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The oldest, secure, historical mention of Kistanje*

*Turpe et idecorum est in
patria peregrinum esse.*

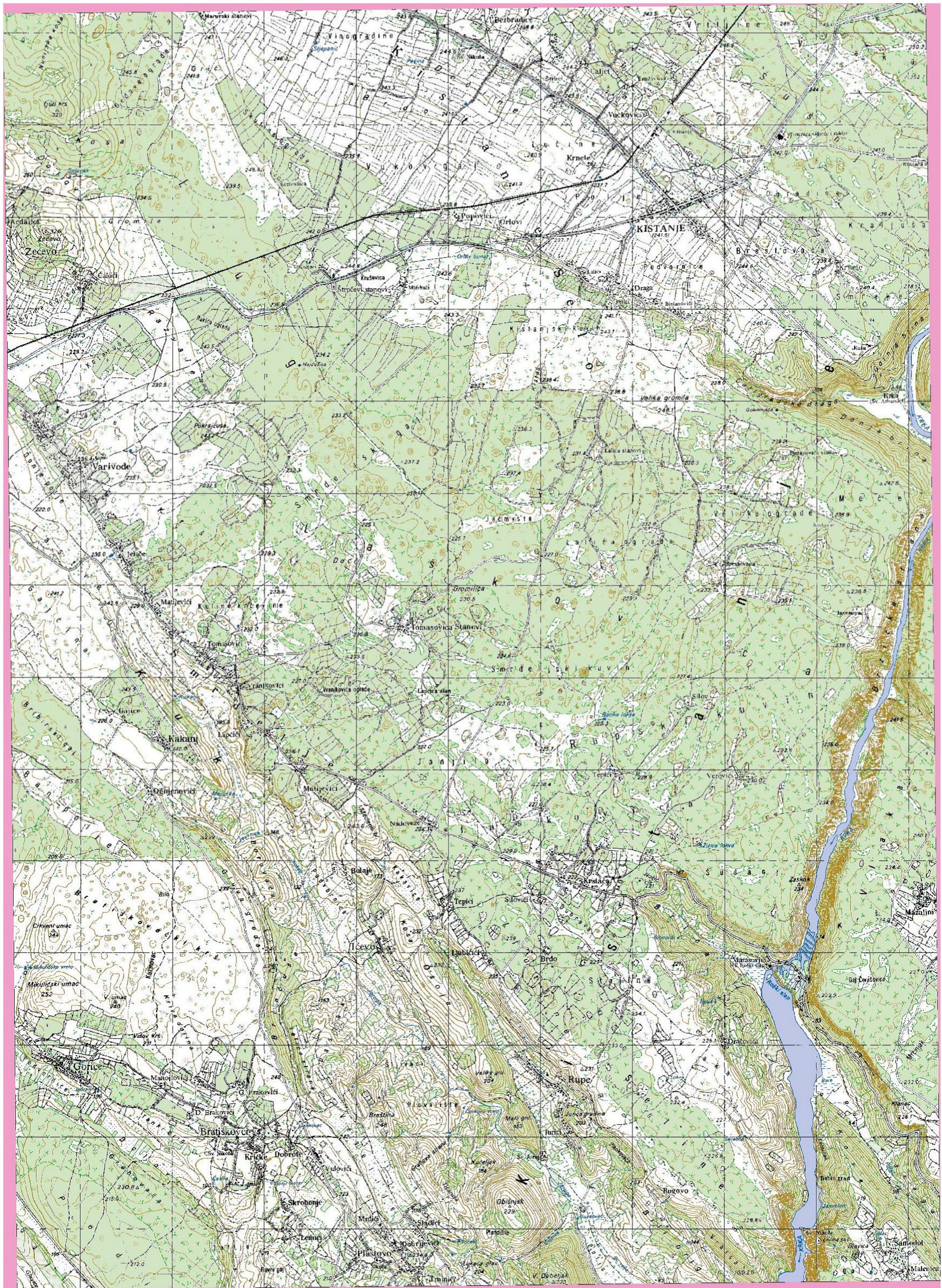
ABSTRACT:

Having determined the veracity of the document from the Archbishopric archives in Zagreb it can be claimed with certainty that the oldest registered mention of Kistanje was recorded in 1408. It was located within the estate of the Bribir's Subić family and adjacent to the present settlement of Bezbradice. The name was later shifted 4 km east, to the present day location of the town, which used to be called Međupučće and Kwartir.

If the archeological explorations will begin in the territory of the former and present day Kistanje, spectacular changes are possible regarding the duration of the settlement.

Key words: Kistanje, Dalmatia, Šubići (Bribirci), Zagreb.

* The text was read out, with minor changes on October 25, 2007 in Kistanje, at the celebration of the six hundredth anniversary of the first, certain mention of Kistanje in history.



The human settlements are not the people themselves, if nothing else but for the fact that in the majority of cases the date of their foundation is unknown. With the exception of Karlovac, for example. There are far less cases where we learn of their first mention in history. Many cities, even small settlements, take these marks as important determinants of their past. Some areas include this time in the calendar of their important celebrations. The town counselors of Kistanje decided on July 16, 2009 in favor of the alternative of celebrating the first, admittedly certain date of mention of Kistanje, «town /.../ least settled and environmentally best preserved

territory of Croatia and Europe»¹ proclaiming October 25 as the Kistanje Municipality Day.²

On October 25, 1408 in Zagreb on the premises of the Zagreb Archbishopry a seal was impressed on the document dated «fifth day of the holiday of eleven thousand virgins 1408 of the year of the Lord», i.e. October 25, 1408. This deed, written in Latin and office Gothic script on parchment, is kept in the Archive of the Zagreb Archbishopry.³ Translated and with resolved abbreviations reads:

*Nos Capitulum Ecclesie Zagrabiensis memorie comendamus tenore presentium significantes, quibus expedit vniuersis. Quod constitutis in nostri presentiam magnifico Petro, filio condam Pauli, filii condam Georgii comitis de Zrin ab vna, parte ab altera egregio Jacobo filio condam Pauli de Briberio de genere Subich, propositum extitit nobis per eosdem ministerio viueuocis eorum pariter et confessum: Quod quamuis ipsi proximi inuicem existunt patruales, ne ergo deinceps possessiones, castra, castella, predia et alia queuis bona eorum mobilia et immobilia, per eosdem quoquo modo aquisita et in futurum aquirenda, per defectum aut non defectum heredum eorundem in alios quosuis in proximos homines et personas cuiusuis sexus modo venditionis, in pignorationis, ascriptionis, alienationis, testamentarie legationis, permutacionis aut nomine concambii vel alicuius dotis receptionis et alio quouis titulo deuolui et condescendere possint et valeant, non vi uel fraude aut qua dolositate vel ficticia, sed bona liberaque et spontanea in se habita voluntate, laudabilem et deo placitam ad optuam desuper proximitatem eorundem talem inter se perpetuo assumpserunt et ordinauerunt fraternitatem, voluerunt nichilominus et vnanimi voluntate invincem consenserunt coram nobis: Quod primo dictus Petrus comes, duo castra sua Zryn videlicet et Pedel nuncupata, in comitatu Zagrabiensi existentia, cum omnibus vtilitatibus et pertinentiis ad eadem spectantibus et pertinere debentibus, prefatus quoque Jacobus, filius Pauli, totales possessiones et portiones suas possessionarias in predicta Briberio, etiam Chahovichy, Lubarczy, Vinischa, Sasinch, Jarane magni et Jarane parui, Skoluza, Rahte, Grabrovacz, Jazlyna, Loboje, Zrapal, Byllo, Malinovacz, Cerane magni at Cerane parui, Wuksichy, Hraschevichy, Dubravicza, Podrepach, Podhom, Calarino, Blissane, **Kyztane** /M.P./, Nunychy, Lissane, Hlymlane et Zmredechicza vocatas, in comitatu de Luka existentes et habitas,*

¹ S. Ferić, *Krka: vodič r.jekom Krkom i Nacionalnim parkom «Krka»*, /Šibenik 2000/, 72.

² *Statut Općine Kistanje*, Kistanje 2009, članak 5. – «U Općini Kistanje se svečano obilježava 25. listopada kao Dan Općine Kistanje». (Charter of the Kistanje Municipality, Kistanje 2009, Article 5. – «October 25 is officially marked at the Kistanje Municipality as the Kistanje Municipality Day»).

