

Constructing the National Capital

De-Ottomanization and Urban Transformation
in 19th Century Belgrade

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Submitted to the Central European University
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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary
2008

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Abstract

This thesis examines the transformation of Belgrade in the 19th century, and its relationship to the disappearance of Ottoman historical heritage from the cityscape. By examining the various levels of government intervention in the urban fabric, it demonstrates that a gradual appropriation of the city by the Serbian nationalist project took place between 1830 and 1870. The architectural and visual changes were part of a two-fold process – first, an alternative to the Ottoman city was created, and subsequently, the old urban core itself was reconstructed. Furthermore, government regulation was extended into sanitary, cultural, and social practices, reframing interaction, religious and economic relations. This extensive project reinterpreted the old and invented new urban forms in order to lay claim to the city for one ethnic group. Thus, the municipal and national governments' intervention ushered a period of de-Ottomanization and re-appropriation of historical heritage in mid-19th century Belgrade.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor prof. Bodnár for eye-opening advice and attentive help in writing this thesis, my second reader prof. Prokopovych for challenging and improving my writing, prof. Ignjatović of Belgrade's Faculty of Architecture for advice and assistance, the staff at the Historical archive of Belgrade and the Belgrade City Museum for their help in locating sources, the Beobuild.net online community for inspiring me and countless others to research Belgrade, and, finally, my family for supporting and motivating me all these years.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents	v
1. Introduction.....	1
2. Urban Space and the Construction of Identity.....	11
2.1 Governmentality and the Homogenization of Choices.....	12
2.2 Visual Transformation and the Fabric of Identity.....	20
3. Le Cité Nouvelle: Constructing Belgrade without an Ottoman Legacy	22
3.1 Textile and Government Intervention: Creation of the Abadžijska čaršija	24
3.2 The Dual City: Franz Janke's vision of a new Belgrade	27
3.3 Ethnic Tension in the Divided Cityscape	31
4. "The City in Our Hands": The 1867 Urban Plan of Emilijan Josimović.....	34
4.1 The Grid System and Erasing Ottoman Heritage	35
4.2 Structural conversion of the town's retrenchments	37
5. Cleanliness: Public Health, Dirty Citizens, and the Water Supply	38
5.1 Mastering the Çeşme: The regulation of the public water supply.....	39
5.2 City Doctors and Licensed Pharmacies.....	42
5.3 Taking out the Trash: Controlling Food, Waste and Public Hygiene.....	45
6. Taverns and Theatre: Constructing the new city life.....	49
7. Conclusion	54
Bibliography.....	59
Appendix A: Graphs and Charts.....	63
Appendix B: Photographs.....	65
Appendix C: Maps	69

1. Introduction

Urban expansion and the reshaping of cityscapes was an important characteristic of government policy in the 19th century nation-state. Likewise, the transformation of urban space in Southeastern Europe mimicked the monopoly of identity asserted by the region's rising national projects. This process of reconstruction entailed an elaborate redefinition of the cityscape, coupled with active government involvement in cultural and social life. Clearly, the incipience of city planning, street expansion and the transformation of urban space was not geographically unique to the Balkans. Baron Haussmann's revitalization of Paris is just the first in a plethora of immense transformations which the European city underwent during this period. In the southeast of the continent, however, the national projects sought to neutralize the imperial legacy of the cityscape by rapidly departing from its cultural heritage.

The very experience of the city was fundamentally transformed and directed towards the national goal. Intercultural exchange with Central and Western Europe introduced the dichotomy of Occidental progress to a Balkan city which had been Orientalized in the perception of urban planners and state officials. Ultimately, historical memory of the nascent capital was appropriated through the changing functional appearance of its streets, buildings, and quarters.

The urban transformation of mid-19th century Belgrade is a case which has been particularly neglected by historians. Certainly, the relationship between the discourse of Serbian nationalism and city planning has been analyzed extensively by authors such as

Dubravka Stojanović.¹ However, her analysis engages the process of urban restructuring only at the turn of the century. Furthermore, authors such as Branislav Pantelić have argued that Serbian architectural historicism was ultimately detached from developments in other countries, reflecting itself as a “paradigm of [a] unusually tradition-minded people whose fascination with their own cultural history has been remarkably tenacious”.² The apex of the nationalist movement between 1850 and 1930 was coupled with the architectural focus on the revival of the medieval past. This view is particularly useful in understanding the further developments of cultural self-conceptualization of Serbs in the future Yugoslav state. However, the main shortcoming of this argument is its assumption of an already-functioning national paradigm. Both Pantelić and Stojanović address the city from a position in which its main postulate as the national capital has already been negotiated.

Historians of early 19th century Belgrade have also neglected to tackle the transition away from the pre-modern city. Serbian historiography dealing with the period tends to oversimplify the transformation of the urban experience or ignore its overlying relationship with the nationalization of the city. In fact, for authors such as Branislav Miljković, the Ottoman identity of Belgrade was the very antithesis of the city experience, an exemplification of the “fatalistic laziness of the Asiatic man”³. The process of de-Ottomanization was a natural consequence of the “strengthening and solidification of the young state”, as the Turks moved out of the city and into areas where “one could still live

¹ See: Dubravka Stojanović, *Kaldrma I Asfalt : Urbanizacija I Evropeizacija Beograda : 1890-1914* (Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2008).

² Branislav Pantelić, “Nationalism and Architecture: The Creation of a National Style in Serbian Architecture and Its Political Implications,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 1 (March 1997): 16.

with their legs crossed on others' misery." For Miljković, the survival of the Ottoman cultural and military elite until 1867 is an "anachronistic representation of withered Turkish feudalism."⁴ Ultimately, his work shows how nationalist historiography has hindered the prospects of useful research regarding this fascinating transitional period.

Historians working outside the spectre of nationalist history needed to establish their research from within the same framework. For the purpose of their analysis, urban identity had no choice but to begin through the actions of the Serbian government. Thus, any study of the city's transformation could only function within a teleological framework of national revival. In order to avoid this, analyses of urbanization projects by Branko Maksimović and Đorđe Petrović relied solely on collecting primary historical evidence and verifying the various stages in urban reconstruction.⁵ While their approach was largely devoid of socio-political commentary of the period, the attitude towards Ottoman Belgrade still remained within the nationalist paradigm. The non-Serbian population of the city was largely ignored - represented as a non-active bystander in the transformation of the cityscape. Thus, when Maksimović discusses the predominantly Muslim quarters of the late 1830s, he dismisses them as a "trading place (*čaršija*) of a purely oriental type, without any social buildings"⁶. Nevertheless, authors such as Ljubomir Nikić and Hazim Šabanović were able to expand on the same positivist approach in order to discredit the thesis that social

³ Branislav Miljković, "Beograd Prve Polovine Xix Veka U Delima Književnika," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* III (1956): 205.

⁴ *ibid*

⁵ See: Branko Maksimović, "Prilozi Za Proučavanje Arhitekture Starog Beograda - Projekt Rekonstrukcije Balkanske Ulice Iz 1842 Godine," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* II (1955)., Đorđe Petrović, "Poslednji Tragovi Stare Arhitekture Na Savskoj Padini," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* III, no. 279-282 (1956)., Branko Maksimović, "Josimovićeva Rekonstrukcija Beograda U Šancu," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* IV (1957).

⁶ Branko Maksimović, "Borba Za Održavanje Abadžijske Čaršije Kao Privrednog Elementa Novog Beograda Van Šanca," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* II (1955): 237.

life was lacking in the Muslim part of town.⁷ Their work set the basis for comparison and analysis of larger trends in terms of architecture and urbanization in the early 19th century.

These trends were analyzed in detail during the 1970s by authors such as Divna Đurić-Zamolo, whose book "Beograd kao orijentalna varoš pod Turcima" (*Belgrade as an oriental town under the Turks*) is the only comprehensive work which, albeit partially, deals with the urban transformation of the 19th century.⁸ While her work remains the most important and thorough examination of the changing nature of Ottoman Belgrade, it rarely delves beyond the discussion of primary sources in order to reconstruct social or political trends. Zamolo's work remains a catalogue of disappeared oriental heritage, an architectonic-urbanistic study without analysis.⁹ Such analysis is crucial, however, if we are to comprehend how a complete reinvention of the city as a new, national capital was possible. The course of Belgrade's 19th century de-Ottomanization cannot be grasped without further analytical engagement of the historical record outside the nationalist paradigm.

The manner of urban transformation between 1830 and 1878 allows us to understand how historical heritage was appropriated through the expansion of governmental regulation. The city's Ottoman legacy, reshaped and channeled through public space, still lingers in the names of neighborhoods and places, long after their markers' physical disappearance. An excellent modern example of this phenomenon is the

⁷ See Nikić's study of Belgrade's mosques and their importance for social life: Ljubomir Nikić, "Džamije U Beogradu," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda V* (1958).

⁸ Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Beograd Kao Orijentalna Varoš Pod Turcima* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1977).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 223,227.

Bulbuder (The Stream of Nightingales), an urban neighborhood which evokes memories of Ottoman garden culture only in name. The disappearance of Ottoman Belgrade and construction of the national capital during the autonomous period were lengthy processes, whose course reflects the forging of Serbian identity in urban terms. However, to comprehend the relationship between the restructured city and formulation of its residents identity, we must first understand the legal and political framework under which the process took place.

The historical background of the Serbian path to independence in the 19th century is an important component in understanding this legal framework. After two insurrections against Ottoman rule in 1804 and 1814, the empire had lost temporal control over most of the rural areas of the Belgrade *paşalık*¹⁰, forcing it to enter into a power-sharing agreement with the leader of the second Uprising, Miloš Obrenović. In 1830, this situation was legalized by a sultan's decree (*hatt-ı şerif*) assigning the authority over the *paşalık*'s Christian subjects to Obrenović. One year earlier, the conversion of the People's Office to the Belgrade Magistrate in 1829 introduced a different logic of state involvement in the city.¹¹ The Magistrate was the embodiment of Prince¹² Miloš' desire to construct a powerful administrative apparatus, which would further consolidate his position in negotiations with the Sublime Porte. Thus, in 1833, a new *hatt-ı şerif* limited the powers of the

¹⁰ A *paşalık* was an Ottoman administrative region ruled by a local governor (*paşa*).

¹¹ For more information on this conversion, see Branko Peruničić, *Beogradski Sud 1819-1839* (Beograd: Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, 1964), 22-30.

¹² The title of Miloš Obrenović is difficult to translate, as it reflects the specificity of Serbia's position within the Ottoman Empire. I have chosen to use *prince* here as a reflection of the country's status as an autonomous principality. The Serbian word, *knjaz* is the highest derivative of the title of local leaders, the *knez*. Its Ottoman equivalent, which was used by the Porte to refer to Miloš, would be *bey*.

autonomous government, and specified that its authority did not extend to the Muslim population within six cities delineated by retrenchments, including Belgrade.

The Porte continued to influence domestic politics, supporting the Constitutionalist¹³ faction in the Serbian Supreme Council in order to curb Miloš' authority. This resulted first in the Prince's abdication, and subsequently with a dynasty change in 1842. While the Constitutionlists fell out of favor by the late 1850s, the power-arrangement remained unchallenged until the Belgrade riots of 2 Jun 1862.¹⁴

Early that morning, during a scuffle over the right to bear water, a group of Ottoman soldiers assaulted a Christian servant-boy at the Çükür fountain (*çeşme*). The conflict was exacerbated when a Serbian policeman sent by the Magistrate was killed in an attempt to arrest the soldiers who had disappeared within the confines of the fortress. By night, the rumor had spread that the boy succumbed to his injuries, and a large-scale riot broke out. The rioting Christians assaulted the Muslim quarter, driving a large number of its residents outside their homes and into the safety of the Ottoman military behind the fortress walls. Afraid for its security, the fortress commander ordered the bombing of the inner city, causing wider rioting and looting in the Muslim quarter. Finally, the issue was resolved by an international conference at Kanlica, which set up a time-frame for the transfer of military control over the cities to the Serbian Principality by 1867. This decision spurred

¹³ The Constitutionlists (*Ustavobranitelji*) were a faction of influential Serbian politicians seeking to limit Prince Miloš' rule under the auspices of the 1838 Constitution. They brought Prince Alexander Karađorđević (1842-1858) to power after ousting both Prince Miloš (1839) and his heir Mihailo (1841). The Constitutionalist agenda was domestic modernization and nationalist expansion, as outlined in Ilija Garašanin's *Načertanije*. For further insight into this political faction, see: Miodrag Jovičić, *Leksikon Srpske Ustavnosti 1804-1918* (Beograd: Filip Višnjić, 1999).

¹⁴ For more insight into these riots, see: Jovan S. Dajković, "Beograd I Slučaj Na Čukur Česmi," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* IV (1957).

the exodus of the urban Muslim population out of Belgrade and other cities, whose property was transferred into the hands of the municipal governments. The Ottoman banner on the Belgrade fortress remained a symbolic marker of imperial authority until the Berlin Congress of 1878 which granted Serbia independence. Thus, the historical background of this transfer of power was a vital influence on the dynamics of urban restructuring, as the changing relationship with the Porte delineated the authority of the Belgrade City Magistrate.

While the Magistrate's initial authority was limited to the Christian and Jewish populations, it substantially affected overall city life through the regulation of common goods such as security, sanitation and trade. The institution of bureaucratic centers and the creation of public servants were coupled with extensive regulation which superseded the Ottoman legal code. The Magistrate administered trade, instituted the first banking regulations, and regulated guilds (*esnafs*). Furthermore, it conducted tenders for public works, issued franchises for fishing and weighing, and regulated currency exchange. Most importantly, the municipal government sought to symbolically appropriate access to commons such as water, medicinal treatment, and waste management. Furthermore, it associated such access exclusively with the national project.

The extent of state involvement in urban existence underwent an unprecedented increase during the 1830s, affecting public and private life. The first-ever introduction of the press as a medium was coupled with first censorship regulations; street life was transformed by vagrancy laws and police patrols, while decency regulations affected taverns (*mehana*) as places of public interaction. The Magistrate administered divorce,

regulated prostitution, and issued beggars' licenses. Ultimately, the new regulations brought forth by the city administration dominated every sphere of urban life. In essence, this extension of governmental authority over day-to-day matters was an important component of institutionalizing its subjects.

The visual transformation of the city began to take full effect only after its proclamation as the autonomous Principality's capital in 1841. This decade saw a surge in private and public construction, so prevalent that the chief engineer began to inspect new construction sites in the field every Saturday.¹⁵ New buildings featured baroque and neo-classicist influences exemplified in the monumental Cathedral Church (*Saborna crkva*), the first Christian place of worship within the town's retrenchments. In its vicinity was the Customs House (*Đumrukana*), one of the first European-styled buildings in the city core¹⁶. Serving as the seat of the Magistrate, the *Đumrukana* also played a cultural role, as the first theatre performances were held in the basement of the edifice. Theatre thus exemplified the way in which government shaped and facilitated the proliferation of nationalist cultural norms.

The 1840s brought the first numbering of houses in yet officially nameless streets, as well as the first urban plan, and zoning regulations. The transformation of the growing town outside the city retrenchments was striking. The cobbled road towards the Prince's

¹⁵ Branka Prpa, ed., *Živeti U Beogradu 1837-1842*, vol. 1 (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2003), 19.

