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## TOPLA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XVIII CENTURY – AN EXAMPLE OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE NEWLY CONQUERED AREA INTO THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF VENICE

The research aims to point out how Venice incorporated Topla into its administrative system. Although the settlement came under Venetian control at the time of the conquest of Herceg Novi in 1687, despite several unsuccessful attempts, this area was fully integrated after the conclusion of peace in 1699 with the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the legal relations concerning the property rights over real estate were regulated in a way acceptable to Venetian interests. The paper is based on the published Cadastre of Herceg Novi and Risan from 1704 and the literature. The mentioned Cadastre reveals in full light how the Venetian government, accepting the real situation as a consequence of the Morean War (1684–1699), integrated the Topla area into its administrative apparatus.

**Keywords:** Topla; Herceg Novi; Venice; property relations; church; crafts; trade.

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## INTRODUCTION

The fact that Venice spent the entire second half of the 17th century in a state of war (1645–1669; 1684–1699), or latent border conflicts with Ottoman subjects, was also reflected in the area under its control in Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor. Small territorial expansions were not a sufficient reward for the sacrifice made in material and human losses. Hoping for territorial expansion in Herzegovina, the Senate could only be partially satisfied with the outcome of the peace made in 1699.

In the Ottoman period, Topla developed as an insignificant settlement located not far from Ottoman Novi (today's Herceg Novi). The events caused by the Morean War contributed to its development. From the beginning of the war, having determined Herceg Novi as a war goal, Venice managed to conquer the city in 1687.<sup>3</sup> With the expansion of the city territory in the post-Ottoman and Venetian period, Topla became a suburb of Herceg Novi. During the census in 1692, it was listed together with the villages: Vratnice, Jatartoše, and Gomile.<sup>4</sup> In the mentioned 4 villages lived 57 men able to go to war, 122 old men and women and 201 children.<sup>5</sup> During the organization of the Topla municipality in 1718, Topla was treated as an administrative unit that acquired local self-government, independent of Herceg Novi, where representatives of the administrative apparatus were housed. The document for its establishment states: “that in the suburbs of Herceg Novi, in Topla ... they can establish a municipality (communità)...“.<sup>6</sup>

The cadastre from 1704 presents a detailed inventory of real estate (land, houses, and crofts), livestock, and people living in these places, with the amount of taxes that each family was obliged to pay to the authorities. The idea for a detailed inventory of property arose when the situation at the border calmed down after the demarcation so that the provisions of the peace treaty in Sremski Karlovci (1699) could be implemented in the field.<sup>7</sup> Realizing its significance, it was first published by Gligor Stanojević in 1983 in the Spomenik (\*Monument) of

3 In more detail: М. Коцић, *Венеција и хајдуци у доба Морејској райа*. Београд: Hesperiaedu, 2013, 256-267. Additional literature is listed here.

4 Stanojević translated the mentioned villages as Tatarbačve, Cirigovina and Gomile, which were located in Sutorina; Г. Станојевић, Први катастар херцегновског краја из 1702. године, *Гласник цетињских музеја* 7 (1974), 139; Detailed list in: Ibid, 150-153.

5 Ј. Н. Томић, Извештај (которској провидура Николе Болице) о млетачком заузећу у Млетачкој Албанији, Црној Гори, Брдима и Херцеговини, са пописом тамошњег људства и стоке из год. 1692. *Споменик САНУ* LII (1914), 82.

6 М. Zloković, Млетачка управа у Херцег-Новом. *Бока: зbornik radova iz nauke, kulture i umjetnosti* (= у даљем тексту: *Бока*) 3 (1971), 26. У документу из 1758. стоји: „иакоју предајем ја Јово Жарковић главар од вароши од Топле од Зеленике до Суторине“, откривајући границе насеља (атара) Топле; Ђ. Миловић, Становништво Топле у другој половини XVIII вијека. *Бока* 4 (1972), 76.

SANU (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts).<sup>8</sup> In addition to Gligor Stanojević, the data from this cadastre were also used by Dragana Radojčić<sup>9</sup> and Marija Crnić-Peجویić<sup>10</sup> also confirming its importance. Two copies of the Cadastre have been preserved, one in the State Archives in Venice, and the other, partially damaged, in the State Archives in Zadar,<sup>11</sup> which was the capital of the Venetian administration in Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor.

Two years earlier (1702), the Venetian government conducted a census of the surroundings of Herceg Novi, which had a summary character.<sup>12</sup> This completed the process that began in the days of the Morean War when after the conquest of Herceg Novi, the first census of the city and its surroundings was carried out, done with the aim of better integration into the Venetian state system.<sup>13</sup> With these two cadastres, primarily that from 1704, the process of redistribution of land was completed and property rights of each resident of the Bay of Kotor were acknowledged, which included Herceg Novi and Risan and the surrounding area.<sup>14</sup>

## TOPLA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 18TH CENTURY: NUMBER AND STRUCTURE OF INHABITANTS

The 1692 census treats four rural settlements together (including Topla), which is why it is not possible to determine the exact number of people in Topla itself.<sup>15</sup> In the list of taxpayers from 1701, Topla is not mentioned as a settlement, but the population of several hamlets is covered, including the one from which Topla be-