³ Zagreb, Arhiv Zagrebačke nadbiskupije (Zagreb, Archive of the Zagreb Archbishopry), Acta donationalia, 1273-1869, 7/31. The deed was first retold by the valued Grgur Urlić-Ivanović without stating where the document is located (*Cporuka kneza Pavla Ostrovičkoga, sina pokojnoga bana Pavla Bribirskoga*, Narodni koledar /Matice dalmatinske/ za pristupnu godinu 1896, U Zadru, 34(/1895/), 47-48). Four years later the document was published under the Latin sigla «B» (*Jakov Bribirski od plemena Šubić*, Vjestnik kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arkiva, s. II, Zagreb, 1/1899, 88-89). All those that referred to this document later considered that behind the letter «B» hid Ivan Bojnić Kninski (M. Ančić, *Parba za dio nasljeđe banovca Jakova Šubića Bribirskog*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru, 36 (1994), 311; F. Smiljanić, *Teritorij i granice Lučke županije u ranom srednjem vijeku*, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, 35(22) (1995-96), 1997, 254). It is most probable that the Zagreb text was written by Urlić Ivanović who often signed as Biokovac. I am saying this also because there are identical sentences in the text published in Zagreb as the text published in the Zadar calendar. It is very interesting that none of the authors that held the document in their hands is not providing the signature under which it is maintained today in the archives of the Zagreb Archbishopry, which employs outstanding and very helpful experts.

similiter cum omnibus ipsarum possessionum et portionum suarum possessionariarum supradictarum vtilitatibus et pertinenciis vniuersis, simul et mutuo ac invicem adiungendo et nichilpenitus pro se aut quibusuis aliis personis reservando, hoc expressato: quod si quem ipsorum videlicet Petri comitis Zriny et Jacobi filii Pauli de predicta Briberio, absque heredum solacio, quod absit, ab hoc seculo contingerit decedere, extunc prefate possessiones, castra, castella, predia et alia queuis bona mobilia, ut prefertur et immobilia partium predictarum cum omnibus vtilitatibus et pertinenciis earundem, ad eorum alterum videlicet superstitem et cum herede remanentem in perpetuo remanere devoluique et condescendere debeant et teneantur possidenda, tenenda, fruenda et habenda, ad quod se partes predictae firmiter observandum coram nobis obligauerint. In cuius rei testimonium firmitatemque perpetuam presentes concessimus litteras nostras sigilli nostri inappensione comunitas partium predictarum ad cautelam.

Datum Zagrabiae, feria quinta proxima post festum vndecim millia virginum. Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo octauo.



Translated, it reads:

Based on the following purport of legal provisions originating from the jurisdictional competence of the capitular church of the Zagreb Church in the form of a permanent entry, we indicate who is entitled to general requests. In the presence of the venerable Petar, son of the late Pavle, son of the late Đorđe, Prince Zrinski, and at the contemporaneous presence of the reverend Jakov, son of late Pavle Bribirski from the line of Šubić, we resolved that they are to declare themselves verbally and in writing on the provisions pertaining to them personally. Namely, the matter is that in no case, although they as cousins are very close kin, the land estates, towns, fortifications, property and their remaining movable property as well as real estate, that they had acquired in any way or will acquire in the future, should not cross over into the hands of any person of any other sex, even if that person represents a close kin, either due to lack of own heirs, or due to some other reasons such as, e.g. sale or assignment in the form of lien or disposal or appointment by will, either entering a change in the name of the title holder or disposal in the form of dowry: in other words all options of any forced change of modality of this deed is prevented through fraud, either openly exhibited or devious, treachery and fickleness and agreement is reached as a result of unbridled and free will of both parties, agreement which is characterized by, worthy of notice and dear to God, their mutual readiness to determine the order in heritage which will remain as such for certain due to adoptive closeness of both sides. This mutual consent was obtained in our presence and purports that the first mentioned Prince Petar shall combine the two fortifications in the territory of the Zagreb districts of Zrin and Pedač with all the emoluments and rights pertaining to them and

*the above mentioned Jakov, son of Pavle, his entire estate and parts of his estate in the already mentioned Bribir, as well as those named Šahovići, Ljubarići, Viništa, Zažice, Velike and Male Jarane, Skoluža, Rahte, Grabovac, Razlina, Lobje, Zrapal, Bilo, Malinovac, Cerane Veliko and Malo, Vukšići, Hrašćevići, Podrepak, Podhom, Kolarino, Blišane, **Kistanje**, Nunići, Lišane, Klimjane and Smrdečica, all of which are inhabited and located in the Lučka district, with all the emoluments and all the rights pertaining to them, pertaining both to the entire estate as well as to the above mentioned parts of the estate, are allied and joined at the same time and alternately, waiving any attempts to usurp for themselves or any other person, which was reflected in the final formulation: Should it happen that any one of the two, either Petar, Prince Zrinski, or Jakov, son of Pavle from the above mentioned Bribir, should leave this world heirless, in that case the above mentioned estates, cities, fortifications and any other movable property and real estate or parts of the above mentioned estates with all the emoluments and rights resulting therefrom, shall be transferred to the other claimant as heir to whom these rights shall eternally belong so that he will be able to use the mentioned estates to full extent and derive all the benefit from them, which both parties have consented to completely here before us. As lasting testimony of the above we have prepared this record which, certified by our seals and provided with our signatures, was delivered for safe keeping.*

In Zagreb on the fifth day of the holiday of the eleven thousand virgins in the year of the Lord 1408.

In order to ascertain the veracity of the document written on parchment on October 25, 1408, there is no need to conduct a detailed diplomatic analysis. The reason is quite simple, considering that this is a classical capitular church testimony. It consists of: protocol entitlement, promulgation, narration with standards, as well as other formulas found on most of the documents. Let us dwell on the corroboration which explains how the legal act was secured. We saw – by placing a seal on the document. It is necessary to mention the final part of the document – the exhortation, namely the dating. The document exhibits the geographical and temporal determination and dating according to holidays. There is a stamp at the very end of the document. With the impression of stamp the document was also granted and verified «public faith». The seal confirms the testimony itself. Moreover, the seal is a sign that guarantees the authenticity of the deed i.e. validates its contents and gives it legal value.⁴

For the very fact that the placing of the seal realized the main objective of each capitular church document, it is necessary to elaborate in much more detail the most important means of evidence in our document. First of all, it is necessary to speak about the suspended seal, which was always placed on the most precious document. It is much clearer what kind of deed we are holding. It is in the form of a mandorla with a very interesting seal decoration. The seal image of «ours» was not well preserved. In order to study it better we have to use either analogous seals issued by the same capitular church or authentic signet-ring. It is made of silver and stored in the Archbishopric treasury in Zagreb. It was revealed by Ante Gulin, the leading Croatian

⁴ M. Matijević Sokol, *Struktura i diplomatska analiza isprava kninskog kaptola*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 36, Zagreb (1994), 69-85; M. Atlagić, *Pomoćne istorijske nauke u teoriji i praksi*, Beograd 2007, 279-280.

sphragistician and thus made the work easier in determining the original, and thereby the veracity of our document.⁵



The seal declaration once consisting of a triangular wavy line does not exist today on the seal which is so interesting to us, nor is there a string of pearls. The initial inscription exists but a barely discernible lettering. The letters written in classic type Gothic majuscules can hardly be discerned with difficulty: /S +/ CAPITULI * ECCLESIE + 3A⁶ + GRABIENSIS +. The inscription is fully comprehensible, however, it is necessary to point out that the first letter in the siglia is read S/igillum/. Therefore the inscription reads: S/IGILLUM / CAPITULI ECCLESIE ZAGRABIENSIS.

As for the central seal image, the situation is not very bright. The age of the seal has «worn it out» therefore difficult to discern. In the present seal area, nevertheless, we recognize at the bottom of saintly images, a wreath with a «rope motif» and indication of rosette. That is why vials with rhomboid decorations are clearly raising on both sides. Above the Gothic arches two windows can be seen in the form of dustyle and dome ending.

In the most important part of the seal field, below the Gothic arches, saintly images are discerned. On the left side there is the image of the Holy Virgin Mary with Jesus, which is difficult to see because the seal suffered damage in that area, whereas in the right hand position there is the holy king Stjepan. He is crowned and in a kneeling position delivers a gift – Gothic model of a church with two bell towers.

⁵ A. Gulin, *Hrvatska crkvena srednjovjekovna sfragistika*, Zagreb 1998, 74-75, 89-97

⁶ It is clear that the first letter in the name Zagreb is very alike the Cyrillic letter 3 whereas it is not a case of an error in engraving, as one might assume at a first glance.

It should be added that the seal is made of wax. Tar and turpentine are added and it is of dark brown color. The seal is suspended on silk and cotton strings, colored in red and green color and braided. Thus completed suspended seal was a means of public faith i.e. guarantor of validity and veracity of a parchment document. Without such a seal it would lack legal or any other power of effect. In short – the seal of the Zagreb capitular church on «our» document is authentic in spite of the visible unintentional damages, and as such has attained public faith as a *loca credibilia*. Moreover, the seal also maintains our Kistanj, to call it that, document in the legal sense and provides it with convincing proof and legal effect.⁷

If we know all this then we can state reliably that we are holding, namely, have before our eyes a completely veritable, i.e. valid capitular church certificate. There is why the adjective certain was used in the heading of this presentation.⁸

Thus, two close relatives met in Zagreb on October 25, 1408. Their roots are the same – Bribirian, with the difference that one is a Šubić and the other Zrinski. Until 1347 they used to be a single family. Then the Ostrobac branch of Bribirians moved to Zrin and since then calls itself Zrinski. The other members of the most renowned Croatian lineage continued to live all across Dalmatia, as well as on the Bribir knoll.

Let us return to the Bribirians. The Šubić family was ranked among the most significant Croatian medieval families, on which numerous historians agree.⁹



⁷ A. Gulin, *Hrvatska crkvena srednjovjekovna sfragistika*, Zagreb 1998, 74-75, 89-97; M. Atlagić, *Pomoćne istorijske nauke u teoriji i praksi*, Beograd 2007, 431-450.

