, and the beginning of the territory of Knin. Grimani learnt a lesson from Nani and had well prepared arguments and documents of the previous border negotiations⁷³. More than this, the borderline was already roughly defined in the peace treaty with an option that all complications, which could possibly be met at the practical border demarcation had to be agreed additionally by the commissioners and

⁶⁹ HDA, *Spisi Like i Krbave*, box 1, No. 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 30, 43.

⁷⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Commissario sopra i confini Grimani*, Busta, 398, No. 16: “D’altro conversatione Osman gli disse esser stato occupato da Imperiali Zvonigrad con 4 m huomini e canone. Ch’applicasser agl’Obrovazzi che gliene danno adito la nostra poca sicurezza; ne mostro spiacere e s’offeri pronto a tutto...”; also ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 12.

⁷¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 30; It can be observed that Grimani was introduced with the scripts of Ivan Lučić (Giovanni Lutio) especially regarding the ancient borders of the Croatian Kingdom as described in his book *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, published in Amsterdam, 1666 and 1668. (The book in Latin and Croatian translation was published by Biblioteca Latina et Graeca, Zagreb, 1986, ed. by B. Kuntić Makvić).

⁷² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 7.

⁷³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 5

mediators⁷⁴. Grimani did not have any of diplomatic problems as Nani had had regarding interpretation of the acquisition of the fortresses or the territory. During the Morean War, Venetians took over the Ottoman fortresses in Dalmatia and replaced the Ottoman garrisons with their mixed Morlach and mercenary troops as well as with the temporary investiture of the land to the new Morlach subjects. The Venetians learnt the meaning of the possession of a territory, which implied the physical control over a territory as well as considerable number of population-subjects and their administrative organisation. The acquisition after the Morean War in Dalmatia was undoubtedly theirs according to the all *uti possidetis* possible interpretations including the territory of the upper flow of the River Zermagna and Morlacca, which was taken from Ottoman possession by Venetian Morlach subjects and soldiers⁷⁵, although historically it belonged to the Croatian Kingdom. The Venetian positions were clear – they did not spill the blood of their soldiers and waste their money to free the territory from the Ottomans to be slightly passed to the Habsburgs hands as successors of the Croatian medieval kingdom⁷⁶. The Venetians were not keen on giving up of these fortresses due to all the previously mentioned strategic reasons as well as the attractiveness of surrounding areas with pasturelands, forests, water and numerous new subjects, which on the opposite side of the border could cause many problems for the Venetian government⁷⁷. If the Venetian negotiator Grimani would have shown any

⁷⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 19: (...) “volevano li Capitoli la decisione d’ogni difficoltà che non si potesse accordar te noi si facesse col’mezzo di Cesare e Mediatori.”

⁷⁵ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, p 129: (...) “nel corso della guerra passata colla casa Ottomana si osserva che li cesarei non hanno havuto alcuna attenzione alla detta Morlacca quale alli incontro e stata difesa dall’Armi Venete che se ne conservata in possesso.”

⁷⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, In the letter addressed to the *Principe di Venezia*, Grimani emphasised his political statement about the disputable territories in Morlacca: “Tutti questi luoghi e territorij dalla scaturigione del fiume Zermagna sino al mare compreso anco Drazzevaz sono naturalmente di Sua Maesta Cesarea et erano naturalmente del Gran Signore avendoli la casa ottomana presseduti successivamente per più continuar d’anni. Nella passata Guerra ne ha la Serenissima Republica con le sue armi fatto l’acquisto, mantenuti coi suoi presidij e difesi con la professione di tanto sangue e tesori, popolate le loro tenute [...] con che è più che legittima la sua Padronia”.

⁷⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 19; also Z. HOLJEVAC, *Problemi habsburško-mletačkog razgraničenja u Podgorju i Pozrmanju potkraj 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća*, [Problems of the Habsburg-Venetian border

hesitation towards the Habsburgs, there was a danger that he would have to compromise with the Ottomans again, who would have certainly taken any opportunity in the Venetians' weakness⁷⁸. Beside this, the Republic had legally based arguments for the conquest of the former territories of the Croatian-Hungarian crown in Dalmatia, regarding Chapter VIII of the agreement signed with the Holy League in 1684. According to this article Venice had the right to include into its Dalmatian possession all of the territories taken from the Ottomans by its army in the Dalmatian hinterland⁷⁹. But the Habsburgs obviously no longer considered the slopes of the southern Velebit range and Morlacca to be Dalmatia. It was rather seen as a part of Lika i.e. the territory, which previously was part of the Maritime Border under the control of the Segna Captaincy and indisputably belonged to Emperor Leopold I and the Court Chamber in Graz⁸⁰. Therefore the Habsburgs did not want to accept the Venetian acquisition of this area⁸¹. In 1693 they arrested the Venetian Captain of Starigrad Francesco Cattalinic (Franjo Katalinić) who was considered to be *knez* of Vlachs, Habsburg's subjects who renounced obedience to the Habsburg government accepting Venetian rule⁸². In this way the conflict for the territory became an open conflict for the subjects⁸³. Their troops also took over the town of Gračac, although it was freed from the Ottomans by the Venetian subjects - Morlachs in 1694⁸⁴. The situation was highly tense, accumulating all the antipathy, which was related to the almost traditional competition between

demarcation in Podgorje and Pozrmanje at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries], in Radovi HAZU- Zd, 45 (2003), p. 254.

⁷⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 11.

⁷⁹ ALAČEVIĆ, *La Guerra di Morea – narrazione e documenti 1684-1699*, in Tabularium, II, Zadar, 1902, p. 53.

⁸⁰ HOLJEVAC, *The Triplex Confinium in Habsburg-Venetian relations at the end of the Seventeenth century*, in *Constructing border societies on the Triplex Confinium*, p. 129.

⁸¹ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Cartographic sources*, p. 33-34.

⁸² ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, c. 130; The letter of Rudolf Gebnigz, *Generale di battaglia, Supremo Capitane di Segna e comandante di confini*: "...et ordinato a detti Vallachi come anco a quelli di Starigrado et in specie al Knez Francesco Cattalinic, malamente chiamato capitano per altro Capo di Vallachi in detto luogo che non obediscano ad altri che a me o ai miei subordinati per li come posi da Sua Maesta Cesarea. Altrimenti gli paro a fiamma e fuoco e farò condurre il medesimo Knez in castigo" (...).

⁸³ In the documents of the Venetian provenance they were called Morlacchi, while in the Habsburg documents they were named as Vallachi; See: ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Busta 144, p. 130, the letter of Rudolf di Gebnigz, Captain of Segna.

⁸⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 25.

these two forces⁸⁵. The Venetians even introduced a maritime guard in the channel, between Starigrad and Obbrovazzo in order to stop eventual Habsburg's invasion⁸⁶.

The problem moved one step away from open conflict when at the beginning of June 1699, exactly during the border demarcation process, Habsburg soldiers led by Count Ludwig Coronin, Baron von Kuslan and Count Antonio Coronini⁸⁷ entered the fortress of Zvonigrad, demanding all the Venetian subjects leave or accept Habsburg dominion. A similar demand was also set against Venetian subjects in the village of Segar. These people had a period of eight days to pass onto the Habsburg side, or risk losing their houses and the land that they worked on⁸⁸. Especially concerned about this were the Venetian Morlachs who had settled there and now they were about to lose their houses and land again. Therefore the Morlach leaders Zaviša Janković Mitrović and Jovan Sinobad demanded the Venetian representative Grimani to do something to protect them. Sinobad was even personally involved, having a house in Zvonigrad occupied by the Habsburgs⁸⁹. The Habsburgs claimed the territory of Morlaccia, including Starigrad, Obbrovazzo and Zvonigrad as the former Croatian medieval territories, to which the Habsburg Empire was the legal successor⁹⁰.

⁸⁵ HOLJEVAC, *The Triplex Confinium*, p. 130; Using the documents of the Habsburg provenance the author described the conflict between the Venetian and Habsburgs related mostly to navigation and trade in the Adriatic, robberies and hostilities escalated during the 1690s.

⁸⁶ DAZ, *Dragomanski arhiv*, box 6, Filza LVIIIa, No. 11; also HOLJEVAC, *Problemi habsburško-mletačkog*, p. 246-247.

⁸⁷ Count Antonio Coronini had several proposals for the military retaking of Podgorje from Venetians. See: HOLJEVAC, *The Triplex Confinium*, p. 129-130.

⁸⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, added translation of the letter of Count Corronini to the inhabitants of Segar, dated 12th June 1699.

⁸⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 18: "Nella notte assai avanzata sono venuti a questa Tenda inosservati li Cavalieri Zavissa e Sinobad tutti affitti e commossi. Così ho acconsentito per scansar l'osservatione per darle coraggio per mostrarle gradimento e per rilevarle quanto convenga in questa congiuntura la quiete e l'attenzione all'altre parti oberando alle commissioni dell'Ecc.mo sig. Prov. Generale sono anche subito partiti" (...).

⁹⁰ SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Granice Dalmacije u mirovnim ugovorima i na kartama razgraničenja do kraja 19. stoljeća*, [Borders of Dalmatia in peace treaties and border demarcation maps until the end of the 19th century] in *Grada i prilozima za povijest Dalmacije*, [Sources and contributions for the history of Dalmatia], (18), 2002, p. 465; The author emphasised that Habsburg Emperor Leopold I especially liked the report about the borders wrote by the member of the Croatian Parliament (Sabor), Pavao Ritter Vitezović, who in his script *Croatia rediviva* explained the Croatian origin of the Venetian Dalmatia.

According to Grimani's opinion, they were very much under the influence of their subjects led by the Priest Marko Mesić⁹¹ especially regarding the territory around Zvonigrad and the Triplex Confinium.

The disputes and conflicts did not end with the border demarcation⁹². Although the Venetians lost the fortress of Zvonigrad, it can be seen that the tensions went on for many more years mostly regarding pasturelands in this area⁹³. The conflicts on local levels happened mostly between local people – Morlachs or Vlachs, depending on which side they affiliated, Venetian or Habsburg, but also implying movements from one to the other side of the border, sometimes completely ignoring the authority of the distant governments. However, it cannot be said that they were not asked whose side they belong to. When it became obvious that both sides would have to openly prove their possessions and find a compromise, the Habsburgs as well as the Venetians questioned numerous local inhabitants about their affiliation. Their answers were used to prove the rights of the government of one of the sides. The Habsburg's trump card was that Venetian troops had not actually conquered and occupied any of the places in Morlaccia apart of Obbrovazzo, after the Ottomans left at the beginning of the Morean War. Besides this, the people in Starigrad and Dracevazz were Habsburg subjects, which could be been proven by the taxes they paid to the Karlovac Generalate⁹⁴. The Venetians had the same reasons that intended to prove the evidence of 25 years' worth continuous tax payment by the people in Starigrad and the surrounding area⁹⁵. Beside this the Venetians collected over one hundred interviews from the subjects who participated in the Morean War, priests and other people who could witness their possession and government of the disputable territories⁹⁶. The interviews were delivered to Vienna for further negotiations. In the end, despite numerous

⁹¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 29: "Regolarsi Marsilij col parer di questi confinanti capo de quali si faceva il prete Messich e com'era giusto ricever le congnitioni da suoi sudditi cosi questi poi non dovevano esser come direttori" (...).

⁹² HOLJEVAC, *The Triplex Confinium*, p. 134-135.

⁹³ DAZ, *Dragomanski arhiv*, box 6, Filza LVIIIa, No. 5, No. 6, No. 8, No. 21.

⁹⁴ HOLJEVAC, *Problemi habsburško-mletačkog*, p. 263-264.

⁹⁵ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Filza 151, c. 213.

⁹⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701; ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Filza 151, c. 97-100; DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 349-351; HOLJEVAC, *Problemi habsburško-mletačkog*, p. 246-247.

proposals, there was no final decision about the borderline and the Venetians continued to keep all the fortresses and places in Morlacca, except Zvonigrad, which was retaken by the Habsburgs. There are numerous Habsburg and Venetian reports about this problem. The Habsburgs sent Baron Gall to negotiate with the Venetian Governor General Mocenigo in 1701, with a letter from Emperor Leopold I, but there was no agreement⁹⁷. A special complaint from the Habsburg's side went to the Morlach leaders *serdars* Jovan Sinobad and Zaviša Janković⁹⁸. They were also in charge of possible military action in August 1705 when the Habsburg General of Karlovac arrived in the disputable territories of Morlacca during his control of the Habsburg territories in Lika and Krbava. The coordinated naval action from Segnani whose *fuste* appeared in the Morlacca channel proved that the threats by the Habsburgs should have been taken seriously. At the same time the Bosnian Pasha went to visit the border area of the Ottoman territory and the Triplex Confinium⁹⁹. This proves that the complex situation in this area of mutual interest was never just the question of one of these forces. The fact that the tensions and conflicts on high levels of diplomacy were also reflected as real conflicts on the lower levels amongst the subjects of the all three Empires¹⁰⁰ should also be taken into consideration. However, the Venetians proved their legal possession with the inclusion of these territories in the *Contado* of Zara and the distribution of the land according to the cadastre created in 1709, which was considered a legal document. The relationship between the Habsburgs and the Venetian Republic did not ameliorate after this, which can be seen from the instruction issued by the Regentess of the under aged Emperor Charles VI in 1711, when both

⁹⁷ HDA, *Generalatus Karlostadiensis* 2 (bound documents), f. 179r, 181r-188v.

⁹⁸ HDA, *Generalatus Karlostadiensis* 2 (bound documents), f. 181: (...) "che per parte della Commissione Cesarea che altro non si desidera che coltivar buona corrispondenza e vicinanza ma che per parte delli Zerdari Zinobad e Jankovich si facessero violenze nell territorio" (...).

⁹⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 21 and No. 37.

¹⁰⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 54 and 113; After the Habsburg troops intended to retake Venetian possessions in Morlacca, Governor General Giustin Da Riva sent a protest to Vienna, which was presented at the Habsburg Court by the Venetian Ambassador Dolfin with some other documents, which should have proved the Venetian rights of the possession of Morlacca as well as information about all the incidents which happened between the Venetian and Habsburg subjects in Morlacca and around the River Zermagna. In order to prevent some new Habsburg military threats, he ordered to keep guard around the border composed of more tougher soldiers.

counties of Lika and Krbava were included in the Military Border in order to assure the necessary measures for defence against the Ottomans and Venetians¹⁰¹. The problem existed as long as the Republic of Venice did.

2. Territorial and administrative organisation of Zara's hinterland

The policy of the Republic of Venice was to accept and adapt to the certain extent the pre-existing administrative organisations and institutions of a territory, which was annexed. This was the case in Terraferma from both sides of the River Mincio, (from Brescia to the last coastal community in Istria)¹⁰². The same thing happened in Dalmatia. Zara's hinterland was gradually re-conquered over the last half of the 17th century, including some territorial extension to the parts of Morlacca and Bucovizza, and therefore the Venetian administrative system was gradually introduced with differing methods of application and integration of the pre-existing territorial and administrative organisation, due to the different heritage (Croatian medieval counties and the Ottoman Sandjak with the institutions of the Morlach autonomies, which they enjoyed as Ottoman subjects) and changes within the Venetian politics itself.

There is another thing, which has to be taken into account in defining the complexity of the Venetian government in Dalmatia. On one hand, *acquisto vecchio* was mostly related to the Dalmatian coastal towns' communities with their administrative organisation based mostly on Byzantine tradition and privileges issued by the Croatian-Hungarian rulers and adapted to the Venetian government during the 15th century. On the other hand, there was *acquisto nuovo* in the large territory of the Dalmatian hinterland where the Venetian government inherited a mixture of the Croatian medieval institutions and costume law of rural communities with the privileges issued by the Ottomans in accordance with the *serhadd* military system¹⁰³. In order to understand the variety of the layers of local political and administrative organisation it is necessary to present an overview of this heritage and to trace how much of these different inherited

¹⁰¹ HDA, *Acta Confinii Croatici 1571-1746, Militaria varia*, box 2, No. 4.

¹⁰² COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 292.

¹⁰³ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 113.

systems the Venetian government accepted and applied in the *contado* of Zara at the end of the 17th century.

a) *Medieval administrative heritage*

As mentioned in chapter II the territory of Zara's hinterland was divided through the borders of different districts (Nona, Zara, Novegradi, Nadino and Vrana castles' territories) during medieval times as well as later in the 15th century when there was the main border between the Venetian Republic and Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom. This was also the territory where the three church administrative units - bishoprics of Nona, Zara and Scardona met. Simplifying the situation of medieval administrative division for the purpose of this thesis, it can be said that the larger part i.e. middle and north-eastern part of the territory of the hinterland of the city of Zara belonged to the county of Luka. The county of Sidraga encompassed the area around the town of Zaravecchia (*Biograd*) with an extension all the way to the Sebenico channel. The border between Sidraga and Luka went from Babin Dub, towards the village of Galovac and alongside the late antiquity road from Zara to Tign, the hills of Vrana, villages of Polazza, Miragne and Jagodgne, which belonged to the county of Luka. The county of Nona encompassed the territory from the islet of Pontadura, the horn Scala, Diclo, Cerodol, Bocagnazzo, Brisevo, Smocovich, southeast from Suvare to Badagn and Bay of Carino, including Novegradi and coast below Velebit all the way to Carlobago¹⁰⁴.

In the 15th century, with the establishment and stabilisation of the Venetian government in the coastal communities (Zara, Nona, Novegradi, and Zaravecchia), the situation with division of the territory in Zara's hinterland slightly changed due to the establishment of a state border between the Republic of Venice and Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, which practically followed the border of the Croatian county of Luka. The Venetian government kept the medieval division of the territory gained by 1420, mostly concentrated on the autonomy of the coastal communities with a certain adaptation to its own system and restriction of some rights, which

¹⁰⁴ I. GOLDSTEIN, *Hrvatske županije kroz stoljeća*, [Croatian Counties through centuries], Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1996, p. 14 – 15.

were in discordance with the Venetian high authority¹⁰⁵. A part from the coastal towns (Zara and Nona) and their communal territories, Novigradski district, Gliuba district and county of Sidraga (Vrana district) were also annexed to Zara's *contado* with the establishment of the Venetian government in the castles of Novegradi, Gliuba and Vrana. The territory of Zara district was left to its community, as well as the district of Nona, which belonged to its local community, but the districts of Novegradi, Gliuba and Vrana were considered state property under the control of the state chamber in Zara (*camera fiscale*). The chamber was renting the property in these districts, which made significant income and this according to Tomislav Raukar, was the main reason to keep the medieval division of the territory¹⁰⁶. Nevertheless, all of these districts were under the jurisdiction of the Venetian count in Zara, and therefore the whole of the territory was named *contado di Zara*. The border between the Venetian Republic and Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom in Zara's hinterland was marked by a range of castles, which belonged mostly to the Croatian noble families such as the castles of Carino, Korlatović (Corlat), Benković (Bencovaich), Kličevica (Clicevaz), Polača Mariani (Polacca Mariani) and Račić Cerane (Racic Ceragne)¹⁰⁷. However, there was no thought about the creation of any special border zone, which would prevent enemy intrusions into the territory of the Venetian coastal communities on the eastern Adriatic except relating to the pre-existing frontier fortresses and keeping the system of *cernida* although in the early 15th century there were possibilities of some Hungarian-Croatian hostility and the Ottomans were moving closer.

¹⁰⁵ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 14; About the changes i.e. restriction of the Dalmatian coastal communities after 1409 see detailed analyses by M. NOVAK, *Autonomija dalmatinskih komuna pod Venecijom*, separated edition of *Radovi JAZU- Zd*, 1965.

¹⁰⁶ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 64.

¹⁰⁷ SMILJANIĆ, *Teritorij i granice*, p. 210; The villages on the Venetian side of the border were: Praskvić, Biljane, Strupnić Veliki, Strupnić Mali, Buković, Novigrad, Posedarje, Režani, Vinjerac, Starošane, Drače, Lemeševohrašće, Miljača, Miljašić, Pobrđani, Prkos Gornji, Kokičane, Dolac, Domakovci, Kačina Gorica, Ražanac, Trščani, Učiteljavas, Koruplje, Veljani, Kobiljeglavić, Podnovje, Tršci, Radobudići, Slivnica, Konjašice, Kamenjani, Krbavaclug, Ljuba, Visočani, Mahurci, Jasenovno and Zaton.

b) *Ottoman administrative organisation*

While the Republic of Venice did not change the administrative organisation of the territory in military purposes, despite the constant presence of the Ottoman danger and due to numerous reasons, even neglecting the defensive system inherited from medieval times, the Ottomans immediately imposed their administrative system of the conquered territory in the Dalmatian hinterland organising the whole territory of the Dalmatian hinterland and Lika as *vilajet Hrvati*¹⁰⁸. After the stabilisation their government here was based on the administrative unit of *sandjak*. This kind of territorial division gave priority to military organisation as well as private interest of some local magnates. The organisation of the territory was not determined geographically although the whole Dalmatian territory was divided into three *sandjaks*: Krka, Klis¹⁰⁹ and Herzegovina, which encompassed more than Dalmatian territories¹¹⁰. Further divisions of a large territory of *sandjak* or *sanjak* were captaincies (*kapudanlik*)¹¹¹. This was the basis for the organisation of the Ottoman military border or *serhadd* in Bosnian *krajina*, in the conquered territories of Croatia and Hungary with different forms of military and territorial subdivisions related to the defence of the new acquisitions as well as the area for preparing further raids¹¹². This was also a partial copy of the Habsburg military border system introduced in Croatia during the 16th century. According to this model the Ottoman government introduced mercenary troops organised in captaincies with the leaders most of the time being local people, whose position was inheritable and paid during the war in money or with land, while during the peace time they were

¹⁰⁸ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Srednjodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁹ F. MOAČANIN, *Upravna podjela hrvatskih zemalja u sklopu Osmanskog Carstva* [Administrative division of Croatian countries within the Ottoman Empire], in *Hrvatske županije kroz stoljeća*, p. 39-40. Also JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Srednjodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 33.

¹¹⁰ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 409.

¹¹¹ MOAČANIN, *Exposing existing fallacies regarding the captaincies in the Bosnian frontier area between the 16th and 18th centuries*, in *Constructing border societies on the Triplex Confinium*, p. 75-89.

¹¹² JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Vojne snage kliškog i krčko-ličkog sandžaka pred Kandijski rat i Osmanska vojska plaćenika*, [Military forces of Klis and Krka-Lika Sandjak before the Candian War and the Ottoman mercenaries], in *Zbornik Mire Kolar Dimitrijević*, Filozofski fakultet Zagreb, 2003, p. 79.

involved in the local trade as well as the control of the border¹¹³. The *serhadd* was, as the Habsburg military border, related to the system of defensive fortresses with permanent garrisons under the command of a captain. In the vicinity of fortresses military officers would have rights to land. Nevertheless, the agricultural production never reached a high level due to the specifics of the region being exposed most of the time to ‘small wars’ and enemy intrusions and robbery, while the inhabitants were carrying on with different permanent or occasional duties related to military service¹¹⁴.

The Sandjak of Krka, which was organised as separated unit in 1580, after major conquest in Dalmatian hinterland, was divided into captaincies: Knin, Skradin, Nadin, Zemunik, Sedd-i Islam, Obrovac, Udbina and Vrana¹¹⁵. This sandjak was also known under name Lika sandjak and the centre of the sandjak was in town of Knin¹¹⁶ although most of the time Sandjak was in Livno¹¹⁷. This was a division of the territory rather related to the military system based on army servants and army cast. A captain was the major officer and man in charge of a fortress, but his jurisdiction was not related to the administration of a territory¹¹⁸. The main captain families were Atlagić, Fidrusović, Ferhadpašić, Beširagić, Durakbegović, Hadjagić, Hurakalović, Omerbašić, and Ljubunčić¹¹⁹. A territory unit provided salary i.e. living ration for a soldier (*dirlik*). Thus *sandjak* (*flag*) was related to the administrative servant who at the same time was a military officer who gathered a certain military unit under his command (i.e. flag) and had the same title *Sandjak*¹²⁰.

Alongside the military organisation of the territory, the juridical organisation of units of civil importance were *kaza* or *cadiluc*, which was related to the number of Muslim subjects living in a certain territory. Here the main function belonged to *cadi*, who was a judge with some other duties as well. The lower level civil administrative units were *nahi*, which partially

¹¹³ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 34.

¹¹⁴ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 49, 90. See also JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Vojne snage*, p. 83.

¹¹⁵ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 410.

¹¹⁶ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 35.

¹¹⁷ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Vojne snage*, p. 81.

¹¹⁸ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Vojne snage*, p. 88.

¹¹⁹ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 66.

¹²⁰ MOAČANIN, *Upravna podjela*, p. 42.

kept the medieval continuity of rural communities. Here the administrative officers were *knez*, and *primićur* and their duty was tax collection and keeping order¹²¹. The Ottoman administrative-juridical division of the Krka or Lika Sandjak encompassed three *cadilucs*, (managed by a *cadi* i.e. judge), amongst which was *Cadiluc Kotari* with the centre in Zemunico, further divided into *nahi*. *Nahi Kotari* was established after the Cyprus War and encompassed 62 villages and hamlets¹²². Here any relationship with previous Croatian medieval administrative organisation of the territory ended since *nahi* were more numerous in the same territory and they could have been established in any more important fortress¹²³.

The local Ottoman officers – captains had certain autonomy because of the border position of this territory and therefore specific status which allowed them certain authority, which as *spahi* they could not had have¹²⁴. The fragmentation of the Ottoman territorial organisation broke the continuity of the Croatian medieval administrative organisation, but this was not the only reason¹²⁵. The main reasons in discontinuity could be found in the different basis of these two kinds of administrative divisions. Nevertheless, there can be found some continuity in the Ottoman's territorial organisation in the Venetian system after the conquest of the Dalmatian hinterland. Taking over the Ottoman territory, the Venetian government also took some elements of their administrative organisation, which reflected in the title and internal divisions of local communities. In the Venetian cadastre of the territory of Zara's hinterland created in 1709 we meet the name *Kotari*. According to this cadastre the territory was divided into three parts: upper, middle and lower *Ravni Kotari*¹²⁶, which was actually the same division inherited by the Ottomans and presumably the name *Kotari* came from the Ottoman organisation of their borderland i.e. *krajina/kotar*¹²⁷.

¹²¹ MOAČANIN, *Upravna podjela*, p. 42-43.

¹²² JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 41-46.

¹²³ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjeverno dalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 48.

¹²⁴ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 47.

¹²⁵ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 48-49.

¹²⁶ DAZ, *Mletački katastar, 1709*; The documents of the cadastre are divided into upper, middle and lower *Kotari*, with detailed territorial description.

¹²⁷ ROKSANDIĆ, *Stojan Janković*, p. 241; as well as in ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 36-47, challenged the terms *krajina*, *meja*, *granica*, *kotar* and their meanings within the context of the borderland.

c) Contado, territorio *and* kotari

Contado is the term used in the documents with slightly indefinable meaning. It can be said that this was a large territory of a community of the Dalmatian coastal town. This was actually based on the Roman *ager publicus*, where the most fertile land around an urban centre was confiscated as public; the state's property from where the state fiscal system collected duties¹²⁸. But, this was also the area of patches of private property of plebeians and noblemen from the town. As shown in Zara's *contado* example, which was expanding into Croatian hinterland counties beyond the borders of ancient *ager*, the same was with Nona's *contado*, which expanded towards the district of Gliuba¹²⁹. The terms *contado* and *territorio* bring further confusion when used in the same documents for the same territorial unit. However, closer analyses of these two terms through the geographical sources as well as the cadastre can help us understand that *territorio* was the term related to a territory under the control of an urban centre, such as *territorio di Zara* and *territorio di Nona* as well as *territorio di Novegradi*¹³⁰, which would actually imply a communal territory or district. However it has to be mentioned here that the use of term *territorio* i.e. territory has only a spatial meaning without any administrative-political meaning.

On the other hand *contado* is a term, which could be the equivalent of the term county and therefore larger than *territorio* and actually encompassing more territories, such as *Contado di Zara*¹³¹ on the map of Matteo Pagano, encompassing the whole hinterland of Zara up to Bucovizza (*Banadego*) and Morlacca¹³². A similar situation can be seen on Coronelli's

¹²⁸ SUIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, I, p. 95.

¹²⁹ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 48-49.

¹³⁰ V. M. CORONELLI, *Contado di Zara, Parte della Dalmatia, Descritto dal P. Maestro Coronelli Cosmografo della Serenissima Republica di Venetia, dedicato a Monsig. Ill.mo et Rev.mo Matteo Farsetti Protonotario Apostolico et Auditore della Signatura in Venetia 1688 con Privilegio dell Ecc. Senato*, in *Borders of Croatia on Maps from 12th to 20th century*, p. 92.

¹³¹ *Borders of Croatia on Maps from 12th to 20th century*, PAGANO, *Tutto el contado di Zara e Sebenicho*, Venice, 1530, p. 89.

¹³² Although it could be said that this map represents a kind of Venetian wish because it represents much more than the territory which in 1530 was part of the *contado* of Zara.

map of *Contado di Zara*¹³³. The map contains border markings of the communal territories of Zara, which mostly encompass the thin coastline and expands over the islands in the Zara channel and the communal territory of Nona, which extended to the border with the Ottoman Empire and *linea Nani*. On the map a wide area in the middle of Zara's hinterland is obvious - there where should be Ottoman territory, but the author of the map had avoided to put any indication to whom this territory belongs. It is rather encompassed under the name of *contado* together with previously mentioned territory of Zara, Nona and Novegradi. Therefore, it can be concluded that *contado* was a larger administrative unit divided into territories of major urban centres such as *contado di Zara*, *contado di Sebenico* etc.

The confusion with the territorial division was slightly clarified by the restoration of the districts of Novegradi and Nona after the Candian War and establishment of the cadastre in 1675, with the confirmation of the *acquisto vecchio* and *linea Nani* and re-establishment of the districts' borders. The whole situation of the territorial division in Zara's hinterland became clear after 1700 and the establishment of *acquisto nuovo* and *linea Grimani*. Then the whole territory of new acquisitions in Zara's hinterland became part of *Contado di Zara* with different divisions into *contado inferior*, *medio et superior* or *kotari* (today known as Ravni Kotari)¹³⁴, which was already actually established by the Ottomans and their system of border areas – *krajina/kotar*¹³⁵. In this way the Venetian Republic started the formal organisation of its own military border¹³⁶ (*krajina*) at the beginning of the 18th century continuing the pre-established Ottoman system, but with some Venetian specificum.

¹³³ *Borders of Croatia on Maps*, CORONELLI, *Contado di Zara*, p. 92.

¹³⁴ DAZ, Katastri Dalmacije, 1709.

¹³⁵ L. JELIĆ, *Lički sandžakat*, p. 94-95: The author described the organisation of the Ottoman Military Border in Zara's hinterland – Ravni Kotari divided into three parts: Upper encompassed the castles of Obbrovazzo, Carino, Nadino, Poličnik, Zemonico and Islam with the centre in Islam; Lower encompassed the area around *zaim* of Tign and Vrana; Middle encompassed the area around Scardona.

¹³⁶ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine u XVIII vijeku*, [Dalmatian military borders in the 18th century], Istorijski institut Beograd, Prosvjeta, Zagreb, 1987, p. 5; The author expressed an interesting statement that actually Dalmatia became a "permanent" borderland i.e. *krajina* or frontier of Venice and Italy since Bosnia fell into Ottoman hands.

There are many reasons why this did not happen before. One of the explanations can be found in the lack of people – soldiers. The Republic never kept large military formations in Dalmatia, because mercenary troops were expensive and even more expensive in such an extended borderline. As shown in chapter I, the defensive system in Venetian Dalmatia during the 15th and 16th centuries was based on the combination of mercenary troops and *cernide* recruited from the local people. In Zara's hinterland there was no such administrative organisation, which would be related to military needs. There were castles, fortresses and fortifications mostly inherited from earlier periods, which did not have defensive characteristics, because they were established as feudal manors. Those buildings were in constant restoration due to the Ottoman presence. The villages were surrounded by bulwarks, which were built after intensified Ottoman raids but when referring to the administrative-military organisation of these communities, there are no evidence that village judges and organisations such *lige* and *posobe* had any major military function. Although some historians such as Šime Peričić held the idea that the military border i.e. *krajina* in Dalmatia was starting to established in the second half of the 16th century as a defensive wall against the Ottomans¹³⁷, it would be likely to concluded that the real defensive system in a way of military border was established during the Candian War¹³⁸ taking over the Ottoman military system (including people) in combination with the pre-established Venetian system.

The combination of the military-administrative functions of the leaders in rural communities in Zara's hinterland started under the influence of the Ottoman *serhadd* in the second half of the 17th century. This can be obvious by the names of the key officers in this system such as *serdar* and *harambaša* as well as the name *kotar*¹³⁹ i.e. *krajina* for which there is no Venetian (Italian) equivalent used in the documents, but which were accepted in the Venetian military border system. Avoiding translating such

¹³⁷ PERIČIĆ, *Glavari i časnici vojne krajine u Dalmaciji*, [Leaders and officers of Military border in Dalmatia], in Radovi HAZU- Zd, 1993, p. 219.

¹³⁸ ROKSANDIĆ, *Stojan Janković in the Morean War*, p. 242.

¹³⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, II, f. 25r-25v; Valzer received a letter from the Ottoman Pasha in which he was asked for money for the ransom for a captured Venetian officer in which he was also threatened that the Ottomans would take over *Duare* and *Kotari* (*Cottari*) i.e. the territory of Zara: (...) “della facciata prima da lui scritta in lettera maiuscula che ha dato motivo all’osservazione onde rilevante la lettera si dice Duare e Cottari si guardino. Cottari vuol dire in questa lingua il Territorio di Zara.”

terms, the Venetians actually accepted these terms as well as their unique meaning related to the specific military border organisation in Dalmatia started during the Candian War but copied from the Ottoman system. With the changes of the Venetian military system during the Candian and Morean wars through the recruitment of the large number of immigrant Morlachs¹⁴⁰, the Republic had the opportunity to organise a large defensive zone based on local army guards¹⁴¹ such as in the Croatian Military Border under the Habsburg government or the Ottoman *serhadd* based on *martolosi*.

Yet, according to Luka Jelić, the creation of the Venetian military border should be related to the first immigration settlements around the village of Bocagnazzo and the establishment of a territorial unit of the new and old inhabitants led by a leader chosen by them as well as having the confidence of the Venetians, who at the beginning of the Candian War was the priest Stjepan Sorić. Therefore it is not only a strictly territorial organisation. This is rather a specific organisation of the people as soldiers under the command of *serdar* but related to a certain territory. Besides the very important military role during war, the organisation of *krajina/kotari* had a large administrative importance related also to civil affairs on the local level (implement of law and order, duty collection and the distribution of emergency supplies). As the territory of the Venetian conquest expanded, there were more immigrants organised in the military troops through specific organisation of *krajina*, which was also related to the conquest of key fortresses in Zara's hinterland (Obbrovazzo, Ostrovizza, Carino, and Nadino)¹⁴². At the end of the Morean War this large area of Zara's hinterland was divided into two units – *Gornja* and *Donja Krajina* under

¹⁴⁰ In the documents of the Venetian provenance the leaders of Morlach immigrants who negotiated with the Venetian government were called *capi* and *harambasse*. Such an example can be seen in the request from the Morlachs of Bucovizza represented by 17 *harambasse* and *serdar* Smiljanić who in 1653 asked permission to move to the Venetian territory. See DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 66.

¹⁴¹ L. JELIĆ, *Lički sandžakat*, p. 112-113; The author emphasised that most merit for the establishment of the Venetian Military Border belonged to Governor General Lunardo Foscolo who was able to understand the potentials of the Morlach immigrants in Dalmatia. ROKSANDIĆ, *Stojan Janković in the Morean War*, p. 242; also agrees that the creation of the Venetian military border in Dalmatia began with the expansion of the Venetian territory there with the introduction of specific warfare and way of life.

¹⁴² DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 21r: “Il sito d’Obbrovazzo la pianta d’Ostrovizza, già da V.V.E.E. considerata; Carin; Nadin e qualche altro posto eminente potrebbero formare le Palanche, e con poca difesa ridursi a stato di considerabile proffitto et a possesso di più fondate ragioni.”

two *serdars*¹⁴³. Here it can be noticed that the territorial division was related to a military system and officers, rather than characteristics of a terrain.

Nevertheless, with the establishment of the Governor of Vrana¹⁴⁴, the Venetian intention of renewal of the old district areas was obvious but in the combination of military organisation introduced by the establishment of *kotari* i.e. *krajina* as a military border. Thus the upper Kotari can be related to the wide area of Novegradi district and lower Kotari to Nona and Zara districts, but taking into consideration that the renewed Nona district also had its governor mostly retained in the noble family Possedaria (Posedarski)¹⁴⁵.

After the liberation of Zara's hinterland during the Candian War, *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Barbaro divided the whole territory into nine *bandiere* i.e. *compagnie*, which were led by nine harambasas who were subservient to *serdars*¹⁴⁶. After the Morean War, the Venetian government in 1688 confirmed this division into nine areas – *pertinenze*, which were governed by local community captains or governors¹⁴⁷. Over time it became too expensive to keep the whole of the new set of Morlach leaders especially after the end of Morean War and Venetian government demanded the restriction in their numbers. But *Provveditore Generale* Vincenzo Vendramin in 1708 emphasised that in large area of *contado di Zara* it was necessary to keep two *serdars* even after he reconsidered the reduction of military officers because of the size of the territory but more than this the number of people (mostly Morlachs) who lived there and who were under direct *serdars* surveillance¹⁴⁸.

To conclude, the real creation of the Venetian Military Border in Dalmatia happened in the 18th century¹⁴⁹. It can be said that after the

¹⁴³ L. JELIĆ, *Lički sandžakat*, p. 113.

¹⁴⁴ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 367.

¹⁴⁵ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 4, f. 205r.

¹⁴⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 5.

¹⁴⁷ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 367.

¹⁴⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No. 36

¹⁴⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 57; *Provveditore Generale* Giustin Da Riva mentioned the term *krajina* for the first time in his report from 5th May 1706, where he expressed his satisfaction with the military organisation of *contado* of Zara: "...loda li collonelli di contadi, li governi e sardari delle craine per l'applicazione contribuita alla scelta et all'armato, alla condotta di cadaun contado e craina in ordine alle publiche commission lasciati li collonelli et alcuno de' sardari. Ha creduto bene non spogliar la provincia di tutti li capi formato il governo del territorio inferiore di Zara."

achievements during the Morean War in Dalmatia the Venetian point of view completely changed, from defensive into more offensive, hence there arose the need of the systematic creation of the military border with a territorial army recruited by *serdars* amongst the local people.

3. Venetian representatives

Beside the territorial organisation, which was a combination of the inherited systems, the Republic of Venice imposed its own officers who governed the province of Dalmatia as the representatives of its interests. They were chosen from Venetian noblemen. This was the well-known practice through out the Venetian dominion in Terraferma and Istria¹⁵⁰. The similar organisation of provinces, which was proven in Dalmatia, was also carried out in the territories of Pelepones (Venetian province of Morea), conquered in the war 1684-1699. There were also established two main Venetian representatives *provveditore generale* and *rettore di città* with the respect of the local councils of the cities as well as local legal system based on common law¹⁵¹.

a) *Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia et Albania*

When the Republic of Venice established its government in Dalmatia, the coastal town communities were practically independent from each other, which was respected by the new central government. However, the Venetian government gradually turned the city of Zara into the centre of the province keeping the majority of the administrative institutions there. The main reason was in its geo-strategical position, practically in the middle of the Venetian eastern Adriatic possessions. The step forward into binding the Dalmatian communities together was the obligation to help each other especially in the event of war¹⁵². The next step was the gradual increase in

¹⁵⁰ COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 292.

¹⁵¹ COZZI, *La politica del diritto della Repubblica*, p. 156. About the juridical organisation in Dalmatia see also V. MAŠTROVIĆ, *Razvoj sudstva u Dalmaciji u XIX. stoljeću*, [Development of juridical system in Dalmatia in the 19th century], Zagreb, JAZU, 1959, especially p. 11-17. Here the author gives an overview of the administrative and juridical organisation of Dalmatia during the Venetian rule.

¹⁵² PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 17.

the importance of the main Venetian representative in the province through the institution of the Governor General i.e. *Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia et Albania*¹⁵³. This institution gradually evolved from the previous Captain General i.e. *Capitano Generale* who most of the time of his duty was spent on a galley supervising the eastern Adriatic coast and the coastal towns¹⁵⁴. At the beginning of the 17th century, *Provveditore Generale*, began to reside in Zara, which brought more centralisation in the government of the province¹⁵⁵. *Provveditore Generale* was chosen from amongst the Venetian nobility by the Venetian Senate and entitled by the Doge. *Provveditore* carried out his duty for 22 months¹⁵⁶. Noblemen chosen for the duty of the *Provveditore Generale* received the highest position in the province, which definitely implied a certain dignity and reputation as well as a large responsibility. However, it cannot be said that all of the entitled noblemen were all happy about their duty, but they did not have much choice¹⁵⁷. The message about the election of the new governor general would be sent to the present governor in Dalmatia and to the new elected governor so that they both had some time to prepare the take over of duty¹⁵⁸. The new chosen *Provveditore* would leave the homeland usually in a galley from Malamocco or Lido, sailing to the port of Zara. On his way to

¹⁵³ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 382. The author dates the establishment of the institution of Governor General in the period between the end of the Cyprus War and the end of the 16th century. However, he underlined that this position did not abolish around 40 other positions of the Venetian officers in the dual province, who were elected amongst the Venetian noblemen.

¹⁵⁴ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 105; *Provveditore Generale* was mentioned for the first time in 1574.

¹⁵⁵ M. NOVAK SOMBRAILO, *Zadar glavni grad mletačke Dalmacije i Albanije*, [Zadar the main town of the Venetian Dalmatia and Albania] in Radovi JAZU-Zd, XI-XII, 1965, p. 192.

¹⁵⁶ BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 6: *Libro nel quale gli è descritto tutti li magistrature di Venetia, rettorie ambasciarie, terrestri e maritime del Ser. Dominio Veneto con tutti li Procuratori di San Marco e tutte le carte fattede a nuvo per dannaro et alter curiosita di maggiori stima*.

¹⁵⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 691, No. 1; On the news of being sent to the position of *Commissario* in Dalmatia, Gerolamo Foscarini wrote: "...gagliardi veramente furono i contrasti de' miei ben'urgenti domestici interessi che mi rendevano importante di soccombere a questo paese. Ma prevalendo in me il riguardo del publico comandamento e servitio da me pure anteposto sempre a tutte l'altre cose più care massime nella presente gravissima congiuntura umiliata la volontà al sovrano beneplacito del E.E.V.V. pronti: rassegnai il mio arbitro all'obbedienza de cenni loro con quei più suscierati concorsi di mia divotione che benchiari rivono nella mia umilissima scrittura già intesa dalla Serenita Vostra".

¹⁵⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar, Registro*, No. 103, f. 284r, 315r

Zara, he would already start to write his reports preparing himself for his duty. Depending on the weather, the galley sometimes had to stop in some of the Istrian ports, where the *Provveditore* could exchange some experience with the Venetian officers there¹⁵⁹. In Zara he would usually be inaugurated in his position meeting all the important Venetian officers, church dignities and city representatives¹⁶⁰. If the previous *Provveditore* did not have any strong reason to leave before, they would also meet in Zara and officially transfer the duty¹⁶¹. Then, if the circumstances in Zara would allow, the new *provveditore* would continue his visit of the dual province (Dalmatia and Albania), keeping constant correspondence with the central government in Venice as well as with the officers in the Dalmatian communities. Sometimes, when an urgent situation demanded, he would break his procedural visit of the province and turn back or stay in the place where his urgent action was needed. He was responsible for the supervising of all instances of the government in the province, civil as well as military, diplomatic relationships with the Ottoman, Habsburg sides as well as the Republic of Dubrovnik. He was the head of the government in the province and very often left to decide on his own about actions in certain situations, although always asking the Senate first, who most of the time would leave him with ambiguous answers and trusting his diplomatic capabilities¹⁶².

¹⁵⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 1-5

¹⁶⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 384, No. 4

¹⁶¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche de Provveditori Generali in Dalmazia 1669-1671*, Busta 381; No. 2; Antonio Barbaro met his predecessor Antoni Priuli in Zara on 20th December 1669 during the taking over the duty of Governor General; No. 6; On 19th January 1670 he visited the city council and all the major representatives of the city, clerics, controlled the state of soldiers and met representatives of lower class in the city. No. 17; On 12th April 1670 he started his visit of the county of Zara, first of all the new borders, new Morlach inhabitants and then proceeded to the other parts of the province.

¹⁶² ASV, *Senato Mar, Registro*, No. 138, 3 marzo – 28 febbraio 1673, p. 3r: *Provveditore Generale Zorzi Morosini* received this answer from the Senate regarding *Gabella di Macarsca* and salt traffic with the Ottomans: “Intanto desideriamo che facciste pervenire la notizia dell’operato al Defterdar predetto acciò comprender la publica attenzione nel nutrir seco la più perfetta corrispodenza ricercandolo insieme con uffici che stavan trovati proprij dalla vostra maturità a distribuir ordine che vagliano a moderar dentro i limiti del giusto le pretensioni di quell’emino onde tolti gli indebiti agravij si passi con reciproca sodisfazione proseguire nel tener provveduta puntualmente la Gabella” (...).

One astonishing thing about the position of *Provveditore Generale* is the amount of the written documents left by his *cancelleria*¹⁶³. There are daily letters – *dispacci* to the central government in Venice, correspondence with captains of the communities, correspondence with foreign officers such as *emin*, *deftedar*, *Bosnian Pasha*, *Habsburg military command in Karlovac* etc. There was also the correspondence with other officers in his service such as *serdars*, *collonells*, *governatores* etc. His talent as well as experience in good diplomacy were very desirable characteristics for someone entitled for the position of Governor General. Especially difficult were situations during war when numerous social relationships were overlapping and the *Provveditore Generale* had to moderate between them. Very often he was in the position to keep local people, especially *Morlachs* calm with words before he received any instruction (*ducala*) from the Senate¹⁶⁴. He was there as representative of the Republic who, besides the diplomacy in foreign affairs had to have to keep relationships with all levels of people, especially in the times of crisis¹⁶⁵.

Besides this he was the highest appeal institution in the province and he had authorisation to bring *Terminazioni*, which were the law in the province alongside the statutes of the communities and *Ducale e*

¹⁶³ It is interesting to mention an observation by G. COZZI regarding the production of so many letters by the Venetian officers relating it to their personal concern about justifying their own position in front of the Senate and its strict censors; in *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 340; DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, No. 72, f. 108v; the Governor General was accused of undertaking actions on his own without reporting to the Senate. He excused himself with letters being late due to bad weather and the impossibility of navigation, thus dispatches were late. He wrote: “Adorerò sempre il flagello che con la mano paterna di Vra. Ser. coregge che ama et essendo i decreti dell’Ecc.mo Senato venerabili saran da me venerate le Ducali 26 Aprile con quali mi glorio d’avere dalla Publica prudenza e Lume e correzioni a miei passi dolendomi che le lettere 22 Marzo che mi avrebbero dato intiera norma alla direzione d’essi non mi siano giunte che tarde, e si siano trattenute in viaggio per mia mala sorte” (...).

¹⁶⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 19; On 20th January 1648 Marco Molin wrote in his report: (...) “mandano a me detti Signori Rettori, Morlachi capitani et altri stipendiati per sottrar se stessi dalle affarose istanze al che convengono ritenere li atti del mio naturale alli concetti strabolevoli e parole impudenti che le stesse genti preferiscono con mio grande dolore tollerando il tutto con la maggior pazienza e consolandoli più che posso con le speranze”.

¹⁶⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 691, No. 5; Gerolamo Foscarini wrote in 1647 (...) “vi ho contribuito le parti interesse del mio dovere, consolando gl’infermi e feriti con uffici proprij della Pietà e del servitio dell’E.E. V.V” (...); Busta 385, No. 14; Pietro Valier visited new Venetian subjects in *Morlacca* to distribute some hardtack and comfort them.

terminazioni issued by the Venetian Senate¹⁶⁶. Governor General Pietro Valier ordered the collection and selection of these legal documents, which were spread everywhere in Dalmatian cities and difficult to use. In this way the constitutive and institutive *terminazioni* were divided into chapters regarding the subject to which they were related, which prevented misinterpretation and misunderstandings of this basis for any legal process of the provincial government. Unfortunately Valier did not have time to accomplish this huge task during his mandate¹⁶⁷. The writings of reports and correspondence did not stop even in the case of a *provveditore*'s illness. Antonio Priuli was diagnosed a semi-paralysed in January 1667 and he was obliged to stay in bed, but he still dictated reports and orders because the war situation did not allow a total excuse from duty¹⁶⁸. The documents of the governor's general office contain numerous documents regarding quarrels, resolutions, investiture of land and rights, travel permissions, concession documents, elections of different servants in the province etc.

Provveditore Generale was also the main military commander in the province. Therefore, he would often visit military troops and buildings, with special attention to the distribution of soldiers' salaries, hardtack and the status of weapon and defence buildings¹⁶⁹. Another of his duties was to supervise the distribution of the state's money in the province as well as tax collection¹⁷⁰. The shortage of money was constantly noted in the reports of *provveditori generali* during the 17th century. Taking into consideration the wars in this century, *provveditore* was also the one who would have an inclination to a military career. Therefore, during this period the carrier of this duty were men who had military experience such as Leonardo Foscolo. *Provveditore Generale* was helped by the *provveditore della cavalleria* (during the Candian War Marc Antonio Pisani had an important role as *provveditore di cavalleria* who was crucial in taking over the fortresses in Zara's hinterland). Nevertheless in the case of the war there could be also

¹⁶⁶ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 47.

¹⁶⁷ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 67.

¹⁶⁸ ASV, *Senato dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia*, No. 25 and 27.

¹⁶⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 6; Antonio Priuli on the day of his arrival in Zara on 17th October 1667 immediately visited the fortresses and distributed money to the soldiers.

¹⁷⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 402, No. 5.

enrolled two *provveditori*, one with civil duties and another one who covered the leadership of main military operations¹⁷¹. This happened at the beginning of the Morean War when there were two Venetian noblemen as governors in Dalmatia at the same time: Domenico Mocenigo and Alvise Pasquaglio in 1684, Marin Michieli and Pietro Valier 1685-1686, Antonio Molin and Girolamo Cornaro 1686-1688, and at the end of this war there were Stefano Capello and Alvise Mocenigo 1696-1700¹⁷².

Besides this, *provveditore* was responsible for the economic development in the province with special attention to trade with the Ottomans and therefore in constant correspondence with the Ottoman representatives, *emin* and *defterdar*. He was also responsible for all the extraordinary projects in the province related to public works and buildings¹⁷³ as well as the cadastre creation and dealings with immigrants. Therefore he had to know the territory very well, like *Provveditore* Pietro Civran who was personally present during the measurements of the land in the territory of Nona in 1675¹⁷⁴, and Marin Zane in 1702 as well as Giustin da Riva who in 1705 worked on the cadastre creation of the whole *acquisto nuovo* in Dalmatia¹⁷⁵, or Antonio Barbaro who started the negotiations for the border demarcation after the Candian War in 1670 and visited all the territories of the new Venetian acquisition in Dalmatia¹⁷⁶. The visit of such an extended province had the purpose to bring the Venetian government as close as possible to the subjects who could easily turn towards other masters¹⁷⁷. The knowledge of the territory and people in these cases could not had been superficial taken into consideration that *Provveditore Generale* was the most completely responsible for the negotiation with the Ottomans,

¹⁷¹ *Provveditori Straordinari* and *Commisari* had a similar position as *Provveditore Generale* during the Candian War in Dalmatia and they were in charge of army organisation in the province. See ASV, *Senato Dispacci*, *Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 689, *Commissario Corner in Dalmazia 1645-1651*; Busta 692, *Commissariato Marco Molin 1648-1650*.

¹⁷² DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, source 1, box 49-55 and 61-64.

¹⁷³ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione o particolari contenuti nella Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dell'Ecc.mo Kav. Gerolamo Grimani fù Prov. Generale in Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 83v; He organised the rebuilding of the port of Zara with many concerns about the expenses for this public work.

¹⁷⁴ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, source 1, box 36-38

¹⁷⁵ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, source 1, box 67-70; ASV *Senato Dispacci*, *Provveditori da Terra e mar*, Busta 399, No. 37 and Busta 400, No. 40, 90, 113, 133

¹⁷⁶ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, source 1, box 31 and 32

¹⁷⁷ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, p. 67.

Habsburgs and Dubrovnik regarding the borders and upon his reports from the field, the further diplomatic actions continued.¹⁷⁸ He was also in constant contact with the representatives of the local rural communities and especially with the new inhabitants i.e. Morlach immigrants¹⁷⁹. Antonio Barbaro visited the whole territory of the new Venetian acquisition immediately after the Candian War in 1671 taking care of further border negotiations and possible troubles with the tough neighbours such as Ottomans and Habsburg; bearing in mind the needs of new Venetian Morlach subjects and providing temporary land distribution in order that they could produce food for themselves¹⁸⁰; being also aware of gaining the trust of these people as well as thinking of future management of these new subjects as well as new territories and on the top of everything to preserve the most important value for the Venetian government – peace on the border¹⁸¹. Similar experiences of border disputes in Morlaccia and activities can be found in the reports of Marin Zane and Giustin da Riva after the Morean War¹⁸². *Provveditore* also had the abilities for human resource management especially in the case of immigration during the Candian and Morean wars. The purposely aimed immigration was one of General Lunardo Foscolo's specialities. He developed a net of local people as a connection with the potential Ottoman Morlachs who were willing to move to the Venetian territories. His excellent knowledge of these local communities helped him to achieve territorial conquests during only two years of the war¹⁸³. The duty of *Provveditore Generale* included many miles of horse riding, sailing, sitting at diplomatic meetings, suffering the weather.

¹⁷⁸ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, p. 66: “Provai dunque l’obbligo di frenare con l’arti della pace popoli molto agguerriti, di provvedere a molteplici gravissime occorrenze, di corrispondere con 28 pubblici rappresentanti, compresi dieci tra castellani e camerlenghi, di destreggiare con undeci prelati, nove vescovi e due arcivescovi, di negoziare con Turchi et Austriaci, d’applicar alle frequenti insidiose invenzioni de Ragusei, divertire l’insolente de corsari, e sopire molte fastidiose emergenze”.

¹⁷⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No. 13 and 26; Vincenzo Vendramin as the Governor General in Dalmatia visited the territory of the new acquisition in Morlaccia and Bucovizza several times being aware of the possibility that the tension between the Habsburgs and the Republic could have a negative impact on the Morlachs, the new Venetian subjects and possibly motivate them to pass to the Habsburg side.

¹⁸⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 17.

¹⁸¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1669-1671*, Busta 381, No. 17.

¹⁸² DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, source 1, box 67-70.

¹⁸³ DESNICA, *Zagorska dalmacija*, p. 587.

Beside this, some of these people were multiple chosen for different duties in Dalmatia or the same position of the governor general such as Girolamo Cornaro who carried out this duty 1680-1682 when tensions with the Ottomans in Zara's hinterland were reaching boiling point as well as 1686-1689 when it was necessary to assure peace in the newly conquered territories¹⁸⁴. Alvise Mocenigo was also elected twice for this duty 1696-1702 and 1717-1720 taking over also the duty of the border demarcation after the second Morean War in Dalmatia, thus the borderline was named after him *linea Mocenigo*¹⁸⁵. The two most important points of the duty of Governor General in Dalmatia in the 17th century were the protection of the public interests of the Republic and to keep peace on the border¹⁸⁶, which were not easy to achieve in the period of almost half a century of conflict and tensions, alongside with immigrations and integration of new subjects¹⁸⁷ and on the other hand being constantly under the control of the central Venetian government to whom they had to prove their loyalty¹⁸⁸. Some of them were moving from such or similar position in different Venetian provinces to Dalmatia such as Angelo Emo who was first the governor of Morea and then of Dalmatia during the second Morean War (1714-1717)¹⁸⁹. Thus it would be very wrong to conclude that the position of *Provveditore Generale* was a kind of fashionable position of superficial Venetian noblemen who would unfortunately pass his two years of duty in such a periphery as Zara, trying to amuse himself with constant party

¹⁸⁴ DAZ, Generalni providuri, source 1, box 45, 46 and 55; also BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Eccmo Senato dall'Eccmo Sig. Gierolamo Cornaro K. Prov. di S. Marco, fù Prov. Generale in Dalmatia et Albania*

¹⁸⁵ DAZ, Generalni providuri, source 1, box 62-66 and 85-89.

¹⁸⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 384, No. 8.

¹⁸⁷ The position of the governor general was especially difficult in 1682-1684 before the official entering of the Republic into war with the Ottomans. The tensions and open conflicts were present in *contado* of Zara on a daily basis and the governor general had orders to keep peace on the border, which was completely opposite to the general movement amongst the local people, especially Morlach immigrants. Therefore there were many misunderstandings between *Provveditore Generale* Domenico Mocenigo and local Morlach leaders. See DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, source 1, box 49; also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 25-32; and MILUTINOVIĆ, *Od Stojana Jankovića*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁸ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, No. 54, f. 62v: "VV.EE. s'assicurino ch'io non ho altra intenzione, affetto e passione, non distinguendo né persone né interessi che quello ove ritrovi il servizio alla Patria, spiacendomi qualche vana disceminazione che non servo, che a contaminare la vera cognizione del governo e la buona intenzione di queste Popoli".

¹⁸⁹ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, source 1, box 79-82

organising, which might have been a case at the very end of the Republic in the 18th century¹⁹⁰.

b) *Conte di Zara*

The Republic of Venice respected the administrative and political institutions in Dalmatian communities, which were related to the local government. However, this was to a certain level. The count was not a local nobleman nor did the local noblemen have any influence in the election of their count¹⁹¹. The count was chosen amongst the Venetian lower noblemen for the duty of 24 months¹⁹². On the other hand, those noblemen were representing their *venetianism*, the essence of being a Venetian nobleman, which meant a lot of stature and pride as well as certain manners in performing all diplomatic duties¹⁹³. In comparison with the communities in Terraferma Veneta and in Istria where the main representative of the Venetian government in the local communities was *podesta* except those in Pula who had the title of *count*¹⁹⁴, Dalmatian coastal communities continued to have the institution of count i.e. *conte*, which practically had the same duty, but it was more in keeping with the medieval title. The Count of Zara had jurisdiction over the whole territory of *contado*, including Novegradi and Nona although these two towns-castles had their main officers. Nona had a count and senate, which was in Zara during 1645-1660s, and Novegradi had its *provveditore*¹⁹⁵ and *cancelliere* while before there was *castellano*. With the extension of the Venetian possessions in Morlacca, he

¹⁹⁰ M. NOVAK, *Generalni providuri Dalmacije i Albanije u XVIII st.*, [Governors general of Dalmatia and Albania in the 18th century], in Radovi JAZU-Zd, 4-5 (1959), p. 342-345.