¹⁶ The *Đumrukana* (*tur. Gümrükhane*) was constructed in 1834 on the Sava quay, housing the City Magistrate among other institutions of the autonomous Serbian administration. For an image of the edifice, see: Appendix B, Figure 1

*konak*¹⁷ was lined with poplar trees and given wide pavements intended for strolling. Multi-storied government buildings such as the Grand Barracks (*Velika kasarna*) were constructed to tower over the single-storied residential dwellings. These changes, while substantial, only took place in the Christian neighborhood, leaving the Jewish and Muslim neighborhoods (*mahala*) visually unaffected by the developments. The expansion of communication arteries and the relocation of the merchant quarters opened up space for private and public investment in residential construction, and the number of houses in the Christian quarter doubled between 1834 and 1848, attracting South Slav immigrants from the Habsburg territories.¹⁸

The influx of immigrants and the striking transformation of the Christian part of town affected inter-religious relations in several different ways. The most important characteristic of the 1850s and 60s was the doubling of the city's population to around 20,000 and the lack of resources and common goods.¹⁹ Extensive public works projects such as the expansion of main roads to accommodate increasing traffic and the reconstruction of the sanitation system reflected the growing scarcity of resources. The monopolization of the water supply by the city government was one of the most important characteristics of the period. After 1833, the Porte was less and less eager to invest in the common goods of a city which it had little administrative control over. Thus, the maintenance of public fountains (*çeşmes*) was appropriated by the city government,

¹⁷ The *konak* (ot. tur) was a large-house or palace used as an official's residence. See: Maurice Cerasi, "The Formation of Ottoman House Types: A Comparative Study in Interaction with Neighboring Cultures," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 138-41.

¹⁸ The number of houses in the quarter grew from 769 to 1714. See: Branka Prpa, ed., *Živeti U Beogradu 1842-1850*, vol. 2 (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2004), 20. For an overview of the population movement in 19th century Belgrade, see Appendix A: Graph 1

¹⁹ See: Branka Prpa, ed., *Živeti U Beogradu 1851-1867*, vol. 3 (Beograd: Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, 2004), 8.

demonstrating a changing power relationship to the water rights. The increased tension between the religious groups over the monopolization of these resources was exemplified by the Çükür-çeşme anti-Muslim riots of 15 June 1862 which led to the bombardment of the Christian town by Ottoman cannons from the citadel.²⁰

Tensions between different groups claiming a right to the city are evident from a number of cases in which the city magistrate investigated land disputes or regulated settlement. In 1863, a ban was introduced on the settlement of Jews into the city from the rest of the Ottoman territories, and there are several citizens' petitions against the settlement of Roma in abandoned Muslim houses.²¹ Furthermore, the city magistrate began its involvement in the settling of land disputes and property rights of Turks in the Dorćol area,²² extending its temporal authority over all quarters of the city. The ultimate result of a perceived need to regulate the chaos resulting from the gradual outflow of the Muslim population was the 1867 urban plan of Emilijan Josimović. The plan suggested a transformation of the old urban core on the Danube bank with the introduction of the grid system and massive land appropriations. While the details of this plan will be addressed later, it is important to note that this fundamental transformation of the old Muslim and Jewish quarters, led to the ultimate visual erasing of Ottoman urban heritage outside the fortress.

²⁰ See: Dajković.

²¹ Prpa, ed., *Živeti U Beogradu 1851-1867*, 109, 215. The Dorćol area consisted of predominantly Muslim and Jewish quarters stretching away from the fortress walls towards the Danube bank within the town's retrenchments. For an overview of the religious distribution of Belgrade, see: Appendix C, Map 1

²² *Ibid.*, 210-11.

2. Urban Space and the Construction of Identity

The chronological appraisal of Belgrade's transformation is useful in determining its various stages, reflected in the various levels the involvement of the city administration fundamentally affected the population. However, it is important to view the urban reconstruction through a thematic lens. The initial changes in the relationship between the state and municipal governments and the individual subject must be assessed by their dramatic effect on the changes in interaction between religious and social groups. New patterns of behavior were conditioned primarily by government-induced factors, rather than informal cultural flows. The Belgrade Magistrate's monopoly on regulating trade, culture, and public space resulted in the shaping of each according to an institutional vision of urban order. This urban order was further established in visual and behavioral terms through massive construction projects, the resettlement of merchants, and the symbolic appropriation of public utilities. Squares and parks were constructed, food markets split-up and resettled, and the public sphere replaced the private as the location of encounter. The walkways of Knez Miloš Street replaced the taverns and bath houses as the primary spots of social interaction, in which observation was the primary medium of community identification. It is precisely these issues which need to be addressed.

The very social relations which define urban identity went through a tremendous transformation. Changes in the way in which citizens interacted led to redefining the primary function of the city – as an organ of “social transmission”, in which cultural

heritage is appropriated to one larger community.²³ Belgrade's cityscape in this case followed the social relationship it had symbolized since the late 16th century – the form of its streets, houses, and taverns reflected its Ottoman cultural heritage. However, by 1878, its urban identity reflected its status as a national capital to a much larger extent than its past as an imperial border port. Named streets were lined with houses symbolizing the political and financial power of the nascent Serbian state. Old points of interaction such as the *çeşmes* and markets were either moved or restructured to fit within the national paradigm.

2.1 Governmentality and the Homogenization of Choices

In order to determine how identity changed in the autonomous period, it is important to see how urban elements take part in the formulation of group identities. As Kevin Lynch has argued, the cityscape interacts with the observer through five fundamental components: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.²⁴ The way in which city-dwellers experience their environment is shaped by these fundamental components of the urban experience. The mere act of walking in the city is guided and shaped by these parts – their visual clues serving not only a locative purpose, but embedding information which further characterized local identity. By transforming these components, the

²³ Lewis Mumford defines the city as such an organ, one which "accumulates and embodies the heritage of a region, and combines in some measure and kind with the cultural heritage of larger units, national, racial, religious, human." See: Lewis Mumford, "The Culture of Cities," in *Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times*, ed. Philip Kasinitz (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 25.

²⁴ See: Kevin Lynch, "The City Image and Its Elements," in *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), 46-91.

autonomous government managed to separate individual identification from a common imperial cultural identity.

The process of appropriation was two-fold. Initially, it consisted of forming a distinct urban identity within the Christian population which was tied in directly with the nation-state project. The motivations behind these developments followed Eric Hobsbawm's three distinct purposes in the invention of tradition: the establishment of social cohesion, instilment of social values and beliefs, and, ultimately, the legitimization of a nation's sovereign authority.²⁵ In the case of Belgrade, public space became institutionalized and associated with the national project as interaction between communities was shunned in place of new practices of city life. This distinction in terms of identity took place in only one religious group in the city without fundamentally affecting the others because of two important reasons. First, the activities of the autonomous government were primarily limited to the Christian neighborhoods and population. This affected the initial scale of the changes in public life, and helped prevent the diffusion of cultural elements through diverse traditional groups. Second, the very manner in which the process of modernization was framed and implemented was biased towards a particular ethnic group.

In this sense, it is useful to look at the relationship between urbanity and diversity through the prism of Iris Marion Young, who suggests that city life "instantiates social relations of difference through exclusion"²⁶. For her, the city enables difference to thrive in communities because interaction in public space is based on necessity, rather than the

desire for multiculturalism. The Ottoman city was fundamentally different than the village – the urban fabric was composed of multiple communities which sought cultural refuge in their respective neighborhoods. The realms of interaction, public space, and communication were reserved for the heterogeneous culture of the empire, while linguistic and religious specificity were celebrated in the private realm. This echoes Young's thesis of group diversity in which public space plays a key role as the method by which different forms of life interact.²⁷ Thus, urban identity was strictly heterogeneous, as the defining cultural characteristics of city life were reflections of its multicultural nature. As the process of transformation took place, the roles were reversed and public space became an expressive celebration of national identity of one specific group.

The question arises in the study of early modern cities of the extent to which urban theory can be used to approach relations between communities. The scholars of city life primarily focused on the massive expansion of city life in the late 19th century in the early capitalist period. Their analysis of group identities and forms is, on the one hand, based on the relationship between capital and modes of production, and the city dweller, the proletarian stranger, on the other. Thus, it is important to make a fundamental theoretical distinction when applying the same processes to a pre-modern city of the early 1830s such as Belgrade. As Louis Wirth suggests, urbanism should not be equated with industrialism and modern capitalism, for in the preindustrial era we still undoubtedly find the same

²⁵ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-15.

²⁶ Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

²⁷ Iris Marion Young, "City Life and Difference," in *Metropolis: Center and Symbol of Our Times*, ed. Philip Kasinitz (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 268.

characteristics of the city.²⁸ Therefore, it is important to distinguish the characteristics of the city, which Belgrade of the period shared with the metropolis of today, from the products of the capitalist revolution in social terms. This thesis cannot seek to explain the origin of group distinctions in the city, nor the motivation behind laying claim to its public space. However, it can utilize urban theory in order to approach, in a systematic manner, the method which shapes this process of "claiming the city". Thus, David Harvey's words ring distinctly true as a description of the process by which social projects, such as the self-identification of dwellers with a national capital, became reflected and augmented through the cityscape:

We would abandon the view of the urban as simply a site or a container of social action in favour of the idea that it is, in itself, a set of conflictual heterogeneous processes which are producing spatio-temporalities as well as producing things, structures and permanencies in ways which constrain the nature of the social process. Social processes, in giving rise to things, create the things which then enhance the nature of those particular social processes²⁹

The mentioned creations of social processes in this case were the various stages of urban restructuring. In the case of Belgrade, the grid system and street expansion, novel sanitary practices, and the restructuring of cultural space are prime examples of Harvey's "things". The importance of the street as the primary public space cannot be stressed enough in this case. The very change in the type of street with which the city dweller

²⁸Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," in *The City Reader*, ed. Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 91.

²⁹ David Harvey, "Contested Cities: Social Process and Spatial Form," in *The City Reader*, ed. Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 229.

encountered reflected the intended change in the social relations. As Henri Lefebvre has suggested, the street contains three distinct functions besides its primary purpose of communication: the informative, symbolic, and ludic function.³⁰ For Lefebvre, the street is a form of “spontaneous theater” in which the passer-by is both the spectator and the object of inspection. His description is of a distinctly modern street, a product of urban transformation in the 19th century – in his analysis the distinction already exists between the wide boulevard and the side-alley.

However, the three functions of the street in Ottoman Belgrade were augmented by the lack of urban planning on a city-wide level. The proximity of passers-by and the lack of designated spaces for pedestrian and car traffic reduced the communicative purpose of the street to such an extent that its primary role was that of facilitating encounters in public space. The widening of streets which began in the 1840s had tremendous effects on the formation of bonds between passers-by. As relational links became superficial in a society of increased mobility but decreased communication, the interactive function of the street was overtaken by the spectative - the Belgrade flâneur was born. The particular nature of the transformation led to the fusion of national identity with the new city experience.

What defined the cultural specificity of belonging to a new Serbian national community was its propensity for omnipresence. This nationalization of authority was instrumental in the separation wedged into the multicultural identity of city-dwellers. Ernest Gellner has suggested that the linkage of organizational skills and a constructed

³⁰Henry Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 19.

national culture is directly related to the centralization of power.³¹ Without the immense reforms in the way in which Ottoman government ruled the Christian population in towns, this transformation would not have been possible. Indeed, the *hatt-ı şerif* of 1830 which granted Serbian autonomy inserted an intermediary which dealt with taxative, judiciary and religious matters. In this sense, the granting of autonomy represents a watershed event, and an excellent starting point for this thesis. The period which ended with the recognition of independence in 1878 was characterized by a level of (albeit weak) competition stemming from the dual-power arrangement, which was reflected in the polarization of the cityscape.

The transfer of the monopoly of power to a state-sanctioned nationalist project explains why there was no melting-pot effect in the modernization reforms of the late 1830s. As Gellner suggests, the early granting of privileges to one particular group leads to a conflict between early and late-entrants to the sphere of state-reform, and political consolidation on national lines.³² In urban terms, however, the nature of the schism was more complex. Muslim and Jewish citizens could freely traverse through the new wide boulevards, and occasionally do business or tend to administrative matters in the modern buildings of the City Magistrate. Thus, Gellner's theory does not provide a sufficient theoretical framework in understanding the particular nature of national polarization in urban terms. The answer lies in examining how the idiom of public space was changed, as normative measures in city planning were nationally-specific. Public space in itself has a normative characteristic. As Goffman demonstrates, the "structural prerequisites for rule

³¹ Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (London: Phoenix Books, 1997), 6-7.

³²Ibid., 35.

by convention" are found in the city streets.³³ The results of a change in the public sphere led to the exclusion of one group of city dwellers from such a convention. The streets ultimately represented a different cultural milieu to which they were not privy without the adoption of a Serbian national identity.

It is clear that the rise of the state and its replacement of private and religious methods of regulating personal needs has generally been an important characteristic of the 19th century city. One of these transformations took place in the realm of hygiene and public health. The interest of the state in hygiene particularly resonated throughout the European city. As David Pinkney has demonstrated, the large-scale restructuring of Parisian sewer systems led to a stark drop in the number of diseases in city-dwellers.³⁴ Furthermore, health benefits went hand-in-hand with a number of other infrastructural and architectural changes in the city. The scientific approach and the adoption of large-scale planning to solve common problems was hailed as a breakthrough in urban governance. However, the reconstruction of major sanitary infrastructure was not the only method by which municipal governments affected public health. In fact, the prevention of unsanitary conditions in cities was instrumentally linked to the rising political power of the liberal state.

As early as 1808, John Robertson's treatise on public health suggested the formation of a "sanitary police" alongside the criminal in England.³⁵ Such extension of state power was related to various advancements in medical theory regarding food and air-borne

³³ Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 17.

³⁴ David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), 127-145.

diseases, and the application of the scientific method to governance. In this sense it is useful to understand this concept as the birth of a logical connection between rationalization and the justification of political power. As Michel Foucault has suggested, the development of procedural and analytical tools was the fundamental instrument of state power. He dubs the concept - *governmentality*, and defines it as a “very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principle form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security”.³⁶ In this sense, through the government’s analytical actions, its subjects became constituted within a rationalized logic of public welfare.

However, it is important to note that the expansion of the state in the sphere of public health not only subjectivized the population, but also characterized that process within a pure/impure dialectic. As Mary Douglas has suggested, the binary oppositions of clean and dirty which were introduced into the discourse of public health in the 19th century reflected a need to rationalize social and political disorder.³⁷ In this sense, government policy of the period was proactive – it needed to institute control in the sphere of public health in order to legitimize its own position of authority. The interplay of science and legitimization is striking in this case as well. Scientific expertise is both reason and justification for governmental action which appropriates both space and social function in the public mind. Nicolas Rose suggests that the very process of scientific analysis translates political ideas into a common concept of public good – rationalizing the perceived problem

³⁵ John Robertson, *A Treatise on Medical Police*, (Edinburgh, 1808) in T. Ferguson, "Public Health in Britain in the Climate of the Nineteenth Century," *Population Studies* 17, no. 3 (1964): 215.

³⁶ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. G. Burchell C. Gordon and P. Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 102.

and constructing a solution within the discourse of effectiveness.³⁸ Cleanliness, health, and macro-level management were thus reinvented as the legitimizing factors of a political order. It is important to look at the expansion of municipal authority in Belgrade under the same theoretical lens. In fact, novel and secular regulations pertaining to cleanliness were directly associated with national reawakening.