- 7 See: Ђ. Миловић, Одрози Карловачког мира на територијама Херцегновог и Рисна – према архивским документима млетачких власти. *Историјски записи* књ. 13 (1957).
- 8 Г. Станојевић, Катастри Херцег-Новог и Рисна из 1704. године. *Споменик САНУ* књ. 125, Одељење друштвених наука, књ. 4, (1983), vii-160; уводни део пагинисан је римским бројевима (у даљем тексту= Станојевић, Катастри).
- 9 Д. Радојчић, Занимања становништва рисанског краја на основу Катастра из 1704. године. *Гласник Етнографској инститиути САНУ* LV1 (1), (2008).
- 10 М. Црнић–Пеجویић, Подаци о броју теглеће стоке у херцегновској општини 1704. и 1809. године. *Историјски Записи* год. LXIII бр. 3-4 (1990); М. Црнић–Пеجویић, Сточари и градитељи: становници руралних насеља херцегновског краја. *Бока* 31 (2011).
- 11 Станојевић, Катастри, xi.
- 12 Gligor Stanojević himself stated that this cadastre was not dated, but he decided to date it the year 1702.; Станојевић, Први катастар херцегновског краја из 1702. године, 133. Видети и: Г. Станојевић, Списак млетачких пореских обвезника у Херцег-новском крају из 1702. године. *Историјски записи* т. 30, по. 1-2 (1973).
- 13 Радојчић, Занимања становништва рисанског краја на основу Катастра из 1704. године, 213, нап. 3.
- 14 Станојевић, Први катастар херцегновског краја из 1702. године, 136.
- 15 Томић, Извештај (которској провидура Николе Болице), 82.

gan to develop, as the “hamlet of Sutorina”.<sup>16</sup> The same situation repeated in the summary census of 1702.<sup>17</sup> In 1704, 120 houses were registered in Topla, in which 153 adult men, 3 old men, 134 women, 111 girls, and 105 boys lived - a total of 506 people. The average number of inhabitants per household was 4.22 members. By the way, at the time of compiling the Cadastre, Topla was considered one of the most densely populated areas in the vicinity of Herceg Novi with its 2,500 inhabitants, as many as were listed.<sup>18</sup>

Of the 120 households registered in 1704, 11 of them had residents listed as “new”. These are people who moved to Venetian territory after the demarcation (1702) with the Ottoman authorities.<sup>19</sup> The largest number of new (11) families were the families of national leaders, who distinguished themselves by serving in the Venetian army in outposts towards the Ottoman territory during the last phase of the war until the demarcation (1702). Among the new inhabitants of Topla were the national leaders (listed as princes / it. Capo, pl. Capi) Pavle Dubljević, Simo Vitković, Dragutin Đurđević, Prodan Magazinović, and captain Mitar Žarković.<sup>20</sup>

From the old and new inhabitants, Topla started development under the new administration. The settlement prospered during the 18th century. In one of the works, Đorđe Milojević also brought the censuses of the inhabitants of Topla, which have been regularly conducted by the princes of Topla since the middle of the 18th century. Arising from the need to collect taxes, these censuses of households (summary) provide significant data. In 1750, 1,229 inhabitants lived in 200 houses in Topla,<sup>21</sup> and the average number of members in the household was just over 6. According to the census pointed out by Đurđica Petrović, conducted in 1780, there were 1,207 inhabitants in Topla (in 50 Catholic and 191 Orthodox households).<sup>22</sup> According to the document for which Jovan J. Martinović believes that it originated at the beginning of the 19th century, Topla had 1,601 inhabitants.<sup>23</sup> However, more reliable Venetian official statistics indicate that in 1787 a significantly smaller number of people lived in that settlement (189 houses and 799 inhabitants).<sup>24</sup>

16 У оригиналном тексту: "villizzi di Sutorina"; Станојевић, Списак млетачких пореских обвезника, 146.

17 Станојевић, Први катастар херцегновског краја из 1702. године, 150-153.

18 Станојевић, Катастри, x.

19 Earlier, these leaders entered into negotiations with the Senate, to which they asked to be allowed to settle on Venetian territory.; Миловић, Одраси Карловачког мира на територијама Херцегновог и Риса, 249.

20 Ibid, 249.

21 Миловић, Становништво Топле у другој половини XVIII вијека, 70.

22 Ђ. Петровић, Херцегновски златари у XVIII веку. *Бока* 15-16 (1983), 10-11.

23 J. J. Martinović, Два svjedočanstva о Boki Kotorskoj s роčetka XIX vijeka. *Бока*, 3 (1971), 104, 106.

Among the “heads of the family” in 1704, 13 widowed households were registered, and one that belonged to the female heir by right of inheritance. Among others, the Cadastre records as a taxpayer Katarina Duodo “a Turkish woman who converted to Christianity”, whose household consisted of 1 adult man and 4 girls.<sup>25</sup> The list also includes Ana, the daughter of the late Milutin Milosalić, who lived in her house with another adult man, probably her husband.<sup>26</sup> As can be seen from these examples, the Venetian government recognized the right of women to own and manage real estate, in this case, houses. Not all women were in the same financial position. It depended on the property of their late husbands, in rare cases - fathers. Judging by the number of large and small livestock, which was valid as an indicator of the material condition of a particular household,<sup>27</sup> in the best position were the heirs of those people who were officially attached to the Venetian military system or administration.