⁸ When I say that I am thinking of the document where, another year is pointed out from the second hand and in the form of register. Since we cannot check the data according to all parameter of auxiliary historical sciences, I consider that the document of the Zagreb capitular church from 1408, for the time being, is the best basis for the birth certificate of Kistanje. See: Naučna biblioteka Zadar (present day Znanstvena knjižnica Zadar), 16.532 Ms. 461- Guerin Ferante, *Registri dell' Archivio notarile di Zara*, I-XX, fasc: Ioannes Bernardi da Firmo, record from November 24, 1402, sheet 7r.

⁹ V. Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347*, Zagreb 1897, /III; J. Belošević, *Pečatnik hrvatskoga bana Pavla I Bribirskog iz Zadra*, Diadora 3 (Zadar 1965), 165; S. Antoljak, *Ban Pavao Bribirski »Croatorum dominis«*, Radovi IJAZU u Zadru XIX (1972), 5; M. Granić, *Jadranska politika Šubića Bribirskih*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 36 (1994), 35, 67, 68; D. Karbić, *Uloga bribirskih knezova u osnutku šibenske biskupije*, Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa Šibenska biskupija od 1298. do 1998: Šibenik, September 22 until 26, 1998, Šibenik 2001, 53.

As we can see they owned enormous property in the Lučka district,¹⁰ but also areas from Kvarner to Neretva in the south, and from the sea going to the east to Drina as well as all Dalmatian cities except for Zadar.¹¹ In the village of Jovići they built a church of St. Marija Magdalena, which is adorned even today with their coat of arms.¹² And not just that. They were well received in the courts Buda and Naples,¹³ and we will see also in the Nemanjić court. They were so powerful that they were also forging their own money.¹⁴ In spite of all this the historiography did not pay its dues in the best way. This can best be seen in the fact that the most appropriate and the only study to date about them had been published by Vjekoslav Klaić back in the 19th century.¹⁵ That is why we believe Damir Karbić, today perhaps the best connoisseur of the past of these dynasties,¹⁶ that time is yet to come for writing a proper study about the Bribirians.¹⁷

We said that Šubićs maintained friendly ties also with the representatives of the Serbian dynasty of Nemanjić.¹⁸ They even warred against them (and were also imprisoned),¹⁹ but also went to their court for marriage. Many know that the king's sister, later Dušan the Mighty – Jelena was married to Mladen III.²⁰ There is less known data related to another princess from the Serbian court – Ursa. The historians

¹⁰ J. Lučić, *O vezama Ravnih kotara s prekovalebitskim područjem u srednjem vijeku*, Benkovački kraj kroz vjekove: Zbornik 1 (Benkovac 1987), 101; D. Karbić, *Agrarni odnosi na području Lučke županije krajem XIV. stoljeća*, Historijski zbornik, 43(1) (1990), 17-24; N. Jakšić, *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi*, Split 2000, 220, 221, 230, 231, 233, 235, 236.

¹¹ M. Granić, *Jadranska politika Šubića Bribirskih*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 36 (1994), 46.

¹² R. Jelić, *Selo Čakavci i knezovi Markovići od roda Šubića*, Radovi Centra JAZU u Zadru, XXI (1975), 147-155.

¹³ M. Granić, *Jadranska politika Šubića Bribirskih*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 36 (1994), 42.

¹⁴ V. Delonga, *Numizmatika*, Bribir u srednjem vijeku = Bribir in the Mediaval Period, Split 1996, 79-84.

¹⁵ V. Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347*, Zagreb 1897, pp. /III/.

¹⁶ D. Karbić, *The Šubić cf Bribir. A Case study cf a Croatian medieval kindred*, Budapest 2000. (unpublished doctoral thesis).

¹⁷ D. Karbić, *Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322.)*, Zbornik odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU 22 (2004), 11.

¹⁸ *Listine o odnosu između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, skupio Sime Ljubić, knj. I, U Zagrebu, 1868, 232; G. Urlić Ivanović, *Zadrji Šubića od god. 1347. – 1358.*, dio II, Narodni koledar /Matice dalmatinske/ za prostu godinu 1883, U Zadru, 21 (/1882/), 107, 109; V. Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347*, Zagreb 1897, 77, 83; К. Лиречек, *Историја Срба, 1: политичка историја до 1537. год*, Београд 1952², превео Јован Радонић, 196;

¹⁹ К. Лиречек, *Историја Срба, 1: политичка историја до 1537. год*, Београд 1952², превео Ј. Радонић, 196; С. Ћирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, Београд 1964, 85; Ibid., *Срби у средњем веку*, Београд 1995, 160.

²⁰ *Српски споменици Млетачког Архива: Acta archivi Veneti spectantia ad historiam Serborum et reliquorum Slavorum meridionalium*, colligit et transcripsit Joannes Schafarik, I, Belgradi 1860, 158-182; Р. Ћук, *Србија и Венеција у XIII и XIV веку*, Београд 1986; G. Urlić Ivanović, *Zadrji Šubića od god. 1347. – 1358.*, dio II, Narodni koledar /Matice dalmatinske/ za prostu godinu 1883, U Zadru, 21(/1882/), 111-114; V. Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347*, Zagreb 1897, 167-169; Н. Милаш, *Православна Далмација*, Београд - Шибеник 2004, 129-134; G. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije I: od najstarijih vremena do kandijskog rata*, Zagreb 1944, 141; С. Ћирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, Београд 1964, 122; N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, Zadar 1976, 317-318; С. Кончаревић, *Летопис грађанских и црквених догађаја (фрагменти)*, Бенковачки магазин, Бенковац 1991, 1, (IV), 26-27; S. Ferić, *Krka: vodič rijekom Krkom i Nacionalnim parkom «Krka»*, /Šibenik 2000/, 77; Б. Ферјанчић – С. Ћирковић, *Стефан Душан краљ и цар 1331-1355*, Београд 2005, 305-306.

do not exactly agree on all details related to her. The year of her death is undisputable (1303), but not also the date. The authors are not unanimous either regarding her name. To some she was Urica, whereas others call her Ursa, Ursula, Urošica. To make things even more interesting, certain writers hold that she is from the line of Angevins, whereas others believe that she was born in the house of the Knin's Nelipić, even the Frankopans. While the historians are undecided from which lineage originated the ban's wife Ursa, wife of Pavle II, brother of Lujo Marun assured Jovan Cvijić, Miloje Vasić and vicar Ljubomir Vrcelj, and Stipe Gunjača, the most prominent archeologist of Yugoslavia that «inclita Croatorum banissa» came from the court of Stefan Dragutin Nemanjić.²¹ The most interesting always comes at the end. Well informed Miahilo Dinić presented the data that King Dragutin raised his daughters in the Catholic faith and sons in the Christian Orthodox faith. He admitted that this is a unique case in the European history.²²