2.2 Visual Transformation and the Fabric of Identity

The next degree of transformation was on a more apparent level. An architectural break with Ottoman and Serbo-Byzantine tradition was introduced in the late 1830s, as large-scale public projects began to dominate the cityscape. In this sense, construction reflected the mono-cultural nature of the new capital project. Their inclusive function was not based on the omission of other groups, but rather on the consolidation of state power and its association with a historical break. In this sense, the architectural historicism of the 19th century, described by Pantelić, was preceded by the construction of a new national visual heritage mimicking European trends. The dominating architectural projects such as the *Saborna* Church and the *Đumrukana*, expressed the spatial absorption of the city's defining features. Christine Boyer describes the modus operandi of this process succinctly:

... there are rhetorical topoi as well, those civic composition which teach us about our national heritage and our public responsibilities and assume that the urban landscape itself is the emblematic embodiment of power and memory.

³⁷ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1984).

³⁸ Nicolas Rose, "Expertise and the Government of Conduct," *Studies in Law, Politics and Society* 14 (1994): 359-397.

*These are absorptive city tableaux, dramaturgical setups and rehearsals that shape and articulate the cityscape through their monumental and mnemonic constructions.*³⁹

The physical appropriation of the city's cultural identity through the reconstruction of streets culminated in the expression of conflict in the claim for public space. Regulation transcended pre-existent political and cultural frameworks in order to claim space in a social sense as well. In this sense, we must examine how the national government began to manage the city's water supply, regulate public morality, and limit usage of private land. Zoning regulations, limiting the hours of taverns, and the forced movement of the merchant quarter are just examples of a larger trend in which power structures began to imprint an entire system of values onto the cityscape. Lefebvre's theoretically summarizes this level of government involvement in his discussion of the "political city" by showing how such processes ultimately serve the purpose of symbolizing the ruling order.⁴⁰ The control over land use, which followed the slow emigration of the Muslim population, is an important issue in land politics. Limiting the practices of business establishments, and changing the market were immediate consequences of this property regulation, however, they are ultimately related to identity. Form points out the relationship between land use and the image which each group has of a contested city.⁴¹ The claim to land and resources by a single community marks the final chapter in the contestation of the right to the city.

³⁹ Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 321.

⁴⁰ Lefebvre, 8-9.

⁴¹ William H. Form, "The Place of Social Structure in the Determination of Land Use," in *The City: Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences*, ed. Michael Pacione (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 85-87.

Theorists of urban studies have focused on the concept of the “right to the city” through the prism of social relations. In that sense, pioneer geographer and social theorist David Harvey’s work suggests that the relationship between capital and urban restructuring is mutually inclusive.⁴² This notion of capital as both motivator and goal in the readjustment of the city’s power and property relations is inextricably linked with the changing claim to the city. Modern processes such as gentrification, suburbanization, and urban marginalization are all related to the cycle in which the innate drive of accumulated capital transforms social groups. However, in terms of motivational factors, nationalism can have similar effects in its propensity to self-justify actions. Nationalist projects lose their purpose unless they seek constant reaffirmation and space to expand – a fact which is further reflected on the urban scale. The appropriation of urban space for the purpose of constructing a national capital in Belgrade functioned in a similar manner. Ultimately, the preservation of the heterogeneous Ottoman legacy was inherently incompatible with the municipal government’s *raison d’être* – the project of urban restructuring and modernization.

3. Le Cité Nouvelle: Constructing Belgrade without an Ottoman Legacy

Belgrade’s urban transformation grew out of an all-encompassing expansion of the nationalist governmental project, and was exerted onto a changing population. However, it is important to understand that its physical reflection, the change in the city’s streets, buildings and meeting points, was not a simple result of an already-exerted nationalization.

⁴² For an analysis of this context, see: David Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience. Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1975).

The apparent changes in both visual and functional terms play a dual role in the de-Ottomanization process. Certainly, they represent a showcase of the modernizing “Europeanization” process offered by the nascent Serbian state. The architectural departure from Ottoman traditions towards European trends was viewed as a necessary precursor to national enlightenment. Habsburg Serb influences were at the forefront of this process, due their overwhelming domination of the official class in the autonomous principality. Transriparian immigrants saw themselves as “distinguished bearers of Western culture, destined to administer the illiterate and ‘half-savage barbarians’ of the Principality.”⁴³ Thus, the visual reconstruction of Belgrade was initially understood as a *mission civilisatrice* in its own right, a Europeanization which needed to precede national definition.

However, analyzing the symbolic value of changing visual clues associated with the city is not particularly useful without the contextualization of their effect on Belgrade’s inhabitants. The changes themselves represent not only a reflection of the city’s nationalization but, at the same time, its very medium. The monopolization of the city’s social, cultural, and economic life within the framework of a single national project required the pre-emptive appropriation of the visual clues associated with urban space. Hence, it is important to analyze the ways in which space itself changed, determining which specific characteristics of the reshaping had national connotations.

⁴³ Traian Stoianovich, “The Pattern of Serbian Intellectual Evolution, 1830-1880,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1, no. 3 (1959): 243.

3.1 Textile and Government Intervention: Creation of the Abadžijska čaršija

The initial thrust of governmental involvement in the city structure was concentrated specifically on the formation and consolidation of a wider national space in the suburban areas of Belgrade. The development of the Textile Quarter (*Abadžijska čaršija*) centered on Christian *aba*⁴⁴ traders was the impetus for further development on both sides of the city's retrenchments near the Sava bank. Initially, however, there seems to have been no clear-cut plan for any architectural or organizational departure from the reigning traditions. In the early period of his reign, Prince Miloš paid special attention to associate himself with the Porte in the construction of his first residence in Belgrade. It is clear that as late as 1828 Miloš took great care that the calligraphic seal (*tugra*) of Mahmud II be placed on the street-side of his *konak* in a visually-accessible place.⁴⁵ While several commanding edifices had been built on the Sava side between 1826 and 1832, none featured a tremendous stylistic departure from the Ottoman-Balkan style of construction.⁴⁶ However, this situation fundamentally changes by the mid-1830s, as the movement of the Textile Quarter signaled the initial spread of the nation-state's involvement in urban affairs.

⁴⁴ *Aba* (ar. 'abā'ya) is a woolly cloth and a principal component of folk costumes in the Balkans. These costumes were sown by *aba*-masters (*abaci*) specifically for export to rural areas, while city tailors (*terzi*) produced clothes for the urban population. The importance of the *aba* trade in the development of capitalism in the Balkan city was best analyzed by Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1983).

⁴⁵ Ljubomir Durković-Jakšić, "Gospodarski Konak U Beogradu," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* IV (1957): 340.

⁴⁶ Examples of these buildings, constructed by Hadži-Nikola Živković (also known as Hadži-Neimar) are the Tavern, the Ičko Residence, and the Manak House. The most representative is the Princess Ljubica Konak, the only edifice featuring modest classicist decorative incursions into the Ottoman-Balkan style. See: Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1815-1914* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1981), 42.

In 1834, work began on the first two planned streets in Belgrade's history, located on the outskirts of the retrenchments – Savamalska and Abadžijska⁴⁷. They were part of a comprehensive plan to reorganize the area above the Sava bank, housing it with merchants from the main trading quarter located in the Dorćol area. The new streets cut through a suburban sprawl of temporary wooden shackles housing recent immigrants from Serbia and Bosnia, as well as a sizeable Roma population.⁴⁸ Within a day, the area for the two streets was cleared, and the population moved further up to the outskirts of the Palilula area.⁴⁹ A year later, the streets were completed, and the *aba* merchants were instructed to complete their new stores and relocate to the quarter within two years.

The order itself was strict – the merchants were not allowed to live, or hold stores, in other parts of the town.⁵⁰ It is important to consider that the Ministry of Internal Affairs handled the relocation, especially since there seems to have been no legal framework at the time to allow for its involvement. The 14 Feb 1835 Edict on the specific duties of each Ministry may shed some light on this issue. Based on the Sretenje Constitution, the Edict was the first legal framework outlining the layout of the autonomous Serbian government. The only section dealing with construction states that the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior is to ensure both the safety of edifices constructed, as well as their execution under “good planning”.⁵¹ The association of reordering and governmental appropriation – in this case of the right to sell cloth – with urban planning was thus introduced. What is particularly interesting is that, after the institution of the textile merchants, government

⁴⁷ Today's Kraljice Natalije (formerly Narodnog Fronta) and Gavrila Principa, respectively.

⁴⁸ Peruničić, 594.

⁴⁹ Maksimović, "Borba Za Održavanje Abadžijske Čaršije Kao Privrednog Elementa Novog Beograda Van Šanca," 237.

⁵⁰ Ibid.: 240.

officials - including the Minister of Internal Affairs - were also given free plots of land in the Savamala⁵² district."⁵³ Sreten L. Popović states that this relocation was a part of Knez Miloš' larger plan to "fully relocate the Christian population out of the city and create a new town on the Sava slopes."⁵⁴ While it is unclear whether or not such plans existed, the economic fate of the Savamala district as the new textile quarter was now in the hands of the Ministry of Interior.

The move itself was initially not very successful as the majority of the *abaci* chose to disregard the Ministry's order and decided to stay within the town's retrenchments. By the early 1840s, twenty three of the town's chief merchants chose to ignore the government's orders and remain in the center of the city.⁵⁵ Those who moved to the new area petitioned the government several times, complaining of their remoteness from traffic and commerce. The relocated *abaci* sought restitution from their counterparts in the old city for investment into newly erected buildings, the rent payments of their old shops in the town, and accrued interest on loans.⁵⁶ Their economic position was certainly not alleviated by the increase in the number of guild-licensed masters, and the relative disadvantage in demand due to their remote location. The new *abaci* were assigned unused plots in the area, and the precondition for the naming of any future masters was the obligation to work in the newly-designated quarter. This was particularly effective in increasing the number of textile

⁵¹ Divna Đurić-Zamolo, ed., *Najraniji Pravni Propisi Iz Arhitekture I Urbanizma U Srbiji Xix Veka*, ed. Balkanološki Institut SANU, Gradska Kultura Na Balkanu Xv-Xix Vek - Zbornik Radova, vol. 2 (1988), 152.

⁵² The Savamala (ot. tur. *Sava mahallesı*) was the predominantly Christian area stretching from the fortress towards the banks of the Sava river. See Appendix C: Map 2

⁵³ Minister of Internal Affairs Đorđe Protić to the municipal police of Belgrade, 30 Aug 1839. UGB. IAB. 1839, B.5, P. II 46

⁵⁴ Sreten L. Popović, *Putovanje Po Novoj Srbiji (1878 I 1880)* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1950), 94.

⁵⁵ Maksimović, "Borba Za Održavanje Abadžijske Čaršije Kao Privrednog Elementa Novog Beograda Van Šanca," 240.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 241.

producers and traders in the area, and keeping the quarter economically afloat.⁵⁷ Guild data suggests that the government had been able to alleviate the negative economic side-effects of transplanting the textile trade by channeling new immigrants into one specific area. The determination of the Ministry to reform the Savamala area was clear in their 1847 message to the guild masters stating that “those who were not akin to these obligations are always free to give up their trade and find themselves another method of sustenance.”⁵⁸ The autonomous government in Belgrade tried vigorously to restructure and geographically relocate the city’s Christian *abaci* to the only area of the city designed by a European architect. Ultimately, the Textile Quarter was established in the newly designated area with the help of severe government intervention, demonstrating the ability of the Serbian administration to permanently alter the existent urban fabric.⁵⁹

3.2 The Dual City: Franz Janke’s vision of a new Belgrade

Simultaneously to the resettlement of the *abaci*, the municipal government extended the process of visual transformation in the area opposite the Ottoman center, on the very edge of the town’s retrenchments. In 1834, a Vienna-educated Slovak engineer, Franz Janke, was named chief municipal engineer in charge of construction. That same year, he completed work on the chief government-services building, the classicist-inspired *Đumrukana* in the Savamala district.⁶⁰ Besides the customs administration, the building also housed the municipal government and the amateur National Theatre. During the same period, Janke helped with the reconstruction of the Cathedral Church on the foundations of

⁵⁷ For the changes in the distribution of the Christian *abaci* masters, see Appendix A, Graph 2

⁵⁸ Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Council of the Serbian Principality, 12 Nov 1847. IAB. UGB. 1847, P. No: 5519

⁵⁹ For a visual comparison of the old and new trading quarters, see Appendix B, Figure 2

the old Belgrade Metropolitan. The church requires special attention, not only because of its symbolic value as the first Belgrade church since the Austrian administration, but also due to its stark departure from Serbo-Byzantine architectural tradition. The building is in the late baroque style, reminiscent of the Habsburg Serbs' main cathedral located in Karlowitz/Sremski Karlovci.⁶¹ Completed in 1840, it fundamentally transformed the cityscape, not only due to the height of its belltower, but also because it visually distinguished the Orthodox community of the district. Travelers' accounts of Belgrade testify of the crucial visual change brought about by the cathedral: "It was at the period of my first visit, in 1839, quite an oriental town; but now the haughty parvenu spire of the cathedral throws into the shade the minarets of the mosques, graceful even in decay."⁶²

However important, the *Saborna* Church was not the only new structure in the district. In the second half of the 1830s, Janke also oversaw the construction of the Grand Barracks (1836), and the Great Brewery House (1839) in the Savamala. Besides government offices, he designed the house of Council Member and Justice Minister Cvetko Rajović (1837), which was the first European-style residence in the city, featuring a classicist style with Doric pilasters.⁶³ Savamalska street also housed other ministers, such as Internal Affairs' Đorđe Protić, as well as government officials.⁶⁴ In fact, Janke had been instrumental in providing the architectural know-how which enabled the visual transformation of the whole Sava bank area. What is particularly interesting is that all of

⁶⁰ Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1815-1914*, 53.

⁶¹ Bogdan Nestorović, "Razvoj Arhitekture Beograda," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda I* (1954): 163. For a visual comparison between the two churches, see Appendix B, Figure 3

⁶² Andrew Archibald Patton. *Servia, youngest member of the European family* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1845) cited in Bogdan Nestorović, "Razvoj Arhitekture Beograda Od Kneza Miloša Do Prvog Svetskog Rata (1815-1914)," *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda I* (1954): 164-165.

⁶³ Đurić-Zamolo, *Graditelji Beograda 1815-1914*, 53.

the buildings he constructed were for government officials or government offices within the newly envisioned Savamala. However, his greatest legacy on the visual and symbolic shift of southwestern Belgrade remains the urban plan of 1842, which further expanded and delineated the growth of the purely Christian neighborhoods under the authority of the Serbian government.

Janke's plan of 1842 was the first document proposing the introduction of the grid system through expanding Savamala's streets. It sought to increase traffic and create free space around existing structures, giving special attention to specific government buildings. Hence, his regulation of the streets around the Cathedral Church gives the edifice an ample courtyard which it still has today, removing pre-existing structures.⁶⁵ It is important to note that the plan situates the most representative buildings of the Ottoman-Balkan style from the period, such as The ? Tavern⁶⁶ and the Ičko residence, directly opposite the cathedral. Tearing down this row of representative houses was politically highly difficult – Petar Ičko, a personal friend of the Prince, lived in one of them. Therefore, this layout managed to create a stark visual contrast between the block of houses on the one hand, and the cathedral on the other⁶⁷. In this way, Janke's plan further emphasized the monumentality of the church building in comparison with neighboring structures.

Another important feature of the plan in the existing Savamala was the creation of a large square between the Prince Miloš' Court and the Grand Barracks.⁶⁸ Janke's plan straightens and directs the main streets of the quarter to converge at the square, which is

⁶⁴ Minister of Internal Affairs Đorđe Protić, 1839.