## THE PROPERTY RIGHT TO RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS (HOUSES AND TOWERS)

The purchase and sale of certain real estate in Novi by the inhabitants under Venetian rule were also recorded at a time when the city was under the Ottomans. In 1685, Ivan Burović bought certain real estate on Savina from Resul Musić.<sup>28</sup> However, this is an isolated case. The settlement of refugees from Herzegovina in Topla, especially after 1695, was stimulated by the government itself. People's leader (serdar) Dragutin Magazinović from Popovo was given a house with a garden (garden) as a sign of gratitude for transferring 150 people to Venetian territory.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, this did not mean that the Venetian government recognized full property rights over the assigned facilities. This happened only after the conclusion of peace and the settlement of the situation at the border, and above all with the cessation of the influx of immigrants.

The cadastre from 1704 indicates that over 97 buildings intended for housing were built on Topla. In 4 cases they were registered as “house”, without specifying the exact number.<sup>30</sup> This fact deprives researchers of the possibility of deter-

24 Г. Станојевић, Неколико статистичких података о Боки Которској из средине XVIII столећа. *Сјоменик САНУ* 105 (1956), 32.

25 Станојевић, Катастри, 31.

26 Ibid, 31.

27 See: Црнић-Пејовић, Сточари и градитељи: становници руралних насеља херцегновског краја, 200.

28 М. Злоковић, Турци у Херцег-Новоме. *Бока* 2 (1970), 79.

29 Zloковић, Mletačka uprava u Herceg-Novom, 8.

30 This is the case with the property of the Bishop of Herzegovina, who was staying on the Savina at that time, then Zvan (Ivan) Milosalić, Prince Dragutin Đurašević, and Ilija Jovanović.

mining the exact number of residential buildings in the settlement. Namely, under the plural form of the noun "house", two, three, or even four residential buildings could be included. This also explains the disproportion between the "smaller" number of residential buildings and the number of 120 families who lived in the settlement at that time. Some families appear to have lived in houses they did not own. Houses listed with certain determinants make it possible to determine from which material they were built. The following buildings were listed as separate categories:

- house built of slaked lime (klačina) (casa à calcina)<sup>31</sup> – total of 21 buildings,
- house built of slaked lime (klačina) (casa in calcina) – total of 15 buildings,
- house in dry land (casa a masiera)<sup>32</sup> – total of 30 buildings,
- house (casa), without other determinants - a total of 29 buildings with the emphasis that there were more of them since in 4 cases the plural form of "house" was used,
- casa in soler (house with attic) – total of 1 building, and
- casa di mura (stone house) – total of one building.

If all the separate categories are added up, and respecting the fact that the plural form of "house" was used, we conclude that the then Topla had more than 97 buildings intended for housing. Since a large number of families lived in the city, the answer to that can be sought in the existence of towers.

The towers that are listed at the beginning of the 18th century, originated from the time of the Cretan War (1645-1669). Muslims, who felt threatened, began to build towers as defensive structures, both intended for housing their families and military escorts.<sup>33</sup> The Muslims who were connected to the military-administrative apparatus stood out as the builders of the towers. A significant number of towers on Topla, recorded in the Cadastre, originated from the first

31 The word "calcina" in today's Italian means "mortar" and "slaked lime". See: I. Klajn, *Italijansko-srpski rečnik*. Beograd: Nolit, 2006, 115. However, according to Croatian Romanists, the word "lime" is translated from Croatian into Italian as "calce", and slaked lime as "calcina"; M. Deanović – J. Jernej, *Hrvatsko-talijanski rječnik*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994, 339. It is harder to explain the reason why the enumerator distinguished between these two types of residential buildings when both could have the meaning as we translated it as "a house built of slaked lime", or closest to today's understanding of this term - a masonry building, ie a building of hard material.

32 In today's Italian language, different terms are used for houses built of stone. However, having in mind that this is a lexicon of the late 17th century, and based on the data from the Cadastre which is the subject of analysis here, we believe that the offered translation is the most adequate. "Suvomeđina" (dry land) is a way of building a house with dry stone.

33 M. Коцић, *Оријентализација материјалне културе на Балкану. Османски период XV-XIX век*. Београд: Нераеду, 2017, 272-274. On this function of the towers, see: Н. Крешевићковић, *Кале и одžаци у Босни и Херцеговини. Наше старине 2* (1954).

years of the Morean War when until the conquest of Herceg Novi, its surroundings suffered from constant attacks by haiducs in the military service of Venice. After the conquest of the city, the largest number of these towers was assigned to the haiducs leaders.

At the beginning of the 18th century, there were 23 towers on Topla. In a large number of cases, when determining the towers, the determinant *torre e casa* appears (ie they were listed together with the house), and there were a total of 9 such buildings.<sup>34</sup> Draško Palikučić, who in the first years distinguished himself in organized banditry under the Venetian command, acquired the ownership of the tower. The same is the case with Vuk Sikimić, while Ivan Burović got the tower thanks to the fact that before the conquest of Herceg Novi, he was appointed superintendent in Herceg Novi with the task of working on arranging local conditions and organizing incursions into Herzegovina. After the conclusion of peace in 1699, after it became clear that the national leaders who distinguished themselves in the military service of Venice could not remain in their former tenures, Venice decided to allocate property to them in the vicinity of Herceg Novi. After the towers were ceded to them, they built or remodelled the living space in their complex. Just like male heirs, women could inherit the tower by inheritance law. Also, if we add up the 97 families that lived in the houses, with 23 tower owners, we come to the number of 120, as many families are listed in Topla. The same data indicates that the owners of the towers adapted them for their living space and spent most of their daily lives in them.