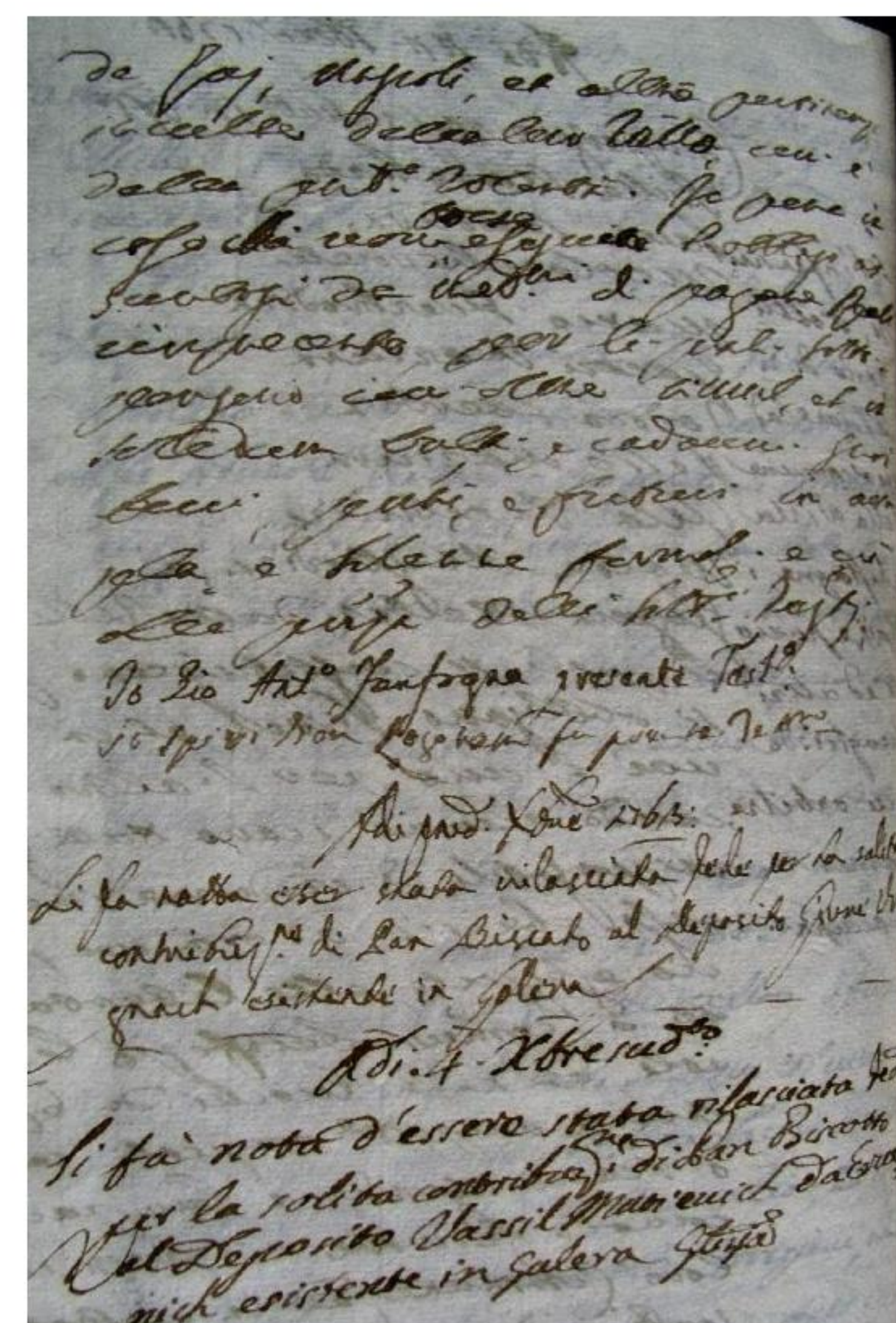
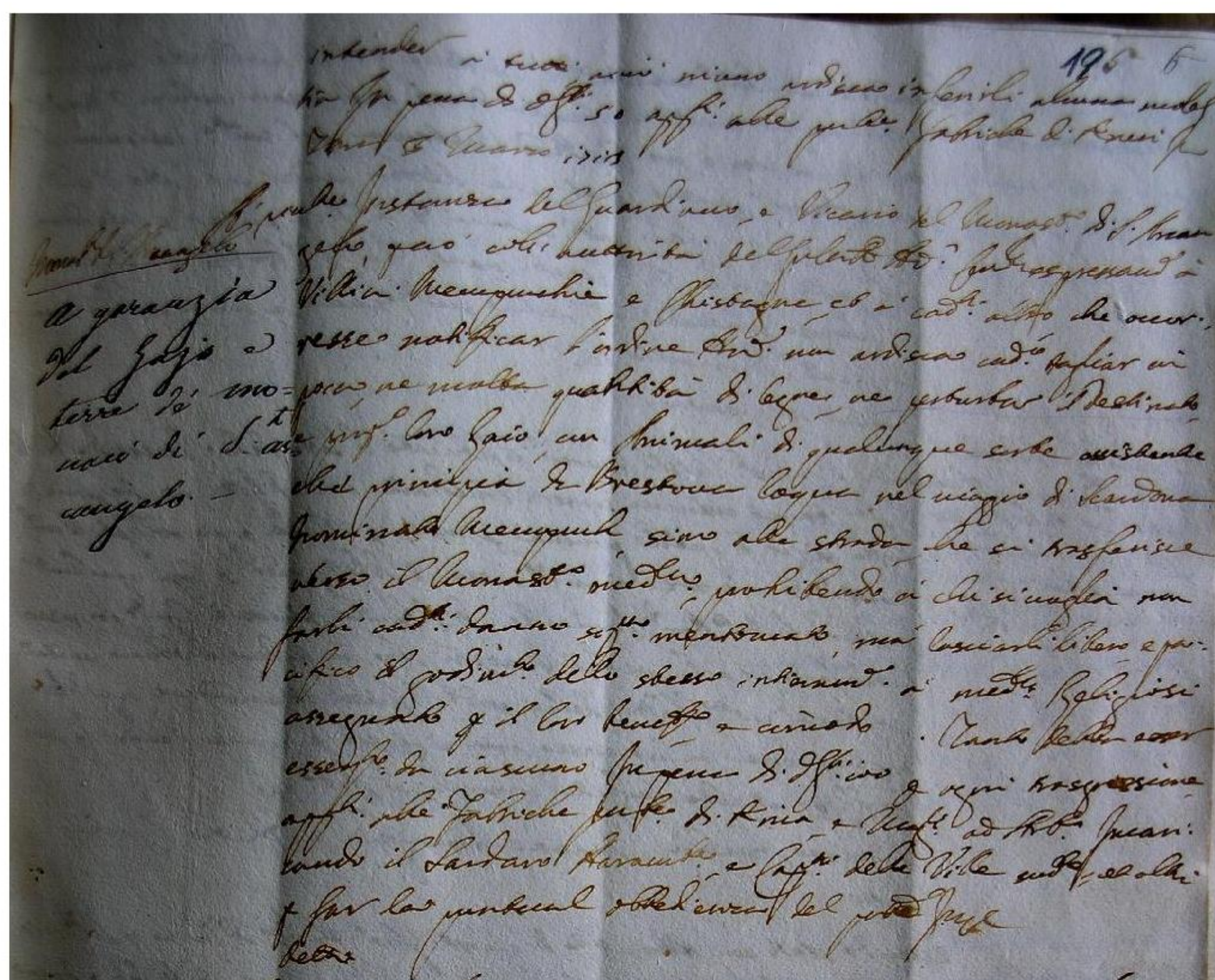
The Bribir branch of the famous Croatian family, personified in the character of Jakov III still interest us. The reason is simple. In 1408 he was the owner of a great part of Northern Dalmatia, even the area of the Lučka district,²³ which also included *Kyztane*.

²¹ /G. Urlić Ivanović/, *Sjepko Šubić i Bribir*, Narodni koledar /Matice dalmatinske/, za prostu godinu 1881, U Zadru 1880, 101 i 108, Footnote 1; G. Urlić Ivanović, *Zadrji Šubića od god. 1322-1358*, Narodni koledar /Matice dalmatinske/ za oprost godinu 1882, U Zadru /1881/, 136; Ibid, Narodni koledar /Matice dalmatinske/ za prostu godinu 1883, U Zadru /1882/, 107, 109, 111-114; K. Bačić, *Stanislava Šubić krjeginja hrvatska: (crte iz hrvatske povjesti 13. vieka)*, Narodni koledar /Matice dalmatinske/ za prostu godinu 1882, U Zadru, 20 (/1881/), 78, Footnote. 1, 82, 87-89; S. Zlatović, *Bribirski nekrolog XIV i XV vieka*, Starine JAZU XXI (1889), /83/-84; V. Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347*, Zagreb 1897, 61, 68, 69, 79; L. Jelić, *Moći sv. Šimuna Bogoprmaoca u Zadru : hagiografjsko-povjestna studija*, Rad JAZU, 145 (1901), [158]-225; L. Jelić, *Zadarska raka sv. Šimuna Bogoprmaoca*, Glasnik Matice dalmatinske, Zadar, 1 (1901), 277-278; M. Wertner, *Eine unbekannte kroatisch-schleisische Allianz. Beitrag zur Geschicht des Geschlechtes Šubić*, Vjestnik kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arkiva, III (1901), 207-217; Codex diplomaticus, VII (1909), 332, 333; *Poviest hrvatskih zemaља Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do godine 1463*, Sarajevo 1942, napisali V. Draganović ... et. al., 235, 236, 239, 249, 264, 321; S. Gunjača, *Referat u vezi predloga za savezno iskopavanje u Bribiru*, Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture, knj. III, sv. 1, 1952, Beograd 1953, 136; Đ. Sp. Radcijić, *O jedncj genealoškcg pogrešci*, Istoriski pregled, Beograd, 1 (1954), 2, 61-62; S. Gunjača, *Starješko i historijsko-arheološko značenje Bribira*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta, ser. III, sv. 10, Zagreb 1968, 208; C. M. Тирковић, *Краљ Стефан Драгутин*, Рачански зборник, 3, Бајина Башта (1998), 17; L. Marun, *Starinski dnevници*, prepisala i za tisak priredila Maja Petrinc, Split 1998, 243, 248; D. Karbić, *Utjecaj velikaškog roda Šubića na razvoju franjevacu u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji s posebnim osvrtom na skradinsko-bribirsko područje*, Zbornik o Pavlu Posiloviću: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa «Pavao Posilović i šibensko-skradinski kraj u njegovo doba», Skradin - Visovac, 27.-28. listopada 2000, Šibenik - Zagreb 2001, 152.

²² М. Динић, *Из наше раније прошлости*, Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју и фолклор, књ. 30, св. 3-4 (1964), 239-242. Ма paper on the interesting Ursula is being printed.

²³ The discussion on the boundary marks of this District is not crucial to us. This matter has been discussed in our historiography since the pioneer work of Vinko Valčić (*Granice Ninske županije*, Rad JAZU, knj. 288, (1952), 95-112). This complex issue was most deeply been studied by the highly acrybic Franjo Smiljanić (*Prilog proučavanju županjskog sustava Sklavinje Hrvatske*, Etnogeneza Hrvata = Ethnogeny of the Croats, Zagreb 1995, 178-190; *Teritorij i granice Lučke županije u ranom srednjem vijeku*, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, 35(22) (1995-96), 1997, 205- 259; *O postanku i razvoju županjskog sustava na teritorju Sklavinje Hrvatske*, Glas, Zadar, 5 (1998), 9, 9-15; *Neka zapazanja o teritorju i organizaciji Bribirske županije u srednjem vijeku*, Povijesni prilozi, Zagreb, 25 (2003), 7-36). Also see: *Hrvatske županije kroz stoljeća*, Zagreb 1996.

Unfortunately, the scientists, Josip Smodlaka and Petar Skok, did not explain the etymology of this toponym, nor the present day form of the name Kistanje.²⁴



Our attention is still attracted by the municipal center Kistanje.²⁵ The earliest, certain mention in history is read in the quoted document when the bishop Franjo headed the Skradin bishopric and Nikola V the Knin bishopric.²⁶ We have to believe it because it is adorned by a relatively well legible, and as we determined ourselves, authentic seal.