⁶⁵ See Appendix C, Map 3

⁶⁶ The owner of the tavern placed a question mark instead of a name in the licensing documents, as the original "Kod Saborne crkve" (At the Cathedral Church) was objected to by church authorities.

⁶⁷ See Appendix B, Figure 4

⁶⁸ See Appendix C, Map 4

in the vicinity of the Grand Brewery and the Serbian Council building. The main new street converging with the square and leading to the larger court complex in the Topčider forest where the Prince's Residence was located was dubbed "Miloš the Great". It must be noted that, by this time, the Constitutionalist faction had already ousted Miloš from the throne, and severely limited the powers of his successor Mihajlo. The use of his name here is not an homage to the current ruler or the royal family, but rather a historical figure of national liberation. The road was to be lined with trees and have representative walkways and buildings constructed on each side.

At the same time, new streets were designed and expanded on to the north east of the Savamala, creating an integral whole with the Palilula settlement. New traders' quarters were designated using similar principles previously employed in the Abadžijska čaršija. While Janke's plan did not come into fruition until a decade later, it was completed almost to the letter. His ultimate vision included a park on the very edge of the inner city - which he refers to as "the national capital" – reasoning that the Belgrade's public has no public space for "strolling and merriment."⁶⁹

The results of Janke's efforts was the creation of a cohesive settlement on the southwestern edge of Ottoman Belgrade which was both an extension of the old city, and its antithesis. In terms of the visual experience, the three districts designed by the municipal engineer represented a contrast to the Ottoman town.⁷⁰ The very method of personal and public interaction was transformed in the new streets which were four to five times wider than their equivalents in the retrenchments. However, this

⁶⁹ Maksimović, "Prilozi Za Proučavanje Arhitekture Starog Beograda - Projekt Rekonstrukcije Balkanske Ulice Iz 1842 Godine," 235.

⁷⁰ Janke added Palilulski and Terazijski quarters to the already-existent Savamalski.

transformation was not simply a reflection of the general trend of urban restructuring taking place in Western Europe. It featured a rejection of Ottoman, Serbian medieval, or Byzantine heritage. Inherently ahistoricist both in architectural and cultural terms, the *cit  nouvelle* constructed by Belgrade’s chief engineer with the help of the Serbian government was a physical exemplification of the national project as the primary carrier of modernization. The project was associated with the restructuring process through the conglomeration of government buildings and their placement as concentration points in the new urban structure.⁷¹ However, the exclusive nature of that association was not immediately developed – “new” Belgrade first had to become anti-Ottoman, in order to be Serbian in the years to come.

3.3 Ethnic Tension in the Divided Cityscape

Magistrate documents suggest that new immigration patterns, coupled with the existence of two very different cityscapes, led to polarization on national lines. Just between 25 Jan and 13 Feb 1846, eight serious incidents of shootings, violent attacks, or rape were noted between Christians and Muslims.⁷² The Magistrate dealt with a number of complaints illustrating the tense situation in the town - the dumping of trash and the release of burrowing pigs on Muslim cemeteries in 1844 being just one of them.⁷³ Officials of the national state structure came into conflict not only with their imperial counterparts, but with members of the population they saw as representatives of the opposing system of

⁷¹ For a reconstruction of the results which showcases the created dichotomy in the city structure, See Appendix C, Map 5

⁷² Lt. colonel A. Nenadovi  to the Belgrade City Magistrate, 1 Dec 1848. IAB. UGB, 1848, B. 93, P. 1775

governance. The head of Belgrade's Ottoman guard, *muhafiz* Hafus-paşa, protested in March of 1846 that a Serbian policeman attacked a Muslim and cursed the jurisdiction of the Ottoman court in a boating dispute.⁷⁴ While it is certain that the number and severity of the attacks were evenly distributed among the religious communities, their very existence testifies the heightened tension brought about by the dual character of the city. Belgrade reflected its political position between East and West in the dichotomy of its urban space. The city had the impossible task of negotiating a shared common identity on the dual basis of its historical heritage and the new modern national project. Ultimately, the latter needed to de-Ottomanize the city core in order to fully appropriate Belgrade as nothing other than a national capital.

The municipal government continued to invest into and reorder public space at an increased level in the decade to come. In 1856, the City Magistrate instructed the installation of gas lanterns in a patch of around 400 houses in order to secure the area of crime.⁷⁵ Four years later, it instructed the lining of several large streets with chestnuts, acacias and poplars, which turned into a large scale project three years later, encompassing the major roads leading to the city.⁷⁶ It is certain that the majority of the work done was in the newly built-up areas, surrounding the autonomous government edifices. In 1861, vehicles were forbidden from traffic in alley between the Military Academy and the Supreme Council building, as well as the street leading up to the Court, as they were

⁷³ Minister of Internal Affairs Ilija M. Garašanin to the Belgrade City Magistrate. 8 Mar 1844. IAB, UGB, 1844, B. 30, P. II 375

⁷⁴ Minister of Internal Affairs Ilija M. Garašanin to the Belgrade City Magistrate, IAB, UGB, 1846, B. 57, P. 753 No. 1600

⁷⁵ Manager G. Jovanović to the Belgrade City Magistrate. 19 Nov 1856, IAB, UGB, 1863, B. 679, P. XXI 24

⁷⁶ See: Main Controls Manager Pavle Stanišić to the Belgrade City Magistrate, 15 Sep 1860, IAB, UGB, 1861, B. 506, P I 3a and Unsigned to the Minister of Finance, 10 Mar 1863, IAB, UGB, 1865. B. 836, P. XIII 378, No. 4920

“disturbing the pedestrians passing on the Terazjska street”.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the Magistrate instructed that a military band should play for the merriment of the people in that crossroad.

Although no total overhaul was instituted in the Muslim areas yet, other projects, such as street repaving, were not executed outside the majority-Christian Savamala. In fact, a report by town engineer A. Vuković indicates that by 1861, the Magistrate repaved most of the streets from the Deli *çeşme* down to the old merchant quarter (*çarşı*), as well as up to the fortress.⁷⁸ The repaving of streets was not well-received by the Muslim population, which refused to pay for the endeavor. In 1862, the Magistrate reported to the Ministry of Finance that it had difficulties collecting the required 6694 *kuruş* from them.⁷⁹ The information in this report is particularly interesting as it provides us keen insight into the attitude of Belgrade’s Muslims towards the municipal projects. The Magistrate sought to collect through an intermediary, having no temporal authority over these subjects. A certain Osman-paşa represented the “Turks”, stating three specific reasons against the repaving – lack of real necessity for it, lack of involvement in the bidding and decision-making process, and ultimately the price which they believed to be inflated. The lack of involvement in decision-making is the most interesting of Osman-paşa’s remarks, as it indicates that the Muslim population felt disenfranchised and detached from the reconstruction process. This report clearly demonstrates the exclusive effects of the Magistrate’s city-wide projects for the non-Christian residents.

⁷⁷ Declaration of City Magister Mihailo Barlovac. 3 May 1861, IAB, UGB, 1861. B. 533, P IXa 305 No 5426 and 1865, B. 612, P. II 156

⁷⁸ Report by town engineer A. Vuković, IAB, UGB, 1861, B. 570, 151a and B. 889, P. XXXIV 210

⁷⁹ It is particularly important to note this number constituted the brunt of the cost. The Christians – referred to here as “our people” – were required to provide half as much. Unknown Author to the Ministry of Finance. 3 Jan 1862. IAB, UGB. 1865, B. 818, P. V 77, No: 15517

4. “The City in Our Hands”: The 1867 Urban Plan of Emilijan Josimović

In 1860, the Magistrate instructed a complete surveying of the whole town jointly with the Directorate of Construction. It is interesting to note that a letter from the Directorate requested “four shrewd and feisty police officers” from the Magistrate for the task, which can serve as some indication of the attitude of general population had towards the survey.⁸⁰ It is clear from the intended area of the survey that the municipal administration perceived the entire city as ground for their urbanization policies. The survey was followed by the classification of the town’s plots of land according to value. This is interesting due to the fact that the City Magistrate extended its temporal authority over the Muslim quarter only after 1867. These preparatory measures, coupled with previous city-wide activities, suggest that the idea for a complete reconstruction of the area inside the town’s retrenchments preceded that development. While the urban plan of Emilijan Josimović dates from this year, the groundwork had begun much earlier. Nevertheless, the plan represents the crown example of urban restructuring as a method of erasing Ottoman heritage. As Josimović himself states in the “Last remarks” section of the explanation to his urban plan:

“Belgrade is destined due to its fortunate position to be one of the most important trading cities on the eastern dry land of Europe. This is hindered more by the fact that the fortified city is not in our hands than our tight financial and industrial condition. Should this obstacle be removed, i.e. should the fortified city fall in our hands ... then within just a decade, this town would

⁸⁰ Superintendent Jovan K. Ristić to the Belgrade City Magistrate. 8 Jul 1860, IAB, UGB. B. 483, P IX, 103

usefully uplifted and transformed so that it would not be even recognized as opposed to now.”⁸¹

The relationship between Emilijan Josimović and the national revival movement is particularly important in understanding his motivation to restructure Belgrade’s urban core. Soon after his arrival to Serbia, he became involved in cultural and social institutions, such as the Society of Serb Literacy and the Serbian Learned Society.⁸² He founded one of the groups himself, the volunteer Serb Singers’ Society in 1853.⁸³ That same year he was also named member of the board at the National Theatre. Josimović truly believed in the relationship between urban space and national enlightenment. For him, progress was dependent on “breaking away with the dark Asiatic customs and prejudices so that all that is advanced, beautiful and good should cling on to us.”⁸⁴ Thus, in 1863 he suggested a complete reconstruction of the Dorćol city core to the Magistrate, asking: “Shall our pride not be insulted if our capital should retain the shape given to it by barbarity?”⁸⁵ This view followed Josimović throughout the reconstruction, as he sought to remove the remnants of Ottoman imperial legacy from the city.

4.1 The Grid System and Erasing Ottoman Heritage

His 1867 plan consisted of measures introduced by Franz Janke to the Savamala in the 1840s– the standardization and straightening of city streets, the consolidation and

⁸¹ Emilijan Josimović, *Objasnenje Predloga Za Regulisanje Onoga Dela Varoši Beograda Što Leži U Šancu* (Beograd: Društvo urbanista, 1997 (orig. 1867)), 41.

⁸² For a biographical account of Josimović, see Branko Maksimović, *Emilijan Josimović - Prvi Srpski Urbanist* (Beograd: Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije, 1967).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

equalization of residential blocks, and the construction of squares. While not innovative in methods, Josimović's plan was groundbreaking in terms of scope – it encompassed the entire city area, as well as the fortress. Furthermore, it introduced the discourse of public health and clearly reflected the attitude of the planner towards the organization of social life. What is particularly interesting is the juxtaposition of morality, cleanliness and religiosity in the plan. Hence, Josimović dubs the 40 dead-end streets in the Muslim part of town “a haven of impurity in every sense of the word”.⁸⁶ However, his view changes when the dead-end streets harbor a striking visual relationship with buildings symbolizing the Serbian state. Hence, he explains “that one [I did not close] because from there the whole front of the Crown edifice is so beautifully lit.”⁸⁷

Josimović was also particularly interested in churches and their position within the urban fabric. Hence, among the five primary sections of his plan, he includes churches – “how much would be gained with more churches in terms of religiosity and morality, I think is pointless to prove, so I will just mention that churches make every city very beautiful.”⁸⁸ He suggests that three new churches be constructed within the town, making particular care that they are Serbian Orthodox and available for visitation from every section of the city.⁸⁹ On the other hand, the city's numerous mosques were only mentioned in passing, without historical or cultural value. In fact, four Islamic religious objects – Yahya-paşa's, Kizlar-ağa's and Seder mosques, as well as the Seder-türbe⁹⁰ were selected to be torn down, as they violated the delineation of future streets. The others were “limited as

⁸⁶ Josimović, 7.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 13.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 9.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 26.

⁹⁰ A *türbe* is an Ottoman mausoleum intended for royalty and nobles.

tightly as possible, and as specific parcels left to the Magistrate for its later availability.”⁹¹

The sharp difference in attitude towards religious objects reflects Josimović’s understanding of Ottoman heritage as foreign, without aesthetic or cultural value. Thus, his plan does not consider Islamic objects worthy of preservation when they violate the arbitrarily-drawn street demarcation lines.

4.2 Structural conversion of the town’s retrenchments

The most interesting proposal in the plan is certainly the transformation of the retrenchments into a series of six parks. The idea itself was not particularly novel, as it came ten years after Habsburg Emperor Francis Joseph’s “Es ist Mein Wille” decree which converted Vienna’s city walls into the Ringstrasse. The contents of the parks, while not explicitly defined in the plan, can be reconstructed from his previous plans for the Great Market which suggested semicircular and circular shapes of benches interladen with tall trees, dual-head fountains, and a central monument.⁹² The parks were to be named “in the memory of the greatest benefactors of the Serbian nation”⁹³. Hence, the first two would be named after the leaders of the two Serbian Uprisings, Prince Miloš and Karađorđe. The second three would hail their name after the alphabet reformer and folk collector Vuk Karadžić, national poet Lukijan Mušicki, and Enlightenment educator Dositej Obradović. The sixth would be dedicated to the financial magnate Captain Miša Anastasijević. Josimović concludes that “as a sign of even greater acknowledgment and gratitude, in each

⁹¹ Josimović, 31.

⁹² Maksimović, *Emilijan Josimović - Prvi Srpski Urbanist*, 28.

⁹³ Josimović, 28.

park a significant monument to its dedicated figure could be erected."⁹⁴ The project for a circle of parks dedicated to prominent national figures was the pinnacle of Josimović's plan. In fact, a simple reshaping of public space through the introduction of squares and the reframing of streets as means of communication was not sufficient. Unlike Janke twenty years earlier, Josimović needed to redefine the symbolic significance of space in Belgrade – creating an alternative to Ottoman traditions was not adequate any more. Rather, this reconstructed space needed to be framed, symbolically marked by churches and delineated by parks, which juxtaposed national reawakening to the very core of the city's reconstruction.

5. Cleanliness: Public Health, Dirty Citizens, and the Water Supply

The involvement of the town administration in the sphere of public health and sanitary infrastructure in autonomous Belgrade is a striking example of how governmentality operates in shaping national identities. The reforms which permeated public and private spheres of urban life in the most intimate ways emphasized the distinction between pre-fabricated communities. As Alexandra Yerolympos has argued, these projects also served as means of expressing the state's desire to reform every aspect of social and economic life.⁹⁵ In this sense, the process of urban modernization contained within itself a necessary nationalization of a previously multicultural cityscape.⁹⁶ By redefining habits and notions of acceptable conduct, sanitary reforms of the City Magistrate

⁹⁴ Ibid., 29.

⁹⁵ Alexandra Yerolympos, "A New City for a New State. City Planning and the Formation of National Identity in the Balkans (1820s-1920s)," *Planning Perspectives* 8 (1993): 236.

⁹⁶ Yerolympos qualifies 1834 Belgrade as a "polyethnic bazaar". Ibid.: 243.

simultaneously widened the inter-cultural wedge and legitimized the assumption of authority in the name of a single ethnic group. This redefinition took place in three distinct waves of monopolization which targeted the drinking water supply, the treatment of illnesses, and the definition of healthy public behavior.