## LAND OWNERSHIP RIGHTS

Due to the changing successes of the war, the image of this area changed several times during the Morean War. In the period 1692–1695, Venice reached the peak of its invasion into Herzegovina, after which their withdrawal began.<sup>35</sup> The government tried to provide better living conditions for those people who became vassals of the doge. The Senate accepted that the vassals from the area of Trebinje and Popovo polje can settle in the vicinity of Herceg Novi and Risan. The agreement on the demarcation between the Ottoman and Venetian authorities in Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor was signed on February 14, 1701. The same event

34 Mara of the late Vuk Vostoja, Stojko Stjepanov, Stjepan of the late Đorđe Isović, Metropolitan of Herzegovina, Draško Palikuća (Palikučić), Petko Matkov, Prince Prodan Magazinović, Vuko Sikimić and Ivan Burović lived in the towers that included the houses.; Станојевић, Катастри, 28-31.

35 See: B. Hrabak, Trebinje, Popovo i donja Neretva u hajdučkom vojevanju za vrijeme morejskog rata. *Prilozi instituta za istoriju XVII* (1980); B. Hrabak, Zemljišne parcele feudalaca i muslimanskih seljaka u Popovu, Zažablju i Trebinju početkom Morejskog rata. *Tribunia. Zavičajni muzej u Trebinju* 9 (1985).

announced the last migration from Herzegovina. Burdened by the influx of immigrants, on April 1 of the same year, the authorities issued a proclamation banning the acceptance of defectors from the Ottoman territory.<sup>36</sup>

Property rights in Herceg Novi and its surroundings were regulated by a ducal passed on August 3, 1701. It stipulates that the heads (national leaders) of immigrants receive a monthly salary of 20 camps<sup>37</sup> of land, with the right to transfer property to children, while other immigrants received 4 camps of land with the obligation to pay taxes.<sup>38</sup> The mentioned document also represents the basis for the adoption of later regulations based on which the Venetian government regulated the situation in the vicinity of Herceg Novi. The greatest danger to the government was the fact that many immigrants held land for which they were not registered in the land register as its owners, which also served to conduct a detailed census of the country and population conducted in 1704.<sup>39</sup> Gligor Stanojević explained the nature of property relations established by Venice at that time in the Bay of Kotor and the vicinity of Herceg Novi, saying: "The state appears as the sole owner who gives the land to the peasants in a permanent lease with the right of inheritance with a fixed annual tax".<sup>40</sup> Property relations regulated in this way could in specific cases mean that the state had the right to deprive an individual of property at any time.

The government distinguished between several categories of land holdings, depending on their suitability for growing certain crops, or according to the degree of cultivation. The cadastre makes a clear distinction between arable land (*terra arativa*), uncultivated land (*terra inculta*), vineyards, vineyards on pastures, pastures and land in common ownership (*communes*), intended for collective grazing of livestock. Judging by this document, there were no forests in the area of the settlement of Topla.

ТАБЕЛА 1: THE TOTAL LAND FUND OF THE AREA OF THE VILLAGE OF TOPLA BY CATEGORIES

LAND CATEGORY	AN AREA IN THE VENETIAN MEASURING SYSTEM	AN AREA IN TODAY'S MEASURING SYSTEM
Terra arativa – arable land	292 ca, 2 qu., 146 tt.	113,04 ha

36 Станојевић, Први катастар херцеговског краја из 1702. године, 132-133.

37 "Campo", translated: "field", land measure of 3862,27 m<sup>2</sup>. In more detail: Станојевић, Катастри, viii.

38 Ibid, viii.

39 Ibid, viii.

40 Ibid, viii.



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TABLEJA 1: THE TOTAL LAND FUND OF THE AREA OF THE VILLAGE OF TOPLA BY CATEGORIES

Terra arativa con vigne in spaliera - arable land with vineyards on a trellis	115 ca., 2 qu, 74 tt.	44,64 ha
Terra vignata - vineyards	35 ca., 2 qu., 91 tt.	13,75 ha
Terra vignata in due pezzi -	2 ca., 0 qu., 128 tt.	83,12 acres / 0,83 ha
Terra ortiva - garden land	1 ca., 2 qu., 25 tt.	59,08 acres / 0,59 ha
Orto - gardens	1 ca., 3 qu., 194 tt.	76,49 acres / 0,76 ha
Orto sterile - futile garden land	0 ca., 0 qu., 33tt.	1,51 acres
Arativa con lazareti pubblici - arable land with state quarantine	2 ca., 3 qu., 4 tt.	1,06 ha
Arativa con fonderia di conzar pelle - arable land with a leather processing workshop	0 ca, 0 qu., 110 tt.	5,05 acres
Terra fatta di nuovo - new arable land	0 ca., 2 qu., 17 tt.	20,09 acres
Land owned by the Catholic Franciscan Order (san Antonia)	2 ca., 2 qu., 6 tt.	96,83 acres
Terra inculta - uncultivated land	49 ca., 0 qu., 102 tt.	18,97 ha
Terra inculta possesa in comun - uncultivated community-owned land	36 ca., 0 qu., 102 tt.	13,95 ha
Terra sterile possesa in comun - futile community-owned land	4 ca., 2 qu., 122 tt.	1,79 ha
Terra pascolive possesa in comun	0 ca, 2 qu, 48 tt.	21,54 acres
Terra inculta sterile - uncultivated futile land (wasteland)	2 ca., 2 qu., 29 tt.	97,89 acres
Tera inculta pascolive - unused pastures (privately owned)	19 ca., 1 qu., 184 tt.	7,52 ha
Terra con molino da farina - land with a flour mill	0 ca., 0 qu., 200 tt.	9,18 acres
<b>In total</b>	<b>568 ca., 0 qu., 145 tt.<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>219,42 ha</b>