The respective certificate, nevertheless, does not help us in one thing. There are no elements to conclude where Kistanje was located at the time. It did not exist for sure on the present day location, I am certain of that. But where was it?

The shrewd Franjo Smiljanić claims on two occasions that the medieval village disappeared but that the trace is preserved in the name of the present Kistanje. This Zadar University professor discovers this medieval village in the Bezbradice, considering that the church of St. Nikola is located in its immediate vicinity. According to Smiljanić this place of worship is «a medieval religious structure for certain not only by title holder but also according to building characteristics».²⁷ I will claim right away that the adjective «for certain» is absolutely unsustainable. First of all because no one conducted until now any archeological research of the subject church. It is true that only Nikodim Milaš determined the dates when the subject church was erected, i.e. in the period between 1524 until 1537 relying on, still

²⁴ J. Smodlaka, *Imena mesta i meštana na tlu Jugoslavije*, II prilog, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 52(1946), 12; P. Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, knj. 2, Zagreb 1972, 85. Also see: *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika JAZU*, V, 1898-1903, 10.

²⁵ ..., *Kistarje*, *Enciklopedija hrvatske umjetnosti*, 1, Zagreb 1995, 428; ..., *Kistarje*, *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, 5, Zagreb 2003, 683.

²⁶ J. Barbarić, *Kninski biskupi i njihova biskupija (o. 1050-1490) u svjetlu novijih istraživanja*, *Kninski zbornik*, Zagreb 1993, 90; Ibid., *Kninski biskupi i njihova biskupija*, *Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa Šibenska biskupija od 1298. do 1998: Šibenik*, 22. do 26. rujna 1998, Šibenik 2001, 180; Ibid., *Skradin, Skradinska biskupija, skradinski biskupi*, *Sedam stoljeća šibenske biskupije: Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa Šibenska biskupija od 1298. do 1998: Šibenik*, 22. do 26. rujna 1998, Šibenik 2001, 199.

²⁷ F. Smiljanić, *Neka zapazanja o teritoriju i organizaciji Bribirske županije u srednjem vijeku*, *Povijesni prilozi*, 25(2003), 19. It is very interesting that the Turkish defters from 1550, 1574 and 1604 do not mention the temple in Kistanje.

disputable, chronicle of bishop Simeon Končarević.²⁸ The only possible justification of the use of the mentioned term is if Smiljanić thinks of the reasoning of brother Stanko Bačić. However, the reverend researcher of the past of Northern Dalmatia,²⁹ is also not right, considering that his naively presented assessment is not founded on scientific facts. For this reason it is a reflection of hasty and not based on science declaration, particularly as he was thinking of the present day church of St. Cyril and Methodius in the present day Kistanje was raised on the foundations of the medieval church.³⁰ Smiljanić's claim that the settlement was simply «moved to the position of the present day Kistanje is no better, seems quite naïve, and I would even say quite recklessly presented.³¹

I agree fully with Smiljanić that there had been no medieval settlement of the same name on the area of the present-day Kistanje. Where was it located then in 1408?

To answer the above question could certainly help us the routes of the roads that had to pass through the former Banadeg? Unfortunately, the representatives of the Croatian historical science did not research, at least not systematically, the medieval communications in the territory of Dalmatia. What was done in that respect is rather based on assumptions than on the true study of the mentioned traffic directions, with honorable exceptions.³² Moreover, the researchers of medieval times rely in their assumptions totally on the contributions of researchers of ancient times. Since their results are just general, in spite of the first indications that they are launching a more serious research work,³³ the only thing left for us is to see is what the concrete archeological contributions are.

There is no reliable support in this area either. The reason is simple. The archeologist studying medieval time cannot help us for the simple reason because they made no excavations in the territory of the Kistanje municipality. If we except the experts in ancient times which, also, systematically explored, and are excavating even today, the

²⁸ Н. Милаш, *Православна Далмација*, Београд - Шибеник 2004, 163. My paper on S. Končarević and his, alleged, chronicle is in print.

²⁹ S. Bačić, *Perušić: župa Marjina Uznesenja u zadarskoj nadbiskupiji: prošlost i sadašnjost župe u prigodi 540. obljetnice prvoga spomena župne crkve*, Split 1989; Ibid., *Visovački franjevci u Skradinskoj biskupiji: pastoralno čjelovarje franjevac od dolaska Osmanlija (1522.) do danas*, Split 1991; Ibid., *Župa Svih Svetih: Piramatovci: povijesni pregled*, Šibenik 1995; Ibid., *Franjevački samostan u Karinu: povijest franjevačkog samostana u Karinu u svjetlu protokola ili kronike fra Marjana Ukušića (1734-1746)*, Šibenik 1995; Ibid., *Franjevci u Zadarskoj nadbiskupiji i Ninskoj Biskupiji*, Šibenik 1995; Ibid., *Lisičić: jezgro jednog od 12 hrvatskih plemena*, /Lisičić/ 1996; Ibid., *Benkovac i Benkovčani u Hrvatskom leksikonu* 1996, *Zadarska smotra*, 48(1999), 1-3, 527-530; Ibid., *Pastoralno čjelovarje visovačkih franjevac u vrijeme osmanlijskih okupacija*, *Visovački zbornik: Zbornik radova simpozija u prigodu 550-te obljetnice franjevačke nazočnosti na Visovcu 1445-1995*, Visovac 1997, 229-240.