5.1 Mastering the Çeşme: The regulation of the public water supply

The assumption of responsibility for the water supply of Belgrade by the municipal government was a lengthy process. To a large extent, its duration can be attributed to the nature of the specific autonomous provisions which the 1830 Hatt-ı şerif granted, restricting public works of the administration solely to the Christian community. However, the system of water supply in the city was built as communal, rendering the effects of any reconstruction felt across religious lines. There were two primary methods of distributing fresh water prior to the 1830s – public fountains (*çeşme*), and water carriers (*sakacı*). It is clear that the city suffered from a lack of imperial investment in infrastructure and a decaying water-supply system. An indication of how the Ottoman-initiated repair of the waterworks system was handled is a report from 1823. In October of that year, a certain fountain-master (*çeşmeci*) named Dima complained to the Prince's office that the town vizier Abdul-Rahim Paşa had failed to pay for the completed year-long labor on the town fountains.⁹⁷ This was not a unique case - as the protector of Christian interests in the Belgrade paşalık, the administration of Prince Obrenović received complaints regarding the lack of care for the system and the frequent water shortages as early as 1820.⁹⁸ The primary reason for the decline of the quality and quantity of water seems to have stemmed

from a number of added pipes which would redistribute the supply from the public system into private homes. The autonomy edict enabled the municipal government to act on these complaints, and bring the maintenance of the water-supply system under its fold.

The administration did have specific sanitary plans for the town immediately after the confirmation of autonomy in by the second Hatt-ı şerif of 1833. Two years later, the Belgrade Magistrate outlined the unsanitary practices of the Turkish population in a report to the Supreme Serbian Council, further requesting an expansion in the jurisdiction of its police force over non-Christian townfolk. Not only does the report associate Ottoman cultural practices with filth, it also states that “the care by this outpost in arrangement with the police of the cleanliness of this town could only be seen if our people would not be mixed with the Turks in terms of houses and stores.”⁹⁹ While ethnic segregation never surpassed the proposal stage, the Magistrate police did begin to strictly monitor private installations which tapped into the public waterworks.

A 20 Jun 1838 report outlines an altercation between Ahmed-Kamil Paşa, the town’s troop commander, and the police, after the officers requested the paşa to remove the private pipes leading into his house from the public waterworks.¹⁰⁰ The commander contested that similar pipes lead to the houses of the Prince’s family, but was given no heed, and instructed to remove them nevertheless until the matter was fully settled. A year later, the Ministry of Internal Affairs responded to a request by the Magistrate Police by regulating that a new *çeşme* constructed in the Prince’s compound should be used for water

⁹⁷ Peruničić, 188.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 81, 144.

⁹⁹. Belgrade Magistrate to the Supreme Serbian Council. 5 Oct 1835. Beogradski sud. IAB. Protokol Beogradskog suda, No. 1047.

collection only, and that washing or bathing was strictly prohibited. It is interesting that the visual appearance of the *çeşme* was important to the Ministry, which justified its decision by noting that the fence had been broken “as if those [public] goods were without a master”.¹⁰¹ This correspondence indicates that the administration was concerned with the visual demonstration of order and authority. One year earlier it expanded a pavement project to include streets around the Ciganska *çeşme*¹⁰², attributing twenty additional men daily for the task.¹⁰³ The emphasis on cleanliness and visual integrity seems to have functioned as a distinguishing factor in the differentiation of the nascent state structure from the imperial order.

The maintenance of the water system became a full-time occupation of the municipal government in 1843, when an official town *çeşmeci* was hired to maintain the current waterworks. His work was funded by a group of Christian citizens who already had private *çeşmes* in their homes.¹⁰⁴ The municipal government began a program of modernization of the water supply system, coupled with an esthetic overhaul of the fountains and surrounding areas. By 1864, the endeavor engaged the efforts of the municipal engineer with an annual budget of 140,000 *kurus*.¹⁰⁵ The report is particularly

¹⁰⁰ Report to the Magistrate of the the Belgrade County. 20 Jun 1838. UGB, IAB, 1838. Box 3. No 403.

¹⁰¹ “... kao da su dobra ona bez saibije ostala” in Minister of Internal Affairs Avram Petronijević to the Magistrate police via Assistant Section Head Janko Mihailović. 22 Jul 1839. UGB, IAB, 1839, Box 4a, Paper I 133.

¹⁰² There is no *çeşme* of this name indicated in the 1863 Turkish plan of the city or the 1867 Josimović plan. It is likely that this was a colloquial name, perhaps suggesting that Roma frequented this particular fountain. In that case, it would most likely be the *çeşme* located on top of the *Skadarska* street, an area predominantly inhabited by Roma at the time.

¹⁰³ Member of the Magistrate Golub Petrović to the Police of the Town of Belgrade. 1 Nov 1838. UGB. IAB. Box 3, Paper 692, Report No 5277

¹⁰⁴ Report of Court member Dimitrije Đ. Vranjanlija to the Belgrade City Management. 18 Mar 1843. UGB. IAB, 1843. Box 23, Paper 564, Report No 165

¹⁰⁵ Municipal engineer of the town of Belgrade to the Belgrade Town Court. 23 Nov 1864. Upraviteljstvo Grada Beograda. Istorijski Arhiv Beograda. 1865, Box 826, Paper 8, 182

fascinating for its detailing the location of the 11 public fountains which were made functional by the renovations. Furthermore, it indicates that the overhaul ignored the thirteen remaining *çeşmes* located in the predominantly Muslim part of town.¹⁰⁶

The result of this restructuring process was a spatial and institutional monopolization of the water supply in Belgrade. The *çeşmes* of Belgrade had been structurally converted from a principal symbolic component of Ottoman urban life to a representation of the new government. The city's necessity for fresh-water supply prevented a complete functional dismissal of public fountains. Thus, their relationship to the urban fabric was intricately reshaped in order to represent the new governmental structure. One important example of the extent to which this functional representation of state authority became appropriated is the construction of the Terazjska *çeşme* in 1860.¹⁰⁷ Commissioned by the Prince himself to celebrate his return to the throne after dynastic struggles, it is an eight meter tall stone fountain engraved with his initials. The symbol of royal authority, it was a clear demonstration of ownership over the water supply.

5.2 City Doctors and Licensed Pharmacies

Parallel to the reconstruction of the waterworks, the municipal government began a campaign of regulating and controlling treatment. Plans for the construction of a civilian hospital began in the late 1830s, and a hospital financial fund for that purpose was formed at the end of the decade. However, there had been no direct attempts by the state to regulate the practicing of medicine in the city. The City Magistrate seems to have initially

¹⁰⁶ The list of *çeşmes* in the Dorćol area and their functioning status in the 19th century is further analyzed in Đurić-Zamolo, *Beograd Kao Orijentalna Varoš Pod Turcima*, 124-5.

begun to regulate health practices only after a gruesome case in which a midwife was accused of tossing the body of a baby she believed to have been dead into the trash dump.¹⁰⁸ Three years later, an Austro-Hungarian citizen, Pulherija Klevernič was requested to demonstrate completing a midwife course before being allowed to practice in the territory of the city.¹⁰⁹ The practice of folk healing was not outright banned immediately, however, but rather regulation turned towards the sale and production of medicines.

In October 1841, the Magistrate requested from the Ministry of Internal Affairs official doctor's reports for the medicines sold on the city territory, justifying its request by the numerous complaints of the townfolk on the quality and price of the drugs provided by pharmacist Ivanović.¹¹⁰ However, the first legal action undertaken by the court was the seizing of pharmaceuticals from Jewish and Turkish pharmacists, as a response to the complaint by court member Nikola Kostić that their "drugs, aphiums and poisons are bringing harm to the *publicum*, and because the general welfare is endangered [the Magistrate should act]".¹¹¹ 1842 saw the first conviction of a certain Baba Hota for the use of folk-medicine which resulted in the death of a child.¹¹² She was convicted based on the expert testimony of the town doctor Karl Beloni. One year later, the Magistrate began to catalogue the names and credentials of all citizens practicing medicine in its jurisdiction "in order to know with exactness what is the public health of the town, and who and what kind

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix, Fig.1.

¹⁰⁸ Report to the Belgrade City Magistrate. 6 Jul 1838. UGB. IAB, 1838, B. 3, No. 440.

¹⁰⁹ Pulherija Klevernič to the City Administration. 30 Jul 1841. UGB. IAB, 1841, B. 14, P. IV 546

¹¹⁰ City Magistrate to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. 10 Oct 1841. UGB. IAB, 1841. B. 15, P. V 712

¹¹¹ Report of Nikola Kostić to the Belgrade City Magistrate. 12 Dec 1841. UGB. IAB. B. 15, P. V 812. R. No. 596

¹¹² dr. med. Karl Beloni to the Belgrade City Court. 5 Aug 1842. UGB. IAB, 1842, B. 19, P. IV 1067

of people are caring for the ill".¹¹³ This process of registration was followed by an institutionalization of public health services.

The appointment of an official town midwife in 1845 was followed by a decree of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that unlicensed doctors "because they are murderous for the public health" should not be allowed to practice treatment any longer.¹¹⁴ This practice seems to have been widespread, since another ban was instituted as late as 1860. The pharmaceutical market was also faced with increasing regulation, targeted mostly at Jewish and Muslim sellers. A certain Joda Deputon, a Jewish medicine merchant left the city and moved to Niš, after a load of medicines "harmful for the public health" was confiscated from him in 1846.¹¹⁵ It is interesting to note that the same police report mentions two Christian men from Jagodina who were in possession of the same medicines, but to whom no sanctions were prescribed. By 1860, prescriptive regulation had been transformed to restrictive as grocery stores and corner shops were banned from doing business in medicines, and their sale was restricted to government-sanctioned pharmacies.¹¹⁶

The concern for public health was reflected in the regular reports of the head doctor who in 1852 hailed the projects of paving major roads, and abolishing the slaughter of animals on town premises, commenting on how these technological improvements "distanced illness from the town, and [removed that which] a lot of stench had produced,

¹¹³ Minister of Internal Affairs Toma Vučić Perišić to the Belgrade City Magistrate. 21 Jan 1843. UGB. IAB, 1843, B. 22, 151

¹¹⁴ Minister of Internal Affairs Ilija M. Garašanin. 4 Mar 1846. UGB. IAB, 1846, B. 57, P III, 511

¹¹⁵ Report to the jurisdiction of Aleksinac County. 2 Aug 1846. UGB. IAB, 1846, B. 60, P. VI, 1872

¹¹⁶ Minister of Internal Affairs Đorđe Milovanović to the Belgrade City Administration. 15 Oct 1860. UGB. IAB, 1860, B. 454, P. I 21c, R No: 1625

reducing the quality of the air.”¹¹⁷ Ultimately, the concept of healing became associated primarily with of public health under the auspices of the state. In 1860, the Ministry of Internal Affairs issued guidelines for all doctors that they should “care especially for public health, and the treatment of private sick persons ... should be a side job.”¹¹⁸ It outlines the process by which all doctors were to be put in the service of their municipal jurisdiction, and their treatment managed by the City Administration. These guidelines represent the result of a long-term process by which municipal and state authorities gradually monopolized health care, and put it under the jurisdiction of one ethnic group. The practicing of medicine which was not state-sanctioned was abolished, and the partial enforcement of pharmacy regulations brought the provision of medicines into a distinctly Serbian cultural sphere.

5.3 Taking out the Trash: Controlling Food, Waste and Public Hygiene

Finally, it is important to look at the way in which city ordinances influenced public and street life using the discourse of public health and benefit. Regulations concerning the sale of foodstuffs, trash accumulation and disposal, and street behavior were the primary methods of demonstrating the power of the state to transform the urban experience. Cultural practices associated with the Ottoman lifestyle began to be considered as unhealthy and dangerous to public safety. As early as 1824, the local lords of Belgrade’s Christian population reported that a ban on smoking in public had been successfully

¹¹⁷ Head Doctor and Chief Surgeon Konstantin Gadeš to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. 31 Dec 1852. UGB. IAB, 1852, B. 192. P. XVIII, 150

¹¹⁸ Minister of Internal Affairs maj. Đorđe Malovanović and Chief Sanitary Stevan Milosavljević to the Belgrade City Administration. 16 Jun 1860. UGB. IAB, 1860, B. 455. P. Ia, 41 R. No: 951

executed.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the 1835 report of the Magistrate describes smoking in public as one of the principal fire hazards perpetrated by the Turkish population.¹²⁰ This report demonstrates the connection of smoking with Ottoman cultural practices, and further associates it as a threat to public well-being. Six years later, smoking in public areas was outlawed in the cleanliness edict of the town administration and the threat of arrest was extended to all ethnic groups who chose to do so “on the town, day or night”.¹²¹

The edict was not limited to smoking, however, but also obligated homeowners to maintain cleanliness and remove trash in front of their homes. The issue of personal responsibility was also reflected earlier in the Magistrate Report of 1835, associating it with a specific ethnic group: “He [the Turk] cleans all the store (*dućan*) trash to out under his window shutters (*ćepenka*) and his authority pays not the least notice or care of it.”¹²² Having extended the responsibility of trash handling to all dwellers, the magistrate began to regulate its disposal, banning the dumping of trash into the rivers and waterways, and designating centralized areas of its disposal.¹²³ Ultimately, the regulations of the police code included timing prescriptions for cleaning. In an 1850 edict, the time for collecting trash outside houses was designated as one hour after dawn and half an hour before evening prayer (*akšam*).¹²⁴ An important consequence of handling trash prior to Islamic prayer was the logistical difficulty imposed on the observance of religiously-ordained

¹¹⁹ Peruničić, 212.

¹²⁰ Belgrade Magistrate to the Supreme Serbian Council. 5 Oct 1835.

¹²¹ Publication of the City Management. 6 Mar 1841. UGB. IAB, 1841, B. 2, P. I 134. No 237

¹²² C.M. to S.S.C. 5 Oct 1835.

¹²³ Publication of the City Management. 24 Jan 1845. UGB. IAB, 1845, B. 38, P. II 258

¹²⁴ Publication of the City Management. 25 Jun 1850. UGB. IAB, 1850, B. 124, P. XII 1944, No. 2819

cleanliness.¹²⁵ It is also interesting to note that one ritual practice of the new administration is associated in temporal with an unrelated symbol of imperial cultural heritage.

The regulation of foodstuffs was another important concern of the municipal authorities, one which further framed the regulatory process in the discourse of public health. The regulation extended not only into the lives and practices of merchants, but also limited the supply of goods and perishables. The impetus for this regulation seems to have been the issue of food safety for the troops garrisoned in the town. In 1838, the Magistrate began banning the sale of fish, milk and yoghurt products to the Prince's Guard, due to their "general harmfulness for the health."¹²⁶ The banning of practices seen as "unclean" did not resonate well with the population, whose complaint to the Magistrate was ultimately rejected.¹²⁷ The concern over the general of food products was extended to the general population three years later, when two Turkish butchers, Eyup and Murat, were accused of polluting the town with their slaughter.¹²⁸ This was followed by an edict which designated slaughter-areas of Turkish butchers to the Danube shore outside of city limits.¹²⁹ The physical separation of practices seen as "unclean" by the administration further exacerbated the ethnic delineation in the city. The administration further extended its regulation to demand chemical analyses of bread in 1841. By the 1860s, taverns (*mehana*) were requested to plate their copper dishes with tin, guidelines for the hygienic conditions in bakeries were introduced, and the chemical analysis obligation was extended to brandy

¹²⁵ Islamic ablution (*ot. tur. abdest, ar. al-wuddu*) is an important component in the daily ritual of observant Muslims. See:

¹²⁶ Magistrate Member Golub Petrović to the Town Police. 14 May 1838. UGB. IAB, 1838, B. 2, 311

¹²⁷ Ibid, No. 315

¹²⁸ Minister Đorđe Protić to the City Administration. 24 Oct 1841. UGB. IAB, 1841, B. 15, P. V 759. R. No. 2329

and vinegar.¹³⁰ Justified by public welfare, these practices controlled and regulated the practices of guilds, standardizing the availability of foodstuffs. Furthermore, the process of regulation continued to exacerbate the existing dichotomy of clean/unclean which permeated the strenuous relationship between the ethnic communities in the city. The deeming of practices not associated with the state administration as unsafe had a dual effect. On the one hand, it assigned the label of "filth" to non-regulated producers of the Muslim community which did not participate in the controls system. On the other, it associated government regulation with security and physical well-being, further legitimizing the modernization project of the nation-state.