<sup>a</sup> Area of 568 ca., 0 qu., 145 tt. calculated on today's land measurement system is 219.44 ha. The deviation of 0.02 ha occurred during the rounding of decimals during the transfer of m2 to acres, and then to hectares.

The largest part of the land of area Topla was arable land (51.52%), which was handed over to its inhabitants. A large part fell on vineyards, and as their special category “vineyards with trellis”. There was a developed viticultural production in which the vines were mostly grown on a trellis. The government taxed only arable land and vineyards. There were also pastures in the area, mostly in private ownership, and partly in collective ownership, but they were not used, nor were they taxed by the authorities. There was a demand for arable land, which is indicated by the fact that the area of 20.09 acres is listed as “new arable land” (*terra fatta di nuovo*).

Prince (Conte) Nikola Raković stood out as the largest landowner, who owned 34.94 hectares (90 ca. 1 qu. и 185 tt.).<sup>41</sup> Then, Niko Nikčević with 7, 81 hectares (20 ca. и 194 tt.) and Prince Simo Vitković with 7.72 hectares of land (20 ca.). Cavalier Ivan Burović (in addition to the property in the vicinity of Herceg Novi) owned 4.62 hectares (11 ca. 3 qu. And 177 tt.) Of land in the area of Topla. The Orthodox Church (registered bishop) owned 4.47 hectares (11 ca. 2 qu. And 70 tt.) of the land of various qualities, much more than the Catholic Church.

Leaders of haiduks and Venetian military units were less rewarded with land. Draško Palikučić owned 2.02 hectares (5 ca. 199 tt.);<sup>42</sup> Prince Dragutin Đurđević 2.09 hectares of land (5 ca. 1 qu., 135 tt.).<sup>43</sup> Prince Prodan Magazinović owned 2.66 hectares (6 ca. 3 qu., 105 tt.), And Prince Pavle Dubljević owned 3.28 hectares of land (8 ca. 1 qu., 202 tt.).<sup>44</sup> Mitar Žarković, who is registered as a prince in the second place in the Cadastre, owned 1.75 ha (4 ca. 2 qu., 24 tt.).<sup>45</sup> As a rule, larger land complexes were awarded to people who distinguished themselves in the Venetian army during the war, and after its completion remained attached to its military and administrative apparatus. Others who defended Venetian interests, or were only driven by a desire to free themselves from Ottoman rule, were given less land after moving to Topla.<sup>46</sup>

41 Камп (сапро, односно „поље“) – ознака са. износио је 3862,27 m<sup>2</sup>; кватрат (quarto) ознака qu. = 965,57m<sup>2</sup>; тавола (tavola) ознака tt. = 4,59 m<sup>2</sup>. On the interpretation of these metric units for measuring land parcels, see Stanojević, Cadastres, viii. Hereinafter, their abbreviated designations are used. To facilitate insight into the available fund of arable land, we have given their amount in today's system of land measurement expressed in hectares (= 100 ares) and ares (= 100 m<sup>2</sup>).

42 Станојевић, Катастри, 32.

43 Ibid, 32.

44 Ibid, 32.

45 Ibid, 32.

46 Ibid, 32.

## OWNERSHIP OF COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

As a reflection of the establishment of favourable opportunities brought about by the conclusion of peace in 1699, crafts and trade developed on Topla over time. Both activities required the existence of special places (workshops, shops, mills, warehouses), which could be located within residential buildings, or in their immediate vicinity. Certain economic activities among the new inhabitants of Topla were already noticed during the Moravian War. Vuko Sikimić from Žlijeb, who settled in Topla in 1697, undertook a trade trip from Dubrovnik to Kotor, but judging by the same document as a carrier of goods. At that time, Vuko was head of haiducs, and in 1703 he was appointed captain of a police group.<sup>47</sup>

Đurđica Petrović thought that in terms of crafts, Topla remained directly connected to Herceg Novi. Pointing out that several craftsmen, mostly Italians, worked in Novi during the last decade of the 17th century, she stated that it was only with the immigration of new inhabitants to Herceg Novi that “crafts began to form as an economic branch”.<sup>48</sup>

Although it registers them, the Cadastre from 1704 does not state the total number of economic facilities that existed in Topla. Among other things, it mentions a “leather processing workshop” (listed as „fonderia da conzar pelle“),<sup>49</sup> whose owner was Ognjen Gošić. In the second part of the Cadastre from 1704, where all the inhabitants of Topla are listed by name, Ognjen Mihajla Kosić is mentioned, who together with other members of the family, which numbered 9 people, lived in Topla.<sup>50</sup> Since the enumerator made a mistake in entering the names of the locals in several places, it is completely justified to consider that it is the same person.