¹⁹¹ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 44-45.

¹⁹² BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 6: *Libro nel quale gli è descritto tutti li magistrare di Venetia*, f. 43r.

¹⁹³ COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 303: “Significava per ciascuno l’onore e il peso di una straordinaria dignità, l’essere il simbolo di una Repubblica che protendeva il suo dominio fino all’estremo del Mediterraneo, che ne controllava in gran parte il traffico, che poteva trattare, con la sua potenza e le sue ricchezze, da pari a pari, con papi, re, imperatori”.

¹⁹⁴ COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 302.

¹⁹⁵ Despite the very difficult position of the community of Novegradi during the Ottoman expansion in the 16th and 17th centuries, this fortress-town preserved its autonomy, due precisely to its strategically important position. But this specific status continued and after the Morean War when the major Ottoman danger was miles away; DAZ, *Knjiga zadarskih knezova*, *Atti del conte di Zara Giovanni Balbi*, p. 140.

was also partially in charge of this territory¹⁹⁶. The Count of Zara was also superior to all other counts in the province¹⁹⁷ and he had rights to entitle the Count of Nona. All other counts in the province were entitled by the Doge according to a special *ducala*. Even more, during the exile of the people from Nona and noblemen council in the Candian War, the Count of Zara also obtained the duty of count and captain of Nona presiding over Nona's noble council in exile in Zara¹⁹⁸. The count's duty was very similar to those of Governor General but on the county level i.e. community. In this way he was responsible for the organisation of and preside over the local senate, judge in the first instance, keep order and respect of law, dealing with Ottoman representatives and to carry out duties related to the local economy especially trade¹⁹⁹. Although he was supposed to preside over the local city council, most of the time the count would ignore this institution and speed up procedures, brought decisions of county importance, but upon and in accordance with the orders from the Venetian Senate²⁰⁰.

The importance and competence of the count can be seen from the fact that he was participating in the border demarcation in Zara's hinterland in 1671 providing important field information to Giann Battista Nani. He was also there together with the captain in keeping the Morlach immigrants away from the disputable Ottoman border²⁰¹ as well as intervening in the case of the Ottoman offences on the border in agreement with the Governor General²⁰². As the territory of the *contado* expanded, the duty of the count of Zara also grew. In the new acquisition in Zara's hinterland no new system applied. This territory was treated as a natural extension of the community of Zara i.e. *condato di Zara*²⁰³. The reports of the governor generals shows

¹⁹⁶ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 366.

¹⁹⁷ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 42.

¹⁹⁸ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 1, f. 1r-7v.

¹⁹⁹ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 24.

²⁰⁰ About this kind of situation in all of the Dalmatian coastal communities see: M. NOVAK, *Autonomija dalmatinskih komuna*, p. 59-128.

²⁰¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, busta 694; ASV, *Senato Mar, Registro*, No. 153, f. 358r

²⁰² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 45; in November 1671, when the Ottoman's troop occupied Obbrovazzo and Scardona, Antonio Barbaro wrote: "Il N. N. Magno Capitano di Zara partito per il Territorio di Zara per diventir i progressi da Turchi et il Conte et Capitano di Sebenico Zeno verso Scardona."

²⁰³ This can be compared with the application of the Venetian government in the new acquisition in Morea at the beginning of the 18th century. The system was the same – the Venetian government recognised the existence of the local community councils, but with

that the captain and governor very often had to act in accordance, especially when the governor was absent from the main city, the Count of Zara would take over numerous duties by the order of the governor general, especially in the time of war²⁰⁴. It is understandable that in such situations especially during war the government had to be centralised practically through the functions of Venetian Senate - Governor General – City Count. There was no place for long discussions of the city noblemen council. Therefore during the second half of the 17th century the position of city count became even more autonomous regarding the local community²⁰⁵.

Alongside the count, the county of Zara had a captain who was also chosen from the Venetian noblemen for the 24 months duty and the same amount of ducats monthly²⁰⁶. Zara, as the capital city of the province was the only one with these two separated duties of count (legislative and juridical competences) and captain (defence-security competences). All other Dalmatian towns had only count who also obtained the duty of the captain²⁰⁷. At the beginning of the establishment of the Venetian government in Dalmatia during the 15th century the captain had some overlapping duties with the count, but he gradually lost the importance in civil affairs and this was mostly a position of a military career, with the main responsibility related to the security of the city and its community²⁰⁸.

imposing the Venetian *rector*, which would be the same as *count* in Dalmatian communities. See: COZZI: *La politica del diritto della Repubblica di Venezia nel Regno di Morea (1687-1715)*, in *Diritto commune; diritto commerciale; diritto veneziano*, Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, Quaderni 31, Venice, 1985, p. 156.

²⁰⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 15; *Commisario* Marco Molin praised the count of Zara Alessandro Diedo who was well respected by the local people and was very capable to organise the distribution of grain and other food during the beginning of the Candian War. COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 148; *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Bernardo emphasised the help provided by the count of Zara Antonio Zen during his absence in other parts of the province in 1660. For example, the count was in charge of supervising the distribution of the rations arriving from Venice throughout the province, the defence of the fortresses as well as participating in military campaigns.

²⁰⁵ M. NOVAK, *Autonomija dalmatinskih komuna*, p. 125.

²⁰⁶ BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 6: *Libro nel quale gli è descritto tutti li magistrati di Venetia*, p. 43r

²⁰⁷ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 45; Governor General Lorenzo Dolfin in his report written in 1655 emphasised the importance of Zara as the capital city, which was the reason to keep both functions of count and captain separate, despite some financial savings which would result by unifying these two functions; see: COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 102.

²⁰⁸ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 14.

Nevertheless, the count was just an extension of the centralised Venetian government in the province with very little possibilities to act alone. Most of the time he was just implementing orders given from the Venetian Senate and very often he acted in accordance with the governor general. If the count was absent, the governor general temporarily replaced him, waiting for another person to be sent from the Venetian Senate²⁰⁹. This can be also seen from the documents of the count's office (*cancelleria*). Most of the time the count's office worked as a public notary office dealing with last will and testaments, inventories of property, procuration, assurance of money loans, rental agreements, trade agreements, proof of different kind of possessions, minutes of sequesters, orders regarding the conduct of some legal orders and decisions. There were also documents relating to juridical acts in the case of arbitrage, judging in cases of wrangles and disputes. These were most of the time legal processes which the count would conduct according to short procedures, but sometimes there were also witness examinations. Besides these kinds of documents, there can be found lists of documents related to landlord – tenant (*colono*) relationships²¹⁰.

Besides the count and captain which every Dalmatian community had, in the capital city of the province, Zara, there were another two Venetian representatives chosen by the Senate amongst the lesser Venetian noblemen: *Camerlengo*²¹¹ and *Cancelliere*. The role of the first, who actually was the local chamberlain, was the supervision of financial issues or the distribution of the state money in the province. He was elected from Venetian noblemen, but he also had *coadiutores* who could be elected from local noblemen and their exclusive duty was supervising each other to prevent any peculation. *Cancelliere* was the head of the state administration in the province. Most of the time the governor general had his own clerk who was in his service even before a nobleman was entitled as governor

²⁰⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar, Registro*, No. 136, f. 213v; in January 1672 Zara's Count Alessandro Magno fell ill due to exhaustion during the border demarcation. Descriptions of his health problems indicate that he may have caught malaria. Therefore he was recommended to leave the area for some period. In the mean time the Senate was about to choose the person who would replace him, but *Provveditore Generale* had to retake some of his duties.

²¹⁰ DAZ, *Knjige Zadarskih knezova*.

²¹¹ ASV, *Senato Mar, Registro*, No. 153, f. 214v; The position of *camerlengo* was very important because of supervising finances in the community and that no malversation or mistakes should happen, although it was an often the case. See: PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 14.

general. This was a matter of a long term relationship which a highly positioned Venetian diplomat had with his clerk who was from the Venetian plebeians, educated and talented and most of the time the one who the governor general could trust in a very professional and private way²¹².

According to Zara's Statute the count had rights to keep his personal servant - *gastald* and four heralds whose services were paid from the Venice central treasury and they lived in rented houses in the city of Zara. Their duty was dealing with the orders of the count's office, announcements, public auctions and all the other usual clerical duties²¹³.

c) *Dragoman*

Bearing in mind that all these people kept constant correspondence with Venice, the *Cancellarius*, who was the head of the count's office, had a very important role but he was definitely not the only one writing all the necessary documents. There were numerous clerks and besides this *Provveditore Generale* had his own office. Alongside the minor officers, one very important role was that of *Dragoman*. His major skill, after being educated for in *Bailaggio* in Istanbul, was the interpretation of Turkish and other oriental languages. However, a dragoman's skills and duty went beyond this. He was very often on his own conducting negotiations with Ottoman representatives as well as the Habsburgs, acting in accordance with the instructions of *Provveditore Generale* or the count. Here his diplomatic skills were precious. The skilful dragoman was in high demand and very often many functionaries used the service of the same dragoman, which kept him very busy. In the documents of the governor generals in Dalmatia they were often praised and any absence of a dragoman in the province was seen as a great obstacle. They were not only interpreters, They were also able to conduct diplomatic jobs alongside the governors and were trusted by both sides, Venetian and Ottoman²¹⁴. Sometimes the job stayed in the family as

²¹² About the Venetian clerks see more in G. TREBBI, *La cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII*, in *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, XIV, Torino, 1980, p. 110-111.

²¹³ *Zadarski statut*, [Zara Statute], Zadar, Matica Hrvatska, 1997, p. 541, 32. *De gastaldione et praeconibus domini comitis Iadrae et eorum salario*.

²¹⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 385, No. 9; In February 1677 Pietro Valier complained about the absence of a dragoman, which really made his negotiations with the Bosnian Pasha very difficult despite having translated documents.

in the case of father and son Tarsia²¹⁵ who were both excellent dragomans²¹⁶. Especially difficult situations were during border or peace treaty negotiations. Dragoman Giovanni Battista Salvago conducted the revision of the borderline with the Ottomans in 1626 in total collaboration with two other dragomans and interpreters Michiel Membré and Giacomo di Nones²¹⁷. Giann Battista Nani also dedicated numerous negotiations with the Ottomans to his adjutant Gregorio Detrico, as the one of the local noblemen and good connoisseurs of the local Ottomans²¹⁸ as well as to his dragoman Tomaso Tarsia²¹⁹. A good dragoman had to be able to gain the confidence of the Ottoman representative and with the extraordinary manners represent the Republic and its interest, which most of the time were opposite to those of the Ottomans. Further more, a dargoman also had the role of a special agent who had to use all of his skills to provide as much information as possible about the other side. According to the writings of G. B. Nani, Tomaso Tarsia was very good at his job despite his young age during very difficult negotiations in 1671²²⁰. To be a dragoman was much more about personal talents than just a good knowledge of languages. A good dragoman was in high demand. Thus we can see from the documents that the young Tarsia was very busy not only with Nani. In one occasion Nani had to replace Tarsia with another dragoman, Peroni, who was older

²¹⁵ Tarsia senior was served for more than 25 years and left his position to his son after receiving numerous lauds from the Venetian officers – *Provveditori Generali* as can be found in a report of Lorenzo Dolfin written in 1655; see COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 122.

²¹⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 8; G. TREBBI, *La cancelleria veneta*, p. 108-109; The author emphasised that a young man who showed a great talent alongside his father who obtained a kind of office service could easily be chosen to conduct duty abroad (*Stato da Mar*).

²¹⁷ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 20.

²¹⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 15: “Ho perciò risoluto a pretesto di nuova visita in questa sua maggior vicinanza espedire il Cav. Gregorio Detrico; che per molte considerazioni trovo qui più habile di qual si sia altro; con istruzioni tali che spero di far parlar il Bassa e scoprir fondo”(…).

²¹⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar, Registri*, No. 138, p. 72r.

²²⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 13: “Ha l’istesso Dragoman ben adempito le parti sue. Il Bassa l’ha accolto con ogn’honore e contento ha gradito le vesti, ben ricevuto le lettere mie che vale in publico divano gli presentasse e regalatolo una veste. L’ha trovato tutto cortesia e civiltà [...] tuttavia ne’ suoi pensieri è impenetrabile nelle commissioni che tiene. Ha il Tarsia procurato di far confidenza con il suo Segretario e con altri ministri et ha ricavato solamente che li Bassa tiene due ordini”(…).

and more experienced but without Tarsia's vigour²²¹. Yet, good skills and abilities did not mean a good income²²². Nani repetitively wrote to the Senate that he lacked money to pay Tarsia's expenses²²³. Tarsia also had an important role in 1682 after the events in Zemonico and the Morlach rebellion against the local Ottomans. Tarsia was the one who was sent to persuade the Ottoman side not to take any military action in revenge and to offer a large amount of money as a substitute. However, the Venetian government accused him of corruption and he faced imprisonment as well as monetary fines and the confiscation of his property, but later he was vindicated and absolved²²⁴.

During the border demarcation in 1701, Giovanni Grimani was very happy with the abilities of dragoman Carli who apparently was very capable and very well accepted by the Ottomans which was of major importance for their diplomatic work²²⁵. Thus he was able to conduct a part of border negotiations on his own²²⁶.

²²¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 16: "Meritano ambedue la gratia di V.V.E.E. per il loro degno servitio. Il Peroni huomo maturo d'età e di lunga esperienza è informatissimo delle cose de' Turchi e suggerisce buonissimi lumi ma come per parlare la lingua è franco, capace così nel tradurre si rende più difficile e nello scrivere totalmente ignaro. All'incontro il Tarsia per il vigore dell'età sollevante d'ogni fatica e soprattutto non solo pronto nell'interpretar i discorsi ma peritissimo nello scrivere e leggere i caratteri turchi".

²²² The position of Dragoman can be taken as one specific sort of clerk. The salaries of clerks in Venice were very modest especially at the beginning of their career. See: TREBBI, *La cancelleria veneta*, p. 84.

²²³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 694, No. 31: "Corre il quinto mese che il Tarsia è qui meco. Io delle sue provisioni niente gl'ho dato, non sapendo nemeno quale sia l'uso et il suo assegnamento et egli pure con tutta modestia niente mai mi ha ricercato. L'acceno tuttavia humilmente parendomi che la discrezione ricerchi che qualche cosa si gli somministri". In 1685 Pietro Valier was without dragoman because the person who obtained this duty in the province of Dalmatia went to ask for his salary in Venice and Valier was assuming that he would probably not be back. DAZ, *Dispacci, Pietro Valier*, II, f. 26r.

²²⁴ ALAČEVIĆ, *La Guerra della Sacra Lega detta pure la Guerra di Morea dal 1684 al 1699*, in *Tabularium*, I, Zadar, 1901, p. 8-9.

²²⁵ E. IVETIĆ, *Oltremare – L'Istria nell'ultimo dominio veneto*, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, Venezia, 2000, p. 342. The Carli family as well as Tarsia were dragomans through generations and this profession also brought them a title of counts. The Carli family was from Capodistria (*Koper*).

²²⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 20: "Veramente il dragomano Carli serve con molta abilità e con intiera mia approvazione. Si vede ben'accettato da' Turchi et egli possiede parti tali che senza di lui non saprei certo, come dissi, basarmi et attribuisco a molto anzi a tutto il buon servitio della S. V."

When concerning relationships with local inhabitants, of less importance, the governor general and the count would use interpreters of *idioma ilirico* (Slavic i.e. Croatian language) most of the time²²⁷. There are some indication in the sources that the Morlachs, at least those who were in army service, were able to understand Italian language²²⁸.

4. Autonomies and rules

Once established, the Venetian government in the province, as stated, accepted all the previous legal documents and basis of the Dalmatian communities' constitution primarily related to the statute of a community, with a slight adherence to Venetian interests. This assured certain autonomy to each of the Dalmatian communities, and this was Venetian policy applied everywhere in Terraferma and Istria²²⁹. The major central government intervention was with electing their people – noblemen to conduct this legal system on the local level. The central government even respected the main statutory division of the citizens to noblemen and plebeians. Noblemen were gathering in *comunità* and plebeians in *universitas*. The political power of these bodies was very low but they were in constant argument²³⁰. Nevertheless, the Senate considered that it was necessary to please the noblemen in some specific situations, such as in 1675 when Zara noblemen Giorgio Calcina (Juraj Kalčina) and Francesco Fanfogna had an audience with the Venetian Doge, there was a suggestion to award them the Order of

²²⁷ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo l'anno 1646-1648*, f. 124r: Girolamo Giordani was entitled interpreter *di lingua Slava* after the death of Marin Pechiari from whom he inherited all the legal books and documents related to the official interpreting service; See also *Atti del conte di Zara Francesco Semitecolo l'anno 1711-1713*, II, p. 108: Giuseppe Libani was interpreter of *Illyrian* language in the count's office; see also PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 17.

²²⁸ JAČOV, *Le missioni cattoliche*, p. 446-448. The Catholic missionaries in Dalmatia who were acting amongst Morlach immigrants reported that despite their poor knowledge of Slavic languages, they did not have problem with Morlachs understanding their Italian language, which they obviously learnt from the other Venetian subjects they lived with.

²²⁹ COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 292.

²³⁰ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, 1908, p. 67; It is interesting to mention here that the situation between the noblemen and plebeians were completely different in Venice as is shown in analyses carried out by TREBBI, *La cancelleria veneta*, p. 73; The author emphasised that a citizen who was a successful businessmen (*mercante onorato*) was appreciated by noblemen and could also have good friendly relationships with them. About the conflicts in Zara see also RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERICIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 402. Also COZZI, *Il Dominio da mar*, p. 200-201.

St. Mark (*Cavalieri di S. Marco*) for their and the city's of Zara trust and fidelity to the Republic²³¹.

However, Venetian representatives, counts and governors general did not trust these local noblemen, bearing in mind numerous rebellions against the Venetian government in the Middle Ages²³². They had more respect for the plebeians and their effort to improve the situation within the community²³³, while the noblemen were seen as badly organised and not so numerous, since many of the noble families died out and the new families were very rarely accepted into noble society²³⁴. Regarding decision making, which would bring significant changes in the life of the city community, the representatives of all three classes of the citizens were summoned for a meeting. Such an example happened at the beginning of the Candian War, when *Provveditore Generale* Leonardo Foscolo called for the meeting of the representatives of noblemen, plebeians and clerics. They had to agree about the housing of the Venetian soldiers in spare rooms in their private homes or monasteries, because there were no army barracks in the city. The agreement satisfied the *Provveditore Generale*²³⁵.

As the one who presided the *Curia Maior* of the Community of Zara (including the territory of Zara), the count was the major judge in penal

²³¹ ASV, *Senato Mar, Registro*, No. 141, f. 105v: "L'andra parte che sia rimesso alla somma prudenza del Ser. Principe secondo che gli parera proprio di creare per decreto del Senato Cavalieri di S. Marco gl'Ambasciatori sudetti con tutti gli privilegi, prerogative et preheminenze solite onde l'ornamento di tale specioso carattere servi per contrasegno decoroso dell'affetto particolare con il quale sono stati accolti et dell'aggradimento distinto che risulta verso questa tanto benemerita prediletta Città".

²³² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 47, 101, 181-182.

²³³ BCM, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'ecc.mo sig. Girolamo Cornaro (1686-1689)*, f. 152r.

²³⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 383, No. 52; Pietro Civran emphasised one very bad situation with the number of surviving noble families in Dalmatian cities especially in Zadar. Apparently he suggested the incorporation of six new families in the Zara nobleman assembly, but we don't have any further information about this suggestion in 1674. ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No 15258, Ms. 307, f. 96r; In a document issued in 1675 were the rules about who could be accepted as a member of Zara's noble council where it was emphasised that this has to be a man whose both parents were of noble families. There was also the whole list of obligatory characteristics of a Zara nobleman. See f. 100r; RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 400; The authors mentioned the case of the incorporation of six plebeian families into the assembly of Zara's nobility in 1694: Lantana, Pellegrini, Fondra, Ponte, Possedaria and Soppe-Fortezza.

²³⁵ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No11227, Ms 219, f. 13, 19.

cases²³⁶, while in civil cases he could give his opinion during the sitting of the Curia, which judged these kind of cases, and usually his opinion was taken as the right one. The count would also judge in the cases when one of the interested parties were Venetian subjects from other provinces as well as foreigners²³⁷. The lesser offences could be judged by brotherhoods (*scuola*) in the towns or *liga* and *posoba* in the villages. The legal system was based on the main document of a community – statute, common law and case precedent and if none of these could be applied or was not in accordance with the interests of Republic then the count would be given the opportunity to make judgements according to his conscience and sense of justice²³⁸. The appeal court was in Venice – the *Quarantia*²³⁹. This was also a way to protect the interests of the Republic and prevent any mistakes or misjudgements by the Venetian count who may have been under the influence of local situations. In this judgement appeal situation the competent institution had to take into consideration local law, not the Venetian legal norms²⁴⁰. The appeals after the judgment of the lower institutions, such as the brotherhoods, could be given to the count²⁴¹. This was again the combination of the pre-existing legal institutions and legal norms respected by the Venetian government but combined with the new executor of these norms, who was the representative of the Venetian central government. It was inevitable that during the 300 years of the Venetian government in Dalmatia these legal norms gradually changed. The basis was the custom law and statute, but gradually the number of cases resolved on the principle of precedent was increasing, and in this way an extension of the traditional medieval law system was created²⁴². As these changes were

²³⁶ *Zadarski statut*, p. 576, 80. *De potestate et arbitrio domini comitis in maleficiis*.

²³⁷ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 369. See also *Zadarski statut*, p. 132, *Capitulum VIII, IX and X*.

²³⁸ COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 307.

²³⁹ *Zadarski statut*, p. 576, 81. *A sentential criminali non potest appellari lata per dominum comitem, a civili potest infra decem dies, ab interlocutoria non*. Also p. 586, 97. *De appellationibus*.

²⁴⁰ COZZI, *Il Dominio da mar*, p. 199. See also COZZI, *Ambiente veneziano*, p. 308.

²⁴¹ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 15.

²⁴² Each of the eastern Adriatic coastal communities had its own statute. Zara's Statute was published in Venice in 1564. The original text was written in Latin and it was translated into Croatian and published again in 1997 by J. KOLANOVIĆ and M. KRIŽMAN. The Statute was valuable and applicable in the whole of the administrative territory of the Community of Zara (*Contado di Zara*).

not sudden the local society did not have feel it as forcefully imposed, rather they were slowly integrated into tradition.

a) Liga and posoba

Since the establishment of the Venetian dominion in Dalmatia, the central government also respected, to a certain extent, the autonomy of rural communities. Therefore they encouraged the election of judges, who were not only judging, they were also a kind of governor in these communities and mediators with the central government in Zara²⁴³. They were not paid for this position, but they could have a sort of privilege in given as a piece of land for their duty or being excused of paying taxes²⁴⁴. They were also excused from any military service, but according to the reforms brought in 1537 they were obliged to participate in unpaid public works. Besides this it was ordered that nobody under the age of 40 years could be elected a judge and the judge should preferably be the oldest person in a village²⁴⁵. Alongside the judges there were *lige* and *posobe*, which actually as an assembly of the rural communities in a certain area were in charge of electing their judge and determine their responsibilities. They were present in all rural communities from Nona to Narenta, although the majority of historians only refer to those of Zara's community²⁴⁶. In the reformed version of the statute of Zara (1458) there was also an appendix related to the organisation of *lige*²⁴⁷. *Posoba*, as explained by Ivan Grgić, was a slightly different organisation than *liga*. This was an organisation strictly related to one village (which could be a member of *liga*). *Posoba* was an assembly of chieftains of only one village who would meet to choose the

²⁴³ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Giovanni Balbi, 1713-1715*, volume I, p. 3: The judge of the Community of Zara Šimun Šimunić (Simon Simonich) and judge of the Community of Suhovare Marco Calabrese reported about the damage of grain and oat in the fields near the village Stossia (Stošija), on 3rd June 1714.

²⁴⁴ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 21.

²⁴⁵ *Zadarski statut*, p. 665, *Reformationes 153. De aetate iudicum villarum*.

²⁴⁶ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut i nekoliko priloga za proučavanje liga*, [One border zone statute and some addition to study of liga], in *Magazin sjeverne Dalmacije*, II, Split, 1935, p. 23.

²⁴⁷ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 49; The authors are referring to the document named *Forma privilegiorum ligarum Comitatus Iadrae* from 1455. The transcription of the original document and its translation into Croatian language was published in *Zadarski statut*, p. 626-633, *Reformationes 137*.

judge amongst them as well as other village representatives. More *posoba* (villages) could gather in an organisation of *liga*, but in the case when a village or *posoba* was large, they then could decide not to join in with other villages. In this case *posoba* could have been mixed with the term *liga*²⁴⁸.

As can be seen from the documents the town of Nona also had its *posoba* as an assembly of judges of the town, while the judges of the villages in Nona's district were organised into *liga*²⁴⁹. *Liga* was an aggregation of more villages in an area led by a judge. Therefore the term refers to the legal organisation of rural communities of an area as well as its practical manifestation as a meeting of representatives of villages, which in Venetian documents is mentioned as *liga* or *sborro* (i.e. *zbor* in Croatian which means meeting)²⁵⁰. It is obvious from the *Forma privilegiorum ligarum comitatus Iadrae* issued in 1458 during the government of Count of Pietro Basadonna and confirmed by the Venetian Doge Francesco Foscari that these institutions existed before the stabilisation of the Venetian government in this territory. Therefore *liga* and *posoba* were integrated medieval institutions, which needed slight regulation and adaptation to the needs of the Venetian government²⁵¹.

The role of these institutions was to keep law and order, predominately relating to crime prevention. In the case of an alert signified by bell ringing all the villagers had to gather. If there was a crime committed, they all had to help to catch and punish the offender. All members of a community – *liga* were personally and by their property responsible for the punishment of an offender. For example if a member of the community was intentionally wounded, all the members would pay for his/hers care or in the case when a member of community would commit a crime, all the community had to pay damages. The judge of a *liga* could also punish those who would not gather at the sign of alert (4 liras) and bring a verdict according to custom law in civil cases. Anyone who committed

²⁴⁸ I. GRGIĆ, *O ligama i posobama*, [About lige and posobe], in *Zadarska revija*, (1) 1954, p. 1-2.

²⁴⁹ J. KOLANOVIĆ, *Zbornik ninskih isprava od XIII do XVII stoljeća*, [Collection of Nin's documents from the 13th to 17th centuries], in *Povijest grada Nina*, p. 515-516; transcription of the original document from collection of the documents of Nona community (*Knjiga spisa Ninske komune*, p. 290-293).

²⁵⁰ GRGIĆ, *O ligama i posobama*, p. 1 (reference 2).

²⁵¹ *Zadarski statut*, p. 626, *Reformationes*, 137.

robbery in a *liga* and against the people of this *liga* or knew about such a crime and in this way worked against the community would be punished by confiscating of all their goods and animals. One half of the confiscated goods had to be delivered to the community and another half to the *liga*²⁵². It can be seen that the ruling of the *liga* established a collective responsibility within a rural community. It also provided certain security for an individual. One such case was the stealing of an ox which in this case meant that the whole community helped the affected person to buy a new animal, with his/hers responsibility to repay this back to the community over a certain period²⁵³. In this document the *liga* also represented a territorial unit.

The oldest written document relating to the organisation and jurisdiction of a *liga* is the Statute of *Liga* of Nona' Kotar (District). Historians are still arguing about the year of origin of the first version of this document. There are some indicators that the document might be from the 12th century, but there have been numerous transcriptions and adaptation, which makes it difficult to trace its origin. However, this document is very important proof of the self-organisation of the County of Nona (town and its 21 villages) and it was confirmed by the Venetian count in 1474. The last preserved version of this statute contains 80 articles and the majority of them are related to the prevention of robbery and violence as well as the collective responsibility to pay for damages²⁵⁴.

The organisation of *liga* changed after the demographic changes during the Candian War and the integration of Morlach newcomers. Understanding the importance of the self-organisation of villagers, where the hand of governmental power found it difficult to reach, the governors used this institution for sorting out almost every problem in rural communities²⁵⁵. In this way the Venetian government actually encouraged the continuation of these ancient institutions in the areas where the 'old'

²⁵² *Zadarski statut*, p. 628-629. See also RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 50.

²⁵³ *Zadarski statut*, p. 630.

²⁵⁴ V. BRAJKOVIĆ, *Odredbe prava mora i ribolova u statutu lige kotara ninskog*, [Regulations of rights on the sea and fishing in the Statute of the *liga* of Nona County] in *Povijest grada Nina*, p. 479-482.

²⁵⁵ This can be observed from DAZ, *Generelni providuri*, box, 49, p. 104r, *Registro giuridico*, which is actually a collection of juridical cases amongst which many are related to processes led by a *liga*. See also *Zadarski statut*, p. 646, 660.

inhabitants had almost completely disappeared together with their traditions. The government acted as transmitter of the tradition to the new Morlach inhabitants, of course, those which were integrated within the Venetian system. However, they were keeping control over it, not allowing too much freedom and if the meeting was not approved by the count, it would be banned²⁵⁶.

There was also a statute created with the aim to integrate the old system of *liga* with the privileges given to the Morlachs. This statute was written in 1655 in Croatian Cyrillic (*bosančica*), probably by some local Catholic priest, who usually used this kind of alphabet to write documents, but there was also a version translated into Italian. This indicated that it was obviously written during the meeting, which was organised in the village of Grusi in agreement with the Venetian *Provveditore* Antonio Zen and upon the call of the Morlach Captain i.e. *serdar* Filip Smiljanić and there were also other Morlach captains *harambase*²⁵⁷. As Boško Desnica observes in his analyses, it is interesting to note that the statue contains more prerogatives to *liga* than usual. According to the Venetian restrictions of the jurisdictions of *liga* they could bring verdicts in the civil cases only to the amount of 5 liras²⁵⁸, but in this new statute, the *liga* had the right to enforce the dead penalty in cases of harsh offences related to those who would sell their children or members of family or kidnap other's people children or women and sell them as slaves to the Ottomans or to the Habsburg territory in Segna and their supporters. Although the original document does not contain the precise interpretation of such offenders, Desnica worked it out through the analyses of different documents relating to the difficult state of Morlach immigrants in Zara's hinterland during the Candian War²⁵⁹.

The Venetian government faced a very difficult situation in Zara's hinterland with the integration of the Morlach immigrants in the period 1669-1684, when they intended to keep peaceful relationships on the

²⁵⁶ GRGIĆ, *O ligama i posobama*, p. 4 and 10; The author referred to the restriction of the organisation of *liga* on the island of Pasma by Zara's Count Anzolo Emo in 1686. From the original document, which is in addition to Grgić's paper, it can be seen that *liga* of the villages on this island took too much power - conducting all kinds of lawsuits and verdicts over the limits, which were given to *liga* to conduct payments only up to 5 lira with the permission of the Count.

²⁵⁷ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 23-24.

²⁵⁸ *Zadarski statut*, p. 630.

²⁵⁹ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 26-27.

Ottoman border no matter the cost, stimulated the organisation of *lige*. In 1677 Governor General Gerolamo Grimani issued a document in which he ordered the organisation of *zbor* i.e. meeting in the whole of the County of Zara. In the document were named count of Possedaria who was the colonel of the rural communities in the county, his son who was the governor of Nona, Zorzi Renessi who was governor of Zaravecchia and its four coastal villages, *serdar* Stojan Janković Mitrović who was in charge in the upper part of the county and *serdar* Smoljan Smiljanić who was in charge in the lower part of the county. The aim of this document was to entitle these local leaders to gather ‘old’ and ‘new’ inhabitants of the county (one representative from each family) and to proclaim some legal orders such as forbidding of any kind of offence against the Ottomans, stealing and robbing their subjects and merchants as well as free movement in the county without the need of licences, or sailing without licence, because this could have been suspected as a conspiracy of smuggling and robbery. These were all the orders related to keep the peace on the Ottoman border and secure the trade across the border²⁶⁰, which was obviously the major Venetian urge after the establishment of *linea Nani*.

Using this institution Governor General Pietro Valier intended to prevent robbery and crime in the contado of Zara, stimulating each of the villagers to be responsible for order and to look after their co-villagers. The *lige* was a very useful legal institution during the Candian War when the official government was too busy with military actions to keep an eye on order in the villages where people continued to live. *Posobe* and *lige* provided a free police. Appreciating this institution, Valier issued an order – *terminazione*, which contained the competences of *liga*²⁶¹ as well as ordering the translation of the Italian version of the statute of *liga* from 1455²⁶². The organisation of a meeting of *liga* or *posoba* had to be announced to the Venetian count who would approve the subject to be discussed in the meeting. He would then call for the election of delegates (2 elected from the plebeians and 2 from the noblemen of Zara or Nona –

²⁶⁰ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 28; about jurisdiction and function of *liga* see also: STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 26-27.

²⁶¹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 75; see also GRGIĆ, *O ligama i posobama*, p. 9-10.

²⁶² DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 29.

dependent on the territory)²⁶³. It can be observed here that Venetian government was very aware of the equality between noblemen and plebeians concerning local situations. On the other hand this meant that the high level inhabitants of cities had a privileged position in organisations such as *liga*, which were originally related to the rural communities. The governor general also entitled notaries who wrote the minutes of the *liga*'s meeting – *zbor* amongst the local priests²⁶⁴ because they usually enjoyed respect, could be trustworthy were used to the written word, knowing how to compose documents as well as understanding local situations. After the meeting the minutes and decisions had to be proven by the governor general before being implemented²⁶⁵. Each of the villages had to delegate four representatives in *liga*. All the time the position of judge as the chieftain of a village was held and he had the main responsibilities for implementing all the agreements and orders of *liga* on a daily basis. According to Valier's order, all the judges of the villages in Zara's hinterland as well as the islands had to report about the state of their village and about their customs²⁶⁶. As can be seen from the documents issued by the governor general, sometimes the meeting of *liga* was organised with the participation of the representatives from both, Zara and Nona, although after the complaints of Nona's Count Giovanni Antonio Benzon, Governor General Gerolamo Grimani divided the organisation of *liga* in Zara's district and Nona's district²⁶⁷. This was a meeting where would be discussed topics about the whole of the county. Valier intended to have *zbor* i.e. meeting of *liga* at least twice a year in order to introduce this institution as a regular legal organisation of the 'old' and 'new' inhabitants in Zara's hinterland as can be noted from his order issued on 15th April 1678²⁶⁸. According to his order the counts of the city of Zara and Nona had to call for *zbor* (meeting)²⁶⁹. On the other hand, the litigants in juridical procedures at *liga* had rights for appeal to the governor general who had to re-examine the case and bring a

²⁶³ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 31-34.

²⁶⁴ GRGIĆ, p. 2; also DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 31; transcription of the original document.

²⁶⁵ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 34-35.

²⁶⁶ DESNICA, *Ibidem*, p. 30.

²⁶⁷ DESNICA, *Ibidem*, p. 29.

²⁶⁸ DESNICA, *Ibidem*, p. 31.

²⁶⁹ DESNICA, *Ibidem*, p. 32.

verdict²⁷⁰. From the documents issued by the governor generals regarding *liga* it can be observed that many of them issued upgrades to the orders i.e. statute of the *liga* when some new urgent situation occurred in *contado* and as the situation changed especially related to keeping the peace on the border during the truce (1669-1684) and the organisation of life in the new possessions²⁷¹. During a very difficult tense year on the Venetian-Ottoman border in Zara's hinterland 1682-1684 the *liga* was the place where the captains and judges of the villages would discuss keeping the peace on the border as well as organising the protection of the villages from imminent Ottoman attack.

Governor General Lorenzo Donà called for the organisation of *liga* in *contado* in Zaravecchia with the participation of noblemen from Zara Cavalier Gregorio Calcina (Grgur Kalčina) and Simon Bortolazzi (Šimun Bortulačić) and from Nona Girolamo Pasini and Cavalier Mario Cernizza (Mario Černica). The leaders of *liga* were supposed to discuss the problems and disputes amongst the local people, new and old inhabitants, robberies and frauds, which the central administration in Zara could not deal with²⁷². Nevertheless, at the beginning of Morean War the purpose of *liga* slightly changed. The meetings of *liga* were organised in order to prepare the territorial army composed of the local inhabitants, mostly Morlachs, for future participation in military actions, as well as the organisation of the whole society under war circumstances. Governor General Domenico Mocenigo called for *zbor* of *liga* in Zara's hinterland with orders, which were about to be publicly proclaimed at the meeting of the village representatives²⁷³. *Liga* lost its autonomy and was exclusively an extension

²⁷⁰ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 39; The author refers to the case revised by the Governor General Donà preserved in DAZ, *Spisi Donà*, II, p. 129.

²⁷¹ In 1689 Governor Alessandro Molin issued an update of the chapters of rules for *liga* based on the already updated document by Governor Gerolamo Cornaro in 1688; see DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 39-40.

²⁷² ALAČEVIĆ, *La Guerra di Morea – narrazioni e ocumenti 1684-1699*, in *Tabularium*, II/1902, *Dagli atti di Lorenzo Donà*, p. 17, 28, 31, 41; There was another *zbor* called for by the captains of Nona's district in September 1682, where the main purpose was to discuss the best ways of territorial defence from eventual Ottoman attack. See DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 4, f. 84r.

²⁷³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 7; In May 1684 Governor General Domenico Mocenigo forbid any raid on Ottoman territory without captains, to molest Christian Ottoman subjects and only to bring them to the Venetian territory if this was their wish, do not kill any of them in order to steal their cattle or other goods. He promised awards to those who were obedient and severe punishment for any disobedience.

of the governor general's administration to act there where his officers could not reach. At the end of the Morean War when the major preoccupation of the Venetian government was the organisation of life in the re-conquered territories of Zara's hinterland and bringing peace and order especially among the new Morlach inhabitants, Governor General Danile Dolfin issued another 13 new chapters about the organisation of *liga*, its responsibilities and the offences, which could be prosecutable. It is interesting to see how the priorities of the government changed slightly through the organisation of *liga* and how this institution became more controlled by the Venetian government, although still within the frame of the ancient self-organisation of communities and respect of their representatives who were now nothing more than executors of the orders by the central government (*serdars*, captains, *harambaše*). In Dolfin's upgrade can be noticed an obvious concern about *malviventi* who were the nightmare of the governors between the two wars (1669-1684) who were obvious the products of the chaos of war. With the establishment of peaceful government, there was no place for any disturbance in the local communities and the old customs had to be brought back but in accordance with the new needs. Therefore in February 1677 Governor General Pietro Valier called for the organisation of the meeting of the leaders of the villages in the county of Zara with the main task of discussing the punishment of those who trespassed the border and robbed merchants on both sides²⁷⁴.

The villages in *contado* were supposed to chose 12 representatives who would discuss the most important topics, which would be discussed at *liga*. There was a new moment of the establishment of a delegation of appeal judges composed by the two noblemen from Zara and two from Nona including Count Posedarski who was the most responsible in *contado* as *collonello*, Francesco Spingaroli who was governor of Zaravecchia and two *serdars* Zaviša Janković Mitrović and Božo Milković. They judged the appeals made after the verdicts of *liga*'s judges. They also had to approve all the verdicts at the first level in order to be possible to execute them. All the calls to organise *liga* had to be approved by them and they also chose notaries for the meetings. This high delegation was also in charge of

²⁷⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 385, No. 11.

supervising the execution of the verdicts²⁷⁵. After a detailed presentation of the relative archive documents, B. Desnica concluded that the organisation of *liga* lost its original meaning with the establishment of *linea Grimani* and the long-term peace in Dalmatia. They dissolve because of the change of life in the 18th century and were replaced with some other institutions more adapt to the problems of organising the new territories and more than this, new Morlach inhabitants which was not an easy task for the Venetian government²⁷⁶.

b) *Serdar* and *harambassa*

Alongside the implementing of the administrative-political system of the 'old' territory, which was almost naturally expanding over the new conquered territories, there was a reversal process of assimilation of some new institutions of the local autonomy mostly related to the Morlach society which was integrating in the Venetian Dalmatian society, but originated from the Ottoman military system. This was the most obvious through the institutions of *serdar*²⁷⁷ and *harambaša*, whose primary role was the military command of the local communities, but as this was not their only duty, here will be taken into consideration their positions as Venetian administrative officers amongst the new inhabitants, Morlach immigrants in the second half of the 17th century. Their main role was to facilitate relationships between the central Venetian government and Morlach communities. They were actually an extended hand of the government. Their major skill was based on their respect amongst their own people, which they also gained through they military skills and leadership. They used this position of enjoying the public's respect and many times their

²⁷⁵ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 40-42; STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 26; He emphasised that the institution of *liga* was abolished after the Peace Treaty in Passarowitz 1718.

²⁷⁶ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 45-46; The author concluded that the last organised *liga* happened in 1702.

²⁷⁷ R. MURPHEY, *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700*, University College London Press, 1999, p. 138-140; The author describes the position of *serdar* within the Ottoman military system as being on the hierarchy level below Gran Vizier, but their position apparently was never very clear, although very powerful, at the same time very fluid and easy to replace: "The serdar was invariably granted very extensive and explicit extra powers of decision in tactical and other matters, and it was principally he who formed the immediate focus of the troop's loyalty."

charisma, to persuade their people to accept Venetian orders. Most of the mediating duties of *serdars* were related to the calming the tensions on the border, negotiating with the Ottoman representatives, as well as taking actions to put down possible conflicts, organising local militia and the recruitment of local people for the Venetian territorial army²⁷⁸. Nevertheless, they also had a civil function in the organisation of the new Morlach communities and their integration within the Dalmatian society, which was already seen through the explanation of *liga* and they were also in charge of implementing the orders of governor generals²⁷⁹ as well as decisions made by *liga*. *Serdars* were paid for their function as well as being given land in such amount that they lived as land lords²⁸⁰. This was a way to insure respect and authority amongst the members of the community where they were conducting their service²⁸¹. They also had a tough duty of insuring the collection of the tithes together with *harambases* i.e. leaders of the villages. They had to ensure that the collected money or goods would be delivered to the *camera fiscale* in Zara²⁸². This duty became especially difficult at the beginning of the 18th century when some of the *harambasas* of the villages in *contado* stood on the side of their people and refused to deliver the tithes collected in money, starting a rebellion²⁸³.

In *contado di Zara* were two *serdars*, one for the upper territory of Zara's hinterland or *gornji kotari* and another one for the lower territory of Zara's hinterland or *donji kotari*. As mentioned before the position of *serdar*

²⁷⁸ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, 1909, p. 47.

²⁷⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, I, f. 4r: "Prima però di partire ho creduto conveniente conoscere le capi e Karambassa tutti del territorio di Zara, e dopo qualche dispensa di Biade avvertirli per la custodia delle guardie, amonirli alla costanza della fede, et eccitarli all'uso dell'obbedienza facendorli conoscere il grande impegno di Vra. Ser. Per sostenere li loro posterli liberi, e Cristiani e la necessità di cogliere una congiuntura che donata da Dio, non si deve contaminare con la rapina, con la contumazia e con la brutalità della forza, desiderarsi da me solo l'obbedienze a comandi de' loro Capi, con cui può condursi a buon fine ogni intrapresa più difficile, e levarsi ogni disturbo più dannoso".

²⁸⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 8; Antonio Priuli emphasised that the payments of the three elected *serdars* in the county of Zara were established by his predecessor Girolamo Contarini. They were paid during the war as chief commanders of the Morlach army in their territory and this was significant amount of money (20 ducats) and their position was life long. See also: PERIĆIĆ, *Glavari i časnici*, p. 221, 223.

²⁸¹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 28.

²⁸² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 385, No. 14.

²⁸³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 399, No. 59, 66, 67, 94; see also FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 490.

of *Gornji Kotari* was hereditary in the family of Janković Mitrović and *serdars* of *Donji Kotari* were always from the Smiljanić family. However, every new *serdar* had to be confirmed by the Venetian Senate after the recommendation of the *Provveditore Generale* as well as any other officer in *contado*. Besides them there was also the governor of Zaravecchia-Vrana district who was had the same position as *serdar*. This position mostly belonged to the Zara noble families of Bortulazzi and Soppe²⁸⁴ although there were also some ambiguous cases such as during the Candian War when in 1668 Giovanni Battista Soppe was replaced by Michael Maticovich (Mihovil Mataković). But Maticovich was soon entitled to a high military position in Candia, where he spent most of the wartime, and Soppe was again entitled as the Governor of Zaravecchia (*Governatore di Zara Vecchia*)²⁸⁵. This makes it obvious that the governor of a district was not directly chosen by the local people. It would be more likely that the governor general was taking into consideration the needs of the Republic, available local noblemen or leaders and with whom the local community could get on with. The final decision was made by the Venetian Senate according to the recommendation made by the governor general.

As the situation with the increasing number of Morlachs immigrants as well as the tensions with the Ottomans grew, Governor General Lorenzo Donà had to establish a new position in the hierarchy of the local leaders. He entitled Count Ivan Radoš (Zuane Rados) as *soprintendente dei Morlacchi*²⁸⁶ or *Collonello della Nazione Oltramarina*²⁸⁷. On the other hand the autonomy of the local community was such that the Venetian governor could not impose their people to the position of *serdar* because they were the people's leaders. A very good example is an event which happened in July 1684 when *Provveditore Generale* Domenico Mocenigo alongside the two pre-existing *serdars* and two *governors* in *contado* of Zara introduced another four local officers elected from the noblemen of Zara but not at the wish of the local people. These new governors were: Giulio Soppe, Giovanni Battista Soppe, Francesco Ventura and Zuanne Alberti. According

²⁸⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 383, No. 41; In November 1673 *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran elected Count Soppe for the *Governatore di Zara vecchia*.

²⁸⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Senato Mar, Registri*, No. 135, f. 214v.

²⁸⁶ MILUTINOVIĆ, *Od Stojana Jankovića*, p. 15.

²⁸⁷ ASV, *Senato Mar, Registro*, No. 138, f. 67v.

to this new territorial organisation Posedarski was in charge of the villages of the Nona district, Bortolazzi of the Zaravecchia district, Stojan Janković Mitrović in charge of all the new immigrants as well as area from Obbrovazzo to Budin, Smoljan Smiljanić was in charge of the villages in the city of Zara vicinity from Malpaga to Bibigne, San Cassano and Nadino, Giulio Soppe, the entitled governor of Vrana, Tign and Jagodgna and all new Morlachs from Scardona, Ostrovizza, Berberia (*Bribir*) and Cosulovo Pogle, Francesco Ventura was in charge of Castle Venier, Rasance, Gliuba, Radovin and Polisane, and Zuanne Alberti was in charge of Novegradi, Carino, Badagn and Pridraga²⁸⁸. Mocenigo found the reason for this in the increasing number of new Morlachs immigrants who were able to join the Venetian army, as well as need to better organise the territory with the new inhabitants. But he made a mistake in dividing territory and enrolling new officers without previously having heard from the local people's leaders. Thus, only two weeks later the 'old' people's leaders, Possedaria, Bortulazzi, Janković Mitrović and Smiljanić complained directly to the Venetian Doge emphasising that their autonomous rights had been obstructed by the Governor General Mocenigo, who at the end had to withdraw his decision²⁸⁹.

At the same time people from Zaravecchia district complained to the *Provveditore Generale* Domenico Mocenigo and appealed for their old rights to be governed by the people from their region, rather than having someone imposed from Zara's noblemen because this caused many disorders in their area. Especially difficult was the situation about the land distribution in the area of Laurana, which soon after the official beginning of the Morean War was annexed to the Venetian territory and the old inhabitants i.e. Venetian subjects from Zaravecchia and Pacosciane demanded the return of their property in this area²⁹⁰. Besides, the new subjects from Laurana asked about the protection of their privileges, which they had during the Ottoman government, demanded *serdar* Smiljanić and Count Ilija Radašinović to be their representatives rather than Count

²⁸⁸ DAZ, *Generalni Providuri*, source 1, box, 49, Domenico Mocenigo, f. 9v-12r; also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 26.

²⁸⁹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 28-32; also MILUTINOVIĆ, *Od Stojana Jankovića*, p. 16 and ROKSANDIĆ, *Stojan Janković in the Morean War*, p. 266-267.

²⁹⁰ ALAČEVIĆ, *La Guerra di Morea*, p. 62.

Bortolazzi with whom they were not happy²⁹¹. Obviously they did not succeed with Mocenigo because they took the desperate measures of killing Bortolazzi in 1692²⁹². The particularities of his behaviour, which pulled the trigger, are not known from the documents, but it must have been long term terror because people usually respected their leaders especially if they were chosen from the same local family who preserved the title and respect. The major reason was Bortolazzi's tyranny exercised especially during the collection of tithes²⁹³. Apparently a group of local people from Zaravecchia and Pacosciane surrounded his house, shot him, cut him with sabres. They then dragged his dead body from the house and covered him with a pile of rocks. The Venetian governor Daniele Dolfin ordered the strict measures against those who participated in the conspiracy against Bortolazzi. Their houses were burnt and two years later and they were caught and executed. However the Venetian Senate accepted an amnesty for people of Zaravecchia and Pacosciane and the new attendant of Laurana was Francesco Spingaroli²⁹⁴.

The position and duties of *serdars* changed after the Morean War and the prolonged peaceful period. Now, their duties took on more civil dimensions although they still kept the role of the major commanders of the territorial army as well as those who recruited such troops. However, Governor General Vincenzo Vendramin in 1709 intended to reduce their numbers and conducted territorial reorganisation in Dalmatia - the main reason being to reduce the expenses of their salaries. In this way he decided to keep two serdars in the county of Zara, as mentioned before from the families Mitrović-Janković and Smiljanić. Two serdars were also kept in Čtiluk because of the spreading of the territories of these counties as well as the large number of Morlach immigrants. The number of the harambases was reduced as well as their salaries²⁹⁵.

The Venetian government intended to impose the self-organisation of the new communities. In this way the guards composed of one

²⁹¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 34, 42-46.

²⁹² FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 491-492; The author emphasised that Bortolazzi (Bortolačić) was only 31 when he was killed and he was buried in the Church of St. Mary in Zara.

²⁹³ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 402.

²⁹⁴ FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 492.

²⁹⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No. 36.

representative from every house in villages were organised, which supervised the territories to keep order and warn in any kind of enemy movement. This action was carried out by *harambasa* who was the man in charge in a village. This status was also taken from the Ottoman military border organisation and it overlapped with the institution of village judge. *Harambases* were responsible for the recruitment as well as leading of guard troops,²⁹⁶ which at the beginning of the 18th century became the village police known as *panduri* with the main role in preventing banditry²⁹⁷. Besides this they helped in conducting the duties of *serdars* in the villages of their territory from the recruitment of the people, their military education to tithes collection, keeping the peace and the prosecution of criminals²⁹⁸. After the Candian and Morean wars they helped in the repopulation of the territory of Zara's hinterland and the reorganisation of the villages according to the demands of the Venetian government²⁹⁹. They were paid for their duty during the war as military officers but once the war ended they enjoyed only a few privileges such as tithes relief, better and greater land distribution³⁰⁰. They lost their importance during the 18th century with the long term peace and the switch to the civil way of life in the province³⁰¹. Along with these changes, they also started to abuse their position in the local community. The majority of complaints came from the local people and were about the local militia – *panduri* who used their power for usury and blackmailing and extortion. Moreover, they were very often in cahoots with the bandits and guarded them while they were robbing. Besides this they would very often sell food provisions and bring goods

²⁹⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1669-1671*, Busta 381, No. 17; also ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1671-1673*, Busta 382, No. 41: "Con riserva della publica permissione li ha quasi promesso di far due compagnie di 60 dei medesimi scegliendone un per casa. L'una per guardia a Nona, l'altra ai contorni di Gliuba (...) con quello di Novegradi, Possidaria et alter."

²⁹⁷ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 71.

²⁹⁸ PERIČIĆ, *Vojna krajina*, p. 202.

²⁹⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 17.

³⁰⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No. 36.

³⁰¹ PERIČIĆ, *Glavari i časnici*, p. 225.

from the Ottoman side of the border without passing any sanitary control risking the spread of possible diseases³⁰².

The one who was in charge of supervising the whole territory was *collonello* and *governatore* (colonel and governor). His power was mostly related to the military organisation and supervision of the territory, especially related to the organisation of the guard, but he also had some authority in punishing the robbers. He was also in charge of tithes payment supervision, the census of people and animals in the villages of his jurisdiction. The colonel was supervising *serdars* too as well as approving the appointment of any new officer in his territory³⁰³. In *contado di Zara* there two colonels were established: one for the mainland and one for the islands³⁰⁴. This position probably originated from the ancient Byzantine-Venetian and Croatian tradition³⁰⁵ but it had its meaning during the integration of Morlach immigrants into the Venetian system in Dalmatia. Therefore, the colonel also had the role of facilitator of these processes. The position of *serdar* was mostly occupied by the Venetian commissioners amongst the Morlach immigrants who enjoyed the main respect of their own people, while the position of *collonello* and *governatore* was reserved for the local noble families, which created a certain bond between newcomers and old subjects. The highest position in Zara's hinterland was *collonello della gente* and it was hereditary in the noble family of Possedaria. In 1656 Venetian Senate entitled Count Francesco Possedaria who already had the title of *governatore* as *collonello delle genti paesane di Nona*. This title gave him prerogatives and the authority over the people from Zara's hinterland, but being subservient to the *collonello della Nazione Oltramarina*. This additional position did not include any additional increase in his salary, which he was given as the governor³⁰⁶. In 1664 Count Possedaria was titled the main responsible for the immigrants in Zara's hinterland and later this function was extended to the chief

³⁰² ASV, *Inquisitori di stato, Dispacci*, Busta 288, *Minuti e dispacci, Confini Privilegi di Terre suddite in Dalmazia 1580-1774, Denunza contro i seresani*, without date, signed by public notary Nicolo Bonicelli.

³⁰³ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 28.

³⁰⁴ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, source 1, box 49, Domenico Mocenigo, f. 36r-37r; *Provveditore Generale* confirmed Giulio Soppe as *collonello e governatore dei scogli*.

³⁰⁵ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 95.

³⁰⁶ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Filza 485, 1656 Maggio/Giugno.

(*soprintendente*) of the whole of the territorial army (*cernide*) in the *contado* of Zara³⁰⁷. The members of Possedaria family were those most of the time entitled to this position. When in January 1671 Colonel Possedaria died, he was followed by his nephew also Francesco Possedaria. He was chosen as *collonello e governatore* of Nona³⁰⁸, but he needed to be publicly approved. Therefore in the meantime Count Radoš was sent to supervise this territory as temporary colonel and governor³⁰⁹. However the position of colonel remained in the family even when Francesco resigned in 1676 due to old age, in favour of his son who inherited his position³¹⁰ and despite his young age proved his abilities³¹¹. From the Venetian documents it can be seen that Colonel Possedaria was superior to all other officers in the county who were considered as his assistants³¹². Moreover the position of colonel in *contado* of Zara was so important that he became the most important military-administrative officer in the province³¹³.

The integration of Morlach immigrants was not smooth. The local government had numerous problems with the customs of the new Morlach inhabitants. It could be said that to a certain extent they caused as many as troubles during the peace time as their contribution in the war against the Ottomans was worth. Cultivation, i.e. bringing an order in this kind of society, which based on its values of heroism, revenge and honour, was not an easy task for the Venetian governors. This was a kind of society which lived as a separated organism within the larger system, previously the Ottoman Empire and later the Republic of Venice. They developed their own customs independently of the state interests being mostly living on the periphery and away from the sight of the state representatives³¹⁴. There were the 'old' inhabitants continued to live over centuries despite the Ottoman intrusions, there the institutions of the medieval custom law and

³⁰⁷ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 367.

³⁰⁸ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 5, f. 66r-66v, *Copia tratta dal Libro Registro, elezioni, terminazioni publiche e private sotto Giorgio Morosini, Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia et Albania*.

³⁰⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1669-1671*, Busta 381, No. 50.

³¹⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 384, No. 36.

³¹¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 385, No. 11.

³¹² DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 28; transcription of the organisation of *liga* by Gerolamo Grimani in 1677.

³¹³ PERIČIĆ, *Glavari i časnici*, p. 221.

³¹⁴ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, 1908, p. 67.

institutions continued to live and the Venetian government encourage them such as *lige* and *posobe* with the integration of Morlach representatives. The problem with the integration of the Morlachs in the pre-existing legal system became noticeable significantly after the stabilisation of the borders and the complete integration of the Dalmatian hinterland into the Venetian territory³¹⁵. As mentioned before, it was not only about the adaptation or modification of some customs, it was rather about repressing all of these customs, which directly harmed Venetian interests on the Ottoman border. One of the major problems was the multiple reprisals from both sides of the border³¹⁶.

It is interesting to note that the Venetian government had the same problems with the adaptation of the inhabitants of the newly conquered territories in Morea. There the previous idea was also to leave the old statutes and legal system, but the gap between the needs of the Venetian government and the Venetian system was too large that there were more and more decrees issued by the central government to cover the holes in the legal system and finally a completely new statute for the Morean communities was designed, which at the end did not work due to numerous reasons, but mostly because it was imposed on the local people and it did not come from their way of life³¹⁷.

5. Restoration of the town of Nona and its territory

The town of Nona was completely ruined at the beginning of the Candian War, in May 1646 when to prevent the Ottomans from taking it, the people from Nona themselves burnt their houses after they had moved their families and goods to Zara, Pago, Arbe and other islands in Zara's channel. The day after the Venetian navy bombed the rest of the buildings and ramparts of the abandoned town. They also burnt all the forest around the town to prevent the Ottomans from using it as shelter. Nona was considered as the key fortress in the defence of Zara. In the case that it would fall into

³¹⁵ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški statut*, p. 44-46.

³¹⁶ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, 1909, p. 46-47.