The monopolization of Belgrade's urban space by a single national project was intrinsically linked with the expansion of the administration's role in regulating public health. The process of modernization, which shifted the focus of governing from territory to population, enabled the formation of an urban identity of national subjects. The reconstruction of the water supply system emphasized the changes brought about by the new regime through ethnically-exclusive public works and the reinterpretation of existing public focal points such as *çeşmes*. Simultaneously, the discourse of public health was used to bring about a full systematization of the medical profession under the auspices of the municipal government's nation-building project. Finally, street life was transformed as the customary use of public space became restructured with the introduction of new elements associated with modernization. Through the application of a new principle of governing, sanitary practices were ultimately associated with a single group, the only one structurally

¹²⁹ Ibid, No. 1776

capable of constituting its subjecthood through the system. Thus, the concurrent expansion of state authority over the sum of urban life legitimized the appropriation of the city as a distinctly Serbian capital.

6. Taverns and Theatre: Constructing the new city life

The autonomous government's subjectivization of the urban population in national terms cannot be fully understood without examining its effect on private and social life. The introduction of novel cultural practices and their vigorous propagation by the government was an integral component of the modernization project. Moreover, such ideas of cultural modernization were directly associated with the idea of national revival and its relationship with the state. The primary level of activity was through theatre and organized social events. Furthermore, older places of interaction, such as the town's taverns (*mehana*) were restricted in operation by municipal codes of decency conduct. This practice functioned through association with the discourse of hygiene and morality, placing Ottoman cultural practices in the unclean end of the cultural spectrum. Finally, a tendency towards criminalizing practices deemed unclean not only demonstrated the need of the state to regulate social life, but also signalled a cultural monopolization of the public sphere.

The early 1840s brought about a consolidation of cultural life in the areas surrounding the new "Serbian" centre in the Savamala district. Together with the visual reorganization of this part of the city, the autonomous government began to organize

¹³⁰ Publication of the City Magistrate. 18 Apr 1861. UGB. IAB, 1861, B. 533, P. IXa, 225½, Pub of C. M. 29 May

cultural events in the new administrative building, the *Đumrukana*. Unlike the Habsburg territories, there is no extensive historical record of how theater developed in these areas. What is clear is that it was primarily organized by enthusiasts and activists from the Monarchy on a voluntary basis. Actors from the Native Theatrical Society of Zagreb (*Domородno teatralno društvo*) and the Flying Amateur Theatre of Novi Sad (*Leteće diletantsko pozorište*) formed the first permanent troupe of the *Đumruk* theatre in a remodeled warehouse.¹³¹ These groups functioned within the larger cultural framework of the Illyrian movement, which sought cultural and linguistic unity between the South Slavs living under Habsburg and Ottoman control.¹³² The main goal of the theatrical performances, as described by the dramatist and theatre manager, Jovan Sterija Popović in 1852, was to “straighten and formulate the people”. For him it was the plays themselves that demonstrated a new medium of projecting a set of social and cultural values onto the population, regardless of social or economic status. Hence, he states:

*The spectators themselves prefer to see [the play] when the intention of the presenter is either the history of the people or its glory, and we know out of experience that the theatre is coolly or carelessly visited when works without consideration and wholeness or taste are being played.*¹³³

The repertoire of the theatre seems to have followed Sterija’s concepts to the letter, as it featured a number of historical dramas set in the period of the medieval Serbian empire. Works with such historical titles as “Smert Uroša Petago, poslednjeg cara

1861. UGB. IAB, 1861. B. 536. P. XO, 132 No, 6352, Pub of C. M. 6 Jul 1861. UGB. IAB, 1861, B. 544 P. XV, 11

¹³¹ Siniša Janić, “Novi Izvori I Podaci O Repertoaru Teatra Na *Đumruku*,” *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda IX-X* (1962-1963): 141.

¹³² For further information on the Illyrian movement and its relationship to these two theatre troupes, see: Elinor Murray Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975).

serbskoga" (*The Death of Uroš V, The Last Serbian Emperor*) glorified the past while suggesting historical legitimacy of the new nation-state. Furthermore, plays were also based on epic poems of resistance to Ottoman rule, such as "Kraljević Marko i Arapin" (*Prince Marko and the Arab*). Incidentally, these two works were the first plays presented at the opening of the theatre in December of 1841.¹³⁴ The extent of the public impact which these plays had on Belgrade's cultural life is difficult to determine. What is clear is that the political connotations of the works did not elude the Ottoman authorities, as the town's *paša* did ban the public advertisement of a play in 1842.¹³⁵ The state's involvement in the propagation of theatre involved publication and advertisement of plays in the official gazette, the *Novine srbske*. Furthermore, the Magistrate provided the necessary supplies, material, and space, funding printing costs and costumes.¹³⁶ However, the propagation of theatre was not the only way in which the municipal government sought to transform cultural and social life.

Restructuring and institutionalizing social interaction in Belgrade was also executed through a combination of government limitations imposed on traditional taverns and the organization of alternative social gatherings and events. The joint effect of these two policies was not the disappearance of previous modes of public interaction, but rather its relegation to a lower social class. It is in this light that regulation regarding *mehanas* begins to take shape as a component of a wider cultural policy. As places of interaction between different religious groups, the taverns represented a vestige of a multicultural city. As early

¹³³ *Novine srbske*, 1 May 1852 cited in Janić: 142.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*: 157-158.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*: 156.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

as 1838, the Magistrate instructed the town police to ensure that “Turks are no longer allowed to set foot in the *meana*” under their authority.¹³⁷ Interaction between Muslims and Christians in such a space was thus assigned to the sphere of illegal activity. However, the sheer number of 229 taverns in the city made the edict difficult to enforce.¹³⁸ As far as eleven years later, a *mehana* owner, Sreten Petrović, needed to guarantee to the Magistrate that Muslims will not be allowed in his establishment under threat of closure.¹³⁹ In 1850, the houses’ working hours were limited at night, and police permission was required for each specific event.¹⁴⁰ The Ministry was also specifically concerned with gambling and prostitution. Conducting business was difficult for the owners, who needed to provide guarantees of the contrary in order to stay in business.¹⁴¹ Nine years later, the City Magistrate completely banned Gymnasium students and other youth from *mehanas*, due to the places’ propensity for “teaching debauchery, splendor, and drunkenness.”¹⁴² As an 7 Aug 1861 internal report by the Magistrate suggests, order and public peace was broken only in those establishments of “the lower order”, while it was desirable to have “joyful merriment and conversation ... according to the persons’ character and in classier drinking houses.”¹⁴³ The report suggests that the police should “diligently determine what company and where” should be interrupted after hours. This concept of proper vs. improper association in taverns was directly related to the appearance of state-sanctioned balls. The

¹³⁷ Member Golub Petrović to the Belgrade City Magistrate, 10 Mar 1838. IAB, UGB. 1838, B. 2, P. 182, No 1045
Meana is an archaic form of the word *mehana*, an example of the tendency in pre-standardization Serbian vernacular to drop the letter “h”.

¹³⁸ City Magistrate to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. 29 Dec 1848. IAb, UGB, 1848. B. 98, P. 3000, No 3204

¹³⁹ Guarantee by Sreten Petrović, 16 Aug 1849, IAB, UGB, 1849, B. 116, P. IX 1802

¹⁴⁰ Proclamation of the Belgrade City Magistrate, 30 Dec 1850. IAB, UGB, 1850, B. 147. P. XVII 2788

¹⁴¹ Guarantee by the undersigned, 29 May 1850. IAB, UGB, 1850 B. 133 P. V 848, KNo 1037

¹⁴² Minister Jevtimije Ugriči to the Belgrade City Magistrate. 24 Aug 1859, IAB, UGB, 1863, B. 654, P. VIII 52, No 13672

Magistrate approved applications for these events on a yearly basis. In 1866, fifty eight balls were considered appropriate to be held, and received licenses for specific dates when these events would be held. Next year, the number grew to 102.¹⁴⁴ At the same time, new directives from the Magistrate classified taverns into three classes, of which only those with the III designation were allowed to hold ball events.¹⁴⁵ Thus, while the limitations on the *mehanas* themselves were not directly prescribing a transformation in the public behavior, they conditioned and directed the situation in the establishments themselves in order to promote new places of public contact.

A social alternative promoted by the municipal government can be seen in the organization of public festivities commemorating various events in national history. In these cases, the government seems to have not been so concerned with alcohol consumption. A petition of a certain Dimitrije Pljakić to cater the celebration of 50 years of Serbian autonomy in the Topčider area contained a detailed list of different brandies, wine, and beer to serve at the function.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, specific measures were taken in order to present the public with a spectacle. For the 30-year celebration of the Autonomy *Hatt-ı şerif*, the Council Court suggested to the Magistrate that commemorative shots should be fired from guns on the Kalemegdan, the public should be instructed to attend, and that the whole town needed to be lit for the ceremony.¹⁴⁷ The celebration of St. Andrew, the prince's

¹⁴³ Unsigned Member of the Magistrate to All the District Members. 7 Aug 1861. IAB, UGB, 1864, B. 749, P. XVII 399

¹⁴⁴ List of persons to whom it has been approved by the Magistrate to hold balls since 1 Jan 1867. IAB, UGB, 1867. B. 1040, P. XXXIV 228

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, St. Popović, Secretary of Management to Unnamed Sir, 20 Oct 1867

¹⁴⁶ Dimitrije Pljakić to the Belgrade City Magistrate, 3 May 1865, IAB, UGB, 1865, B. 838, P. XIV 315

¹⁴⁷ Court Member Nikola Hristić to the Belgrade City Magistrate, 8 Dec 1860, IAB, UGB, 1860, B. 501 P XVIII 181, No 4387

*slava*¹⁴⁸ and the day when Belgrade was conquered by the leaders of the first Serbian Uprising, included a military and police parade through the streets of the city.¹⁴⁹ The procession included the special lighting of the Grand Barracks and other government buildings, as well as a military band. In this sense, public spectacles and processions were introduced as a new model of social interaction, based on the premise of national festivities. Religious holidays represented an opportunity to associate with a particular moment in national history, while the streets of the city became a stage upon which the residents would observe the glorified Serbian military.

7. Conclusion

The transition from Ottoman to Serbian Belgrade which took place in the 19th century was a long and complex process. The political transition from an imperial province to a nation-state had a tremendous effect on the cityscape. Belgrade went through a large-scale government experiment of delineating, constructing, and appropriating space for its purposes. The expansion of the state apparatus signified the advent of modernity for the urban population, and a fundamental transformation of the way in which it interacted. However, the particular way in which urban modernization was applied purposely skewed the definition of the “model citizen”. As this definition was shaped towards a single religious and ethnic group, so did it form the crux of the Serbian national project. Plurality, reconciliation, or a shared urban identity were concepts not considered by the town’s

¹⁴⁸ *Slava* is a Serbian and Macedonian Orthodox custom of celebrating a family patron saint. For more information on the custom and a case study of the festivity in the Skopska Crna Gora region, see: D. B. Rheubottom, “The Saint's Feast and Skopska Crna Goran Social Structure,” *Man* 11, no. 1 (1976).

planners. The new vision of urban life was presented as inevitable and unchangeable – it was offered to a set group of people for the sole purpose of constituting a community out of them.

In essence, the transformation of Belgrade was a layered process in which the reconstruction of streets and squares was interwoven with a redefinition of governance. The Belgrade City Magistrate intricately weaved between the privileges granted by the 1833 *Hatt-ı şerif* in order to construct a space for action. Unlike the national-level autonomous government, it did not have to factor in dynastic struggle, imperial, and international relations into its plans. Its absolute mandate over Christian subjects translated into a dual-power system in the vacuum of imperial authority that was Belgrade. The *Hatt-ı şerifs* and the national Constitution prevented city-wide action as protective measures were included to hinder the Muslim exodus from the autonomous province. However, the protection and well-being of Christians was a loosely defined term. The insistence on progress as the driving force of the new rational state was innately compatible with the homogenizing national project. Thus, the restructuring of urban life was framed not only as a goal of the Magistrate, but also as the legitimizing purpose of its very existence.

The visual transformation of the city was two-fold. Initially, it required the construction of a visual and organizational antithesis to the Ottoman town. The resettlement of traders based on their religious affiliation, the construction of new streets, and the introduction of public parks were all precursors to their relational connectivity

¹⁴⁹ Minister of the Army İpolit Monden to the Belgrade City Magistrate. 25 Nov 1863, IAB, UGB, 1863. B. 698,

with the symbolic representations found in governmental buildings. The blocks out of which the Savamala grew did not require an alternative cultural definition – they legitimized the nation state by their stark departure from imperial heritage. It was necessary for them to compete, however. The monumentality of the Cathedral Church and its positioning, the strict measures ensuring the survival of the Textile Quarter, and the new officials' residences on the Savamalska street are just a few examples how the national developmental model was presented as the better, modern alternative. Similar motivations could be found in the reconstruction of public fountains – public appearance was an important reflection of the modernizing project's stature. The new buildings, streets and squares showcased a new way of life, a suggested civilizational shift. The outcome of this shift for the outsider population was the untranslatable nature of the new city – its visual and spatial clues undecipherable, its way of life unknown.

The insider population, however, did not easily accept the transformation offered to them. Traders refused to relocate, citizens complained, and the old city continued to function as it were. The Christian population needed to be dissociated from its former cultural practices and associated with new ones. Furthermore, this shift needed to emphasize the national nature of the state's reform. New restrictive measures reshaped personal life and communal relationships. As medical treatment, fresh water, and street cleanliness became accessible only through institutionalized means, so did their meaning begin to be reshaped. At the same time, the nation-state provided an exclusive way of life, without leaving room for alternatives. The Ottoman lifestyle was associated with a lack of hygiene and general uncleanliness. Similar methods were used in the sphere of public life,

as social interaction was geared towards a culturally-delineated space. The introduction of theatre served as a medium to propagate the myth of national revival. Old areas of inter-religious social contact were regulated, controlled, and eventually restructured in order to prevent interaction. The discourse of cleanliness and morality was extended to the area of public space, in which the appropriate practices needed to fit within a defined and taught cultural milieu. Through this series of measures, the municipal government pushed for a reassessment of identity in its target population. The city fabric was broken, redefined, and then laid claim to based on this definition.