The largest number of commercial buildings, which included mills, workshops, shops, and warehouses, were located within the buildings intended for housing. This is evidenced by the example of the household of Damjan, the son of the late Stijepo Đurašević, who owned an oil press (listed as molino di oglio).<sup>51</sup> Within the household of Petar Mihajlović Zuban, there was also a grain mill in a dilapidated condition.<sup>52</sup> The construction of mills of this type was supported by the fact that 3 streams in Sutorina provided the power to start them.<sup>53</sup> Regular supply and nutrition of people living in one place that has just begun to receive physiognomy of the regulated settlements required their existence. At the same

47 Zloković, *Mletačka uprava u Herceg-Novom*, 18.

48 Петровић, *Херцеговски златари у XVIII веку*, 9-10.

49 Станојевић, *Катастри*, 29.

50 *Ibid*, 31.

51 *Ibid*, 28.

52 *Ibid*, 28.

53 Станојевић, *Први катастар херцеговског краја из 1702. године*, 139.

time, they represented economic facilities, because their owners collected income from grinding grain. Prince Pavle Dubljević is registered as the owner of a grain mill.<sup>54</sup> He was aware not only of the need for a place for that type of facility but also of the possibility that his possession could provide a secure income. In the second part of the Cadastre, which lists the total assets of each household of Topla, Prince Pavle Dubljević is listed as the owner of the oil press, together with the land in his ownership of 3.28 hectares (8 ca. 1 qu. And 202 tt. ). Below that is a grain mill was listed.<sup>55</sup> Sladoje Tomašević owned, among other things, a mill, registered without details that would indicate its purpose.<sup>56</sup>

One part of the inhabitants of Topla was engaged in trade. That was the case with Petar Spadić, who owned 2 stores. There was also a store within the house of the late Ancolo Renier. However, elsewhere in the Cadastre, where the property of the late Renier is also listed, it is stated that he owned another store.<sup>57</sup>

After the war, the people who distinguished themselves in it in the “organized banditry” began to engage in trade. This is documented in the best light by the example of Sladoje Tomašević, who in 1701 was praised by the provider in Kotor precisely because of his activity.<sup>58</sup> As a joint property of Sladoje Tomašević and Ilija Jovanović, the house and the store (trade store) are listed. It seems that their partnership has failed in the meantime. The cadastre from 1704 records both the newly built stores of Sladoje Tomašević (without stating their number) and the newly built stores in the joint ownership of Stojan Kuševija, Ilija Jovanović, and Ivan Milosalić. Konstantin Kalas also owned shops with a warehouse. At the same time, Giovanni Battista Barcelli was the owner of as many as three stores.<sup>59</sup>

In particular, the government has sought to improve exchanges with neighbouring areas. By calming the situation, the caravan traffic was improved through the communication that connected Herceg Novi, Sutorina, Mrcine, Zupce with Sarajevo.<sup>60</sup> Trade with Ottoman-administered border areas was facilitated by the government, which issued passes to its traders for trade with Bosnia and the interior of the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>61</sup> Commodity exchange also developed with Albanian ports, primarily Durres, which took place mainly by sea, which improved ship ownership. Grain, wool, resin, leather oil, tobacco and tar were imported from these areas.<sup>62</sup> The structure of this exchange did not change

54 Станојевић, Катастри, 28.

55 Ibid, 32.

56 Ibid, 31.

57 Ibid, 31.

58 Zloković, Mletačka uprava u Herceg-Novom, 19.

59 Станојевић, Катастри, 31.

60 Zloković, Mletačka uprava u Herceg-Novom, 25.

61 Ibid, 19.

62 Ibid, 21.

significantly during the 18th century, while over time, in addition to grain, the trade with Albanian tobacco gained the greatest importance. Shipowners and merchants from Topla are also connecting with Italian merchants through the port of Senigallia in the Papal States. Here, traders from Topla mainly exported processed leather, but also products imported from ports in Albania.<sup>63</sup>

The Venetian government treated warehouses (warehouses) in the state in a different way to warehouses that were privately owned. Niko Nikičević was also the owner of the "mixed goods warehouse" ("magazen di mistro"). Francesco Milesi, who was not a resident of Topla, also owned a large number of warehouses, and there were a large number of public (state) warehouses in the settlement, intended for storing salt.<sup>64</sup> The mountainous areas in the hinterland of Herceg Novi, where cattle breeding was developed, were supplied with salt, which was necessary not only in human nutrition but also in animal nutrition. That is why the Venetian state tried to regulate its sale, with the possibility of making a profit. The saltworks in Sutorina were located near the sea, which is confirmed by a drawing preserved in the cadastre from 1702.<sup>65</sup>

Summarizing the economic situation on Topla at the beginning of the 18th century, it can be stated that they confirm the research of Miloš Milošević, who recognized the drivers of economic conditions in the city and its surroundings in the influx of immigrants and capital formed in the bandit service during the war.<sup>66</sup> Đurđica Petrović, for her part, pointed out that at the end of the Venetian government, Herceg Novi (including Topla) remained a small business centre with a small number of shops and stores. In that, she refers to the census from 1780, according to which 40 craftsmen worked in Topla, while 1,207 inhabitants lived in the settlement.<sup>67</sup> A few years later (1787) when a new census was taken 22 people were listed as "artisans and workers" ("artistri e maestranze").<sup>68</sup> Until this time, the inhabitants of Topla have opted for seafaring and ship ownership to a greater extent, than to engage in certain trades. Judging by the same document, there were 14 oil presses and only three grain mills in the settlement. The same fact leads to the conclusion that the production of olive oil has developed

63 Ibid, 22. See: Г. Станојевић, Статистички подаци о извозу из Албаније у Венецију почетком XVIII века. *Мешовита прађа (Miscellanea)* 14 (1985).