³¹⁷ COZZI, *La politica del diritto*, p. 157-158; also C. POVOLO, *L'amministrazione della giustizia penale in un terra di conquista: Peleponneso, 1689-1715*, in *Diritto commune; diritto commerciale; diritto veneziano*, p. 163-165.

enemy hands, Zara would be completely surrounded. Therefore the Venetian Senate considered Nona to be destroyed and therefore to prevent the Ottomans from stationing their troops in that flat area³¹⁸. Even before these events Zara's Captain Zuan Moro, in his report to the Venetian Senate, describes *contado* of Nona, as a wide area although without inhabitants. Therefore he suggested connecting this *contado* with Zara's *contado*, which according to his opinion would facilitate the stabilisation of the inhabitation of the area and cost less for the government³¹⁹, although on the other hand, this would diminish the traditional autonomy of the town of Nona and its community. Nevertheless, not all of the Venetian governors were of the same idea as Moro. In the majority of the reports of the governor generals in Dalmatia the importance of the historical meaning of the Croatian royal town of Nona was underlined³²⁰. There were also demands from Nona's noblemen and other citizens to the restitution of Nona's community based on the ancient constitutions with a Venetian count³²¹. On 18th September 1656 Captain Girolamo Loredan confirmed privileges to the town of Nona³²². The task was not easy taking into consideration the state in which Nona and the villages of its territory were found after the multi-destructions in the war 1645-1669. *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Priuli in 1670 described the town as still abandoned by the old inhabitants who were mostly in Zara, but the Morlach immigrants started to rebuild the abandoned houses and take over the public property proving their rights with temporary investiture issued by governor generals during the war³²³. The people from Nona started to refurbish their houses immediately after the threat of war

³¹⁸ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 5, f. 74v; also KOLANOVIĆ, *Monumenta ecclesiae*, p. 489-490.

³¹⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, I, p. 173.

³²⁰ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, 1908, p. 68.

³²¹ ASV, Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, *Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1671-1673*, Busta 382, No. 38; Governor General Zorzi Morosini emphasised the great wish of the people for the restitution of the Venetian representative in Nona as well as the Bishop to the town, because the war ended, but it was first necessary to rebuild the town's walls which were destroyed in 1646 and the count's palace as well as the bishop's palace and dome.

³²² ASV, *Inquisitori di stato, Dispacci*, Busta 288, *Confini, privilegi & avise sudditi di Dalmazia 1580-1774, Circa prerogative di Nona*.

³²³ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 18-19; also ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 17: (...) "assai i popoli si restitendono le case de perduti, solo li palazzi e le publiche fabbriche sono in rovina."

ceased³²⁴. When *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Barbaro visited the place in April 1671, local people were refurbishing the majority of the houses and only the public buildings and palaces were in ruins³²⁵. Some of Nona's noble families contributed financially to the renovation of the town's walls, churches and palaces³²⁶. The Bishop of Nona contributed to the refurbishment of the dome and his palace³²⁷ and despite his bad health spent many months supervising and participating at the works. He also put his effort into refurbishing the churches in Rasanze and Novegradi, which were part of his bishopric³²⁸. Besides the town, the houses in the villages were also rebuilt with the contributions of the Venetian government, which was mostly responsible in providing the wood from the Ottoman side of the border³²⁹. Even more of Nona's citizens, noblemen or plebeian were seen as being very faithful to the Republic. Nevertheless, the main problem of the town and its district was its exposure to constant Ottoman intrusions, but once these problems ended, there was another, almost constantly present problem, which the Venetian government did not know how to resolve, the one related to *mal'aria* and emigrations related to this problem. The reports of the Venetian officers from 1672 described the terrifying atmosphere in the town and its surroundings. One hundred Morlach families, who were found in the fields around the town, were purposely moved into the town, but soon after two months about seventy of them had died from malaria. A large part of other Morlach immigrants ran away, even back to their previous Ottoman masters. A year later a troop of soldiers was sent to the town to help in public works, but they had to leave the place after five

³²⁴ R. JELIĆ, *Ninjani u zadarskim*, p. 606.

³²⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1669-1671*, Busta 381, No. 17.

³²⁶ They contributed with a considerable amount of 500 ducats. See: ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1671-1673*, Busta 382, No. 41.

³²⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1671-1673*, Busta 382, No. 50; Busta 383, No. 70; Pietro Civran stated that for the refurbishment of the place and dome 100 ducats of the local currency were spent.

³²⁸ KOLANOVIĆ, *Monumenta ecclesiae*, p. 491-492.

³²⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Rubriche del Provveditore Generale in Dalmazia 1671-1673*, Busta 382, No. 110.

months also because of *mal'aria*³³⁰. However, after the Candian War the Republic put all its effort into the restoration of this town and its territory. Therefore Grimani's proposal for the reformation of the cadastre had the aim to restore the commune of *fedelissimi Nonensi*, knowing that the empty territory would be an easy target for any enemy, as well as no use to the central government³³¹. In 1673 Governor General Pietro Civran reported on Morlachs who cultivated abandoned land around Nona³³² which made him to think about speeding up the process of the cadastre's creation. He even ordered the description of the houses in Nona to be able to understand how many houses were still abandoned. *Consigliere* Zuanne Cassio made a list of the houses with their inhabitants and from this document concluded that the majority of the houses were inhabited though not all of them by their owners who might still be in exile. Numerous houses were rented including those owned by the church such as one near the Cathedral of St. Anselm where Helena lived, the daughter of master Zorzi Giuracevich (Juraj Đuračević). It is interesting to note that the majority of the 178 houses described in the document, were renovated and in many of them there lived women, as owners or lodgers. Separately noticed were those houses with new Venetian subjects -Morlachs³³³.

The restoration of the community continued throughout the creation of the cadastre, which aimed to bring more order to the chaos created during the war and the illegal possession of the abandoned land by the new immigrants. The Governor General Civran intended to respect the previous cadastre created in 1609, but using the same method as the creation of cadastre of Sapaalato's hinterland and the area of the new acquisition after the Candian War and border demarcation, because some of the old confines of the properties in the territory of Nona were lost. The large part of the land was abandoned because the owners died during the war or emigrated. This kind of land was distributed to the new inhabitants. Some Zara citizens also occupied some of the abandoned land, while the government was missing

³³⁰ KOLANOVIĆ, *Monumenta ecclesiae*, p. 489; Transcription from the original document *Monumenta Ecclesiae cathedralis Nonae*, which is preserved in the archive of the Archbishopric of Zara.

³³¹ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 4, f. 41v-42r.

³³² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 383, No. 10.

³³³ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 11220, Ms 212, *Descrizione delle case in Nona fatta fare per ordine dell'Ecc.mo Sg. Pietro Civran dal Sg. Dottor Zuanne Cassio a 1675*.

more land for the new Morlach subjects. On the other hand pasturelands were left in the ownership of the community³³⁴.

The central government put a great effort into the restoration of the community of Nona. In 1672 *Provveditore* Zorzi Morosini returned the community's archive back to Nona estimating the situation stable enough for the restart of work of the community using these documents as a basis for administration³³⁵. Even more, during the long term absence of the Count and Captain of Nona Zuanne Foscarini, in 1673 Morosini ordered that the oldest member of the town council, either the judge or *consigliero* take care of the town with his permission³³⁶. But sometimes the government did not take into consideration all levels of the town's autonomy. When *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran started the process of creating the cadastre with the purpose of land distribution, the members of the Town Council started to complain - accusing him that he had an intention to withdraw the community's privilege to land distribution, which obviously later was taken into consideration since we find respectable local nobleman Doctor Giovanni Cassio and Captain Zuan Marco Ponte participating in the cadastre's creation as consultants³³⁷. The Count of Nona Giovanni Antonio Benzon had to protest to the Governor General Gerolamo Grimani to respect his rights to call for the organisation of the separate autonomous *liga* in district of Nona in 1677. Further more Governor General Pietro Valier gave some separated orders about the organisation of *liga* for Nona's district, which were adapted to the *specificum* of this area. The Count of Nona was the one who would call a meeting or *liga* where every village would send four representatives. He also had to elect a priest of public respect and be capable to keep records of the meetings and look after the documents of *liga*. The count was also in charge to find someone capable to look after the financial resources of this specific organisation³³⁸. In this way *liga* of Nona's district was independent from the authorities in Zara, although both *liga*, the one of the Zara district and one of Nona would meet together very often.

³³⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 383, No. 108.

³³⁵ PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava*, p. 52.

³³⁶ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 4, f. 102v-104r.

³³⁷ DAZ, *Libri di Nona*, book 4, f. 44v.

³³⁸ DESNICA, *Jedan krajiški*, p. 32-33.

The serious situation of life in Nona can be even seen with the salary of the Count of Nona which was 40 ducats monthly, which was higher than the Count of Zara who had a larger territory under his responsibility, which implies that his position was more difficult³³⁹. The problem with the repopulation of Nona's territory was constantly present, even after the distribution of the land and creation of the cadastre. People perished due to *mal'aria* or moved to healthier places³⁴⁰. The same Count Benzoni described the poor situation of the town of Nona and its surroundings, which was mostly abandoned due to bad, unhealthy conditions and the lack of drinkable water. He also warned that the situation was dangerous even for himself emphasising the case of the Venetian nobleman who obtained the duty of Count in Nona before Benzoni had his mother and two other members of family die probably due to of *mal'aria*³⁴¹. Many of Nona's noblemen died in war or in exile. Their numbers dropped and the local council was in such a state that it was impossible to take any decision because of a lack of members. Therefore the rest of Nona's noble council asked for permission to assemble some other meritable citizens or foreigners into their council at their first meeting in exile in Zara in 1656. The meeting was organised by the Count of Zara Gerolamo Loredan who at the same time obtained the duty of Count and Captain of Nona. The meeting took place in his audience room in the Count's Palace in Zara. Nona's present noblemen emphasised the sad state of their community and its inept council with a low number of noblemen. Therefore they demanded the incorporation of the new members who would be promoted to nobility because of their merits mostly during the present war or because they were well respected within Nona's community³⁴². The incorporation of new families amongst the noblemen of the city was possible according to the previous agreement of the Venetian Senate as well as two thirds of the local council's approval

³³⁹ BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 6: *Libro nel quale gli è descritto tutti li magistrate di Venetia*, f. 43r.

³⁴⁰ MILINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 168.

³⁴¹ KOLANOVIĆ, *Monumenta ecclesiae*, p. 520.

³⁴² DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 1, f. 1v-6v; In 1656 the new members of the Nona noble council were Doctor Michael Vitanović, brothers Andrea and Zuane Gavalla who were professional soldiers of the Republic and brothers Sebastian and Marco Ponte as well as professional soldiers, originally from Zara.

of acceptance³⁴³. An additional rule was that the candidates for new nobledom had to be born within a legal marriage and prove that none of their ancestors was involved in *arti meccaniche* or being involved in some indecent deals³⁴⁴. One of the reasons to call for a meeting of Nona's council in 1656 was the re-establishment of the community officers such as curators of Nona's cathedral treasury and charity, which were disordered due to the temporary movement to Zara. There was also need to elect the representatives of the community – *consiglieri* and for these positions Doctor Zuanne Cassio and Zuanne Tonini were chosen. Sebastian Ponte was also elected the judge of the community and held this duty for two years. The other community officers were *capitano de Gaj*, *scrivan* (scribe), *tribuni* (tribunes), *avvocati* (lawyers), *giudici del popolo* (people's judges) and some other minor officers³⁴⁵.

Another meeting of Nona's noble council in exile was organised by the *Provveditore Generale* Gerolamo Contarini in May 1663. This time it was obvious that the town of Nona would not longer be endangered by Ottoman's raids³⁴⁶ and the representatives of the town started to plan the real re-establishment of their community. However, some of the members of the council had died so it was necessary to conduct another inauguration of new noblemen. This time the new members were Giorgio Cassio and Gianni Battista Ponte, both aged 18, whose fathers were already members of the council. The rule was that the members of the council could not be younger than 20, but this was exception due to the lack of Nona nobility. Even more, the inauguration was extended to two foreigners, Vuko Černica, who was from a refugee family from Venetian Albania and Ascanio Strasoldo, who was the long term *cancelier* of the community³⁴⁷.

³⁴³ M. NOVAK, *Autonomija Dalmatinskih komuna*, p. 75; The authors refers to the case of the city of Zara, but the same was with Nona. The voting was carried by a ball system (*ballotaggio*). See DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 1, f. 6v.

³⁴⁴ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 1, f. 10v; f. 38r: Besides this, rules also implied that anyone who wanted to be accepted as the member of the council of Nona had to apply 15 days in advance before the meeting of the council and present his reasons.

³⁴⁵ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 1, f. 6v-7r.

³⁴⁶ TRALJIĆ, *Nin pod udarom*, p. 543; The author emphasised that there was always a certain amount of families who lived in the town's ruins, especially amongst those of Morlach immigrants, who were attracted by the free land. The lowest noted number of inhabitants of Nona was in 1665, when Bishop Francesco de Grassi counted only 40 families in Nona, which was about 140 people.

³⁴⁷ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 1, f. 8r-10r.

However, the problems with the restoration of Nona's territory did not end with the new cadastre and re-establishment of its administrative autonomy, which were represented by the count, noble council and liga of the county of Nona. The town of Nona had lost a large part of its territory after the establishment of the border in 1576 and then with the confirmation of the *acquisto vecchio* in 1670. According to the charter of Hungarian-Croatian King Andrew II issued in 1205, the county of Nona encompassed the territory from Diklo, across the Bokanjac Bog, the village of Brisevo, the crossroads near village of Smilcich to Novegradi all the way to Morlacca from Tribugn to a mountain pass called Konj on Velebit slopes but the territory was administratively reduced after 1409 to the advantage of the community of Zara³⁴⁸. The Nona noble council was constantly under pressure to prove the existence of their autonomous community due to constant decrease in the number of the inhabitants of the county, despite the peaceful time and land distribution. After the establishment of the new cadastre of the *contado* of Zara in 1709, there was a need for the restoration of the borders between the territory of Zara's district and Nona's district. The community of Zara was extending its borders against Nona and there were numerous examples of Zara citizens who were usurping abandoned land in Nona's district. But this was nothing new. This was just a continuation of something that had started in the 15th century, taking advantage of the very bad condition of the town of Nona and the abandonment of land³⁴⁹. Nevertheless, the demarcation of the district's territories happened later in the 18th century as the maps created during 1675 and the cadastre of Nona as well as the memories of the inhabitants from both territories, were used as the main source for the demarcation of these two territories³⁵⁰. Transcription of the documents such as the charters of kings and *ducale* of Venetian doges as well as stories about the history of the town of Nona and bishopric of Nona which were collected at the same time, are strong evidence that the community of Nona was struggling to prove its reason to keep its urban autonomy during the last century of the Venetian government there, when the majority of the old Nona families

³⁴⁸ R. JELIĆ, *Ninjani u zadarskim*, p. 598-599.

³⁴⁹ R. JELIĆ, *Ninjani u zadarskim*, p. 606.

³⁵⁰ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 4, f. 101v-102r.

were already gone and the town, a part from being mostly abandoned, was more like a village than a glorious town³⁵¹.

Observing the changes, which happened during the second half of the 17th century in Zara's hinterland related to the administrative organisation, several crucial changes can be observed which were mostly related to Venetian's military achievements. Firstly, there was the territorial expansion of the Venetian possession, which included the demographic changes and increase in numbers of immigrants from the Ottoman territory. The new borders demanded better organisation of the border zone, which was possible thanks to the new inhabitants who were adept to military service. This was the main precondition for accomplishment of the creation of the Venetian military border in Dalmatia. Taking into consideration the creation of the *Triplex Confinium* where the three imperial powers met, the transfers of different organisations and models of military border creation were also opened³⁵². The Venetian Republic inherited some of the fortress system in the area of Morlacca, which was a connection with the Habsburg *Primorska krajina* and their system. But the differences should not be ignored. The Military Border in Croatia was established as a territorial unit with domination of military functions and as separated territory from civil

³⁵¹ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*; The books were transcribed in the 18th century because the majority of the community's books were in a very bad condition due to the exile of the community in 1647. The documents collected in the books are related to the activity of the community as a historically autonomus community. It is interesting to note how much they included legends about the establishment of the town as well as the bishopric, alongside the transcription of the important documents by Croatian, Hungarian-Croatian kings and Venetian doges. The whole purpose of this was to defend the existence of the community, which according to the number of inhabitants and state of the town did not have any reason to be a separate administrative unit. According to a legend quoted in book 4, f. 1r-4v, the town of Nona was established in ancient times by the Assyrian King Nino and thus the town still retained his name. The final complaint was made in book 5, f. 76r where a question was emphasised: "Perchè quella città che vanta il titolo di fedele ed una divozione incomessa verso il Publico Augustissimo nome sia perpetuamente lontana da ogni ombre che potesse in alcun tempo oscurar la su riputazione."

³⁵² ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 122. The author underlined that development needs of the modern European states and their foreign policies excluded implied creation of multi-related military borders.

Croatia, controlled by the Court's War Council³⁵³, while the Venetian *krajina* was never a *corpus separatum*. It was based on military garrisons³⁵⁴ and system of fortification in wide area of Dalmatian hinterland, which had its military function but based on civil government thus predominately oriented to keeping order and border for purposes of the civil life and Venetian political reasons. The increased numbers of Morlach immigrants as well as the creation of *krajina* demanded adaptation or hybridisation of military-civil administration through the establishment of *serdars*, military Morlach leaders who at the same time were also civil servants of the Venetian government when related to the governing of this new population in administration, keeping public order, tithe collection and judgement. In the end, the Venetian government tried to keep alive some medieval institutions such as the *liga* and *posoba* as well resurrecting the county of Nona, but without significant success because these institutions were obviously outdated as well as other elements of late medieval Croatian society in this region, which were consumed into three different military border systems³⁵⁵.

³⁵³ ROKSANDIĆ, *Vojna Hrvatska - La Croatie Militaire*, [Military Croatia], Zagreb, Školska knjiga - Stvarnost, 1988, p. 12-13.

³⁵⁴ SFRECOLA, *Le Craine di Dalmazi*, p. 135-145.

³⁵⁵ ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 103.

Chapter IV

MIGRATIONS

The wars of the 17th century brought major changes in the Dalmatian population, especially in Zara's hinterland where a great number of the Morlach immigrants settled in the areas, which were abandoned by the Ottomans. Numerous Morlach groups were also sent to Istria¹ and some of them moved to the islands. Several phases in these population changes can be observed mostly related to two types of warfare, (defensive in the Candian War and offensive in the Morean War), which the Venetian Republic conducted in this period and which were related to its political and strategic objectives towards the Ottoman Empire and immigrants from this territory. During this period the Republic showed different attitudes towards the Morlach immigrants, attracting them as a significant military support during the wars, while during the truce they were not so desirable subjects especially as they were the potential cause of trouble with the Ottomans. The integration of the newcomers, along with the organisation of peaceful life in the re-conquered territories, was not an easy process especially under constant war and/or truce situations, when it was not possible to organise any continuity in agricultural production and function of the government especially related to keeping law and order. These immigrations created the complexity in the confessional situation in the territories of the Nona and Zara bishopric, which met problems in the acceptance of Orthodox believers and their church hierarchy, new and potentially competitive to the Nona bishopric, which was due to restoration of its jurisdiction. At the same time the Muslim population completely abandoned this area, and those Ottoman subjects who due to different circumstances happened to be on the new

¹ About the Morlach immigrants in Istria and their integration within the society there, see more in E. IVETIĆ, *Oltremare*, p. 292-293.

Venetian acquisition, were accepting Christianity as the only possible way to be accepted as Venetian subjects.

1. Phases of population movements

Parallel analyses of the number of inhabitants of city of Zara, the islands and hinterland from the end of the 16th to the beginning of the 18th century show a variety more and less related to war activities in the hinterland. The fluctuation of inhabitants can be easily observed in the city of Zara, due to the reports of the Venetian officers, which were more precise regarding the city rather than the ‘grey’ area of the *contado* where people were almost constantly moving. More information about the demographic changes in Zara and its county can be found in the reports of and after 1527, when reporting about the number of inhabitants became almost a regular part of count’s reports, although they cannot be completely reliable². After the Cyprus War and border determination in 1576 the number of inhabitants in the city of Zara and on the islands slowly increased while the number in the hinterland was almost constant at around 3,000 people. A sudden increase of the inhabitants in the hinterland happened after the Candian War, thanks to the Morlach immigrants, when there were about 8,700 people, while in the city there were only 3,000 people and on the islands only around 900. The reason for this sudden drop in people on the islands can be found in the exhaustion of the population due to war when the majority of the men were taken to serve in the Venetian navy. The isolation of the islands and difficulties in adapting to island life impeded the flow of the immigrants from Zara’s hinterland. Nevertheless, the establishment of *Linea Nani* caused a lack of the living space on the coastal part of *contado* of Zara

² RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 229-230; see also: COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, II, *Relativo viri nobilis ser Zacharie Vallaresso, qui fuit capitaneus Jadere. Presentata die 10 septembris 1527*, p. 196-223; Vallaresso ordered a census of the inhabitants of the city of Zara, islands and mainland territory of its *contado*. According to this document the whole territory of *contado* had 24,000 inhabitants. In the coastal part of *contado* there were 9,109 inhabitants while on the islands were 6,859. In addition to this information are details about the numbers of inhabitants in the towns and villages of *contado* including the list of names of the heads of families who lived within Zara’s ramparts. Regarding the list of the inhabitants of the villages on the coastal part of the territory, the identification of some inhabitants as *Murlachi* or additions to the names such as *Turcighna* or *Turcin* (Turkish woman or Turkish man) can be noticed, which can be taken as an indication of immigration from the Ottoman territory.

and those immigrants who preferred to stay on the Venetian side of the border had, to a certain extent, to move to the islands. Therefore an increased number of inhabitants of the islands in 1676, up to 6,400, can be seen. Just before the Morean War the largest population of Venetian subjects of *contado* was living in Zara's hinterland, about 7,500, there were about 3,500 in the city and about 3,800 on the islands. From this it can be concluded that those who moved to the islands stayed there only temporarily, because there are no indications, which show a sudden plague or something similar to cause the deaths of such a large number of people only on the islands³. According to this data, a constant exchange of the inhabitants can be observed and Zara and its county succeeded in make up the demographic gaps thanks to the continuous flow of immigrants from the Ottoman territory.

If one would like to take on the very complex task of reconstructing the demographic situation in Zara's hinterland during the 17th century, then certainly a few issues have to be taken into account. Despite the huge numbers of immigrants during the Candian and Morean wars, one has to think about that great numbers of these people were also killed, taken as slaves or died during the same period⁴. Of course, it is very difficult to give precise numbers of the immigrants during the Venetian-Ottoman wars of the 17th century in Dalmatia. The reports of *Provveditori Generali* offer some information about the approximate numbers of new inhabitants and related to the whole province of Dalmatia⁵. Antonio Bernardo specified the number of Morlachs who in 1660 had settled in Zara's hinterland counting about 700 men - potential soldiers, but more than 4,000 women and children, which all together made a considerable number of people who were able to start the recovery of the newly conquered territories⁶. His successor, Pietro Civran after the Candian War gave an estimation of the number of the

³ This analysis was based on the data provided by RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 371.

⁴ G. NOVAK, *Morlaci (Vlasi)*, p. 595. The author transcribed the report of Governor General Lorenzo Dolfin who in 1655 stated that during the first years of the Candian War between 28 and 30 thousand Morlachs moved in Dalmatia, but during nine years of war troubles, famine, epidemics and further migrations to Istria and Venetian Terraferma, there were only about 9 to 10 thousand people amongst whom only 2,430 were capable to carry weapons as soldiers.

⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 152.

⁶ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 144.

inhabitants in Dalmatia had increased to about 10,000 people, which was more than ever since the period of long truce 1573-1645⁷. However, the governors started to report about almost every immigrant group especially during the Morean War when the groups of Morlachs were always about more than one hundred people. At the beginning of the Morean War Governor General Domenico Mocenigo reported on three sorts of inhabitants in the Dalmatian hinterland: the old inhabitants (*sudditi vecchi*), immigrants during the Candian War and the new inhabitants who moved at the beginning of the present war. The old inhabitants and old immigrants numbered about 28,000 and about 12,000 new immigrants⁸. *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier estimated that in the territory of Zara the number of inhabitants increased to over 5,000 newcomers and in the whole of the province there were about 10,000 new subjects. His further calculation was that from the very beginning of the Morean War in Dalmatia, there were 25,000 immigrants⁹. A more precise number could be calculated after the creation of the cadastre in 1709, which shows more precisely the situation after the Morean War rather than the number of immigrants.

2. General overview of migrations in Zara's hinterland 1571-1718

The intensity of events related to the Venetian-Ottoman conflicts and reorganisation of the territory regarding border demarcation, made the understanding of migratory processes in the period from the late 16th century to the beginning of the 18th century very complex¹⁰. Thus it is necessary to give an overview of the main directions and intensity of the migrations.

⁷ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 36r.

⁸ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p.157.

⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 142r, book III, f. 4r, 19v.

¹⁰ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 6, underlined that the migratory processes in Dalmatia have to be observed through a long period of over 300 years where all the movements and changes deep in hinterland spread like a wave over Dalmatia coastland. The whole area was completely abandoned a few times and repopulated preveing patches of aboriginal inhabitants who resisted all changes.

Period	Sort of migrations and directions	Venetian politics towards immigrants
Cyprus War 1571-1573	Complete abandonment of the wide area around the Venetian-Ottoman frontier zone	Protection of the emigrants, facilitating further migrations towards islands, Istria and Italian peninsula
1573-1645	Gradual repopulation of the abandoned area around border: return of old inhabitants and immigrations from the Ottoman side on small scale; return of old inhabitants to the Ottoman occupied territory; immigration of Ottoman subjects from Bosnia and Herzegovina to their newly conquered territory in Ravni Kotari	Facilitating return of old inhabitants and immigrations from the Ottoman side
Beginning of Candian War 1645-1646	Complete abandonment of the wide area around border	Protection of emigrants, facilitating further migrations towards islands and Istria
Candian War 1647-1650	Immigration from the closest part of the Ottoman border area; Abandonment of Ottomans	Stimulating immigrations
Candian War 1650-1670	Immigration from the Ottoman territory in Bucovizza and Lika on large scale	Stimulating immigration, forcing migrations of the Ottoman subjects
Truce 1671-1682	Immigration from the Ottoman side of the border; leaving <i>linea Nani</i> clear	Controlled immigrations; keeping subjects away from the border, stopping further immigrations from the Ottoman side

	Immigration from the Habsburg territory	Stimulating immigrations, but controlling immigrants
Truce 1682-1684	Immigration from the Ottoman border area and its abandonment of the Muslim population	Stopping immigrations from the Ottoman side to keep political neutrality
Morean War 1684-1699	Acceptance of the Venetian government of the villages in Ravni Kotari, which were left to the Ottoman side by the <i>linea Nani</i> ; immigrations from the Ottoman Lika and Krbava; immigrations from Bosnia and Herzegovina	Stimulating immigration, forcing migrations of the Ottoman subjects in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Lika; aiming repopulation of the new border area on upper flow of the River Zrmanja and Triplex Confinium with the new subjects
Truce 1700-1718	Immigration from the Ottoman territory very low; emigration towards Ottoman and Habsburg territories	Stimulating immigration; stopping emigrations; inner migrations within <i>contado di Zara</i> controlled by the government

3. Phases and directions of migrations

a) Before 1645

The immigrants to the Zara's territory were traditionally coming from the Bosnian and Croatian hinterlands. The main reason for their immigration was due to periods of famine during the 15th century. Beside this, from the 15th century the regular source of new inhabitants in Zara's hinterland were semi-nomadic groups of Vlach/Morlachs¹¹. Their presence, especially in the territory of Nona, can be noticed in the previously mentioned cadastre from 1420. Their basic economic activity was related to transhumant cattle breeding in the area of the Velebit slopes and Bucovizza

¹¹ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 354.

and Gliuba-Rasanze plateau in combination with providing transport for the merchants. They also traded with the coastal communities, selling their farm products as well as purchasing goods, such as wine, to the continent. During the 15th century they started to combine transhumance with land lease in Zara's hinterland and to cultivate land in less populated areas (*contado* of Nona). Some of them even moved to the city of Zara as merchants and craftsmen¹².

During the late 15th and 16th century the Ottoman's appearance made a significant impact on the immigration of Croatian and Bosnian refugees towards the city of Zara and further afield, across the sea, to the Italian regions, as Marche, Abruzzo, Molise¹³ or to the northern Adriatic islands and Istria¹⁴. The war of 1570-1573 had an especially great impact after which the majority of the Venetian subjects moved away from the continental part of *contado*¹⁵. However, a long period of peace 1573-1645 allowed the re-population of the border zone¹⁶ although the majority of the territory was under the Ottoman rule and they conducted the repopulation of this area with new inhabitants, also called Morlachs, although different than those from the pre-Ottoman period¹⁷. Although it has been especially emphasised in Croatian historiography that the Ottoman intrusions in the 15th and 16th centuries caused the main abandonment of the territory in the Dalmatian hinterland, this theory is passing through a revision since there is evidence that the 'old' Croatian inhabitants were moving back to their properties, but now under the Ottoman government, after the main military conflicts ceased¹⁸.

¹² RAUKAR, *Zadar u XV stoljeću. Ekonomski razvoj i društveni odnosi*, (Zadar in the 15th century. Economic development and social relationships), Zagreb, Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1976, p. 48, 49, 67, 146, 164, 178. Thanks to Professor Drago ROKSANDIĆ, I was able to use his paper prepared for publishing by the Austrian Academy of Science), Vienna, 2008, under the title: *The Dinaric Vlachen/Morlaken in the east Adriatic from the 14th to the 16th centuries: How many identities?*. Here I am referring to the p. 10 of his yet unpublished paper.

¹³ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 353; The author underlines that people who emigrated from Dalmatia were a productive part of society such as different craftsmen, labourers, sailors, farmers and soldiers. Large numbers of them moved to Marche and Puglia.

¹⁴ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 59-60.

¹⁵ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 355.

¹⁶ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 369-372.

¹⁷ G. NOVAK, *Morlaci (Vlasi)*, p. 581, 592; see also ROKSANDIĆ, *The Dinaric Vlachen/Morlaken*, p. 12-13.

¹⁸ BAČIĆ, *Osvrt na knjigu*, p. 238; The author names some villages where in the sources can be seen that the old inhabitants continued to live until the Candian War: Segar, Mocrò

The Ottomans, as any other government, did not consider a piece of territory useful without having subjects there¹⁹. When the return of the old inhabitants to the conquered territories in Zara's hinterland occurred, their numbers were obviously not sufficient to farm this wide area. Therefore, during the 15th and 16th centuries the Ottoman government initiated the colonisation of this area from the other parts of their large territory in Eastern Europe. To be more precise, they encouraged the movements from the mountain regions of Herzegovina Sandjak (today's Serbian Sandjak region, a part of Montenegro and the Croatian coastal area around Makarska and continental part of Poljice) to the border zone of Zara's hinterland²⁰. There was another very pragmatic reason for such Ottoman politics: they needed people who would protect this fragile border zone. The sources do not provide information in any large numbers of the Muslim populations in Zara's hinterland, but the mobile Morlach societies were very adaptable to such border zones²¹.

Once the Ottomans had stabilised in the heart of *contado* it was a question of their own personal choice when to attack the villages and the towns on the Venetian side of the border. Even when there was peace, this part of the province was never completely peaceful. Especially exposed to the Ottoman attacks was the area around Radovin and the fortress of Novegradi, which became the most besieged fortress in this part of the Venetian dominion²². Despite the constant Ottoman intrusions there were less people exposed to direct Ottoman attacks in Zara's hinterland than in territories of other Dalmatian coastal towns. The reason for this was in the

Poglie, Plavno, Pageni, Zagrovich, Butisnizza, Cistagne, Parcich, Popovich, Miragne, Rupe, Ervenic, which are actually all the villages in Bucovizza. See also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, II, p. 142.

¹⁹ An example can be found in the transcription of an Ottoman document, a letter of the Sandjak of Klis, who in 1563 complains about the impossibility of keeping villages next to the Venetian border inhabited in Zara's hinterland due to constant skirmishes. See SOLITRO, *Povijesni dokumenti*, p. 250-253.

²⁰ BUZOV, *Vlaško pitanje*, p. 54

²¹ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relazione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo sig. Gerolamo Cornaro*, f. 141v; Emphasised that these kinds of societies were likely to leave one land for another if this was in their favour. See also BUZOV, *Vlaško pitanje*, p. 53; The author explains that the military component in the Vlach's character was a natural consequence in such a typical shepherd society where men were always available for some extra activities such as occasional military service. Beside this, centuries of life in the search for new pasturelands gave them the ability to easily move and adapt to new territories.

²² CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, p. 68-69.

position of the territory, which was surrounded by the sea and islands, which were used as shelters for the refugees from the continental part of the *contado*²³. Many of them found shelter within the city of Zara. The whole city was surrounded with strong ramparts and was considered as the strongest fortress in Dalmatia. However, the keeping of the fortress was an on-going process and documents show that there was always something to be rebuilt or refurbished on the city walls²⁴.

b) Candian War

The Ottoman vicinity remained the most present determinant in the development of the *county* of Zara including the city itself²⁵. Undoubtedly, the two consecutive wars in the period of 1645-1699 brought the main changes in the population in the territory²⁶ as well as in the rest of the Venetian dual province of Dalmatia and Albania. At the beginning of the Candian War almost the whole continental part of the *contado* was abandoned. People sheltered within the city's ramparts, islands and Istria²⁷. People from Nona temporarily found shelter in Zara and Pontadura, while people from Novegradi were on the island of Pago. During the Ottoman

²³ FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje*, p. 414.

²⁴ An example of the state of Zara's fortress during the Candian War and necessity of its constant rebuilding can be found in the scripts of the Venetian officer Onofrio del Campo, edited by M. Bertoša: *Onofrio del Campo – Tvrđavni spisi, (Onofrio del Campo – Fortress documents)*, Državni Arhiv Rijeka, 2003, p. 43-44 and 54. See also RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 301; The city of Zara, its ramparts and fortress were modernised by an exceptional Venetian architect of the time - Michele Sanmicheli in the 16th century and became a benchmark for the planning of numerous military fortresses.

²⁵ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 127-131, 178.

²⁶ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 370. The authors mentioned the extension of the demographic changes in the coastal part of *contado* of Zara, where in 1670 the ratio of the old and new inhabitants was apparently 1:7. The contribution to this statement can be found in COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 144, the report written by Antonio Bernardo in 1660, where he noticed that the number of new Morlach inhabitants was far superior to the number of old inhabitants. He also emphasised that the majority of them settled in *contado di Zara*, while in other parts of Dalmatia, Morlachs were mostly equal in numbers and mixing with the old inhabitants.

²⁷ DE BENVENUTI, *Storia di Zara*, p. 147. The author mentioned a case which happened in 1647 when 437 Morlachs left the territory of Zara led by Filippo Zuppanovich and were transferred to Pula along with their numerous cattle. Another 237 families found settlement throughout Istria. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre Veneto-turche*, p. 46. The author mentioned that the main departure port for the refugees in 1647 was on Pontadura from where they were transferred to Istria, Pago, Veglia and other islands.

attack on Zaravecchia, people were sheltered on Isola Longa (Dugi Otok) and Pasman. These were only temporary migrations. The same abandonment of the territory happened on the Ottoman side of the border. The Muslim inhabitants almost completely left after 1647 and success of the Venetian army under Lunardo Foscolo's command. They retreated towards Bosnia, which encouraged the Christian Ottoman subjects to emigrate to the Venetian territories more²⁸. Even, those who were escaping from the Ottoman to the Venetian territory in Dalmatia found only a stopover here. They were transported to Istria and the Venetian *Terraferma*²⁹ with the main reason of being protected from Ottoman attack. At the very beginning of the military actions in *contado* the Venetian government was not able to provide any protection for the territory or for the numerous refugees, who gathered around the ramparts of the city of Zara. The local Ottoman beys were especially furious with the refugees from their territory, considered as their serfs and therefore deserved to be punished violently for their betrayal³⁰. This had other political reasons, because the spreading numbers of Morlachs who moved to the Venetian side, could cause the general movement amongst the Christian subjects in the wide area of the Ottoman border³¹.

Alongside with the movement of people due to exclusively security reasons i.e. shelter, there was an ongoing process of immigration from the Ottoman to the Venetian territory. These immigrations intensified after 1647, but during the whole period of the war, the majority of migrations were gradual: people moved from the closest villages of the Ottoman side to the Venetian side of the border. The immigrants were those Ottoman subjects who lived in the vicinity of the Venetian territories. Therefore they 'jumped into' Venetian territory and this was the reason of their popular name of 'uskoks', which means those who jump. The process of their migration was caused by two complementary factors. Firstly it was the attraction of the plentiful fertile land abandoned during the military operations led by General Foscolo. Secondly there were security reasons

²⁸ BUZOV, *Razgraničenje između*, p. 39.

²⁹ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 11-17;

³⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 32; Also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 168. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 48-50.

³¹ DESNICA, *Zagorska Dalmacija*, p. 587-588.

because those Christians who remained on the Ottoman side were exposed to severe attacks sometimes from both opposing armies.

From the documents of Venetian provenance it can be seen that the first migrations from the Ottoman to the Venetian territory in Zara's hinterland occurred soon after the beginning of the Candian War. Morlachs from villages, mostly in Bucovizza (Banadego) offered their services to the Venetian army for hardtack and a monthly salary for their leaders which can be seen in the cases of groups of Orthodox Morlachs from the village of Miragne (Miranje) in the March of 1646³². The majority of them settled around and within the city of Zara during the first years of the war, but when the war finished, they gradually moved, spreading to the surrounding abandoned villages³³.

As the Venetian army progressed with the conquest of further Ottoman territory the Morlach immigrants began to move to these new territories. One specific interest of those immigrants can be observed here. They were familiar with the territory of their new settlement because they practically only moved a few miles. *Provveditore Generale* Leonardo Foscolo stimulated such migrations since the newcomers provided defence for the new territory. One such example can be found in movement of a group of Morlachs from settlements on the Velebit slope opposite the island of Pago (near the village of Tribagn) to the area of the castle of Novegradi, which was acquired after a short Ottoman occupation in April 1647³⁴. A month later people from around Obbrovazzo moved to Possedaria because they were exposed to military actions nearby³⁵. In June 1648 a group of 70 families moved from Segar on the River Zrmanja to newly conquered castles of Islam and Zemonico³⁶. Another interest of the Venetian Governor was to provide enough immigrants to repopulate the areas, which were sparsely populated, especially in the territory of Nona. A few days later

³² DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 12.

³³ PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva Zadra i okolice u prošlosti*, HAZU, Zadar-Zagreb, 1999, p. 62. See also ASV, *Senato Dispacci*, Busta 692, *Commissariato in Dalmazia di Marco Molin 1648-1650*, No. 19: (...) "e il consiglio di questi Ill.mi Procuratori si è stimato rifar le Ville di Malpaga, Bocagnazzo, Rasanze, Possidari, Castel Venier et altre del territorio di Zara e Nona già abandonate li anni decorsi e destrute rehabitandole con Morlachi nuovi abitanit" (...).

³⁴ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 12.

³⁵ Idem, p. 15.

³⁶ Idem, p. 38.

Provveditore Generale Lunardo Foscolo added to his report to the Venetian Senate a list of the groups of newcomers who had settled in the territory of Nona. They were listed under the names of their leaders. They were a group from Carmpote (Krmpote), settled in Pogliza, together with a group from Parcich (Parčić). A group from Camegnane (Kamenjane) was settled in Serava (Žerava) near the town of Nona. In the vicinity of the town were also settled immigrants from Segar, Popovich and Brgud. A group from Gervesca (Đerveske) were settled in Peterzane and those from Jesenice and Dobropogliza found settlement in the area of Gliuba³⁷. In 1653, when the whole of Zara's hinterland was completely controlled by Venetians, more people from Segar, Carmpote, Cosulovaz (Kožulovac), Ervenic, Cosulovopoglie (Kožulovo Polje), Popovich, Camegnane, Velim, Pavichich (Pavičići), Varivode, Gervesca, Cistagne (Kistanje), Percos (Prkos) and Colarim (Kolarin) led by 17 of their *harambassas* moved to Ravni Kotari.

All these mentioned villages are in Bucovizza and it is obvious to that one of the main reasons for their movement to Ravni Kotari must have been the land. In October of the same year another group of Morlachs from Voinich (Vojnić) in Lika led by Gregorio Galiotovich moved to the territory of Zara³⁸. There were more immigrants from Lika and Krbava especially as the success of the Venetian army spread deeper into Ottoman territory³⁹. The majority of the new inhabitants were settled in the large abandoned area of Ravni Kotari, in abandoned or less populated villages⁴⁰ and there was a lesser number of Morlach immigrants moved to the coastal villages, because there the old inhabitants rarely abandoned their houses although they would occasionally and temporarily move to the nearest islands when the Ottoman troops threatened their villages⁴¹.

³⁷ *Idem*, p. 44.

³⁸ *Idem*, p. 69.

³⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 10; In November 1667 30 new families from Lika expressed their wish to move to Venetian territory.

⁴⁰ Unfortunately the documents (reports of *Provveditori Generali*) do not always provide precise information about the immigrants' new settlements because most of the time it was only a temporary solution before the organisation of their new communities, which was an additional duty alongside organising defence from sudden Ottoman raids and organising further military actions. Governors relied mostly on local people such as the Counts Possedaria and immigrant leaders i.e. *harambassas* to organise new communities and re-populate the villages in the hinterland.

⁴¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 41.

c) *Truce 1670-1684*

After the establishment of peace, the goal slightly changed and the main Venetian interest was to attract more subjects who would work the land and rebuild the economy based on agricultural production. Soon after the end of the Candian War and the establishment of *linea Nani* short but intensive migrations happened around this new-old border⁴². Even before the establishment of the border, people who escaped during the war, from both sides, started to move back to the abandoned land⁴³.

There were also some intentions to move the Venetian refugees from Candia to the new conquered territory in Dalmatia⁴⁴. After the establishment of the border in 1671 Ottoman subjects returned to the territories, which the Venetian government had to leave, while all of these new Venetian subjects who did not want to accept the Ottoman government (again) had to move across the border and the Venetian governor intended to place them in the most scarcely populated areas of the district of Nona and Morlacca coastland. In this way *Provveditore Generale* Zorzi Morosini in December 1671 gave permission to Francesco Fanfogna to move some Morlach families, (in total 43 people) who were wandering in *contado* to settle in the abandoned villages of Dracevaz and Comorce, which were under his jurisdiction, between Grussi and Poglizza⁴⁵. Colonel Radoš was in charge of the new Morlach inhabitants and their settlement in different Venetian villages in *contado di Zara*. In February 1672 he settled 25 families from Ivosevzi and 11 of the Butoraz tribe in Boccagnazzo⁴⁶. The settlement of these new Venetian subjects on restricted Venetian territory after 1671 was not an easy task because there was not enough land for everyone⁴⁷. Thus some of them remained on the Ottoman side of the

⁴² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 46: “Consider al punto dei Morlacchi del Contado di Zara. Nella stagione presente impossibile abandoner le loro case. Restano 200 da raggiustarsi. A questo sono già destinati I luoghi dentro la linea del confine. S.E. esegura a tempo opportune. Sua attenzione però ritirar subito alcuni di Possidaria quei arditì.” See also No. 50

⁴³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 17.

⁴⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 381, No. 17.

⁴⁵ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 161.

⁴⁶ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 162.

⁴⁷ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, p. 32v. *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran underlined in his report to the Senate that there it was very difficult to find a settlement for all new inhabitants due to the restrictions of the territory after the establishment of *linea Nani*, but

border⁴⁸ or even moved back to the Ottoman territory⁴⁹. Later some of them asked permission to move to the Venetian side of the border⁵⁰, again, which the Venetian government accepted although always bearing in mind not to act against the Ottomans⁵¹. Despite this some Venetian Morlachs continually caused troubles for the Ottomans and they were forcefully moved to Italy or Istria⁵².

The acceptance of 10 families from San Giorgio (Sveti Juraj) in the Habsburg territory near Segna, and their settlement in Venetian territory in April 1674⁵³ contributed to diplomatic tensions between the Habsburgs and the Venetian Republic. The interest of the Venetian governors in this period was to keep the peace on the borders as well as provide security for their subjects. Thus *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier sent *serdar* Stojan Janković to move 3 families who originated from Lika and 11 from Castel Venier who lived on the Velebit slope in Starigrado where they would be more secure. The migrations from the Habsburg territory continued and in 1681 12 families from Trnovac led by Zuane Rucavina (Ivan Rukavina) moved to the villages of Rasanze and Gliuba. This caused additional tensions between the Habsburgs and Venice, although the Venetian governor emphasised that this migration was the free will of these people⁵⁴.

A further problem was to keep people living within the existing settlements. Thus *Provveditore Generale* Girolamo Cornaro in June 1680 ordered the demolition of all houses spread in fields outside villages and especially those who Venetian subjects built on the Ottoman side of the border and then to force those people to move back to the closest villages on

he was also happy to successfully re-populate the abandoned villages of Radovin, Cerno and Cermzina (Krmčina) in the hinterland of Zaravecchia.

⁴⁸ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 162, 178.

⁴⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 10.

⁵⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 383, No. 59, 61.

⁵¹ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo Sig. Gerolamo Cornaro Cavaliere di S. Marco, fu Prov. Generale in Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 141v.

⁵² BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 50v; see also: ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 36: "Desiderio dei Turchi che sian tenuti luntani Morlacchi proclivi alle molestie. Impraticabile però di ridurli sugli scogli. Loro renitenza a condursi in Istria." Also Busta 695, No.1, (addition), *Lettera fatta da Gian Battista Nani a Mahmut Bassa*.

⁵³ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 166.

⁵⁴ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 183.

the Venetian side⁵⁵. During this period the Ottoman border zone was scarcely populated and in 1682 Klis Sandjak Durakbegović started with his plan of the repopulation of this area with Ottoman subjects, moving them from Bosnia and Herzegovina⁵⁶. His intentions came to a head with the Venetian Morlachs in his property of Zemonico and ended with a bloody conflict, which caused a large movement of Ottoman Muslim subjects from the border area who were scared of a Morlach attack⁵⁷.

d) Morean War 1684-1699

During the Morean War immigrations rose as a result of the general movement of the Ottoman Christian subjects who moved en masse to Venetian territories and joined in the war against the Ottomans. When comparing migrations of the Candian and Morean wars it can be noticed that the migrations during the Candian War were more local, around the border, whilst during the Morean War they encompassed the movement of large numbers of people from wide areas, including from deep inside the Bosnian Eyalet. This was caused by several reasons. The migrations did not stop during the truce of 1670-1684 although they were not in such large numbers. The number of immigrants increased after the Ottoman expulsion from Vienna and turned into a massive movement of the Ottoman Christian subjects. These people were also under the constant attack of the Habsburg's *uskoks* who in this way wanted to create an atmosphere of rebellion within the Christian people against their Ottoman masters⁵⁸. Some Venetian Morlach subjects also participated in these *uskoks* attacks. Ilija Mitrović Janković, Stojan's brother was notorious because of his actions in the Ottoman territory at the beginning of the 1680s and the Venetians tried to find a way to eliminate him⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ Idem, p. 223.

⁵⁶ Idem, p. 227.

⁵⁷ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog*, p. 17-20. DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 258-259. The majority of wealthy Ottoman families found refuge in Ostroviza, Plavno, Knin and Lika, but in October 1683 they left Ostroviza, Bencovich, Perusich, Scardona and Vrana, which was then immediately occupied by Morlachs.

⁵⁸ In September 1683 *Segnani* attacked Obbrovazzo and the scared Ottomans abandoned this place. DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 253.

⁵⁹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 353; Governor General suggested in 1684 regarding Ilija Janković Mitrović to "*rimoverlo in qualche mainiera da queste parti*".

In October 1683 large numbers of the Ottoman Morlachs in Zara's hinterland turned to the Venetian government pleading for permission to move to its territory⁶⁰. However, Venetian *Provveditore Generale* Lorenzo Donà was rather cautious and preferred to keep them waiting in order to avoid any possible reason for an official Ottoman attack, which would drag the Republic into a new war⁶¹. More often than not *serdar* Stojan Janković and Count Antonio Possedarski, Colonel Radoš and Giulio Soppe were in charge to keep these people calm and persuade them to wait for better opportunities to move to the Venetian territory. Donà's position was in no way easy, taking into consideration that these Ottoman Morlach communities offered many thousands of soldiers to the Republic. Besides the Morlachs from the Ottoman Ravni Kotari, Bucovizza and Zagora, there were numerous Morlach communities from Ottoman Lika who were 'knocking on the *Serenissima*'s door' and if they would not be accepted here, they would turn towards the Habsburgs⁶². They practically forced Venice into the war, which happened in 1684. But, when the war officially started, then instead of migrations, numerous villages, which were previously on the Ottoman side of the border, simply accepted the Venetian government, without migrating. The migration movement was pushed deeper in the Ottoman territory in Bucovizza and Lika. About 5,000 people from the villages of Tepsinzi (Tepšinci) and Parzichi (Parčići) in Lika waited for permission to move to the Venetian territory, which was finally approved soon after the official start of the war. According to their request they were settled around the abandoned castles of Obrovazzo, being especially interested in using the three watermills there⁶³. In June the same year *Provveditore Generale* Domenico Mocenigo reported on the acceptance of the immigrants from Plavno towards Obrovazzo, giving them protection from any attack by the Venetian subjects⁶⁴. The immigrations

⁶⁰ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 256. These were villages of Tign, Giagodna, Vegliane, Bigliane, Cula Atlagich, Polazza, Pristezi, Radosinovzi, Bagnevzi, Stancovzi, Dobravoda, Velim, Draghisich, Grabrovci, Ghachielaze, Putizani, Colarin, Lissane, Pergnavor and Bubgnani.

⁶¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 308-309.

⁶² DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 256, 259, 278, 295, 305, 307-308, 313, 330, 356.

⁶³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 356.

⁶⁴ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, box 49, f. 120r: "Esendosi far esibitione li Morlacchi di Plavno di voler rasegnarvi sudditi volontarij del Principe perche sian sicuri che per li passati aridity e per la morte d'alcuni di questi Territorij non sia poi contro di loro pretesa vendetta ne inferite ne molestia alcuna. Noi abbracciando la loro risoluzione li assicuriamo di

from Lika continued during the Morean War⁶⁵ although now the Habsburg army was liberating this part of the territory which was under the Ottoman occupation. In February 1685 20 families from Citluch near Novi in Lika moved to Starigrad⁶⁶. In autumn 1685, 2,400 people amongst whom were 750 men capable to join the Venetian army, moved from Srb in Lika and were settled in the area from Cosulovopoglie to Ostrovizza, which was a newly conquered Venetian territory⁶⁷. With the further progress of the Venetian army towards the Ottoman territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the planned immigrations of Christian subjects from there were more frequent. In this way *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier in September 1685 reported on the immigrants from Bilaj, who were settled in *contado di Zara* but without precise information of their new settlement⁶⁸.

The migrants were coming to the Venetian border in large numbers waiting for Venetian assistance to be settled on the Venetian territories. Such large groups of hundreds of people with numerous cattle were easy targets for Ottoman attack. Therefore the Venetian Governor General had to act very quickly and assure their passage to the Venetian side safely and settle them somewhere where these exhausted people could recover after a sometimes very long and difficult journey⁶⁹. The long distance migrations such as from the areas around Livno, Glamoc, Kupres, Bilaj, and Duvno were organised by the Venetian military troop leaders – *serdars*. In winter 1685 *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier sent Stojan Janković and Simon Bortolazzi to take a military action deep in the Ottoman territory to destabilise the Christian communities there. On returning from this campaign they brought with them about 100 families from Bihać and Lapac,

poter capitare con le famiglie et haver a questa parte con ogni libertà, e che da alcuno non le saranno inferito danno o disturbo imaginabile” (...).

⁶⁵ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 128r.

⁶⁶ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, II, p. 53.

⁶⁷ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 4v.

⁶⁸ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, f. 142r.

⁶⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, f. 54r: “Scrisi già a Vra. Ser.tà quello si poteva operare nel ridurre all’obbedienza i Morlacchi, che con numerosi animali svernavano nella Campagna di Cettina. L’extraordini et i negoziati per indurli senza sangue e senza preda alla libertà di questa dolcissima sogezione.” In f. 59r Valier reports about their further planed and escorted movement to the territories of Zara and Sebenico: “Seguito il passaggio di numero considerabile de Morlachi di la dal fiume Cettina alla divozione della Ser. Vra. senz’ altra estensione di forze anco nelle difformazioni tenute di che ho rassegnato la notizia in mie precedenti e fatta dall’Ecc.mo Sig. Commissario Michiel ripigliar la marchia alli Territoriali di Zara e Sebenico, che intendo per viaggio di qua poco distante.”

and they later settled in Segar and Bribir⁷⁰. In the early spring of 1687 *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier sent *serdar* Stojan Mitrović Janković to persuade 150 families who lived in Karlobag to move to Segar. Amongst these newcomers were 300 men able to join the Venetian army, which was a considerable factor⁷¹.

The plentitude of fertile land available was a strong attraction even from the old inhabitants to move to the new Venetian territories. Thus we can find information about the movement from the islands to the mainland⁷². It is also interesting to noticed that some of Morlachs who lived under the Ottoman government, escaped from some villages in Bucovizza deeper to the mountains (Velebit) where they were hiding from occasional Ottoman raids and after the fall of the fortress of Knin into the Venetian hands, when the Ottoman's threat was far away, they asked permission from the Venetian government to turn back to their villages and their land⁷³.

The further progress of the Venetian troops, weakened the Ottoman position in Bosnia and they could not provide adequate protection for their subjects on the periphery of their territory. Therefore, there were more groups of immigrants, who were, after the constant attacks and molesting of the Venetian troops and agitation of the Venetian *confidents* persuaded to emigrate. The area of Bucovizza and the upper flow of the River Zrmagna became especially strategically important places because of the borders with the Habsburgs and there it was necessary to settle as many subjects as possible who could protect this new Venetian acquisition. Therefore *Provveditore Generale* Daniel Dolfin in 1692 organised a migration of large number of Christians from Bilaj to the area from Plavno, Zrmagna, Pagene (Pađene), Oton and Mocropoglie⁷⁴.

⁷⁰ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 58r.

⁷¹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book III, f. 22r.

⁷² *Archivio in Dalmatia*, in *Tabularium*, I, Zara, 1901, p. 84: Some families from the island travelled to live on the mainland in *Contado di Zara*, to the places of new acquisitions on 28th May 1690.

⁷³ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, box, 6, Filza LVIII, f. 27: "Per ripristino di domicilio degli abitanti del Paese d'Ervenich situato nel contado di Zara e quello di Bucovizza che erano fuggiti e dominciliarsi provisoriamente nella montagna detta volgarmente Velebit per le sciagure della lunga Guerra decorsa e per l'insedie e scorrerie de nemici ottomani che di continuo infestarono tutto quell paese et ora dopo la conquista della Piazza di Knin implorano di ripatriarsi nelle stesse terre che furono da loro atenati per secoli coltivati."

⁷⁴ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 7-10.

e) Truce 1700-1714

The real peace in *contado* happened after the Morean War, when Venice turned another page in its history within these regions. Soon after the war Venice was to struggle to keep the immigrants in their new territory and to stop their emigrations back to Ottoman or Habsburg territories. The main reasons for these reverse Morlach migrations were the lack of pasturelands. This was especially important to those Morlach communities who were not entitled to enough land to sustain their cattle along with cultivating land, which was their main source of living. There were also some reasons related to tithes, which after the Morean War, the Republic of Venice had imposed without any excuse for the newcomers as well as some religious privileges related to the Orthodox Church, which in the new Venetian territory had to compete with Catholic bishops. Therefore, it could happen that the same priests, who were leaders of the immigrants to the Venetian territory, now promoted the ideas of moving back to Habsburg or even to Ottoman territories⁷⁵.

It also has to be mentioned that there was another Venetian-Ottoman war in the 18th century, which did not affect *contado* of Zara, but the people from there, especially Morlach troops (*craine*) recruited by their *serdar* leaders participated in battles in the southern part of Dalmatia, around the River Neretva and Imotski as well as in Morea⁷⁶, which also influenced the demographic situation of Zara's hinterland although not to such an extent as the previous two wars. During the 18th century, the stabilisation of the inhabitants in Zara's hinterland and re-population process was negatively affected by epidemics of malaria and poor nutrition, more than anything else⁷⁷.

4. Identification of migrants

⁷⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No. 13: "Turchi studiano con arti più attente e con artificij sorvi di tirar Morlacchi olter la line con promissioni d'corriger le loro chiese e coll'esittarli dal solito coraggio."

⁷⁶ SFRECOLA, *Le Craine di Dalmazia*, p. 141-144.

⁷⁷ MLINARIĆ, *Mala aria*, p. 43, 168-169.

The Morlach society, known in medieval sources under the name of Vlachs, was not new to Zara's hinterland and those mentioned before the major Ottoman intrusions, where mostly composed of pre-Roman-Roman-Slavic fragments of predominately shepherd groups⁷⁸. The Vlach/Morlachs who moved to the Ottoman's areas in Dalmatian hinterland occupied by 1573 were mostly moving from the areas of Bosnia and Bucovizza, where they moved before, during the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the end of the 15th century). These were migrations controlled and planned by the Ottoman government⁷⁹. They were predominately Slavic-Christians (predominately Orthodox mostly from eastern Herzegovina and western Montenegro, but there was also a significant number of Catholics from western Herzegovina known also as Bunjevci)⁸⁰ who in the sources could have been identified with the medieval Vlachs because of the similar way of life as wandering shepherds. This was also the perception of Zara nobleman Simone Gliubavaz as expressed in his description of *contado e territorio di Zara*. According to his statement written in the 1650s all inhabitants in Zara's hinterland, except the city of Zara originated from the ancient Slavs who in the past had dominated this territory. He did not actually agree that they had any relationship with ancient Romans⁸¹.

⁷⁸ ŠARIĆ, *Dinarski Vlasi*, p. 9-18. About Roman origins of Vlachs see also T. J. WINNIFRITH, *The Vlachs The History of Balkan People*, London, 1987.

⁷⁹ BAČIĆ, *Osvrt na knjigu*, p. 214, also ŠARIĆ, *Dinarski Vlasi*, p. 100-117.

⁸⁰ JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 160-166; Also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 260; *Provveditore Generale Cattarino* Corner noticed that the Morlach immigrants were mostly Orthodox, but a considerable number of them were Roman-Catholics. In reality they did not belong to one or the other religious cults.