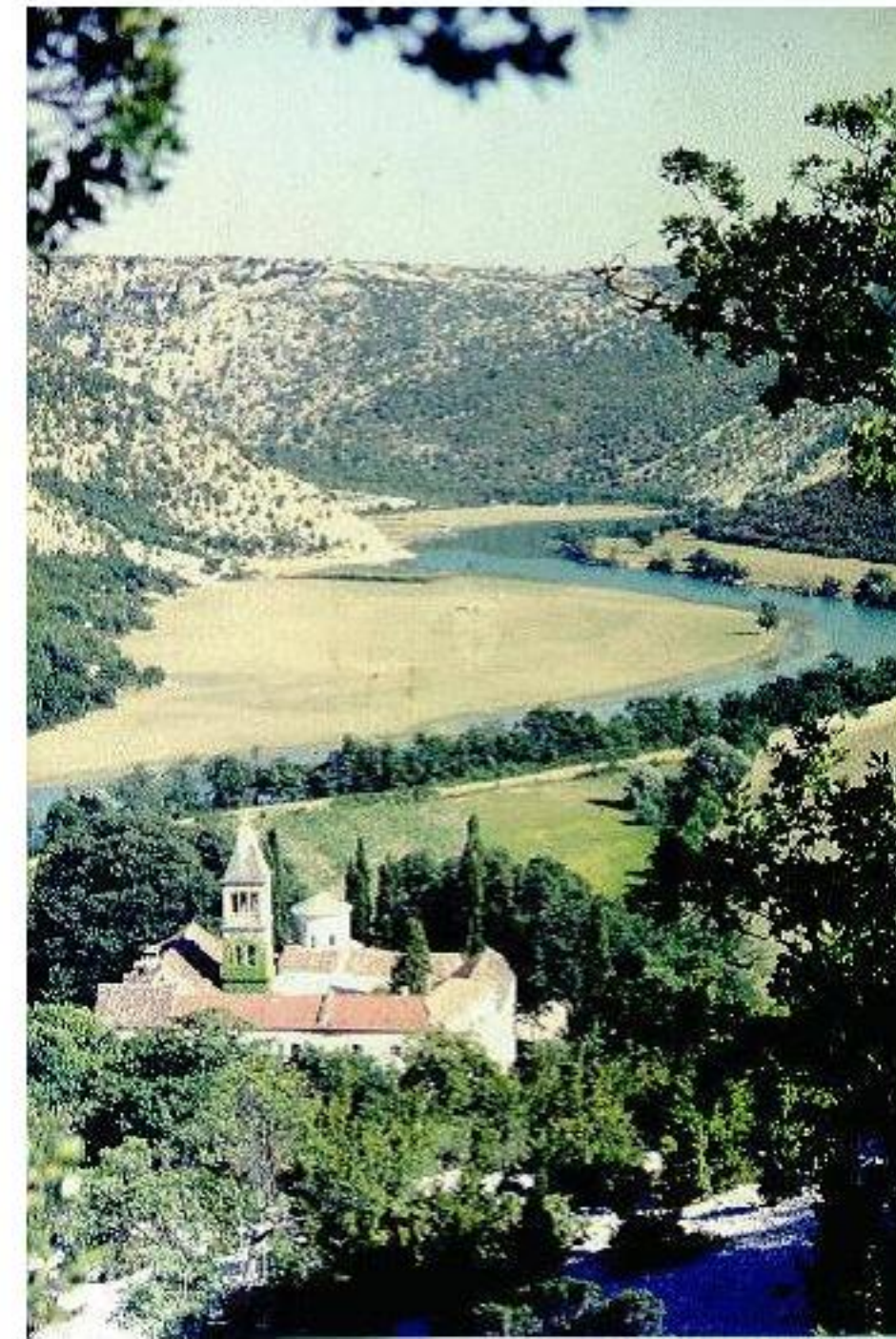
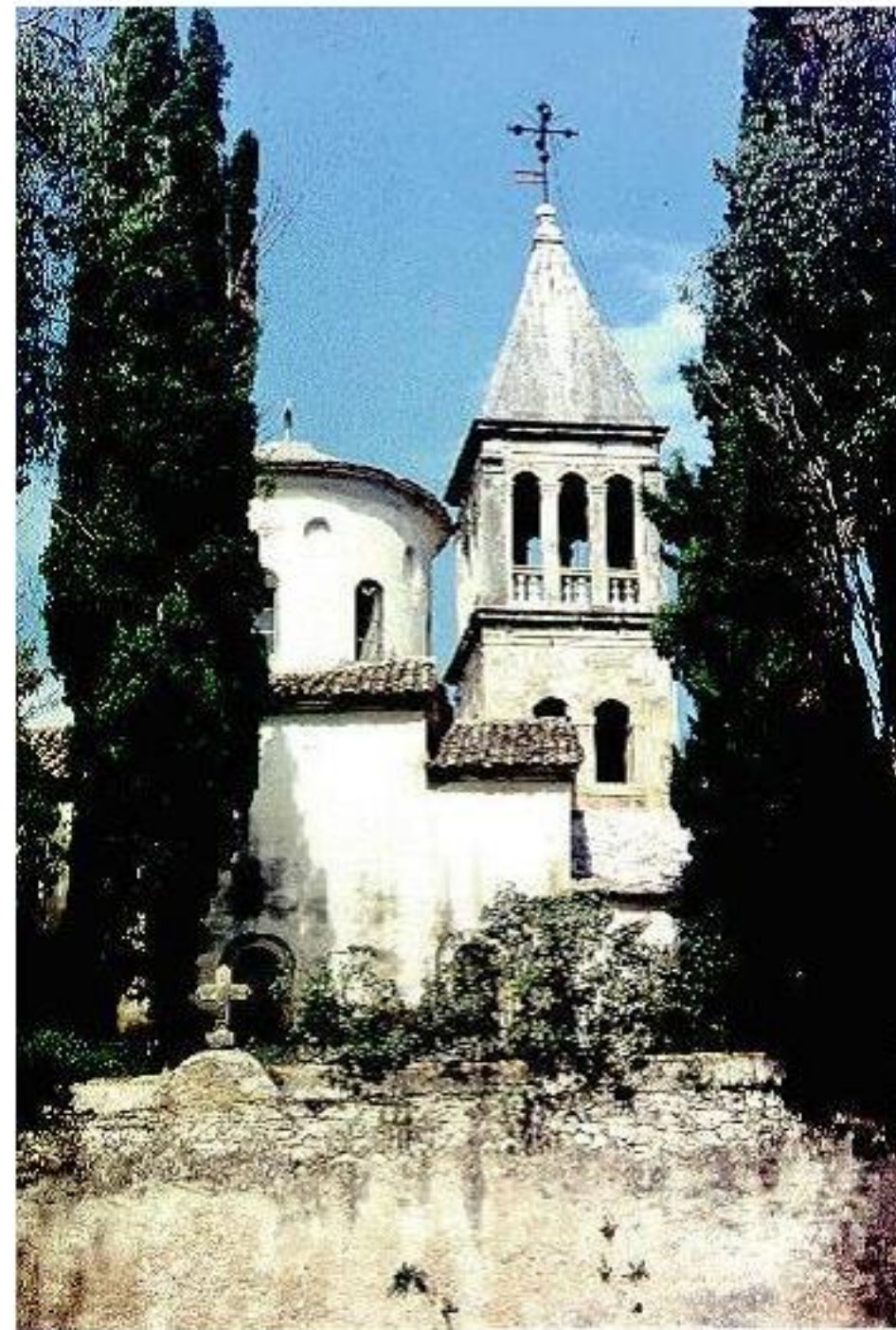
³⁰ S. Bačić, *Osvrt na osnovne stavove i tvrdnje u knjizi «Pravoslavna Dalmacija» e. Nikodima Milaša*, Zadar 1998, 249.

³¹ F. Smiljanić, *Teritorij i granice Lučke županije u ranom srednjem vijeku*, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, 35(22) (1995-96) 1997, 247, Footnote 292.

³² N. Jakšić, *Topografija pravca Via magna cesta vocata tendens per Lucam*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, serija III, sv. 14, (Split 1984), 325-346.

³³ I. Bejanovski, *Dolabelin sistem cesta u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji = (Dolabellae system viarum in Provincia Romana Dalmatia)*, Sarajevo 1974; Ž. Miletić, *Rimska cesta između Jadera, Burnuma i Salone*, *Radovi /Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru/ razdio povijesnih znanosti* (19), sv. 32 (1992/1993), 1993, 117-150; Д. Рашковић, *Убикација друмских прелаза на подручју средњег тока реке Крке у антици*, *Balkanica* XXIX (1998), 47-64.

area of the Roman military camp Burnum. One of the rare among the professional archeologists that had dug in this area is Milojko Budimir. He headed for a brief period of time very important archeological works at the Monastery of Krka, which, unfortunately, have not been fully completed.³⁴



The other archeological projects were carried out by: Lujo Marun and his trustee Vladimir Ardalić. They researched separately and together at the end of the 19th century in: Đevraske, Ležajići, Glavica, Smrdelji and Ivoševci.³⁵ Quite a lot of medieval material was discovered in those campaigns. This denied in the best possible way numerous doubters that believed that the Kistanje area is not interesting to the archeologists. If we add to this also the results arrived at by Lujo Marun after hodometric research, we can see that the archeologists are not justified for avoiding the Kistanje area. Namely, the deserving brother obtained at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, several valuable archeological treasures from this area. Thus, also the silver ring with the coat of arms, ear rings and rings (discovered in the village Biovčino Selo), Byzantine golden coins, one from Krneta, another from Štrpci. Not to mention the ubication of prehistorical funeral mounds, old Croatian cemeteries, numerous medieval standing tombs and «ancient church» in the Biovčino Selo, which particularly caught Maruns' eye.³⁶ He first discovered and strengthened by drawing the church in Čučevo (located then on the estate of Nikola Janković, and in the later times of Stevan Kutlača).³⁷ Curiosity took him in 1912 also to the land of Dušan Martić, of the late Sava,³⁸ «located on the northern side of Kistanje», the location of a natural cave. Let us quote who he presents in an old longer writing: «It /the cave/ is interesting because of its natural beauty and spaciousness, and we noticed in it several charred remnants with human bones and fallen ornamental pots, probably from the Bronze Age. It should be systematically researched because of these objects.»³⁹

³⁴ M. Budimir, *Manastir Krka – arheološko istraživanje: zaštitni radovi*, Obavijesti, Zagreb, 22 (1990), 2, 55-56.

³⁵ D. Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole na području između r. jeka Zrmarje i Cetirje*, Split 1976, 43, 44, 56, 61, 62.

³⁶ L. Marun, *Starinski dnevnik, prepisala i za tisak priredila Maja Petrinec*, Split 1988, 75, 102, 117, 118, 121, 130, 133, 165, 209, 251, 252.

³⁷ Ibid, 253; M. Štrbac, *Kistarje – geografski položaj, demografska kretanja, historijski razvoj, Narodnooslobodilačka borba ili Bukovica – nepresušno vrelo života*, Zagreb 1980, 41 (manuscript held by the author in Zagreb). See also : M. Zekan, *Srednjovjekovne utvrde na r. jeci Krki*, Visovački zbornik: Zbornik radova simpozija u prigodu 550-te obljetnice franjevačke nazočnosti na Visovcu 1445-1995, Visovac 1997, 397; A. Juric, *Gradovi, utvrde i sakralni spomenici uz Krku i Čikolu*, Skradin 2004, 83, 85.

³⁸ This estate is owned today by Ilija – Ile Tauza, which was confirmed to me by the owner on December 2009.

³⁹ L. Marun, *Starinski dnevnik, prepisala i za tisak priredila Maja Petrinec*, Split 1988, 223.



Professional archeologists have still not dealt with it. Perhaps the present day's municipal team, headed by the agile Slobodan Rončević, will call the researchers of ancient times to check to what extent was Marun right. If his, very probably, right assumptions are confirmed, Kistanje will have to move its duration several thousands of years back. We will agree that it would be desirable to venture on such campaign, if several centuries later the caves was not «investigated» well by young inhabitants of Kistanje who liked going there with destructive intentions.

The late professor Stjepan Antoljak was truly right when he emphasized the Bukovica «has not been historically processed well, either in detail or entirely, finally in the medieval times».⁴⁰ His efforts to devote a scientific gathering to Bukovice did not help either. It was held in Zadar at the Faculty of Philosophy from May 21 to 23, 1987, however, the promised proceedings from it have not appeared to this day. Hence, the literature on the past of Kistanje, even Bukovice, has still remained meager,⁴¹ if we exclude the notable studies of Professor Živko Bjelanović, which introduced Bukovice in the best possible way in the onomastic treasury of the Southern Slavs.⁴²

How to resolve the enigma called the position of Kistanje? As analytical, particularly synthetic papers on its medieval times are missing, and since no archeological research had been conducted in that area, it remains for us to see what was written about Kistanje at the time of the Turkish occupation of Dalmatia.

⁴⁰ S. Antoljak, *Bukovica u srednjem vijeku*, Radovi /Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru/ razdio povijesnih znanosti (17), sv. 30 (1990/1991), 1992, 145.