64 Станојевић, Катастри, 31. The term "maestranze" in Italian means "workers in a particular factory/workshop/, or" labor force "; Klajn, *Italjiansko-srpski rečnik*, 474.

65 Станојевић, Први катастар херцеговског краја из 1702. године, 140.

66 М. Милошевић, Трговачка дјелатност и капитал новонаселjenih hajduka као главни фактор развоја поморске привреде херцеговског краја у I половини XVIII вијека. *Годишњак Поморској музеја у Кошору XVI* (1968).

67 Петровић, Херцеговски златари у XVIII веку, 11.

68 Станојевић, Неколико статистичких података о Боки Которској из средине XVIII столећа, 32.

in the settlement as an economic activity, for which a certain number of inhabitants of Topla have decided so far.<sup>69</sup>

## PROPERTY RIGHTS OF RELIGIOUS ENTITIES

One of the most significant outcomes of the Morean War is the increased presence of the number of Orthodox believers in Herceg Novi and its surroundings. The fact that in 1693, Bishop Savatije Ljubibratić, together with the fraternity, left the monastery of Trebinje (Tvrdoš) and moved to Savina contributed the most to that. At first, Savina was an area 2 km east of Herceg Novi. There was a smaller church built in the middle of the 15th century, which was remodeled for the needs of the metropolis.<sup>70</sup> Although Bishop Savatije Ljubibratić had lived there since 1693, the construction of a new monastery complex did not take place until the end of Venetian rule (1777–1799).<sup>71</sup> The former monks of the Tvrdoš monastery were given some land and 600 pounds of toast per month. However, two years later, the government abolished the help in toasts under the pretext that they could live on the land income and the help they received from their devotees.<sup>72</sup>

The Venetian government recognized the right to own land and real estate to the Catholic Church orders as much as the Orthodox. For that reason, in its strongholds on the eastern Adriatic coast, it is possible to find the existence of church estates owned by the Roman Catholic Church. Topla was no exception. In the village, the church of St. Girolamo in Herceg Novi owned 1.36 hectares (3 ca. 2 qu. And 23 tt.) of land on which the cemetery was located.<sup>73</sup>

In another place in the Cadastre, the “church on Topla” is entered together with the cemetery, but the area of the land that the place of worship enjoyed is not stated, as well as the fact of whether it is an Orthodox or a Roman Catholic place of worship.<sup>74</sup> It is possible that it was still under construction at the time of the census. Members of the Franciscan ecclesiastical order (listed as Riverendi padri rifformatti di Sant'Antonio) owned land of 96.83 acres (2 ca. 2 qu. and 6 tt.).<sup>75</sup> In the part of the Cadastre where the plots, as well as the real estate, are

69 Ibid, 32.

70 In the middle of the 15th century, there were two smaller churches in Savina, as Vojislav Đurić pointed out, and that was the church of St. Sava, the second Assumption of the Virgin; В. Ђурић, Манастир Савина. Бока 5(1973), 8.

71 Б. Дабовић, Манастир Савина (нови подаци о градњи). Бока 15–16 (1983), 437.

72 Zloković, Mletačka uprava u Herceg-Novom, 8.

73 Since St. Girolamo was considered the patron saint of Dalmatia, all mosques that were turned into churches after the conquest, as a rule, were named after St. Girolamo, which was the case with the church in Herceg Novi; Коцић, Венеција и хајдуци у доба Морејској раиша, 267.

74 Станојевић, Катастри, 32.

75 Ibid, 32.

listed in more detail, it is stated that this order owned a church and a hospice (hospital), a garden, and a cemetery. On an area of 13.77 acres (300 tt.), there was a church, cemetery, and hospice, while the rest was arable land.<sup>76</sup>

The Orthodox bishop of Topla is registered as the owner of the land of 4.47 hectares (11 ca. 2 qu., 70 tt.).<sup>77</sup> Since Bishop Savatije Ljubibratić later acquired a house that he remodeled himself, it can be claimed that the owner of the land and other property was the Orthodox Church (ie the Herzegovinian episcopate). If the data from the summary list are supplemented with reports on each plot, the Orthodox Church appears as the owner of the following real estate: in the part of the area of the settlement of Topla known as Ljuti potok<sup>78</sup> arable land with fence walls (terraces) of 1.36 hectares (3 ca., 2 qu., 24 tt.), then in the same part of the attar (possibly in the immediate vicinity) of a vineyard of 7.76 acres (169 tt.) and arable land of 1.87 hectares (4 ca., 3 qu., 81 tt.).<sup>79</sup> Other real estates owned by the Orthodox Church are also listed in the detailed list. They were also located in the part of Atar known as Ljuti potok. The church property was arable land with a vineyard on a trellis, a tower, and several houses on an area of 63.72 acres (1 ca. 2 qu., 126 tt.), a vineyard of 22.07 acres (2 qu., 60 tt.) and uncultivated land (terra inculta) of 30.34 acres (3 qu., 30 tt.).<sup>80</sup>

Also, Orthodox priests who distinguished themselves during the war by fighting in the Venetian service received land and other property for their merits. Priest (referred to as "Poppe") Andrija from Kosjer was the owner of a plot of 3.58 hectares (9 ca. 1 qu., 13 tt.).<sup>81</sup> He was given property in his possession, which he could dispose of at will, and was not treated as part of the property of the Orthodox Church.