⁸¹ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 16530, Ms. 459, S. GLIUBAVAZ, *Storica disertazione del contado e territorio di Zara*, f. 10: "Gli abitanti tutti, eccettuata Zara, sono reliquie di quegli antichi Slavi, che già dominarono il paese, gente audace, e bellicosa, detti in lingua materna Vlassi, e con vocabolo corroto Vlachi. Non già da Vlacco Romano, come alcuno dei scrittori, anche classici si e lasciato persuadere, ma dalla parola, o voce Slava Vlas, che significa autorità, ovvero dominio. Perché avvedendo li slavi soggiogato il Paese allora posseduto da Romani, cacciati antichi abitatori alla campagna, all'opere rurali, quasi per fatto, et ostentazione, che dominassero quelli, che prima estendevano il suo dominio sopra tante genti, li denominarono Vlassi. Così anco da Polacchi l'Italia viene nominata Vlascha Zemglia, cioè Terra di Latini. Et nel trasporto del Calendario in Idioma Slavo la Festa di S. Giovanni, che si dice ante portam Latinam, viene interpretata da Na Vlasca Vrata. Similmente nell'uso del quotidiano parlare il nobil uomo si dice Vlastelin, cioè persona di autorità e di comando. E ciò meglio dichiara il nome di nobil Donna, che si dice Vladisca dal verbo Slavo Vladati, che significa dominare, e comandare. Oggidì poi questo nome di

When talking about the documents of the Venetian provenance then all immigrants from the Ottoman territory as well as the Christians who lived in the Ottoman territory were known under the common name of *Morlacchi*. The name was also applied to the people from the Habsburg territory, those coming from Lika, Krbava and the coast of Podgorje to Segna. In fact the whole region of coastland below Velebit from Segna to Obbrovazzo was named *Morlacca* as the place where the Morlachs live⁸². Therefore, it is very difficult to define the ethnic structure of the immigrants to the Venetian territories during the second half of the 17th century. The only indication could be the direction of their movements or the place of origin, which is not always so obvious in the documents. Also here should be mentioned some groups of immigrants from the territory which in Venetian documents was called Albania (the Bay of Cattaro and its surroundings) and Primorje around Makarska. Those people were called *hajduci*⁸³ and they also participated in the migrations of the 17th century but only a small number of them moved to Zara's territory, while the majority of refugees from Venetian Albania and Montenegro tribes were moved to Istria⁸⁴. However, when referring to the ethnic identification of immigrants to the Dalmatian hinterland during the 17th century then should be mentioned that even the Venetian governors here were very aware of their diversity⁸⁵ although writing about them under the one collective name of *Morlacchi*. *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier in his reports about Morlach soldiers during the Morean War in Dalmatia noticed that, although

Vlasi viene attribuito a tutti gli abitatori della Campagna. Vengono similmente addimandati Morvlassi, e con vocabolo coroto Morlacchi, cioè neri Latini.”

⁸² G. NOVAK, *Morlaci (Vlasi)*, p. 592.

⁸³ *Provveditori Generali* in their reports usually made the distinction between Morlachs and Hajducs such as in the report of Catterino Corner, written in 1667. The inhabitants of Almissa and those of Primorje as well as those from Perasto (Perast) and the Bay of Cattaro called themselves Hajduci, while those north of Almissa were Morlachs. See COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 260.

⁸⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 35; In November 1671 a group of people from Cattaro named in the document as *haiduci* arrived to Zara and they were sent further on to Pola after they were given a provision of hardtack. Amongst those 12 people were 3 women, widows, and they all together had 7 babies, who were still being breastfed. After reconsideration, *Provveditore Generale* Zorzi Morosini allowed those women to stay in Zara with their children.

⁸⁵ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 5-6; Here I agree with the statement expressed by STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 17; where he says that at the beginning of the 18th century the inhabitants of Dalmatia were Catholics and Orthodox, but not all Catholics were Croats as no all Orthodox were Serbs.

the Venetians had called them the same name, those were different people composed as a variety of ethnic origins, customs and religions⁸⁶.

They were not identified as belonging to any ethnic group such as Serbs or Croats. This major identification came later, during the 18th century and more in the 19th century with the national rebirth/nation building movements. However, it would not be completely correct to ignore that in some sources, especially those related to the church affairs during the migration processes caused by the Venetian-Ottoman wars in the 17th century⁸⁷, there can be found identification of Orthodox Morlachs with the Serbian Orthodox Church or priests⁸⁸.

⁸⁶ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, f. 105r: (...) “ e la diversità di questi Morlacchi che ora sono formati da varietà di Nazioni, di Costumi e di Religione” (...).

⁸⁷ BAČIĆ, *Osvrt na knjigu*, p. 216, emphasised that there were no Serbs in Dalmatia before this period despite some conceptions especially expressed in the work of N. MILAŠ, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija (Orthodox Dalmatia)*. See also: JURIN STARČEVIĆ, *Sjevernodalmatinsko zaleđe*, p. 192-193: The author emphasised that the identification according to the family names would not bring any results since some family names can be Catholic and Orthodox. The only indication of being Catholic or Orthodox was the church in a certain area. Generally Morlach/Vlach ethnic identity was very fluid although there could be noticed an element of inclusion into Serbian ethnic corpus through the Serbian Orthodox Church by those who belonged to the Orthodox Church. This similar identification happened with the Catholics who were integrated into the Croatian ethnic corpus. Nevertheless, the passing from one to another Christian religious cult was also very frequent.

⁸⁸ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, filza 41, *Consulti di fra Fulgenzio*, tom I, 13.13.c.27, s.d., *Relazione sul cosiddetto rito serviano in uso in quell tratto di paese che giace tra la Bossina et la Bulgaria et si estende verso ponente sino alla Dalmatia, nominata in una lettera del provveditore generale in Dalmazia e su quale la Signoria ha chiesto informazioni ai consultori*. Compare with JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 46; The author mentioned the case of the migration of 10,000 Ottoman subjects from the Ottoman Bucovizza led by Serbian Metropolitan Epifanije Stefanović to whom the Orthodox monks from the monastery of Cerca (Krka) joined. Here the identification with a Serbian ethnic name related to the Orthodox Church is obvious. Any other identification of Orthodox with Serbian ethnicity would be anachronistic. Evenmore, bearing in mind the Ottoman millet system according to which people of the same religion would gather in communities despite their different ethnic origin. Nevertheless, since the publications of Marko Jačov will be frequently mentioned here, a significant distinction from his intention to identify all Orthodox with Serbs should be put forward. Even in his interpretation of the sources, which he published in addition to his comments and his imposition of ethnic identification with religious identification could be very misleading. Here is an example from *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani durante la Guerra di Candia (1645-1669)*, I, p. 236-237: Zara's Archbishop Teodoro Balbi in September 1661 complained about the problem with Orthodox (*Greci Scismatici*) who would take over the Catholics and Greek of Latin ritual (*Greci del rito latino*) by seducing girls of the Latin ritual, by abusing them and forcing them to marry secretly. In his short introduction in the Serbian language Jačov interpreted this as such: *Da bi zaštitio vernike i Srbe latinskog obreda Zadarski nadbiskup Teodoro Balbi je izdejstvovao kod državnih vlasti da se uhapsi srpski vladika*. [In order to protect the

Regarding mentioning Croats as an ethnic group in the Venetian documents of the early modern period, they were mostly identified with the ‘old’ pre-Ottoman inhabitants of the Dalmatian hinterland, which belonged to the Croatian medieval kingdom, as well as those who actually, during the modern ages came from Croatian territory, which was encompassed into the Habsburg Empire.

If the name *Crovati* or *Croati* was mentioned in the documents of the Venetian early modern provenance then this was regularly related to Venetian military organisation and special military troops, mostly cavalry⁸⁹, although sometimes mentioned as infantry or navy troops, which were traditionally recruited from men on Croatian medieval territory⁹⁰, although later we can find numerous data about Morlachs (therefore former Ottoman subjects) who joined the *truppe Croate*. In the same way Albanian troops were identified, who were mostly recruited from men in Venetian Albania and in the nearest hinterland of the south-eastern Adriatic⁹¹. It is also interesting to note that those troops of *nationi Crovati* and *Albanesi*, were very aware of their ethnic belonging, when regarding their officers. The Venetian governors often mentioned that those people preferred to have the chief commander from their own people because of the simple reason: they found it easier to trust them if they spoke the same language and came from the same type of society⁹². The recruitment of the *truppe Crovate* also

believers and Serbs of Latin ritual, the Archbishop of Zara Teodoro Balbi procured by the state government to arrest the Serbian Vladika.] Nowhere in the original text are explicitly mentioned Serbs. However, the effort, which Jačov put into publishing a large amount of the documents from the Archivio Segreto Vaticano cannot be denied as being valuable for further research.

⁸⁹ MALLETT-HALE, *The Military Organization*, p. 317; also ASV, *Senato dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busa 401, No. 64: “Gestito che si sia a Zara eseguiti li publici ordini con le rassegne e marchi delle tre compagnie de Crovati a cavallo.”

⁹⁰ G. NOVAK, *Morlaci (Vlasi)*, p. 594.

⁹¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro, 103, Luglio 1645, f. 207r: “Che sia data Carica al Capitano Pietro Marcovich di far levata di mille fanti Albanesi di stato alietto nel termine di mesi tre da principarsi dal giorno del preaderti al presente in vinti Compagnie dif anti cinquanta l’una con le paghe” (...).

⁹² BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 41v: “L’oltramaroni servono in galeotta distinti in due nationi Crovate et Albanese tutta gente buona resiste alle fatiche pronta ad ogni fattione usi in mare come in terra niun altro principe ha forse maniera più feconda d’homini ne militia più utile di questa peculiare di V.V.E.E. Si sostenta con poco et si conduce al servizio con spesa insensibile. Pareva raffreddata in quella natione l’antica inclinatione di servire anzi invalsa qualche avversione alle galeotte così che non accadeva persace a nuove leve ne a rimesse quando le compagnie già ammassata fuggivano.” And also: “Ogni natura vorrebbe servire sotto capi nazionali se oltre il collonelo soprintendente ad ambedue si dassero capi o

continued during the Candian War, when those soldiers were recruited from Habsburg subjects in Croatia⁹³ using the occasion to take advantage of these soldiers while the Habsburgs were not in any official war against the Ottomans. In some instances individual identification of soldiers such as Gegho Bardi Albanese can be found who during the Candian War served in Sebenico as a member of *truppe Albanese*⁹⁴. Nevertheless, *nationi* as mentioned in such cases are far away from the nations of the 19th century and should not be confused⁹⁵. These kind of identifications were strictly related to the mercenary troops, who, when referring to immigrations, could be considered as migrations related to performing a specific profession.

5. Venetian attitudes towards immigrants

There were several reasons to accept and stimulate the immigrations from the Ottoman territory, during the Candian and further more, during the Morean War. The lack of subjects was a constant Venetian problem in Dalmatia and there was a huge disproportion between the capacity of the land and the number of inhabitants.

Morlachs who abandoned their Ottoman masters generally weakened the Ottoman's strength⁹⁶. This was one of the main motives for the Venetian offensive politics towards Morlach migrations from the beginning of the Candian War and it was even more obvious at the beginning of the Morean War. Stimulating migrations from the Ottoman territory became a Venetian war tactic with much success⁹⁷. It also had a large psychological effect.

governatori distinti uno Croato, l'altro Albanese molto contenti più pronti in quell grado e sotto il credito delle dure capi le compagnie si mantenevano più ripiene con maggior facilità di praticare all'occlusioni nuova leva."

⁹³ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 103, Aprile 1645, f. 147v: "Il capitano Gregorio Braicich s'è offerto di far una compagnia de soldati Croati a sudditi imperiali."

⁹⁴ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Filza 386, 5 Settembre 1646.

⁹⁵ Similar case of the identification of the mercenary troops can be also found on the Habsburg Military Border in Croatia. The Habsburg military administration also defined the troops according to the language they spoke, their religion and sort of military service. More details can be found in ROKSANDIĆ, *Bune u Senju*, p. 50-51.

⁹⁶ The same tactic was also applied towards the Habsburgs by attracting their subjects in Podgorje from Segna to Carlobago.

⁹⁷ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 20v: "Questo è l'unico modo che mi resta di combattere senza spada e disarmare l'Inimico senza forza; certo è che disertati li Confini hanno li nostri Morlacchi presto ardire di scorerie sino sovrapparte di Livno, abbruciando ogni giorno e desertando li luochi più vicini a gl'occhi di comandanti et alcune partite di

There was no motivation to defend the territory, which was practically abandoned by their Ottoman masters and this was another motivation for the Morlachs to turn to the Venetian side⁹⁸. After this the Venetian Morlach troops could raid deeper into Ottoman territory.

Morlachs provided enormous human reinforcement to the Venetian troops, who, consisted of mercenaries and *cernide*, would not have been able to provide appropriate resistance to the Ottoman offensives or to carry out the Venetian military actions⁹⁹. The Morlach immigrants were immediately ready to fulfil the necessity of the Venetian army, but by fighting in their specific way based on guerrilla warfare. They were able to conduct this specific warfare due to the fact that they knew the territory on the Ottoman side of the border from where they emigrated and they had their net of confidants there, relatives or friends who provided them with important information¹⁰⁰. At the beginning of the Candian War almost the whole male population of the Morlach immigrants was fighting as Venetian guerrillas, but soon they would be trained and integrated into the Venetian military system as paid soldiers¹⁰¹, which also made them more mobile to

solii cento huomini” (...); see also STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog rata*, p. 58.

⁹⁸ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 256; *Provveditore Generale* Leonardo Donà received a letter of intent from Morlachs from the villages of Tign, Jagodgna, Vegliane, Bigliane, Kula Atlagich, Polazza and Pristeg, which remained the Ottoman possession after the establishment of *Linea Nani*, but they felt themselves to be Venetian subjects and their men offered a significant military service (*500 uomini d'armi con gli animali*) to the Republic. This was in October 1683, before the Republic entered the Holy League.

⁹⁹ *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier found especially weak *cernide* from Istria considering recruitment of local people more useful. See DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book III, f.68r: (...) “si ricavarebbe miglior servizio da questa gente pronta a difesa de proprii Confini, che da quella del Istria condotta dalla siperazione mai accostumata all'Armi e che nell'abbandono delle case lascia il cuore appasionato nelle mani delle mogli e figlioli portando seco più miseria che difesa”.

¹⁰⁰ G. NOVAK, *Morlaci (Vlasi)*, p. 597. The author refers to the report given in the Venetian Senate by Lorenzo Dolfin in 1655 where he described Morlachs as very brave warriors who were ready to chase the enemy deep into the Ottoman territory. He also emphasised that their motivation was the booty, but they also felt very secure in the Ottoman territory where they were born. A negative side of this kind of troops was a lack of discipline. Similar description of the Morlach's character can be found in DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book III, f. 59v: “Manca a questa Nazione la disciplina, per altro vi è ferocia, robusta sopra il credibile e quello più importa non v'è patimento che la distrugga, ne varia di tempo che la disvolga. Dorme allo scoperto, sia vento, pioggia, o neve, non si stanca nel malgevole e difficile camino et averebbe cuore se la rapina molte volte non la divertisse e forse condotta nel pericolo senza confusione” (...).

¹⁰¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 141, Agosto 1675, f. 117v; Stojan Janković's younger brother and son were accepted into the cavalry troop in Zara where they passed through the

fight wherever necessary on the Venetian territories, Terraferma or Candia and Morea¹⁰². One such example was the brothers Matteo and Andrea Bubicich who left their previous home in the Ottoman Scardona in May 1655 and took service in the Venetian army. They were enlisted as regular mercenary soldiers for the salary of two ducats per month plus another two ducats for Matteo who obtained the duty of captain. Both of the brothers were obliged to fight anywhere necessary in Dalmatia and territory of the Republic¹⁰³.

Governor General Lunardo Foscolo was the first one who in 1647 recognised the advantages of having Morlach immigrants especially those related to the military reinforcement of the Venetian army in *contado di Zara* and during his time the Morlach guerrilla force became a regular part of the Venetian troops in Dalmatia and Albania¹⁰⁴. Beside this, he as Governor General could not decide about accepting a Morlach group who offered to move to the Venetian territory. He could only forward their offer as well as his opinion to the Senate who was responsible to give final confirmation of their acceptance or not¹⁰⁵. There should not have been a group of immigrants crossing the border without the permission of the Senate¹⁰⁶.

During the organisation of the Morlach migrations to the Venetian side, there was an important role of the Venetian *confidente*, a personality who was the mediator between the Venetian government and a Morlach

necessary training for further military service. Also Registro 143, Dicembre 1677, p. 206v; Harambassa Baio Nicolich, immigrant to the Venetian Dalmatia during the Candian War, served together with four of his sons in the cavalry and after the war he and two of his sons were taken for further training, which included further professional military service.

¹⁰² ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 135, Febbraio 1670, f. 285r: A troop of *Oltramaringi* under the command of Captain Stanissa Becich was sent to the Levante. Also: Registro 141, Febbraio 1676, f. 14r; A troop of *capelletti a cavallo* under the command of Count Posedarski was sent to serve in Terraferma.

¹⁰³ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Filza 475, 19 Maggio 1655, in Senato. Numerous other examples can be found in the Venetian documents. See also DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book III, f. 58r-59r; 67r-70r.

¹⁰⁴ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 20-22.

¹⁰⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci*, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Busta 380, No. 10: “Varij simili assegnamenti sono corrisposti benché non siano approbati dall’Ecc.mo Senato altri no. Ha frequenta istanza perche li somministra ma in vano pero si chiamano delusi.”

¹⁰⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci*, *Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 380, No. 10: “Trenta famiglie de Morlacchi da Licca desiderano portarsi alla divotione publica. Manda loro scrittura li ha esposta con assicurarli della bonta publica e che saranno ricevuti benignamente. Avvisara poi ciò succedesse circa la loro mossa.” Also *Dispaccio* No. 29.

community ready or likely to ‘jump’ into Venetian territory and accept Venetian subjugation. This role was often given to priests or monks (Catholic or Orthodox) and the leaders (*harambasas*) of an immigrant community¹⁰⁷. One of the most successful and precious Venetian *confidente* or negotiator with the Morlachs was Stjepan Sorić, who as a Catholic priest served in the village of Goriza in the vicinity of Zaravecchia under the Ottoman government. At the very beginning of the Candian War, the Venetian Senate was suspicious before deciding to accept his offers to help to move his people to the Venetian side, because, they were in fact Ottoman subjects¹⁰⁸. In 1647 he persuaded about one thousand people, Ottoman Christian subjects from Gorica and another three villages in the nearest hinterland of Zaravecchia to migrate towards the Venetian territories close to Zaravecchia, Bocagnazzo and Zara¹⁰⁹. Taking care of them and leading them under the Venetian government he became the first Morlach leader – *serdar*¹¹⁰. For the Venetian Governor, the choice of priest was simple because they were those who were easily mobile, serving in many places, who knew many people and those who had a certain level of education in order to communicate with the Venetian representatives in writing¹¹¹.

The same fresh Morlach immigrants were used to cause the migration of the other Morlach communities on the Ottoman side of the border. In this way priest Stjepan Sorić and his Morlachs entered Ottoman Lika and caused the movement of the Ottoman Christian subjects in

¹⁰⁷ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 12; The contacts for a group of Morlach immigrants from Miragne were the Orthodox priest Petar Popović and harambašas Petar Grudarović and Milinko Dević. Also, p. 32; Here is given transcription of the document from April 1648 according to which *Provveditore* Lunardo Foscolo ordered a monthly payment of 4 ducats to the Orthodox monk from the village of Chistagne (Kistanje) in Bucovizza, because he was serving as a Venetian *confidente*.

¹⁰⁸ Priest Sorić was not trusted at the beginning by Governor Foscolo. See transcription of the original documents in JAČOV, *Le missioni catoliche*, I, p. 146-148.

¹⁰⁹ JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 28-29.

¹¹⁰ PERIČIĆ, *Don Stipan Sorić*, in Radovi HAZU-Zd, 39, 1997, p. 211-242. Also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 45; In a report by the Venetian Governor it was mentioned that Don Sorić was very valuable to the Republic as a brave soldier and military leader but was not very well appreciated amongst his own people. On the other hand Vuk Mandušić, who was a Morlach leader in Sebenico district, was loved by his own people and respected by the Ottomans. This was also reflected in the folk songs of the time, where Mandušić was very often a typical hero character.

¹¹¹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 12; In April 1647 Lunardo Foscolo sent priest Simon Nisich to persuade Morlachs who lived on the Velebit slopes to move to the Venetian territory around Novegradi.

December 1647. On this occasion Petar Smiljanić from Udbina was the leader of some families who moved to the Venetian territory in Zara's hinterland¹¹². The Venetian *Provveditore* Lunardo Foscolo very soon appreciated his military and leadership skills together with his two sons Ilija and Filip. They were also used in actions to move people from the Ottoman territory, especially in Lika where they obviously enjoyed great respect¹¹³. Ilija Smiljanić, after his father's death became the leader of the Morlachs in Zara's hinterland. He also became one of the main negotiators with potential Morlach immigrants from Bucovizza and Udbina in Krbava¹¹⁴. After the *Proveditore Generale* Lorenzo Dolfin's recommendation in September 1653 he was awarded with a house in the city of Zara¹¹⁵ as well as in Zemonico together with some land, which, after his death and the death of his brother Filip, their sister Anka's son Somljan Smiljanić inherited, even keeping his mother's family name¹¹⁶. This specific way of rewarding Morlach leaders, who were also recognised as very capable leaders in war and peace, was useful method to tie those people with the Republic. Material awards such as houses, land and servants brought those newcomers to the level of a new

¹¹² DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 30.

¹¹³ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 30. See also JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 29 and B. HRABAK, *Smiljanići od Zadra sokoli, [Smiljanićs, falcons from Zara]*, Prosveta, Beograd, 1953, p. 12-13.

¹¹⁴ ZKZD, Manuscripti, No. 17377/III, Ms 478: *Carte Spettanti alle famiglie Smiglianich, Soppe-Fortezza, Pechiaro, Bianchi ecc.*, f. 1: "Noi Giovanni Francesco Zorzi per la Serenissima Republica di Venezia Provveditore Generale della Cavalleria in Dalmazia, fino nel tempo che sostenimo la precedente stessa carica si condusse alla divozione et in questa provincia il gm. Pietro Smiglianich con quatro figlioli et il rimanente della sua famiglia, et in ogni incontro diede egli anco all'ora con gli stessi suoi figlioli segni di tutta fede e corraggi. Nel mese di febbriao 1648 sacrificato avendo la vita in publico servitio e nelle ragioni et acquisti sotto l'Ecc.mo I. Pisani Nostro Precessore due di essi suoi figlioli, il ritrovo egli con Elia, e Filippo nell'intraprese di Dernis, e Knin dove in cadauno cimento e tapione seguita con Turchi si facessero conoscere altre tanto pronti" (...). See also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 66.

¹¹⁵ ZKZD, Manuscripti, No. 17377/III, Ms 478: *Carte Spettanti alle famiglie Smiglianich, Soppe-Fortezza, Pechiaro, Bianchi ecc.*, f. 4. See also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 85; Smiljanić had a house in Zara in *Piazza dei signori*.

¹¹⁶ ZKZD, Manuscripti, No. 17377/II, Ms. 478, *Carte spettanti alle famiglie Smiglianich, Soppe-Fortezza, Pechiaro, Bianchi, ecc.*, f. 6: (...) "del sopradetto Capo de Morlachi Smoglian Smiglianich siano per benignita di questo consiglio concessi ducati trenta al mese V. C. sino si tratteniva alla divotione della Republica da essergli corrisposti dalla Camera di Zara, ed inoltre gli sia data in dono una colana d'oro del valore di ducati cento B. V. ed istessamente gli sij donata una veste con che impari gl'efetti della Publica grazia da medesimi maggiormente incoraggito continua nella stessa disposizione di ben servire, e di meritare come ha fatto per lo passato."

elite, originating from the ordinary folk, but there were also awards such as money and gold medals, weapons and coats, which was supposed to be external demonstration of the mercy of the Serene Republic as well as the richness which was available to all meritable subjects¹¹⁷. The Venetian government considered it very useful to distribute some rewards to the leaders of the Morlach immigrants in order that they could gain confidence in their new master¹¹⁸. More over, this was a long-term pay-off investment in those capable families who became an inexhaustible source of servants in military and administrative purposes. This was a well-known Venetian practice since medieval times as the analyses of the Venetian military system showed¹¹⁹. At the very same time they would immediately distribute some food: hardtack and grain¹²⁰ to the new community of Morlachs, which should help them to start their new life.

Even so, the idea to immigrate to the Venetian territory was not generally accepted amongst all Christian Ottoman subjects during the Candian War and so another tactic was applied. In May 1647 Count Posedarski was sent to punish the Morlach communities in Bucovizza and Gesenice in Morlacca (Podgorje) because they did not accept the conditions offered by the Venetians. Therefore their houses were burnt and crops destroyed and they were left with no choice but to move to the Venetian side of the border¹²¹. Even when the Ottoman Morlachs decided to move

¹¹⁷ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 17377/II, Ms. 478, *Carte spettanti alle famiglie Smiglianich, Soppe-Fortezza, Pechiaro, Bianchi, ecc.*, f. 1: (...) “avendo Elia medesimo a Dermis ammazzato un Turco prinicpale Begh Genizzero, et a Knin fattone priggioneri doi altri, morto poi nel Conflitto di Lica esso gm. Piero ed eletto in luoco di lui harambassa detto Elia ha in molte occasioni, et in quelle tutte che si sono rappresentate di uscire, e fermarsi in Campagna nel corso intiero di nostra carica per ostar a tentative de nemici, et inferir loro Danni autenticata la sua ardente de nayione e fede facendo diverse prove del valor di lui e riportato avendo tanti e tanti vantaggi a Publici interessi coll’andar spesse volte in partita, e coll’apportar diversi incomodi, e dannin di considerazione a Turchi, come piu precisamente segue.”

¹¹⁸ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 144v: “Ho fatto per mano del Sig. Prov. Gen. della cavaleria distribuire alli Capi di Morlacchi di Bilai venuta alla divozione roboni di panno, 4 aneli e due cecchini così consigliato dai sardari e da me conosciuto conferente per accreditare con il beneficio la mano di chi li deve diriggere e comandare.” JACOV also mentioned some examples of Orthodox priests - Petronije Selacovich and Damjan Covilovich who were as leaders of Morlachs entitled to 4 ducats monthly salary. See *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 46.

¹¹⁹ MALLETT-HALE, *The Military Organization*, p. 189, 194-195.

¹²⁰ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 13.

¹²¹ Idem, p. 14.

peacefully to the Venetian territory, their houses were burnt to prevent them from changing their minds¹²².

The same tactic as at the beginning of the Candian War of campaigning amongst Ottoman subjects by the Morlach leaders, was applied, but this time more aggressively and deeper into the Bosnian territory. The major actor of the Venetian pro-immigration policies in the Ottoman territories during the Morean War was Stojan Janković Mitrović. Since the beginning of the war until his death in 1687, (which in folk traditions was related with the migration of a great number of the Ottoman Christian subjects from Rama in central Bosnia¹²³) he led more than one thousand Morlachs under the Venetian rule. Moreover, the Venetian Senate knew to appreciate this by rewarding him repeatedly since the Candian War, including giving him the title of *Cavaliere di San Marco*¹²⁴.

It is also interesting to note that the Catholic Church had been involved in persuading the Ottoman Christians from Zara's hinterland to

¹²² Idem, p. 15. The same tactic of burning houses was applied during the Morean War. Houses were also burnt when it was necessary to conduct inner migrations, to organise and re-populate some villages, moving people from one part of *contado* to another. Such an example can be found in DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, box 6, Filza LVIII, doc. 6, f.6; Zara's Count Roberto Papafava in September 1689 received an order from *Provveditore Generale* Alessandro Molin to burn the houses of people in the village of Gesenize because they did not want to obey and move to Starigrado. The problem was in lack of people who could defend Starigrado. "Le sue operationi praticate a Publico vantaggio con tanti incomodi Lei protestarà a quelli, ch'non hanno voluto partire dalle Giassenize, che se nel termine di giorni otto doppo l'intimazione del mandato, che si compiacerà farlo in Illirico non si saranno ritirati in Starigrado, com' è mente del Principe li farò incendiare le case, et animerà tutti li sudditi con assicurarli, ch'il Principe distintamente si predilige e che a suo tempo saranno anco consolati con fabbriche per maggior decoro del luoco e che quando saranno ridotti a maggior numero formerà il Principe stesso con la scelta tra essi una Compagnia pagata come quella d'Obrovazzo, e con simili et altri motivi V. S. M. Ill. che procuri tenirli in speranza, acciò sostentino la difesa di detto Posto di Starigrado."

¹²³ Demistification of Stojan Janković's role in the migration of Franciscans brothers and large numbers of people from Rama was the subject of DESNICA, *Smrt Stojana Jankovića i seoba ramskih franjevac u Dalmaciju* [Death of Stojan Janković and migration of Rama Franciscans to Dalmatia] published in *Stojan Janković i uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 172-180.

¹²⁴ More about the role and influence of Stojan Janković in the Morean War see in ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 159-165. In the document issued by the Venetian Senate on 8th March 1670 Stojan Janković was entitled the Cavalier of St. Marco, it is emphasised that he brought numerous immigrants under the Venetian flag; see ASV, *Senato Registri*, 136, f. 9r: "Hanno quelli della famiglia Mitrovich doppo haver abbandonato la Patria e il Paese Turchesco vivendo sotto questa fede, e con l'haver persegato molte case diportati sotto l'insegno della S. N. procurato gl'incontri più azzardosi anzi incontrando l'occasioni di cimentare le proprie vite godere gl'attestati de publici Rappresentanti della loro devotione e corraggio".

abandon their Muslim masters at the beginning of the Morean War. This is understandable since the Pope was one of the major promoters of the Holy League. Even the archbishop of Zara was included into this very sensitive matter of immigrants, having his agents in Herzegovina negotiating with Franciscan brothers to move onto the Venetian side, and in 1685 he counted about 3,000 Morlachs had arrived to Zara's territory, most of them being Orthodox¹²⁵. From a letter, which the Archbishop of Zara Parzaghi wrote to Cardinal Cibo it can be concluded that he personally went to visit some Morlachs *buoni Cattolici* who lived in Vrana to convince them to abandon the enemies of the Christian religion according to the instructions he was given by the Cardinal¹²⁶.

6. Integration of the newcomers

Once the immigrants arrived in Venetian territory, especially when they were in large numbers and with numerous cattle, the governor general together with other Venetian officers faced a problem of organising their life in the territories of Zara's hinterland. The main problem was to find the right measure between some kind of control and the freedom of these new communities¹²⁷. The lack of trust between both sides was the main problem. The real intentions of parts of the Morlachs who moved to the Venetian territory were not so clear to the Venetian governors, since other Morlachs were fighting on the Ottoman side¹²⁸. It could suddenly occur that the same

¹²⁵ M. BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje u Dalmaciji za mletačke vladavine, [Catholic Church and Orthodox in Dalmatia during the Venetian government]*, Kršćanska sadašnjost-Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1993, p. 9.

¹²⁶ DAZ, *Manuscripti*, No. 76, Dane Zec, book II, Transcriptions from the documents of Archivio Segreto Vaticano, (*Vescovi*, 70, f. 67), f. 2: "All'Ecc.mo Card. Cibo. Ricevo la casetta di Medaglie che S.S.ta si è degnato trasmettermi per beneficio spirituale di questi Morlacchi buoni Cattolici e protrato al bacio de suoi piedi Sacrosanti, gliene rendo humiliamente gratie. Mi portero Domenica a Vrana, luoco occupato al Turco per dispensarne buona parte a quei buoni Christiani animandoli ad estripare li nemici della nostra santa fede come pure mi volerò dell'altre facultà spirituali nelle forme che V.E. si è degnata prescrivermi."

¹²⁷ STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslavenske zemlje*, p. 284-285. The author finds that the Venetian government never fully accepted Morlachs as part of society in their Dalmatian possession once the war with the Ottomans was over, although, according to the same author, during the Candian War, the Venetian governors cared very much about the repopulation of the new gained territories with Morlachs.

¹²⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 13; *Provveditore Generale Alessandro Molin* expressed his doubt in this way: "Questi tutti evidenti mi fanno

Morlach group, who at the beginning of the war was attacking the Venetian troops as Ottoman subjects, would express the wish to move to the Venetian territory. It took a long time to build trust and the Venetian officers would be especially careful; keeping an eye on newcomers in order to figure out their real intentions¹²⁹.

When the immigrants came from the Habsburg territory, such as in the case of the families from San Giorgio (Sveti Juraj) near Segna, who intended to move to *contado di Zara*, the Venetian government was very suspect¹³⁰. In June 1672 Governor General Zorzi Morosini sent Colonel Radoš to stop the immigration of ten families from San Giorgio into Venetian territory. There were another 130 families from the same Habsburg village who were waiting for permission from the Venetian government to move to Zara's hinterland¹³¹. In such cases the Venetian government was even more suspicious and were very careful in moving those people to their territories. They were suspected of being related to Segna's *uskoks* to whom they would become informers in their actions in the Venetian territory. Finally in December 1675 the immigration of 50 families from San Giorgio went ahead and they were placed to live together with elder inhabitants in Castel Venier and Rasanze as well as below the Velebit slopes in Morlacca¹³².

The problems occurred during settling the immigrants on the Venetian territory can also be seen as a harsh confrontation between two cultures. One, Venetian, emerged in the life of Dalmatian coastal communities (Dalmatian Venetian) and another one, Morlach immigrants, whose way of life was related to hinterland mountains and, in the recent centuries, the border of the Ottoman Empire (*serhadd*). The problem was certainly not so simple. It should rather be observed as a multi-layered relationship between a government in transition in which the long war was a phase and which based its constitution on inert and conservative

viver con l'anima travagliata non sapendo quanto possi esser sicura la fede de Morlachi venuti alla devozione non so se per timore o per affetto.”

¹²⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 19: (...) “vado scoprendo quanto siano sospeti li Morlachi di Segar venuti alla devozione per il che tengo applicato l'animo per investigare il vero tenendo l'occhio a si” (...).

¹³⁰ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Filza 151, c. 98.

¹³¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 382, No. 76 and 81; Busta 383, No. 61; Their situation was still not resolved in 1674, during Governor Civran's time.

¹³² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 384, No. 8 and 11.

administration system and very fluid, movable and cliental society mostly related to military service in combination with cattle breeding, which at the same time was very rigid in keeping their traditional social organisation¹³³. Besides this the immigrants unified under the name of the Morlachs were different amongst themselves, of different origins, religion and customs, but they were all governed according to the same rules of the Venetian government in Dalmatia¹³⁴.

The key person in this complex relationship was *Provveditore Generale* and his understanding of Morlachs. During the war, their military ability and bravery was mostly appreciated in reports of the governors, but their lack of discipline and their obstinacy were seen as problematic. In his report to the Venetian Senate, Lorenzo Dolfin, in 1655, describes Morlachs as being very courageous, but lacking discipline and that he was lucky to find any way to please them and that he had to be strict and rigorous to direct their talents into fighting against the Ottomans and to establish a constant loyalty towards the Republic, which was proven many times. Moreover he wrote that he established a relationship based on respect continuing a good practice started by Lunardo Foscolo and Gerolamo Foscarini¹³⁵. In 1660 Antonio Bernardo wrote about the difficulties, which he met after the death of *harambasa* Janko Mitrović, who was only able to keep the Morlachs unified and obedient, punishing those who made troubles, which was a great help to the governor¹³⁶.

Once the Candian War had finished and the border was determined, the major concern of the Venetians governors was that the Morlachs who worked on the Ottoman land would move slowly to the Ottoman part of the border and join the Ottomans against the Venetians as mentioned in the

¹³³ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 22; The author gave an overview of the mobile frontier Morlach society. An analysis of border society on the Croatian Military Border at the beginning of the 19th century was given by ROKSANDIĆ in *Vojna Hrvatska*, I, p. 16-38. The author analysed the same Vlach/Morlach societies who were adapting to the changes of the Habsburg Monarchy, while the same government was passing through a phase of modernisation. Although it is a different place and different time, the similarities with the Venetian problem of understanding and adapting Morlach immigrants were numerous. Therefore, at least in a methodological way it is interesting to take into consideration this study about Military Croatia. See also his observations in *Triplex Confinium*, p. 122.

¹³⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 19.

¹³⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 116-117.

¹³⁶ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 145.

report of *Provveditore Generale* Gerolamo Grimani in 1678¹³⁷. His successor Gerolamo Cornaro was also concerned about the Morlach possibility of moving to the other competitor's territory – the one under the Habsburg government¹³⁸.

Governor General Pietro Valier had many troubles with the new Venetian subjects in 1685, finding it difficult to impose any order in the equal distribution of hardtack, keeping them away from internal conflicts, introducing regulations about obligatory taxes for the booty and there were also many cultural conflicts. Valier found Morlachs to be without any recognition of honour or reputation, as the Venetians knew. Thus he could not impose his command over them¹³⁹.

Problems also occurred in the organisation of life, especially agricultural production. An especially critical situation for the Venetian side was famine, which was a trigger that could easily force the Morlachs to turn towards the Habsburgs or even the Ottomans¹⁴⁰. The impossibility of

¹³⁷ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione o particolari contenuti nella Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo Kav. Gerolamo Grimani*: “Con la permissione di lavorare le terre medesime e pascolar gl'armenti per poca maggioranza si riducono a contraher di nascosto con Turchi accordi et affittanze le quali poi vengono estate con ogni liberatione e franchezza così che vengono a farsi in sostanza sudditi più del turco che nostri e se ben tengono le proprie case entro il confine di S. Principe deve ragionevolmente credersi che se i luochi turcheschi s'habitassero tutti si ridurrebbero al partito del Turco che sarebbe perdita troppo rilevante.” See also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 43.

¹³⁸ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dall'Ecc.mo sig. Gerolamo Cornaro* (1686-1689), f. 150r: “Con Morlacchi necessarie pur repeto in questi principij la servita e destrezza. Tanto più che gl'Imperiali circonvicini per risorli al partito di Cesare procureranno in ogni forma allettarli, promettendo loro sino dieci e dodici anni d'executione. In questo stato di cole crederei potessero anche VV.EE esercitar un essi qualche agevolezza sino tanto almeno che ben si rassodino nella permanenza e si stabiliscono in qualche vantaggio” (...).

¹³⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 72r.

¹⁴⁰ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, f. 84r: “A Zara vi era ressiduo considerabile di 3 mila stara di grano in circa; ultimamente ordinai qualche riparto massime per sovenir li sudditi d'Obbrovazzo sopra quali per quello mi scrive il Sig. Prov. di Novegradi il Comandante di Segna teniva fisso l'occhio, e le pratiche, per condurne qualche quantità; divertita la mossa dalla vigilanza del Sig. Prov. sudetto e dalla custodia della Galetta. Ho inforzato la custodia con al cautella, ma conviene cautellare la permanenza con il sonvegno, mentre la fame e la necessità supera ogni riguardo et ha l'arbitrio nella violenza.” Also, Pietro Valier, book II, p. 139r: “Molte famiglie volontariamente sono venute alla divozione e questo aggregato di sudditi che in ogni parte si va avanzando leva all'inimico una gran parte della sua forza et accresce a stati di Vra. Ser.tà popolazione e riparo ma conviene abbondante provedersi l'alimento dalla Carità dell'Ecc.mo Senato quanto più accresce il numero di questa gente, che non alimentata ritornerebbe alle soliti loro case et all'antico Pane non mancando Turchi di insinuare perdono e premio per ricondurla.”

providing for themselves in their new settlement also turned them to depend on booty, but when they had to adapt to a peaceful life, to carry on with robbery was not acceptable.

The only way of integrate them into their new homeland was to give them land through temporary investment¹⁴¹. In autumn 1685 *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier gave a large part of land in *contado* of Zara and Sebenico to the new Morlach subjects from Lika and their *harambasas* Nakić (*Nachich*) and Peraica (*Peraiza*) although he doubted their intentions and had previously conducted long negotiations with them. He also ordered the distribution of food, but more important was the distribution of grain for planting so they could produce their own food. Even so, Valier kept his eye on them both despite the large number of Morlachs who they led to the Venetian territory and the contributions of these newcomers in the newly conquered areas of Dalmatian hinterland. By the end of the same year, which was actually the second year of the Morean War, Valier reported that the whole *contado* of Zara, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato, Poljice and Primorje (the region of Makarska) was populated, mostly with the newcomers and more importantly, the land was planted with grain¹⁴².

7. *Habitanti vecchi – habitanti nuovi*

It should not be ignored that from the beginning of the population of its *acquisto vecchio* and *acquisto nuovo*, the Venetian governors paid special attention to the delicate issue of matching the old and new inhabitants. Soon after the districts of Zara and Nona were secured from any possible Ottoman attack, in 1648 the villages of Malpaga, Bocagnazzo, Rasanze, Possidaria and Castel Venier, which were abandoned during the first years of the Candian War, began to be repopulated with new Morlach inhabitants. *Commessario* Marco Molin reported also that the old inhabitants were encouraged to return. The government also distributed some wood for rebuilding the houses. Special attention was given to bring old and new inhabitants into cohabitation and unifying them under a personality i.e. a leader respected by both who would organise them to

¹⁴¹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 112r.

¹⁴² DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book III, f. 4v, 19v.

defend themselves in the event of an Ottoman attack¹⁴³. This kind of policy was applied throughout the second half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century.

Nevertheless, the conflicts between old inhabitants and immigrants were often and the Venetian government needed to provide supervision especially in those parts of the territory where the distribution of land, even when temporary, caused disputes between the new and old subjects¹⁴⁴. Many of these conflicts were caused by giving the new subjects permission to work the land, which seemed abandoned although the previous owners had not actually renounced the rights of ownership¹⁴⁵. Soon after the end of the war, this situation had to be regulated through the cadastre. After the Candian War, *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran was ordered to be careful in distributing the land to the new subjects, respecting the property of the old subjects¹⁴⁶.

During the liberation of Zara's hinterland at the beginning of the Morean War, some very complicated situations occurred especially in the area around Vrana. Old inhabitants from Zaravecchia claimed back the rights to the land as well as the Morlach immigrants from the Candian War¹⁴⁷. The old inhabitants and immigrants from Candian War in the area of Zaravecchia had the intention to extend their pasturelands, which through centuries were restricted, deeper into the lower part of Ravni Kotari once the Venetian troops started to repel the Ottomans. Therefore *Provveditore Generale* Domenico Mocenigo ordered all of them who eventually had the intention to use the pasturelands or wood in surroundings of the village of Polazza Bercgliazza (Polača Brkljača) and Tign, which recently accepted

¹⁴³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 19: (...)”si è stimato riffar le Ville di malaga, Bocagnazzo, Rasanze, Possidari, Castel Venier et altre del territorio di Zara e Nona già abbandonate li anni decorsi e destrute rehabitandole con Morlachi nuovi abitanti per il qual effetto se li è contribuito qualche legname per riparar le case far parte alle ville facendo proclama per ritornarvi li vecchi abitanti per unirsi con nuovi perché di questa mianiera uniti sotto un loro capo con ogni piccolo soccorso di qualche barcha armata et di una campagna di cavalleria possino ong'uno di questi difendersi da una scoreria nemica “(...).

¹⁴⁴ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 16r.

¹⁴⁵ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 150r.

¹⁴⁶ ASV, *Inquisitori di stato, Dispacci dai Rettori di Nona 1623-1759*, busta 301, *Lettera da Zara, li 17 giugno 1675*.

¹⁴⁷ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 11.

the Venetian government, to stay away¹⁴⁸. As the battlefields moved away from Zara's hinterland in the 1690s, the state's policy towards the immigrants changed. The government started with the introduction of some measures for the future peaceful cohabitation and organisation of *contado*. In this way, the privileges given to the newcomers now changed as a temporary solution and in 1690 the payment of tithes was introduced¹⁴⁹. Nevertheless, the shortage of land or the bad definition of the borders between the pasturelands of two villages, would often cause conflicts between villagers even those newly established¹⁵⁰ as was in the case of Starigrad and Tribagn (Tribanj), who argued about very important pasturelands on the Velebit slopes in 1706 and this conflict was to be resolved through the final creation of the cadastre of *contado di Zara*. In order to stop disputes and conflicts between villages, he ordered the definition of the borders between them even before the final creation of cadastre¹⁵¹. It is interesting to see that similar conflicts amongst villages on the same territory were confronted in Lika and Krbava as well¹⁵². Nevertheless, these kinds of problems were only the beginning of the Venetian struggle to organise a new society in the newly conquered territories in Dalmatia with the new Morlach inhabitants under peaceful

¹⁴⁸ DAZ, *Generalni Providuri*, box 49, *Domenico Mocenigo*, f. 113r and 121r: "Si sono doluti humilimente avanti di Noi Capi di Tign, che sebene li stessi si sono ridotti a vivere sudditi del Principe che in tutte le occasioni sono pronti d'impiegare le sostanze et il sangue nel publico servitio ad ogni modo ardiocano alcuni de sudditi Vecchi abitanti di Zara Vecchia e specialmente Tomaso antichievich continuamente inferirli molestie et giature facendosi lecito di sturbarli il godimento di loro beni patrimoniali e finalmente di offendere nella vita i servi e pastori loro, come a punto e seguito sopra di che si ricerca la Giustitia per l'imploranti perciò d'oportuno compensati, a fine fra sudditi vi sia la pace desiderata, cometemo espresamente al sucitato Antichevich et ad ogni altro che occoresse in pena di ducati duecento aplicati alle Publiche fortificationi fondo, Galera et altre" (...).

¹⁴⁹ DESNICA, *Zagorska Dalmacija*, p. 590.

¹⁵⁰ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara*, Paolo Vituri, f. 9r: "Mandato a Tomaso Gotovina di Cosino di non ingerirsi nelle terre di Urbano Venci e Margherita Demoreron"; Atti del conte di Zara, Francesco Semitecolo, p. 47v: "Ordine a Nicolo Lilich e Mile Radislavich di non danneggiare con'animali i terreni del condatura della decimal di Gliuba."

¹⁵¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 68, No. 133: "Rapparti un ordine la terra per levar la confusione e stabilir ad ogni villa i suoi confini et i proprij pascoli. Manda in questo proposito il sentimento de periti in scritta." (...) "Riflette in oltre che ponesse stabilirsi di villaggio in villaggio l'investitione con esprimer i confini universali dal corpo intiero e li particolari prima il cattastico per toglier la confusione e l'incomodo di tante investiture."

¹⁵² ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 99.

conditions, when their military service was no longer a priority and the government needed to find a way to create preconditions and organise them as peaceful agricultural communities¹⁵³.

8. Population changes seen through cadastre

The creators of the cadastre had to collect information about families in order to know how many soldiers a family could provide. Cadastre documents also contained the number of inhabitants in each of the areas for which the distribution of land was carried out. During the cadastre creation *Provveditore Generale* Giustin Da Riva, in 1706, reported that in *contado di Zara*, or more precisely Bucovizza and the area of the River Zrmanja, there were 1,458 families or 8,984 people with 15,374 cattle (*animali grossi*) and 39,366 (*animali minuti*) sheep, pigs and goats¹⁵⁴. From the cadastre the state of each family awarded by a piece of land can be seen. Through analysing these data some general observations can be extracted.

An average family was entitled to a piece of land mentioned by its head, more often a man, but sometimes there were women, who were mentioned on the list of families as they would take the leading position in the family after their husbands had died. The list of the property owners follows alphabetical order according to the first name and then the family name, written the way that the clerks heard or interpreted so a certain variation in the transcription has to be taken into consideration. There was also the title of the property owner related to its position. The first on the list usually was the priest if he lived in the village, then the leader of the village, such as harambasa or judge or captain¹⁵⁵. The list of the cadastre would firstly contain the number of adult men able to carry a weapon i.e. serve in the army (*homini d'arma*), then there would be the number of boys, who were potential soldiers, and then women and girls. It can be observed that there were generally slightly more men than women and more girls than

¹⁵³ L. MARČIĆ, *Uzroci slabog ekonomsko-kulturnog*, p. 8; The author explains the difficulties met by the Venetian government at the beginning of the 18th century in adapting Morlach predominately military-shepherd societies into peaceful farmers.

¹⁵⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 90.

¹⁵⁵ About the description of the data included into the cadastre creation in 1709 see also SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Povijest mletačkog*, p. 181-182. The same order of the data can be found in the documents of the Nona cadastre from 1675. See DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, box 59.

boys¹⁵⁶. Although it would be necessary to compare the dates from the cadastre with the registry books to have a more precise picture of gender status within the demographic situation of the Zara's hinterland at the beginning of the 18th century, the data leads to the conclusion that hard work shortened a woman's life. She replaced the man's physical work in and around the house, work on the land (sometimes without any work animals) and housekeeping (cutting wood, carrying loads, even building), while men would be at war or in some similar service. This created very difficult living conditions for girls and women and their life expectancy was not long, especially when also taking into consideration the possible complications during pregnancy and giving birth¹⁵⁷.

Here are some extract from the cadastre of Ravni Kotari finished in 1709¹⁵⁸:

St. Filippo Giacomo e Torretta

Men capable for army service: 130; boys 85; women 111; girls 148; total: 471.

Zaravecchia¹⁵⁹

Men capable for army service: 171; boys 128; women 145; girls 179; total: 623.

Visozane

Men capable for army service: 32; boys 27; women 32; girls 31; total: 132.

Radovin

¹⁵⁶ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, Zara, 1709.

¹⁵⁷ ROKSANDIĆ, *Vojna Hrvatska*, p. 25; The author gives an interesting analysis of the demographic data and disbalance between the number of men and women on the Croatian Military Border during the second half of the 18th century, concluding that hard work and cover for missing men in the household, meant that a women's life was cut short, which could be seen in the census. He also refers to some travelogues of the time where the lives of women from Lika and Primorska Krajina (Coastal Borderland) were described as being very difficult. Similar descriptions can be found in A. FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, (Croatian translation *Put u Dalmaciju*), Slobodna Dalmacija, Split, 2004, p. 43-44, 52.

¹⁵⁸ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, box 64, Zara, 1709.

¹⁵⁹ JELIĆ, *Stanovništvo kopnenog dijela zadarskog područja 1608. i 1695.*, [Inhabitants of Zadar's hinterland 1608 and 1695], in *Zadarska revija*, 1975, p. 559; brought the number of the inhabitants of Filipjakov, Torretta and Zaravecchia according to the census conducted in 1695 during the time of Governor General Daniel Dolfin. By comparing this data with the data from the cadastre of 1709 it can be observed that the number of the inhabitants in these villages increased over 10 years, which were mostly peaceful.

Men capable for army service: 28; boys 24; women 25; girls 22; total: 99.

Slivniza

Men capable for army service: 126; boys 117; women 97; girls 120; total: 460.

Possidari

Men capable for army service: 49; boys 49; women 60; girls 58; total: 216.

Castle Islam

Men capable for army service: 83; boys 48; women 73; girls 64; total: 268.

Bigliani Superior

Men capable for army service: 106; boys 58; women 82; girls 49; total: 290.

Corlat

Men capable for army service: 66; boys 89; women 71; girls 62; total: 288.

Vegliane

Men capable for army service: 20; boys 5; women 16; girls 18; total: 59.

Cula Atlagichia

Men capable for army service: 86; boys 76; women 82; girls 70; total: 314.

Bencovaz

Men capable for army service: 69; boys 47; women 50; girls 68; total: 234.

Novegradi and St. Martin¹⁶⁰

Men capable for army service: 232; boys 179; women 203; girls 240; total: 854.

Each of the families which were awarded with a certain amount of land had to pay duties, this land was possible to be inherited down the male blood line, although there was no possibility to sell the land and all enlisted men had to be at the disposition to serve the Venetian army¹⁶¹. A woman could be listed as the owner of land only as a widow before her sons had grown up. Her relationship to her father or husband was very often obvious through the form of writing her family name in the genitive form such e.g. *Maddalena Umiglienovicheva* (Magdalena Umiljenovičeva) or *Margarita*

¹⁶⁰ The list of the new inhabitants to Novegradi who moved there in 1706 under the leadership (*bandiera*) of Captain Michiel Catalinich has been preserved in DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, box 6, Filza LVIIIa, f. 16/5. The transcription of the list is in addition to this thesis.

¹⁶¹ SLUKAN ALTIC, *Povijest mletačkog*, p. 182. There were some differences with the cadastre of Nona created in 1675 because there it was possible to transmit the title of the land to someone else than the person who the land was entitled to, and the new land tenant had six months in which they had to register the change in the cadastre. See ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 18790, Ms. 491, f. 5.

Sodichia adding the relationship with the man as: *sua consorte, sua suocera, vedova di...*¹⁶² With the accomplishment of the cadastre creation at the beginning of the 18th century the Morlach immigrants were finally officially integrated as a part of the Venetian Dalmatian society. Moreover, there were no nominal differences between the old and new inhabitants in the cadastre documents. They were all the same Venetian subjects, also with no reference to the name *Morlacco* or any other possible ethnic belonging or differences. These kind of differences, which were usually found next to the name of a person coming from the other side of the border in Dalmatia, gradually disappeared from the official Venetian documents by the end of the Morean War¹⁶³.

9. Confessional situation

During the Candian and Morean wars immigrations from the Ottoman territory significantly changed the confessional situation in Zara's hinterland. The number of the Orthodox believers multiplied. As they were settling in the mostly abandoned or scarcely-populated villages, there was a large possibility that the whole ethno-confessional micro-map of the region may have changed. Although the Republic of Venice had a large experience with dealing with the Orthodox subjects in their colonies in Morea and the Ionian Sea as well as the Orthodox community, mostly Greek in the city of Venice with their own Filadelfia Patriarch, and some small communities in Dalmatian cities mostly Zara, Sebenico and Lesina¹⁶⁴, they were not

¹⁶² Such examples can be found in many different documents. See DAZ, *Knjige Zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara*, Gerolamo Loredan, f. 8v-9r.

¹⁶³ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara*, Alessandro Diedo, 1646-1648, f. 120v; There is mentioned a case related to *Piero Tuchich Morlaco da Popovich*; See also f. 146v; *Atti del conte di Zara*, Antonio Alvise Marcello, 1653-1655, vol. II, f. 219r; *Atti del conte di Zara*, Girolamo Loredan, 1656-1657, p. 24r; *Atti del conte di Zara*, Antonio Zen, 1658-1660, p. 186r; *Atti del conte di Zara*, Ottoavio Labia, 1660-1662, f. 51r; *Atti del conte di Zara*, Antonio Loredan, 1668-1670, f. 149v, 238r: a case related to the Captain Lovrin Bosgnevich e fratelli Morlacchi abitanti a S.S. Filippo e Giacomo.

¹⁶⁴ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 373-374. About Orthodox communities in Dalmatia before 1645 see BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 22-31. The author also presents the results of *visitatio ad limina* carried out by the Zara's Archbishop Garzadoro in 1624-1625. The status of the Orthodox in the Venetian Dalmatia and Albania at the end of the 16th century was described by I. VITEZIĆ, *La prima vistia postridentina in Dalmazia (1579)*, PhD thesis, Università Gregoriana, 1955. According to the documents of this visit there was an Orthodox community of Greek stradiots in Zara, Sebenico and Lesina. A significant number of Orthodox believers was in the Bay of Cattaro and Buda. See also ASV,

benevolent towards the idea of having a rapidly increasing number of Orthodox subjects coming from the Ottoman Empire to their territories in Dalmatia. Beside this the religious confession was not such an important issue during the war when Venetian politics was aiming to attract as many Ottoman Morlachs as possible to move to their territory. Confessional tolerance was in accordance with the state's population policy and the Orthodox priests were used as negotiators in the Morlach immigration to the Venetian territory. It was only important that all Muslim, predominately slaves and freed slaves converted to Christianity¹⁶⁵.

There are some documents, mainly preserved in *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, which show the lively activity of some Catholic priests, mostly military chaplains, amongst the Orthodox immigrants from the Ottoman territory in Venetian Dalmatia. According to these documents they were working to convert Muslims as well as Orthodox to accept the Roman Catholic ritual¹⁶⁶. Nevertheless, the differences between Catholic and Orthodox became an issue for the Venetian government in Dalmatia after the end of the war. In this way Governor General Gerolamo Grimani in 1678 mentioned the problem of predominately Orthodox immigrants who settled in the villages of Radovin, Crno and Krčina and he had plan to send Catholic priests there who would bring them the Catholic ritual. Furthermore, his intention was to stop any immigration of Orthodox monks who could encourage these people in their Orthodox religion¹⁶⁷.

Consultori in iure, Filza 165, c. 60: (...) "pare che fin del 1600 l'archivescovo di Filadelfia qui residente, e presidente de Greci, dirigeva nello spirituale alcune chiese di rito Greco, che sono nella città littorali cioè di S. Elia di Zara, della B.a Vergine di Sebenico; di S.a Veneranda di Liesina e di S. Nicolò di Pola nell'Istria."

¹⁶⁵ BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 35-36.

¹⁶⁶ Some of the documents related to the activities of the military chaplain Bartolomeus from Verona during 1649 amongst Muslims and Orthodox were published in addition to BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 167-170. Some documents related to the activities of the Catholic missionaries amongst the Muslims and the Orthodox in Dalmatia from *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* were published also by JAČOV, *Le missioni cattoliche*, I, p. 4, 53, 174, 179, 187, 222-226, 229, 279-286; *Le missioni cattoliche*, II, p. 35, 37, 95, 102, 130-133; *Le missioni cattoliche tra le due guerre*, p. 182-183, 403, 415.

¹⁶⁷ BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 40, *Relatione o particolari contenuti nella Relatione fatta all'Ecc.mo Senato dell'Ecc.mo Kav. Gerolamo Grimani fu Prov. Generale in Dalmatia et Albania*, f. 83r: "Haver eseguito le Pubbliche commissioni suggerite dalla virtù dell'Ecc.mo Processore coll'invigilar che non s'introdussero calloggeri nei territorij della Prov.a prevenir li sudditi facendo anzi che a Radovin e Cerno ville nuove de Morlachi in buona parte composte di gente del rito vecchio restin deputati sacerdoti del rito Latino per assuefarli con l'esempio alla nuova credenza. Nelle predette due ville di Cerno e Radovin

Provveditore Generale Pietro Valier had his theory of the spread of Orthodoxy in Zara's hinterland. According to his opinion the main reason was that the Catholic priests showed a lack of interest in conducting their services amongst the newcomers, especially in the villages. Yet there were some Orthodox monks who gave spiritual support to those people, helping to increase the numbers of Orthodox believers in the villages as well as in the towns¹⁶⁸. Governor Valier showed concern about the spread of the Orthodox religion from the Ottoman territory. His worries were related to the fact that the priests who carried out services amongst the Venetian Orthodox subjects, being Ottoman subjects, could in a way infect them with the idea of passing to the Ottoman side. Moreover, he believed that the state should have more control over this issue. Nevertheless, his concerns were mostly based on the experience he gained in Bocche di Cattaro where the two churches were mixed to such an extent that for anyone who came from outside the differences between the two were indistinguishable¹⁶⁹.