⁴¹ With the exception of proper works of Jovan Plavša (e.g. *Становништво Книрске Крстине: до пада Републике Српске Крстине: научна монографија*, Нови Сад 1997) and numerous studies of Šime Perić (even his last paper on this matter: *Prilog poznavanju gospodarskih prilika Bukovice i Podgorja u XIX stoljeću*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 48, Zagreb – Zadar (2006), 569-596).

⁴² To list just the most significant monographs of Živko Bjelanović: *Imena stanovnika mjesta Bukvice*, Split 1978; *Obiteljski nadimci u sjevernoj Dalmaciji*, Onomastica Jugoslavica, 7, Zagreb 1979, 75-92; *Antroponimija Bukovice*, Split 1988; *Тропонимја бенковаčkog краја као огледало његове прошлости*, Benkovački kraj kroz vjekove: zbornik 1, Benkovac 1987, 171-185; *Rječnik antroponima Bukovice*, Ономастички прилози 10, Београд 1989, /175/-363; *Prezimana sjevernodalmatinskog prostora u ispravama XVII vijeka*, Зборник о Србима у Хрватској, 2, Београд 1991, 327-367; *Onomastičke teme*, Zagreb 2007.

The elite Ottoman military units came to this area for the first time in 1415, just couple of years after the first, certain, mentioned of Kistanje.⁴³ It was known further also in the Latin documents, in the form «Kistani» in the years 1441 and 1447, and possibly also in 1451 and 1456.⁴⁴ At the times the Turks plundered, seized and conducted the worst kind of atrocities. Brother Šimun Klimentović was a witness of those events.⁴⁵ The people dispersed to all side. Since the thirties of the 16th century Kistanje was part of the powerful at the time Turkish Empire,⁴⁶ and in late 1585 it was plundered by the Senj Uskoks. Professor Hrabak discovered in the opulent State Archives in Venice that Kistanje had been at the time a «large Moslem village».⁴⁷ They would remain, for certain, within the Kadiluk (county) of Skradin and Vilajet Hrvati, whereas under the Ottoman rule it will survive until 1645, namely 1684 and 1699.⁴⁸ Kistanje are not mentioned in the first territorial-administrative divisions of the Asian conqueror.⁴⁹ It is mentioned in the Kliski defter from 1574, and it is mentioned that half of the village of «Brištani» belong to it.⁵⁰ It is possible that it is Bristovača, i.e. Brestovača, whose name has been retained as part of the settlement to the present day.⁵¹



Since the times the Turks were banished from northern Dalmatia, it was occupied by another foreign power – the Venetian Republic. The written documents became much more numerous. Most of them are preserved in the archives. First of all in the State Archives in Zadar. There are numerous deposited there that indicate Kistanje. Where to begin. From the notarial documents? In order to read them all, as well as the writings of the reverend Kverini Ferantea would required, if nothing else, engagement of quite a number of educated researchers and have ample free time. Also among the

⁴³ *Listine o odnosjima između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, sakupio i uredio Sime Ljubić, knj. VII: od godine 1412. do 1420, U Zagreb 1882, 207-208.

⁴⁴ G. Urlić Ivanović, *Cporuka kneza Pavla Ostrovičkoga, sina pokojnoga bana Pavla Bribirskoga*, Narodni koledar /Matice dalmatinske/ za pristupnu godinu 1896, U Zadru, 34 (/1895/), 48.

⁴⁵ I. Kukuljević /Sakcinski/, *Ljetopis bratara Šimuna Klimentovića*, Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku, knj. IV, U Zagrebu 1857, 30-31.

⁴⁶ H. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk: postanak i upravna područja*, Sarajevo 1959, 56.

⁴⁷ Б. Храбак, *Из старіје прошлости Босне и Херцеговине* VI, Београд 2009, 316.

⁴⁸ Г. Стансјевић, *Далмација у доба морсјског рата 1684-1699*, Београд 1962, 111, 122.

⁴⁹ *Списарни попис Клишког санџака из 1550. године*, обрадили Fehim Dž. Spaho i Ahmed S. Aličić, priredila Behija Zlatar, Sarajevo 2007, 2-21, 229-234, 431, F. Dž. Spaho, *Defteri za Kliški sandžak iz XVI i početka XVII stoljeća*, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju, 34, Sarajevo 1985, 138-141, 151-159.

⁵⁰ Can be seen in the letter sent to me by my friend the late Dr Fehim Spaho on April 28, 1978 from Sarajevo. Also see the book of Drago Roksančić (*Srbi u Hrvatskoj od 15. stoljeća do naših dana*, Zagreb 1991, 44), written on the basis of Spaho's article intended for publication «Повијест српског народа у Хрватској», which D. Roksančić planned to publish in 1986 together with Ante Bežan.

⁵¹ *Leksikon našeja Hrvatske*, 1. sv., Zagreb 2004, 341.

writings of the general providurs there are plentitude of data for Dalmatia Albania. I had surprises waiting in store for me.

With the anticipated toponym Kistanje (always in the form Chistagne), another geographic name appeared - Mejupuchie (and variants Mecupuchie and Mecupuc). These are two names for different settlements: Kistanje and Međupučje.⁵² Owing to terminations of general provider Angelo Emo, we can claim with certainty that the area where Bezbradice lie today was called Kistanje, considering that, at the time, the church of St. Nikola belong to it.⁵³



⁵² Državni arhiv u Zadru (= DAZd), Spisi generalnih providura za Dalmaciju i Albaniju (= SGP), 78, *Carlo Pisani* (1711-1714), IV, 195r (6), Zara, 8. Marzo 1713; Ibid., 161, *Pietro Michiel* (1763-1765), III, 213r-213v, 22. Sett. 1763; Ibid., 172, *Domenico Condulmer* (1769-1771), III, 13r-13v, Zara, 24. Giugno 1771; Ibid., 177, *Giacomo da Riva* (1772-1774), II, 165v-166r, Zara, 30. Giugno 1774; Ibid., 181, *Giacomo da Riva* (1772-1774), IV, 33v-34r, Zara, 17. Marzo 1772. DAZd, *Mappe Grimani*, No. 195; DAZd, *Geografske i topografske karte Dalmacije i susjednih oblasti*, No 6, 1718; Ibid., No. 321 – *Disegno o' carta topografica della Dalmazia*, 1781.

⁵³ DAZd, SGP, 81, *Angelo Emo* (1714-1717), III, 9r-9v, Zara, 8. Settembre 1714; Ibid., 82, *Angelo Emo* (1714-1717), IV, 39v, Zara, 6. Giugno 1716. – «della Chiesa di S. Nicolò della villa di Chistagne».

There are no problems with ubication in Međupučé. It spread in the place where in 1771 lived numerous Mažibrade and Nikola Perić, who was at that veers time «giudice della villa Megiupuchie».⁵⁴



It is not difficult now to determine precisely the position of Međupučé, whose name has been preserved to this day. It covered the area of the Kistanje hamlets Perići, Bjelanovići and Mažibrada, namely, this name also covered the territory of the present day Kistanje. Had any one researcher studies the Venetian army and its stations or position of road directions towards Zadar, even the merchant's stations, we would know with certainty where the Kistanj Bažana was located, namely, where was the cavalry of St. Marko located. The name Kvartir and Varoš Kvartir has been preserved, almost to this day.⁵⁵ Its basis can be founded in the word in Italian quartierone, namely quartiere, which designated the area of the military camp or area where the cavalry was camping.