Being urban was to be modern; being modern was to be national. Reflected in the 1867 Josimović plan, this concept permeates the 19th century de-Ottomanization of Belgrade. While modernity was presented to the public as an inevitable component of urban identity, it was also defined as unchangeable, a rigid construction without room for flexibility. When working hours and holidays were instituted in the city, there was no possibility of compromise with the Muslim and Jewish populations. Under the guise of public hygiene, the only acceptable purveyors of health became those who were able to function within the nation state – hence becoming its subjects. New behavioral patterns transformed social interaction from the sphere of informality to that of group organization. As Josimović proposed, the wide street became the norm – its communicative function emphasized traffic rather than interaction, the street taking precedent over its inhabitants. Both the purpose and method of using the street were changed, similarly to that of the tavern or the public fountain.

The institutionalization and reconstruction of the cityscape precluded its use to all besides those who had the necessary tools to function within it. These tools were limited to a single group of the city's residents, a nationally-limited administration, whose policies ultimately resulted in a bidirectional appropriation. The city administration appropriated the modernization agenda as it legitimized the formulation of a national capital. The Serbian population appropriated the reconstructed city because its very layout prevented the other groups from doing so. Ultimately, there was no space for Ottoman heritage in either of these two relations. Nature was relegated to parks rather than gardens, society to theatres rather than taverns, and Belgrade's urban identity to the Serbian nation-state rather than the Ottoman Empire.

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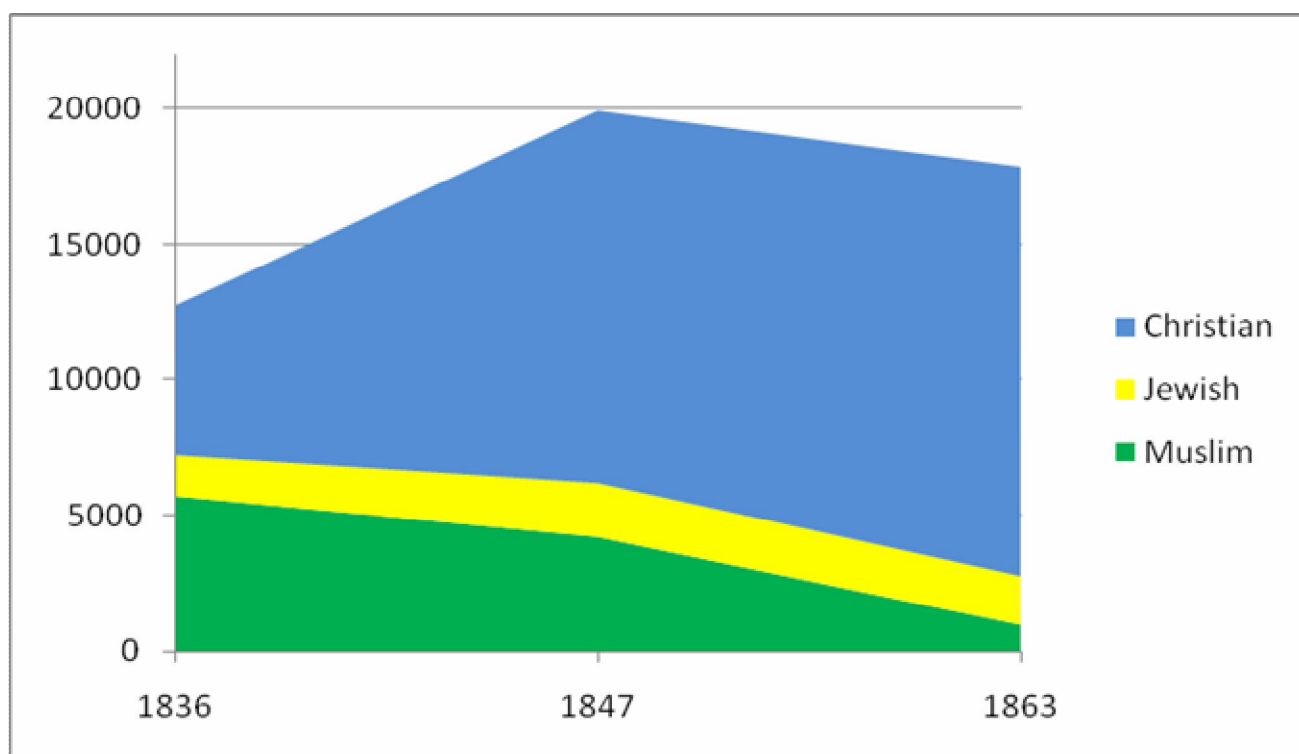
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Appendix A: Graphs and Charts

Graph 1: The population distribution of Belgrade in the mid-19th century

Sources:

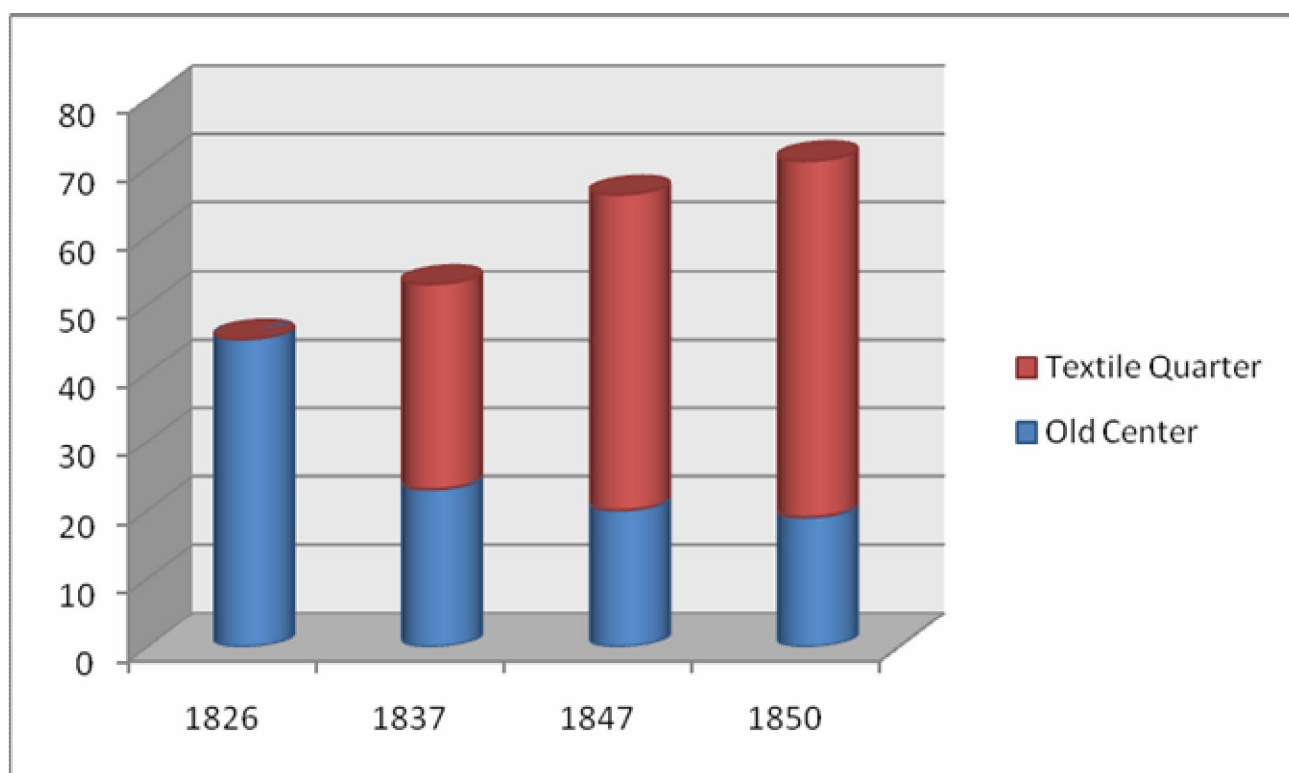
1836	Prpa et al, <i>Živeti u Beogradu 1837-1842</i> , 13
1847	Overview of conscription protocol, 12 Mar 1847, IAB, UGB, B. 64, P. I 56. No census of the Muslim and Jewish populations was taken, data extrapolated from List of houses... 18 Jun 1845, IAB, UGB, 1845, B. 44, P. V No.1366
1863	Statistical overview of the town of Belgrade, 6 Jul 1863, IAB UGB, 1863, B. 651, P. VI 412 No 5328



Graph 2: The distribution of Christian *abaci* masters over time

Sources:

1826	Peruničić, Branko. <i>Beogradski Sud 1819-1839</i> . (Beograd: Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, 1964), 291-294
1837	Tax Information by Mihail P. Stevanović, 18 Feb 1837, IAB, UGB. 1837, B. 1, P. 53 and Maksimović, 240
1847	List of persons of the abaci esnaf ..., 2 Oct 1847, IAB, UGB. 1847, B. 76, P. VII 2003, No 3495
1850	Vučo, Nikola. "Beogradski Esnafi U 19-Tom Veku." <i>Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda III</i> (1956), 138



Appendix B: Photographs

Figure 1: The Customs House (*Đumrukana*)

Source: Peruničić, Branko. *Beogradski Sud 1819-1839*. (Beograd: Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, 1964), 776



Figure 2: Comparison of the trading quarters

Source: Maksimović, Branko. "Borba Za Održavanje Abadžijske Čaršije Kao Privrednog Elementa Novog Beograda Van Šanca." *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda II* (1955), 238

Old *čaršija*



New "Abadžijska" *čaršija*



Figure 3: The comparison of Cathedral churches

Sources:

Sremski Karlovci: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/snenad/242923276/>

Belgrade: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/24516927@N00/412721192/>

The *Saborna* Church of Sremski Karlovci
(1789)



Belgrade's *Saborna* Church
(1841)



Figure 4: Representative Ottoman houses opposite the Cathedral Church

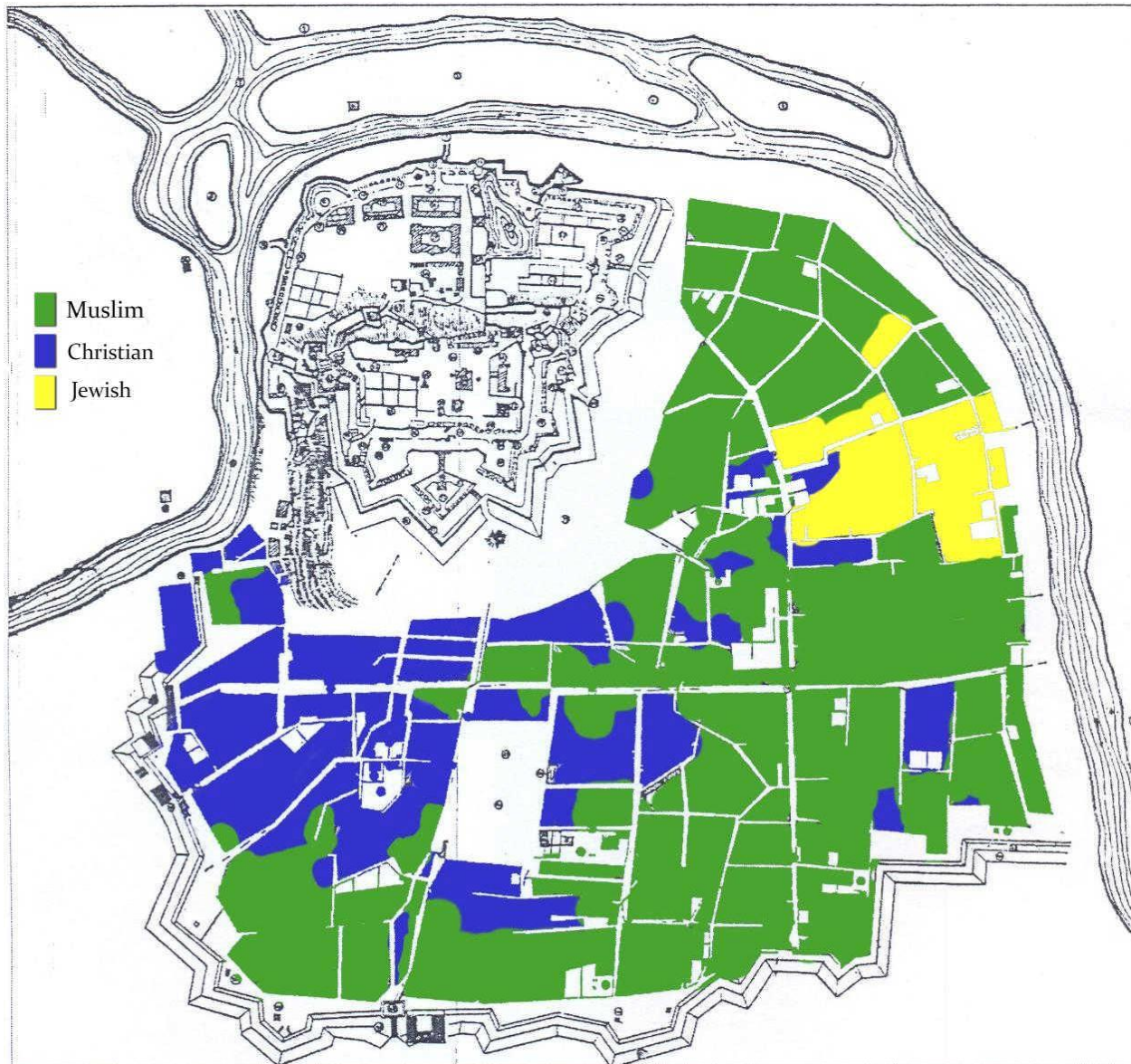
Source: Nestorović, Bogdan. "Razvoj Arhitekture Beograda." *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda* I (1954), 160.