Gaetano Cozzi gave some explanation about the status of the Greek Orthodox Church in Morea during the second half of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century under Venetian dominion. Non-tolerance towards Orthodox was not an issue there. The Latin and Greek rituals were considered as two expressions of one real Christian religion. Nevertheless, as with the Roman-Catholic Church, the Venetians preferred to have control over the institution of the church such as control over the ordaining of new priests and higher prelates. The major preoccupation of the Venetian government was that their Orthodox subjects were independent from the control of the Patriarch of Constantinople who was regarded as being closely related to the Ottoman government and therefore opposed to the Venetian government¹⁷⁰. *Provveditore Generale* Giustin Da Riva also realised the importance of having the old and new inhabitant's cohabitation because of the reason of religious confession in order that the old

come pur a Carcina esserli riuscito d'accrescer alquante famiglie richiamate alla devozione di S. Ser. dal paese turchesco ove s'erano gl'anni passati disperse."

¹⁶⁸ CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, p. 67.

¹⁶⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 77.

¹⁷⁰ COZZI, *La politica del diritto della Repubblica*, p. 159.

inhabitants, Catholics, would influence the ambiguous religious affiliation of the newcomers who most of the time were Orthodox¹⁷¹.

Here the state opinion met the objections of the Roman Catholic prelates who were in no way benevolent to sharing the territories of their bishopric with the immigrated Orthodox priests. From their reports to the Congregations in Rome it can be observed that the low priesthood was not seen as a threat to the authority of the Catholic bishops like the Orthodox bishops who under no condition would accept union with Rome. A less influential question was that of the church tithe collection, because this was income, which no church was likely to share¹⁷². Nevertheless, there was an attempt of the union of immigrated Orthodox Episcop Epifanije Stefanović with the Roman-Catholic Church which took place in 1648 thanks to the negotiation of the Franciscan Bertolomeus from Verona¹⁷³. As Dalmatian Metropolit Epifanije asked permission to move to the Venetian territory together with some Orthodox monks. They asked to be settled in the monastery of St. John, which was used by the Terciar Franciscans¹⁷⁴. Not all Orthodox religious structures in Dalmatia agreed with the union. According to the analyses made by Mile Bogović, the immigrated monks from Krka did not agree with Epifanije Stefanović. However, his follower Episcop Nikodim Busović also accepted a certain form of union with the Roman Catholic Church. He was inaugurated as Episcopus by the Venetian Patriarch Tipaldi in 1692 and in this way his direct subjection to any Catholic bishop in Dalmatia and a practice was avoided, which the Venetian government preferred. Nevertheless, Busović had his sit in Sebenico and numerous Orthodox priests in Dalmatia remained out of his jurisdiction although he enjoyed respect from a large number of Morlachs and was given the custody of the territories of the Venetian new acquisition in Dalmatian hinterland after the Morean War¹⁷⁵. His jurisdiction and action was very

¹⁷¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 400, No. 90: “Crede bene che tra Morlacchi di nuova deditone e d’ambigua fede vi sia sempre alcuno degli antichi sudditi e di conditione diversa anche osservi li loro ardamenti e disegni.”

¹⁷² JAČOV, *Le missioni cattoliche tra le due guerre*, p. 414-415.

¹⁷³ BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 32-36.

¹⁷⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 34; Copy of the letter sent by Cardinal Coggioni to Archbishop of Zara on 14th December 1648.

¹⁷⁵ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Filza 165, c. 60: (...) ”Il sudetto Mons. Nicodemo come desiderato e presentato assieme da detti Morlacchi e Popoli Pastrovich di nuova ubbidienza, fu consacrato vescovo da questo Mons. di Filadelfia col titolo di stratonicea vescovato in partibus, spettante all’antica giurisdizione del Metropolita Filadelfiense, secondo la

much dependent on the support of the *Provveditore Generale*. In this way he enjoyed great support from Alvise Mocenigo. As long he had support from Mocenigo, Busović faithfully served the Republic, providing information from the Ottoman and Habsburg territories necessary at the time of the border demarcation after the Morean War. At the same time he cut off relationships with the Peć Patriarch, which in an indirect way pleased the Catholic bishops in Dalmatia. Nevertheless, the policy towards his Unitarianism was completely changed during the governors Marin Zane and Justin Da Riva times. They were not so close with the Dalmatian Orthodox prelates who then turned back to look for the support from the Peć Patriarch. This deepened misunderstandings with the Catholic authorities in Dalmatia¹⁷⁶. This created very little possibility for the continuation of Greek-Catholic union in Venetian Dalmatia and the tensions between the Catholic bishops and Orthodox Episcops were increasing at the beginning of the 18th century¹⁷⁷, which brought the end of the union after Busović¹⁷⁸ and further problems between these two religious options in Venetian Dalmatia of the 18th century. In conclusion, the Orthodox Morlachs who immigrated during the wars of the 17th century together with their priest and monks were tolerated but no further Orthodox prelates coming from the Ottoman territories would be tolerated. They were rather seen as a potential cause of trouble and confusion with hidden intentions because they were coming from foreign territories¹⁷⁹.

gerarchia e cannoni de vescovati greci e della chiesa orientale; e fu per dichiarato essarco, visitatore cioè delle chiese greche della Dalmazia. Così vediamo che esso vescovo fu di poi colla pubblica permissione ricevuto da sudetti popoli e loro direttore e pastore.” Also BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 40-43.

¹⁷⁶ He enjoyed great support from *Provveditore Generale* Alvise Mocenigo who protected him from the Catholic and Orthodox priesthood who opposed the union. See BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 47-48, 155-158.

¹⁷⁷ ASV, *Senato dispacci, Provveditori da terra e mar*, Busta 399, No. 42; At the beginning of December 1703 *Provveditore Generale* Marin Zane ordered that no Orthodox monks (*calogeri*), no bishops (*vescovi greci*) sent to the province by the Peć Patriarch could be accepted without special permission: “Li sardari, capi delle Craine e li Calogeri e Vescovi che sono permanenti nel dominio con publico protetione stano attenti a loro passi.”

¹⁷⁸ BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 52-60.

¹⁷⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 399, No. 43; Marin Zane “Ha un l’uso delle sue diligenze sortito l’effetto di tener lontano da sudditi la mala qualità de calogeri stranieri ch’hanno molte volte inferito pregiudicio ai riguardi della religione et al publico servitio.”

The Ottoman system of millet allowed certain religious tolerance towards non-Muslims but the building new sacral buildings of Christian cult was not permitted, only the adaptations of the older ones. Therefore many churches, which were used by Catholics in pre-Ottoman times, with the prevalence of the Orthodox population in an area, turned into Orthodox churches. Most of the time they were refurbished and kept the main characteristics of the previous mainly gothic or Romanesque rural architecture, which were obviously, not a matter for dispute. They also kept the names of the patron saint of the churches, actually keeping the continuation of the Christian cult. Moreover, for Christian believers on the Ottoman side of the border, the differences of the two cults, Catholic and Orthodox, were not so important and even when they became Venetian subjects it could happen that a church building was used by Catholic and Orthodox believers and their priests¹⁸⁰. The analyses of the sources indicates that these major changes of turning a Catholic parish into an Orthodox one happened at the end of the Morean War and during the first half of the 18th century when the Orthodox Morlachs settled in the region of Zara's hinterland and when they had the possibility to restore their church organisation there. Probably one of the best preserved sources for the changes of the religious situation in Zara's hinterland is a map of the Nona Bishopric from 1692 preserved in *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*¹⁸¹. From the map it is obvious that at the end of the Morean War the territory of Nona had no purely Catholic village. Yet some villages can be noticed as being repopulated exclusively by Orthodox inhabitants such as Obrovazzo Superiore, Carino, Prasquich, Budin, Bigliane (Biljane), Cula Atlagich, Corlat, Benkovich, Colarina, Vuckovich, Lisane, Ceragne, Miragne, Giagodna, Cassich, Smilcich, Ravanscha, Polichnich (Polisani). Mentioned here are only the villages which still exist today. Returning to chapter II, this list can be compared with the list of the villages from the medieval, pre-Ottoman time when the majority of them existed, with exclusively Catholic populations. It can be concluded that by 1692 those villages were completely abandoned by the old inhabitants. Some other villages remained

¹⁸⁰ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog*, p. 141.

¹⁸¹ The map, of not very high quality resolution and therefore not of much use as far as an illustration, was published in the book of BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 4*-5*. I am able to present a copy of this map in addition to this work thanks to the kindness of Mrs. Mirela Slukan Altić who sent me a digital photography of the original map for my research.

with a majority of Catholic inhabitants such as Percos, Goriza, Rupagle, Sopot, Rastevich, Perusich, Polazza, Nadino, Starigrad, Giesenize, Crusevo, Obrovazzo Inferiore, Novegradi, Possedaria, Slivnizza, Castel Venier, Rasanze, Radovin, Visozzane, Dracevaz, Poliza, Zaton, Brevilacqua, Pontadura and Nona. Mirela Slukan Altić in her analysis of this map concludes that the highest ethno-confessional mixture of inhabitants was present in the areas of the most intensive Ottoman-Venetian conflicts, which was caused by the necessity of unifying for the sake of defence and resistance by the old and new inhabitants¹⁸². Nevertheless when this necessity disappeared, there was no need for toleration of the 'others' or the one of different religion and those people became actors in conflicts on the local level as a reflection of the misunderstanding and open conflicts between Roman-Catholic and Orthodox prelates.

Some comparative research shows how the older Catholic Church buildings in pre-Ottoman time were turned into Orthodox during the Ottoman government in Zara's hinterland but there were also examples of a Christian church becoming a Muslim shrine and later on Orthodox¹⁸³. The new village which was established during the Ottoman government, Kula Atlagića, encompassed the area of three medieval villages: Bojišta, (Boista), Opaće (Opache) and Tilčić or Tihlić (Tilchich)¹⁸⁴. The villages were Roman Catholic, and one of them was also an abbey as the name indicates (in Croatian: Opaće or Opatija). In the village of Tilchich was the parochial Church of St. Mathew, which later became the Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas. In the mean time there was a Muslim shrine.

The village of Bigliane was established in the place of the older village of Draganich. There was a church dedicated to St. George. In the

¹⁸² SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Bishopric of Nin in 1692 – Mapping the ethno-confessional changes, in Tolerance and Intolerance on Triplex Confinium*, Padova, 2007. In addition to this goes the statement of Governor General Daniele Dolfin whose opinion was that it was necessary to put the Morlachs of two different religious confession to live together in order to make them stronger in defence of their new homes from the Ottoman attacks. He was even willing to give to these new communities their own bishop who would reinforce their Christian religion. See more in G. NOVAK, *Morlaci (Vlasi)*, p. 598.

¹⁸³ Detailed description of turning medieval Catholic parishes into Orthodox after the Venetian-Ottoman wars of the 17th century can be found in BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, II, p. 373-398. The author mentioned the following villages which in the middle of the 18th century belonged to two Orthodox parishes, Miragne and Smokovic: Jagodgne superior, Lisane, Polazza, Pristeg, Ceragne, Vrana, Radosinovac, Kolarine, Rastevic; Zemonico, Grue, Brisevo, Percos, Goriza, Cerno and Polisani.

¹⁸⁴ BAČIĆ, *Osvrt na knjigu*, p. 218.

documents of the bishop of Nona's visit to his territory in 1710 it is mentioned that the church was Orthodox, who were the majority amongst the village's population although before the Candian War there was a majority Catholic population. The major change of the population in this village happened during the Morean War and at the very end of the 17th century¹⁸⁵.

In the village of Smocovich there was also an early medieval Romanesque church, but later there was established the Orthodox parish of St. George¹⁸⁶. This village was one of the first Orthodox parishes alongside Miragne and the Orthodox parish of St. Elijah in the city of Zara¹⁸⁷. In the village of Ervenic, there were two Catholic Romanesque churches, St. Michael and St. Nicholas. During the Morean War the ethno-confessional situation in the village changed to be predominately Orthodox who took over the church of St. Nicholas, while the Church of St. Michael remained Catholic¹⁸⁸.

At the beginning of the 18th century in Zara's hinterland there were 92 villages at a distance of one to six miles from each other. There were 39 purely Catholic villages and 17 were purely Orthodox, while 36 were mixed villages. There was in total 15,889 Catholic inhabitants and 8,541 Orthodox inhabitants¹⁸⁹. The majority of those villages were in the territory of the Bishopric of Nona and under the major jurisdiction of Nona's bishop who also had rights and duty to visit the churches of Catholic and Orthodox believers, overlapping with the rights of Orthodox episcops¹⁹⁰. In fact the bishop of Nona's visits to the Orthodox churches in his territory were made in the interwar period of 1670-1684 with the permission of the Venetian government¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁵ Idem, p. 242.

¹⁸⁶ Idem, p. 253-254.

¹⁸⁷ BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 18.

¹⁸⁸ BAČIĆ, *Osvrt na knjigu*, p. 292.

¹⁸⁹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 18; The author took this information from the documents preserved in the Serbian Academy of Science and Art, Tomić's heritage, XV, Statistic.

¹⁹⁰ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Filza 151, c.109: "Oltre la mano che vi presta il spirituale mentre quei popoli sono sogetti alla diocesi di Nona il di cui prelato visita e fa visitare le loro chiese e gli fa anco cole mezzo de suoi sacerdoti celebrare la santa messa".

¹⁹¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 385, No. 63: (...) "in proposito alla relatione del suo processore sue considerazioni alla introduzione di Parochi Latini nelle due Ville di Rito Greco. Delicato il punto delle coscienze. Vescovi faran frequenti visite".

At the end of this short overview about changes in the ethno-confessional situation of Zara's hinterland it is necessary to say something about the Muslim population who also lived in many parts of Dalmatia during early modern times. In Zara's hinterland due to many reasons they escaped before the major military actions in 1647¹⁹² as well as in 1683/84 – those who were wealthy – Ottoman frontier magnates and members of their families¹⁹³. However, more numerous were those who were killed or captured during the war and taken as slaves¹⁹⁴. There are not many traces in the sources, which would allow a conclusion that the Muslims would deliberately moved to the Venetian territory during the Candian and Morean war although some individual cases cannot be excluded. If that happened they obviously had to take the Christian religion – and be baptised¹⁹⁵. There is a large list of more than five hundred Ottoman Muslims, women and men, converted to Christianity during 1647-1655, the majority of them originated from Zara's hinterland and a smaller number around Clissa because these were the territories liberated by the Venetian army in this period¹⁹⁶. There is also a list of about one hundred people who were Christians who converted to Islam, but later, after becoming Venetian subjects they returned to Christianity¹⁹⁷. The baptising of Muslims was not just a Venetian case. It was a widespread habit due to the belief that only a Christian soul can be saved for the after life, and therefore a good Christian has to put all his

¹⁹² JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche*, p. 45. The author states that almost all the Muslim families abandoned the hinterlands of Zara, Sebenico, Traù and Spalato from February to July 1647. They escaped to Bosnia and Lika. With them were also some Christians - their servants.

¹⁹³ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 255; The wife of Durakbey took all the valuable property and moved from Vrana to Plavno in 1683, while the Krka Sandjak moved to Livno just before the start the major military operations in Dalmatia at the beginning of the Morean War.

¹⁹⁴ ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 128.

¹⁹⁵ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 72. The author gives the document which describes the case of Girolamo Grimani, harambassa who was *Turco*, but converted to Christianity and took the name of the Venetian governor general of the time (1654). ALAČEVIĆ, *La Guerra di Morea*, p. 42; gave another example from 1684, of a Ottoman Muslim called Bilaver who accepted Christianity with the whole of his family, taking the Christian name Mattio and thus promised to educate his children in the Christian religion. The Governor General entitled him to *un peso di biscotti* monthly for his faithful service to the Republic.

¹⁹⁶ JAČOV, *Le missioni catoliche*, I, p. 505-542.

¹⁹⁷ JAČOV, *Le missioni catoliche*, I, p. 542-544.

efforts into converting others to Christianity¹⁹⁸. This did not only happen to Muslims. According to the date of the Catholic missions in Dalmatia, there were also some Catholic priests who worked to convert Protestants amongst the Venetian mercenary troops, mostly of German and Swiss origin¹⁹⁹. Baptising was also well spread in the new Habsburg acquisitions in Lika and Krbava, led by the priest from Senj - Marko Mesić²⁰⁰.

It is interesting to note that a large number of converted Muslims who accepted Christianity were women. They would be married to some Venetian soldier or were given to serve some noble or wealthy lady from the city. If a servant proposed to marry, his master would usually give her some dowry such as in the case of Nicola Mustafich from Vrana who was, after being sold to master Gerolimo Borgo in Zara, was proposed to by a Venetian soldier - Marco da Risano. Master Borgo gave her 120 libras and some goods in the name of dowry, so she could start her new life and family²⁰¹. Not all Muslim girls taken as slaves were converted to Catholicism. Some of them were baptised in the Orthodox ritual such as Maria Dausovich, the daughter of Ahmet and Codira. She was taken as a slave by harambassa Milisa Mocivuna. She was baptised in the Orthodox Church of St. Elijah in Zara in 1677²⁰². Many of these girls were sent to Venice to the house of catechumens where they would serve in some religious order. Children would be also given as servants, while those seen to be more intelligent and skilful would be recommended to schools or convents²⁰³. One success story of the destiny of a Muslim woman/girl captured as a slave can be followed through the documents of Venetian provenance and are related to wife of the Morlach *serdar* Ilija Smiljanić. He personally captured her and after she was baptised in the presence of Lorenzo Dolfin as her godfather, she changed from Fatima to Catterina. Apparently she was from a wealthy Muslim family who offered money for

¹⁹⁸ More about the different perceptions of the change of confession or conversion of a Muslim by a Christian, seen from the Venetian point of view can be found in G. BENZONI, *Da Palazzo Ducale*, chapter *Il farsi Turco*, Saggi Marsilio, Venice, 1999, p. 45-85.

¹⁹⁹ JAČOV, *Le missioni cattoliche*, II, p. 420-421.

²⁰⁰ ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 92-93

²⁰¹ DAZ, *Javni bilježnici, Instrumentum 2, Zuane sorini nodaro publico, 1646-1647, 24 Ottobre 1647*. Similar example can be found in DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Giovanni Andrea Querini*, f. 163r.

²⁰² DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 189.

²⁰³ JAČOV, *Le missioni cattoliche*, I, p. 197-198.

her return but Smiljanić refused. After his death, Catterina as serdar Ilija's widow was awarded with 12 ducats a month and a certain amount of bread per month (not hardtack as was usual for ordinary widows) and soon she was married again to Milevoj Zubičević, *harambasa* from Šibenik, who was Orthodox, while her first husband Ilija Smiljanić was a Catholic Morlach. In this way she obviously accepted the Orthodox religion as well²⁰⁴.

The common attribute, which followed all these people who were Muslims but who had accepted Christianity, in any documents, was: *fu Turco*, *fu Turca fatta Cristiana*²⁰⁵. The examples in the documents of Venetian provenance are numerous and indicate that these people were actually never completely accepted or integrated into the Christian community. When referring to the attributes, which would usually follow the names of people indicating their origin, it has to be said that the religious confessions were very rarely noted. The usual attribute for someone who was from the other side of the border, i.e. Ottoman and was not Christian was *Turco* or *Turca*, although in the majority of the cases in Dalmatia, these people had almost nothing to do with Turkish ethnicity²⁰⁶. This was already noticed by Evlya Çelebi who when travelling through the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire met numerous Muslim people describing differences of their customs and languages as more similar to Slavic languages²⁰⁷. The Ottoman magnates of Lika and Krka Sandjak as well as their subjects were in fact very often in communication with the Venetian or Habsburg subjects on the other side of the border using the same language, sometimes very similar dialect and alphabet (Bosnian Cyrillic –

²⁰⁴ More details about Catterina Smiljanić see in T. MAYHEW, *Soldiers, Widows and Families: Social and Political Status of the Professional Warriors of the Venetian Republic (1645-1718)* in *Professions and social Identity, New European Historical Research on Work, Gender and Society*, ed. B. Waaldijk, Edizioni Plus, University of Pisa, 2006, p. 91-93; also DESNICA, *Nekoliko priloga proučavanju narodne pjesme, [Some additions to historical study of the folk song]*, in *Magazin Sjeverne Dalmacije*, Split, 1934, p. 8-11.

²⁰⁵ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara*, Francesco Semitecolo, I, f. 254: *Vertenza per annunci ducati 70 pretesi da Antonio Galiotovich, verso gli eredi del fu Antonio Bortolazzi dal quale venero lasciati a sua zia Margarita Turca fatta Christiana.*

²⁰⁶ P. PRETO, *I Turchi e la cultura veneziana del seicento*, in *Storia della cultura veneta, Il Seicento*, 4/II, Neri Pozza, Vicenza, 1984, p. 313; The author explains how for an average Venetian citizen the name *Turco* would cover a wide range of people of "oriental" origin, mostly related with the same Muslim religion, or it could simply mean "stranger". See also his observation in PRETO, *Venezia e i Turchi*, Firenze, 1975.

²⁰⁷ ÇELEBI, *Putopisi*, p. 134-135.

Bosančica)²⁰⁸. However, their difference in religious confession, status and subjugation to the Sultan was expressed through the name *Turks*.

As the examples presented here show the problem of the meetings of religions, in this case Muslim and Christian Catholic and Christian Orthodox even in such a relatively small territory such as Zara's hinterland, present very complex issues. The further problems which arose between the Catholic and Orthodox churches in Dalmatia during the 18th century demand comprehensive and interdisciplinary research. It is also necessary to bear in mind that this kind of topic still makes feelings run high amongst some Croatian and Serbian historians, which implies that the issue has not settled down for the necessary distance for historiography, by involving numerous recent and present problems between the two religious cults, Catholic and Orthodox, as well as two ethnicities, Croats and Serbs in Dalmatia. However, the demographic changes which happened in Dalmatia, especially in Zara's hinterland due to large migrations in the second half of the 17th century are crucial for the understanding of any later ethno-confessional problems. Observing the migrations from Bosnia and Herzegovina towards the Dalmatian coast as long term processes, it can be concluded that these immigrants provided a natural recovery in the demographic situation in the coastal communities damaged mainly by epidemics. The migratory flow was always present, although the immigrants, who came in small groups, were easily integrated into pre-existing social structures. These migratory processes were sped up with the long lasting wars between the Ottoman Empire, Venetian Republic and Habsburg Monarchy at the end of the 17th century. The newcomers who settled in Zara's hinterland outnumbered the existing old inhabitants, which brought a complete change in the ethnic and confessional structure as well as adding a significantly different cultural dimension regarding changes in language (prevalence of stokavian instead of previously chakavian dialect), costumes and customs. These changes are more obvious in the hinterland, but it has to be mentioned that the coastland as well as the islands were not completely excluded from these structural

²⁰⁸ DESNICA, *Kako su pisali dalmatinski begovi, [How wrote Dalmatian beys], in Stojan Janković i Uskočka Dalmacija*, p. 27-28. Some examples can be found in observations of Dragoman Salvago. He found that *Turchi* who lived on the border with Venetian Dalmatia were *ischiavonati* i.e. Slavinised, preferring to speak in Slavic rather than Turkish; see COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 33.

changes, so due to the larger numbers of preserved 'old' inhabitants here the newcomers did have societies to integrate with.

Chapter V

NEWCOMERS WITHIN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

During the wars against the Ottomans the city of Zara lost its environs, which was the source of its agricultural production. Numerous noble families, brotherhoods and monasteries lost their feudal manors in the hinterland, which meant they would redirect their interests towards expanding their estates onto the islands¹. Nevertheless, the community kept its way of life reduced to the thin line of available *contado* through forms of land lease such as *colonie* and *livelli* as much as war activities allowed. The long-term presence of the border very near to the city meant the prevalence of cattle herding rather than intensive land cultivation, trade on small scale including smuggling and the slave trade, robbery and corruption, which intensified during the long wars of the second half of the 17th century. During the truce, the lack of agricultural land in *contado* led the Republic into a specific relationship with the Ottoman Empire and the sharing of subjects who were new inhabitants on the Venetian territory but working the land of their 'old' masters on the Ottoman territory. Yet, from the same time documents provide numerous information about the very lively economic life in the city of Zara despite the war and this was mostly related to small city businesses and trade in which a significant number of people from *contado* and the Morlach newcomers² were also involved. The *acquisto nuovo* and increased number of inhabitants at the beginning of the

¹ Some feudal families from Zara expanded their property on the islands of Pasman, Uglian and Isola Longa (Dugi Otok), which was for the public use of the villagers there. These island communities usually asked arbitrage or protection from the Governor General as in the case of Giovanni Battista Soppe Fortezza who had more than one hundred gognali on the island of Pasman, but who then usurped the communal property of the villages of Dobrapogliana, Carcina and Neviane (Nevidane). DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Domenico Mocenigo, box 49, f. 109r.

² The information regarding this topic can be extracted from the books of the Count of Zara's office, DAZ, *Zadarski kenzovi*.

18th century demanded the reconstruction of the *contado* and reorganisation of the property through a cadastre, when the Venetian Senate had to bear in mind respect for the old feudal property alongside the distribution of the land to new village communities created from the newcomers, which then had enabled agricultural production and regular income from duties to the *camera fiscale di Zara*. Even so, the new Morlach societies lived on the edge of poverty, which can be seen from the numerous reports of the Venetian officers in Dalmatia who for the sake of re-population policies had to find a way to reverse the negative impacts as well as to integrate the new subjects into a peaceful regime of life in the province³.

1. Rural economy and organisation of land in *acquisto vecchio*

Agriculture had played a significant part in the economy in *contado di Zara* since medieval times and the Venetian government did not change the pre-existing agricultural system, nor did it introduce any restrictions⁴. The territory closer to the city was mostly covered with orchards for the cultivation of vegetables, fruits and olives, while grain was produced in the fields deeper in the continental part of *contado*. The local government stimulated the olive cultivation and vineyards⁵ together as well as mulberry trees for the production of silkworms, which was regulated by Zara's Statute⁶. The best quality land was around Vrana Lake and this was used for olive trees and vineyards, most of which were felled also during the Venetian-Ottoman wars⁷.

Agriculture production had its legal basis on rental relationships. The land in *acquisto vecchio* mostly belonged to noble families of Zara or

³ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, box 15-74.

⁴ PERIČIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju agrarnih odnosa u mletačkoj Dalmaciji*, [An addition to knowledge of agricultural relationships in Venetian Dalmatia], in *Radovi HAZU-Zd*, 34, 1992, p. 138.

⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 45. Antonio Civran in his report in 1632 underlined that the production of wine in the whole province was exceeding the local needs as well as that of olive oil.

⁶ *Zadarski statut*, p. 327, *Capitulum LXXXIII*: "Quod pastinator teneatur in circuit vineae quae sit ultra quattuor gognay plantare arbores olivarum et quattuor arbores mororum."

⁷ PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva*, p. 63, 77-78. The Venetian governor ordered the cutting of the olive trees in the areas around settlements because they provided shelter for the enemy during the war, while the Ottoman intruders were causing damage to local Venetian subjects by cutting the grapevines. When the threat of war diminished, the Republic stimulated the planting of olives trees because of the great need for olive oil. The vineyards were also replanted after the war.

Nona, monasteries or brotherhoods and it was split into parcels, which were leased out under differing conditions. The land was leased as *colonie* and *livelli*⁸. These kinds of relationships were legally based on an agreement concluded by a public notary or in the count's office and according to the norms written in Zara's Statute and custom law. Every agreement contained numerous varieties mostly related to the type of land, tenant's obligations and duties. Generally observing, *livel* was the lease of a piece of land for a certain amount of money⁹. Within this form of property lease relationship it was also possible to assign the land to some other legal subjects, or to inherit or sell it¹⁰. The land rented as *colonia* could have been worked by a labourer (*težak*) or *coloni* for payment in produce. It was usual that the labourer rented an already planted plot, most often a vineyard, while *colono* rented a piece of land where he and his family would plant produce agreed to with the owner¹¹. Numerous hamlets in *contado* were actually groups of *coloni* who built their houses on the land of their landlord (*coloni residenti*). Besides this, *colono* usually had an additional plot of his land, while a labourer did not have his own land. In practice one could have worked a land under the condition of *colono* and at the same time have some private land and additionally rented land as *livell* or under the condition of a labourer. *Colonie* were frequent on the land close to the city of Zara, while labourers would also work the land inland of the *contado*¹². In the case of the vineyard a labourer was obliged to inform his landlord three days in advance about the harvest collection¹³ and then give ¼ of the fruits (*dominicale*) to the landlord which he also needed to transport to the

⁸ More explanation about these kinds of land rents see in G. GIORGETTI, *Contadini e proprietari nell'Italia moderna. Rapporti di produzione e contratti agrari dal secolo XVI a oggi*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974, p. 138-199.

⁹ Cases of this kind of property rent can be found in DAZ, *Knjige Zadarskih knezova*, as in the book of Count Alessandro Diedo, f. 2v: "Adi 22 Zugno 1647; Istanza debito Zappich procuratore del g. Giacomo Alberti per alcune possessioni livellarie verso Mattia de Rado, sorella ed erede di Catterina Zupich", also f. 10v: "Adi 2 febbraio 1648. Possesso di azioni livellarie del Filippo Pincinich a Grue tolte da Sg. Anzoto Guerini."

¹⁰ DAZ, *Knjige Zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo*, f. 13r: "Adi 23 febbraio 1648. Azioni livellarie e terreni degli eredi di Girolamo Gliubavaz presi in possesso e tenuta dal Marcantonio Lantana."

¹¹ DAZ, *Knjige Zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Alessandro Bon*, f. 4v. Here is a case of the villagers of Dobropogliana on the island of Uglian who worked on the land of the nuns of the Convent of St. Nicholas in 1706. They had to wait for orders from the monastery regarding the sort of seeds they were about to plant.

¹² PERIČIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju*, p. 139.

¹³ *Zadarski statut*, p. 319, *Capitulum LXXIII*. PERIČIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju*, p. 138. The author presents a short overview of the feudal duties in different Dalmatian communities, which shows a variety related to particularities of their statutes.

landlord's house or storage¹⁴. The rest of the fruits belonged to the labourer. He was obliged to work the land as agreed in the contract with his landlord, otherwise he had to pay a penalty, but there were some circumstances in which the labourer would be excused from not working the rented vineyard. This would be in the case of sudden illness, death and military service. In the event of a bad season and a drop in the harvest the labourer was excused from delivering his obligatory part of his produce. This also applied when the county authority demanded him to take some other duties such as participate in public non-paid works¹⁵. One part of the labourers called *zappadori* (i.e. diggers) lived within the city walls (a part of city of Zara called *Varoš*) and they worked on the rented land, which was around the city walls¹⁶. Their numbers increased during the intensive Ottoman intrusions because many *coloni* who worked the land in the *contado* tried to find shelter within the city walls but also continued to work on the land when there was no direct enemy threat¹⁷.

Each family of *coloni* would work on a parcel of about 30 to 32 *gognals* (7-7.5 hectares) of land¹⁸. The land was worked in a specific system divided into two parts. One part was worked one year, while another was left fallow, and the following year they would swap. There was no manure used to increase the fertility of the land, but the land which was 'resting' was sometimes used as pastureland for cattle, which may have helped. In this way land cultivation was related to cattle breeding and farmers kept a certain number of animals as well as cultivating the land¹⁹. Oft-times *coloni* would start to collect the harvest without the landlord's knowledge and then later explain that the harvest was less than in reality in order to hand over less to the landlord. To avoid the possibility of fraud, they had to wait for the permit from their landlord. This pretence was quite frequent and the

¹⁴ *Zadarski statut*, p. 325, *Capitulum LXXXII*. This law was based on custom and was related to any land, which was rented for farming. Those who would ask different estimations of the duties risked being punished with a fine of 10 liras for every *gonjaj* of land rented. See also *Capitulum LXXXIV*. About obligatory transport of the produce see p. 318, *Capitulum LXXII*.

¹⁵ *Zadarski statut*, p. 315-316, *Capitulum LXVIII and LXIX*.

¹⁶ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 114-115. See also DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo*, p. 65v: "28 dicembre 1648. Istituzione data a Marin Roghich Zappador di dover levar ogni cosa che si attrova nella corte del Sig. Simon de Marchi nel termine del giorni tre."

¹⁷ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 359. See also RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 80-81.

¹⁸ DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, box 59, Catastico di Nona 1675.

¹⁹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 6.

count would have to intervene²⁰ issuing special orders when to start the collection of the fruits to prevent irregularities²¹. Besides this, *coloni* were, as the labourers, also given the order from the count's office to deliver one part of their produce, which was estimated as *dominicale* to the landlord's storage or another place if he would order differently²². The count also had to send orders to *coloni* of a certain manor to present their supervisor i.e. *gastaldo* (steward) in order to avoid any possible irregularities²³. The *gastaldo* had to supervise the collection and storage of the harvest as well as the division of the duties²⁴. Beside the obligatory part of harvest, *coloni* had the obligation of giving special gifts (*regalie et honoranze*) to the landlords as stated in their agreement, on special days such as Christmas, Carnival or Easter²⁵ but only in the case when they had their houses on the landlord's property, which was separately agreed in the contract, which was concluded by a public notary or the count's office. Beside this, a *colono* could sell his rights and abandon the land via agreement with the landlord²⁶. In case of any dispute in the relationship between a landlord and his *coloni*, the Count of Zara was in charge to judge according to Zara's Statute and custom law. The most frequent irregularities were related to the landlord's sudden changes of duties, when he demanded different delivery places for the

²⁰ DAZ, *Knjige Zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo*, f. 135r: "Noi Alessandro Diedo Conte di Gliuba ad istanza della S. Maddalena g. Francesco Fozza dottor, comando a tutti li Villici che devono le partioni dominicali alla detta S.a di quelle contribuirli ad chi capitara per suo nome alla Villa sotto la pena di lire cinquanta applicati alla Mag. Camera fiscale di Zara, et cosi eseguirà et cesserà esse giurie ventuali. Zara a 7 settembre 1648."

²¹ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Michele Vizmano*, f. 138r: "Mandato alli coloni di Giovanni Cassio di corrisponderli le dominicali."

²² DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo*, f. 131r: "Adi 29 agosto 1648. Ordine dato di dar intimazione ai coloni di S. Filippo e Giacomo di corrispondere la dominicale delle biade e dei terreni del M. Capitano Francesco de Marchi."

²³ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Michele Vizmano*, f. 129r: "Zara 4 giugno 1698. Mandato alli coloni di Giovanni Alberti di riconoscere il suo Gastaldo e di dipender di lui", also f. 130v: "Mandato alli coloni da figli del fu Giovanni Nassi di riconoscere il loro gastaldo", and f. 131v: "Mandato alli coloni di Sebastiano Ponte e Bartolomeo Ferrari di riconoscere il loro Gastaldo."

²⁴ ČORALIĆ, *Zemljišni posjed*, p. 51. Also DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Michiele Vizmano*, f. 140r: "Mandato alli coloni della famiglia Fanfogna e Bortolazzi di non mettere mano a raccolti senza de loro Gastaldi."

²⁵ PERIČIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju*, p. 153. See also ČORALIĆ, *Zemljišni posjed zadarskog plemstva od 1700 do 1720*, [The land property of Zadar nobility 1700-1720] in *Historijski zbornik*, XLIII (1), 1990, p. 51.

²⁶ *Zadarski statut*, p. 328, *Capitulum LXXXV*.

obligatory part of harvest or additional usage of land usually at the disadvantage of *coloni*²⁷.

The previously existing medieval *coloni* - landlord relationship and private property in *acquisto vecchio* was constant even during the wars of the 17th century, but with slight changes in the duties. The land was given in rent as previously described except *colono* was now obliged to give from 1/4 to 1/7 of their produce to the landlord. This was a consequence of war, which impeded agricultural production in the *contado* and it was difficult to continue the cultivation of land, which was also being destroyed by sudden enemy raids. Therefore the Venetian governors, understanding this situation, would excuse any charges in the rental agreement²⁸. With the progress of the Venetian army deeper into Zara's hinterland, the newcomers started to work the abandoned land there. The whole immigrant communities were temporarily given a property, listed under the name of their leaders, *captains, harambassas* and *serdars*²⁹. In 1660 *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Bernardo reported on the better living conditions of the countryside compared to those within the ramparts of Zara. The new inhabitants were providing for their living, cultivating the land as an addition to booty, which men brought from raids into Ottoman territory³⁰. *Provveditore Generale* Catterino Corner in 1667 reported that Morlachs lived on the fruits of the land, which they cultivated around the ramparts of the coastal cities and defended the territory from enemy attack. Thanks to them the countryside was not completely abandoned. If it so happened that the newcomers moved to the feudal properties, they paid duties to the landlords, but very irregularly and as they pleased, although most of the time they would rather ignore the owners of the land³¹. Moreover, the governor obliged the owners

²⁷ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Carlo Pisani, box 75, f. 86r. Here is an example of abuse of the position of landlord by Zuanne Gliubavaz towards his coloni in the villages of Rasanze and Radovin: "La loro dominicale dalle biade ridote sull'ora invece di corrisponderle ai fasci appena tagliate come al presente pretende introdurre il sudetto signore contro ogni raggion e giustitia con agravio intolerabile delle sudette due ville. Il secondo agravio nasce dal voler egli far pascolar li suoi animali esistenti a Visozane nei gai di Radovin prima del tempo ne quali la villa stessa fa pascolare i proprij da che se deriverebbe la rovina de pascoli e gravissimi dani ai villici sudetti et anco questa la pretende contro la consuetudine." Governor General Carlo Pisani responded to this with an obligation to landlord Gliubavaz to respect the old customs and agreements with his coloni.

²⁸ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 246-247.

²⁹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 12.

³⁰ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 144; The governor observed that the inhabitants of the city were almost penniless because of war and lack of any trade and goods. In addition there were also occasional outbreaks of the plague.

³¹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 259.

of private property to excuse all new *coloni* (immigrants to the feudal property which was abandoned by previous tenants during the war), from duties for the first two years, which were given to them as a period for the re-establishment of the settlements, according to the government's instructions, and reuse of the agricultural land. After this they were obliged to pay 1/8 during the third and fourth year of rent, and 1/7 during the fifth and sixth year, 1/6 during the seventh and eighth year and all other years 1/5 of the collected harvest. If the newcomers would take previously cultivated land they would not have a period of exclusion from duties but they were less than the old inhabitants had to pay. In the first two years the newcomers on the already cultivated land had to give 1/8 of the harvest as duty, while in the third and fourth years this would be 1/7 and 1/5 of the fruits the following years. In this way the Venetian government intended to revitalise the agricultural production on *colonie*, which were abandoned during war in the coastal communities from Zaravecchia to Gliuba and Rasanze³².

Even so, the obligatory 1/4 of all fruits did not change for the smaller number of the old *coloni* ('old' inhabitants) who continued to work the land of their landlords on *acquisto vecchio* even during the war. This kind of property-agricultural relationship was mostly in use in the nearest surroundings of the city of Zara, the coastal part of *contado* and the islands. The owners of the land were noble families of Zara, plebeians, churches or monasteries³³ and some other institutions such as Monti di Pietà or brotherhoods. Some old *coloni* from the islands tried to abandon their landlords and take rent on parcels in the new conquered territory in *contado*, but after the protests of landlords, the governor forbid this kind of behaviour and forced the old inhabitants to stay within their *colonie* or lose the possibility of working any land, which actually meant taking away their livelihoods³⁴.

³² RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 372-374. See also PERIČIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju*, p. 145.

³³ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 15258, Ms. 307, *Documenti spettanti alla sotria di zara, fra cui un frammento di registro di lettere di Giovanni Sanudo conte di Zara*; f. 153-156. In the folder are numerous transcriptions of the documents relating to Zara and its territory. Besides this there are also documents relating to a process which the nuns of the Convent of St. Nicholas conducted to prove their ownership of some land known as *Cugnacovo Blato* in the area of Bocagnazzo, which was on the border between the territory of district of Zara and Nona. This land was worked by coloni as can be seen from the documents even during the Candian War despite the fact that it was very often the target of Ottoman intrusions.

³⁴ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 376.

Soon after the end of the Candian War but before the final border demarcation in 1671, Governor General Antonio Barbaro started with the distribution of large abandoned feudal properties, which before were in the hands of the Ottoman magnates³⁵. The principle was that all the properties, which had known pre-Ottoman owners, would be given back to their heirs, such in the case of the castle of Zemonico and 1,000 *campi padovani* of land, which used to be the feudal property of Venier noble family. This estate was given to brothers Lorenzo and Nadal Donadi, who were the Venier's legal heirs. But after the establishment of the border in summer 1671 Durakbey occupied this territory again³⁶ and the Donadi brothers were left without land in Zemonico. During the creation of the Nona cadastre in 1675, the land was reorganised amongst the new and old, remaining inhabitants with the respect to the feudal private estates³⁷. In fact the principle, which the governor general at the time was following, was that all cultivated land had to remain with the old owners, while uncultivated land became public or community property which they distributed to the new inhabitants³⁸. The land of *raggione pubblico* was divided according to the number of chiefs (*capi*) of the villages. The chiefs then further distributed the land to each of the families (heads of families), with the respect of the titles of land, which they had received during the war³⁹ when and where this was possible taking into consideration the loss of the territory conquered in *contado* after the establishment of *linea Nani*⁴⁰. All of them living and working on the public land had to pay *terratico* to the chamber of Zara⁴¹.

³⁵ PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, Milano, p. 210-211.

³⁶ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 150.

³⁷ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 18790, ms. 491, f. 2r: "Catastico de Beni del Territorio di Nona formato d'ordine dell'Ill.mo et Ecc.mo Sig. Pietro Civran Prov. Generale in Dalmatia, et Albania l'anno 1675 contenute con distintione et in corrispondenza al Disegno fatto dalli Ss.ri Stefano Bocaut condotto e magg.r Napolion così li beni che a particolari persone sono per raggione d'acquisto e giusto titolo dovute, come quelli di raggion Publica goduti da diversi per condesion antica, e quelli che da Sua Ecc.za sono stati dispensati."

³⁸ In June 1674 the vineyards and pasturelands around Possedaria were distributed according to this principle: all the vineyards were confirmed as property of the old landlords, while non-cultivated land became communal pasturelands. See DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 167.

³⁹ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 18790, ms. 491, f. 5: (...) "in primo capo di far rilevar in Disegno e misura la Piazza intera del territorio stesso poi dividendolo in Capi sotto le sue ville distribuir a particolari che furono invitati a presentar li titoli e raggioni con le precedenti diligentissime perticationi e misure, la quantità de terreni a cadauno spettante formandosi una distinta accurate segregazione delle qualità de beni e Campagne del territorio medesimo che si è stabilita come qui segue."

⁴⁰ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 167; According to this principle, 44 families, who lived in the village of Budin, close to Possedaria were given 600 gognali of land, and 70

Since there was not enough public land for all the new Morlach communities in the territory of Nona they were also settled on private land where they lived and worked as the *coloni* of noble families such as those around Possedaria (the land of Count Possedaria) and Grue (the land of the Zara noble family Fafogna)⁴². In order to attract as many new inhabitants as possible to stay in the town of Nona and its nearest surroundings, *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran gave some beneficial conditions to all of those who kept cultivating the land, which belonged to the community of Nona. They were obliged to pay only 2 lire to the *camera fiscale di Zara* (*terratico*) and had a three year period in which they had to build their houses there in addition to the constant cultivation of the land⁴³. Despite their own efforts and the government's stimulation, it was very difficult to keep the continuity of cultivation of land there⁴⁴. Furthermore, in 1679 the noblemen of Zara had a very contrary proposal to withdraw the land from anyone who did not keep the cultivation within the territory of Nona⁴⁵. With the beginning of the Morean War the *coloni* again tempted to ignore their duties to their landlords. Since this territory was not directly endangered by military actions, there was no real excuse for such actions and *Provveditore Generale* Domenico Mocenigo had to remind the *coloni* of some villages within the territory of Nona to fulfil their duties as well as keep cultivating

families, who were in the same village but closer to Novegradi were given 1,200 gognali. 36 migrant families from Ervenich in Bucovizza who stayed on the very border with the Ottoman castle of Islam were given 600 gognali.

⁴¹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 50.

⁴² GRGIĆ, *Prva agrarna operacija*, p. 23.

⁴³ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 18790, ms. 491, *Cattastico de beni di Nona*, f. 5: "Che li possessori dei raggioni pubblici oltre la corrisponsione annuale in questa Camera di Zara di lire 2 per sorte di terreno adempir l'obbligo di haver habitatione a Nona mentre le concessioni tengono per fine la popolazione di quell anche per formarla e stabilirla ed in quella ridursi ad habitare habbino tempo anni tre li quali spirati senza che sia tal condizione da loro admeppita decadano dal possesso de beni medessimi quali si divolvano alla prima loro natura nel Commune di Nona. Che quelli che intenderanno esser investiti ne terreni sopra espressi paghino la corrisponsione sudetta in Publica et habin l'obbligo di formar entro li tre anni la loro habitatione in quella città altrimenti decadano dal beneficio et le terre come sopra divolvano."

⁴⁴ DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 5, f. 41r, *Copia tratta dal Libro Privileggi della Mag. Com.à di Nona dal Libro di Registro delle Pubbliche terminazioni sotto l' Ill.mo et Ecc.mo S. Pietro Civran*; as well as p. 62r, *Zuane Foscarini, Conte di Nona, 27 Maggio 1675, delle dispense de beni di questo territorio e con i privilegi che confermano*; also PERIĆIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju*, p. 145-146.

⁴⁵ PERIĆIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju*, p. 146. Regarding the feudal families in the territory of Nona see DAZ, *Katastri Dalmacije XVII i XVIII st.*, box 59, *Cattastico di Nona 1675*. The list of feudal landlords contains famili names: Bortolazzi, Perugini, Cernizza, Soppe, Nassi, Lantana, Ventura, Cassio, Vissich, Bonoli, Sope-Fortezza, Ponte, Guerini, Cedolini, Sbizza.

the land. The judges and captains of villages were in charge to keep control of the fulfilment of feudal duties of the villagers, while the *gastaldo* was in charge to supervise the work on land, the collection of the harvest and the delivery of the obligatory part to landlord⁴⁶.

Venetian subjects, Ottoman serfs

The lack of the land, especially that of good quality, on the Venetian side of the border, forced the inhabitants of Zara's hinterland into dual-subjection, this occurred frequently after the border demarcation in 1576. A large number of Venetian subjects kept working their land, which now belonged to the Ottoman magnates⁴⁷. This was the case of most of the inhabitants from the area of Zaravecchia because they traditionally worked on the land around Vrana Lake and did not have much land left on the Venetian side of the border. The landlord-tenant relationship was also based on an agreement legally confirmed by a public notary in Zara. The duties, which the Venetian subjects who worked for Ottoman landlords had to pay, were one tenth of all fruits and one fifth or a tenth part of their grain or wine. They also had to pay *erbatico* for using the pasturelands, which was to be given as money⁴⁸. To be more precise, those who worked for Durakbey's family around Vrana had to give one tenth of their grain, beans and other produce, and a fifth of their grapes, plus a coat (*kabanica*) made of fine wool⁴⁹. The Venetian governors were not very happy with this situation because the numerous disputes between Ottoman landlords and Venetian peasants were often subject of diplomatic issues with the Ottoman

⁴⁶ DAZ, *Generalni porviduri*, Domenico Mocenigo, box 49, f. 134r. Here is an example of the governor's order to the villagers of Zaton to keep the feudal obligations with their landlords the family Soppe Fortezza: "E giusto e ragionevole che li Padroni delle terre sijno da loro coloni riconosciuti per tali et corrisposte ad essi le dovute regalie, et honoranze ad istanza per delli Heredi del gm. S.r Battista Soppe Fortezza il Vecchio con Giudice di Zaton perché cometter debba a cadauno Colono che lavora terre di tal ragione, et tengono cause sopra loro fondi con gli horti perché in conformità del partitio in publico instrumento corrispondere debbano alli stessi non solo li dominicali delle terre che di Carnevali et altri tempi le dovute regalie et honoranze, è ciò a Pietro Paulovich loro Gastaldo in pena di decader non solo della coltura delle terre et dale habitationi che tengono che d'esser con li più sicure vie astretti alle corrisponsioni sudette..."

⁴⁷ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 410-411.

⁴⁸ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERICIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 374.

⁴⁹ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 411; ČORALIĆ, *Biograd*, p. 396; also R. JELIĆ, *Tri priloga o stanovništvu Biogradskog primorja*, [Three contributions about the inhabitants of the Biograd coastland], in *Zadarska revija*, (3), 1987, p. 217.

representatives in Zara⁵⁰. Especially difficult was one situation after the Candian War when a large number of Morlachs who were Venetian subjects occupied the land, which after the establishment of the *linea Nani* they had to leave since it became Ottoman territory. These new Venetian subjects moved to live on the Venetian territory but there was not enough land for their survival. Thus they turned back to continue to work the land they started to cultivate before the establishment of the border in 1671 although the Venetian Governor General Antonio Barbaro and Zorzi Morosini put considerable efforts into preventing this⁵¹. The situation was diplomatically resolved in a way that Morlachs were allowed to collect the harvest and give *decime* and *dominicale* to the Ottoman landlords via an *emin* in Zara⁵². This situation was not unique. Large numbers of people in the Dalmatian hinterland were practically constrained to working the Ottoman land or die of hunger⁵³. The newcomers more often than not, alongside working on the piece of land at which they were entitled on the Venetian territory, also took work on the land of the Ottoman side. Very frequently they worked for the same masters they abandoned during the Candian War⁵⁴. There was also another reason. The obligations which they had to the Ottoman landlords were less and more convenient than on the Venetian *acquisto vecchio*. Moreover, these conditions attracted some old inhabitants to abandon the land of the Venetian landlords and work on the Ottoman side. After the

⁵⁰ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, box 7, Filza LXVII, *Terre lavorate da sudditi Veneti sul territorio Ottomano e pagamento di terreni, erbatico, dominicali ecc*; see also STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog*, p. 8-9.

⁵¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Antonio Barbaro, Busta 381, No. 59; Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 88: (...) “in tanto si vede costretto a passar a Zara per la principali urgenze che lo chiama e l’impedir a Morlachi che non si ingerischino nella semenzazione vicine de grani nei tenuti de turchi. Poi per ridurli nei recinti di Gliuba.”

⁵² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 74: “Nuovi emergenti a Zara et a Spalato a cause de Morlacchi. Vogliono impadronirsi e raccogliere il seminato di la dalla linea. La peruria sin a questa hora sofferta tanto più li eccita come il veder poco abitato il Paese da Turchi.” and No. 76: “A Morlacchi restera il raccolto con l’obbligo di contribuir la decima e portion dominicale a Turchi.” See also Girolamo Grimani, Busta 384, No. 4 and 8; as well as Giann Battista Nani, Busta 694, No. 1, *Lettera di Mahmut Bassa a S. Gian Battista Nani*: “... e questo è il dovere che quelli luoghi che sono dentro i confini delli Musulmani, e che la entrata di essi e raccolta si appartiene all’Errario del Potentissimo Imperatore.”

⁵³ ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 95. The same situation happened all along the Ottoman and Habsburg border in Lika and Krbava. As the author notes, it was more frequent by the Orthodox Vlach population rather than Catholic Bunjevci in these counties.

⁵⁴ TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 411. The largest properties alongside the border belonged to the Durakbey family although there were also some *has* i.e. the land considered to be belonging to the Sultan.

landlords protested to the Venetian governor, it was finally forbidden for old *coloni* to leave their rented land⁵⁵. The dual subjection of the Morlachs who worked in Zemonico on the land of Durakbey came to a political crisis between the Ottoman and Venetian sides. When in 1682 Durakbey wanted to break the agreement with the Venetian Morlachs and to settle his own Ottoman subjects there - Morlachs killed him in a rebellion provoked by his violent behaviour. This was exactly the situation that the Venetian governors in Dalmatia were afraid of, wary of the tensions between their Morlachs and local Ottoman magnates.

After the Morean War and the establishment of *linea Grimani*, it was considered that enough land was gained for agricultural production especially in Zara's hinterland and therefore the government forbade any of their subjects to trespass over the state border and work on the Ottoman land or use the pasturelands there. The passage over the border was allowed only for transport or trade with the appropriate passport. But now, the area of Knin was becoming problematic, since the border there was near to the town, leaving the best quality land on the Ottoman side⁵⁶.

2. Transhumance across the borders

The combination of land cultivation and livestock breeding was traditionally the best way of survival for the majority of the inhabitants in Venetian Dalmatia⁵⁷. The owners of the herds were also numerous Zara wealthy citizens such as Guerino Guerini or the Civaelli family who would lease their livestock and collect duties as meat, wool and milk products, depending on the agreement as well as the regulations written in Zara's Statute⁵⁸. Shepherds usually had ½ of all the incomes from a flock⁵⁹. Yet, it

⁵⁵ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 375.

⁵⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacchi, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 402; No. 2, Order by Carlo Pisani, issued in May 1711: "Manda la proclama universalmente pubblicata con corispodenza di bene ai sudditi di non uscire dalli confini o a coltivar terra o depascer animali. Figlette che un capo di tal natura non poteva esser incluso nel divieto. Viene furesto a communi sudditi gl'transito et il commercio. Ha creduto bene di comandar al rappresetante di Knin che prescriva che non si passi per alcun motivo il confine. Ordinato pure al Kavalier Sinobad Sopraintendente di Morlacchi di qual parte a star attento perché ad alcun congionto degli estinti non s'uscisse a verun traspasso per la valadetta."

⁵⁷ Dalmatia was not the only Venetian province with such a pasturing regime; see PANCIERA, *La transumanza nella pianura veneta (sec. XIII-XVIII)*, in *Le migrazioni in Europa Secc. XIII-XVIII*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1994, p. 371-382.

⁵⁸ *Zadarski statut*, p. 318-322, *Capitulum*, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXVIII.

⁵⁹ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 379-380.

was not possible to keep large numbers of cattle near the Dalmatian coastland towns without taking them to the high pasturelands of the mountains in the hinterland, when the summers dried the lower pasturelands. In this way livestock breeding through seasonal migrations had a very important role in the rural economy. This was a thousand year old tradition and created a specific zone of winter and summer pasturelands across any state borders in the Zara hinterland. The herdsmen from *contado di Zara* in the summer took their flocks to the slopes of Velebit (Morlacca), while the herdsmen from the Ottoman territory would use the pasturelands in Bucovizza and Kotari during the winter period⁶⁰. The Venetian-Ottoman conflicts almost completely stopped this. Moreover, during times of war cattle were significant booty⁶¹. Soon after the end of the Candian War herdsmen began once again to take their livestock to the Velebit slopes, which caused some confusion before the final definition of the border because it was not easy to distinguish them from emigrants or groups of bandits. Therefore, *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Barbaro forbade Venetian subjects from taking their livestock to the pasturelands in Lika⁶². Nevertheless, the insufficient food provisions distributed by the Venetian government and the impossibility to use a sufficient quantity of land available on the Venetian side of the border, forced newcomers into desperate measures, by crossing the border, risking the loss of their goods and even their lives. Whoever was found walking towards the Ottoman territories with livestock, would have their animals confiscated and risked being prosecuted as bandits⁶³.

After the official establishment of *linea Nani*, the relationship between the Ottoman and Venetian governments was regulated regarding the seasonal migrations of the herdsmen from the both sides of the border. The Venetian herdsmen were paying *erbatico* duty for using the Ottoman

⁶⁰ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, Filza LVIII, No. 5, f. 2r.

⁶¹ See some examples in JACOV, *Le guerre Veneto-turche*, p. 29.

⁶² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Antonio Barbaro, Busta 381, No. 35. See also, Giann Battista Nani, Busta 694, No. 31. Also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 168; In 1640 Governor General Giovanni Battista Grimani wrote about the confusion caused by transhumance in Dalmatia. During the winter the Ottoman subjects would pass the border to the Venetian territory with their livestock, while the Venetian subjects would use pasturelands on the Ottoman side of the border during the summer, which was difficult to control by both governments, not being able to distinguish the groups.

⁶³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 15, No. 27, and No. 46: "Continuava qualche trasgresso nei pascoli, puniva però i delinquenti col taglio di qualche numero d'animali."

pasturelands and this money was collected by the Venetian officers and delivered to the Ottoman *deftedar* or *emin* in Zara⁶⁴. Those who needed to pass the border because of trade or pasturelands were issued permission. In this way they would not be suspected of having any relationship with *malviventi*⁶⁵. Trespasses over the border were not only related to transhumance, which was a traditional activity difficult to fit into the changes of the border administration. Anyone who passed the border without special permission could be accused of plotting a robbery⁶⁶. Even with the permission, herdsmen would sometimes be victims of livestock thievery in the pasturelands of Velebit, which was Ottoman territory⁶⁷. The conflicts between the Venetian herdsmen and the Ottoman subjects on the Velebit slopes were very frequent from 1671-1684⁶⁸. There were many Ottoman magnates who demanded payment from the Venetian subjects for the use of their pasturelands. These were typical examples of extortion, which were possible due to the low control on the border of the periphery of the Ottoman Empire⁶⁹. Therefore, Zara Captain Roberto Papafava ordered the villagers of Castel Venier, Rasanze, Radovin, Gliuba and Starigrado to keep their animals close to their villages, so they could be protected from any ensuing Ottoman attack⁷⁰.

After the Morean War the border was strictly controlled on the Ottoman side and no herdsmen were allowed to cross the border or use the pasturelands on the Ottoman territory. Even so the new Venetian subjects continued to use the pasturelands there, but not those from *contado di Zara*, since they were oriented towards the slopes of Morlacca and the border with

⁶⁴ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, box 6, Filza LVIIIa, f.5r. *In oggetto di diritto di pascolo nella montagna del confine lungo della linea della morlacca*. See also TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 411.

⁶⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 41. See also STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 10.

⁶⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Civran, Busta 383, No. 30.

⁶⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Valier, Busta 385, No. 58.

⁶⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Girolamo Grimani, Busta 384, No. 47.

⁶⁹ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog*, p. 12. See also BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No.40, Girolamo Grimani, f. 88v: (...) “un certo Turco da Scopie che si faceva Zain, o Barone investito oltre diversi altri luoghi anco della Montagna medesima e mostrava Patenti del Gran signore ch’essendo andato al campo non si è più udito nuovo di lui se ben quando anco egli o li suoi parenti rinovassero la pretesa che somministra gran comodo da vostri sudditi di Rasanze e Castel Venier, che sono numerosi e per altro molto ristretti” (...).