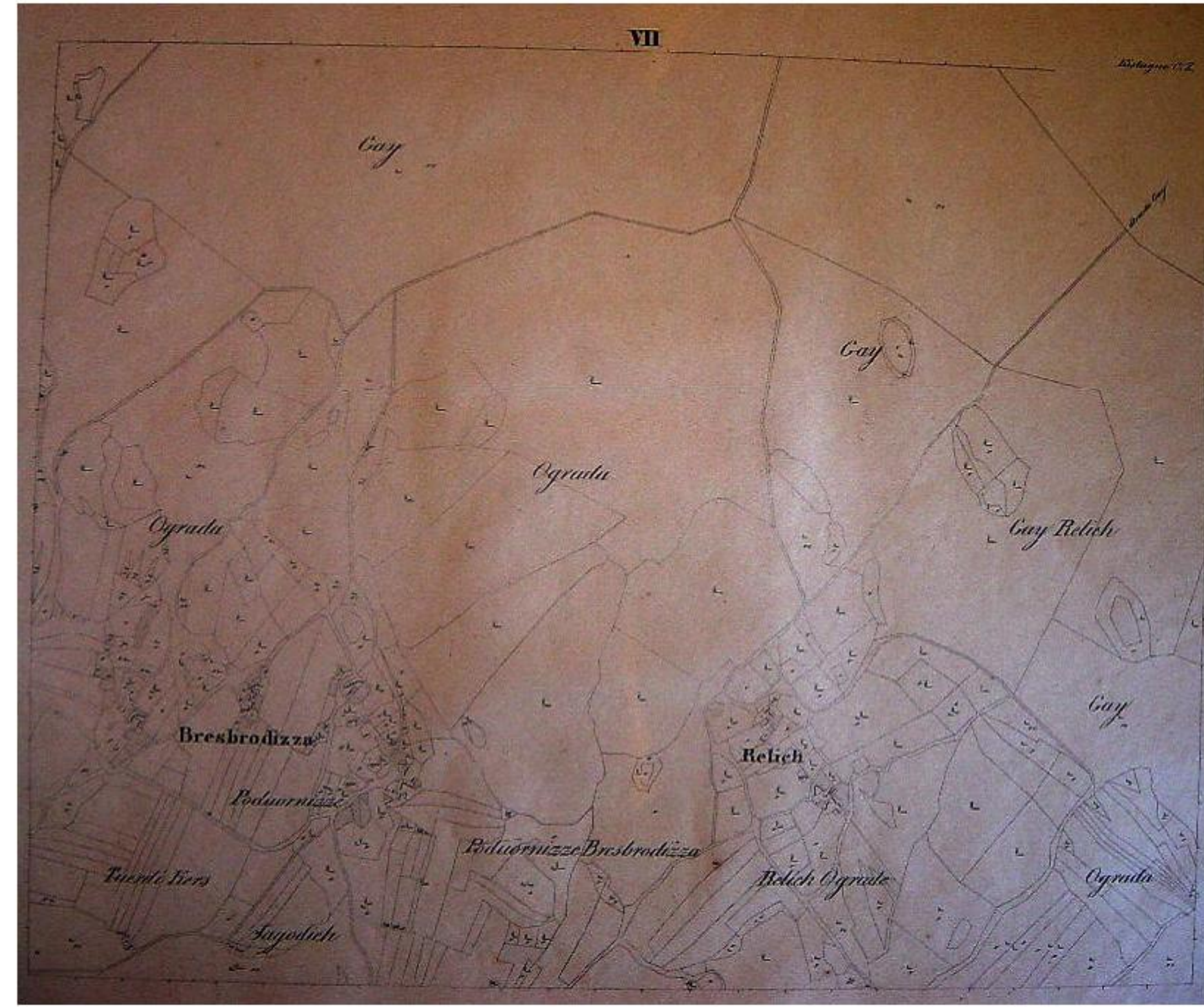
The same toponyms, now in the forms Chistegne, Megucevich and Mejupuchie, can be read in several maps from the times when Dalmatia was ruled by the Republic from the Lagoons.⁵⁶



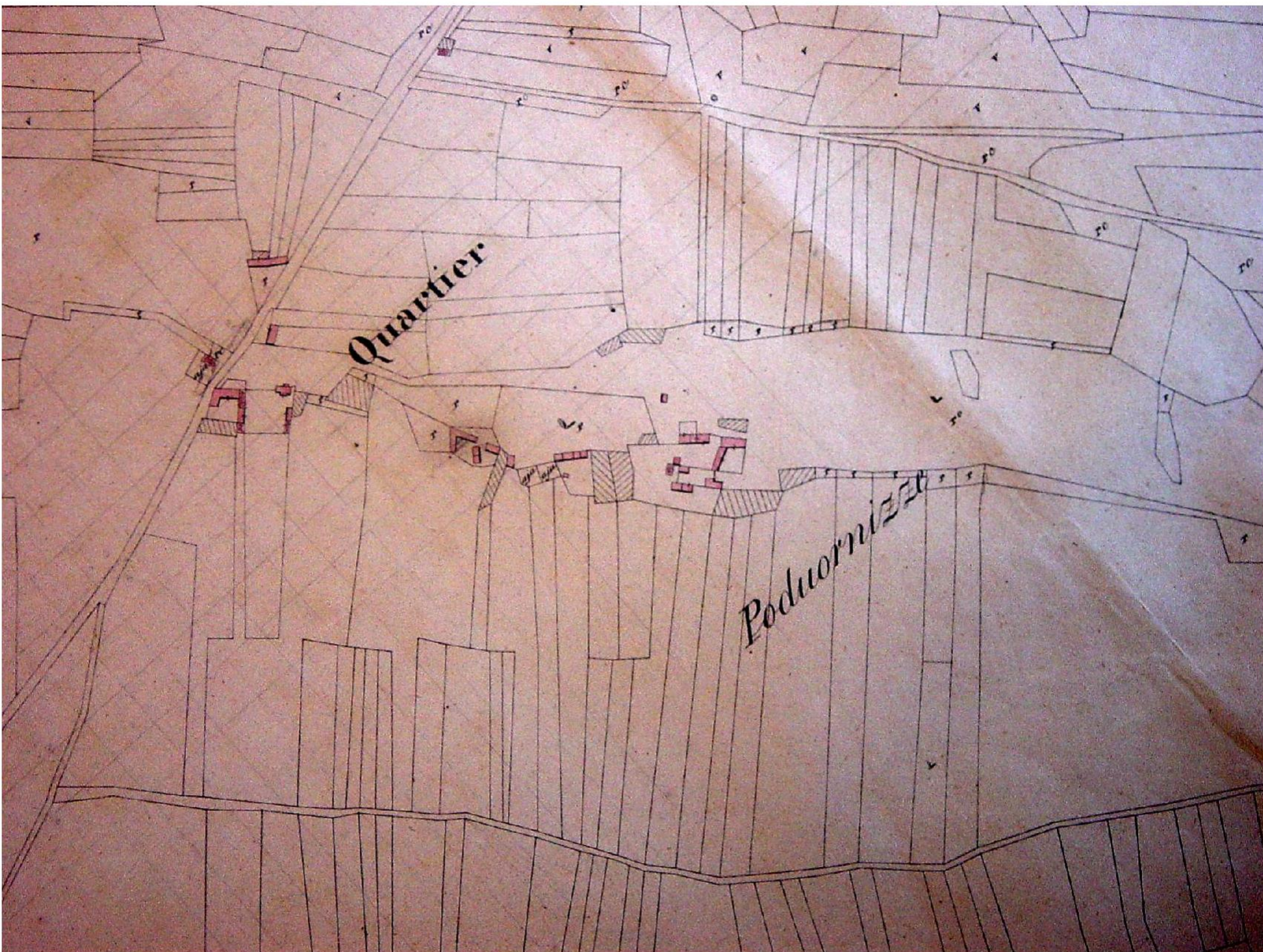
⁵⁴ DAZd, SGP, 178, Giacomo da Riva (1771-1772), I, 33v, Zara, 14. Dicembre 1771.

⁵⁵ Leksikon nase,ja Hrvatske, 1. sv., Zagreb 2004, 341-342.

⁵⁶ The authors are: Pietro Santini (Venice 1780), Giovanni Viele (Venice 1784) and Lodovico Furlanetto (Venice 1787).



Until the Austrian occupation of Croatia, the toponym Međukuće was completely lost on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, whereas the other name Kistagne and Quartier remained. They were preserved also on the cadastral map of the tax municipality of Kistanje from 1827.⁵⁷



I believe that I dispose with elements for a conclusion. Kistanje is mentioned, with certainty, for the first time in history in 1408, on October 25, in a Latin document written and certified with a seal in Zagreb. The settlement was registered on the estate of the most famous Croatian medieval family Šubići. The name has remained to this date in spite of the fact that it did not cover the same territory, no matter that it was not large. It spread around the church of St. Nikola, along the present day hamlet of

⁵⁷ Državni arhiv u Splitu (State Archive in Split), *Arhiv mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju* (Map archive for Istra and Dalmatia), 238 – Cadastral maps of the tax municipality of Kistanje.

Bezbradice. The area of the present day Kistanje was known at the time of the Venetian Republic as Quartier, and before that as Međupuće, in order for the name Kistanje to appear as the winner since the 19th century. In 2008 Kistanje celebrated 600 years since the first, certain, mention in history, which does not mean that nobody lived in it couple of thousands years earlier. The shifting of the anniversary year will depend on the degree of engagement by historians, but also the archeologists and auxiliary historical sciences. Until then, happy 602nd year of Kistanje.

There is no more time to speak about the people that used to live in the territory of the Croatian medieval state. On some other occasion there might be talk about the Croats, Vlachs with capital and small initial letter, Serbs, Bunjevac (Bačka Croats) and Krompočans. It would be wrong to conclude that I am advocating past time. My intention is just the opposite – I support, with all my heart, the coming times in which people will not feel as foreigners, but as one's own man in one's own country.

REZIME:

Dosadašnja historiografija je slabo istraživala prošlost kontinentalnog dijela Dalmacije, uz čase iznimke, naravno.

Kistanje i njegova okolica nisu bili nikakav izuzetak. Nisu se znali ni osnovni podaci o trgovištu na desnoj strani rijeke Krke.

Pronalaskom originalne povelje, pisane 25. oktobra 1408. godine (i to kancelarijskom goticom i na pergameni), i provedene diplomatske analize latinske isprave, utvrđena je njena autentičnost. Tako se došlo do prvog, pouzdanog, spomena Kistanja u historiji. One su tada postojale na prostoru Lučke županije i u sastavu posjeda hrvatske plemićke obitelji Šubića.

Valja istaknuti i jednu posebnost. Kistanje se danas ne nalaze na mjestu gdje su bile u srednjem vijeku (pored crkve sv. Nikole). Prostiru se na položaju nekadašnjih Međukuća i Kvantira 4 km istočno od prvobitne lokacije.

Vrlo je moguće da će arheološka iskopavanja, koja se s pravom očekuju, pomaknuti datum postojanja rečenog naselja, koje 25. oktobar slavi kao Dan Općine u znak podsjećanja na prvi, siguran, pomen naselja u prošlosti.