Appendix C: Maps

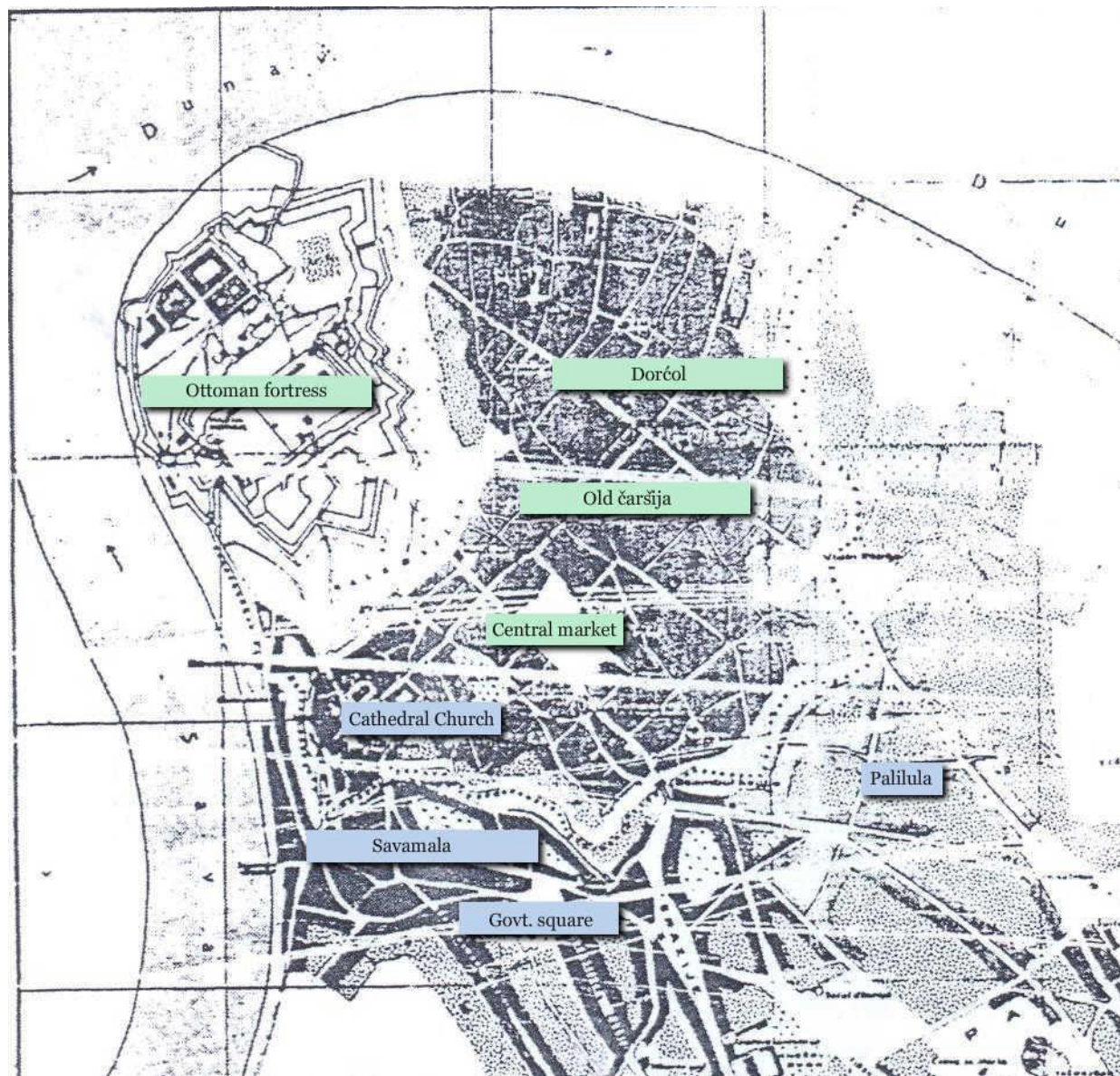
Map 1: Religious distribution of Belgrade's population in the first half of the 19th century

Map by author, based on: Ljubomir Nikić, "Ko Je Autor Turskog Plana Beograda Iz Sredine Xix Veka." *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda VII* (1960), 154



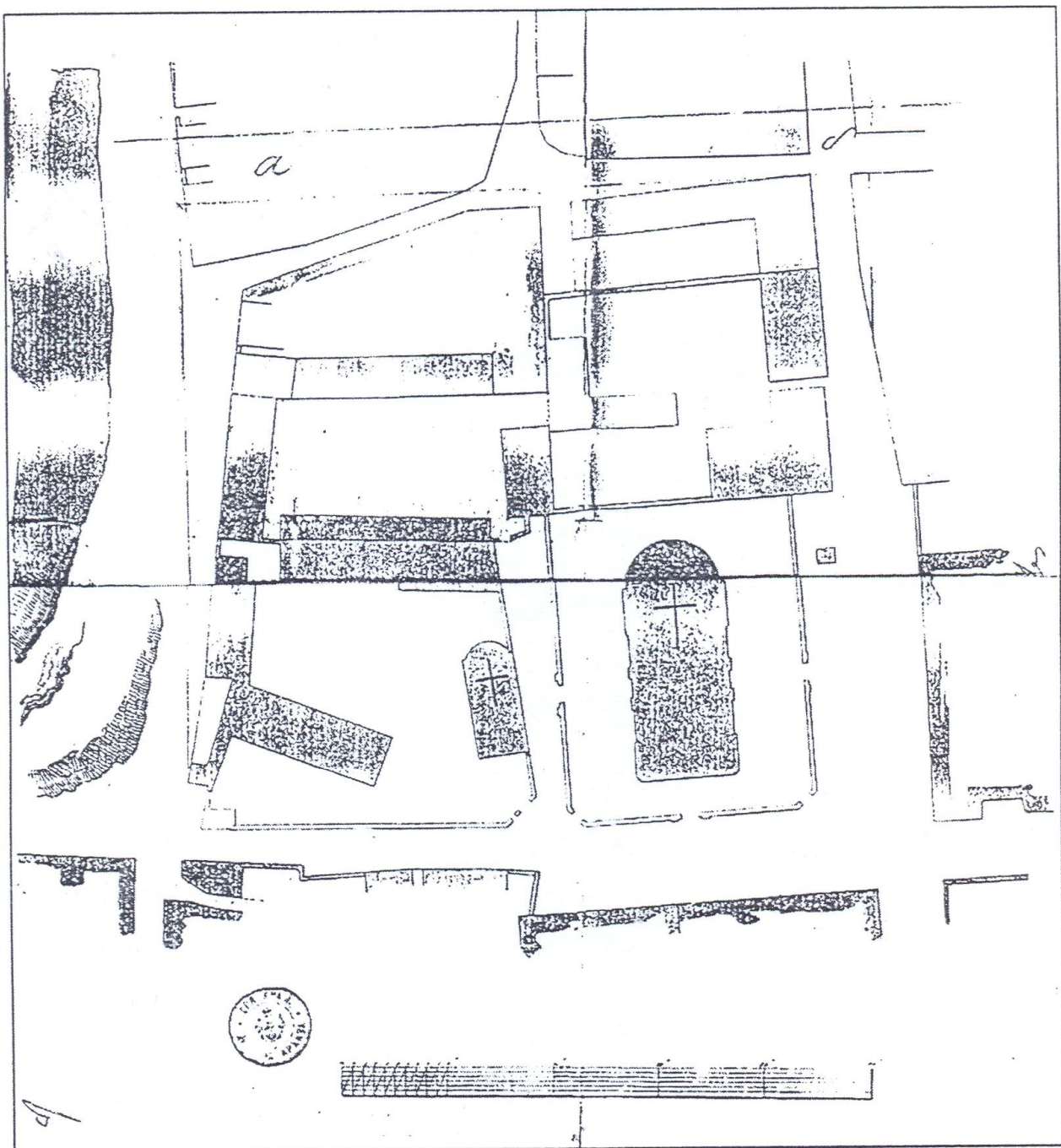
Map 2: A general map of the city's quarters

Map by author, based on: : Škalamera, Željko. "Prilog Proučavanju Kartografskih Izvora Za Istoriju Beograda Xix Veka." *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda XIV 1967*), 169



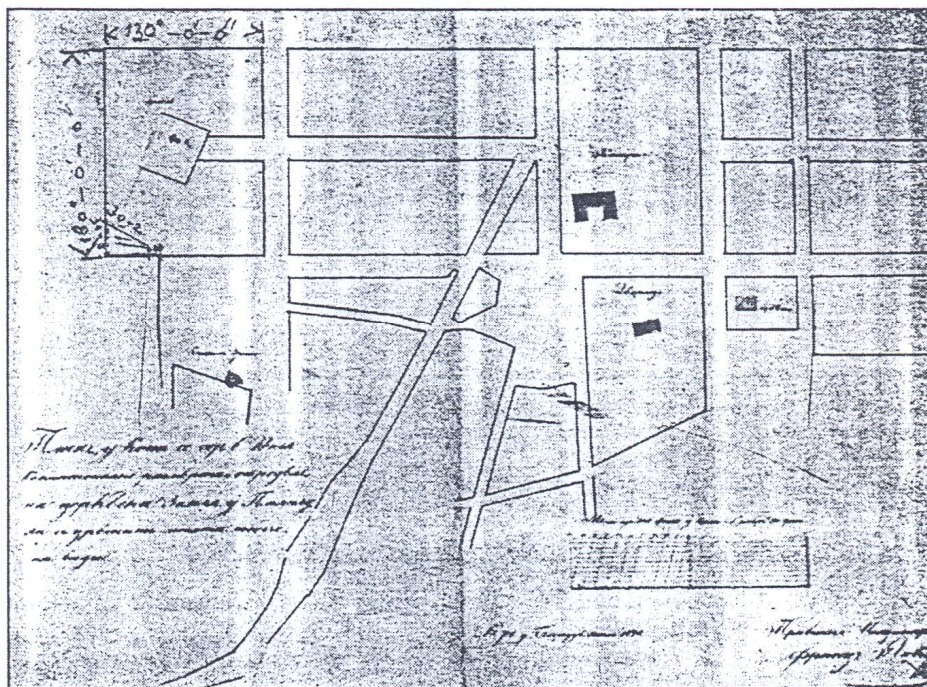
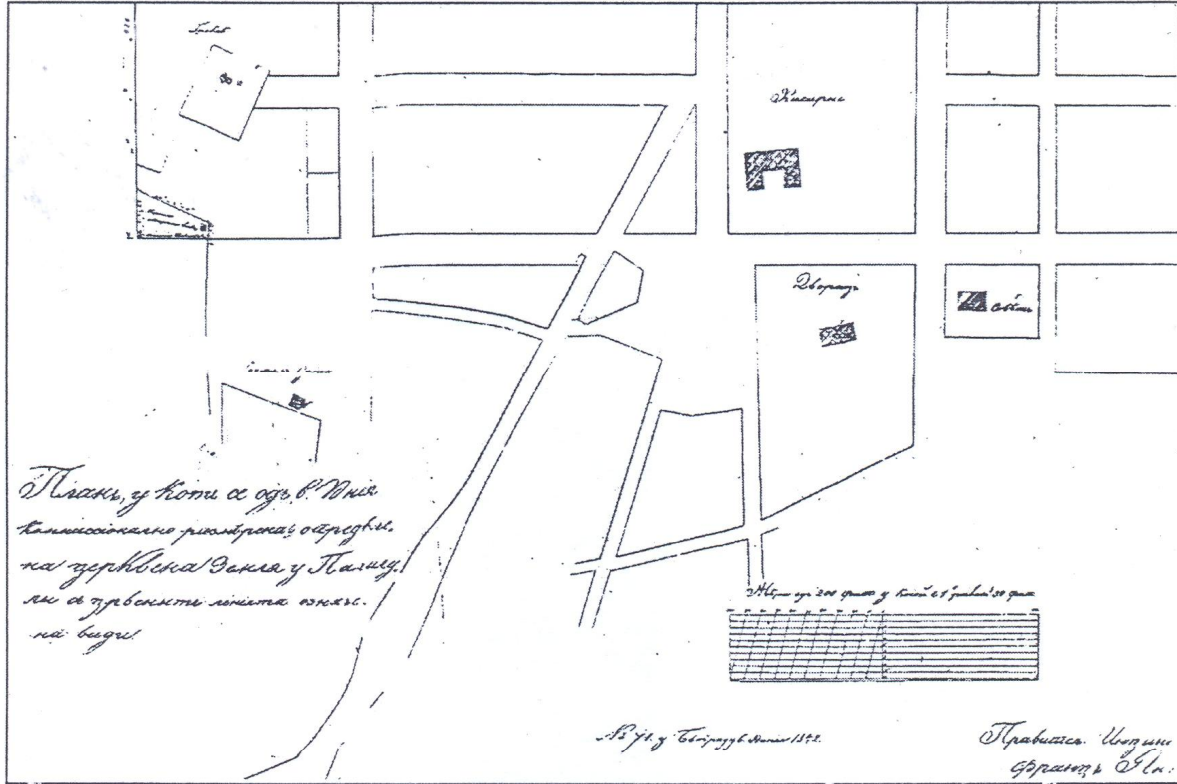
Map 3: Franz Janke's delineation of the streets surrounding the *Saborna* Church

Source: National Archive of Serbia, Ministry of Internal Affairs Collection, Paper II, Document No: P 42/1841



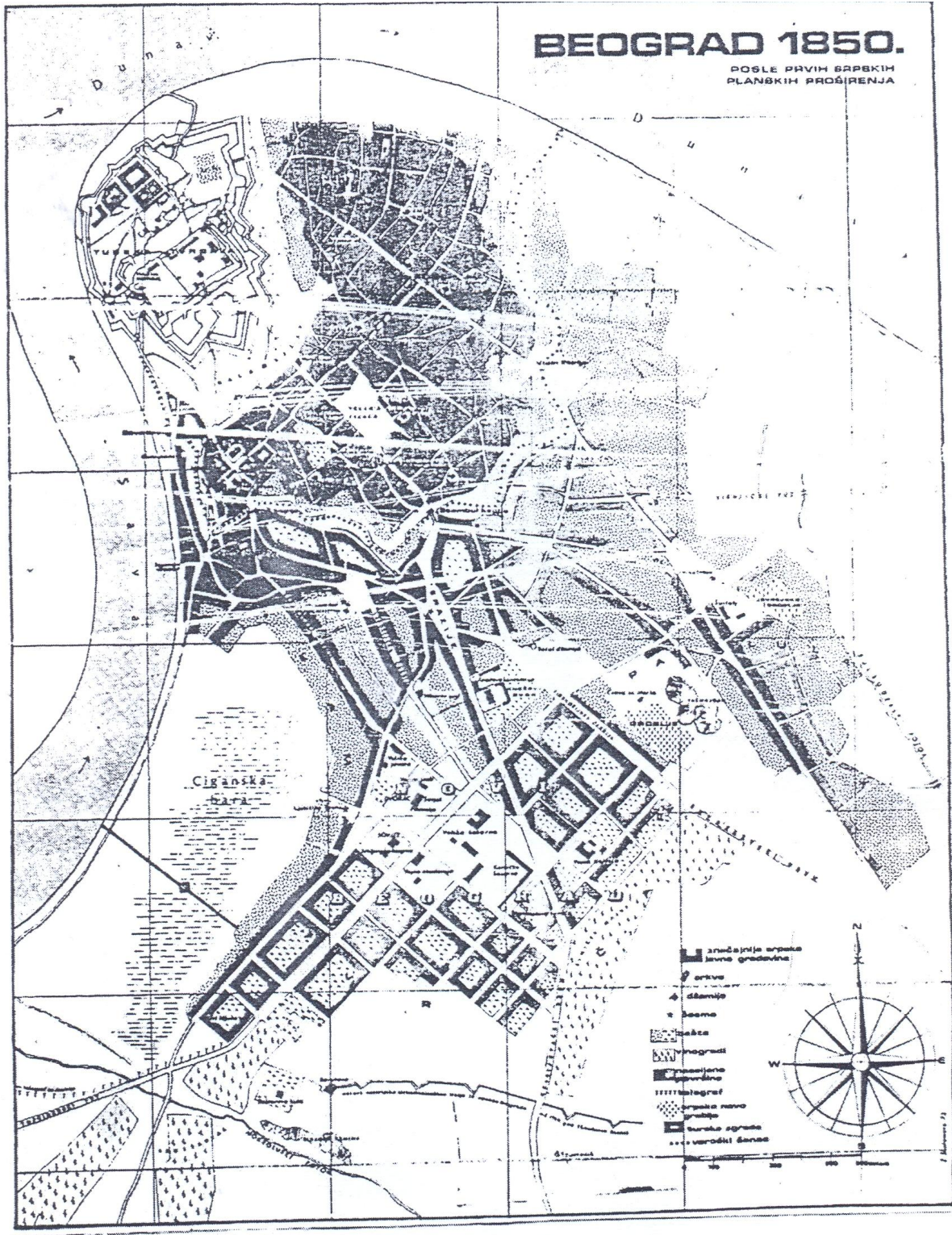
Map 4: Franz Janke's plan of the Government square and "Miloš the Great" Street

Source: National Archive of Serbia, Ministry of Internal Affairs Collection, Document No: P-560/841



Map 5: Janke's New City - Belgrade in 1850

Source: . Škalamera, Željko. "Prilog Proučavanju...", 169



Map 6: Emilijan Josimović's vision for the Belgrade city core

Source: Maksimović, Branko. "Josimovićeva Rekonstrukcija Beograda U Šancu." *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda IV* (1957), 217