⁷⁰ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, Filza LVIII, No. 6, p. 2: (...) “star tutti pronti con l’armi per accorere ove bisognasse a difesa de proprij animali in occorenze che li Turchi voltassero a questa parte, che perciò doveranno far ritirare gl’animali in luoghi più sicuri; e sotto buona custodia; a divertimento de Danni che potessero esser inferiti a confini” (...).

the Ottomans was now pushed further towards Bosnia, and the territory of Knin⁷¹. There the reports of trespasses were frequent because Morlach herdsmen communities did not respect the state borders⁷². Moreover, this resulted in a cunning way of life for some Morlachs. They would divide their large families into two groups, one living on the Venetian side and another on the Ottoman side of the border, transferring their common livestock across the border for seasonal pasturing⁷³. Transhumance to the Ottoman territory was gradually restricted and finally forbidden after the establishment of the *linea Grimani* at the beginning of the 18th century⁷⁴. There was also more regulation on the transhumant activities between the Venetian and Habsburg subjects, regarding pasturelands on the south slopes of Velebit and Lika. This regulation was based on the principle of equal usage of the pasturelands as well as being beneficial to both sides as expressed by the Governor General Marin Zane in 1704⁷⁵. The final legal definition of transhumance and the relationship between the Habsburg and Venetian sides was regulated by the Novegradi convention concluded in 1776⁷⁶.

3. New societies and land distribution in *acquisto nuovo*

During the Morean War the governors in Dalmatia again had to act promptly in giving the Morlach immigrants the rights to use abandoned land in order to survive in their new country. The immigrants from the Ottoman territory usually moved in large groups together with their livestock. Those numbers were always around hundred, including thousands of small domestic animals and cattle⁷⁷. This was their food supply in the new territory, which could not be cultivated immediately. Therefore, with the permission of the governor general they occupied a large part of abandoned land for livestock breeding⁷⁸. This kind of temporary land distribution was

⁷¹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva, I, f. 1r-6v.

⁷² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 89: "Adduce il motivo del quale sono derivate le nuove proteste del primo visir avvisate dal Bailo intorno le pasture che godno li Morlacchi sudditi dentro le tenute Ottomane."

⁷³ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 10.

⁷⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 6, 24 and 31; Carlo Pisani, Busta 402, No. 2.

⁷⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 66.

⁷⁶ PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva*, p. 81.

⁷⁷ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, p. 54r: (...) "abbiamo condotto ne Territorij di Traù 500 uomini d'arme con le loro famiglie, 3 mila animalini minuti e 10 mila bovini."

⁷⁸ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, f. 47r.

not always without obstacles. The main problem occurred in the Vrana district soon after the Ottomans abandoned this area in 1684. According to Governor General Domenico Mocenigo's order the land was temporary distributed to the Morlach refugees but soon after this some old inhabitants from Zaravecchia started to claim their rights to the same land around Vrana Lake. This delicate situation was successfully resolved with the help of *governor* Simon Bortolazzi and *serdar* Stojan Janković Mitrović who divided the territory placing the border marks and organising the new and old inhabitants land use taking into consideration the number of people and quality of land. Leaders of the old and new inhabitants were given precise instructions in order to sort out any possible further disputes without involving central administration⁷⁹. Learning from this situation, *Provveditore Generale* Domenico Mocenigo acted more carefully when distributing new land around Novegradi and Obbrovazzo, which was temporarily divided between the old and new inhabitants. After the liberation of the considerable surrounding of the castle of Novegradi, its inhabitants wanted to extend their properties as they used to be before the Ottoman's appearance (*distretto di Novegradi*), but they were confronted with similar interests of the immigrants settled in and around the castles of Obbrovazzo and Carino. In this case Mocenigo was more concerned about organising the public use of woods, mills and pasturelands in the way that all three communities were contented⁸⁰. As Venetian troops were progressing in taking territory from the Ottomans, the governors proceeded

⁷⁹DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Domenico Mocenigo, box 49, f. 88r-89r; *L'iscrizione delle terre tra gli abitanti vecchi e nuovi di Zaravecchia a Vrana*: (...) "et avuto riflesso alla quantità della genti alla qualità de terreni, et al bisogno d'ogni uno assegnando così alli uni come alli altri una competente parte, stabilirà dichiaratamente fra loro notabile meta e confine, con precisa commissione in meo nome, che non sia chi ardisca alterarla o perturbare sotto le più vene rigorose pene che in ogni caso di disutedinenza saranno da me esercitate intedendo che questa opera decida assolutamente ogni loro differenza, e che contenti della presente dispositione riuniti nel amore e promiscua buona inteligenza garegino solo in comprobar nel servitio di S.S. la fede e la divotione che professano e per cui persono precisamente prometttersi d'esser ben tenuti et accarezzati. Separati di tal maniera potranno così i vecchi come i nuovi abitanti predetti esser nelle adiacenze assegnateli provediti ripartimenti di quanto le occorre tra se medesimi agiustandosi e mentre vi sorgese difficoltà dovranno da loro capi ricercare il componimento senza promover sine ne disturbi corisarij alla publica intentione, il che sara fine d'ingiongerli precisamente onde cadauno ne resti abastanza instrutto." See also ALAČEVIĆ, *La Guerra di Morea*, p. 62.

⁸⁰ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Domenico Mocenigo, box 49, f. 91r-91v; *Divisioni di terre, boschi e pascoli tra li vecchi e nuovi abitanti di Novegradi e Obbrovazzo*: (...) "l'uso de boschi, comodo de molini, coltura de terreni godimento de pascoli e col riguardo di affetionar tratto con lasciarle goder una conveniente parte di tutto, veda che anco quelli di Novegradi restino nel possibile provediti e contenti, e rimosa la mala sodisfatione."

with the temporary investiture of land. Even more, the new inhabitants leased land for pasturing their livestock in *contado*, paying the rent in money, which could have been a sign of the normalisation of economic production in the *contado* despite the war⁸¹. In this way by 1686 the whole of Zara's hinterland was inhabited and the land was cultivated, which could also assure a good food supply for the new subjects⁸².

In 1696, when the battlefields were far away from this area and more immigrants were in this territory; *Provveditore Generale* Daniele Dolfin redistributed the land around Obrovazzo again with the main intention to create preconditions for peaceful life within the fortress and agricultural production around. According to his *terminazione*, a list was drawn up of *capi di famiglie* of all of those who were listed to live in the fortress of Obrovazzo i.e. within the ramparts for at least one month and all of them, old and new inhabitants were given public land to work on and keep their animals. Their captain and harambassa were awarded with five *campi* of land each. At the same time he confirmed the public property, which belonged to the community i.e. for public use (water sources, woods and meadows) and borders with the community of Carino and Novegradi⁸³. Moreover, there were some buildings (*una muracha e una toretta*) within the fortress of Obrovazzo, which were of public interest to be rebuilt, but none of the newcomers showed interest in moving there. Therefore, they were given as a *livello* for an annual rent to the heirs of Mehmet and Selam

⁸¹ ASV, *Inquisitori di stato, Minuti e dispacci, Confini, privilegi di Terre suddite in Dalmazia 1580-1774*, Busta 288, *Lettera di Girolamo Antonelli al Provveditore Generale Corner*; In 1685 new inhabitants in *contado di Zara* would have to pay 3 *cechini* for each head of cattle for which pasture they leased the land, while on the Italian peninsula or in Hungary the same service would be paid with one quarter of their wheat.

⁸² BMC, Mss Gardenigo, No. 40, f. 142r: "Sopassando il Territorio di Zara tutto già riasquistato con Zemonico, Nadin, Vrana, Islam, Ostrovaz, Perussich et altri diversi castelli et hora pur tutto popolo et in buona coltura. Passaro da Obrovazzo al Posto di Svonigrado necessario come avevo disposto che sia occupato da guardie e d'indi a Knin città e fortezza con Vescovato di gran considerazione per il sito et altre circostanze."

⁸³ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, Filza LVIII, 15, f. 1-6: (...) "ordiniamo: Che tutti gl'infrascritti che stavano espressi nella presente terminatione habino nel tempo d'un mese prossimo capitar ad habitar nell'Obrovazzi cioè nel recinto di qualche mure. Fermar ivi il loro domicilio, traducendovi le famiglie qual famiglie habbino a star disposta pessimo a mancando alcuno d'essi, habbino a ceder non solo il godimento delle terre, che verranno loro assignate di raggione publica ma di reali 50 da esser contratti da loro animali e non ne havendo di questi de loro sostanze. Che tanto i sudditi di vecchia debitione, questo della nuova habino a numerarsi assime con le loro famiglie, et assegnarsi tanto terra quanto fatto il calcolo in sua portione, distinguendo il Governare i Capi e Harambase con cinque campi di persona."

Topzipassich, who accepted the Christian religion and Venetian subjection⁸⁴.

When the war was official over, the new land in *acquisto nuovo* was considered state ownership (*libera et esclusiva ragione di Stato*) according to *iure belli*⁸⁵, despite the fact that some centuries ago i.e. before the Ottoman invasions the majority of the property was private, with some patches of community land belonging to the fiscal chamber of Zara or Nona. The Republic started the restoration of the *contado di Zara* (in the territory which was beyond the medieval borders of this county), organising it through the division of the settlements of new communities, which represented territorial units of a new cadastre. Only the territory of *acquisto vecchio* (i.e. districts of the cities of Nona and Zara and coastal part with the islands) was excluded from this new organisation of *contado* since it was considered finished in 1675 and did not have any significant changes during the war.

In order to avoid any disputes over the whole of the newly conquered territory temporary land investitures were reconsidered, since only the Venetian Senate could approve them through a legal document such as a cadastre. Yet, the majority of individual temporary land investitures were confirmed. The difference was that the land entitled to Morlach immigrants was now measured and divided into two *campi padovani per testa* for each member of a family, which according to the opinion of the Venetian government was enough to maintain a Morlach family⁸⁶. The land was inheritable but with the obligation to continue its cultivation. If the land was abandoned for more than three years, then the land could be taken from the tenant. The sale of the land was forbidden⁸⁷. The ownership of the land remained with the state and the new holder was obliged to deliver tithes to Zara's chamber as well as to participate in non-paid public works and all adult healthy men in a family were listed on levies for future military service⁸⁸.

There were also large properties given as rewards during the wars to the Morlach leaders, *harambassa* and *serdars*, which in this cadastre were

⁸⁴ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Commessariato Stefano Capello, box 61, f. 73v.

⁸⁵ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 250.

⁸⁶ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva, f. 36v and 53r. See also R. JELIĆ, *Tri priloga o stanovništvu*, p. 220.

⁸⁷ DAZ, *Stampe*, 39/1, 23rd September 1702. See also PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva*, p. 71.

⁸⁸ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva, f. 81v.

confirmed⁸⁹. Families of *serdars* such as the Janković Mitrović and Smiljanić had estates in various villages⁹⁰, which were worked by tenants. The abuse of their position in expanding their properties was not unknown as can be seen from some archive documents⁹¹.

Alongside the new owners the cadastre also contained some noble families of Zara such as the Bortolazzi, Fafogna, Grisigono, Nassi, Gliubavaz, Ponte, Spingaroli who succeeded to claimed back their properties in the continental part of *contado* i.e. *kotari*, to be precise in the villages of Visozane, Malpaga, Smiglievaz, Trsci, Zemonico, Rasanze, Grue, Cassich, Vrana, Gliuba, Varicasse, Tign, Ceragne and Ervenich⁹². Nevertheless, there were more numerous feudal properties in the vicinity of the city of Zara and along the coast, which they had kept since medieval times and were less exposed to Ottoman intrusions. The largest parts of the land owned by feudal lords were around Vrana, where the noble families of the Spingaroli and Carnaruti were the main owners of land. Alongside these families, some wealthy plebeians also had large feudal properties there, such as the Carnica, Califi, Rosetti, Itković, Sviglia, Stocco⁹³ and the Vitanović⁹⁴. They expanded their properties in the 18th century by buying

⁸⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva, f. 53r: “Tomaso Sinovich da Novegradi che intervenuto in molte fattioni della passata Guerra ha sempre dato saggi di fede e divotione, et esempi di coraggio, e di valore contrasegnandosi e col proprio sangue e con quello di Nemici, de quali ha reciso più teste come li rileva da replicati attestate degl’Ecc.mo Sig.ri Provveditori Generali et altri commandanti e pubblici rappresentanti. Hebbe questi dagl’Ecc.mo Sig. Provveditore Generale Molino e Dolfino e sotto li 12 genaro 1692 et 26 marzo 1696 con titolo di locatione provisionale di concessioni di campi 50 di terreno incolto in Bucoviza et altrettanti in Cassich ma non ho potuto ne conseguirli, ne possederli prevenuto anco dalla morte. Era D. Carlo Giurnovich suo nipote per sorella, con suplicatione riverente prostrata al trono di vostra Serenita l’implora, et essendo io commandato a rassegnare l’humilità del mio sentimento, non posso se non debolmente sugerire, che come non sarebbe difficile il consolarlo con terre incolte in siti non posessi da alcuno” (...).

⁹⁰ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, II, p. 360-361. Zaviša Janković Mitrović at the beginning of the 18th century had properties in the villages of Islam, Cosulovaz, Nunich, Corlat, Bencovaz, Biocino Selo, Ervenich, Segar, Colarine and Perussich.

⁹¹ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, Filza, LVIII, No. 4, f. 1r; In 1695 Captian Giuco Gargusevich and Judge Tadia Knezevich of the community of Castel Venier complained about harassment of their people by Zaviš Janković Mitrović, forcing them practically to leave their traditional pasturelands, so he could have his people there.

⁹² DAZ, *Katastari Dalmacije*, box 64, *Catastico del Contado di Zara*; see also ČORALIĆ, *Zemljišni posjed*, p. 50-52: According to documents of Cadastre of *Contado di Zara* from 1709 family Bortolazzi renewed their property in Vrana, Ponte in Cassich and Spingaroli in Ceragne, Toretta and Vrana, all in *acquisto nuovo*.

⁹³ ČORALIĆ, *Biograd u XVII i XVIII stoljeću*, [Biograd in the 17th and 18th centuries], in Radovi HAZU-Zd, 37, 1995, p. 400-401.

⁹⁴ DAZ, *Knjige Zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Ottavio Labia*, f. 29v.

land and than further renting it in some of the pre-existing forms such as *livelli* or *colonie*⁹⁵.

4. The newcomers and problems with the collections of duties

In the 1690's, even before the end of the Morean War, Governor General Daniel Dolfin, alongside with temporary land investiture, gradually introduced regular tithe collection to the new inhabitants as well⁹⁶. At the beginning the new inhabitants were obliged to give a tithe, i.e. 1/10 of grain and hay (for the cavalry). They were also obliged to keep riding horses if they would have more than a 'plough and a half of land', which they worked with oxen. This obligation had been introduced during the government of Pietro Civran and was a necessary supplementary service to the Venetian cavalry garrisons⁹⁷. *Serdar Zaviša Janković Mitrović* had complained to Daniel Dolfin that the heavy duties, especially those related to the keeping of horses for the army, were forcing Morlachs to move further to Habsburg territories in Lika⁹⁸. But soon after the end of the Morean War there were no excuses for the immigrants and all those who were entitled as owners to a piece of state land had to pay the tithe i.e. 1/10 of value of all their produce in money - the reason being that it was easier to collect. One example of this new method of collection can be found in the documents relating to the newly conquered area in Morlaccia from Rasanze to Gesenize, and Castel Venier to Obbrovazzo and Zvonigrad. The tithe previously paid as grain, after 1699 was paid in one *reale* or ten *liras* for each ox used to plough the land. There were also duties paid on shepherd products: wool, cheese and other dairy products. The total income of the Venetian chamber from this area was about 340 *reali* annually⁹⁹. The collection of money could have been easier for the tithe payers because they could produce more but pay less, since the estimated amount of money paid as tithe was fixed, although

⁹⁵ ČORALIĆ, *Biograd u XVII*, p. 402.

⁹⁶ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 251; also DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 286-287. The newcomers in the villages of Plavno, Zrmanja, Padjeni, Mocro Pogle and Otton in Bucovizza in 1692 were given rights to use the land, water sources, forest and pasturelands in this area but with the obligation of a regular collection of tithe from all of their produce.

⁹⁷ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 262. Also DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, p. 46v.

⁹⁸ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 263.

⁹⁹ ASV, *Consultori in iure*, Filza 151, f. 213-214; Documents collected in the case of the border disputes in Morlaccia between the Republic of Venice and Habsburg Monarchy. See also: DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 251.

this was a very rare occasion. However, in 1702 *Provveditore Generale* Marin Zane still asked for advice from the Venetian Senate since the method of tithe payment in the new territories was not equal everywhere. Somewhere Morlachs were giving 1/10 of all produce, while others would pay a limited amount of money for every ‘plough of land’. There was another option of paying duties on each unit of land to which each of the family was entitled (*cannone*) and which was possible to introduce after the land measurements and confirmation of property entitled through the cadastre¹⁰⁰.

Despite promises, life in the new country was not so good for Morlachs. They moved to the Venetian territory attracted mainly by the plentitude of land, but the conditions of war had not allowed regular work on the land, which afterwards was difficult to cultivate because of many years of neglect. Besides this, they were accustomed to keeping large numbers of animals in order to combine the cultivation of land with their livestock’s products. But, once they were entitled to a certain amount of land, which was not enough for pasturing large herds without transhumance, they had to make their living from agriculture, which was a very insecure way of survival if not combined with some other activities especially in the years when the crops failed due to droughts, which was the main characteristics of the climate in continental Dalmatia. ‘Misery’ was the most often word in which the Venetian officers used to describe the living conditions of their new subjects¹⁰¹.

Furthermore, numerous attacks on Ottoman merchants, robbery of Ottoman subjects and the protests by Ottomans to the Venetian government in Zara pushed Governor General Marin Zane to introduce strict measures according to which the villages in the vicinity of the border (Bucovizza) and

¹⁰⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 7: “In molti luoghi si esige la decima parte di tutti li frutti in altra s’è introdotta convenir con Morlacchi in una limitata tassa per cadaun aratro. In condutore esigge intieramente i suoi diritti. Considera se fosse bene soggettar tutte le terre al cannone o lasciarle sottoposte alla decima.” (...)“Il cannone quando vien interamente usato sara per formare rendita maggiore della decima possiderata tutta volta per li riguardi ch’accera molto importante il parto.” Nevertheless, the discussion about collecting tithe or duties for a piece of land (*cannone*) also continued during the government of Giustin Da Riva when the cadastre was just about to finish and he also preferred tithes collections rather than paying property duties. See: Busta 400, No. 90 and 133. This kind of duty was introduced later in the 18th century and the large landowners who received land after the creation of the new cadastre were obliged to pay it. According to this, they had to pay the tithe in money after they had collected the tithe from their tenants and labourers. See PERIČIĆ, *Prilog poznavanju*, p. 150-151.

¹⁰¹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva, I, f. 40r-44r.

where the crimes were often committed, obliging them to pay for the damages caused to the Ottomans. In the case of the robberies of Ottoman caravans in Zara's hinterland, the governor ordered confiscation of livestock, which was actually the foundation of Morlach survival especially in Bucovizza where there was not so much fertile soil and agriculture was not very productive as in the lower part of Ravni Kotari. When in June 1703 an Ottoman caravan from Split was attacked on the border after passing the fortress of Clissa, the Ottoman Alia-bey demanded repayment of 200 *zechini* for the damage from the Venetian officer Antonio Canegetti. Canegetti paid this amount in money and started to ask for the reimbursement from the Morlachs in Bucovizza taking their livestock away. Besides this, the same Morlachs were already being forced to pay some additional money as a penalty, which Count Possedaria in 1701 agreed with the Ottomans for the their unauthorised use of some pasturelands on the Ottoman side of the border¹⁰². The main reason for this decision was to stop people giving shelter to gangs of robbers (*hajduci*) in some villages of Bucovizza near the routes to Ottoman territory. On the top of everything, after the final establishment of the border with the Ottomans, the peasants had to keep horses for border surveillance garrisons. Keeping horses demanded large pasturelands and good quality hay, which was very difficult to provide especially on the poor karst land of Bucovizza¹⁰³. These obligations were very harsh on the new inhabitants of the Venetian *acquisto nuovo* and difficult to bear together with the tithes.

The tithe collection was a state service, and *serdars* were in charge of supervising or even to organise the collection. In reality every year a public auction (*incanto*) was organised where potential tithe collectors competed, offering the best price for this service¹⁰⁴. The winner of the auction had to pay the highest offered amount of money to the state treasury i.e. the chamber in Zara, hoping that he would be able to collect the tithes in such amounts so as to repay the money invested as well as make some profit. Therefore, it was no matter how much the official state tithe was,

¹⁰² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 31; See also: DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 253.

¹⁰³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Vincenzo Vendramin, Busta 401, No. 38: "Mancante alcune famiglie posseditrice de beni di nuovo acquisto bastanti all'impiego di un'arato nell'obbligo di mantener un cavallo da sella fu in ordine alla pubbliche dispositioni in caricato il possidari e cadauno lago a far supplier al proprio dovere. Stara attento all'adempire del impegno."

¹⁰⁴ An example of this procedure can be found in DAZ, Stampe, 40/1, 22 Maggio 1704.

because the tithe lessee would impose his own¹⁰⁵ although in Zara's Statute there was a clause relating to the prevention of any conspiracy amongst those participating at the auction in order to prevent the abuse of this public service¹⁰⁶.

In March 1704 the tithe's collection auction's winner was Simone Fafogna who paid 7,800 reals, an enormous amount of money, which he planned to earn back collecting tithes from all the peasant's produce. The local leaders who till that time were exempt from paying any tithes no were no longer excluded. Besides this, his people would conduct outrageous acts of terror in the villages, and on the top of everything demanding from them food for themselves and their horses¹⁰⁷. All together this caused loud protests from the peasants¹⁰⁸, starting in the village of Segar and spread as a rebellion through the whole of the *contado*. The rebellion was agreed at the meeting (*sbor*) of upper Kotari and Bucovizza. More than one thousand people were involved in this revolt led by 70 leaders amongst whom were Matija Žabetić from Zaravecchia, Ilija Nanić from Segar and the Orthodox priest Petar Jagodić Kuridža, the vicar in Biovcino Selo after whom the rebellion took its name – Kuridža's rebellion. They also had some supporters in Habsburg territory in Lika. However, *Provveditore Generale* did not question the further tithe collection. He rather ordered to proceed with the collection despite the protest of the majority of the Venetian subjects in Zara's hinterland¹⁰⁹. The rebels came to Zara with their demands, but Governor General Marin Zane was not there. He felt it more important to be in Spalato due to some movements of the Ottoman army

¹⁰⁵ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 252; See also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 102; The tithe collectors (*daceri*) would sometimes be given a prolonged period for the collection of the tithes, but sometimes they had to pay the agreed amount of money to the chamber without any excuse and then later they would have to try to find a way to get their money back, which also gave them opportunities to abuse people.

¹⁰⁶ *Zadarski statut*, p. 565, *De conventione non facienda super aliquo incantu datorium Venetiarum Communis*.

¹⁰⁷ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 254.

¹⁰⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 59: "Versera tutta la diligenza per l'incanto e deliberatione delle decime de nuovi acquisti. Svegliata qualche comotione ne territoriali di Zara col pretesto di più agravij dal particolare de loro capi risertiti et accertati della pronta dispositione di S.E. agli'atti di giustitia s'erano rimessi nella dovuta quiete e rassegnatione."

¹⁰⁹ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 254-255; ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 66 and 67: "Considera molti pregiudicati nella subasatione delle decime del Contado di Zara il movimento de Morlacchi. In difetti de conduttori ordinerà che le decime non difattate sijno raccolte contro publico..."

around the border¹¹⁰. He entitled Zara's Captain Boldu to represent the state reasons in negotiating with the rebels¹¹¹. The meeting was organised in the village of Cerno near Zara, and there were three Morlach *serdars* present: Radasović, Smiljanić and Spingaroli defending the governor's reasons in proceeding with the tithe collection and with the intention to calm down the people. When their demands were not accepted, Kuridža threatened that he would convince the Morlachs to emigrate from Venetian territory, which would be a real significant negative impact. In spite of this, the governor tried to peacefully put down the rebels, talking with them separately, promising to resolve their problems, which resulted in splitting rebels and pacifying the protest. Although, some people really did immigrate to the Habsburg territory in Lika and amongst them were the three leaders Žbetić, Nanić and Kuridža. All other Morlachs, Venetian subjects, had to pay their tithes without excuse. The runaway leaders of the rebellion were publicly banished from the territory of the Republic of Venice and their property was confiscated¹¹².

The year after, in 1705 the new Governor General Giustin Da Riva, tried to avoid any possible problems with Morlachs relating to the tithe collection, although the circumstances, which led to the rebellion did not go away. However, he was aware of the fact that the rebellion was the consequence of the violent tithe collectors. Therefore he obliged the captains of the villages and *serdars* to take over the supervising of the tithe collection in order to prevent any abuse and violence. In addition to this Giustin Da Riva ordered a sum of 8 *lire* to be paid for each head of livestock¹¹³. In fact in 1707 he did not auction off the tithe collection in *contado di Zara* and this created a certain gap in the chamber's income, but

¹¹⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 38.

¹¹¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 59.

¹¹² DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 256-258. See also: ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Bust 399, No. 94: "Nonostante il tormento d'illia Nanich da Xegar, Mattio Zabetich da Zara vecchia e Petro Giagodich che scopposero con minaccie all'inclinazione universali erano tutti concorsi a portar le decime stesse in Zara. Fatte per li molini le solite contributioni e tutti li capi s'erano rassegnati nella dovuta obedenza presentando giuramento ogn'uno per il proprio villaggio. Li che sudetti auttori fisi nella loro contumacia si sono ridotti in Lika. Li ha S.E. fatti proclamare e divenuti contro d'essi a sentenza di bando definitivo però con confiscatione de beni come dalla copia che manda."

¹¹³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 5 and 14: "Li ha disposti a corrispondere la decima in dannaro in rappresentano di lire 8 per manzo. In oltre stabilito che cadauno de capi della predetta villa sin esatto la decima portata in camera fiscale obligato uno per l'altro li *serdari*, li capitani, li collonelli. Manda gl'atti fatti girare."

he explained this with the general poverty of the province¹¹⁴. Besides this, Giustin Da Riva pardoned all the leaders of the Kuridža rebellion and Kuridža as well as Žabetić returned to their homes¹¹⁵. *Provveditore* Da Riva realised that to resolve the difficulties in the ‘pacification’ of the Morlach communities and to get them used to agricultural production it was necessary to understand their misery due to drought and other natural obstacles¹¹⁶.

In 1708 the new Governor General Vincenzo Vendramin again placed the collection of tithes up for auction and in June of the same year he reported to the Senate about the significant amount of money collected compared to that of the previous year¹¹⁷. He was obviously concerned of the return of Nanić and Kuridža being back in the Venetian territory. Apparently they were encouraging people to move to Habsburg territory because of the lack of pasturelands in Bucovizza¹¹⁸. In January 1709 Nanić escaped to Habsburg territory again and Kuridža was arrested and imprisoned (*pozzi*) in Venice the same year from where he was released 40 years later¹¹⁹. In analysing the reasons for this rebellion Boško Desnica found relationships with the contemporaneous movements in Habsburg Lika. He also saw the Kuridža rebellion as one consequences of the long term war period, which inevitably created anarchist feelings to a certain extent amongst the newcomers¹²⁰. Their adaptation to the new peaceful conditions with more restrictions and obligations was very difficult especially regarding the non-sensitivity of some Venetian governors. In some observations written in the second half of the 18th century by Venetian officers in Dalmatia regarding the follow-up of land distribution, cultivation

¹¹⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 95. Also DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva, I, f. 183r: “S’accumula la disgratia della povertà alle rendite pubbliche e riesce impossibile a sostenere le decime nel grado degl’anni passati.”

¹¹⁵ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 259.

¹¹⁶ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Giustin Da Riva, f. 23r: “Anco la raccolta delle decime del Contado che sono le più importanti e per riuscire molti infelice. La stenuta dell’anno non solo ha estenuta la rendita, ma necessità la Publica Pietà a suffragare le miserie del Popolo spetialmente Bucoviza più sensibile dell’altre contrade colpita dalla sciagura.”

¹¹⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Vincenzo Vendramin, Busta 401, No. 38: “Nonostante alla rigidezza della stagione corsa ha potuto deliberare le decime con vantaggio di lire 18,215 dall’anno decorso.”

¹¹⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Vincenzo Vendramin, Busta 401, No. 13.

¹¹⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Vincenzo Vendramin, Busta 401, No. 26; DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 260 – 266; RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERICIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 404.

¹²⁰ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 251.

and state income from tithe collection it can be seen that they still believed that the cultivation of land should prevail because 4 *gognali* of land was enough for maintaining a small family who concentrated on growing grain, while the same amount of land was enough only for feeding one bull¹²¹. But in reality, the amount of land, which was distributed to the new inhabitants, was not sufficient for maintaining a Morlach family and they were constrained to leasing more land, which led them into more difficult positions of paying state duties alongside duties according to their private agreement with landlords¹²². However, this rebellion should be observed in the wider context of the changes happening in the Venetian's new possessions in Dalmatia during the 18th century, when the government and new subjects were facing a completely new situation in the introduction of new policies. The general changes within the Republic of Venice should be taken into consideration here.

5. Zara's *scala* and trade with the hinterland

Zara was a very important market place mostly related to different sorts of raw material (honey, wax, wool, fabrics and resin) which arrived from the Croatian and Bosnian hinterland, giving opportunity for the development of local markets as well as numerous other inter-related small businesses¹²³. Immediately after the establishment of its government in Dalmatia in 1409, the Republic of Venice started with the centralisation of the economy in the whole of the province and especially in Zara. The Republic, for its own sake, restricted the possibilities of development of any competitive trade centre through the creation of aimed export duties for all goods, which were sold outside the city of Venice¹²⁴. In accordance with

¹²¹ ZKZD, *Manuscripti*, No. 15269; ms 317, f. 22v: "...è vero che questi diminuiscono li pascoli con qualche denimento dell'erbativo, e che una rendita si aumenta sulle ruine dell'altra, ma è vero volersi, che tra rendita e rendita non si admette confronto rapporto all'importanza ed è vero parimente che Quattro campi che somministrano alimento ad un Bovino, offretessero sussistenza ad un piccola famiglia riddota a grano. Ciò premesso si presti un serio riflesso alle due offerti della nuova combinata società."

¹²² RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 376.

¹²³ KNAPTON, *Lo Stato da Mar*, p. 365, 368; see also PERIČIĆ, *Prinosi povijesti Zadra XVII i XVIII stoljeća*, [Contributions to the history of Zadar in the 17th and 18th centuries], in *Zadarska smotra*, 4-5, 1993, p. 67.

¹²⁴ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 75-80; The authors emphasised that it should not be concluded that the highly restricted possibilities of Zara's trade anywhere outside Venice were kept all the time. The Republic changed the orders and restrictions occasionally in relation to different circumstances.

this policy, Dalmatian merchants had the rights to navigate under the flag of St. Marc but without having the rights to sell their goods outside the metropolis¹²⁵. Besides this, the system of import and export duties was also a major tool, which the central government used in stimulating or controlling the development of its Dalmatian dominion¹²⁶. This system was mostly inherited from the previous Dalmatian coastal communities masters i.e. Hungarian-Croatian kings and was included into local statutes.

After the Ottoman occupation of the major part of the hinterland the economy of the whole Venetian Dalmatia can be observed through cycles of peaks and troughs related to peace and war periods. In this way the development of trade, as well as the recovery of the local economy can be observed during the relatively long peaceful time of 1576-1645, which allowed free communication between the Venetian coastland and the Ottoman hinterland¹²⁷. During this period trade was also stimulated by the low cost of some products from Bosnia. Jewish and Greek merchants played a major role in this trade¹²⁸. Trade with the Ottoman hinterland, which constituted the merchant's main income from both sides of the border, again suffered greatly during the wars of the 17th century. At the beginning of the war with the Ottomans in 1645 the Venetian government could only observe how the Ottoman merchants from Bosnia were passing them by to do the business with Dubrovnik and Ancona avoiding the main Venetian *scala* in Spalato and placing the local Jewish merchant community in a very difficult position, who eventually managed to find its own way to participate in the trade between Bosnia, Dubrovnik and Ancona¹²⁹. The same situation

¹²⁵ COZZI, *Il Dominio da mar*, p. 201. The author explains that Dalmatian representatives asked for recognitions of their full citizenship as members of the Republic of Venice which would have implied their equal rights *de intus et de extra*, which would have allowed them to sail and trade under the Venetian flag. The Senate acknowledged only *de intus* status, which allowed them to sail, but not to trade outside Venetian territory.

¹²⁶ Some examples of duties for some specific products such as tabbaco can be found in DAZ, *Knjige Nina*, book 6, *Stampe*, 27/1, 1st July 1669, Decree of Governor General Antonio Priuli; and *Stampe*, 38/1, 14th February 1702.

¹²⁷ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 33; Dragomano Giovanni Salvago during his revision of the border with the Ottomans in 1626 noticed that instead of being soldiers and mercenaries, Ottomans turned towards trade especially in the environs of Spalato and with Zara when regarding cattle trade; also p. 45; see also PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva*, p. 106. The author finds that the frequent notes about monetary loans to the Bosnian merchants from Zara people were a sign of well developed trade connections as well as trust in these people from the opposite side of the border.

¹²⁸ PACI, *La scala di Spalato*, p. 14-15.

¹²⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Agosto 1646, Filza 3, *Spalato 9 Agosto 1646*: (...) "Chiaramente così che molti hanno negotij con la Turchia et Bossina et imparticolare li hebrei che neli tempi presenti ne hanno la maggiormente parte. Questi del sicuro negotiano et fanno passar le

repeated itself at the beginning of the Morean War after a short recovery during the truce of 1671-1684. Trade continued but on a much reduced scale¹³⁰ and the majority of the Ottomans, mostly Bosnian merchants, used the services of the Republic of Dubrovnik to transport their goods to Venice, which was officially agreed with the Senate¹³¹. Nevertheless, by the summer of 1684, i.e. during the strongest military actions on the Dalmatian coast, some Bosnian merchants asked permission from the Venetian *Cinque Savij alla mercantia* to trade their goods, which they intended to sell via *scala di Spalato*¹³². In 1685 a group of Bosnian merchants were issued special permissions, which planned to protect them from being attacked by any Venetian subject so they could continued their trade through Zara¹³³.

mercante come meglio porta la sua saguacita et li proprij avvantaggi; la turchia viene proveduta di pannaise et passano da Ancona a Ragusa et a dirittura per altri luochi e non si puo affermar che segua con il Pagamento de datij ma senza licenze e come più a loro piace. Da Ragusi si trasportano in Ancona la maggiormente tante delle mercie e quando sono in Ancona ne hanno l'esito" (...).

¹³⁰ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, f. 1r. The governor general reports about sending money for the merchant duties to 5 *Savij* collected in Zara at the beginning of 1685 when the war with the Ottomans was spreading everywhere.

¹³¹ PACI, *La Scala di Spalato*, p. 113.

¹³² DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Domenico Mocenigo, box 49, f. 259r: "Per parte delli fratelli Bernacovich mercanti Bossinesi vien presentata l'amessa scrittura nella quale asserendo s'haver pronti li duemille in circa di mercantile s'essibiscono introdurli in questa Città et la via dei Ragusi, quando la S. V. voglia impartir onde a gli Ecc.mi Generali et altri Publici rappresentanti perché esse mercantie restino sicure da gli insulti de Morlacchi. A tal affare riflettendo noi con zelo della nostra humilissima divotione, si come lo comprendiamo di somma importanza non solo ne li proffitti ne Dacij, e provisione al bisogno della Dominante che da tal condotta ne verrebbe a derivare ma anco con l'instradatione che a insicura de comandi Publici si dovera dare al negotio così conosciamo che sarebbe molteplici desiderabili quando fosse possibile il potere haver dette et alter mercantie dal Seraglio..."

¹³³ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro150, f. 228r: In January 1685 Senate issued thre following: "Per dar mano al negotio che tanto rileva a presenti danij vigila con zelo il magistro de 5 Savij alla mercanzia e suggerendo proprio il facilitar il medesimo a mercanti Turchi per la via di Zara per proseguirlo per quella di Ragusi in ciò pare concorrendo il senso prudente del S. Gen. dell'Armi Valier nelle sue lettere al magistro stesso." See also ASV, *Senato Mar*, Marzo/Aprile 1685: "Ch'essendo risoluto volonta del Senato che li mercanti Turchi Bossinesi, quali negotiano per questa Città per via di Ragusi ricevino ogni buon trattamento, ne siano in qual si voglia modo molestati. Abbiamo voluto accompagnare con le presenti nostre levare Patenti a Raimondo Mondì che unicamente con alcuni de medesimi mercanti s'imbarca sopra un Vascello per Ragusi con Panni di lana, seda et alter merci con le quali commetteremo a Rappresentati ministri, Morlacchi et altri sudditi nostri in qualunque luoco dove saranno incontrati di sicuramente viaggiare senza che le sii da chi si voglia inferita molestia alcuna, tanto nelle persone, come nelle mercantie così ricercando il publico servitio per mantenimento del negotio con questa Piazza tale essendo la pubblicamente volonta, e vogliano le presenti tanto nell'andar, come nel ribbon del sopradetto mondani, e mercanti Pagando solito."

Soon after the liberation of Zara's hinterland in 1686 the intention was to revitalise the trade route across Obbrovazzo and Novegradi, but there were problems in the stabilisation of normal life with the new inhabitants there and to provide good surveillance of the area, which were the preconditions for this traffic¹³⁴. The main traffic here was related to the timber import from the Velebit slopes¹³⁵. The regular trade route from Lika towards Zara, which passed through Obbrovazzo also had a major importance with the import of provisions for the whole *contado di Zara* including the islands¹³⁶. Life in the city of Zara was almost completely dependent on the import of essential victuals from the Ottoman hinterland and in lesser quantities from the Habsburg northern Adriatic ports (Buccari, Fiume and Trieste)¹³⁷.

Salt trade

The port of Obbrovazzo was also the main point for export of salt from the island of Pago¹³⁸. The salt trade with the Ottoman Empire suffered during the Candian War and was re-established soon after the border definition in 1671. Although, there were some plans to transfer this main salt exchange point to Maslenica in the Venetian territory of the Bay of Novegradi. The reason for this was found in the fact that this area, being inside natural bay, was more protected from the frequent attacks of

¹³⁴ BMC, Mss. Gardenigo, No. 40, Gerolamo Cornaro, f. 142r: " Dell'importanza d'Obbrovazzo ho portato a V.V.E.E. quanto occorreva con mio dispaccio no. 169. Questo aggiustato con qualche restauro è tenuto guarnito con una compagnia de Morlacchi. Rappresentai la necessità di meglio custodirlo di ponervi una compagnia d'Italiani. Non so quello sia seguito. Aggiungo solo che per la situatione e conseguenze è loco di gran importanza" (...).

¹³⁵ TRALJIĆ, *Izvoz drva preko Obrovca krajem XVI. stoljeća*, u Radovi HAZU-Zd, 21, 1974, p. 266-267.

¹³⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 2; In June 1671 the people from the island of Pago complained about not being able to use their regular route through Obbrovazzo and pass over the mountains towards Lika, which was necessary for the grain supply to their community. The reason was in the local Ottoman magnates who were hostile towards the Venetian subjects. See also PERIČIĆ, *Prinosi povijesti*, p. 66. The grain was also imported from the Ottoman market of Carino.

¹³⁷ PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva Zadra i okolice u prošlosti*, HAZU, Zadar-Zagreb, 1999, p. 64.

¹³⁸ More about salt production on the island of Pago see in: PERIČIĆ, *Proizvodnja i prodaja paške soli u prošlosti* [Production and trade of salt from the island of Pago], in *Radovi HAZU-Zd*, 43, 2001, p. 45-83.

Segnani¹³⁹. However, this did not happen because the Bosnian Pasha finally proposed an agreement according to which the merchants who dealt with the export of salt from Pago and the import of grain for the Venetian Dalmatian communities through the port of Obbrovazzo had special protection when passing the mountains¹⁴⁰.

As a strategically important product - salt, its production and trade was always a top priority of government control. There were especially important duties (*gabella*) on the trade of salt, which were actually introduced by the Hungarian kings. The Republic of Venice adapted this pre-existing system to its own. The whole income of duty collection was deposited into Zara's chamber and then distributed further on to Venice¹⁴¹. The only exception was the rights of the local communities on the islands of Cherso, Ossero, Veglia and Pago, who had limited rights to sell a quarter of their salt production at the pre-established price¹⁴². Sometimes there was no money involved in the exchange of goods: salt from Pago was exchanged for grain or wood from Lika¹⁴³. More often than not people from this island would illegally transport salt to the Habsburg or Ottoman hinterland across the Channel of Morlacca¹⁴⁴. People from Segna were good salt buyers especially on this illegal market. The Venetian governors tried to stop the smuggling in every possible way. Thus in 1678 *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier suggested the limitation of salt consumption in county of Zara in order to avoid any possibilities for smuggling¹⁴⁵.

After the Morean War when the port of Obbrovazzo became Venetian, people from the island of Pago retained their rights to sell their quarter of salt to Habsburg subjects in the ports of Morlacca¹⁴⁶, but very

¹³⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 35; See also COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 45.

¹⁴⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 41.

¹⁴¹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 50.

¹⁴² ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 143, Maggio 1677, f. 62r: (...) "che s'intenda per il solo spazio della Gabella di Zara e di giunto dal Consumo di quelle di Cherso, Ossero e Veglia e che sia limitata la quantità del sale che venderano proprio qui provveditori concenderli in conto di grati come stabilito il prezzo e che dovera pagarlo, havuto riguardo a praticato di presente con l'altre città della Provincia..." See also DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, p. 260-263.

¹⁴³ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, Filza, LVIII, No.10.

¹⁴⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Civran, Busta 383, No. 59.

¹⁴⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Valier, Busta 385, No. 63.

¹⁴⁶ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, Filza, LVIII, No. 2, f. 1r; In description of the Morlach settlements on the coastland of Morlacca in 1695 Captain of Starigrado Francesco Cattalinich: "...ha presentato alcuni luochi murati ch'erano de Morlachi e gl'ha preparati

often they were victims of Habsburg impositions on this trade¹⁴⁷. *Serdar Zaviša Mitrović* renewed the salt marketplace in Obbrovazzo and trade with the Ottomans, but his lease was withdrawn, because of the high price, which turned the Ottoman merchants to buy salt at the Habsburg port of Carlobago¹⁴⁸ or on the black market. In 1702 *Provveditore Generale* Marin Zane even suggested the reconsideration in the price of salt, which would be more attractive to the Ottoman buyers and would take them away from the black market¹⁴⁹. *Provveditore* Giustin Da Riva believed that the newly established guard *panduri*, who were recruited from the local people, would be able to provide better surveillance of the border zone and the trade routes including the prevention of smuggling¹⁵⁰. Very soon he realised that they were actually creating major disorder¹⁵¹.

Cattle trade

The port of Zara developed as the main port for cattle transport from Bosnia and Lika. The complaints about the damage to the city's streets due to the traffic of cattle were numerous. Count Alvise Zorzi in his report written in 1620 mentions the urge for the refurbishment of the port, which was being ruined by the numbers of bulls, which passed through the port every day. There were also some suggestions to redirect the cattle trade outside the city, to the port of Puntamica¹⁵². The documents of the public notaries in Zara from the first half of the 17th century show that some of Zara's families were involved intensively in cattle trade (*negotio di manzi*). Amongst them the most successful were the Vitanović, Guerini and the Borgo. They had their contractors from the Ottoman side of the border, who

per magazen per riportar il sale. Il Sale vien da Pago. Che crede capitarsi le genti della Lica ad Obbrovazzo" (...).

¹⁴⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 66: "Avvisa l'insorgenza nata al confine austriaco per opera del commandante di Lika a causa dell'indulto goduto da Pagheseani di poter vender e mercartare i sali del loro quarto alle scale e rive della Morlacca. Riceverano perciò dagli Austriaci i peggiori trattamenti con la utilità de prezzi e con discortesi espulsioni." See also DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, p. 264

¹⁴⁸ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, II, p. 321.

¹⁴⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 9.

¹⁵⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 91.

¹⁵¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 102.

¹⁵² COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VIII, p. 86.; see also PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva*, p. 108-109. The author emphasised that all the intentions to redirect the cattle market to some other ports were abandoned and Zara was the only scala.

were *Turchi* and *Murlacchi*. They took possession of the cattle in Zara's *scala* and organised its further transport and sale in Venice¹⁵³.

The cattle trade suffered during the wars of the 17th century, although it did not completely disappear, thanks to smuggling, which replaced regular trade. Soon after the end of the Candian War, the trade in cattle regained its importance in Zara's *scala*. The Venetian government tried not to interfere too much in this trade, but the monopoly imposed by some Venetian tradesmen was not well looked upon. *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran halted the monopoly created by the Venetian merchant Giovanni Pietro Piccardi. On the other side of the border there were more contractors who were supplying cattle to Zara's market¹⁵⁴. The importance of the cattle trade via the *scala* was on the high level for the metropolis since this was one of the main sources of its meat supply. Therefore in 1677 the Senate ordered that a constant number of butchers in Zara had to be involved only in providing cattle for Venice¹⁵⁵. The Morean War reduced this trade but, at the beginning of the 18th century it began regaining its previous economic importance in Zara's *contado* to which the well-being and interest of the Ottoman side of the border was mostly related.

After the establishment of *linea Grimani*, trade with Bosnia was the main priority of the Dalmatian Governor General: the re-establishment of *scala*, assistance to the Ottoman trade and financial representatives - the *emins* and one unavoidable condition was to keep the peace on the border and security on the trade routes¹⁵⁶. The main trade/goods exchange routes were across Bucovizza and further on to Bosnia and another one through Obrovazzo and further across Velebit to Lika. Nevertheless, cattle transported through Zara's *scala* arrived from all over south-eastern Europe under the Ottoman government¹⁵⁷. The Venetian merchants had control over this trade once the cattle arrived in the port of Zara. They would conclude their business deal with the Bosnian merchants/contractors, here in the

¹⁵³ DAZ, *Javni bilježnici*, Zuane Sorini, *Processi e Sentenze arbitrali 1647-1648, fascicolo III, Processo arbitrale 1647*, No. 1-2.

¹⁵⁴ N. ČOLAK, *Promet stoke u zadarskoj skeli u XVIII. stoljeću*, [Cattle traffic in Zara's *scala* in the 18th century], in *Radovi HAZU-Zd*, 37, 1995, p. 418.

¹⁵⁵ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 143, *Giugno 1677*, p. 89v.

¹⁵⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 6 and 32; In August 1703 *Provveditore Generale* Marin Zane announced the arrival of the Ottoman deftedar to Zara and re-establishment of the cattle traffic through the port of Zara. See also No. 37 and 75: "Assicurata la quiete de confini dalle molestie de malviventi in gran parte distrutti. S'rinova il commerce col concorso delle caravane alla scala di Spalato e con le frequenti partite de manzi e de castrati a scala di Zara."

¹⁵⁷ ČOLAK, *Promet stoke*, p. 414.

presence of an Ottoman *emin* or *deftedar*. The agreement had to contain the price, when and how the cattle would be delivered and transferred. When the cattle were on a ship in Zara's port, the Venetian dealers would pay their dues to the Bosnian contractors¹⁵⁸. However, at the beginning of the 18th century it frequently happened that the Bosnian merchant brought their goods to Zara but the Venetian merchants were not there with their ship. They then suffered financially because of the time waiting to make the sale, meaning their cattle would be waiting around Zara without enough food and therefore losing weight and value. There were also complaints about the high Venetian trade and transport margins¹⁵⁹. This situation was created as a deal to lower the value of the cattle and so pay less for them between Pietro Giozza, a Venetian merchant and butcher with the Morlach brothers Pandžić, who moved to Zara from near Sarajevo. They were maltreating and manipulating the Bosnian contractors this way to such an extent that the contractors were forced to complain to the Bosnian Pasha who then protested to the *Provveditore Generale* Vincenzo Vendramin. Despite the importance of the cattle trade for the relationship with the Ottomans, *Provveditore* Vendramin took no serious action to stop this monopoly and deception, finding it not appropriate to politically interpolate the trade¹⁶⁰. Thus the complaints of the Ottoman merchants continued even after the end of his mandate, which can be read in the office documents of the Count of Zara Francesco Semitecolo¹⁶¹.

Epidemics had another negative impact on trade. All goods from the Ottoman territory had to be placed in quarantine and stay for some period in a lazaretto¹⁶². The majority of the merchants from Ottoman territory stopped in the lazaretto of St. Marc in Zara¹⁶³. *Provveditori Generali* regularly observed all the changes related to diseases on the Ottoman side of the border, which could easily spread to their territory with the traffic of goods and people and in the case of any word of any possible epidemics in Bosnia,

¹⁵⁸ ČOLAK, *Promet stoke*, p. 420.

¹⁵⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 72, 101, 102

¹⁶⁰ ČOLAK, *Promet stoke*, p. 424-433.

¹⁶¹ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Francesco Semitecolo*, f. 100r: "Processo civile tra patroni de Bastimenti territoriali contro li mercanti di manzi"; also f. 255r: "Vertenza tra il turco Amet Stuplia e Santo Scasini per il pagamento d'ali quanti manzi"; and f. 380r: "Vertenza civile per il reddito di alcuni Turchi verso Boghich Petrovich."

¹⁶² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar, Commissario in Dalmazia Marco Molin*, Busta 692, No. 30.

¹⁶³ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 405.

they stopped the trade¹⁶⁴. Special attention was paid to the additional security measures of Ottoman Muslim merchants who needed to stay within Zara's ramparts. They were all kept in one house, while other foreigners were free to stay where they pleased¹⁶⁵.

Regarding local level trade, Zara's marketplace was the point for the exchange of goods from the islands and hinterland including some local manufactories products. The manufactories were mostly related to fabric production for local needs and it was stimulated after the Candian War, but it did not reach any large growth¹⁶⁶. *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier suggested taking some measures to revitalise this local production, which according to his opinion could have helped prevent poverty in the city¹⁶⁷. Besides this the army there was a great consumer of a kind of rough fabric (*rasa*) produced in the local manufactories¹⁶⁸. The main trading days were during the fair of St. Grisigono (*Sveti Krševan*), who was the patron saint of Zara. After 1690 a fair was also organised on the Day of St. Simon. The peasants would sell their agricultural products and buy craft products such as fabrics, household goods, artisan's products, oil, rice, sugar and some colonial goods¹⁶⁹.

6. War/Border economy – robbery and slave trade

Robbery, the theft of cattle and the taking slaves were common aspects of life on the Venetian–Ottoman border in Dalmatia¹⁷⁰. Alongside with these there were revenge and vendettas, especially after the Cyprus

¹⁶⁴ DAZ, *Knjige Zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Francesco Semitecolo*, f. 238r-242r. Report made by the office of the Governor General Carlo Pisani in 1711 regarding the sanitary surveillance of the border crossings and traffic with Bosnia.

¹⁶⁵ PERIČIĆ, *Prinosi povijesti*, p. 71.

¹⁶⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Civran, Busta 383, No. 46; See also PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva*, p. 99.

¹⁶⁷ BMC, Mss Gardenigo, Pietro Valier, No. 40, f. 104v: "Così nelle città soffocate l'industria dall'inchieta e s'arte dal monopolio s'asportano gl'effetti che nascono e s'introducono nel paese senza convertirli in manifatture che sogliono dar trattenimento a poveri e invito alle popolazioni e pure l'abbondanza di lane, e la incolta d'ogli aprirebbe il modo alla fabbrica avvantaggiosa delle buone pannine che con maggior costo si lavorano e trasmettono da sottovento in turchia."

¹⁶⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar*, marzo/aprile 1685, Filza 657, *Lettera al Senato di Provveditore Generale Pietro Valier, Zara, 12 febbraio 1685.*

¹⁶⁹ PERIČIĆ, *Razvitak gospodarstva*, p. 103.

¹⁷⁰ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmatinske krajine*, p. 8. The author finds the major reason for this was in weakness of the Ottoman as well as Venetian governments in the periphery of their dominions, which opened the way to develop of a special kind of behaviour where violence and robbery were perceived as heroic acts and the perpetrators as role models.

War when despite the peace conclusion on top diplomatic levels, the situation on the ground i.e. the border zone, did not secure peace amongst the inhabitants on either side¹⁷¹. Cross border robbery and thieving were widespread and demanded strict sanction measures. According to Zara's Statute any outlaw could be taken into custody by anyone and delivered to Zara's Court and the usual punishment for this crime was death by hanging¹⁷². The theft of cattle or a horse were crimes on a low level, which a local village community had to deal with, while organised bands who robbed caravans, large numbers of cattle and other goods were prosecuted by captains or counts and were of major concern to the *Provveditore Generale*'s office. Robbery and other crimes were not so obvious during the chaos of war due to intrusions and the taking of booty from both sides of frontier. *Commissario* Marco Molin at the beginning of the Candian War admitted that the poverty caused by war dragged people into committing robbery in order to provide necessary food and clothes for their own survival¹⁷³. The long duration of war and the toleration of robbery by the enemy as a mechanism of war made the spread of a certain type of outlaws called *hajduks* possible. The Venetian government was not very benevolent towards them despite the fact that their victims were the Ottomans. *Commissario* Gerolamo Foscarini emphasised, that they also disturbed and molested the Venetian subjects and had no respect for the government¹⁷⁴. Despite this *hajduks* enjoyed certain popularity amongst the Venetian subjects because of their activities against the Ottomans¹⁷⁵. *Provveditore Generale* Lorenzo Dolfin in his report written in 1655 expressed his high concern about spreading of *malviventi* who disturbed the whole province

¹⁷¹ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 356-359.

¹⁷² *Zadarski Statut*, p. 137, *Capitulum XV*.

¹⁷³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Commissariato Marco Molin, Busta 692, No. 8: (...) "riconosco la mia debolezza non era bastevole per abolire quelli animi che alterati per il bisogno delle cose neccessarie per il vito e vestito erano in alcune città trascorsi a svaleggi."

¹⁷⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Commissariato Gerolamo Foscarini, Busta 691, No. 12: (...) "in questo linguaggio sono chiamati Kaiducci a quali vien permesso depredar le ville di turchi, far schiavi et danneggiar ivi quasi voglia modo il loro paese godendo ciò ch'acquistano non partendosi dal costume di ladri sotto l'accento pretesto infestano non solo gli amorevoli confinanti ma poco rispettando la publica maesta ardiscono inferir notabile popoli et terre ch'alla Ser. Vr. incontrata professano la divozione."

¹⁷⁵ PERIČIĆ, *Hajdučija u Mletačkoj Dalmaciji XVIII. stoljeća*, [Highwaymen in 18th century Venetian Dalmatia], p. 204.

and by robbing everyone and everywhere possible, additionally impeded life¹⁷⁶.

When the war was over it was not possible to stop these perpetrators when taking into consideration that it was not easy to organise a peaceful life in *contado of Zara* with its numerous immigrants. The situation worsened after the border demarcation in 1671 when numerous new Venetian subjects lost their previously appointed land turning them to commit crime. The restart of trade between the Ottoman hinterland and the Venetian coastland created opportunities to rob Ottoman merchants. *Provveditore Generale Zorzi Morosini* tried to stop this, which the new Morlach subjects were accused of most of the time. He would order the search for stolen goods in the villages near the crime scenes, arrest criminals and punish them, which would be a warning for any further criminal attempts¹⁷⁷. He also tried to organise the constant surveillance of the territory but this was very difficult due to the low numbers of cavalry troops available¹⁷⁸. Attacks on merchants from the Ottoman territory often took place around Obbrovazzo¹⁷⁹ and when caravans were passing Bucovizza towards Ravni Kotari, around Segar, Rasanze and Possedaria. The villages of Rasanze and Possedaria lost the majority of their fertile fields with the establishment of *linea Nani*. Maybe in protest, but probably more in need, some of the local inhabitants turned towards robbing Ottoman merchants. It was also advantageous that official blame would fall on the *Segnani* for every robbery that happened in its territory¹⁸⁰. This was also a kind of vague

¹⁷⁶ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 101.

¹⁷⁷ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 10: (...) “caso successo a mercanti turchi inarrestati nel partita de manzi che resterano assaliti da Morlacchi nelle partinentie di Stosia Vilaggio poco distante da quella città ed asporto d’alcuni cavalli et altro e con morte di uno delli detti mercanti. Alle indolente portate S.E. dagli altri due mercanti aveva ordinato al Sar.g del Battista Rimaldi di speduto nel passaggio suo servendo all’Ecc.mo K. Nani qualche truppa per far la cerca delle robbe nelle case di detti villici e di poner gli in arresto.”

¹⁷⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 25 and 26.

¹⁷⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Civran, Busta 383, No. 15 and 20; In June 1673 around Obbrovazzo *Segnani* robbed an Ottoman caravan; they killed seven people and took 20 horses with other goods which they carried towards Ottoman territory. *Provveditore Generale Pietro Civran* had to conduct the investigation, hoping not to find any Venetian subjects participating.

¹⁸⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 25 and No. 27.

official Venetian excuse given to the Ottoman representatives who demanded repayments for damages¹⁸¹.

The robbery of caravans spread alongside the Ottoman-Venetian border, targeting the regular merchant's routes across the mountains from the Dalmatian coastal cities. These groups of the bandits were not only local; they also included a whole net of Venetian as well as Ottoman subjects in the Dalmatian hinterland¹⁸². The attacks were not only aimed at merchants. Ottoman magnates were not exempt from robbery, as in June 1677 when near the *serai* of Nadin, an Ottoman emin who was travelling back to Bosnia from Zara was robbed and his servant was taken as a slave¹⁸³.

Robbery, trespasses and murders between the Venetian Morlachs and Ottomans caused many retaliatory attacks during the truce of 1670-1684 and *Provveditore Generale* Giovanni Grimani highlighted the problem of keeping a peaceful border during such constant bitterness¹⁸⁴. Some troubles were personal such as in one event between two brothers from Pacoschiane and some local Ottomans from Vrana. According to the *Provveditore Generale* Gerolamo Grimani's investigation the Ottomans killed the brothers and robbed their houses. Soon after this, despite the surveillance of Venetian Captain Zorzi Renesi, the people from Pacosciane went to Vrana and killed two Ottomans in revenge¹⁸⁵. Both governments Venetian and

¹⁸¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 74; When an Ottoman caravan was attacked in Bucovizza and two of their merchants were killed in June 1672, the Ottoman Mehmet Aga went straight to Istanbul to complain and demanded the restitution of 1,050 cechini and 300 reals as repayment from the Venetian Bailo. Thus the Venetian government put all its efforts into finding those who participated in the robbery. Finally *serdar* Stojan Janković Mitrović found some Morlachs from Segar and Possedaria guilty who had joined a group of *Segnani*.