With the encouragement of the Venetian authorities, the Orthodox Church in Topla continued to increase its property. According to the census of Orthodox churches and monasteries in Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor from 1758, there were 139 Orthodox churches and monasteries in the Bay of Kotor with Grblja and Paštrovići alone.<sup>82</sup> Specifically on Topla 4 churches and 1 monastery (Church of St. Assumption, St. Nicholas, St. George and St. Sava and Savina Monastery).<sup>83</sup> This is also documented by the fact that in 1771, 7 monks, 1 nun and 3 deacons

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 30.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>78</sup> As can be seen from the map attached to the cadastre from 1702, there were 3 streams in Sutorina, one of which was called Ljuti potok; Станојевић, Први катастар херцеговског краја из 1702. године, 139.

<sup>79</sup> Станојевић, Катастри, 28.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 29.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 32.

<sup>82</sup> Станојевић, Неколико статистичких података о Боки Которској из средине XVIII столећа, 27.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 34.

with 5 servants lived in the Savina monastery; a total of 16 people.<sup>84</sup> In Herceg Novi and its surroundings, 326 people practiced the Latin rite, while 6,104 were Orthodox.<sup>85</sup> According to a document from 1787, 11 Orthodox priests and 6 Catholics lived in Topla. In terms of religious affiliation, 230 inhabitants were Roman Catholics and 569 were Orthodox.<sup>86</sup> Until then, the Orthodox element managed to take precedence over the number of Catholic believers, while in the Herceg Novi area, the largest concentration of Catholics was registered in Herceg Novi itself.<sup>87</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The analysis of data from the Cadastre from the beginning of the 18th century indicates that Topla was considered a small settlement near Herceg Novi. 120 families lived in the settlement, one-tenth of whom moved to Topla after 1702, when the demarcation with the Ottoman authorities was carried out. Venice ceded land and real estate to those families, ie persons, for which they had to pay a certain amount of money in the name of taxes. Out of a total of 120 families, 97 of them lived in houses of various categories, while 23 families lived in towers, which by then had lost their significance in the defence of this area and were adapted for everyday life. The most important owners of real estate (houses and land) were individuals who stood out the most, defending the Venetian border during the previous war. In terms of economic potential, the inhabitants of Topla from the beginning of the 18th century were oriented towards the development of trade and crafts, and a certain number of people were also engaged in agriculture and viticulture, while cattle breeding did not gain importance. The Catholic and Orthodox churches owned certain real estate, while the source testified that individuals from the first Orthodox hierarchy who fought on the side of the Venetian army were also rewarded with the property. Judging by the position of Gligor Stanojević, the state, as part of the reforms it undertook to regulate the situation in the new acquis, ceded the land to the residents of Topla for life with the possibility of inheritance to the closest heirs, while it is still treated as its supreme owner. Within this, the manner of establishing property-legal relations in Topla and other areas covered by the Venetian legal system should be interpreted.

84 Г. Ж. Комар, *Херцеїновски ћирилични ѱойиси (1750-1826)*. Херцег-Нови: Друштво за архиве и повјесницу херцегновску, 2011, 92.

85 Станојевић, Неколико статистичких података о Боки Которској из средине XVIII столећа, 31.

86 Ibid, 32.

87 Ibid, 32.



## SOURCE

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УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У БЕОГРАДУ

ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

ОДЕЉЕЊЕ ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ

**ДАЛИБОР М. ЕЛЕЗОВИЋ**

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ

У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

КАТЕДРА ЗА ИСТОРИЈУ

ТОПЛА ПОЧЕТКОМ XVIII ВЕКА — ПРИМЕР ИНТЕГРАЦИЈЕ НОВООСВОЈЕНЕ ОБЛАСТИ  
У УПРАВНИ СИСТЕМ ВЕНЕЦИЈЕ

*Резиме*

У раду аутори настоје да објасне прилике у Топлој, тада засебном насељу у близини Херцег Новог, а данас његовом интегралном делу. Основу за тумачење локалних прилика налазе у катастарском попису састављеном 1704. године, који данас представља најдетаљнији попис који је млетачка власт извршила након освајања те области 1687. Према структури истраживање обухвата преглед састава становништва, као полазне основе за разумевање имовинске слике, али и привредног потенцијала из кога се Топла током 18. века развила. Потом двоје аутора нуде анализу својинских односа посматрајући их кроз призму власништва над некретнинама (кућама и кулама), земљиштем, признавање црквеним редовима (односно католичкој и православној цркви) власништва над непокретностима, али и привредну слику, чији се нуклеус развија већ у време увођења млетачке власти (од 1687). Како се може закључити, млетачка власт ове односе уредила је на основу дукала донетог 1701, којим су призната извесна права на власништво становницима Топле, укључујући и оне који су се пре тога доселили. Поменути дукал је у исто време прописао површину земље која је могла бити додељена појединцима, а како су аутори указали, ово није у свим случајевима у истој мери испоштовано.

**Кључне речи:** Топла; Херцег Нови; Венеција; имовински односи; црква; занатство; трговина.