¹⁸² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Zorzi Morosini, Busta 382, No. 92: "Alli 25 di agosto parti da Spalato caravana di 32 cavalli con diverse merci assistita da dodici persone. Passata questa quietamente dentor li confini. Assaliti poi quarto miglia entro il paese Ottomano da 25 o 30 assassini sono rimasti morti Quattro Hebrei et un Armeno, et tre Cristiani e tre Turchi fuggiti a Clissa. I detti assassini ritirati alla parte di contado di Zara. Avisati quei rappresentanti perché col mezzo della cavalleria di dirigere del Rados forse procurato il loro arresto e ricupero della preda. Tutto in vano; loro trovano sicuro a Bucoovizza. Ha pero detto Rados fermato due uomini uno da Possidarie e l'altro da S. Cassano. Dalli loro sostituti vengono nominati più di xxa unitisi per il detto svaleggio. Sia questi alcuni Segnani.,"

¹⁸³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Gerolamo Grimani, Busta 384, No. 88.

¹⁸⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Gerolamo Grimani, Busta 384, No. 8, 31, 63, 70.

¹⁸⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Gerolamo Grimani, Busta 384, No. 26, 28, 47.

Ottoman, tried unsuccessfully to curtail such events¹⁸⁶ that escalated just before the Morean War¹⁸⁷.

With the beginning of the war robbery on Ottoman territory was again one of the major tactics of the Morlach guerrillas¹⁸⁸. Besides this, the lack of money for their payment as regular soldiers, who were also not regularly paid¹⁸⁹, stimulated them into taking booty and slaves. Even more, the government imposed duties on booty i.e. *decime delle prede e bottini*. According to the order of *Commissario* Stefano Capello every leader of a group of soldiers, which was raiding into enemy territory had to make a list of all the goods specifying which animals were taken, the place and the date. The leader of the group had to estimate the value of the whole booty and deliver a tenth of that value in money to the county's chamber, where the money were deposited separately in *Casa di decime di prede e bottini*¹⁹⁰.

After the Morean War, the scale of robbery did not change much in comparison with the situation after the Candian War, but this time the Republic took severe measures to stop this noxious activity to rebuild its trade with the Ottoman hinterland, which was of vital importance for the province. As mentioned previously their own subjects were obliged to take collective responsibility and repay the damage every time that someone in their surrounding would commit such a robbery. Besides this Governor General Marin Zane was also likely to pass the death penalty on those who were convicted of robbery. In April 1703 he ordered the public execution of two Morlachs judged as being robbers and to publicly exhibit their heads in the main square in Zara¹⁹¹. On another occasion *Provveditore Generale* Giustin Da Riva, being unable to capture Vido Petrović the leader of one

¹⁸⁶ DAZ, *Dragomanski spisi*, box 11, Filza LXXXIV.

¹⁸⁷ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog*, p. 10-11.

¹⁸⁸ ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 168-170.

¹⁸⁹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, f. 16v.

¹⁹⁰ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Commissario Stefano Capello, box 61, f. 55v-56r and 10r-100v: (...) "annotar sopra un libro bolato che a tal effetto si già consegna tutto il da loro predato o bottinato e ciò nella forma seguenti: Anno-giorno-Luoco-Harambassa, Capo o altro, che sara ritornato dalla Partita, il luoco ove fù praticata la partita stessa e di qual Posto sij, che qualità de robbe sia stata riportata" (...).

¹⁹¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Marin Zane, Busta 399, No. 24: "Ha condanato a morte due Morlacchi carcerati nelli già impresentati svaleggi delle caravane. Giustitia al confine resterano esposti a terrore de malviventi et ai giustificazione delle pubbliche netta interione. Ha fatto esponer all'osservatione universale nella Publica Piazza due teste elevate a due ladroni." Also: No. 32: "considerato che li capi più feroci de malviventi sono di famiglie suddite e che l'essecutione praticate contro d'alcuni li hann fatto fuggire dal dominio, ch'hanno soggiorno nel paese ottomano che si stengono con le contributioni dei villaggi Turcheschi" (...).

gang of robbers, ordered his mother and brother to be imprisoned and their animals confiscated. Besides this he believed that the main reason for the Venetian's ineptitude to stop these crimes on the border was the fact that the bandits would hide in Habsburg and Ottoman territory where they had their web of supporters, but the governments there took no actions against them. Whilst he personally believed that these bandits should be considered as a common enemy that created a large impediment on the traffic of goods and travel of people on the Triplex Confinium¹⁹².

Slaves

Trade, legal or illegal, was the most common way of making money on the Venetian–Ottoman border in war and peace. Within this context, the taking and selling of slaves was frequent and it could be analysed as an economy of war, although it was not strictly related only to periods of conflict. There were several sorts of slaves: a) soldiers captured by an enemy army i.e. war prisoners; b) civilians taken as slaves i.e. victims of enemies. They could have been exchanged for ransom or for other prisoners, but most likely they were treated as goods sold at slave markets; c) members of family (children) or compatriots who were sold as slaves i.e. forced labourers. Taking into consideration that slaves could bring large incomes, there was no strict rule in this division and soldiers could have been sold the same as civilians.

The soldiers captured as enemy prisoners had special treatment regarding their status. Most of the time ordinary soldiers were kept for ransom or for the exchange of prisoners. The most valuable captured slaves such as Venetian military commanders and high ranked state officers were considered as the Sultan's personal slaves and should be sent to him in Istanbul. This happened to the Morlach *serdars* Stojan Janković and Božo Milković¹⁹³. Lesser important captured enemy officers were given to a pasha or a bey who would keep them as their personal slaves, whilst those ordinary men, women and children would be left to those who had captured them. On the other side of the border Venetians also appreciated high-ranking prisoners who would be kept mostly for the opportunity to be exchanged for a very important Venetian officer. Nevertheless, high-ranking

¹⁹² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 11, 41 and 97.

¹⁹³ DESNICA, *Stojan Janković*, p. 152-153.

Ottoman officers could be sold as private slaves for a large amount of money¹⁹⁴. Captured soldiers were mostly kept for ransom. This was easy money from both sides of the border, especially if the ‘bounty hunters’ presumed that a captured person could be worth a large amount of money. Those who found themselves imprisoned as slaves, tried to contact their families, friends and state representatives to help them collect their ransom money¹⁹⁵. Imprisonment was not pleasant and the rough treatment of slaves was purposeful in order to make them undertake desperate measures to pay for their freedom¹⁹⁶. The ransom amount was estimated according to the grade of the captured person and could bring large profits to the owner or more owners¹⁹⁷. Sometimes the captives would lie about their position and present themselves as being less valuable making it easier to collect money for their ransom¹⁹⁸. The family of a captured person also put all possible efforts into getting their beloved released. This happened on both sides. During the border negotiations between Osman Aga and Giovanni Grimani in 1700, a woman came to Osman Aga to plead for help to collect the money for her son’s ransom who was imprisoned in Knin. She could only

¹⁹⁴ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, II, p. 141; In July 1687 Zaviša Mitrović bought Ibrahim Aga *disdar* of Udbina for 260 *reali* and Mahmud Begh, who was a rich civilian, also from Udbina, for 650 *reali*. The author did not publish further documents, which could have shown us Zaviša’s further intentions with these two very valuable slaves.

¹⁹⁵ DAZ, *Javni bilježnici, Instrumentorum 2, Zuane Sorini, nodaro publico 1646-1647, 13 Genaro 1647*: “Trovandosi Lucio Turcato da Treviso Bombardiere esstraordinario nella fortezza di Novegradi nel resa della quale è restato schiavo di Turchi et dessiderando liberarsi da essa schiavitù doll’eshorti di reali cento e vinti ne havendo modo di farlo senza aiuto di alcuno è stato supplicato l’Ecc.m Sig. D. Lonardo Foscolo” (...). Another example can be found in: DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Giovanni Andrea Querini*, p.109r: “Adì 22 zugno 1691. In giuditio et in allegatione cause Mad. Antonia consorte di maistro Simone Salamonich caduto in schiavitù de Turchi militando in esercito publico sia deminito delle raggioni del medesimo et delle proprie dotali non contende la sententione a legge pretesa dall’adversario quando dichiara praticare il pagamento” (...).

¹⁹⁶ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 31; In 1648 Greek merchant Manoli Agiapostoliti sent a desperate letter to his brother-in-law Marco Troglioni in Zara, begging him to collect the money for his ransom because he could not bear the unbearable conditions of being a slave to Alai-Bey from Banja Luka.

¹⁹⁷ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara, Antonio Alvise Marcello*, f. 44r-46r; Zanmaria Mondini and Marcantonio Garbezi received money for the ransom of an Ottoman slave, but this brought them into deep disagreement and Zara’s count had to intervene to resolve the matter. The same situation happened between Andrea Medin and Bare Poglizzanin. See p. 369r.

¹⁹⁸ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book I, f. 113v: “Resta schiavo il Sig. Kav. Petroso che sostenendo la Carica di Collonello d’un Regimento fece le parti d’un buon soldato, e di corraggioso ufficiale, si sperava il riscato, et era concertato in 52 Cechini, avendo simulato il nome e la condizione, ma scoperto il Bassa la schiavitù del soggetto l’ha fatto venir a seme resta sconcertato il trattato.”

collect 210 reali of the 250 demanded. Osman Aga asked for Grimani's intervention, but he could not help because this was not under his command although he wanted to help¹⁹⁹.

The Republic of Venice had their own coffers for the payment of its subjects who were captured as slaves²⁰⁰ although it was more likely that those captured would find their own way to pay their ransom and later claim some reimbursement²⁰¹. Nevertheless, the process was very slow and sometimes families of those captured collected money themselves to free their relatives²⁰². If the captured person was lucky they could buy his freedom by selling their weapons and/or clothes²⁰³. In some cases the captured person would be temporary released with special permission to collect the ransom or have someone else replace them while they collected it²⁰⁴. After the payment, the person was free to return home again receiving a document of indemnity from further capture from the Venetian authorities in Dalmatia²⁰⁵. A specific bond amongst the people on the borderland known as *vira krajiška* (frontier trust) kept a kind of law and order in this

¹⁹⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 701, No. 15: "Disse che era mosso a pietà dalle lacrime d'una miserabile donna ch'haveva un suo figliolo schiavo nelle mani d'un suddito a Knin. Ch'il suo riscato era 250 reali; haverne Pagoati 210 onde pregava clemenza per il restante o che s'accordassero nel manco si poteva mentre lui era mosso a sovvenirlo anche di qualche carità. Io mi scusai che nella material de schiavi non potevo entrare perché non era della mia incombenza come commissario ma come particular suo amico haverei fatto cercar il principale per impiegare ogn'insinuatione con la premura di servirlo in tutto ciò ch'havessi potuto per far che minorasse la pretesa del restante accordato ma che non potevo far di più."

²⁰⁰ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Francesco Semitecolo*, f. 320r. In 1702 Count Semitecolo issued the proclamation about the public collection of ransom money for enslaved Venetian subjects.

²⁰¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 138, f. 109v; In 1666 Triffon Vucich from Bielice was taken as the Ottoman slave where he was kept for three years, became free after paying 300 ducats. After his request, Venetian Senate approved the reimbursement.

²⁰² DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, book I, p. 35; Another of Soric's slaves Mechmet Gelovac, an Ottoman Muslim from Babodol paid for his freedom in 1648 thanks to his two sons who collected the ransom money.

²⁰³ ASV, *Senato Mar, maggio/giugno 1656*, Filza 485; A Venetian soldier wrote about his experience during the Candian War in Dalmatia, mentioning that: "...remasi schiavo de Turchi delle cui mani non mi sono liberato che con il total eccidio di mia ben tenui fortune havendo convenuto vendere li proprij pani et riscatarmi..."

²⁰⁴ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Antonio Zen, 1658-1660*, f. 186r; Simon Gliubich Morlacho from S. Zorzi (Sv. Juraj) captured as a slave was given permission for travel *contado di Zara* in order to collect his ransom money.

²⁰⁵ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Commissariato Stefano Capello, box 61, f. 73r: "Venendo rilasciato da noi a riscatto il Turco Mehmet Novalich et havendo pagato la decima spettante a Ser.tà li concederamo licenza che possi portarsi nel suo Paese, eccitando cadauno Governatore di Posto, Capo e Harambassa de Morlacchi et ogni altro suddito permeterlo libero e sicuro il passaggio."

very chaotic way of life²⁰⁶. A minimum of trust had to be guaranteed in the case of imprisonment and exchange of captives in war. Calling upon *vira*, the people from Zara went to the commander of Ottoman troops, who in 1660, attacked and took siege of the city holding several trapped people of Zara who had not managed to retreat into the city's ramparts. They offered a great amount of money for their captured compatriots, but the Ottoman pasha rejected this²⁰⁷.

The best solution for both sides was the exchange of slaves. The members of the family of an enslaved person searched for any possible candidates who could be exchanged for their beloved and very often negotiated on both sides. This was more often the case when the captured person was a soldier. If this was the case of a Venetian subject, then they themselves or their members of family wrote to the Doge, the governor general or the Senate, pleading for a solution to exchange slaves²⁰⁸ but also highlighting all the merits of their family for the Republic²⁰⁹. The exchange of civilians was also very common. In November 1648 Zvita (Cvita), the wife of Gerco (Jerko) from Stancovzzi, was taken as slave together with her two sons and two daughters. At the same time Gerco kept as slave named Zachira, the wife of Mahmut Subasa Gelovaz from Babodol, with a baby son. Thus he asked the *Provveditore Generale* Lunardo Foscolo to give him a permission to exchange this Ottoman woman for his wife and children. Zachira was allowed to go to Ottoman territory to look for Zvita, while her young son was kept as a guarantee that she would return. In the case that her

²⁰⁶ W. BRACEWEL, *Frontier blood-brotherhood and the Triplex Confinium*, in *Constructing border societies*, p. 29-46; also ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex Confinium*, p. 117-118.

²⁰⁷ CELEBI, *Putopisi*, p. 186.

²⁰⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar*, maggio/giugno 1656, Filza 485; Venetian Captain Simon Isij contacted the Venetian Senate to exchange him with two Ottoman slaves Mustafa Ivoich and Mehmet Corliscich who were on the *Galera Arbesana*. The Senate approved this exchange. Also ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 135, f. 168r; Giustina Donini pleaded for her son who was captured as an Ottoman slave to be exchanged for Mehmet Turco from Dolcigno, who was a slave on a Venetian galley. The Senate also approved this exchange: (...) "concoriamo volentieri alla gratia per questo vivo desiderato che dai sudditi benemeriti, che in publico servizio incontrano tali disavventure s'esprimenti la possibile facilità di conseguir il proprio solevo."

²⁰⁹ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 134; In 1668 Simo Milković sent a letter to the Venetian Doge pleading for the possibility that his brother, taken as an Ottoman slave, could be exchanged for two Ottoman slaves on a Venetian galley in Dalmatia. He emphasised that 10 members of their family had died in the war fighting for the Republic.

little son would die in the mean time or if she didn't find his children, she had five people from the Ottoman side act as guarantors²¹⁰.

People who were kept for ransom could also be sold as slaves. The Catholic Church was not benevolent towards the selling of captured enemy soldiers. In 1685 *Congregazione de Propaganda Fide* sent a protest to the Venetian Senate relating to the selling of Ottoman Morlachs at slave markets although they were captured during battle and should be considered as war prisoners and therefore free people. *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier tried to prove that these people, were not only very soon freed, they were also incorporated into the Venetian military troops. Some of them were serving on galleys but as free oarsmen. Even more, Valier mentioned that the Ottoman Muslim subjects who willingly passed onto the Venetian side, accepted Christianity, so they could live the 'right' religion as free people²¹¹. However, numerous documents show that Ottoman Christian subjects captured in war were most of the time sold as slaves and, if this was necessary, they were falsely presented as Muslims and forcefully baptised²¹². Those who would not accept Christianity were kept as slaves on galleys or sold to the slave merchants from the south of Italy²¹³. Even though it cannot be said that all Ottoman Muslims were forced to convert to Christianity. Sometimes they did so at their own will as in the case of a man who after baptising took name of the governor general in Dalmatia at the time, Gerolamo Grimani, and he became a *harambassa* in *contado di Sebenico*²¹⁴.

²¹⁰ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, I, p. 53.

²¹¹ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book III, f. 64v: "Quanto al punto contenuto nel memoriale della Congregazione de Propaganda consegnato all'Ecc.mo Lunardo è facile la risposta non essendo vero che li Morlacchi sudditi di Turco vengano venduti per schiavi, mentre non trovarebbero ne anco compratori, bensì rendimenti come prigionieri di Guerra, pratica equalmente esercitata da Morlacchi sudditi de Turchi, molti de quali non solo combattono ostinatissimamente con nostri ma procurano con insidie haverli nelle mani, e molte volte venderli a Turchi. Se poi alcuni passano nelle Gallere, non passano come schiavi, ma come huomini di libertà nella conformità che l'usa con li proprii sudditi, e quando si disarmarono le Gallere restano liberi, il che pure fu praticato nella Guerra passata..."; p. 65r: "...quelo più che mi consola è che anco de Turchi medesimi sfuggono e procurano con il Battesimo acquistare la soggetatione d'Iddio e del Principe."

²¹² JAČOV, *Le missioni cattoliche*, II, p. 33-34, 40-41, 88-89. In Naples Brother Donat Jelić was very active in saving such unfortunate people who were caught on the eastern side of the Adriatic and sold as slaves to Italian slave merchants despite being Christians. He saved many of them, including members of his own family. Christians taken as slaves were forced to change their names to Muslim names and to be dressed as Ottomans. The majority of them were very young, teenagers, who actually remembered their Christian origins.

²¹³ JAČOV, *Le missioni cattoliche*, I, p. 198.

²¹⁴ DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih*, book I, p. 72.

The slave trade was a serious business, which was of great interest for the Republic of Venice. Slaves were a precious working force for the Venetian navy. Besides this, the Senate intended to keep control over this business by imposing an obligatory duty (*decima*) for each slave sold, which was to go to the state treasury²¹⁵. Nevertheless, it was not easy to control the slave trade and fraud was rife²¹⁶. The rectors and chamber officers in every coastal city in Dalmatia and Albania were in charge of collecting this specific tax and to keep control of it. The large impact of this trade can be only imagined taking into consideration that a large number of people were dragged as slaves from different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be sold as slaves in Venetian territory. Gender or ages were not very important. As can be seen from *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Valier's report written in September 1685, stating that there were 520 men, 98 women and 46 children waiting to be sold²¹⁷.

It is difficult to follow the price of a slave, because they changed in relation to the rank of a person, their gender, age and health, as well as the number of slaves already at a certain market. The usual border transactions were not the real slave market places, because the real market was on the other side of the Adriatic or in Istanbul. For example in February 1649 nine Ottomans were taken as slaves in Zara's hinterland. Their public price was estimated at 20 *reali* each. Some of them were kept for exchange with Venetian subjects taken as Ottoman slaves, while some other were kept or

²¹⁵ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog*, p. 147. Also DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 159r-163r. In October 1685 *Provveditore Generale* Valier reminded the soldiers about the obligatory tithe for slave trading. The tithe was paid in money after the estimation of the value of slaves when those were women and children, while a tenth of the total number enslaved men had to be given to serve for state purposes, most of the time on galleys.

²¹⁶ DAZ, *Generalni providuri*, Commissario Stefano Capello, box 61, f. 100v. He warned the captain, harambassas and all other leaders of the Venetian soldiers in Dalmatia and Albania to be accurate in delivering the duties from the slave trade as well as to keep written records of the numbers of captured slaves, their gender, age and condition, according to which the estimation of their market value could be deduced.

²¹⁷ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 161v: "Osservai assai negletta la riscossione delle decime de schiavi raccomandata da V. Ser.tà alla diligenza de Rettori, e Camerali, ho ordinato prequisizione in ogni loco per le frodi e formata terminazione assai ristretta per regola dell'esazione e da Pagoamento al numero liquidato de schiavi de quali resta riscuoter la decima ascendente ora a 520 uomini, femine 98, putti 46 e ne trasmetto la nota. Credo però che molti ne siano occultati e che con la sopradetta inquisizione potrà levare li pregiudizij e riportare alle frodi praticate in tale proposito da particolari. A tal fine ho stimato giovevole stabilir la mercede di dieci per cento da dividersi fra gl'esatori e fra li camerali per ecitare col premio la diligenza e assicurare la riscossione coll interesse."

sold as private slaves with the government's permission²¹⁸. In March of the same year, a Morlach troop attacked Ottoman territory in Zara's hinterland again and 46 Ottoman subjects (*Turchi*) were taken as slaves. *Commissario* Marco Molin as the representative of the Venetian government used his rights to keep 17 slaves for state purposes and the rest of slaves were left to the Morlachs to be sold. All of these slaves of whom there is no information of gender, ages and rank, were also estimated at 20 *reali* each²¹⁹. One year before Angelo Pancini da Malfetta had paid 25 ducats for an Ottoman slave (*Turco chiamato Mecho*) after a public estimation by Zuane Lantana²²⁰. The books of public notary and counts of Zara contain numerous evidence of the slave trade. The slave traders would come all the way from the Italian peninsula to buy slaves in Zara. This kind of trade of state slaves was legal with the permission of the city's count. In this way in 1649 Tomaso Pinto from Brindisi came to Zara and with the payment of 30 ducats he had permission to export Selime da Narenta, Fatima da Graine, Imra da Clisa and Ezafia da Zetina who were all baptised once they were on Christian territory and before they were sold, according to regulations²²¹. Slaves from the eastern Adriatic were transported and sold in Napoli, Sicilia, Genova, and Firenze. In numerous cases they were treated as Muslims although in reality, the majority of the enslaved civilians from the Ottoman territory were actually Christians²²².

More often than not the victims of slavery were children (even those of the Christian faith) on the Ottoman side of the border²²³. Sometimes relatives and or, including, parents sold their own children although this was banned by the orders of the *liga* and Zara's Statute²²⁴. *Provveditore Generale* Gerolamo Corner at the beginning of the Morean War wrote about the miserable state of some Morlach immigrants who lived in such poverty that they were actually forced to sell their own children as slaves²²⁵. There were also some other cases when Morlach children were stolen and sold as

²¹⁸ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 24.

²¹⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 692, No. 36.

²²⁰ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del Conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo*, p. 103v.

²²¹ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del Conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo*, p. 82r.

²²² JAČOV, *Le missioni cattoliche*, I, p. 318-319.

²²³ See an example in ALAČEVIĆ, *La Guerra di Morea*, p. 42. After the fall of Vrana in 1684, Fatima, an Ottoman Muslim subject accepted to live as a Venetian subject and she was baptised along with her children. Nevertheless, some local Morlachs took two of her children and sold them as slaves, although they were baptised the same as their mother. Therefore she sent an appeal to the Venetian government to find a way to free her children.

²²⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Valier, Busta 385, No. 6.

²²⁵ STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog*, p. 139.

slaves in Segna and Fiume or back to the Ottomans. These children were interrogated about their families and according to public notary records, they were baptised although sometimes from their answers it could be understood that they belonged to Christian families and that they had already been baptised²²⁶. But through the act of baptising they were represented as being non-Christians, which then proved their sale to new Christian masters as an act of salvation. Nevertheless, the priest Giovanni Bosanovich was ambiguous about how to treat his believers knowing that they had captured a Christian and then sold them as a slave to the Ottomans; or when parents sold their own children finding this as only way out from poverty; or when parents gave their children to someone who would sell them to the Ottomans; or when they were taking Christian Ottoman subjects as slaves and then selling them to serve as *galioiti*; when someone gave a weapon to the Ottomans as payment for their own freedom; or when someone who was freed from Ottoman captivity just by giving away Venetian military secrets; or when someone served the Ottomans troops to help them in robberies; or when someone whose spouse was captured by the Ottomans after a few years wanted to marry again. These were questions, which in 1659 he addressed to *Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide*²²⁷.

7. Victualling, hospitals and charity

In 1628 a public foundation or *Monti di Pietà* was established in Zara. It was a well-known charitable institution throughout the Venetian Republic and was initiated as a counter action against usurers²²⁸ especially Jewish moneylenders²²⁹. This was actually a public bank, whose main

²²⁶ D. KLEN, *Pokrštavanje "Turske" djece u Rijeci*, [Baptising of 'Turkish' children in Rijeka], in *Historijski zbornik*, XXIX-XXX, 1976, p. 203-204.

²²⁷ JACOV, *Le missioni cattoliche*, I, p. 94-95.

²²⁸ The most comprehensive study about *Monti di Pietà* on Venetian territory was given by G. SILVANO, *A beneficio dei poveri. Il Monte di Pietà di Padova tra pubblico e privato (1491-1600)*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2005. The situation of the *Monti di Pietà* institutions in Istria was given by IVETIĆ, *Oltremare*, p. 222-228.

²²⁹ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 172. In his report *Provveditore Generale* Giovanni Grimani expressed that he was especially satisfied with the work of this institution in Dalmatia, which curtailed Jewish usurers. See also SILVANO, *A beneficio dei poveri*, p. 20.

income was from a percentage of the salt trade and public donations²³⁰. The bank lent money at an interest of 6 percent. It was managed by a committee organised by representatives of noblemen and plebeian, with a prior as the man in charge²³¹. One problem, which arose during the second half of the 17th century, was related to the bad management of the foundation's commodities. *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran related this problem to the fact that the managers of the *Monti di Pietà* spent money carelessly, which was dedicated to church services, the dowries of girls of poor family status and education. They were also turning foundation's properties into their own private estates. They were not thinking about poverty, which was spreading throughout the province because of the increasing numbers of inhabitants who had no possibility to produce their own food²³². In this way the institution, which was established to help the local community and boost its economy, did not function at the time when it was most necessary – during war.

In Zara there was a granary i.e. *fontic*, from which the provisions during food shortages would be distributed. It was established in the 16th century²³³. In 1632 *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Civran was concerned that the reserves of grain from local production would only be sufficient for two months if urgently required²³⁴. Thus he suggested to his successors to keep an eye on the store and to keep at least 2,000 *stara* of wheat and 3,000 of millet to cover any needs²³⁵. *Provveditore Generale* Giovanni Battista Grimani expanded the existing *fontico del formento* with an additional *fontico dei minuti*²³⁶. He was mostly concerned about the poor people in the county to whom these kinds of rations would be distributed as he agreed with the Zara's Count Bertucio Civran²³⁷. The distribution of supplies to the

²³⁰ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo*, p. 91r: “4 maggio 1648. Ordine data a Francesco Bortolazzi e Paulo Batter di ricevere in Casa del Sacro Monte lire quell ricavate della vendita delle sardelle.”

²³¹ PEDERIN, p. 56

²³² CIVRAN, *Relazione storica*, p. 74; also ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Bust 383, No. 52.

²³³ RAUKAR-PETRICIOLI-ŠVELEC-PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, III, p. 410.

²³⁴ IVETIĆ, *Oltremare*, p. 117, gives an overview of the function of Istrian granaries, which could also not provide a supply of more than 40-70% of the province's needs.

²³⁵ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 50.

²³⁶ F. BRAUDEL, *Les structures du Quotidien*, p. 110. The author described the Venetian organisation of food provisions of *minuti* or *menudi*, which was the name for dried vegetables, beans, peas, chicken peas etc.

²³⁷ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, VII, p. 172.

most needy was a public expense²³⁸. Unfortunately, even when the granary contained considerable supplies of grain, there was no method for its long-term preservation. Birds, rats and other animals, as well as the damp, could ruin the whole supply²³⁹. During the Candian and Morean Wars when it was almost completely impossible to produce any food in *contado di Zara*, the government had to ensure enough import of grain for public distribution²⁴⁰. Morlach immigrants created additional problems for food supplies, because they needed food when they first arrived in Venetian territory²⁴¹ although more often than not they brought their own cattle with them.

During the war, Venetian Dalmatia also received large food supplies from the Papal State. Although the governor general was in charge of providing food supply, the distribution of food through the city's *fontic* was the charge of local Venetian rectors and church organisation, especially in the case of Papal donations²⁴². Millet or in some cases wheat and oats were distributed, although this kind of produce was reserved for feeding horses. The governor also had to distribute some seeds so newcomers could start to produce their own food once the main military actions were away from the area of Zara. However, even then it was difficult to expect the quick recovery of the agriculture in *contado* since the land was abandoned over a

²³⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 143, f. 158v.

²³⁹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 691, No. 5, the letter written by Marco Tarabotto.

²⁴⁰ Emergency food supplies had to be delivered from Venice even during the truce of 1670-1684. See ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 141, f. 203v. At the beginning of the Morean War in 1684 the Senate gave an order to *Provveditori e Priori alle Biave* to send *un milione cento e quaranta due migliari di biscotto* for the needs of the fortresses in Zara and Cattaro. This was initially food for the soldiers, who many times also lacked provisions. Thehardtack for the army was produced in 48 *forni* of Venice.

²⁴¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 150, f. 189r and ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 691, No. 19 and 26: "Del Miglio già tanti mesi deliberato di stara 1500 per queste monitioni per anco non si vede comparirne niuna quantità che potrebbe servire per questi Morlacchi e portare qualche ristarò alla necessità e miseria in che si trovano del vivere et dalle forme per il che dubitar si puo diano in qualche atto di disperatione che porti publico pregiudizio." See also: DAZ, *Dispacci, Pietro Valier*, book I, f. 66v: "Moltiplicano l'istanze di questi Morlacchi per Biade; e la venuta di molti in questi ultimi tempi alla divozione cresce la dispensa, e la necessità di sovenirli. Già scrissi per il miglio, che servirebbe alle semeni; era replico per qualche porzione di formetoni, con quale si puo socorrere con meno dispendio i più gente."

²⁴² DAZ, *Dispacci, Pietro Valier*, book I, f. 124v: "La soprugiunda dell 2 mila rubbi concessi dal Papa sarà oportuna dubitando masime che correndo anco questa staggione con gravissima siecità possi continuar la Carestia, che ha quest'anno flagellato il Paese, e ridotta la povertà nella miseria, e nella fame. Per la dispensa io lascio sempre i riparti alli Ill.mi Rettori purchè con la cognizione de più miserabili fedi de Parochi et alter necessarie osservazioni si distribuisca con giustizia e con carità come si dovrebbe da ciaschieduno spontaneamente eseguire."

wide area for many years and it needed time to recover, and even under the best conditions it would not produce enough grain for more than ten month's supply. Therefore, the import of grain was inevitable and this came most often from Ottoman territory²⁴³. Another obstacle was a specific Venetian policy, which restricted the import of grain from the Papal State. In March 1674 *Provveditore Generale* Pietro Civran suggested to the Venetian Senate to reconsider this negatively impacting policy on the Dalmatian communities, which were struggling to organise food provisions. He went even further in proposing to remove the abolishment of salt export only to the city of Venice, because this very important product could be used in the exchange of grain²⁴⁴.

At the beginning of the 18th century when there was enough land to produce a considerable quantity of grain, to cover for any bad season or crop failure, it was necessary to provide enough grain at low prices in *fontic* and this grain was distributed as charity²⁴⁵. *Provveditore Generale* Giustin Da Riva paid special attention to have enough provisions of grain coming from Venice as well as the organisation of grain distribution without corruption²⁴⁶.

In the city of Zara there were four hospitals (St. Donat, St. Jacob, St. Bernard and St. Mark) as shelters for the old, ill and poor people. They were established as charities with the main income coming from the donations of

²⁴³ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Civran, Busta 383, No. 49.

²⁴⁴ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Civran, Busta 383, No. 59: "Che non è permesso per le pubbliche deliberazioni l'estrattione sudetta per sottovento se non d'Ancona in la così Sinigaglia ancora resta proibita. Considera S.E. esser questo luogo in poco distanza d'Ancona et esser avvezzi i sudditi particolarmente in tempo della Fiera conseguire il spazio maggiore onde crederebbe proprio il lasciarle detto luogo. Servira loro di gran sollevio di consolatione convier sale e scansera tale temperamento gravi pregiuditi inferiti al presente all Provincia."

²⁴⁵ DAZ, *Dispacci*, Pietro Valier, book II, f. 15r; ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Busta 401, No. 32; In April 1709 40 *stara* of wheat were sent to Dalmatia and a considerable quantity of other sorts of grain. The reason for these necessary measures was the dry weather of the previous season in the province.

²⁴⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 60; *Provveditore Generale* Giustin Da Riva believed in May 1706 to have finally organised an abundant quantity of grain from Venice: "Ha precìo impedita ogni estrattione per paesi stranieri assicurandosi con l'obbligo de responsabili da ogni fraude et ha havuto il contesto di vederne tradotta non piccola quantità. Riddota in scarseza de formenti il paese ha creduto proprio finalmente sospendere le licenze dell'estrattioni a consolatione de popoli et a giusta cautella che non cada in totale peruria fatta seguire da diligente e giurata descrizione de formenti e biade essistenti in cadaun citta per prender le misure più addate al bisogno spera approvata la riserva."

rich citizens. Two of them were managed by lay brotherhoods²⁴⁷ and the hospital of St. Bernard was run by the Convent of St. Nicholas, whilst the hospital of St. Mark was under the patronage of the Venetian Republic. In the town of Nona was also a hospital with a physician paid by the community²⁴⁸. The *prior* or prioress was in charge of the management of the hospitals. These institutions were used mostly by the army during wartime, although there was a separate hospital for the army in Zara. The Zara county chamber paid the expenses of this hospital²⁴⁹. Nevertheless, numerous reports by the governor general were related to the poor conditions of this and private hospitals in the city, which often lacked mattresses and sheets as well as medical assistance²⁵⁰. In the hospitals there worked barbers, physicians and some other auxiliary staff and they received their own salary for these services²⁵¹. After the Candian War, Francesco Fozza carried out the duty of physician in the village of Gliuba. He was there mainly to provide medical assistance to the soldiers in the fortress, as well as, to the people in this re-populated area. For his service he was given a house in Gliuba as well as public land with *coloni*²⁵².

In the case of possible contagion, indicated by the death of people in one localised area over a short period, the governor general would send a physician there to check the situation and start actions to prevent the spread of disease. The exchange of any goods was immediately stopped between the city of Zara and its hinterland. The governor also sent provisions of hardtack and medication to the infected area. People who were not suspected of being contagious, were evacuated to Zara's lazaretto²⁵³ or to the nearest island²⁵⁴. After a certain period if there were no further cases of

²⁴⁷ Lay brotherhoods existed in coastal towns and villages, not only in Zara, but they were not very active due to the lack of the money, although one of their main purposes was to take care of their members and provide charity. There were brotherhoods of St. John in Bibigne, St. Cassian in San Cassano, St. Mary in Toretta and St. Michael in Zaravecchia. See VITEZIĆ, *La prima visita*, p. 96. and FILIPI, *Biogradsko-vransko*, p. 491.

²⁴⁸ VITEZIĆ, *La prima visita*, p. 96.

²⁴⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 141, f. 98r. In 1668 *chirurgo* Stamo Dimitropulo was re-elected as *prior* of this hospital. Due to the large number of injured soldiers in the hospital, Perina and Marietta de Zorzi helped him to run the institution.

²⁵⁰ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Gerolimo Grimani, Busta 384, No. 6.

²⁵¹ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Commissariato Gerolamo Foscarini, Busta 691, No. 4 and 5.

²⁵² ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Civran, Busta 383, No. 113.

²⁵³ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova, Atti del conte di Zara Alessandro Diedo*, p. 92r: 4 maggio 1648. *Ordini dati ai Commissari del Lazaretto di tenere aperte giusta la legge.*

²⁵⁴ People from Nona sheltered on the island of Pontadura.

illness or death, the area was considered safe²⁵⁵. As epidemics mostly spread from Bosnia the governor general paid special attention to be informed about any contagious diseases on the Ottoman side of the border to prevent the spread of epidemics between the merchants and their goods²⁵⁶.

During epidemics there were only members of religious orders or very needy, poor people, who needed any money, who would take care of distributing food to sick people in the lazaretto or took care of the dead. During plague epidemics in Zara in 1654 Don Giulio de Marchi, a priest, took the duty of *Capo Universale* supervising all of the city's districts, removing those infected from the city, escorting them to the lazaretto, taking care of the bodies, offering confession services to the sick and providing any available medicines to them as well as using this time to research about the infection and how to stop its spread. He also visited Morlachs around the city, which was not permitted to anyone else, taking them food and taking care of the infected²⁵⁷.

²⁵⁵ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Pietro Valier, Busta 385, No. 66, 76: "Nota S.E. la morte d'uno dei Borghesani di Zara sopra il quale non cade alcuna apparenza di sospetto. Dopo xx giorni morta anche la moglie. Fatto conoscere il cadavere non si scopri dal medico ch'alcuni piccoli segni nei fianchi. Furono creduti petecchie. Risoluzione di S.E. di dagli sepoltura con i soliti riguardi di sospetto fermata la robba in casa e chiusa in sequestro una donna che assiste al inferma. Considera S.E. havera ciò eseguito per inspiratione divina. Capo di 23 giorni anche la donna sudetta caduta inferma. Scoperta in essa l'infettione. Fatta passar però del lazaretto con l'incendio della robba nella casa predetta. Non ha lasciato diligenza per indagar necessariamente l'origine dell'accidente. Passati già 53 giorni della morte dell'huomo e 29 di quella della donna si puo sperare non dalla mano divina fermato il male. Nella città tutta un intiera valute si sospetta l'infettione derivata da un paro di braghese forate a Brevilacqua e comprate dal detto Borghesano. Si sono quele incendiate con altra robba. Nell'aprir la casa dice la donna esser rimasta offesa dal odore uscito dale robbe medesime. Così dar il pur fatto. Per questo accedente raddoppiante le diligenze cose quei deputanti alla sanità sono otto giorni che non si sente altro. A Suchovare e Rasanze non v'è novità molesta. Solo in Brevilacqua vi sono residui del male. Per mancanza di legname e biscotti non puo far passar quelle poche famiglie nel scoglio del piccolo lazaretto come aveva intenzione di fare." See also No. 78 and 82.

²⁵⁶ ASV, *Senato Dispacci, Provveditori da Terra e Mar*, Giustin Da Riva, Busta 400, No. 44: "Haveva spedito alla parte di Travnich e del Serragli nella voce che comessa di mal contagio et ha rilevato falsa la disseminazione. Dice che si gode buona salute in tutto il vicino Paese. Non trascurera però l'attentione così gelosa material." See also No. 94 and TRALJIĆ, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo*, p. 420-421.

²⁵⁷ ASV, *Senato Mar 1655, aprile-maggio*, Filza 475, letter signed by Lunardo Foscolo, Zara, 4th Februari 1656: (...) "fuori della città riuscendo molto più pesante e travagliosa la sua carica, rispetto all'incomodità del luoco, et indesertezza di persone rurali, e Morlacchi, che da tutti fù recresata et da esso con ogni prontezza arrestata, non ha mancato due volte al giorno trasferirsi fuori, che ad altri non era permesso, visitando le tutti, et consolando, portandoli anco cibo de altri luochi della campagna, ove il bisogno ha ricercato facendo

The infections spread easily though the city due to the large concentration of people, their high numbers and poor hygiene, although the city council and the count intended to introduce as many measures as possible to increase safety. In this way in 1648 an order was released regarding butchers obliging them to cut their meat only inside their shops. The penalty for anyone disobeying this order was a considerably high amount of 50 ducats²⁵⁸. There were also orders issued by the city's captain, according to which it was forbidden to leave any rubbish on the streets or around the houses²⁵⁹. This was only the confirmation of the orders from the Zara's Statute according to which any careless exposure of rubbish on the city's streets was assumed to be a public offence. All the inhabitants were obliged to clean the part of the street in front of the place where they lived every Saturday²⁶⁰. Along with this animals were not allowed to be kept within the cities ramparts especially not pigs²⁶¹.

Care for war widows, orphans and crippled soldiers

The Republic of Venice had a special fund for the support of war widows and children of their soldiers²⁶². The files of the Venetian State Archive (*Senato Mar*) contain numerous letters from widows pleading for some support so they could live after their husbands had died²⁶³. However, there can also be found cases when husband redirected his wage or a part of

sepelir li morti, mandando l'infetti e le robbe al Lazaretto, usando fatiche incesanti nel rigor del Verno e del estate senza riguardo alla mala qualità di tempi, ne dal ardour del sole, per ben sepulire da propria incubenteza con solo fine di conseguir il titolo a benemerito appresente di Principe e la sua Patria...?"

²⁵⁸ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova*, book 26, *Alessandro Diedo*, f. 43v.

²⁵⁹ DAZ, *Knjige zadarskih knezova*, book 26, *Alessandro Diedo*, f. 80v: (...) "et ogni volta che saranno trovati o si venisse in cognitione, che alcuno di loro batterà o farà imonditie, o sporgesse acqua, o alcun altra cosa incoriranno nelle pene di sopra cominateli irresmissibilmente et sotto le medesime pene dovranno subito haver netato essa Calle dale dette imonditie, et sporchizzia, et così dovrà esser eseguito."

²⁶⁰ *Zadarski statut*, p. 544, 40. *De non proiciendo in viis facta et stratis mundandis omni sabbato*.

²⁶¹ *Zadarski statut*, p. 544, 38. *De porcis non tenendis in civitate et occidendis*, and 39. *De animalibus non tenendis in civitate*.

²⁶² MALLETT-HALE, *The military organisation*, p. 94-95.

²⁶³ ASV, *Senato Mar*, 1655, *aprile-maggio*, Filza 475: On 9th May a widow named Giovanna whose husband Nicolo Braicich died in the battle near Cerigo was awarded with 3 ducats monthly support.

his income to support his wife²⁶⁴. If possible, the Senate would always rather give money to support the male offspring of their soldiers believing that in this way the boys would be stimulated to follow in their father's footsteps and serve in the army²⁶⁵. It was also considered that sons would inherit at least half of their father's abilities to carry out *condotta* and therefore, any investment into such potential would worthwhile²⁶⁶. Moreover, the Republic encouraged such following into military service and the son's of respectable mercenaries were stimulated to gradually takeover different duties in the army to improve their skills and gain experience²⁶⁷. Daughters of meritorious soldiers could also receive considerable money for their dowry²⁶⁸. This was actually organised in a way that the money for war widows and their children came from local community chambers where their husbands were serving. The monthly payment or hardtack for widows and children was related to the rank of their late beloved soldiers. More often or not the widows were provided only with a lifelong supply of hardtack²⁶⁹. There was also another qualifying requirement: support would only be given only to those who would ask for this by written letter, which most of the time was written by someone else, maybe a local priest, a public notary, if they had enough money to pay this kind of service. The same

²⁶⁴ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 153, f. 453r: In March 1688 Captain Tiberio Rocafosca who was in charge of command of a troop of *cernide* from Treviso, sent a request to redirect 8 ducats of his monthly wage to his wife Isabella.

²⁶⁵ DESNICA, *Istorija kotarskih*, I, p. 137. After the end of the Candian War, Ana, a widow of Teodor Močivuna a Morlach soldier, was left with no income for herself and her three daughters and son, therefore she asked for help from the Venetian Senate and she was given a monthly measure of hardtack, but with the obligation to send her son to serve in the Venetian army when he was old enough. Also ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 137, p. 189: "Per li meriti del Tente Mattia Itcovich che nell'occorenze della passata Guerra doppo l'avuto dato le prove della sua sufficienza gli è tocatto lasciar la vita e la publica benignita concessa la rimessa una compagnia d'Infanteria di Terra Ferma ad Antonio suo figliolo" (...).

²⁶⁶ MALLETT-HALE, *The military organisation*, p. 194.

²⁶⁷ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 136, f. 151v: "L'andra parte che a Vicenza consorte del Vuiza Seseglievich siano per benignita di questo Consiglio concessi pesi due di pane biscotto al mese in vita sua d'essergli corrisposti dall'ufficio delle Biave, come s'osserva con altra benemerite della S.N." Her son Pietro Seseglievich inherited his father's position of soldier in Compagnia di Padova with a monthly income of 2 ducats. See p. 222v.

²⁶⁸ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 136, f. 322v: "Essendo stato concesso con parte di questo Consiglio 18 Settembre 1653 a Madalina e Barbara figliole del Capitano Marco Delimarcovich ducati doicento B.V. per cadauna per il loro maritare o monacare."

²⁶⁹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 137, f. 21v; In April 1671 the Senate decided to give an order to the *Magistrato delle Biave* to deliver one *peso* of *pan biscottato* to Franceschina Maffei and her daughter Elena from Zara. They were left without a breadwinner after Michiel Maffei (husband and father) who was the owner of boats which carried letters and other post was killed by a ship's cannon. Following this his two sons, who were serving in the Venetian navy, were killed by the Ottomans.

situation applied to crippled and injured soldiers who could no longer provide full public service, but had previously proved their loyalty to the Republic²⁷⁰. If they needed time to recover they would be given a period in which they could still keep their monthly wage but with the obligation to return to the same position²⁷¹. However in the case when a soldier was so old that he could no longer provide any service to the Republic, his request for a monthly provision or even money could receive a positive answer from the Senate²⁷². To summarise, the life expectancy of a soldier during the warfare of early modern times was not very long, and should be taken into consideration. Therefore those who reached old age deserved some financial support.

The analyses of the economy and organisation of new societies in the Venetian territory of Zara's hinterland showed a mixture of old, medieval pre-Venetian systems, especially related to the feudal economy and trade and innovations related to the best model of the adaptation of the new inhabitants and new circumstances related to the new territorial acquisition. Here two opposing poles can be observed: one is the city of Zara and its communal system, landlords and their *coloni* in the hamlets around the city, labourers (*zappadori*), servants, fishermen, paupers, beggars who were the majority of the city inhabitants. Labourers and craftsmen had regulated working times controlled by the norms of Zara's Statute from the morning to the evening church bells. They kept their routine despite unsettled border with the Ottomans being only a few miles from the city ramparts. Moreover, some of Zara's citizens as well as some noble families

²⁷⁰ MALLETT-HALE, *The military organisation*, p. 195-196.

²⁷¹ ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 141, f. 21v: "Dalla supplicatione del Rade Melin resta il pieno con le fedì giurate de medici che presenta comprobate l'indispozicioni a che socombe per li patimenti sofferti nella passata Guerra e mentre ha bisogno di curarsi delle medesime concorre volentieri la publica carità a permetterle che per il tempo predetto possi star lontano dalla Compagni che serve alla vostra obbedienza e che viene da lui comandata col Senato per cui dicemo di permettere per il tempo sudetto il governo et assistenza d'essa compagnia all'Alfier della medesima soggetto di sufficienza et habile a tal incarico senza accrescere spesa alcuna al publico fuori di quest ache gli viene corrisposta per tal carica così che consolato questo benemerito riconosce gl'effetti della publica benignità essercitati verso di lui per il suo fruttoso prestato servizio."

²⁷² ASV, *Senato Mar*, Registro 138, f. 35r. Here is presented the case of Andrea Surich aged 80, after 65 years of serving in the Venetian Army as *Comito et Armiraglio* had a salary of 2 liras per day. The Senate ordered the continuation of this payment to Surich and released him from any obligation or service, except "con obligo di presentarsi o portar fede di vita ogni Lunedì..."

became very rich thanks to the trade and further investment of money into property on the islands. The other pole is *contado*, which was passing through constant changes under the negative impact of war with the Ottomans and Morlach immigrations, which brought the problems of robbery, the slave trade and problems with the continuation of agriculture. Wars and newcomers in *contado* changed the method of communication between the city and its county. The re-conquered *contado* after the Morean War was no longer organised as a territory, which was controlled and exclusively used by people from the city of Zara. *Contado* was divided through new communities under the direct control of the Venetian Senate i.e. *Provveditore Generale* without the influence of the people from Zara, except respecting some feudal properties from the period before the Ottoman conquered *contado*. Here again each governor general was a key person in understanding the circumstances, the needs of the local inhabitants and general Venetian policy, mostly relating to keeping peace and promoting trade with the other side of the border. It can also be observed that at the end of the 17th century that agriculture became more important alongside with pacification of the new Morlach societies and turning them into useful subjects, not only a precious, but troubling army force. This was a turning point in the Venetian government in Dalmatia, which during the 18th century reached its greatest extent. Therefore some problems which, during the second half of the 17th century had started, such as the problems with land distribution, land cultivation, tithe collection, then smuggling and robbery i.e. *hajdučija* would also reach their peak during the 18th century.

CONCLUSION

The Candian and Morean wars between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire in Dalmatia, including the truce of 1670-1684 spanned more than half of the century creating a historical landmark, around which everything else was perceived. As numerous studies have shown, these were exhausting and sometimes very dramatic wars, which had great importance for both of sides, although at the beginning of the Candian War the Republic of Venice was holding a defence position, while the local Ottomans were aiming to gain as much of the rest of the territory on the Dalmatian and Albanian coast as possible. The reconstructions of the Candian and Morean wars detailed in this thesis show that Venice's opening defensive position very soon changed to an offensive position and that Venice quickly took dominance in conducting the war although Ottoman strikes were still strong especially during the battles for major fortifications in the Dalmatian hinterland (Clissa, Knin, and Sign). Thus the question was what were the reasons for the Venetian Republic to reverse their initial defensive strategy. Here some reasons have been examined and it can be concluded that the crucial moment during the Candian War occurred when the Venetian Governor General Lunardo Foscolo realised that he could defend the Venetian Dalmatian coastal towns with the zealous support of the local inhabitants as well as Christian Morlach immigrants from the surrounding Ottoman areas. Even more, very soon after the start of the war, he understood that the Venetian troops alongside the auxiliary Morlach guerrillas were able to endanger the Ottoman positions in Dalmatia. Later on the Venetian army in Dalmatia started to change and the Morlach troops became indispensable during the Morean War. The reasons being that they were familiar with the territory where they were fighting and in this way were able to better prepare their actions against the enemy. They travelled easily over the terrain in small groups (*čete*), very often using their net of confidants, relatives or friends (*jataci*) on the enemy side of the border. In this way they constantly destabilised the Ottoman position from inside, sometimes riding deep into the Bosnian and Herzegovinian sandjaks. The main battles and sieges such as those of Castelnuovo or Knin required the simultaneous actions of all the Venetian troops: *cernide* and mercenaries, and the Morlach guerrillas. While the *Provveditori Generali* often complained of the poor efficiency of *cernide* and expensive mercenaries, yet the unpaid Morlachs were most of the time happy with a little hardtack and

seized booty. Their main negative characteristic was their lack of obedience, which was expected and most of the time they acted on the orders of their leaders - *harambassas* and *serdars* who, were most of the time led by their heart rather than their mind.

The experience gained during the wars of the 17th century, allowed the Venetian Republic to organise more consistent and permanent troops in the newly conquered territory in Dalmatia in the 18th century, which with the renewed fortresses were to become the Venetian Military Border.

However the following task in this thesis, once the war events had been reconstructed, was to see how the war affected the other sectors of life using the territory of *contado di Zara* as the main subject. In order to be able to understand different aspects of the influences of the Venetian-Ottoman conflicts in this territory during the Early Modern Age, it was necessary to give an overview of the geo-morphological characteristics of the territory and human influence on the environment from prehistoric times to the beginning of the 17th century, observing this through the continuity and discontinuity of settlements. By analysing this territory over a long period of history it was possible to observe how destructive human activities actually changed the cultural landscape. More precisely, the focus was on researching how the wars between the Ottomans and Venetians impeded the continuation of the settlements and the continuity of the cultural landscape of the *contado* developed from *aeger publicus*. The wars and occasional conflicts, raids and skirmishes during the truce turned this area into a scarcely populated border zone predominately constituted of marshlands and wild scrubland. Moreover these conflicts influenced the appearance of the settlements. The city of Zara became well protected by ramparts, while other small villages had bulwarks. At this point it was necessary to discover the reasons why some settlements disappeared. It is interesting to notice that the majority of the medieval villages in the *contado* were re-established after the Morean War. The main changes happened in the appearances of the settlements, whilst some of the settlements kept their names but reappeared in nearby locales, or changed names but continued the lives of medieval villages, such as Chackavzi or Čakavci, which became Jovići. The majority of the settlements changed after the creation of the cadastre at the beginning of the 18th century which implies that actually switching to the peaceful life model brought about changes in their spread and continuity in the *contado*.

When observing the continuation and changes in the administrative organisation of the same territory during the second half of the 17th century, one fact dominates: the changes of the borders with the Ottomans and later on with the Habsburgs, which gradually implied the assimilation of a large part of the hinterland (double that which the Republic of Venice had under its control in this area before). With the assimilation of the territory and former Ottoman subjects, the human resources, which the *Provveditore Generale* relied upon on in this large rural territory changed. Before the

expansion of the *contado*, rural autonomy was expressed through village judges and captains, who were gradually replaced with *harambassas* and *serdars*, i.e. leaders of the newcomers. Their main roles during the war were those of commanders of the Morlach guerrilla units, but as they were trusted by the Venetian Governor's, they were also taking over the administration of their communities, having in their jurisdiction the supervision of duty collections, keeping order and passing judgement in cases of minor offences. Alongside the establishment of their position, Venetian governors encouraged the survival of the ancient organisation of rural communities through *lige* and *posobe*, with the aim of facilitating the assimilation of the newcomers as well as using this institution to bring some order into the chaotic way of life on the Ottoman border especially during the wars. However, with the prevalence of the newcomers over the *habitanti vecchi*, this institution ceased to exist after the Morean War. Another reason can be related to the reorganisation of the *contado*, conducted through the creation of a new cadastre in which each of the village communities represented a unit led by a captain of *harambassa* who was in charge to facilitate administration. They were at the same time representatives of the newly organised military border (*kotar*, *krajina*) since every adult and healthy villager was listed under the name of each *harambassa* or captain to be entitled to an amount of land, as well as having to carry out military service if necessary. The new organisation of *contado* from 'above' (directly under the supervision of the governor general and with the approval of the Venetian Senate) was the result of treating the newly conquered territories in the hinterland as state territory (not under the city of Zara's jurisdiction as it was before the Ottoman intrusions), but with respect to 'old' private properties related to feudal estates in some areas when it was possible to be proven.

The analyses of the immigrations during the Candian and Morean wars led to the conclusion that the main motivation for large numbers of the Ottoman Morlachs was land and security, when they were continuously terrorised by the Venetian Morlachs. In the reports of the *Provveditori Generali* these new inhabitants of *contado* were very often described with admiration because of their endurance and resistance to the rough conditions of life and their bravery during battles with the enemy. In the same documents were also presented the numerous problems which *Provveditori* had because of their difficult obstinate and disobedient 'character'. However, their loyalty towards the Venetian Republic was not questioned once they settled in the new territory. They accepted the Venetian Doge as their master. In 1669 their representatives were sent with *Provveditore Generale* Antonio Priuli to present their problems of their new homeland to the Venetian Senate, believing that they would find some help. It cannot be said that Venice ignored their difficult situation. They were distributed with food, temporarily entitled to abandoned land so they could produce their

own food and they were excluded from duties and even when the collection of tithes was reintroduced, it was gradual, in order to give them some period to adapt to their new conditions.

Once the war was over new problems arose relating to the adaptation of the new inhabitants. These crises were mostly connected to the Morlach economy, which was previously based on a combination of livestock breeding and small scale agriculture. The amount of land distributed through the cadastre was insufficient for their traditional scale of cattle breeding. The government had intended them to start intensive agriculture, of which they had little knowledge and became clear in reports due to the poor harvests during droughts. This caused problems with the collection of tithes and then sparked rebellions. Even then, the Morlach communities believed that they could resolve everything by making known their problems with the representative of the Venetian Republic in Zara i.e. *Provveditore Generale* or Zara's count, perceiving them as their 'lords', which implies that they felt a part of the *contado* as Venetian subjects.

Numerous issues remain to be researched relating to the relationship between the Morlachs and the Venetian governors as representatives of the Republic. 'Morlach' was just a common name for the immigrants from the Ottoman or sometimes the Habsburg side of the border. They were no way homogenised ethnic groups, even their origins were different amongst different groups and their religion divided between Orthodox and Catholic. Many of them were actually Muslims who accepted Christianity. There are also the very sensitive questions about the relationships between the new and old inhabitants and their coexistence. Further more, archive documents especially those of the Venetian Count's office in Zara, preserved in the State Archive in Zadar (DAZ) provide numerous information about the day-by day life within the city rampart during 1645-1718. Combining these documents with documents of public notaries in the same archive would allow an analysis of the assimilation of some Morlachs within the community of the city of Zara. Still to be researched is also to what extent the life within its ramparts changed during the period of the last Venetian-Ottoman conflicts in Dalmatia.

Appendix

TABLE 1: Villages of Zara's hinterland during the late Middle Ages¹

NONA ²	ZARA	NOVEGRADI	NADINO	VRANA ³
Čakavci	Tršci	Novegradi	Kokičani	Blačani
Podvršje	Kamenjani	Dolac	Vitorići	Rogovo
Krneza	Pobrđani	Praskvić	Kačići	Vrana
Gliuba	Radobudići	Domakovci	Bistrovina	Tukljača
Visočane	Lemeševohrašće	Stupići	Podnadin	Sikovo
Mahurci	Petrčane	Biljane	Dupčani	Ušljevas
Zaton	Starovašani	Badanj	Grifna	Raštani
Jasenovo	Miljača	Trnovo	Uštipak	Gorica
Brištani	Strupnik Veliki	Čerinci	Butina	Račice
Miljašić	Strupnik Mali	Kašić	Buković	Sukošan
Čerinci	Drač	Paprcane		Galovac
Kamenjani	Prkos	Režane		Tign
Mundići	Stomorinoselo	Kačina gorica		Zablaće
Snojaci	Zemonico	Trščane		Bubnjani
Škril	Podi	Učiteljvas		Prljani
Radovin	Murvica	Horuplje		Jelšane Velike
Jakanci	Crno	Veljani		Jelšane Male
Brus	Crnogoščina	Kobiljeglavčić		Mokro
Vicigorić	Blato	Podnovje		Podvršje
Zeliane	Diklo	Posedarje		Vrčevo
Milogošje	Strupić	Pritičevići		Veterinići
Bicina	Suhovare	Vinjerac		Lišane
Gorica	Ražanac	Slivnica		Vrbica
Brišane	Prkos	Konjašice		Zidić
Brda	Hraštević	Kukalj		Zaravecchia

¹ Here are presented only the villages mentioned in detail analyses of F. SMILJANIĆ, *Teritorij i granice Lučke županije*, N. JAKŠIĆ, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi*, [Croatian Medieval Landscapes], Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split, 2000, and R. JELIĆ, *Novigradski district*, in *Radovi JAZU-Zd*, (31), 1989, p. 87-173. As it is not the subject of this study, this is not the final number of villages, no status of the districts. The table's purpose is to give an idea about the large number of villages, their continuity and administrative organisation through the districts.

² The villages of the district of Ljubač are included in Nona's district here.

³ The villages of the county of Sidraga: Prljani, Galovac, Jelšane Velike and Jelšane Male, Podnadin, Mokro, Podvršje, Vrčevo, Gorica, Veterinići, Lišane, Vrbica, Zidići, Biograd, Grande, Poškaljina, Kakma, Zablaće, Jasen and Škrobić, were included in Vrana's district and represented here according to SMILJANIĆ, *Teritorij i granice*, p. 215.

Grusi	Stinica	Cernil		Grande
Jarboljeselo	Polišane	Ražanac		Poškaljina
	Zlovšani	Grgurice		Kakma
	Zlokovnica	Pustojanci		Zablaće
	Gvozd	Polačine		Jasen
	Gladuše	Zlokajci		Škorobić
	Babin Dub	Bašćica		Ritičani
	Opaće selo	Mirci		Malinavas
	Krbavaclug	Rocane		
	Lovinac	Grabovčane		
	Čudomirići	Slimčić		
		Draginići		
		Praskvić		
		Budim		
		Frletić		
		Raduhovo		
		Gusići		
		Stošija		
		Raljane		
		Blaćane		
		Zahum		

- ♦ Disappeared villages
- ◆ Villages under modified or different names today

TABLE 2: The villages of the *contado* of Zara 1527⁴

The name mentioned in the document	Croatian transcription
Ponte Micha	Puntamika
Bibigne Grande	Bibinje Veliko
Copragl	Kopralj
Goriza	Gorica
Drazevaz	Dračevac
Murviza	Murvica
Berdo	Brdo
Stanevci	Stanjevci
Pechiarovzi	Pečarovci

⁴ COMMISSIONES ET RELATIONES, tome I, *Relatio viri nobilis ser Zacarie Vallaresso, qui fuit capitaneus Jadere. Presentata die 10 septembris 1527*, p. 219-220.

Bibigne piccole	Bibinje Malo
Pacoschiane et Xablacha	Pakoštane and Zablaće
Cosmosello	Kosmo selo (?)
Sicovo	Sikovo
San Cassan	Sukošan
Stomormosello	Stomorinoselo
Perglane	Prljane
Migliasichi	Miljašić
Comorane	Komorane
Racice et Dosmei	Račice and Dosmei (?)
Vetermuchii	Veterinići (?)
Tiselazane	Tišelacane
Tersa	Trsa
Peterzane	Petrčane
Opachiesello	Opaćeselo
Cerno	Crno
Castel de Polissana et villa	Poličani (castle and village)
Torreta de Marco	Turanj
Articovo	Artikovo
Lovinci	Lovinac
Slovsane	Zlovšane
Vissozane	Visočane
Cernogorischina	Crnogoriščina
Cottopaschina	Kotopaščina (?)
Elicinariat	?
Cavalli	Konji (?)
Possedaria	Posedarje
Gladussa	Gladuša
Starosani	Starošani
Migliasca	Miljaska
Blato	Blato
Grominza	Grobница
Dormevaz	Dormevac
Coruplegrado et piccolo	Koruplje veliko and malo
Scorobichio	Škorobić
Novegradi, la forteza, borgo et strathioti	Novigrad, castle and town
Opancesello	Opatičjeselo
Marcurri	Macuri
Vancassana	Vankašana
Snoiaci	Snojaci
Nadin il borgo	Nadin, town, Podnadin
Bugnane	Bubnjane

Castello de la Vrana et suo borgo	Vrana, castle and town
Rogovo	Rogovo
Verbiza	Vrbica
Gnissi	Njisi
Diclo	Diklo
Comorze	Komorze (?)
Raxance	Ražanac
Pustoianci	Pustojanici
Chiancanci	Čakavci
Cherbavazlug	Krbavaclug
Teschiane appresso Gladussa	Teščani near Gladuša
Porizane	Poričane
Gliuba	Ljubac
Oramoglevaz	Oramoglavac
Scorogoli et Pleanichi	Skorogoli and Pleanići (?)
Smocovich	Smoković
Cherse vagnesello	Krševanjeselo
Poschaline	Poškaljine
Zara Vechia	Biograd
Mondichi et Megline	Mondići and Meljine
Stanichessello	Stanićaselo
Podvasis	Podvasiš
Mocio	Mokro
Ponta de Possedaria	Vrh Posedarja
Craschiani	Hrašćani
Pirane	Pirane
Xavode appresso Possedaria	Zavode near Posedarje
Sut Mievgliesello	Mivljeseo
Galovci	Galovac
Ximonico castello de Venieri	Zemunik, castle
Casenice	Gaženice
Sucovan	Suhovare (?)

- ◆ Villages under modified or different names today
- ◆ Villages existing today
- ◆ Villages mentioned as late medieval but disappeared

TABLE 3: Villages of Zara's hinterland divided by the border demarcation in 1576 between the Ottoman and Venetian sides⁵

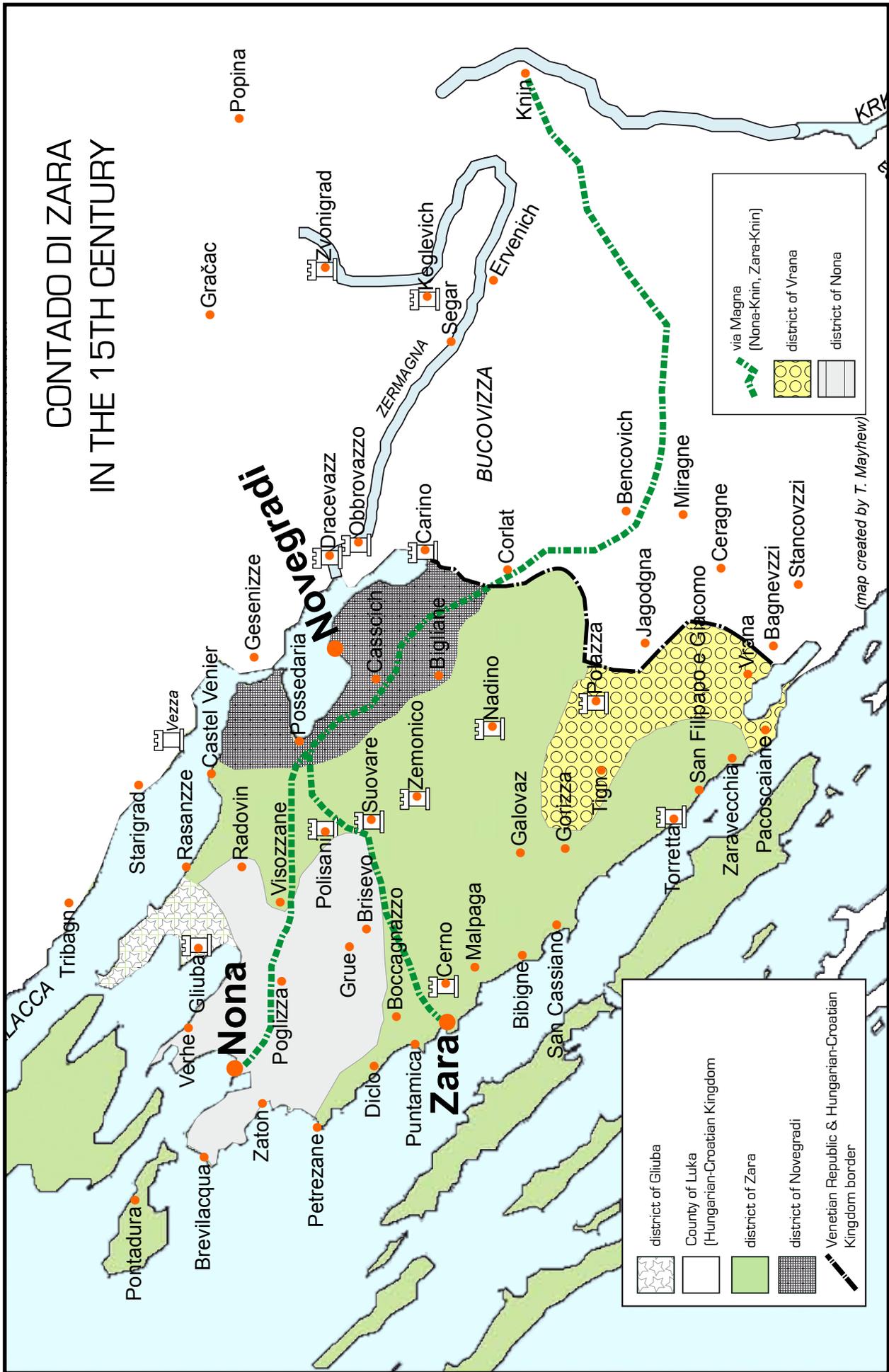
Venetian villages	Ottoman villages
Dolac	Carino
Lupoglavci	Tribčići
Badanj	Negilci
Paljuh	Plemići
Blaćane	Šušnjari
Posedarje	Šprljeveci
Svrdlac	Domakovići
Brisnica	Slimčić
Slivnica	Draganići
Ražanac	Grabovčane
Medovci	Stupići
Grgurice	Biljane
Bašćica	Pritičevići
Porićane	Trnovo
Kamenjane	Veljane
Maljine	Čerinci
Mundići	Rocani
Krbavaclug	Kašić
Stanićaselo	Paprčane
Ambrozićaselo	Kobiljeglavić
Mijagošćina	Gusići
Opatičjeselo	Miljacka
Krneza	Režane
Poljica	Podi
Komorce	Divin
Dračevac	Radova vas
Mahurci	Kačina gorica
Miljašić	Trščani
Briščani	Suhovare
Grusi	Sitnica
Brda	Komorane
Gromnica	Mirci
Blato	Gladuša
Bokanjac	Sužapljani

⁵ I. ANZULOVIC, *Razgraničenj između mletačke i turske vlasti na zadarskom prostoru 1576 godine nakon ciparskog rata*, [Border demarcation between the Venetian and Ottoman government in the territory of Zadar in 1576 after the Cyprus War], *Zadarska smotra*, (1-3), 1998, p. 102-108; According to the map of the borderline printed in addition and additional transcription of the documents printed.

Varikašani	Tučepi
Zlokučane	Učiteljavas
Crno	Koruplje Velo
Kopralj	Koruplje Malo
Gaženice	Polišane
Krševanjeselo	Lovinac
Stomorinavas	Snojaci
Dumaničaselo	Visočane
Bibinje	Škrila
Raličićaselo	Kotopaščina
Prljane	Crnogoščina
Zlovšane	Opačaselo
Sukošan	Blasofščina
Mokro	Drinovci
Karinčina	Briševo
Tukljača	Zlovšane
Turanj	Smoković
Poškaljina	Murvica
Zablačani	Artikovo
Pakoštani	Opaticeselo
	Zemonico
	Zajnice
	Mrljane
	Tršci
	Galovci
	Rača
	Kulina
	Pečarovci
	Starevci
	Račice
	Dolinci
	Vrčevo
	Podvršje
	Hrašćane
	Sikovo
	Rogovo
	Vrbica
	Blaćane
	Košević

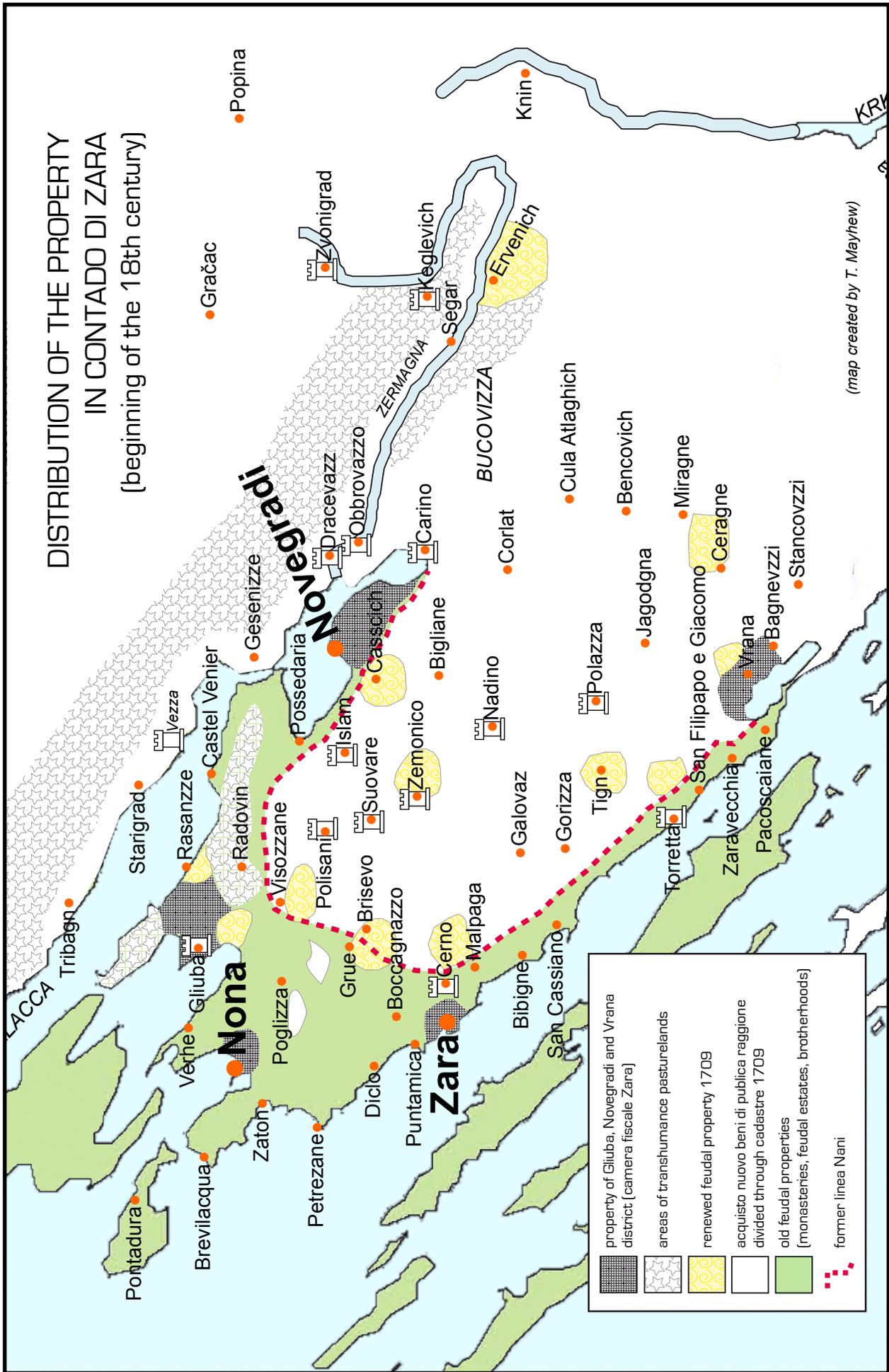
- ◆ Villages under modified or different name today
- ◆ Villages existing today

CONTADO DI ZARA IN THE 15TH CENTURY



(map created by T. Mayhew)

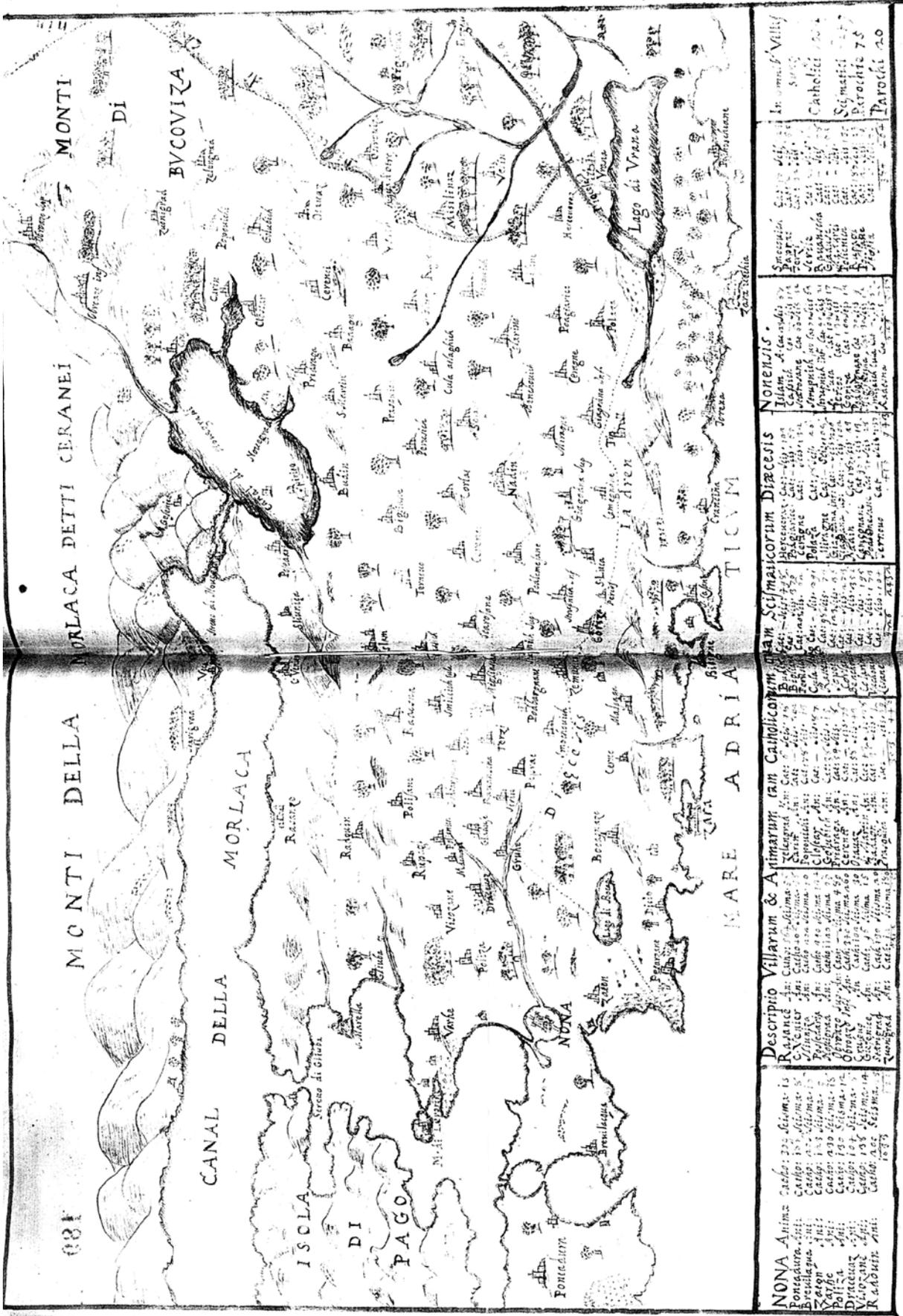
DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROPERTY
IN CONTADO DI ZARA
(beginning of the 18th century)



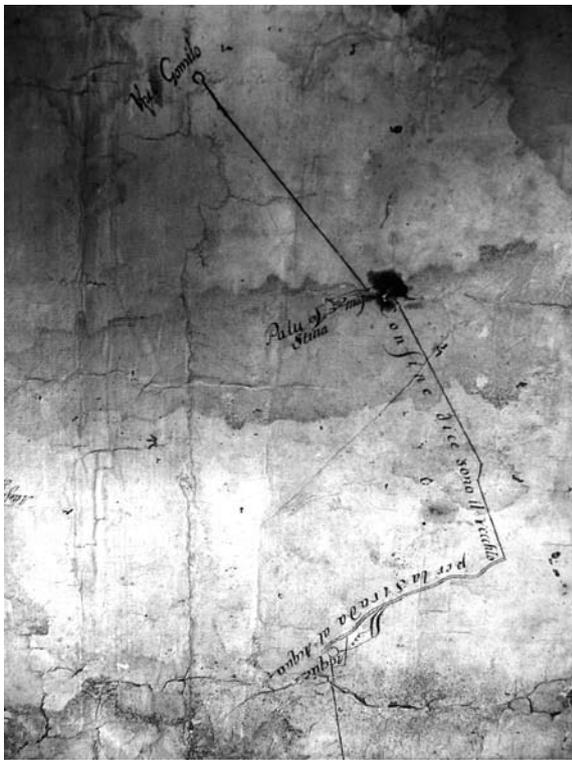
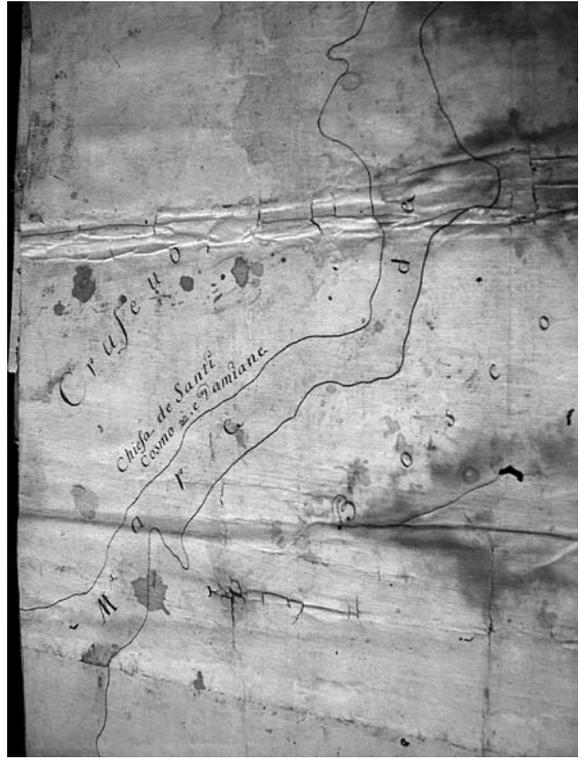
(map created by T. Mayhew)



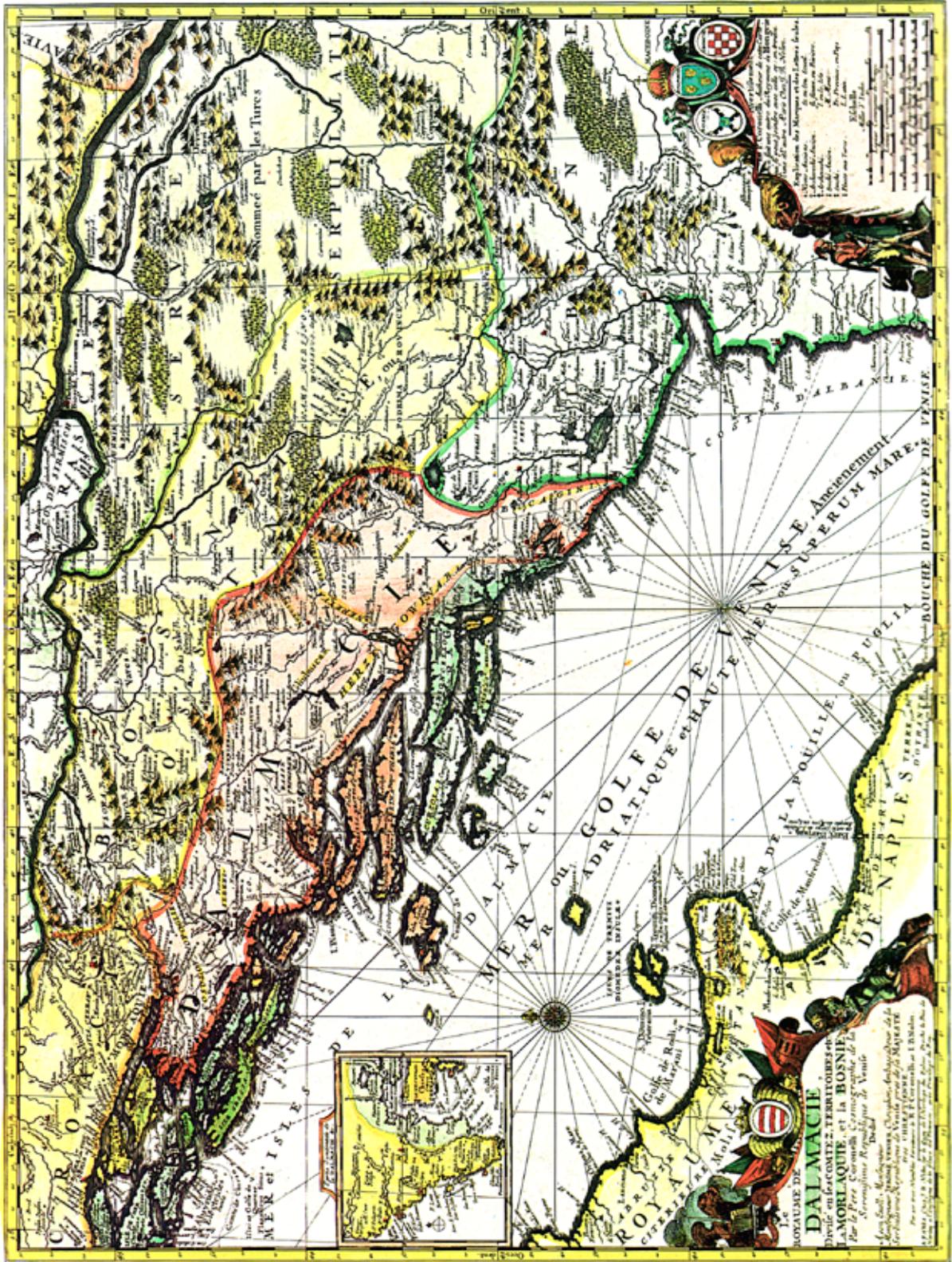
Ottoman siege of Novegradi, 1647
(DAZ, Mape Grimani, no. 210)



Bisphoric of Nona, 1692
 (original map - Archivio Segreto Vaticano)



Segments of the border demarcation map - G.B. Nani, 1671
(DAZ, Mape Grimani, no. 260)



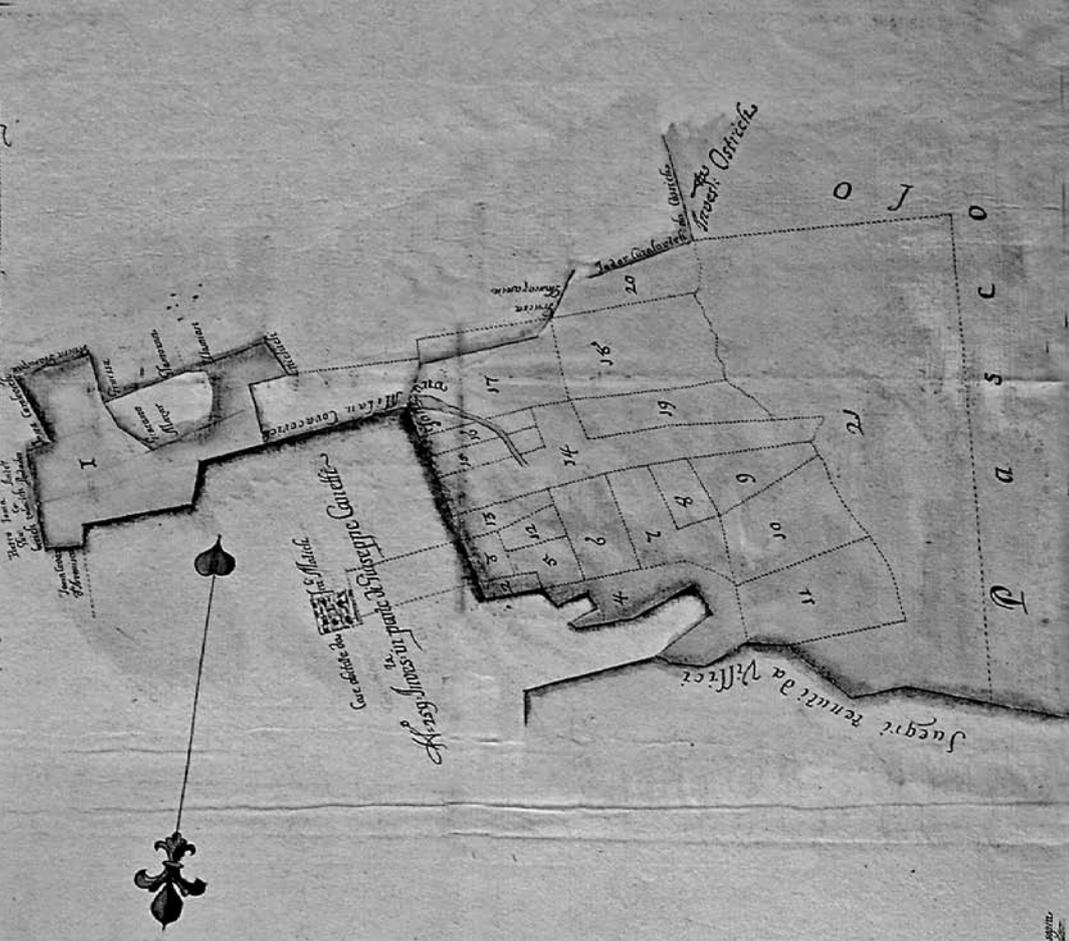
Dalmatia (about 1700), Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, (from *Borders of Croatia on Maps: from 12th to 20th century*), Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb, 1992.

Copiamita in parte d'altro simile d'altro simile Disegno già esposto dal Pubblico Spobiero 1709 della Villa Islam Greco esistente nell'Archivio Generale in demostrazione del spazio tanto a esso Inveschita quassa dell'officio del Tracomo Gradonago Proprietari e successori canelli per servizio della quale in virtù di discreta Commissione seguita da 1708/1709 prossimo passò dall'officio del Cav. Sig. PAULO BOLDV Proprietario in Salvo ed Allogio. Et da me incontrato al spazio colto l'ordine in più pezzi così debbono accordarsi le indicazioni della medesima sopra presenti, una che alcuni de villate determinati che godono senza licenza domestica tutti i vicinati, e nominati come segue.

ÍNDICE

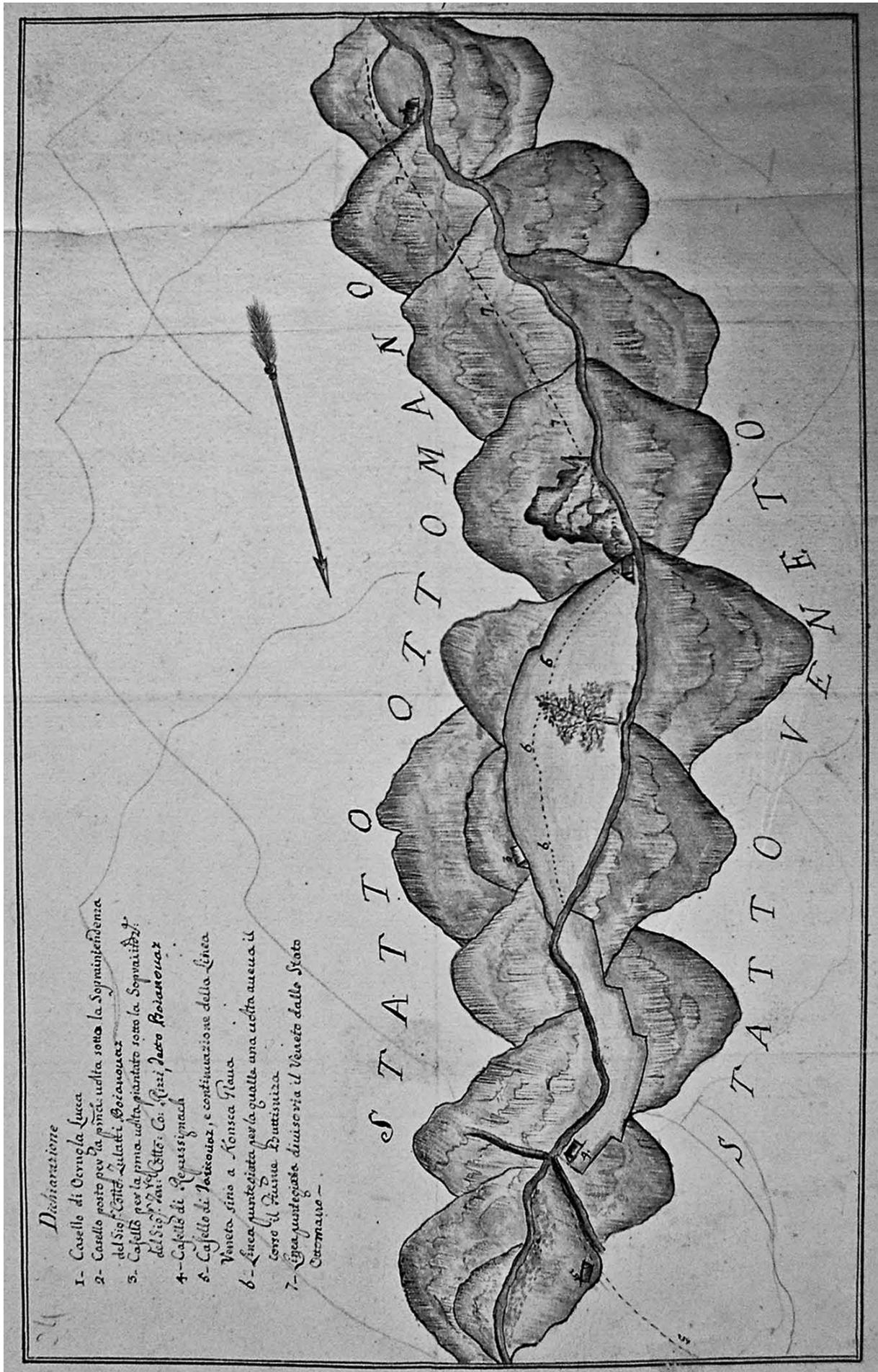
	Canpi	Quanti	Tavole
1. Terreno Safflorio e Safflorio tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	7	3	165.
2. Indiviso Safflorio tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	1	1	110.
3. Chiesa S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	2	1	140.
4. S. Maria S. Maria per conto di Safflorio tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	3	2	30.
5. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	2	1	108.
6. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	2	3	18.
7. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	1	1	80.
8. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	1	3	130.
9. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	4	2	84.
10. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	4	3	84.
11. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	12	1	170.
12. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	3	1	104.
13. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	3	3	70.
14. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	1	1	11.
15. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	3	1	121.
16. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	4	1	80.
17. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	3	1	62.
18. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	2	2	36.
19. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	2	1	16.
20. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	32	2	104.
21. S. Maria S. Maria tenuto da S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.	36	3	11.

Scala di Antiche di piedi sei luna Negro.

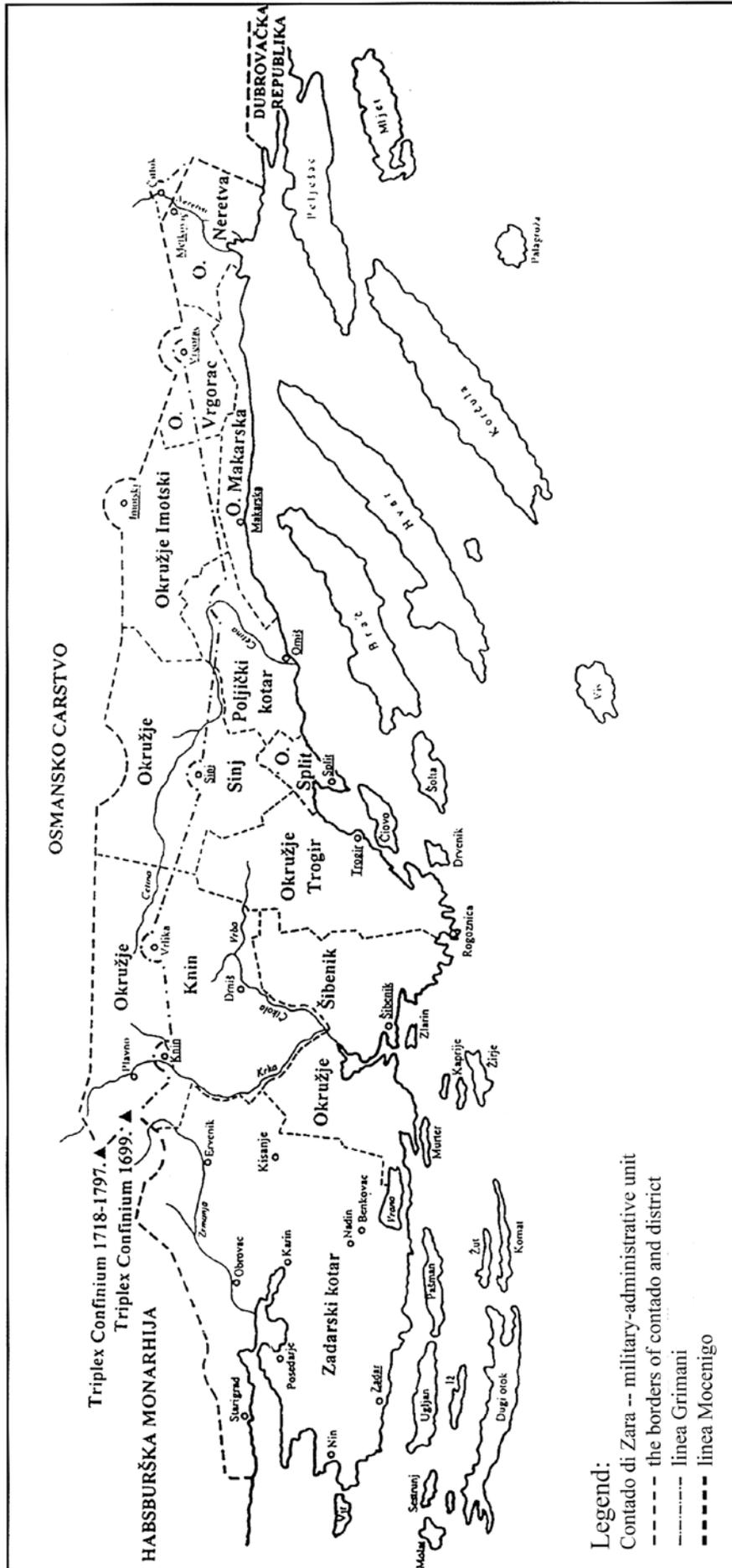


Village of Islam, 1709 (DAZ, Mape Grimani, no. 184)

Atti e Regole 1709. Regole de' Inveschiti e successori proprii in parte del luogo di S. Maria S. Maria in vicinich.



Border between Venetian Republic and Ottoman Empire, 1777
(DAZ, Mape Grimani, no. 125)



Dalmatia, 18th century,
map by M. Slukan Altić

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Tesi di Dottorato di Ricerca

Tea Mayhew

*Dietro a Zara. Il contado di Zara
tra il dominio ottomano e quello veneziano, 1645-1718*

RIASSUNTO

Introduzione

L'ultimo periodo della storia dei domini marittimi della Repubblica di Venezia è stato segnato dai tre conflitti che la Serenissima ha disputato contro l'Impero ottomano. La guerra di Candia, 1645-1669, la guerra della Lega santa, 1684-1699, e infine la guerra del 1715-1718 hanno avuto risvolti cruciali nel settore del Mare Egeo, con la perdita veneziana di Candia (1669), con l'acquisto della Morea, nel 1699, e con la sua definitiva perdita nel 1718. Un secondo settore investito dai conflitti fu la Dalmazia veneta, che con la guerra del 1684-1699 si vide ampliare notevolmente verso l'interno, praticamente raddoppiare in estensione. La storiografia venezianistica, quella dalmata italiana nonché le storiografie nazionali croata e serba hanno affrontato questa fase fondamentale per la storia della Dalmazia con modalità e finalità diverse. Da parte croata e serba, sin dall'Ottocento, alle guerre del 1645-1718 sono stati attribuiti significati di un ipotetico primo riscatto nazionale, mentre nel corso del Novecento in esse si sono cercate le ragioni della distribuzione sul territorio di popolazioni serbe accanto a quelle croate, forse la conseguenza più duratura delle conquiste che fece Venezia nella Dalmazia settentrionale.

L'obiettivo di questa tesi di dottorato è la ricostruzione delle vicende che hanno investito l'antico contado di Zara durante le tre guerre, fra il 1645 e il 1718. Il territorio della città più importante e capoluogo della provincia veneta è pianeggiante e fertile, unico del genere in una regione carsica, segnata dalla costa rocciosa e ripida, chiusa fra il versante occidentale delle Alpi Dinariche e una catena di isole quasi tutte aride. Un territorio che nel Quattrocento era delimitato dai piccoli distretti di Nona e Novegradi e dal

confine con il regno di Croazia-Ungheria. L'avanzata ottomana durante le guerre del 1463-1479, 1499-1502, 1537-1540 aveva cancellato la presenza del regno croato e si era fermata alle soglie del contado. La guerra di Cipro (1570-1573) e la conseguente confinazione del 1576 aveva praticamente dimezzato il territorio di Zara. A parte questo conflitto, dal 1540 al 1645 trascorse un secolo di pace e di convivenza spesso difficile fra sudditi veneti e sudditi ottomani. Durante questa "pace turca" non era venuta meno l'interdipendenza economica fra Zara e il suo entroterra.

Le tre guerre del 1645-1718 hanno segnato una fase a sé che ha portato forti sconvolgimenti proprio nel territorio zaratino. Le nostre ricerche, condotte principalmente sui fondi dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia e l'Archivio di Stato di Zara, hanno mirato a raccogliere materiale documentario da affiancare a una vasta ma frammentaria bibliografia fatta di edizioni di fonti e di numerosi saggi (soprattutto in ambito croato e serbo). L'obiettivo, come detto, è ricostruire i fatti bellici, la loro incidenza sugli insediamenti che hanno costituito l'antico contado di Zara, e illustrare il passaggio dalla sovranità ottomana a quella veneziana. Un passaggio che ha avuto forti implicazioni sul piano della sorte degli insediamenti, dell'organizzazione amministrativa e della presenza delle popolazioni.

La tesi ha cinque capitoli: 1. *Le guerre e la pace in Dalmazia (1645-1718)*; 2. *Il paesaggio e la continuità d'insediamento*; 3. *Trasformazioni amministrative*; 4. *Migrazioni*; 5. *I nuovi arrivati fra contesti economici e sociali*.

Capitolo primo, *Le guerre e la pace in Dalmazia (1645-1718)*

Dopo uno sguardo rapido sui conflitti veneto-ottomani dei secoli XV e XVI, sul problema della definizione della linea di confine fra il dominio ottomano e quello veneto, soprattutto nel 1573-76, l'attenzione si sposta sulla guerra di Candia, il conflitto più lungo anche per al Dalmazia.

Il fronte che si aprì nel 1645 doveva colpire al fianco il sistema marittimo che metteva in collegamento Venezia con Candia e distrarre le forze della Serenissima. Lo scontro fra veneti e ottomani si giocava lungo la linea di confine che correva appresso la costa e imponeva una tipologia del conflitto diversa sia rispetto alla terraferma veneta sia dai contesti prettamente marittimi o insulari, dove era la logistica navale a decretare il successo. Dopo le prime incursioni ottomane contro i pochi villaggi veneti attorno a

Zara, il Senato veneto spedì in Dalmazia due provveditori straordinari, Leonardo Foscolo e Nicolò Dolfin. La caduta di Novegradi in mano ottomana nel luglio 1646 creò panico nel settore veneto. Ma già nello stesso mese i castelli di Duare e Macarsca passarono in mano veneta. Nel marzo del 1648 cadde il castello ottomano di Zemonico, vera spina nel fianco nel vecchio contado di Zara. Dopo qualche settimana anche Novegradi fu recuperata. Già nell'estate-autunno 1647 il Foscolo difese efficacemente un forte assedio ottomano contro Sebenico. Poi conquistò vittoriosamente la fortezza di Clissa, presso Spalato; fu un successo che ebbe larga eco. La serie di vittorie provocò sia l'acquisizione sia il passaggio da parte veneta di una numerosa popolazione morlacca; si trattava di comunità di sudditi ormai ex ottomani, dediti soprattutto alla pastorizia, con precise connotazioni etniche, linguistiche e sociali che tornavano utili ai comandanti militari. I primi anni di guerra, come mai prima, evidenziarono come fosse di grande importanza la popolazione locale, per la conduzione delle operazioni militari. Entro il 1651 furono conquistate ampie aree dell'interno, fino quasi alla dorsale dinarica. Ma dopo lo spostamento di Leonardo Foscolo a Candia, nel 1651, le operazioni cessarono e le principali forze militari venete gradualmente ripiegarono verso sulla costa, lasciando in pratica i territori conquistati in mano alle milizie morlacche. Queste ancora nel 1665-1667 imponevano una guerriglia contro gli ottomani, i quali cercavano di recuperare quanto perso con incursioni dalla Bosnia e dall'Erzegovina. Negli ultimi due anni del conflitto si vide una più efficace avanzata ottomana. Tuttavia, alla Serenissima rimase, soprattutto nell'antico contado di Zara, un ampio possesso.

Nel 1671 si stabilì la linea di confine, che prese il nome del provveditore Gian Battista Nani. Gli accordi stipulati alla fine riportarono, salvo poche eccezioni, la situazione a come era ante guerra, creando ondate di proteste da parte dei morlacchi che già si erano stanziati su territori ritenuti veneti e, nel 1671, diventati, ottomani. Lo stesso contado di Zara si vide ingrandito di poco, con una grossa concentrazione di popolazione morlacca. Tutta una serie di tensioni caratterizzarono gli anni settanta. Da parte di Venezia si tentò di risolvere i disordini assegnando terra alle comunità, oppure spostandole nell'Istria veneta. Attorno agli anni 1678-80 ci fu tutta una serie di incidenti fra i morlacchi veneti e i sudditi asburgici di Segna, mentre i conflitti fra i sudditi veneti e gli slavi musulmani, sudditi ottomani, altrettanto crebbero d'intensità. Il 1683 fu l'anno in cui il conflitto divenne aperto; l'insurrezione dei morlacchi ottomani, spinti dai capi morlacchi

veneti, portò alla conquista da parte di questi dell'imporante cittadina di Dernis, nell'interno di Sebenico. Ancor prima della notizia della vittoria cristiana sugli ottomani a Vienna il conflitto si era già esteso nella Dalmazia settentrionale.

Venezia entrò nella guerra di Morea con una motivazione ideologica diversa rispetto al 1645. Non più conservare, ma anche conquistare. Sia la Morea sia la Dalmazia divennero territori con cui compensare la perdita di Candia e costruire una forte dorsale che andava dall'Adriatico alle soglie dell'Egeo.

Nonostante le poche truppe mercenarie, l'esperienza accumulata negli anni 1645-1651 e l'ampio utilizzo delle milizie morlacche, portò notevoli successi alla parte veneta. In sostanza la guerra fu retta da reparti morlacchi sotto la guida strategica degli ufficiali della Serenissima. Furono conquistati tutti i castelli del vecchio contado di Zara e altri dell'interno fino alla regione della Lika. Non mancarono azioni coordinate tra forze venete e asburgiche. Tra i capi morlacchi veneti si distinse la figura di Stojan Jankovic, che divenne eroe nell'epica orale popolare. Verso il 1690 tutta la Dalmazia settentrionale, fino alla dorsale delle Alpi Dinariche era in mano alla Serenissima. In questa zona i combattimenti cessarono; il conflitto si spostò nelle foci del Narenta e nelle Bocche di Cattaro.

Gli anni che seguirono alla pace del 1699 videro nuovamente impegnati i governatori veneti nella distribuzione delle terre alle comunità morlacche e nel rilancio degli insediamenti. La guerra del 1714-1718 non ebbe ripercussioni dirette sul contado di Zara, che in quei anni fu completamente riformato.

Capitolo secondo, *Il paesaggio e la continuità d'insediamento*

Nel capitolo si descrive lo sviluppo storico del contado di Zara, che da sempre è stato il più fertile della Dalmazia. Il territorio è prevalentemente pianeggiante, con lievi colline; si tratta di un tavolato inclinato che si dispiega fra i rilievi della Bukovizza (Bukovica) e la costa, chiamato in croato *Ravni kotari* (distretti pianeggianti). I centri principali, posti ai margini di esso, sono Zara, Nona e Novegradi. Il territorio è stato attraversato sin dai tempi romani dalle strade che conducevano verso il continente e segnato da una rete di insediamenti, che rimane grosso modo immutata nei secoli medievali, nell'ambito della Croazia storica, che qui aveva i suoi limiti occidentali e che ancora nel Cinquecento era indicata

nelle fonti venete come *Banadego* (terra del bano, il sovrano croato). Il territorio fu lo sbocco per la transumanza; le popolazioni morlacche della Bukovica, della Lika e della catena della Dinara trovavano in questo territorio i pascoli ove far svernare il bestiame grosso e minuto.

Le incursioni ottomane, i conflitti veneto-ottomani, in particolare quello del 1571-73, avevano portato all'abbandono del territorio da parte della popolazione locale, quasi nella totalità croata e cattolica. Questa si era spostata sulla costa, sulle isole, era emigrata in Istria oppure nelle Marche.

Durante il periodo ottomano, a partire dal 1540 (a seconda dei villaggi), il territorio era stato puntellato da *Kule*, cioè torri o fortificazioni, come quella di Sedd-i Islam (oggi Islam) e inquadrato in feudi. A Laurana fu restaurato un ampio castello, dimora degli aga Halilbey Memibegović e Durakbegović. I sette decenni di pace (1573-1645) sono stati testimoni di miglioramenti in tutto il territorio, dalla rete stradale al mantenimento dei corsi fluviali e torrenti, allo sviluppo di colture. Gli insediamenti erano stati ripopolati con sudditi cristiani, mentre nei centri maggiori c'erano sudditi musulmani (slavi islamizzati) ed erano erette moschee (a Zemonico).

La guerra di Candia ha effettivamente sconvolto i vari assetti del territorio, che verso il 1660 risultava quasi nella totalità abbandonato. Nel testo si descrive dettagliatamente la situazione – villaggio per villaggio - ritratta in quegli anni in alcune cronache (Sime Gliubavaz, *Descrizione del contado di Zara*). Il 1671 aprì una nuova fase, di riorganizzazione all'insegna veneta e con popolazioni in parte locali in parte morlacche. In parte il contado fu puntellato da alcuni feudi, ma la maggior parte del territorio rimase come una specie di *ager publicus*, diviso fra le comunità. Come esempio, su scala locale, delle trasformazioni che erano avvenute, si analizza la sorte del villaggio di Islam, già fortificazione ottomana, poi ripartito fra la frazione abitata dai cattolici, oggi Islam Latinski, e quella abitata da ortodossi, oggi Islam Grcki. Rispetto alla fase pre-ottomana, dal 1670 abbiamo la formazione di villaggi di comunità morlacche, che in diversi casi erano di confessione ortodossa. Il catastico dei territori di Nona (1672-76), cittadina particolarmente colpita dalla guerra (ripetutamente distrutta) e interessata da un notevole ripopolamento, ci testimonia gli sforzi fatti per organizzare la vita sul territorio da parte dei governanti veneti.

Capitolo terzo, *Trasformazioni amministrative*

Con la guerra di Candia si osserva, infatti, un mutato atteggiamento verso il territorio posto alle spalle di Zara, dove finirono per incrociarsi i limiti delle pertinenze e delle aspirazioni degli Asburgo, degli Ottomani e di Venezia. La reintroduzione della sovranità veneta nell'area è stata segnata da due questioni: a) la definizione del confine veneto-ottomano, nel 1671, la cosiddetta linea Nani, la quale ci testimonia come fosse difficile ricostruire un tracciato per il quale mancavano i periti del territorio e i documenti relativi alla situazione del 1576; b) l'accordo, fra Venezia e gli Asburgo, sul confine nel canale della Morlacca. In questo caso, le trattative furono accompagnate da continue tensioni, da scontri fra morlacchi dell'una e dell'altra parte, e non si risolsero negli anni Settanta del Seicento, bensì proseguirono sino alle trattative di pace di Carlowitz e di Passarowitz e, per certi versi, non ebbero conclusione se non con il tramonto della Serenissima. Sul territorio riconquistato, da parte veneta, sono stati mantenuti alcuni elementi che risalivano agli assetti del dominio ottomano. Così, durante la guerra di Candia, quanto acquisito era stato diviso nelle cosiddette nove *bandiere* o *compagnie*, sotto la direzione di nove harambassa. In esse si specchiavano i precedenti capitanati ottomani. Gli stessi harambassa erano titoli che si richiamavano all'organizzazione militare ottomana. Nel 1688 queste ripartizioni erano state confermate e chiamate come *pertinenze*, a capo delle quali erano stati posti i capitani.

I responsabili della situazione sul territorio erano gli stessi governanti veneti inviati in provincia, a partire dal provveditore generale, che aveva ampie competenze soprattutto nelle congiunture belliche. Il conte di Zara aveva le sue competenze sulla città e sul contado, e a lui passarono molte incombenze man mano che subentravano i periodi di pace. Una terza figura, che risulta di costante importanza, era il dragomanno, ovvero l'interprete e mediatore nei rapporti con gli ottomani, che erano frequentissimi, data anche le tensioni fra le locali popolazioni morlacche.

Nel contado, negli anni della pace 1671-1683 e dal 1700 in poi finivano per toccarsi le competenze dello stesso comune di Zara e le sfere d'interesse dei suoi abitanti, sotto forma di proprietà e conduzione dei terreni, e quelle delle nuove comunità formatesi dopo il conflitto, le varie *bandiere* e poi *pertinenze*. Le pertinenze raccoglievano i villaggi e a livello di villaggi c'erano le assemblee rurali chiamate *posobe*, ossia assemblee dei capi famiglia la quale eleggeva i giudici e il capo villaggio. A sua volta, fra più

villaggi villaggi, si creava l'aggregazione chiamata *liga*, una specie di assemblea in cui si raccoglievano i vari capi villaggio e i giudici; la liga era chiamata pure *sborro* dal croato *zbor*, ovvero assemblea. Gradualmente, le lige persero la loro autonomia a livello di amministrazione giudiziaria, mentre si rafforzò il ruolo dei *serdari* e *harambassa*, ruoli militari utilizzati anche nella vita civile, quali esecutori della politica governativa dei Provveditori generali. Ciò accadde soprattutto durante la guerra di Morea. I serdari e gli harambassa da capi militari divennero infatti i mediatori fra i Provveditori generali, i Conti di Zara e la popolazione morlacca; essi traducevano nelle comunità le istanze del potere dei rappresentati veneti e inoltre provvedevano per la riscossione dei dazi e degli obblighi. Per questa funzione ricevettero stipendi e beni terrieri; in sostanza, essi divennero una specie di piccola nobiltà morlacca.

In un paragrafo specifico si tratta di come fu ripopolata e ripristinata la cittadina di Nona, andata completamente distrutta negli anni 1645-1650.

Capitolo quarto, *Migrazioni*

In conseguenza alle guerre, le trasformazioni più significative nell'ambito del territorio di Zara hanno riguardato il fenomeno migratorio delle popolazioni morlacche. La popolazione musulmana aveva abbandonato l'area, mentre le comunità morlacche crearono una situazione più complessa sul piano confessionale, con l'arrivo di ortodossi.

Gli spostamenti delle popolazioni dell'interno verso il contado sono state osservate attraverso le principali fasi: prima del 1645; durante la guerra di Candia; negli anni della pace (1670-1684); durante la guerra di Morea, dopo il 1700. A parte la tradizionale transumanza, si osservano ovvie differenze fra i periodi bellici e quelli di pace. Dal 1645 c'è una mirata attenzione veneziana per attirare i morlacchi verso il territorio veneto ai fini della costruzione di una linea di difesa. La definizione della linea Nani di fatto crea il problema dell'esubero dei morlacchi in territorio rimasto sotto sovranità veneta. Con la guerra di Morea riprende l'invito, tramite i mediatori (i cosiddetti *confidenti*) e i capi morlacchi, alle comunità morlacche a stanziarsi nei territori riconquistati.

Ma chi erano i morlacchi? Negli studi si oscillano tra chi li intende come un'etnia a sé, prevalentemente di confessione ortodossa, e chi in essi vede un gruppo sociale, fundamentalmente croato o serbo d'etnia.

L'atteggiamento di Venezia verso le popolazioni immigrate è caratterizzato dal solito pragmatismo. Si trattava di comunità indispensabili per riorganizzare il territorio, ma altrettanto difficili da uniformare stando alle modalità del governo tipico dell'acquisto vecchio. La creazione di un ceto dirigente morlacco, fedele e disponibile, fu una caratteristica saliente della strategia sviluppata verso tali popolazioni. Una questione a parte è rappresentata dal rapporto che era intercorso fra i cosiddetti abitanti vecchi e i nuovi arrivati, un rapporto caratterizzato da tensioni, ma anche di avvio di relazioni di tipo economico. Di sicuro, l'effetto più duraturo delle immigrazioni morlacche fu la trasformazione della situazione confessionale, con la presenza di comunità ortodosse a poca distanza da Zara. Se da parte dei governanti veneti anche in questo caso ci fu un atteggiamento tutto sommato pragmatico, attento a disinnescare eventuali conflitti, diverso fu quello della chiesa cattolica, intenta a ripristinare le antiche diocesi su aree per decenni rimaste sotto gli ottomani e non esente dal tentare e proporre forme di uniatismo.

Capitolo quinto, *I nuovi arrivati fra contesti economici e sociali*

Da un lato dobbiamo considerare la situazione del territorio che da sempre ha fatto parte del contado, cioè dell'"acquisto vecchio", a prescindere dai periodi bellici o quelli di pace. Qui la conduzione delle attività agricole era caratterizzata in prevalenza dai contratti a colonia, dai livelli, con proprietari e contadi spesso residenti nella stessa città di Zara o nelle sue periferie rurali. Una seconda situazione riguardava i contadini del contado che erano sudditi veneti e che lavoravano la terra su suolo ottomano, appartenente a nobili ottomani; questo avviene fino al 1645, ma anche fra il 1671 e il 1683. Dall'altro lato abbiamo le situazioni che si definiscono con la conquista dei territori da parte veneta e con l'installazione su di essi delle comunità morlacche oppure con la formazione dei possedimenti dati ai capi morlacchi o alle famiglie nobili di Zara dopo che un primo tempo i territori erano di *libera et esclusiva ragione di Stato*. Non pochi problemi sorsero quando si dovette adeguare le comunità morlacche a versare la decima i vari dazi, a rispettare l'ordinamento fiscale veneto per la Dalmazia. Anche se c'è da dire che il peso fiscale non fu eccessivo, si ebbero proteste e brevi rivolte, come nel 1704-1705. Gradualmente le nuove popolazioni si integrarono nel sistema degli scambi, per cui Zara era una scala dove finivano i prodotti

dell'interno e della Bosnia. Tra gli aspetti più importanti in tal senso, fu il trasporto del sale da Pago verso l'interno, nonché il traffico del bestiame, grosso e minuto dal continente verso la costa, dove veniva imbarcato. Il commercio degli schiavi, la razzia di bestiame, sia in guerra che in pace, furono altre connotazioni delle varie economie a ridosso del confine.